THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF THE TOWNHOUSE IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

by

Shasekant Jogi

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APPROVED:

Paul L. Knox, Chairman

Patricia K. Edwards

Timothy W. Luke

Humberto L. Rodriguez-Camilloni

Joseph L. Scarpaci

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(ABSTRACT)

This research is concerned with the social creation of built environments in the Third World. The absence of appropriate theoretical frameworks has hampered the research of Third World cities. Recently, however, the opportunity for applying concepts, that have to date been largely confined to the study of western cities, has increased provided they are organized in a suitable way. Drawing on concepts such as built environment, socio-spatial dialectic, and structure and agency, this research outlines and applies a framework for the study of Third World urbanization.

In order to explore the interdependence between space and society this study "unpacks" the urban landscape of Harare, Zimbabwe. Working in the context of the culture of capitalism, the study traces the development of the southern African zonal urban system before establishing a typology of landscape ensembles through successive stages of the evolution of Zimbabwe's political economy. Within the current global epoch, the study focuses on a specific type of built environment -- the townhouse.

As a repository of contested cultural ideas and practices, the townhouse stands at the center of often conflicting socio-economic groups defined collectively as a "structure of provision".

Using interviews, archival research, and a survey questionnaire, an analysis of these groups which focuses on the production and consumption of the townhouse drew the following conclusions:

On the production side, realtors have assumed a central co-ordinating role in the production of townhouses. Prior to the development of townhouses, the realtor played a more limited role in real estate market. With the emergence of the entrepreneurial developer and with the assistance of the architect, realtors have assumed a central co-ordinating role in the initiation, management, and marketing of the townhouse. Built within specific zones within the city and its suburbs, garden flats and townhouses occupy the wealthy areas of the city. On the consumption side, garden flats and townhouses are occupied by the "managerial bourgeoisie" who comprise wealthy Zimbabweans and expatriates who are predominantly White, managers and professionals. While they share some important similarities they can nevertheless, based on their consumption patterns, be divided into identifiable groups that are geographically distributed within Harare's wealthier areas. It was suggested that production and consumption are ultimately part of the same process that produces status symbols that drive the demand for consumer goods. Ultimately, however, garden flats and townhouses stand testimony not only to the wealth of their occupants, but to patterns of lifestyle reminiscent of the consumption ethic of their counterparts in the First World.

In the context of a Third World city, however, their lifestyle with its show of wealth has, not surprisingly, generated concerns about safety and security among the community of garden flats and townhouse dwellers. These concerns are historically deeply imbedded not only in the region but in the culture of capitalism. It was ultimately concluded that, within the context of late capitalism, the southern African city shares similarities with its First World counterpart.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

Beginning in the 1960s, the social sciences have come under increasing criticism from a number of sources for a variety of reasons. In keeping with this criticism, it has recently become common practice to argue that one major deficiency of much of the social sciences is their neglect of space and time. Despite considerable difficulties in seeing exactly how they can be built into an examination of social relations, analyses are held to be peculiarly negligent of the interaction between social relations, and spatio-temporal structures (Urry, 1985). Simultaneously, among structurationists there is an ongoing debate about the polarization between social structure and human agency (Thrift, 1983). Within the social sciences criticisms and debates of this nature have generated a considerable amount of intellectual turbulence.

Urban studies stand at the center of this turmoil. The study of cities has been identified as having the greatest potential to bring a better understanding of the interaction between

space, time, and society. For some time elements that make up cities - buildings, architecture, and urban design - have been the focus of attention of a number of disciplines. Although the substance of their debates have differed, geographers, anthropologists, planners, architects, and sociologists have traditionally shared a common interest in these built forms (Lawrence and Low, 1990). Criticisms have, however, been levelled at these accounts for their inadequate treatment of built forms which are frequently seen as passive backdrops against which social processes are enacted (Ball, 1986).

Within this context the built environment has re-emerged as a centrally important issue. Writers have suggested a number of ways that the built environment, as a product of human building activity (Lawrence and Low, 1990), provides an opportunity to incorporate social relations with space and time. For example, in "unpacking" the city of Los Angeles, Edward Soja has highlighted the shared relationship between the built environment and capitalist society (Soja, 1989). For his part, David Harvey has detailed the built environment's role in the capital accumulation process and its consequences for the class struggle (Harvey, 1982, 1985). James Duncan (1990), sees the built environment as a "text", one of the central elements in a cultural system, which, "acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored" (Duncan, 1990, p. 17). Collectively, the bulk of these approaches have been largely concerned with the Western city, where, "landscape as text is intimately related to the historic swirl of culture, politics, economics, and personality in a particular place at a particular time" (Ley, 1988).

In contrast, the study of Third World societies has highlighted the profound effect that the transition to an urban society has had on social processes and economic structures.

Urbanization has produced hybridized cities with high degrees of social, political, economic, and physical complexity. The study of these Third World cities has however, led to a focus on systematic approaches contrasting formal and informal sectors, modern versus traditional societies and developed and underdeveloped economies. When built environments are mentioned, if at all, they are usually accompanied by theoretical or moralistic imperatives preoccupied with social pathology or reconstruction. "Cities of peasants", "bidonvilles", "barrios", and "shantytowns" litter the corpus of Third World city literature. Yet Third World cities lend themselves equally to the investigation of the process of morphogenesis that is the mainstay of the study of European or American cities. Although poverty, disease, crime or the sheer weight of numbers may obscure an understanding of Third World cities, as "texts" they share the same potential as their First World counterparts to be "read" as products of their cultures and societies. This study suggests how this can be achieved. Before explaining how this can be done however, it is important that the relevant literature on Third World cities be reviewed.

Development Theory, Cities, and the Built Environment in the Third World

The study of urbanization in the Third World has consistently been influenced by a number of theoretical constructs. Generally reflecting the prevailing wisdom in development theory (Walton, 1982), the evolution of these constructs has moved towards a globalist perspective since World War II. Although the study of the built environment has played a marginal role within most of these theoretical constructs this review will examine trends in these theories to trace their development.

Modernization Theory

In his study of urbanization in Latin America, David Slater (1986) has suggested that with its inception in the 1950s the study of urbanization in the Third World was coupled with modernization theory. Third World cities were seen simply as following a path trodden earlier by Europe, North America and the Soviet Union (McNulty and Horton, 1979). Dualism, a dominant theme of modernization studies, divided Third World societies along rural and urban lines, traditional and modern sectors, and formal and informal economies (Walton, 1982). When it became obvious that change was not taking place as theorized, then notions of "over-urbanization", and the "pathology" of Third World cities were introduced (Hoselitz, 1953). The Third World city had become a problem. Ever since its introduction this image of the Third World city as a problem has accompanied its study in some shape or form.

The modernization perspective came ,however, to be challenged by those who stressed the existence of divergent paths of urbanization. They suggested that while the less developed countries were not following the same path as the more developed countries they were nevertheless following a single distinctive one (Berry, 1973). By the early 1970s these approaches came to be challenged from researchers from both the core and periphery.

Dependency Theory

The failure of modernization theory to explain uneven development led some theorists to subscribe to the 'development of underdevelopment' or dependency theory (Baran, 1957; Frank, 1967). Although there are a number of variants of the dependency school they share a number of commonalities (Chilcote, 1974). These include the observations that:

1. Underdevelopment is not the original condition of a country, although countries may have been "undeveloped" in the past.
2. The capitalist process which led to the development of the 'core' countries is the same process that has led to the underdevelopment of "peripheral" states.
3. Although some of the roles have changed, the dominant-subordinate relationship between countries has persisted over time.
4. An internal version of the international metropolis-periphery relationship exists between rural and urban areas within countries.

Generally therefore, dependency theorists agree that development and underdevelopment are inseparable and that Western contact is not necessarily beneficial to Third World countries (Frank, 1967; Dos Santos, 1970; Cardoso, 1972). "Dependent urbanization" was a direct outcome of this line of thought. Emphasizing the penetration of the urban-industrial sector of Third World cities by international capital (Hymer, 1972), it drew attention to the emergence of marginalized urban populations (Roberts, 1978; Castells, 1972).

Although an impressive amount of research was undertaken by *dependentistas,* they in turn, came to be criticized (Walton, 1982). Henfrey's (1981) summary observation that *dependentista's* were, "obsessed with structure at the expense of movement and social agents", topped a litany of dependency's weaknesses. These included their failure to combine an analysis of urban development with the process of capital accumulation within given societies, in particular historical periods and a failure to provide a method of analysis (cited in Slater, 1986). In providing a critique of dependency theory, marxists offered a political economy approach as an alternative.

Political Economy

Influenced by marxist structuralism (Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1972) radical political economists began to develop the historical and economic foundations of urbanism and urbanization, and to account for various urban forms by reference to changing modes of production and accumulation (Walton, 1976). They raised a series of questions about the change from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production, the class structure of cities, and the role of the state in shaping the urbanization process (Safa, 1982). Marxists argue, that the narrow determined view of the state by *dependentistas* offered no prospect of autonomy for political and economic factors. Dependency's limited view of class fails to recognize that the dominant class of a peripheral state not only undermines but supports external interests. Ultimately, elites use power for their own purposes rather than for the benefit of international capital (Sklar, 1979).

These debates, however, remained largely at the national and international level as researchers sought to explain the role of Third World countries in the world economy. Urban systems and urban centers in the periphery were regarded as the reflection of the role that national states play in the international economic system (Roberts, 1978; Warren, 1973). In this context for instance, Armstrong and McGee (1985) noted the existence of the Third World city as a "theatre of accumulation" where international and local interests met to influence the development of Third World countries. Discussions detailing these developments were seldom offered. This failure of marxian political economy to provide a detailed discussion of Third World cities drew a sharp reaction from David Slater (1986). He maintained that, "historically specific empirical work needs to be done in which the *periodization of urbanization* within given peripheral societies be combined with an analysis of the effects of changes in the internationalization of capital" (Slater, 1986, p.

20). While this issue of periodization will be addressed more fully later in the study there were some researchers whose interest lay in the internationalization of capital within a particular period in the history of urbanization. Their interests were largely confined to the colonial period.

Internationalization of capital

Colonialism

The study of colonial cities has a long history. In his review of the literature on the colonial city, Anthony King (1989) has identified a variety of criteria that have come to be associated with them. First, he notes that in the 1950s, dating back to the work of Redfield and Singer (1954), colonial cities were originally conceptualized as playing a "civilizational" role. Nevertheless, he points out that Redfield and Singer (1954) recognized that in acting as a market, "freed from controls of tradition, status and moral rule", the colonial city operated within an internationalized world economy, inspite of "local historical and cultural constraints" (King, 1989, p. 6). Second, in the 1960s, when western industrial urban models were being called into question, theoretical work on the colonial city was largely cast in a cultural perspective (Abu-Lughod, 1965;[1] Wheatley, 1969[2]). In 1967 Terry G. McGee, by equating "westernization" with capitalism as a mode of production, added a critical new dimension which differed from earlier accounts. Finally, by the end of the 1960s King concludes, Horvath's (1969) theoretical focus moved the conceptual debate a stage further. Going beyond the economic-technological paradigm of Sjoberg (1960) towards a more political-economic and social focus, it identified "*domination* as the 'key independent variable' in explaining the colonial city".

[1]Abu-Lughod (1965) in refering to the European sector of Cairo as the 'colonial' city regretted that no studies had been made of the introduction of western urban forms into non-western countries.
[2]Wheatley (1969) refered to the cultural hydrid of the colonial city which subsumed elements of both the traditional and modern world.

The colonial city was identified as a subsystem of a heterogeneous colonial society (King, 1989, p. 7). This broader view of the colonial city came to be supplanted by a more radical perspective.

In the early 1970s "colonial urbanization" came to be associated with dependency theory and "dependent urbanization" (Castells, 1972). Colonialism was seen to have created these dependent conditions. It is within this framework that Anthony D. King's early work on colonialism makes an important contribution (King, 1976, 1989). Adopting more of a social-cultural as opposed to political economic interpretation he argued that a mode of production in expressing itself does so in spatial as well as physical built forms. That is, there is a built environment associated with the dominant dependent conditions of colonialism, a particular form of political economy. How that form is expressed, however, depends largely on the society and culture of the interacting societies concerned. King's assumption was that the built environment is intrinsic to the process of economic, social, and cultural transformations. Thus the dependent urbanization concept was extended to understand the incorporation of distinctive forms of built environment (including architecture and urban form), in both the metropole and the colony, as part of a single, interdependent system (King, 1983, p. 8). Besides King's work, however, the commitment to view colonialism in terms of a world system was generally absent. Inspite of King's efforts the colonial city has remained theoretically in the past. From the 1980s onwards King (1989) has observed that despite a commitment to view *colonial* cities in the context of political economy of urbanization, world systems, urban social spatial theory, and the internationalization of capital,

> the postcolonial city in these accounts is still located in the Third World rather than in the world economy as such (King, 1989, p. 11).

In part this is because some these studies are intended to be historical. They activate a particular moment in history. Utilizing theoretically restrictive concepts their intention is only to see a snapshot of the past. In order to overcome this limitation some writers have argued for the utilization of the World Systems perspective.

World Systems Theory [3]

David Simon (1989), for example, came to challenge studies that continue to conceptually limit Third World cities to colonialism. He questioned whether it was meaningful to talk about colonial cities and not address the postcolonial period given that the "global economy has experienced major upheavals" (Simon, 1989, p. 71). Despite the general acceptance of global perspectives[4], Simon argues, the debate on the postcolonial city continues to place them in the Third World rather than the world economy (Simon, 1984). King finds this orientation by writers surprising given that since 1980 it has become commonplace that "there is a third world in major first world cities as well as a first world in major third world ones", (King, 1989, p. 11) and that despite massive changes, cities in both the core and periphery share remarkably similar characteristics (King, 1984, 1989), an observation shared by Harvey (1973).

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[3]For Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1983, 1984), the most prominent world-systems theorist advocate, the fundamental unit of analysis is the 'world-economy,' a type of world system, defined as a social system - a single division of labor - comprising multiple cultures and multiple political systems. The world-economy is nevertheless characterized by single cultural system of exchange and accumulation based on a capitalist mode of production, in which the primary use of capital, or accumulated wealth, is the accumulation of more capital by the production of goods and services to be sold in a market to maximize profits. Although the world-economy is a single unit, the state-system is made up of distinct political states. These states roughly divide into core, semi-periphery, and periphery economic areas. These areas exist only in relation to each other and the world-economy. Thus one of the characteristic features of core areas are their complex variety of capitalist economic activities controlled by an indigeneous bourgeoisie with a network of 'commodity chains' which serve to extract surplus from the peripheral areas. The core is characterized by free labor engaged in skilled tasks while the periphery are countries in which coerced labor is found. Between the core and periphery stands the semi-periphery, composed of countries that have either lost their core status as a result of deindustrialization or those heading for core status as they rapidly industrialize.

[4]These have been variously defined as 'the capitalist world economy,' 'the new international division of labor,' 'dependent capitalism,' and 'the global economy.'

In this global context King emphasized that there is an, "urgent need of detailed empirical studies, both historical and contemporary, of particular local, regional and international case studies which demonstrate the degree to which local societies or cultures maintain control over and modify their own economy and polity, and hence their distinctive building and urban forms, in the face of global trends". (King, 1983, p. 248)

In terms of the built environment he emphasized,

> the main point to be made here is that all aspects of built form --- whether seen as spatial, physical or architectural --- must be viewed within an emergent, interdependent and interacting capitalist world economy, yet one which permits, in different parts, different *cultural expression* (King, 1983, p. 245 emphasis added).

Following this survey of the literature of the Third World city a number of conclusions can be reached. First, in their attempts to find a theoretical home for cities of the Third World, a general shift towards world systems theory can be discerned. Secondly, there are only a handful of cases in which the built environment *per se* is the object of study. Cases where the built environment *is* an object of study, are usually historical and remain lost in the past. They are unhelpful in bringing an understanding of today's developments. There is, however, a recognition that although there are only few cases in which the built environment has been analyzed, its potential to inform us of how these built forms and the institutional environments that come to surround the cultural, social, economic, and political processes that are involved in their production, is enormous but remains largely untapped.

This is surprising given the rapid transformation of built environments on a world scale in general, and that of the Third World in particular. A thorough examination of the built

environment in the countries of the southern hemisphere is long overdue.

Problem Statement

In light of these observations, the purpose of this study is to examine the social production of the built environment of one Third World city, Harare, Zimbabwe. The social production of the built environment refers to the production, distribution, and consumption of the built environment. In other words it encompasses the social processes[5] that structure not only the "human activity of building" (Watts, forthcoming) but the built environment as a "product of human building activity" (Lawrence and Low, 1990), in what Thomas P. Hughes defined as a "seamless webb" (Hughes, 1987, p. 10) of strategies and interests of the actors involved. Specifically the study centers on the "structures of building provision"[6] of a particular building type, the townhouse[7]. The central question is: How does a given set of social relations[8] between and among individuals and groups that constitute the "structure of provision" translate into the townhouse and what reciprocal role does the townhouse play in those relationships?

This study is a response to both a call and a challenge. The call from Anthony King (1989) is for a commitment first, to global perspectives which encourages "the more widespread

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[5]Social processes are observable patterns of social interaction over a period of time.

[6]Creating and using built structures involves particular sets of agents defined in terms of the economic relation to the physical process of provision itself. Each historically specific set of social agents can be defined as a "structure of building provision". By provision is meant the production, exchange, distribution, and use of a building structure (Ball, 1986, p. 455).

[7]The townhouse is defined as "an attached dwelling house is a dwelling unit designed exclusively by a single family in a building comprising two or more dwelling units in which the units are separated from one another vertically and may include such outbuildings as are ordinarily used therewith" (City of Harare, 1973, Planning Scheme Phase 1). See also Chapter V.

[8]A reciprocal pattern of interaction that persists over a period of time so that a stable set of social expectations develops. Social relationships are of shorter duration.

development of conceptual and analytical categories which are applicable to urban phenomena in all parts of the world" (King 1989, p. 11). Secondly, and more specifically to the need for more historical and contemporary detailed empirical studies of particular local, regional and international cases (King, 1983, p. 248). The challenge from Edward Soja (1989) is "to mount a sustained interrogation of the rich conceptual nexus of space-time-being; to probe the opposition, unity and contradiction in the organization of space as a material product, in the relationships between the social and spatial dimensions of urbanism, in the ideological content of socially created space".

Specifically, the study:

a. "Unpacks" the urban landscape of one Third World city - the City of Harare, Zimbabwe - as it has developed from successive stages of the evolution of Zimbabwe's political economy. This establishes,

   i. a typology of landscape ensembles;

   ii. Relates typologies of ensembles to epochal periods.

b. Drawing on a specific type of built environment, the townhouse, the study 'reads' it interpretively as a text; as a product expressing distinctive cultural ideas and practices of often conflicting socio-political groups.

   i. Traces the historical development of the townhouse within the current epochal period and its linakges with the past;

   ii. Analyses the conditions under which the development of the townhouse occurred;

   iii. Probes the motives of agents who produce them --- the producers;

   iv. Explores the perceptions of owners and users --- the consumers.

The magnitude of this challenge cannot, of course, be underestimated. The dangers of doing so are simply too great. Third World cities are complex both in terms of their physical environments and social processes, but shying away from this complexity, in the past has produced descriptions that at best, are descriptions of surface features; and at their worst, are platitudes. Meeting the challenge of producing explanations of Third World cities demands, at the very least, that philosophical, theoretical, and methodological constructs that have a greater purchase on the real world be employed. In order to acquire such a combination, this study will begin with a particular philosophical approach that is receiving considerable attention in the social sciences.

Philosophical Approach

Although there are several distinct varieties of realism (Chappell, 1991), realists share a common world view. They take as given the existence of unseen social structures that both influence and are influenced in turn by the actions of individuals. Realist analyses thereby seek to explain the structure of social objects and the properties which enable them to produce or suffer particular kinds of change. They attempt to find out what produces change, what makes things happen, and what allows or forces change (Sayer, 1986).

As a philosophy of science, realism has grown increasingly influential. As a guide to social research, it provides a theoretical and an empirically sound methodology most appropriate for a structural analysis of society, while simultaneously catering for an explanation of individual action. It thereby effectively combines structure and agency. In order to explain how this combination is achieved, a discussion of realism follows.

In pursuing these objectives realists carefully combine three important themes which are integral to realism. First, they combine several bodies of theory to explain the complexity of society, recognizing that social processes frequently operate at various scales. Analyses are therefore designed to transcend these scales. Second, they deal with empirical regularities and outcomes but make the distinction between observable phenomena and processes that produce them. In doing so, they attempt to uncover causal relations and processes. Finally, given the elusive nature of social facts, realists recognize that knowledge must be evaluated in given social contexts (Lawson and Staeheli, 1990).
The potential of realism to shape the questions that this study asks, and the combinations of methods required to answer them, rests with the way that these themes address three areas: 1) the nature of the social world; 2) the process of conceptualization in the social sciences; and 3) the importance of place in understanding society. Each will be discussed in turn.

The Nature of the Social World

Fundamentally, realists consider the social world an open system subject to both exogenous and endogenous change. It is not fully integrated and closed as most studied by the natural sciences are (Sayer, 1985). Doing research under these open uncertain conditions implies "a departure from prediction towards a concern with understanding how elements of the system are causally related" (Lawson and Staehelli, 1990). Furthermore, in recognizing the multidimensional nature of the social world realists conceptualize social processes at several levels. Traditional macro (structures) and micro (individuals) levels are linked in realist research by the dialectic of agents and structures at work in social systems at either global or local scales. The practicality of seeing the social world in this fashion is that a multiplicity of theories can then be brought to bear on understanding its complexity. The use of theory as conceptualization can however, only be brought together

in this way because they share a relational ontology, that is they have common world view (Lawson and Staeheli, 1990)[9]. In bringing theories together in this innovative way makes it possible to uncover structures and processes operating on people and to understand how individual agents are constrained and empowered.

The Process of Conceptualization

An emphasis on the process of conceptualization in realism begins with the distinction between, but close inter-relation with, *abstract* (structures and mechanisms) and *concrete* (particular situations and events) research (Sarre, 1987, p. 4). Distinguishing between necessary/internal and contingent/external relationships allows realists to 'work out the causal powers and causal liabilities each of which makes objects susceptible to certain types of changes (Lawson and Staeheli, 1990, p. 16).' While abstract research tends to move towards deductive presentation[10], concrete research often uses induction (though not in the sense of aggregation and generalization, but linking actions to reasons and through rules to structures). Ultimately, the process of synthesis attempts to link abstract and concrete to an understanding of which relationships are necessary and which are contingent (Sarre, 1987, p. 5). This process of conceptualization, realists believe, builds knowledge "not only from observation and contemplation but also from practice and communication",.which should lead to a better understanding of society (Sarre, 1984, p. 4).

Conceptualizing Place

Central to all these discussions is the concept of space. Realists have conceptualized space,

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[9]Andrew Sayer makes the point that theories used in this fashion as an "examined conceptualization" of some object is more appropriate to disciplines where there is considerable philosophical and methodological introspection, as in sociology (Sayer, 1984, p. 9).

[10]For example, marxist theory moves from 'foundation concepts' through 'transhistorical claims' to historically specific abstractions' and down to 'specific conjunctures' (Sarre, 1987, p. 4).

place, and context in a variety of ways. Despite this diversity they agree that importance of space in concretizing abstractions cannot be underestimated (Cox and Mair, 1989). This is achieved in a number of ways. First, *place as process* rather than an object, is both created and recreated by the interaction of people and social structure. Second, *place as context* is integral to the structure of social relations and in assuming concrete form influence subsequent processes[11]. Finally the *role of agency* (actions of individuals and institutions) *in place* for reproducing social structures emphasizes the way that localities and the social world are shaped through "interaction structures" or the context in which interaction takes place.

Faced with the problem of how to conceptualize and study linkages between agents, places, interaction structures and more general social structures Cox and Mair (1989), argue for various levels of abstraction. Lawson and Staeheli (1990) conclude that,

> Studies that incorporate several levels can enable theories of local phenomena, aid in identifying mechanisms that operate between agents in context, local institutions and more general structures, and allow geographers to abstract from concrete events towards the more complex systems in which they are situated (Lawson and Staeheli,1990, p. 18).

In summary, realists view the multidimensional nature of the social world as open and not as a fully integrated closed system. Through the use of abstractions they build theories to explain the social world in space and time. These facets of the realist perspective are directly implicated in the conceptualization of this study. It was necessary to use a realist approach to:

a. Focus on relationships.

[11]Lawson and Staeheli are critical of this account 'which almost depicts localities as objects to which structures are applied (1990, p.17).'

b. Use abstractions operating at several levels to build theories that provide explanations of the social world operating in place at different levels for particular points in time.

c. Combine different methodologies for different stages which might demand both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

Ultimately, what this study does, in keeping with the objectives of realist research, is first, to identify relationships and processes and then, to understand their operation in context at a specific time in the history of Harare, Zimbabwe.

Significance and Contributions of the Study

The main focus of this study, the social production of the built environment, has both theoretical and practical significance. While the need to study Third World cities in a global context has been established, only a handful of studies exist. Although this study has adopted a global perspective and will add to this stock of work, its major contribution lies in the way that the theoretical terrain has been conceptualized. The conceptual framework that this study employs suggests a means of using certain concepts, and ordering and evaluating particular sets of empirical material. For the first time, the Third World city will be empirically examined using a conceptual framework that employs structure and agency, the socio-spatial dialectic, and the built environment within a global perspective. By proposing that Third World cities be studied utilizing concepts that examine the relationship among space, time, and society, this study provides an understanding of Third World cities that will contribute to the current World Systems debate on socio-spatial relationships at the local, regional and global levels.

In order to be able to make this contribution the study was conceptualized at a number of levels. First, by tracing the historical roots of the culture of capitalism this study suggests that southern Africa shares certain similarities that structure an understanding of urbanization in the region. Secondly, by "unpacking" the urban landscape of Harare, Zimbabwe to establish a typology of ensembles through successive stages of the country's political economy these larger structural forces are "grounded" and made more accessible to investigation. Finally, by investigating the "structures of building provision" for a specific built type, the townhouse, historical and contemporary practices are merged to provide an understanding of specific social relationships of the current epochal period. The linkages that these groups share suggest socio-spatial processes that have local impacts but are also affected by global influences. These levels and linkages, it is suggested, meet the conditions set by Ruediger Korff that analyzing world systems should "start with the city and its role within the region (or regions)" (Korff, 1987, p. 491). Thus by exploring the processes that shape Third World cities at the regional and local levels, this study makes a significant contribution in coming to a better understanding of what they actually are and how they function in space and time.

In the past, the deterministic relation between context and agency has driven studies of Third World cities much to the detriment of our understanding of them. By examining people and the way they pursue their goals in the development process and the organization of socio-political, and economic activity which frames their activity, this study suggests that the interrelationship between structure and ageny is a much more fruitful approach to Third World cities. By "peopling" Third World cities with actors who frequently have to make choices under difficult and trying conditions, a much more sensitive approach for the study of the Third World city is being suggested. Finally, the implications in practical

methodological terms for the use of a variety of research methods and data sources, suggest that there are ample opportunities to penetrate conditions that are frequently seen as "data and document fortresses". Investigative research methods have to be frequently employed. This study has suggested that quantitative and qualitative techniques can provide such opportunities.

Study Limitations

This study was exploratory. It could hardly be otherwise. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the Third World is a diverse and difficult place. There are a multitude of Third World cities, some large and complex, others small and simple. There are simply too many variations in that group. The City of Harare is not by any stretch of the imagination an ideal type of peripheral city. Its choice was based on both reason and expediency. It is the Third World city that the researcher knows most intimately and had access to. Yet it also has the advantage of being a "clear cut case" of a Third World city[12]. Second, in the absence of what can be referred to as "standard data" there are instances where the researcher's subjective assessment was employed. Third, empirical work of the type carried out in this study has not generally been conducted under the Third World conditions. Even where similar work has been carried out in the Western context substantial difficulties have attended such efforts. The effort of organizing and conducting the research was therefore made more difficult by contextual conditions which should not be underestimated. Fourth and finally, the interviews were conducted with individuals who were willing to participate. Not all prospective interviewees were willing to be

[12]In his assessment of paradigm cases Willard (1983) makes a distinction between 1). synthetic a priori idea where all instances are species of some genus, 2). the ideal types and 3). the clear cut case. The clear cut case might mean a). the simplest case, b). the statistically average case, or c). the numerically most common case. It is with regard to b) and c) that Harare succeeds as a case in the southern African region.

interviewed. Although reliable, those interviewed represent a small proportion of the industry that has yet to be investigated. Despite these limitations, the researcher strongly believes that, not only are the results reported here valid but that they are sufficiently insightful for further research to be conducted in the area.

Conclusion

The examination of urbanization in general and in Third World cities in particular reveals that an opportunity exists to begin to explore cities using the concept of the built environment and world systems theory. In order to pursue this line of enquiry it is crucial that a more flexible philosophical perspective that offers a more accurate picture of the nature of the social realm in the Third World for structuring the debate about space, time, and society be utilized. The manner in which this debate is structured is the subject of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Introduction

Attempts at understanding Third World cities have historically been beset by a number of problems. They include the diverse character of Third World cities, their varied cultural backgrounds, and not least of all, the practical difficulty of researching them. Confounding understanding even further are the seemingly intractable day-to-day problems that face these cities. Attempts to solve or ameliorate the effects of these daily problems has not been informed by appropriate theoretical frameworks. Theory has taken a back seat.

Theorizing about the Third World city is, however, beset by its own set of problems. Generally, situating research in a theoretical and methodological matrix is a relatively straightforward exercise. The practice of situating empirical research from the periphery into the theoretical and methodological molds of the core is a much more delicate and difficult matter. Charges of inappropriateness have frequently been levelled at "imported"

constructs and methods. For example, with reference to African urban studies Okpala has remarked that:

> concepts and theories employed in today's African urban studies have often been transfers from Western urbanization studies which have embodied transfers of cultural values. These have generally been applied without paying much attention either to indigenous socio-cultural value systems, nor to analyzing and interpreting the relevance of Africa's point in the urban evolutionary continuum (Okpala, 1987, p. 137).

Similarly, Davies (1988) in his examination of regional theories and their applicability to the Third World concluded sardonically that, "although incursions from the North of stout academics bearing slim models continue, they still do not travel well".

Over the past two decades, however, a number of factors have reduced the potential risk of such charges. These include the development of theoretical constructs that are grounded in the Third World, the growth of an inclusive globalist perspective, a realist conceptualization of theory, and an expanded range of methodologies. It will be argued that taken together, these developments have the potential to contribute positively to a more thorough understanding of Third World urbanism.

In the light of these observations this chapter will make four suggestions. The first is a theoretical framework that outlines the manner in which a number of carefully selected theories and concepts can be structured to enable them to be utilized in the study of Third World urbanization. The second is a conceptual framework that will permit the empirical investigation of Third World cities. The third suggestion is that the "built environment" be operationalized in the context of the Third World cities. The fouth is a sufficiently robust methodology that will facilitate empirical investigation of Third World built environments in the face of the traditional difficulties that face researchers in those environments.

The theoretical constructs employed in this study have been utilized in a way that planners often use theory. Planning theorists generally make a distinction between two types of theory; "theories of planning" or context setting theories and "theories in planning" or substantive theories (Faludi,1973)[1] Contextual theories provide conceptual schemes within which substantive theories can begin to explain a limited area of human behavior. This study proposes to sandwich between the macro (contextual) and micro (substantive) a third meso (operational) level which provides a basis for transcending the macro-micro distinction[2]. Every effort has been made to hold to these categories, despite the nature of the subject under consideration, which makes it difficult to maintain this position.

The **substantive** theories applicable to the Study of Landscapes are discussed first. These consist of three topical areas, viz., Images, Signs, and Symbols, Geographical Landscapes, and Cultural Landscapes. The purpose of this discussion is, on the one hand, to critically layout ideas about the built environment as they pertain to the literature in general and place these ideas within the framework of broader theoretical controversies. On the other hand, because the discussion has a cumulative focus, the purpose is not to end with summary evaluations but to open other doors. The transfer of theories from the First to the Third World, if they are to succeed at explaining anything at all, requires an appropriate conceptual bridge. This bridge is constructed with the aid of meso-level **operational** theories associated with action, practice, praxis, interaction and the "socio-spatial dialectic". The reception of theories from the core in the periphery requires an understanding of the Third World that specific **contextual** theories provide. This macro conceptual scheme was created using World Systems Theory, the New International

[1]This is similar to Merton's definition of a middle range theory in sociology. Another way it could be described as, is the distinction between broad theory and miniature theory (Merton, 1957)

[2]For a discussion on the meso domain see Hall (1987). In geography see Cadwallader (1988) for the inclusion of a meso level in urban geography.

Division of Labor (NIDL), World Cities, and State and Class in Africa. (Figure 1) Bearing these observations in mind an assessment of the substantive theories associated with built environments will now be be made.

SUBSTANTIVE THEORIES

The Study of Landscapes

This segment will examine the literature in three areas; a). images, signs, and symbols, b). geographical landscapes, and c). cultural landscapes. It will be argued, on the one hand that, although the perspectives in the first two areas offer either individualistic or structural points of view, and can be criticisized accordingly, they do nevertheless provide important insights into the concept of a landscape and therefore need not be discarded entirely. On the other hand, this raises the problem of how these insights can be utilized. It will be suggested that the use of a cultural approach to the study of landscapes is more likely to generate explanations of social phenomena because it emphasizes the recursive relationship between the individuals, objects, events, and society. Social structure and human agency are combined in a way that structure is not only a barrier to action, but is actively utilized and produced by that action. Thus social structure is both created by human action while simultaneously being the medium of that action.

The notion that landscapes "reveal something of human intention or meaning, as having a biographical quality, as being a record of human actions both intentional and unintentional" (Cresswell, 1990, p. 5) has a shared disciplinary evolution. The multiple meanings of verbal, visual and built landscapes have been examined by a variety of disciplines, which

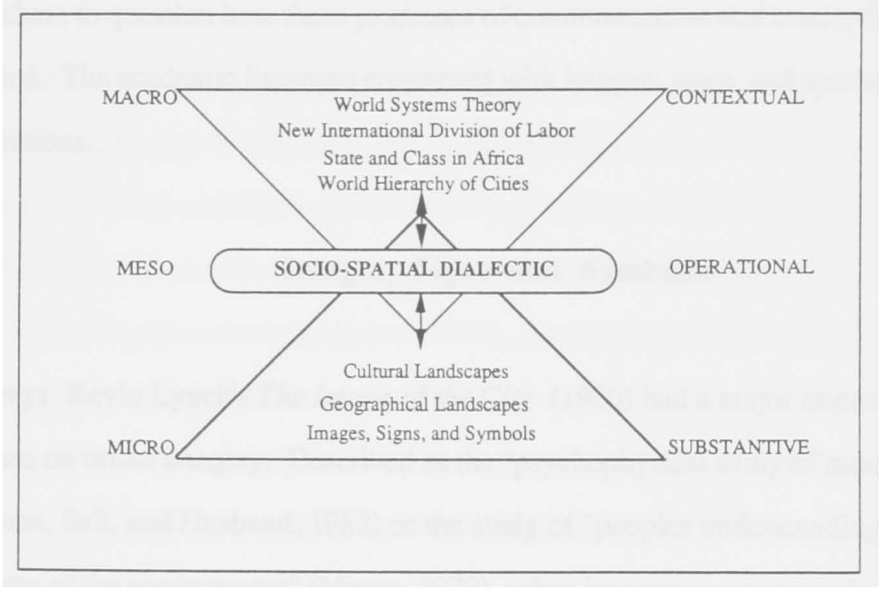

Figure 1
Theoretical framework for the examination of Third World urbanization

have tackled the problem of describing and explaining their meanings using different methods (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988). An historical account of these disciplinary approaches will be examined since they provide foundational material on which landscape studies in geography have been built.

The observation that landscapes have languages and multiple levels of meaning have led researchers to question how these processes of communication and inscription are achieved. The academic literature concerned with images, signs, and symbols offer some explanations.

Images, Signs and Symbols:

Imagery: Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960) had a major impact on the literature on urban imagery. Described as the "psychophysical study of mental maps" (Saarinen, Sell, and Husband, 1982) or the study of "peoples understanding of the geometry of the environment" (Moore, 1979), urban imagery is concerned with the correspondence between the city's geographic space consisting of buildings, streets etc., and their representations that people carry in their heads. Triggered in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the belief that the study of cognitive mapping could provide one of the bases for an understanding of urban spatial behavior and the nature of the city itself, environmental psychologists, behavioral geographers, and researchers in the urban design professions have sought to answer three basic questions; namely, what images of the urban environment people carry about in their heads, the way they form these images, and in what manner these images are used. Garling, Book, and Lindberg (1984) have argued for example, that a cognitive map is a mental representation of our milieu and is composed of

three interrelated elements; places, spatial relations between spaces, and travel plans, that we use in order to get around.

Other researchers have identified a number of ways images of the city are created in the minds of individuals. Meinig (1979) for example, has highlighted the role of the media and cinema in creating certain idealized landscape types such as "main street middle America". Other ways by which city images are fixed in the minds of individuals include, interesting geographical areas (Karan and Bladen, 1982), frequency of visits, and familiarity with an area (Garling, Book, and Ergezen, 1982), although this last conclusion has been questioned (McGill and Korn, 1982). Finally, concern with the acquisition of cognitive maps has been linked with age, although very young children also have the ability to represent their environment (Matthews, 1984), that paths are learned before landmarks (Lindberg and Garling, 1983) and that familiarity with these elements combine to produce more spatially integrated maps of the city (Appleyard, 1979). However, these notable results have not assured its protection from critical attack.

A number of criticisms have been levelled at cognitive mapping from those, on the one hand, who feel that the tradition has the capacity of understanding the human use of the environment but has not yet reached maturity (Rushton, 1984; Golledge and Couclelis, 1984), to those on the other hand, who claim that the whole basis of the behavioral approach is flawed (Pipkin, 1983; Greenberg, 1984). This latter claim is partly based upon the behaviorists "excessively narrow emphasis upon the consciousness of individuals" (Greenberg, 1984. p. 191). In the words of Duncan, "the model of man that is used in this work is still the highly atomistic, generic individual with virtually no reference made to sociocultural context" (Duncan, 1987a, p. 269). The failure to incorporate such contexts

into their models has meant that although cognitive mapping has potential to explain how we think, its failure lies largely in its inability to tell us very much of what is important or interesting either about social life or about the city itself.

Signs: Another approach that has been utilized in understanding urban landscapes has been semiotics or semiology. Anchored in structural-functionalism and especially the work of Claude Levi-Strauss (1958) semiotics provides the "conceptual means of examining the exchange of messages, the systems of signing or coding that anchor them and the nature of the social relations that frame the production, exchange, and interpretation of their meaning" (cited in Luke, 1989, p.9). This is based on a semiotic view of society as a system of signs, in which all social action and artifacts must be studied, not in isolation, but as part of a system of meaning governed by codes (Foote, 1983). The built environment is essentially likened to a language. Interpreting the environment in terms of the physical sign (signifier) and an underlying concept (signified) the field is based on the assumption that there exists innate conventions through which human artifacts convey meaning (Broadbent, 1980)[3]. In his analysis of semiotics Duncan (1987b) has divided urban semiotics into three different types. The first is that concerned with the pure spatial grammar of urban form. The second is psycho-semiotics and the third is socio-semiotics (symbols). Each will be dealt with in turn.

Those semioticians in search of a pure grammar of urban space focus either on the denotative level of urban signifiers (physical signs) or the connotative level which explores the relationship between social values and semiological codes. The former argue that the city as text can be decoded once its grammar has been established and since urban space is

[3]Gutman (1972) detailed three levels of symbolic meaning in the literature on architectural symbolism; syntactical, semantic and pragmatic.

perceived through culturally differentiated spatial languages it can be studied in isolation from social factors. The character of this grammar is expressed in different ways by different writers. For example, Greimas (1986) sees social action as a kind of narrative with peoples' roles as the elements of a grammar. He thus separates and abstracts social action from the context (Duncan, 1987b, p. 475). On the other hand, Boudon (1986) believes in a hidden generative grammar which underlies urban spatial structures and from which it is constituted. Finally, Lagopoulos (1986) claims that the creation of "non-western" settlements can be transformed into a mathematical formula.

Psychosemiotics is an attempt to see the city as having psychological rather than social meaning. This idea, which flowed from the work of Roland Barthes (1986, orig 1971), and acknowledges the seminal work of Kevin Lynch is, however, critical that Lynch is insufficiently structural (Barthes, 1986, p. 90). Barthes assumed a radical break between material signifiers and their signifieds. He argues that semiotics should identify urban textual signs composed of signifiers and their signifieds, but maintained that the transitory nature of the signifieds and their linkages to the signifiers, meant they could not form the foundation of signification. In the absence of a one to one relationship between signifiers and signified, he concluded that the city is open to multiple interpretations or readings. Duncan, who is critical of this type of work, argues that Lynch's contribution, and most of the cognitive mapping literature that it generated, ignores the connotative level and are too individualistic in their orientation (Duncan, 1987b, p. 476).

Symbols: As a corrective, some writers have related semiotic processes with the social context. By focussing on the connotative rather than the purely denotative level, socio-semiotics has highlighted the symbolic role of buildings in the interrelationship between

society and the urban environment. This attempt to link systems of signification with their social contexts has been achieved in a variety of ways. The sociological and historical work of Choay (1986a;,1986b), suggests for example, that while pre-industrial cities had a pure semantic clarity in which space was highly symbolic or "hypersignificant", the modern city is poor in its symbolic mesh with culture and is "hyposignificant". She argues that since the industrial revolution, cities have become "resemanticized" by secondary signs such as advertising and traffic signs and unlike Lynch, claims that legibility in todays western cities stem largely from these signs (Choay, 1986, p. 167).

Other writers see signification as inseparable from ideology and argue that the built environment is the product of both semiotic and nonsemiotic processes (Gottdeiner and Lagopoulos, 1986). Since semiotic practices are rooted in material practices they maintain that production and cognition is socially rooted in the mode of production. Lagopoulos (1986), building on this idea has suggested that various historical periods produce distinctive codes for the production and cognition of space but only at the abstract level. In examining the semiology of shopping malls Gottdeiner (1986) argues that empirical work is necessary and draws a link between the design motif of the mall (the signifier) and the underlying connotative (ideological) purpose which is to promote consumption and spending.

In conclusion, we have observed that semiotics was initially criticized for its idealism[4] and "fetishism of design", i.e. for the mechanical way it has abstracted symbols from their social and historical context because of the way it conceptualized signifying systems as

[4]One of the central tenets of idealism is that all reality is in some way a mental construction so that the world does not exist outside its representation and observation by man. This subjective, individualistic view of knowledge is posed against positivist claims for objective evidence and generalizability. This leads to the spatial separatist theme as a mentally created world is imposed on an external nature.

autonomous, separate from individuals (Dickens, 1980). Duncan (1987b) finds this hardly surprisingly, for it was initially concerned with sign systems and not societies. It has tended, however, to move away from this determinism. This has been achieved by either appealing to culture (Barthes, 1974) or by wedding itself to either structural Marxism (Gottdeiner and Lagopoulos, 1986) or the same type of psychological tests employed by behavioral geographers (Pipkin, 1983). In his review of the work of semiologists Duncan came to the conclusion that "both semiotics and structural Marxism were unable to provide new insights" (Duncan, 1987, p. 480). These attempts have failed to rescue semiotics although some of their empirical work has produced fresh insights that have been valuable quite apart from their semiological superstructure. This failure, according to James Duncan, has been due to the fact that both "semiotics and structural Marxism are abstract, hostile to empiricism and holistic to the point that human agency tends to disappear altogether, while behavioral geography is concrete, empirical and highly individual" (Duncan, 1987, p. 480). Its failure to confront the real world has been at the root of its problems.

Can anything be learned from semiotics? Duncan (1987b) suggests that if the focus were shifted to empirical studies of historical signification systems with a concern for the actual symbolic content of urban space some interesting work may result. Some of this work already exists. Schroeter (1978) for example, has detailed the way in which public architecture was consciously used to promote the ideology of a newly industrializing Italian state. Ideology is not the only signified that has received attention. Power, destiny, and strength have all been symbolized in the built environment in a variety of ways. From the ceremonial architecture of the Third Reich (Gloag, 1979), to the official Futurist style of fascist Italy under Mussolini (Millon, 1978).

While continued work in these areas would be interesting in that they have the potential to reveal the legitimation of social and political relations, Knox (1984, p. 110) reminds us, that it is not only the "larger-than-life" examples which range from powerful, governments, different factions of capital (commercial, industrial, international, small businesses, etc.), or special interest groups whose "meaning" permeates the modern city but the "various architectural ecologies" of which it is comprised. Understanding these "little details" are just as important as the larger ones. Even if the details were taken care of, major remaining problems would be to bring the "little and big" together, while simultaneously providing diachronic explanations. Compounding this process, however, is Eco's contention that signs have nonlinguistic functions as well and are more complex and difficult to interpret (Eco, 1972, cited in Lawrence and Low, 1990, p. 471).

What is clear from this examination of images, signs, and symbols is that the built environment is heavily endowed with social meaning, but as Knox (1984, p. 112) reminds us it is "rarely simple, straightforward, or unidimensional". If the semiotic goal of decoding could be retained to "read" urban textual landscapes, then some progress at understanding urban landscapes can be made. How this should be theoretically structured is suggested later in this chapter. Before that discussion can take place, however, it is important that the sense that because urban landscapes have traditionally been the bailiwick of geographers their views will be considered next.

Geographical Landscapes

The sense geographers have made of the urban landscape fall into three categories for the purposes of this review. The first one consists of the continuation and refinement of the

traditional morphological perspective in the work of Jones (1958), M.R.G. Conzen (1960), Smailes (1966), Johnston (1969), and the later "Birmingham School" led by Whitehand (1972, 1974). Second, the origins of a more phenomenological approach can be traced in the pioneering work of Tuan (1961), and Lowenthal and Prince (1964). Third, the consideration of the Marxist debate about the built environment and the social production of space (Harvey, 1973, 1977; Storper and Walker, 1983, 1984; Gordon 1977, 1984).

Morphological Studies: Traditionally, urban morphological studies have been concerned with historical developments of variations in style, layout and function of buildings within urban areas. In the 1960s interest in this approach waned as geographers concerned themselves with quantification. Largely descriptive in nature, morphological studies lacked the necessary theoretical, conceptual and methodological orientation (Garrison, 1962, cited in R. J. Johnson, 1969). Their failure has in part not only been attributed to the difficulty of establishing the timing of past economic booms but also because "simple age categorizations tend to obscure important deviations from the dominant morphological expression of a particular period" (Knox, 1987a, p.100). The need for a more analytical approach to urban morphology was met by a number of geographers.

Studies that have included aspects of style, function and layout as explicit criteria in identifying morphological regions have been more successful. Emrys Jones (Jones, 1958, p. 154), using age, function, and style identified five types of townscapes in addition to the CBD in Belfast. Arthur Smailes (1966), arguing for rigorous fieldwork and for generalizations about townscape patterns identified the distinctiveness of urban cores, the impact of successive phases of residential developments which were subject to the

influence of different social, economic, and cultural forces while allowing for processes of change within the city. He suggested that town development was a twin process of outward extension (accretions) and internal reorganization (replacements). "At any one time, many of the existing structures are obsolescent and in their deterioration are subject to functional changes; they are converted for new uses" (Smailes, 1966, quoted in Knox 1987a, p. 100). Not ascribing much value to spatial symmetry of townscapes he attributed factors such as site, situation, transportation, commercial, industrial development and relict historical uses with a greater potential of resisting market forces and thereby impairing the symmetrical pattern that might emerge.

Other writers have also contributed to the study of inter-urban variations in the built environment. Beginning with his work on Whitby in Yorkshire, and especially with the study of Alnwick in Northumberland, M.R.G. Conzen (1958, 1960) contributed to an understanding the process of townscape development. By using town plan analysis, he was able to divide the townscape into the three component elements of town plan (layout), building forms (style), and land use (function) and to propose "an evolutionary approach, tracing existing forms back to the underlying formative processes and interpreting them accordingly" (Conzen, 1960, p. 7). Whitehand (1981) summarizes the rationale underlying this method of analysis:

> The 'retrogressive' method of working back from present-day forms is rejected quite simply because a proper understanding of processes cannot be attained from the analysis of relics, even in the case of the town plan, which produces a more complete collection of residual features than the building fabric or the land-use pattern: those parts of the townscape that have been removed are as important to a theory of townscape developments as those that have survived. Thus the morphographic approach of classifying present-day survivals is rejected, although for the urban archaeologist these may be all that is available. Instead evolutionary patterns are assembled by utilizing such sources as rentals, building plans submitted in connection with applications to build, and large-scale printed and manuscript plans for past periods, in association with detailed plot-by-plot and building-by-building field surveys that include the recording of detailed

topographical information on large-scale Ordinance Survey plans (Whitehand ,1981, p. 13).[5]

This method enabled M.R.G. Conzen to introduce a number of important concepts to the study of urban morphology. By identifying structural features (either physical or man-made) which act as physical barriers to construction, he established *fixation lines* which govern the pattern of urban development. Using this concept he explained the creation of fringe belts in which development is more varied and piecemeal in character. With continuing urban growth, he showed that fringe belts are either preserved or translated into different townscape elements as successive land uses invade the area (Conzen 1960).

This work spurred on other developments in morphological research. Whitehand (1974) for example, pursued and developed Conzen's work on fringebelts and was able to show how institutional land-uses within fringe belts are dominant until economic boom periods when housebuilders outbid institutional users for land. M.P. Conzen (1980, 1990) on the other hand, investigating the cadastral pattern or layout of landholdings of American cities established that it was the nature and pace of urban growth that conditioned morphological development through *accretion* (the addition of new plats of land to the built-up zones of urban areas), *repletion* (the filling up of space which is a key process in the urban fringe diminution), and *replacement* (which takes one of two processes; the substitution of buildings within existing lots or the redevelopment of parcels of land accumulated from two or more previous lots). In response to these changes which often occur simultaneously, changes in transport technology and social and economic development lead also to the streamlining of the system of streets. Associated with these developments was the practice of closed platting (in which streets, blocks, and lots were demarcated) as opposed to open platting (street blocks were left unsubdivided or streets were absent), where there was "no

[5]The reason for quoting so extensively is that it has ramifications in the methods section of this chapter.

question that some cadastral practices favoured an upper-class clientele and others a lower order" (Conzen, 1990, p. 162).

Although M.P. Conzen (1990) examined building development, he restricted his comments to the process of *densification* (initially achieved by increased coverage rather than an increase in building height) in the context of repletion, it was Johnston (1969) who showed how the the diffusion of architectural styles results in distinct morphological regions. Working with data from Melbourne he tested a model of townscape development which reflects the significance of a given building style within each of the twelve areal subdivisions of the city. Utilizing 114 different building characteristics, he accounted for the introduction and diffusion of these townscape elements from one morphological zone (high, intermediate, or low socio-economic status combined with center or peripheral areas of the city) to another using either a *stepped* or *reverse stepped* model. The built environment is much more complex than this, however, and Johnston was the first to acknowledge this. When he classified architectural styles according to building materials, the general pattern of L-shaped houses exhibiting the characteristics of the stepped model, displays some crucial variations. L-shaped houses in weatherboard and corrugated iron are mainly found in the outer zones of the low-status sector while those L-shaped houses in weatherboard and tile characterize all sectors of the outer zones indicating a general middle-class usage. Johnson hinted at much more complex social phenomena which undergird the morphological character of the urban environment.

In their attempts to explain the urban environment, it is this social complexity and its links with the physical environment that researchers are constantly confronted with. While morphological studies made a sizable contribution to the literature on the urban environment

their failure lay primarily in their inability to expose these linkages and address some of the more social, political and economic variables associated with them. This led researchers to seek other explanations of the urban environment.

Phenomenology: As a theoretical alternative to the morphological perspective geographers turned to a phenomenological approach. In examining the interpenetration of existence, objects, and events, phenomenologists (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976) reject positivism, objectivity, and the whole quantitative-statistical package. They emphasize the experience of individuals (subjectivity) and groups (intersubjectivity), and highlight values, intentionality, authenticity, and responsibility by focussing on life as lived in the individual's lived-world. The assumption underlying their position is that the "subjective reformulation of the external world is characteristically human, a product of the autonomous mind. Shared images and experience of place and landscape result from life in society" (Cosgrove, 1978, p. 68). Thus Relph (1976) emphasizes the importance of place (meaningful space) over space (amorphous, contextual), in which the autonomous mind freely interprets the world of experience in places. Space, with its objective attributes can thus be translated into an identifiable and meaningful place because of human intention towards it. In order to achieve this, he argues, we must be "inside" a place to fully grasp its meaning. This involves behavioral, empathetic, and existential insideness. These states of insideness can be contrasted to various forms of outsideness and a dialectical relationship exists between the two experiences (Relph, 1976, p. 56).

These humanistic approaches of understanding landscapes have come under criticism from a number of quarters. While some writers concur that phenomenological methods provide considerable insight in the meanings that landscapes have for us, especially as individuals,

their assumptions are too idealistic for the collective experience. For example Cosgrove argues that abstracting "minds", "souls", "spirits", "ideas", and "intentions" as independent entities, implicit in phenomenological writing is false for "'it neither accords with our experience in the world, nor allows us the possibility of understanding the reason of things" (Cosgrove, 1978, p. 70).

Denis Cosgrove attributes the failure in geography to unite the valuable insights of place and landscape studies as they relate to human consciousness, with the idealism in phenomenology and the structuralist Marxian perspective (Cosgrove, 1978, p. 70). The nature of the Marxist debate is, however, structured in somewhat of a different form and will be discussed next.

Structural Marxism: The idea of place in Marxian structuralism, came ultimately to be superceded by the concept of the built environment. It was first introduced in the study of the city, where the fundamental aim of Marxian analysis has been to account for the "urban problematic", i.e. to explain the features of uneven spatial development and the social crises associated with it (Castells, 1977).

While Marxists agree that both the accumulation process (Harvey, 1973, 1977; Scott, 1980), and class conflict (Gordon, 1977, 1984: Storper and Walker, 1983, 1984) are central to capitalism, the built environment within capitalism is seen to assume distinctly different roles by Marxists emphasizing either the accumulation process or class conflict. Thus for example, the former explain the process of city development or urbanization as the spatial manifestation of the accumulation process. The built environment is seen as part of the superstructure of the capitalist mode of production which is regarded as being more

determined by the economic substructure than vice versa. For Harvey (1977) for example, the essence of urban analysis is the production of the built environment which involves the dynamics of capital investment. Confronted with the problem of overaccumulation, capital temporarily finds a solution by switching into the secondary or tertiary circuits. Any flow into the secondary circuit would involve the production of the built environment. Thus structural Marxists have pursued structural explanations in which social events are unrelated to the conscious actions of the individuals who participate in them and built environments are the products of a capitalistic logic working inexorably to maximize profits.

By contrast, class conflict theorists argue that urban form can be explained as a product of the class struggle. In explaining the development of cities of the "sunbelt", Gordon (1977) provides a historical account of capitalism and city form in North America. Arguing against both spatial and technological determinism he roots his analysis in capitalist class relations and class struggles. He traces the development of capitalism through the three stages of commercial, industrial and monopoly capital and with each stage he associates a unique city form; commercial city, industrial city and the corporate city of today. The transition from one stage to another he explains in terms of capital in general attempting to control the labor force from unrest and collective action in the production process (Gordon, 1977, p. 68).

Gordon's thesis has been criticized on a number of grounds. While all these criticisms need not be detailed here, Gottdeiner's charge that, "absent from this approach is a specific Marxian model that demonstrates in *detail the specific ways* in which the capitalist process of accumulation, production, and reproduction dictate a decision-making procedure which

creates material changes in the urban form" (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 76, emphasis added), should be noted. The severity of this criticism can be judged by the fact that Gottdeiner emphasizes that this shortcoming is the major issue facing Marxian urban analysis, i.e. the procedure by which we can specify the relationship between social and spatial structure. His call is not for the abandonment of Marxist analysis, but for greater rigor in the face of what is pertinently a complex situation (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 77).

Storper and Walker's (1983, 1984) studies of labor attempt to be more detailed in their analysis of urban phenomena. While recognizing industries' greater capacity to locate in a greater variety of places they emphasize the importance of factors affecting changes in the supply of labor and those affecting demand. Labor specific factors, they argue, vary from place to place. Thus industrial location decisions must take labor's geographical specificity into account even if other locational factors have become less important. As Storper and Walker note, "in sum, location and relocation are essential means in shaping and changing the employment relation in a continuing effort by management to remain competitive and contain the class struggle in the workplace. Mobility in space is not a luxury for capital, but a necessity" (Storper and Walker, 1984, p. 41). Storper and Walker have been criticized on a number of counts but Gottdeiner's (1985, p. 86) claim that the inadequacy of their perspective is most apparent when set in a global context which "takes into account the political and cultural as well as the economic contradictions of the Late Capitalist process of global accumulation and labor sourcing in determining the changing locational needs of industry", is perhaps the most serious. Seen to be too causally constrained, his call is for a more dialectical approach in which not only capital but labor has been made "more mobile by contemporary social relations" (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 84).

Criticized for their adherence to the more conventional causal explanations of a positivist science, both Gordon's explanation of the decentralization of industry (1977, 1984) and Storper and Walker's (1983, 1984) labor theory of location, have nevertheless been recognized as making important contributions to the analysis of space (Gottdeiner, 1985).

Allen J. Scott's (1980) analysis of the "urban land nexus" utilizing essentially a neoricardian perspective within the Marxist tradition provides, "a much more detailed approach to the built environment", than has been provided by Marxian analyses of production (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 101). First, he emphasizes the contradictory nature of the value of urban land, between its private appropriation and control by the state. Secondly, the consequence of the first feature is that land development under capitalism is uncoordinated. Following from this he argues that "the urban land development process under capitalism is anarchical, and leads persistently to outcomes that are neither intended nor socially decided" (Scott, 1980, p. 137). These contradictions are contained in what he calls "the urban land nexus" which is internal to the land development process itself. This view is then, contrary to the assumptions made by Harvey and other Marxists that intervention in space by capitalists is always productive and logical, even when it chooses new locations on the basis of available labor (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 102).

Although Marxian political economy provides some valuable spatial insights the criticisms that it has attracted can be summed up by their economism, their "penchant for concentrating on ever more detailed economic descriptions of society" (Gottdeiner, 1985, p. 108). This is not, however, the only flaw in this type of work. Most of this work explicitly "rejects the relevance of individual behavior and human personality, thus denying any significant reciprocal or recursive relationships between individuals, the built

environment and society" (Knox, 1984, p. 109). In other words, while these works emphasize macro-level relationships between social and spatial structure, relatively little consideration is given to actors. Once a function is theoretically deduced, no further examination is deemed to be necessary (Ball 1986).

At this point it would not be inappropriate to ask where this literature review is leading to? A summary of Images, Signs, and Symbols and Geographical Landscapes underlines the recurrence of certain themes. First, the debates in these topical areas fall into two main camps. These are the structural or deterministic (Marxian structuralist and structural functionalist) and the subjective or voluntaristic (behavioral and phenomenological) camps. Whatever names are given to these categories it is either "structures" or "individuals" that are used to try explain what is going on in the world. Their failure to explain the world lies in the fact that while the former has no agent, the latter has no system. Both types of explanations are therefore never complete. Secondly, what appears clear also is that each of these approaches does explain some component of reality. What is equally certain is that structural or individualistic explanations do not act independently of each other. Social forces or structures occasionally determine the actions of individuals. Individuals in turn, however, are not always constrained by prevailing social structures and do act "independently" of them. An understanding of society therefore cannot be gained without reference to subjective meaning nor can we understand society without reference to larger structural forces. What is required then is to unite these individualistic and structural perspectives into a more comprehensive whole. How this unity between structure and agency can be successfully constructed has been suggested by writers who advocate the application of a cultural corrective.

Cultural landscapes

In order to synthesize structure and agency and simultaneously draw on the conventional wisdom that they offer, a number of writers have suggested that geographers must go beyond the sign as the focus of study, take a post-structuralist position on signification, and address,the semiotic, economic, ideological, political, social, and spatial processes and properties of the sign systems and social codes collectively comprising the cultural system (Cosgrove, 1984; Ley, 1988) In other words, researchers must examine the relationship between the "everyday", "history", and the "environment", and study the urbanscape "holistically". They have suggested a way of doing this.

Despite troubled definitions and an "extraordinary disagreement over what is actually inside the cultural system itself" (Alexander, 1990, p. 25), cultural geographers have begun to explore the "inner workings of culture" (Wagner and Mikesell, 1962), . Using the self-reflexive disciplines of philosophy and literary theory (Foucault, 1974), recent developments in cultural studies have come to share the idea of the contested nature and relative autonomy of culture. For example, Raymond Williams (1982) sees culture as a "signifying system which is present within all other social systems and which manifests all other systems within itself" (Williams, 1982, p. 12, cited in Duncan, 1990). Duncan emphasizes this systematic quality of culture (as a structured system of signs) and its processual quality. For him culture is "temporal, dynamic, contested, and reaffirmed" (Duncan, 1990, p. 15). This dynamic perspective of culture stands in contrast to the static view of culture which "takes it as given, as pre-existing the particular encounter in which it comes to play" (Becker, 1986, p. 17). People, either in groups or individually are seen to animate and sustain culture as an ongoing accomplishment.

The landscape has recently come to be recognized as one arena in which the cultural dynamic is enacted on a moment by moment basis. The particular definition of landscape as a "cultural image, a pictoral way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings" (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988, P. 1), has its roots in the historical study of symbolic imagery or iconography. A discussion of some of the issues surrounding iconography will follow.

Iconography's original intent was to consciously seek to, "conceptualize pictures as encoded texts to be deciphered by those cognizant of the culture as a whole in which they were produced" (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988, p. 2). In other words they tried to read paintings in the way that these were originally understood.

Art history thus provided the initial impetus for the notion of "reading" images as texts (Cresswell, 1990, p. 5). For example Erwin Panofsky (1970), understood the world to be structured by specific cultural demands, which triggered changing modes of perceiving and representing space. Panofsky thus came to understand how paintings influence what we see. This led him to begin "*reading* what we see" in paintings. He applied this perspective to built forms. Thus while acknowledging gothic cathedrals as buildings he found it "fertile to regard gothic architecture as *text*, not just as a 'way of seeing - or rather designing', but as a mode of literary representation', a treatise in stone, an architectural scholasticism" (Panofsky, 1970, cited in Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988, p. 3). An act of writing, of composition. By suggesting that society can weave meaning of its world out of images and signs Panofsky introduced a dynamic component to the symbolic imagery of landscapes. In this respect, he found medieval society fundamentally not very different

from any other culture. All societies standardly read the general system of symbolic forms we call culture (Geertz, 1983, p. 108).

For those geographers whose interests lie in the meaning of landscapes, debates about culture present an opportunity to explore the physical and spatial material reality of the built environment and its role in the production and reproduction of society. Built environments are central to these discussions for a number of reasons. First, Mary Douglas has reminded us that "goods are the visible parts of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, p. 66). The built environment, as one component in the the vast array of goods that are produced is simply, one of the most highly visible cultural forms in any society. Access to its messages is therefore almost guaranteed if we can decipher their meanings. Second, the built environment as an "ordered assemblage of objects, a text " (Duncan, 1990, p. 17), operating as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored, is openly available to be "read" by members of the culture that helped "write" or "produce" it. Third, geographers are well placed because of their interest in landscapes to begin to understand the production and use of landscape in its role as a constitutive component of social processes of a cultural system. David Ley (1987) and several other geographers have built upon these initial conceptions.

The directions taken by existing empirical research which treats the urban landscape as a "text to be read" proceed in the following fashion. Domosh (1985) in her study of the landscape of elites pointed to the way that the development of early skyscrapers in New York (1875-1910) met the need for ostentation of a successful bourgeois class. Duncan's historical study of the Kandyan kingdom, answered questions of how kingly power is signified by the landscape, how communication is achieved between the landscape text and

reality, and the effectiveness of a signified landscape as "a concrete, visual vehicle of subtle and gradual inculcation" (Duncan, 1990). Ley "read" the contemporary landscapes of inner Vancouver upon which the rational and romantic ideologies of western culture have been imprinted (Ley, 1987).

Two important observations regarding these studies come immediately to mind. The first is that these studies have not examined the process of actually "writing the text", of inscribing meaning, of producing the built environment. In other words, they have not shown how inscription is physically produced and its links with the social realm. The second is that, historical and contemporary accounts are frequently treated separately.

Unlike these accounts, the aim of this study is to address these elements simultaneously, that is, to study "objects in the making, not ready made objects (Watts, forthcoming)", while at the same time acknowledging history's impact. In this way the past is fused with the present; acts of composition and interpretation are wedded together, in a union in which neither author nor reader has complete freedom to do as they please, although each may claim some flexibility. This is the promise of an interactional cultural approach which is the preferred perspective of this study.

Before this task can be accomplished, however, the question of whether the interactional cultural perspective can be successfully applied in the context of the Third World needs to be answered. Can we simply transfer and apply this perspective in the Third World? Instances of the mindless application of theories developed in the First World and applied to the developing world appear regularly in the literature. This form of naked theoretical aggression has drawn sharp criticism, as has been outlined earlier. In order to counter such

charges as well as meet the requirements of intellectual rigor two conditions have to be met. The first is the construction of a conceptual bridge that will allow the transfer of theories developed in the core to be utilized in the periphery. This bridge is constructed with the aid of operational theories. Once there, the second condition, evidence of a mutually supportive theoretical terrain which would complement the northern transplant, has to be fulfilled. The debate on the relationship between space and society offers an opportunity for the first condition for the need for operational theories to be met. This debate, specified under the "socio-spatial-dialectic", will be discussed next.

OPERATIONAL THEORIES

In the mid 1970s Marxists, in an attempt to break away from an "increasingly rigidifying orthodoxy" (Soja, 1980, p. 207), entered the debate on space and society. David Harvey (1973, p. 309) and Manuel Castells (1977, p. 437-71), introduced the concept of socially created space as a principle of geographic organization. Both authors drew upon the observations of the French Marxist Henri Lefebvre (1977). Lefebvre argued that the transformation of a modern society into a humanist society must take place through an "urban revolution" - a revolution of spatial design - as well as in the economic transformation outlined by other Marxists. Writing from a Marxist humanist perspective, Lefebvre reasoned that the organization of space is a social product, that is, it is socially produced and cannot be independent of the wider social framework. Space is neither a passive or scientific object removed from ideology or politics,

> If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be purely formal, the epitome or rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has already been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always

> evident in the landscape. Space has been shaped and molded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies (Lefebvre 1977, p. 341).

Edward Soja (1980), in his analysis of Lefebvre's work, defended the latter's position. Lefevbre, Soja contends, was thought by Marxists to be arguing that the organization of space in the context of urbanism was "a separate structure with its own laws of inner transformation and construction", and "separated from the structure of social relations and the production process that generates it" (Soja, 1980, p. 208). This position opened Lefebvre up to charges of "spatial fetishism". In fact, Soja argues, Lefebvre considered the organization of space as the expression of a set of relations embedded in some broader structure. The failure of Marxist analysts to understand this lay in their misunderstanding of the dialectic. In an attempt to correct this misinterpretation of Lefebvre's work, Soja introduced the concept of the "socio-spatial dialectic" (Soja, 1980).

The Socio-spatial Dialectic

Soja's conception of the "socio-spatial dialectic" is premised on a specific definition of space. Space, he contends, may be "primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience" (Soja, 1980, p. 210). He goes on, "it is necessary to begin by making as clear as possible the distinction between space per se, or *contextual space,* and socially based spatiality, the *created space* of social organization and production" (Soja, 1980, p. 209), and "the *mental space* of cognition and representation, each of which is used and incorporated into the social construction of spatiality but cannot be conceptualized as its equivalent" (Soja, 1980, p. 210). In other words socially created space is different from natural space because of human intervention. Furthermore he adds that, the spatial organization of society is a

constantly "*evolving* product of human action, a form of social construction arising within the physical frame of ubiquitous, contextual space but clearly distinguishable from it" (Soja, 1980, p. 210). Having defined spatiality and contextual space he introduces the concept of the "socio-spatial dialectic" in which social life, "must be seen as both space-forming and space contingent, a producer and a product of spatiality" (Soja, 1989).

Since all societies organize space in certain ways, it is assumed that Soja's observations are applicable to societies in general. To organize space societies must act and in so doing they shape and are in turn shaped by the world. Group and individual action is therefore central to spatiality. Actions are, however, not free of social and cultural direction. The nature of that cultural and social direction is important in establishing the actors impact on spatiality. What is central for the purposes of this study, however, is Soja's conclusion that the "socio-spatial dialectic" is a productive and appropriate focus for the concrete analysis of *capitalist* social formations.

Applied to *capitalist* formations the concept has a number of important ramifications. First, he reminds us that the social production of space under capitalism has "not been a smooth and automatic process in which social structure is stamped out, without resistance or constraint, onto the landscape" (Soja, 1989, p. 128). In other words, although capitalism may be the mode of production of a particular society, spatiality or socially created space is not an automatic process. What this suggests is that people shape forces for their own purposes and are necessarily involved in struggles as different groups pursue different ends. Second, he underscores the first point by arguing that the transformation of capitalism can only occur through "the combination and articulation of a horizontal (periphery vs. center) and vertical (working class vs. bourgeoisie) class struggle, by the

transformation on both the social and spatial planes" (Soja, 1980, p. 224). For it is "the historical development of the dialectic between social and spatial structures-the interplay between the social and territorial division of labor-that should be a central issue in concrete Marxist analysis" (Soja, 1980, p. 225).

There is an implication here that the study of capitalism should involve the dialectic of both the horizontal or *territorial* levels, be they international, zonal, national, regional, and/or local, and the class struggle in a vertical plane. In Soja's (1989) terms, this work involves "a sustained interrogation of the 'rich conceptual nexus' of 'space-time-being'," which requires the analyst "to probe the opposition, unity and contradiction in the organization of space as a material product, in the relationships between the social and spatial dimensions of urbanism, and in the ideological content of socially created space" (Soja, 1989, quoted in Knox, forthcoming).

According to Knox (forthcoming), this interrogation raises a dual challenge. The first is to avoid abstracting specific social outcomes from the broader sweep of socio-spatial change. In other words, empirical investigations should be carried out to support or falsify theoretical claims. The second is "to search for causes not so much in terms of the sphere of production, the role of key actors, or the behavior of consumers but at the <u>conjuncture</u> of production, consumption, and reproduction" (Knox, forthcoming). While Soja's focus provides some useful conceptual resources for understanding socio-spatial processes in general and capitalist societies in particular, he does not provide the mechanism by which these ideas can be used to undertake an empirical investigation. The concept of the built environment offers the best potential for such an undertaking.

A number of crucial observations allow the connection between society and the built environment to be made. The first is that the built environment is "the *repository* of economic, spatial, cultural, and political processes" (King, 1990). It acts as a sort of sink, encapsulating all the processes that went into its creation. Secondly, and most importantly, however,

> the built environment, building and urban form in all their conceptualizations, do not represent, or reflect social order, *they actually constitute much of social and cultural existence* (emphasis added). Society, as Prior (1988) has pointed out, is to a large extent, constituted as well as represented through the buildings and spaces that it creates (King, 1990, p. 404, emphasis added).

Thirdly, there is a certain solidity about the built environment. It is out there and can be located, seen, and measured and because it endures the depravations of time it remains in the physical world long after it has outlived its initial usefulness.

The built environment stands at the heart of the socio-spatial dialectic. An examination of the processes of production, consumption and reproduction that are integral to it should inform us about the economic, political, social, and cultural organization of which it is an essential element. Frederik Jameson (1984) and David Harvey (1987) both agree. For example, Jameson (1984) emphasizes that "architecture is of all the arts that comes closest constitutively to the economic with which, in the form of commissions and land value, it has a virtually unmediated relationship". Harvey (1987)by pointing out the "intimate connection between aesthetic and cultural movements and the changing nature of the urban experience" (quoted in Knox, forthcoming). The centrality of the built environment as "both the product of, and the mediator between social relations" (Knox, forthcoming), is therefore affirmed.

In summary, the "socio-spatial-dialectic" and its linkage with the built environment shows

that capitalist societies, irrespective of whether they lie in the core or periphery can be studied utilizing Soja's conceptual framework. This does not imply that a position a particular country holds in these core-periphery relations is inconsequential. On the contrary, it would seem to be one of the factors, along with class, that would have to be assessed. What is crucial, however, before a transfer of theories can satisfactorily be achieved is the question of whether these societies are capitalist. If they are capitalist it means also that the theories invoked under Images, Signs, and Symbols, and Geographical Landscapes can be applied in those contexts, albeit sensitively. In part, this sensitivity is derived from assessing the nature of the debate of capitalism in the periphery to gauge whether it is supportative of the theoretical northern transplant. These contextual theories will be discussed next.

CONTEXTUAL THEORIES

It was argued above that the socio-spatial dialectic can be applied to the Third World if they were capitalist societies. To ascertain whether this is so it is necessary to utilize the world-systems perspective of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) to understand the broader context of the Third World city.

The Study of Global Systems

In the literature on development the relationship between underdeveloped and developed nations has been dominated basically by two schools of thought. The first, supporters of a "diffusion" model, claim that the political and economic relations between these groups of countries is potentially helpful for the development process. This view, held by most

international organizations concerned with development, and "conventional" development economics, "look to government aid programs, financial institutions, and private corporations and assume that progress will evolve through the diffusion or trickling down of capital, technology and organizational methods from modern capitalist areas to backward areas of the Third World" (Chilcote, 1978, p. 55).

On the other hand the "radical" perspective is that the relationships between underdeveloped and developed nations created and continue to perpetuate underdevelopment. Those advocating this perspective include the "dependency" and "world-system" theorists. Their claim is that trade, foreign aid, and operations of multinational corporations in the Third World have contributed to the underdevelopment of "satellite" countries while simultaneously advancing development in the developed or metropolitan ones. One of its major proponents Andre Gunder Frank claims that "all of Latin America's colonial, capitalist history shows that, far from guaranteeing development, (export expansion) develops underdevelopment" (Frank, 1972, 130). Over the last fifteen years, however, this general claim by dependency theorists has been linked to the broader "world-systems" perspective.

The implication that flowed from the assertion by the dependency theorists that developed nations had achieved their privileged status through exploitation of the underdeveloped states is that the division of the world into developed and underdeveloped nations, or core and periphery, is the result of a single economic system. While this idea was not of central concern to the *dependendistas*, the world-system theorists elevated it to greater prominence.

World Systems Theory

World systems theorists held that "a single capitalist world-economy has been developing since the sixteenth century,.....that its development has been the driving force of modern social change", and that "the core-periphery relation itself is central to (the world-economy's) operation and development" (Hopkins, 1979, p. 23, p. 32). For Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1983, 1984), the most prominent world-systems theorist advocates, the fundamental unit of analysis is the "world-economy", a type of world system, defined as a social system - a single division of labor - comprising multiple cultures and multiple political systems. The world-economy is nevertheless characterized by single cultural system of exchange and accumulation based on a capitalist mode of production, in which the primary use of capital, or accumulated wealth, is the accumulation of more capital by the production of goods and services to be sold in a market to maximize profits.

Although the world-economy is a single unit, the state-system is made up of distinct political states. These states roughly divide into core, semi-periphery, and periphery economic areas. These areas exist only in relation to each other and the world-economy. Thus one of the characteristic features of core areas are their complex variety of capitalist economic activities controlled by an indigenous bourgeoisie with a network of "commodity chains" which serve to extract surplus from the peripheral areas. The core is characterized by free labor engaged in skilled tasks while the periphery are countries in which coerced labor is found. Between the core and periphery stands the semi-periphery, composed of countries that have either lost their core status as a result of deindustrialization or those heading for core status as they rapidly industrialize.

This dynamic (Agnew, 1982) introduced by the semi-periphery is premised on a number of characteristics of the world-economy. The first concerns the cyclical nature of growth and recession that is evident temporally. There is general agreement that the world-economy has gone through four major fifty year cycles of growth and stagnation (known as Kondratieff cycles) since the eighteenth century (Kondratieff, 1984, cited in Knox and Agnew, 1987). Associated with these Kondratieff cycles are a series of short-term business cycles and long 150-300 year "logistics" cycles and longer climacteric cycles. In essence two main points about the combined effects of these cycles can be made.

The first is, not only "that the ups and downs of each have been imprinted differentially on the economic landscapes of industrial core regions in response to the changing locational logic of each cluster of technologies" (Knox and Agnew, 1987, p. 173), but they have had complementary effects on the semi-peripheral and peripheral regions and states as well. Second, these cycles have also been utilized to divide the development of capitalism into three main periods: "competitive", "organized", and "disorganized" capitalism (Knox and Agnew, 1987, p. 174). (Figure 2)

Although controversy surrounds both the periodizations and their causes, the latter have generally been associated with technological change (Hall, 1981)[6]. Other writers have cited political-cultural factors, which involve competition between states favoring strong over weaker ones, as explanations for these cycles (Wallerstein, 1979). Frederik Jameson (1985) has drawn out much more explicitly an important relationship between economic periodization and culture.

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[6]Frederik Jameson has suggested three periods of capitalism; classical capitalism, monopoly or state imperialism and lastly late capitalism (Jameson, 1985).

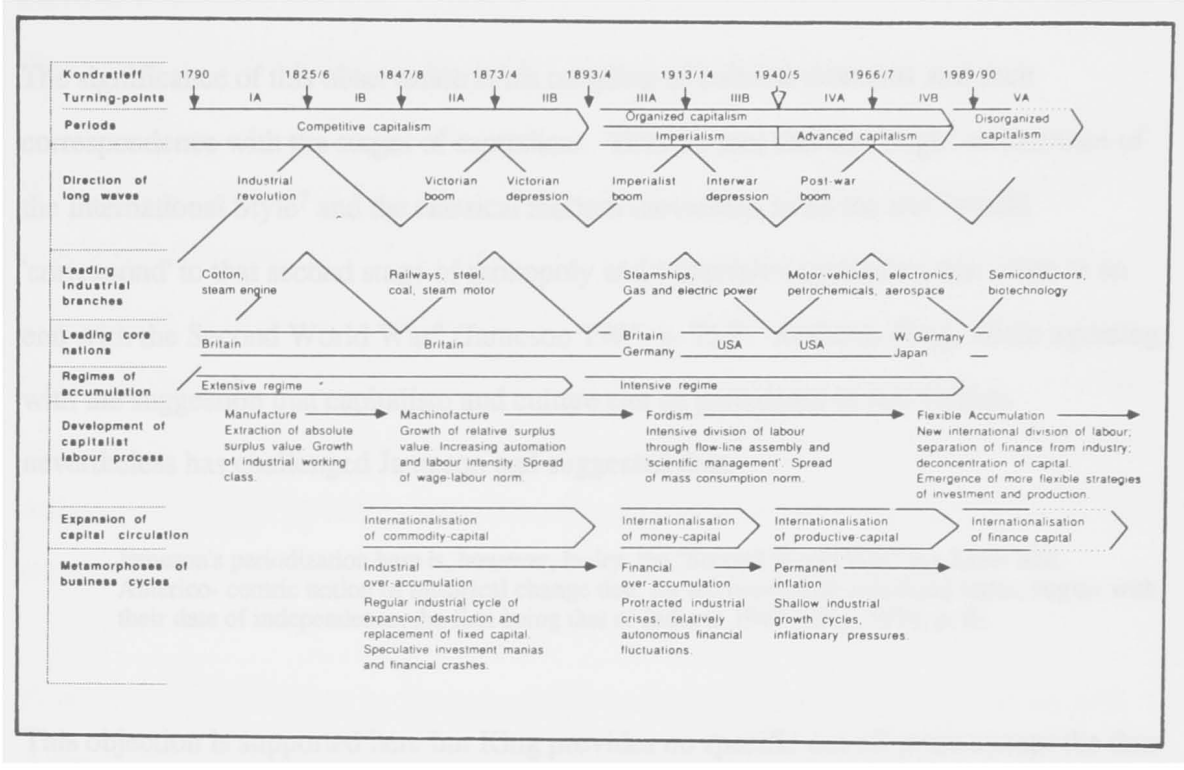

Figure 2
Schematic representation of the major features associated with long-wave economic cycles
***Source*: Knox and Agnew, (1989) Fig 5.9, p. 174**

> The economic periodization of capital into three rather than two stages (that of 'late' or multinational capitalism now being added to the more traditional moments of 'classical capitalism and of the 'monopoly stage' or 'state of imperialism') suggests the possibility of a new periodization on the level of culture as well: (Jameson, 1985, 75, quoted in Knox, 1985, p. 360).

The significance of this observation is his coupling of cultural moments and their correspondence with the stages of capitalism. Thus he sees that the "high" modernism of the International Style[7] and the classical modern movement in all the arts "would 'correspond' to that second stage of monopoly and imperialist capitalism that came to an end with the Second World War" (Jameson 1985, p. 75)[8]. Anthony King, while agreeing with the suggestion that capitalism and culture can be periodized in this fashion nevertheless has challenged Jameson and suggested that,

> Jameson's periodization here is, however, faulty: the "Second World War" is a Euro- and Americo- centric notion of historical change that, for the previously colonized states, begins with their date of independence, the first being that of India in 1947 (King, 1990, p. 8).

This objection is supported here but King provides no specific cut off point except the date suggested by Indian independence. Given that the bulk of colonial countries were granted independence in the 1960s it is suggested that this latter date be used as a cut off point, not for the International Style and its modernist baggage, but for colonialism instead. It is concluded that "inter-nationalism"[9] i.e. the belief that individual nation states participate

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[7]King (1983) explains, "the phrase, 'international style', as applied to urban and architectural form, was coined in the early 1930s to refer to the built forms of the modern industrial free market society when world economic and political relations were still dominated by capitalist institutions; what is referred to by that term are high technology, high energy materials and capital intensive architecture containing the institutions of the free market economy" (King 1983, p. 247).

[8]This is another view of imperialism , in addition to Graham Smith's definition that, "contemporary imperialism should not be considered as purely economic, however, for the expansion of the area of the operation of capital is more often than not associated with an expansion of political influence of the state with which that capital is associated" (Smith 1986).

[9]This term should not be confused with the "international" movement associated with the rhetoric of European powers as they sought to gain colonial control before 1914 (King, 1983, p. 247).

voluntarily without coercion (formal or direct rule from outside) in world affairs, became prevalent until the mid-1970s when a different cultural logic became apparent. It can be concluded therefore, that under organized capitalism, imperialism and intra-imperialism[10] gave rise to cultures defined as colonialism and internationalism, respectively.

With the emergence in the mid-1970s of the third stage of "consumer or disorganized capitalism" (Jameson, 1985; Lash and Urry, 1987), globalism has become the major cultural logic of capitalism. Defined as "the process by which the world becomes a single place" (Robertson, 1987). Ironically, although popular perspectives see globalism as the homogenization of culture and convergence in a variety of social, political and economic realms, a number of writers do not. Thus, for example, Robertson (1987) argues for the enhancement of cultural diversity in the face of the globalization of capital.

Finally, the period defined by Jameson (1985) as "classical capitalism" or by Knox and Agnew (1987) as "competitive capitalism" is associated with proto-imperialism in which the culture of "mercantilism" came to flourish and set the stage for imperialism. As a culture, mercantilism implies "a defence against others. For mercantilism was above all a means of self-defence" (Braudel 1979, p. 53), or as Rothkrug (1965, cited in Braudel, 1979) defined it "as the transfer of control of economic activity from the local community to the state" that is, the first attempt to create the national economy. (This historical periodization is utilized as one of the components of the Conceptual Framework for the Study of Third World Urbanization illustrated in Figure 3)

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[10]Mandel (1975) has distinguished three possible imperialist models: 1. superimperialism, the dominance of a single advanced capitalist state. 2. ultra-imperialism, the emergence of a supranational imperialist world state which corresponds to multinational capital and, 3. inter-imperialism, competition between major western blocs USA, western Europe, Japan on a continental basis, although not fully international. Intra-imperialism would therefore involve competition between the western powers on an international rather than on a continental basis.

HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION			
1890	1965	1975	1990
COMPETITIVE CAPITALISM	ORGANIZED CAPITALISM		DISORGANIZED CAPITALISM
PROTO-IMPERIALISM	IMPERIALISM	INTRA-IMPERIAL	POST-IMPERIALISM
Merchantalism	*Colonialism*	*Internationalism*	*Globalism*
SPATIAL FORM			
CORE (macro)			
SEMI-PERIPHERY (meso)			
ZONAL/REGIONAL			
Urban system	Urban system	Urban system	Urban system
PERIPHERY (micro)			
NATIONAL			
Urban system	Urban system	Urban system	Urban system
NATIONAL/REGIONAL			
Urban system	Urban System	Urban System	Urban System
URBAN CENTERS			
Capital city	Capital city	Capital city	Capital city
SECTORS			
Residential	Residential	Residential	Residential
Commercial	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
Industrial	Industrial	Industrial	Industrial
Infrastructural	Infrastructural	Infrastructural	Infrastructural
UNIT			
Single Family Dwelling	SFD	SFD	SFD

Figure 3
Conceptual framework for the study of Third World urbanization

The second feature that is associated with the world system theory and its division into core, semi-periphery, and periphery arises from the position that a country or region holds in a hierarchy of allotted tasks under an international division of labor necessary for the maintenance of the world economy. While the concept has been the subject of some controversy, it is generally agreed that the traditional international division of labor has undergone some revision in the contemporary "disorganized" capitalist period resulting in it's redefinition as the New International Division of Labor (NIDL). First identified in the mid 1970s (Hymer, 1972; Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1977), the present day character and configuration of this NIDL has for example, been identified as either "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" in Tanzania (Shivji, 1976), the "corporate national bourgeoisie" or the "managerial bourgeoisie" in Latin America. These divisions of labor/social categories are of central importance to this research.

Thirdly, attempts at anchoring world-systems theory spatially have also utilized the concept of the core, semi-periphery and periphery. In the analysis of world city formation, it forms the spatial context in which the global political-economic system operates. The global character of the world-economy in influencing the way that national urban systems operate required a reconceptualization of the way that cities work. What has emerged is an international system of cities centered on a number of dominant, major, and secondary "world cities". (Both these concepts, the core, semi-periphery, periphery and the world city formation are incorporated in the Conceptual Framework for the Study of Third World Urbanization illustrated in Figure 3. A detailed discussion of the issues are presented under the World Hierarchy of Cities section below). A major premise for analysts of these "control centers" of the world-economy, and for purposes of this study is, that world city formation relates more specifically to the spatial organization of the NIDL (Cohen, 1981;

Friedmann and Wolff, 1982), that is, members of the NIDL are located in these centers and are intimately connected with the mechanisms and operations of the world-economy.

These two attributes of world-systems theory, the NIDL and world cities, are central to this study and will be analyzed in greater detail in the following sections. Before proceeding to those sections, however, it is imperative that some comment be directed towards the dynamic nature of the world systems perspective. Knox and Agnew (1987) in their analysis of the world-economy make the following observation,

> The danger of elevating the concept 'world-economy' to a key position is that local histories can be deprived of their integrity and specificity. All too often the world outside of Europe and North America is painted in drab, uniform colors and as reacting to 'core' influences in a uniform manner. Facile use of concepts such as the 'less developed world' and 'the Third World' can lead to an easy overhomogenization of a much more variegated pattern. (Knox and Agnew, 1987, p. 89).

Different parts of the world have and continue to react quite distinctly to the expansion of the world-economy in part as a result of the ability of local political-cultural systems to resist and/or adapt to outside influences (Smith, 1979). Closely allied to issues about resistance and adaptation is the nature of the relationship of different parts of the world to the evolution of the world-economy. Since "every part of the world has its own particular and peculiar relationship" (Knox and Agnew, 1987, p. 89) to that evolution, the implication is that the process of development is mediated both culturally and regionally as was the case of the plantation/slavery economy of the American south or the apartheid system of South Africa (Cell, 1982). It is within this dynamic context of change that this study is placed.

The New International Division of Labor

In the last twenty years there have been some major structural developments in the traditional relationships in the world economy. These developments were triggered by a set of conditions for capital expansion and accumulation that were to affect these relationships (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1977). They included the slowing down in the major capitalist economies due to a series of events in the early 1970s including flexible exchange rates, a sharp increase in oil prices, the commodities boom and the rise in the cost of labor. Simultaneously, developments in new transport, communications, and production technologies, coupled with institutional innovation provided an opportunity for a reorganization of economic relationships. The spatial and structural ramifications of these changes have, and continue to be felt in the countries of the world. At the international socio-economic level these structural changes represent a fundamental shift from the "old classical international division of labor" to a "new international division of labor" (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980, p. 12).

Some writers have argued, however, that this "new" order is not as new as might be supposed especially in the case of the US and Latin American countries (Sanderson, 1985). Representatives of the international banking system have defined the NIDL as the penetration of the international system by competing products from developing countries (Kredietbank. 1978, cited in Sanderson, 1985). Other analysts by focussing on trade imply that the NIDL represents a reversal of the traditional division of labor in the international system where Third World countries now export goods and labor to the developed economies (Assael, 1979). Another interpretation emphasizes the expansion of capital and its valorization and reproduction at the global level through the expansion of

production (Hymer, 1972). Still others have centered on the global proletarianization of labor processes (Barkin, 1985), the transnational coordination of capital through vertical integration and coordination (Sanderson, 1985), and the role of trade in these processes (Sanderson, 1985).

Amidst these differing claims there is some general agreement, however, that the new international division of labor has to do with the structural transformation of the world's economy. The core countries are moving to a service based economy reliant upon highly skilled labor and technology, supported by research and development. The semi-peripheral and peripheral states on the other hand, have increasingly developed their manufacturing capabilities as industries from the core regions have sought to transfer their plants to more favorable locations (Sanderson, 1985). In the light of these transformations Barkin has contented that, "these complex changes in national productive relations and structures are the basis for suggesting *the new international division of labor is* correctly analyzed as *the process of incorporating new groups into a progressively internationalized labor force* " (Barkin, 1985, p. 38. original emphasis). His conclusion is based on the suggestion that labor and labor processes are critical to production, circulation, and consumption patterns at the international, regional and local levels in the world economy. While the process of proletarianization is undoubtedly one of the major active social processes in the periphery it is contended here that the reproduction of other social groups are equally important,.given the "control" they exercise over capitalism. It is therefore suggested that it is those groups that have a modicum of control on the world economic system that are central to understanding the structural transformations that have characterized its recent changes.

Two basic questions arise from this position. The first is concerned with who these groups

are, and in what relationship do they stand to other groups both inside and outside their countries? The second is related to where geographically these groups can be found. The next section will suggest some answers to the first set of questions. An attempt to answer the second set of questions will be made in the section on World Cities.

State and Class in the Third World

The study of both the state and social formations in the periphery has undergone some major changes in the last twenty years. For some writers development theory has shifted from mainstream modernization to world systems theory. Although there is no exact linear relationship between the changes and shifts in development theory, the state, and social formations many points of commonality can be discerned. Bearing these commonalities in mind the intention of this section is to briefly review the literature on the state and class in the Third World.

The literature on the state in the Third World is large and complex and there is no intention here to examine it in any great detail. What will suffice here is an indication of the form and function[11] of the national state. Six alternative theoretical approaches to the analysis of the state may be discerned from the literature. These are the neutral state, the managerial and corporatist state, the instrumental state, the structuralist state (Rakodi, 1986), the crisis state, and the capital state (Cooke, 1983). The importance of "bringing the state back" into discussions of the development in the Third World lies principally in the role that the state has come to play in development in general, but more crucially its role in class formation.

[11]The form of the state is here taken to mean the class interests represented in it; its functions on the other hand refer to the guaranteeing of property rights, to ensure the continuance of production; minimum levels of sustenance for the poor; maintain social control; regulate relations with other nations

It is the latter which will be the focus of this discussion.

The discussion of class in Third World politics has a short but intense history. Prior to the emergence of a class-based analysis in the 1970s, modernization theory in its early genesis, with its emphasis on "social change which is both transformational in its impact and progressive in its effects" (Tipps, 1973, p. 202), was concerned with the spread of democracy and focussed on the role of "elites" to govern and preserve order as a way of restructuring society (Higgot, 1983). From these theories flowed the idea of elites as makers of history in possession of "superior qualities" (Shivji, 1976, pp. 25-26). The result of this focus was that no attempt was made to measure the costs involved in the preservation of that order, and as to who benefits from the status quo (Higgot, 1983). With the growing disappointment of the development decade of the 1960s, a concern for politics, that is, questions of "who gets what", rather than the economics of development began to take precedence in mainstream literature. This new focus came to be known as the "new political economy of development approach" (Higgot, 1980). Arguing that politics and policy make a difference, the new approach uses rational choice models, decision making, and policy analysis approaches to study political behavior in the Third World. The major link between modernization theory and these more recent public policy approaches is the continued focus on the role of order, elite maintenance, and centralization. This latest approach has been criticized for a variety of reasons, however, most notably for its failure to consider the role of the state within a wider analytic framework; that is, the Third World's structurally dependent position (Higgot, 1980).

The failure of modernization theory to explain the continued disparity between rich and poor between and within nations inspired a radical critique in the late 1960s which led to

another perspective on development which later came collectively to be called the dependency perspective. Chilcote has identified four variants of the dependency perspective and includes the "development of underdevelopment" of Frank (1972), the "new dependency" of Dos Santos (1970), "dependency and development" of Cardoso (1972), and "dependency and imperialism" of which Susan Bodenheimer (1970) is an advocate. While there are differences they share commonalities in that they accept; core/periphery economic structures which parallel development and underdevelopment; the changing nature of dependence with time; the rise of the multinational corporations (MNCs) and their monopoly is responsible for the underdeveloped state of the Third World, and finally, elites in the periphery are the only ones who benefit from linkages of trade, aid, finance and investment controls, profit repatriation, and debt servicing with the north (Chilcote, 1974). This last point led to the identification of a "*comprador* bourgeoisie class", an indigenous social group within peripheral society that allies itself with the foreign capitalist class in exploiting its home base. Shivji (1976) named and described such a class formation in Tanzania:

> In so far as the economy remains structurally linked with the capitalist world and within the capitalist the world capitalist system, the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' is a *dependent* bourgeoisie - dependent upon on the international bourgeoisie (Shivji, 1976, p. 85).

These were people from the politico-administrative, economic, and military arms of the state. Under each category they include the following:

Politico-administrative: political heads of government ministries and departments (central and local) and their top civil servants; heads and top functionaries in the judiciary, police and security; and the top leadership of the party.

Economic: heads and head functionaries of parastatals, public corporations, and other quasi-economic, either state-run or state-supervised institutions (co-operatives,

marketing boards, higher educational institutions included).

Military: top military officers (majors, colonels, captains, and lieutenants). Shivji briefly mentions the criteria that determine entry into the bureaucratic bourgeoisie from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie which include, income, education, standard of living and life-style (the urban milieu), control of or potentially effective participation in decision-making bodies, the role occupied in the production process, and control of or proximity to state apparatus (Shivji, 1976, p. 87). Based on the last criterion, Shivji, like other *dependendistas*, argues that the state is the center for any discussions about class.

The state is thus central to both modernization and dependency theories where, for the former, it was expected to create "the collective goods of national integration and development" or as with the "dependent" state, merely organize production for external profit. Nelson Kasfir succinctly summed up the views of both these perspectives with his observation that, "if the state was endowed with extraordinary autonomy by modernization analysts, it was kept on a tight leash by dependency thinkers" (Kasfir, 1983, p. 1).

Another group of theorists have, however, adopted a different approach. Marxists have questioned the dependency perspectives on development partly as a result of their belief in the progressive nature of capitalism and partly as a result of the evidence that capitalism has generated growth in the periphery (Sender and Smith, 1986). With the emergence and growth of semi-peripheral states they have raised questions about the role of the post-colonial state in development and class formation in those states. Their insistence, however, that the workers will unite and usher in a socialist world order has led them to concentrate on discussions about the proletarianization of the masses (Safa 1982).

By broadening the dependency perspective, the work of the world-systems theorists (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979; Frank, 1977, 1978) on the other hand, claims that the division of the world into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral states is the result of capitalism operating as a single world-economy. Contrary to Marxian theory that capital goes out in search of use in the international system, Wallerstein claims that through commodity chains, and wage and non-wage labor, unequal exchange takes place ensuring the exploitation of the semi-periphery by the core and in turn the periphery by the semi-periphery. Resurrecting a largely discarded Marxist thesis Wallerstein argues for the absolute immiseration of the world's population. Two major actors that are identified by Wallerstein as initiating core-periphery relationships are multi-national corporations (MNCs) and states (Wallerstein, 1979).

> The whole system of direct investment across frontiers grew up in part because of the flowering of infant industry protectionism and in part because of the political limitations to growth of enterprises in core countries (such as anti-trust legislation). The multinational corporations quickly realized that operating in collaboration with state bureaucracies posed no real problems. For these national governments are for the most part weak both in terms of what they have to offer and their ability to affect the overall financial position of the outside investor (Wallerstein, 1979, p. 80).

A number of writers who also see capitalism in global terms have identified local ruling classes who ally themselves with international capital to increase the extraction of surplus through unequal exchange and direct appropriation from production. This is the impression left by Clairmonte and Cavanaugh (1982) in their study of the corporate monopolization of food commodity production, processing and marketing by MNCs in conjunction with internal collaborative oligarchies (ICO) of the Phillipines, Thailand, South Korea, and Central America. Armstrong and McGee (1985, p. 145) in their study of capital accumulation in Ecuador have identified "urban family groups (who) satisfy class interests in alliance with each other, with the still powerful Church, with national and

foreign capital and with various levels of government".

Some Marxist critics argue that these rather structurally determined views of the state offers no prospect of autonomy for political actors from economic ones (Leys, 1978; Sklar, 1979). Such narrow views of class fail, Sklar maintains, to recognize that the dominant class of a developing country has a significant entrepreneurial sector in itself; the dominant class undermines as well as supports external interests. It can use state power for its own purposes and not just simply for the benefit of international capital. In their theory of postimperialism Becker, et. al. (1987) describe the emergence of a socially comprehensive *managerial bourgeoisie* [12] class encompassing,

> the entrepreneurial elite, managers of firms, senior state functionaries, leading politicians, members of learned professions, and persons of similar standing in all spheres of society (Becker, et. al., 1987).

Composed of two distinct wings, the local one comprises those privileged host-country nationals who occupy the above roles and a corporate international wing which is "made up of foreign nationals who manage businesses and other transnational institutions" (Becker and Sklar, 1987, p. 7). Becker has also identified a *corporate national bourgeoisie* [13] in countries that have a domestic corporate enterprise that has already achieved political and cultural preeminence and a degree of economic power that approaches or equals that of the state management sector. Ultimately, however, although Becker and Sklar optimistically entertain the prospect for a bourgeoisie democracy at the national level they emphasize that

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[12]The managerial bourgeoisie is the dominant class of societies in which state capital plays a paramount role in production but does so in a way that nurtures the growth and development of private enterprise (Becker and Sklar, 1987, p. 17)

[13]Although the state management and private elements of a corporate national bourgeoisie are symbolically related, the latter is relatively independent of state power and may have its own historical roots (Becker and Sklar, 1987, p. 17)

postimperialism is a theory of international oligarchy whose "institutions of political power and accountability might be even more remote from those affected by them than is the case today" (Becker and Sklar, 1987, pp. 13-14).

What becomes almost immediately noticeable in these discussion of social formations is that questions of the state and its role in class formation are intricately and inextricably interwoven. Any analysis that hopes to come to grips with the question of social formation in the periphery has to then, of necessity, examine the whole question of state power. There are a number of good reasons for this. First, the state is an easily identifiable unit with varying degrees of autonomy; it is the locus of class conflict because it is the center of production and reproduction of capitalist relations. Second, it has a significant role in facilitating and supporting private capital accumulation and in direct production and thereby can affect its populations in profound ways. Third, it sets the context in which the local state and civil society operates, especially in view of the centralization of power and institutional capacity at the national level (Rakodi, 1986).

What is evident from this discussion is that the process of "development" seldom, if ever, involves a simple transformation of society but includes instead, important social, economic, political, and cultural changes taking place in Third World societies. These changes manifest themselves in a variety of different ways including the creation of different social formations which are then themselves implicated in further change as individuals and groups pursue their interests. In these highly volatile and sometimes violent contexts the questions that arise are whether classes can make use of state power and within what limits? Does the state have the capacity to act independently or autonomously of either internal or external social structures, whether classes, ethnic

groups, clientelistic networks, multinational companies, or international agencies? Are the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as powerful as indicated by Shivji (1976) or as Kasfir (1983) has asked, are these managers, directors, and civil servants not an exploiting class but an anxious salariat, conscious that the whole system has no solid foundation and uncertain of their personal tenure in office? The fundamental question is: who are these elites? As conditions change in the Third World will academics discover as Bourdieu (1984) has done for the economically more advanced countries, that new times generate new classes? These questions are far from being empirically answered in the Third World. An examination of built environments has enormous potential to begin to understand who these local groups are and how they operate.

World Hierarchy of Cities

The question of where these social groups may be found was raised earlier. Although the percentage of Third World people living in cities vary between countries it is generally acknowledged that most elites live in cities. What the nature of these cities is and how they function has been the center of discussion for about forty years. The debate about the world hierarchy of cities is an added dimension to these discussions.

The study of national urban systems has traditionally reported the existence of primate cities in the Third World. Generally regarded as distortions of the rank-size rule, primate cities display an empirical regularity in which the population in the three largest cities of many countries, stand at a ratio of 10:3:2. Although no clear cut relationship exists between economic development and primacy (Berry, 1961) the phenomenon is generally associated with the underdeveloped economies of the periphery where the concentration of economic

activities within primate cities has also been observed (Hardoy and Satterwaithe, 1986).

In general, the literature on urbanization has come to reflect and be shaped by a global perspective triggered substantively in the 1970s by the works of Harvey (1973), Walton (1976), and Castells (1977). Linked directly to the world-economy, studies on cities placed them in a global context and have traced their historical incorporation into that economy. Still other studies have described the urban effects of globalization with respect to such features as producer services and culture (Thrift, 1987). By the end of the 1980s the shift to globalism in urban studies was seen as nothing less than a major paradigm shift (King, 1990). The world is thus seen increasingly to function as a global system wherein "the same set of forces and factors are everywhere at work" (Simon, 1989).

The world city formation relates more specifically to a global economy and its association with an international network of cities of which some primate cities are a crucial element. Identified in the middle 1960s (Hall, 1966), several taxonomies of "world cities" have been attempted (Cohen, 1981)[14] but they assumed a greater theoretical significance under the direction of Friedmann and Wolff (1982).

In an attempt to provide a heuristic for the study of cities, their concern was to identify the "spatial articulation of the emerging world system of production and markets through a global network of cities". They argued that since the Second World War there has been an increase in the production and marketing processes of global capitalism. Transnational corporations operating in their economic self-interests have reorganized the economic map of the world basing their activities in particular urban centers. Utilizing Wallerstein's

[14]In defining the spatial impact of the NIDL Cohen (1981) was more concerned with the emergence of cities located in the core and those in the newly industrializing countries (NICs).

concepts of the core, semi-periphery, and periphery the authors identified world cities as occurring exclusively in the former two regions where they serve as "banking and financial centers, administrative headquarters, centers of ideological control, and so forth" (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982).

In a later work Friedmann (1986) identified a hierarchy of world cities based on a variety of economic activities, population size and transportation characteristics. Primarily interested in the identification of only the most important centers of capitalist accumulation, he distinguished between core primary and secondary cities, and semi-periphery primary and secondary cities. It is Friedmann's contention, however, that "the world city hypothesis is about the spatial organization of the new international division of labour" and his thesis that "world cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants" (Friedmann 1986, p. 75), that provides a departure point for this study.

He sees both types of migrants contributing to the growth of primary core cities but in the semi-periphery he notes that world cities grow chiefly from interregional migration. Related to this last point is his observation that "capital cities of the peasant periphery frequently display social, economic, and physical characteristics that are structurally similar to those of world cities in the semi-periphery. What they often do *not* have in common is the latter's economic power" (Friedmann, 1986, p. 81). This observation is reminiscent of Harvey's observation that,

> What is remarkable is not that urbanism is so different but that it is so similar in all the metropolitan centers of the world in spite of significant differences in social policy, cultural tradition, administrative and political arrangements, institutions and laws, and so on (Harvey, 1973, p. 278).

Bearing these observations in mind the question is: how do we begin to understand these universalistic observations in particular local circumstances especially since forging linkages between situated activity and broader and larger social forces and forms remains a critical and pressing sociological problem? Ruediger Korff (1987) advises us that the world systems approach will only be useful if the study is based on detailed analyses of particular cities and that world city analysis should start with the city and its role within the region or regions. That is some attempt should be made to focus on the lower order of the hierarchy. The implication is that, when studying the city, its setting both in its national regional and zonal/regional (Kentor, 1985) context must be taken into consideration. This study will take cognizance of the City of Harare in its zonal/regional southern African setting as well as in its national context. (Figure 3 illustrates this hierarchical order).

To activate the Conceptual Framework for the Study of Third World Urbanization will entail and examination of the "built environment" and the "structures of building provision". Up to this point the "built environment" was discussed only in a very general way. A more detailed discussion will now be attempted.

The Built Environment and Structures of Building Provision

The built environment has re-entered academic discourse fairly recently and via a circuitous route. While the physical qualities of the urban environment have long held a cherished place in urban geography through the study of "townscapes" and "morphological regions", (Knox, 1987, p. 99) the built environment as a distinct physical/spatial product of social processes has until quite recently, received limited theoretical and empirical attention

(Harvey, 1973, 1977; King, 1976; Roberts, 1978). This situation arose despite the fact that buildings are everywhere and "it might be expected therefore that those physical structures would be of central interest to any subject claiming to be urban studies" (Ball, 1986, p. 447). In the Third World Ball's observation is particularly relevant where physical structures have often served only as a mask deflecting any real penetrating theoretical understanding of their development.

The built environment as an abstract concept that describes the "products of human activity" employed here is similar to that used by Lawrence and Low (1990). "It refers in the broadest sense to any physical alteration of the natural environment", and includes built forms, sites, and plans (Lawrence & Low 1990, p. 444). How has an understanding of the built environment so conceived been understood in the past? Traditionally, approaches to land and property development have provided useful directions for understanding the processes by which the built environment in the form of both buildings and sites for various uses have been socially produced, with one major exception. This is the relation between the way that social agents behave in deploying resources to realize particular investments and the broader processes that structure the strategies and interests of the various actors involved (Healey and Barrett, 1990). The actual processes whereby this production has been achieved has until quite recently been given scant attention. Since the mid-1970s, however, theoretical and empirical work (e.g. Smyth, 1985; Massey, and Catalano, 1973; Whitehand, and Whitehand, 1984; Feagin, 1983) has emphasized that land and the built environment are not merely spaces and structures upon which the processes of production and consumption are imposed. The built environment shares reciprocal relationships between individuals and society at large (Knox, 1987).

Knowledge of these processes by which the built environment is produced and consumed, especially the processes of land and property development, including the consumerism, symbolism, and commodity aesthetics intrinsic to it is essential to our understanding of urban development. Some basic questions that remain to be answered are: Why have particular forms of the built environment emerged as they have? How are structural variables reflected in and affected by the way individual agents determine their strategies and conduct their relationships as they deal with specific projects and as they consider their future stream of activities? How are organizations and institutions implicated in the development process? What role does the state play in structuring the activities of individuals and organizations? A number of writers have suggested ways of approaching some of these questions (Ball, 1986; Healey and Barrett, 1990).

Michael Ball's approach is informed by his view that the built environment can best be understood by focussing on the centrality of the social relations of building provision (Ball,1986). He argues that a focus on the social production of the built environment not only requires an examination of the broader processes of demand and supply against the context of historical- cultural change but must also necessarily probe the practices that historical and country-specific sets of social agents, defined as a "structure of building provision" engage in, in the production, exchange, distribution, and use of particular types of buildings (Ball, 1986)[15]. While economic interrelations are highlighted by Ball as being central to the relations between the constituent social agents, he maintains that, factors that determine those economic mechanisms may or may not have an economic content; for example, the state could implement laws prescribing certain actions to one type of social

[15]In drawing the distinction between "Schools of Thought" and "Schools of Activity" Gilmore (1988), provides a useful model to compare Ball's "structures of provision". I am indebted to Dey W. Watts (forthcoming) for drawing my attention to this literature.

agent. Since the social relations of building provision cannot be isolated from the wider context in which they exist Ball suggests that functional, historical, and political factors serve as linkages between any particular structure of building provision and the wider social context (Ball 1986, p. 455).

Neither Ball's nor the approaches of other writers cited earlier, have generally been employed in the Third World. The work of Anthony D. King (1976, 1989, 1990), especially his analysis of the bungalow and its diffusion internationally comes closest and provides some idea of the nature of the research that has to be undertaken. This study will address this vacuum by examining the role that "structures of building provision" play in the development of a contemporary building type, the townhouse in the City of Harare, Zimbabwe.

Summary and Propositions

The debates outlined under the substantive, operational, and contextual theories have generally been confined to the core countries although they can apply equally to Third World countries. There appears no valid reason why this should not be the case especially to peripheral countries that are capitalist. In fact the debates on images, signs and symbols when used in conjunction with the literature on built environments offer an area of study that has great potential for analysis. By combining contemporary components with the historical and spatial dimensions of Third World cities, it is suggested that a greater opportunity for understanding urbanism and urbanization is on offer. Although historical periodizations vary greatly, writers have identified four periods in the historical evolution of capitalism viz., competitive capitalism, imperialism, advanced capitalism, and

disorganized capitalism. Associated with these periods of economic organization are patterns of political, social, economic, and cultural life described as mercantilism, colonialism, inter-nationalism, and globalism respectively. The significance of these epochs in structuring patterns of urbanization and urbanism in the Third World has been largely neglected but have the potential to "explain" social phenomena during each historical epoch.

It was argued that over the past two decades a changing research context has provided an opportunity to contribute positively to a more thorough understanding of Third World urbanism. In order to fully utilize this opportunity a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Third World Urbanization was presented. The theoretical perspectives which were employed to create this framework included insights from capitalism and its historical periodization, world systems theory and its spatial manifestation represented by the core, semi-periphery, and periphery together with the global hierarchy of cities and the class division of society associated with the new international division of labor (NIDL). To use this framework so that an empirical investigation can be carried out in a Third World city it was suggested that the "built environment" together with the "structures of building provision" be employed to animate the research. To do this the insights and questions derived from the theoretical perspectives discussed above were classified into the following propositions:

1. Zimbabwe's national urban system is part of a larger southern African zonal/regional system.

2. That distinct built environments can be distinguished for the different phases in

capitalism and that these environments can be ecologically identified within Harare.

3. Under the contemporary globalist period distinct landscapes have been produced of which the garden flat/townhouse is a dominant type.

4. Developers are at the center of townhouse developments as they pursue market segmentation through product differentiation.

5. Architects are more concerned with their own artistic needs than with the exegencies of profit maximization.

6. Townhouses are being developed in the wealthier neighborhoods of the city.

7. The design of townhouses have begun to take on a greater community component than has been the case in the past.

8. Garden flat/townhouse occupants perceive them as positive in terms of security, status and lifestyle.

9. Owners and occupants of garden flats/townhouses consume other forms of global culture.

10. Garden flat/townhouse occupants similarly share socio-economic characteristics that distinguish them as members of *the managerial bourgeoisie*.

11. Access to garden flats/townhouses is controlled by economic as well as social factors.

In order to begin to examine these propositions, the research methodology employed is discussed next.

Research Methodology

Advances in urbanism derived from the study of the "western" city have not only been restricted to the theoretical level but have highlighted the utility of interpretive approaches in the study of the city (Harvey, 1989; Soja, 1989; Ley, 1987). This study utilized a holistic approach to "unpack" the peripheral city, following David Ley's suggestion that the urban landscape be identified as "a text, as a cultural form which upon interrogation reveals a human drama of ideas and ideologies, interest groups and power blocs nested within particular social and economic contexts" (Ley, 1987, p. 41).

While there are obvious advantages of using this method, it is plagued by a number of risks. First, Geertz warns us that "text is a dangerously unfocused term" and that care be taken that we do not separate the study of inscriptions[16] from the study of inscribing, the study of fixed meaning from the study of the social processes that fix it (Geertz, 1983; 30)[17]. Thus the study not only examines the question of what information was encoded in the built environment, but in deploying the concept of intertextuality[18], it considered the role of the built environment in the constitution of social and political practice. Secondly,

[16]The key to understanding texts, Geertz points out is, the concept of "inscription": the fixation of meaning. He continues "when we speak, our utterances fly by as events like any other behavior; unless what we say is inscribed in writing (or some other established recording process), it is as evanescent as what we do. If it is inscribed, it of course passes, like Dorian Gray's youth, anyway; but at least its meaning -the *said* , not the *saying* - to a degree and for a while remains" (Geertz, 1983, p. 31).

[17]Progress is constantly being made in the use of text interpretations and Geertz recognizes that "the text analogy has some unapparent advantages still insufficiently exploited" (Geertz, 1983, p. 31).

[18]The concept of intertextuality implies that the context of any text is other texts (Duncan, 1990, p. 4).

Healey and Barrett (1990) warned of the difficulty of empirical research under conditions where powerful individuals are in control and in areas where data are generally scarce and difficult to acquire. The study therefore necessitated the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection wherever these methods appeared most appropriate.

Case Study Research

The case study approach in research has a long and honored history. The reasons for using a single case study design is related to a number of practical and methodological considerations that have confronted other researchers studying the urban fabric. In his analysis of Conzenian ideas J.W.R. Whitehand noted the first reason: "the problem has been that *even a single town*, unless very small, is a considerable undertaking" (Whitehand, 1981, p. 128, emphasis added), and the necessity to combine detailed analyses of individual towns using ground survey, cartographic analysis and documentary evidence, has the potential to overlook important matters. The second relates to the question of time and cost. Detailed studies of individual towns are time consuming and the cost of such studies are necessarily high irrespective of where these studies are carried out. That a city in the periphery was the subject of such a study made it almost prohibitively expensive without the assistance of research grants. Additionally, if one of the main roles for researchers working within this area at this point in time, is the provision of integrative frameworks within which work in specific towns can be set then an exploratory case study can be used as a basis for comparative work in the future. Another reason is the City of Harare itself. It is an ideal city to study given its position as the capital city of Zimbabwe, a country that has witnessed sweeping social, political, and economic changes. It has

captured and retained some of these changes in its transition from Fort Salisbury in 1890 to Harare. The city's prominence in the southern African zone also underlines its suitability as material for a case study. Finally, documentary evidence of the city appears in a variety of forms and although all of these are not generally available to researchers, they were accessible to me. Combined with the writers local knowledge of Harare, these factors all added up to its being an ideal city for study purposes. Despite these advantages some guidance for data collection was established. These principles will be discussed next.

Principles of Data Collection

In his book Case Study Research: Design and Methods Robert K. Yin (1985) established three principles of data collection relating to case-study research in order to deal with problems that might arise establishing construct validity and reliability. These were adopted for the study.

Principle 1: Using Multiple Sources of Evidence

This is regarded as a major strength in case study data collection since it allows the researcher a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and observational issues. This advantage is fully captured by triangulation in which corroboratory data is utilized to make convincing or "accurate" conclusions. The potential problems associated with construct validity can also be addressed "because the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. Case studies using multiple sources of evidence were unsurprisingly rated more highly in terms of their overall quality than those case studies using single sources of information" (Yin, Bateman & Moore, 1983, cited in Yin, 1985).

Principle 2: Creating a Case Study Data Base

Yin (1985) has suggested that organizing and documenting the data collected for the case study generally consists of two separate collections: The data or evidentiary base and the report of the investigator, or in this case the dissertation. The distinction between the two is that the first can be the subject of a separate, secondary analysis, independent of any report of the original investigator. Although not an institutionalized practice, a retrievable data base of notes, documents, tabular materials, and narratives was the aim of the investigator. Its accessibility would markedly increase the reliability of the entire case study.

Principle 3: Maintaining a Chain of Evidence

Another way that reliability can be increased was to maintain a chain of evidence. This allowed an external observer to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions or trace the steps in the other direction. It is also possible to increase construct validity by ensuring a good fit between the report and the data.

These principles were applied in gathering, organizing, and analyzing the evidence.

Sources of evidence

In considering the sources of evidence the first five out of the six that were recommended by Yin (1985) were utilized: Documentation, Archival Records, Interviews, Direct Observation, Participant-Observation,[19] and Physical Artifacts.

[19]At the time of the research the writer was employed by a developer to assist in the planning of 40 townhouses.

Research Design and Data Collection

The research was designed in two parts. Part One entailed the establishment of a typology of ensembles of built form and type of contemporary townscape elements and their historical legacy. This base then allowed the selection of one element of the current globalist epochal period. Part Two involved the investigation of that element.

PART ONE of the research established a typology of contemporary townscape elements . This was based on:

1. Systematic field observation.

Data were recorded on the Surveyor General's Street Map of The City of Harare on a scale 1:33 333. Where there was a need for detail, the Surveyor General's topocadastral 1:5,000 series for the City of Harare was utilized. For Chitungwiza the data was recorded on the Department of Works sepia print at a scale 1:10,000.

2. A photographic record of built elements, including photographs from books.

Both black and white photographs and color slides were taken to provide a contemporary record type and form of the built environment. This was supplemented by photographs from brochures, texts, and magazines.

Having once established these data bases, the intention of the next segment of Part One was to establish typologies of ensembles of built form and type. The typology was constructed on the basis of the physical elements of the built forms and types subjectively interpreted[20]. These were subsequently related to elements of the original function and period of origin

[20]Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) advise that there is little point in developing highly systematized typologies and models if they provide little purchase on the data. "The development of an effective typology is not purely logical or conceptual exercise; there must be constant recourse to the data" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 184).

(Conzen, orig. 1962). In this way, the interpretation of the typology was "grounded in time spans that have a degree of unity within the course of social and economic history: those based on arithmetic divisions or reflecting only the availability of source materials serve rather to obscure rather than aid explanation" (Whitehand, 1981). This culminated in a largely heuristic and subjective typology of ensembles of built form and type.

3. Archival research

The next stage of the exercise was to relate these typologies of ensembles to their formative epochal period(s). In order to satisfactorily carry this out, it was essential that historical data in the form of maps from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, the Surveyor General, the City of Harare, and the Department of Physical Plannings provincial office were consulted. Combined with these maps, thesis and dissertations, articles in journals, and books were consulted at the libraries of the University of Zimbabwe's Geography Department, the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, and the City of Harare.

The culmination of Part One was the establishment of a contemporary typology of ensembles of built form and type.

PART TWO of the research required the exploration of one particular built type and form of the current epochal periods built environment in order to "read" it interpretively as a text. The townhouse was selected as an example of the current globalist epochal period. The choice was based on their prevalence in the city. Three research stages were envisaged in this part:

a. Archival research.

This was a continuation of the "unpacking" of the archival records, except data was centered on the townhouse.

1. Archival data supplemented the mapping exercise completed in Part One and established details about building size, date of construction, function, construction materials and design elements. (Archival documentation included public records from city and provincial government offices and the National Archives, housing and construction statistics, development control records, land registers, subdivision and consolidation permits, schemes, local plans, and topocadastral maps).

2. Complemented/confirmed information provided by the questionnaire surveys as well as the data acquired during the interview sessions (housing and construction statistics, development control records, land registers, the property press, subdivision and consolidation permits, schemes, local development plans, topocadastral maps).

For purposes of this study, the records of the City of Harare's Planning Departments Development Control Section, the City Architects Estates and Valuations, Buildings Inspectorate and the Mayor's Office were considered to be the most useful. At no time was there unhindered access to any of the records. Information was, however, gleaned from the City of Harare's General Valuation Role, Special Consent Permit Register, Scheme and Local Plan Maps, and Written Statements, as well as some data from the City of Harare's Combination Master Plan Preparation Authority's reports and Minutes of the Mayor of the City of Harare dating back to 1897.

b. A questionnaire survey of garden flat/townhouse occupants.

The choice of the survey research method for this study was based on the general success that this research instrument has achieved in social science research (Jones, 1985). A mail

questionnaire survey method as opposed to the traditionally accepted face-to-face interview was selected. This choice was determined by a number of factors. First, it is much less expensive in both time and money than, for example, face-to-face interviews. The time element was absolutely crucial as the research had to be completed in the time that was available. Second, the City of Harare is beset by crime, especially petty crime, that is, burglaries, house-breaking, and motor car thefts (Sunday Mail, 1990). Door-to-door interviews would have been treated with suspicion and would certainly have drawn negative reactions from prospective interviewees because of the race of the researcher. The survey research method had the potential to maximize response because of its "disembodied" quality.

In order to maximize survey response, Dillman (1978) has outlined three requirements that it must satisfy. These are: minimize the costs for responding, maximize the rewards for doing so, and establish trust that those rewards will be delivered (Dillman, 1978, 12). These requirements were met in the following way: The survey questionnaire (Appendix A), besides containing a covering letter from me (Appendix B), was accompanied by letters from the National Property Owners Association (Appendix C), and the Institute of Architects of Zimbabwe (Appendix D). These are well-respected institutions with an interest in property and townhouses. Besides asking the respondents' assistance in completing the questionnaire, all the letters assured potential respondents that the information was valuable to the housing industry. Seeking their assistance my letter assured them of secrecy, an important element in the crime-filled situation of Harare, as well as providing them with a stamped self-addressed return envelope. It also assured them that the data would be treated in the strictest confidence. Finally, the questionnaire was reasonably short: in a pre-test, the average time taken to complete the entire

questionnaire was 20 to 25 minutes, although 30 minutes was stated in the covering letter accompanying the survey questionnaire. The questionnaire survey administered to occupants/owners of garden flats and townhouses set out to establish socio-economic profiles, reasons for selecting this form of housing, characteristics of the townhouses and management styles together with attitudes to elements of the built environment. It also attempted to ascertain consumption patterns, values and attitudes, and the orienting practices of individual class fractions.

c. Actor interviews.

The reasons for choosing these methods were determined by the need to meet certain objectives. The archival research provides an empirical base to the inventory of period ensembles, while the questionnaire survey and the actor interviews "opened up" Soja's "socio-spatial-dialectic" and Ball's "structures of building provision". Finally, the actor interviews complemented the views expressed by the occupants/owners as well as providing the views of selected/available architects/designers, real estate agents, insurance agents, private consultants, and bureaucrats.[21] Questions probe the attitudes and motivations of the producers of garden flats and townhouses, including the constraints they face and the strategies they adopt in order to meet their objectives.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that recent theoretical and methodological developments in the study of urbanism provide an unprecedented opportunity not only for the study of cities in general but for those of the Third World in particular. In order to escape charges of

[21]In order to protect the identity of interviewees who had requested anonimity, the names of all individuals and firms who were interviewed have been substituted by pseudonyms.

theoretical inappropriateness, however, the transfer of these theories and methods to the Third World requires that they be appropriately structured. Using the built environment as a subject for study this chapter has suggested both a theoretical and a conceptual framework to enable an empirical investigation of Third World cities to be undertaken. Having established these frameworks, the method of data collection for a case study was outlined as well. Within these parameters, the next chapter reports the outcome of the investigation of the "built environment" at the meso (zonal/regional) level.

CHAPTER III

THE CITY IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Introduction

September 13, 1990 marked the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Harare. Established by the "Pioneer Column" under the protection of the police force of the British South Africa Company, Harare's growth and development heralded the creation of an urban landscape on the African veldt in an area where there was no urban settlement. Most accounts of the development of Harare emphasize the national context within which it developed (Kay and Smout, 1972; Davies, 1983; Underwood, 1987). In this chapter, however, it will be argued that in the context of the spread of the culture of capitalism in Africa, Harare's historical development shares similarities with the southern African system of settlements.

In order to understand the development of Harare and its articulation with current

modalities of the world economy, the zonal/regional[1] context, of which the city is an integral element, will be examined. Attention will be focussed on the creation of the southern African socio-spatial system. This chapter outlines the broad characteristics of the arrival of Europeans in southern Africa[2] (Figure 4) and their relationship with other immigrant and indigenous groups, explores the creation of the urban system under different socio-economic periods, and examines urban form as it developed under the direction of a series of social practices and government initiatives. This discussion is underpinned by four themes around which the study of urban development within southern Africa has been centered.

The first theme is that of *culture*. Despite difficulties of grasping the "intangible, evolving, and often ambiguous" (Ley, 1983, p. 29) character of culture, the premise that culture counts in studies of the city has gained increasing acceptance. There is some agreement about the nature of culture but very little about its proper definition. Some view of culture as the superorganic "informing spirit" through which the social order is reproduced (Duncan, 1980). Others view culture as the "realized signifying system" anchored in everyday life through "activities, relations, and institutions" (Williams, 1982). Still others see culture as largely symbolic in nature and mental in origin (Geertz, 1973), or practical in origin as well as symbolic in nature (Williams, 1980, 1982). What is clear, therefore, is that because the concept of culture is notoriously difficult to grasp, it offers ample opportunity for definitional ambiguity and imprecision.

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[1]Jeffrey Cantor has taken care to define zones, nations, regions, and cities in terms of their representation of the production-exchange network of the world system. Since these levels can be combined depending on the nature of production-exchange networks, zones used here represent the highest order in the hierarchy and represent a number of nations, e.g. southern Africa.(Kantor, 1985).

[2]Southern Africa is here defined as comprising the present day states of Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, corresponding to Van Onselen's "regional economic system' and the 'Africa of the labour reserves "(Amin, 1972). For the sake of brevity however, this chapter will focus on the development of the South African system and its linkages with the Zimbabwean system.

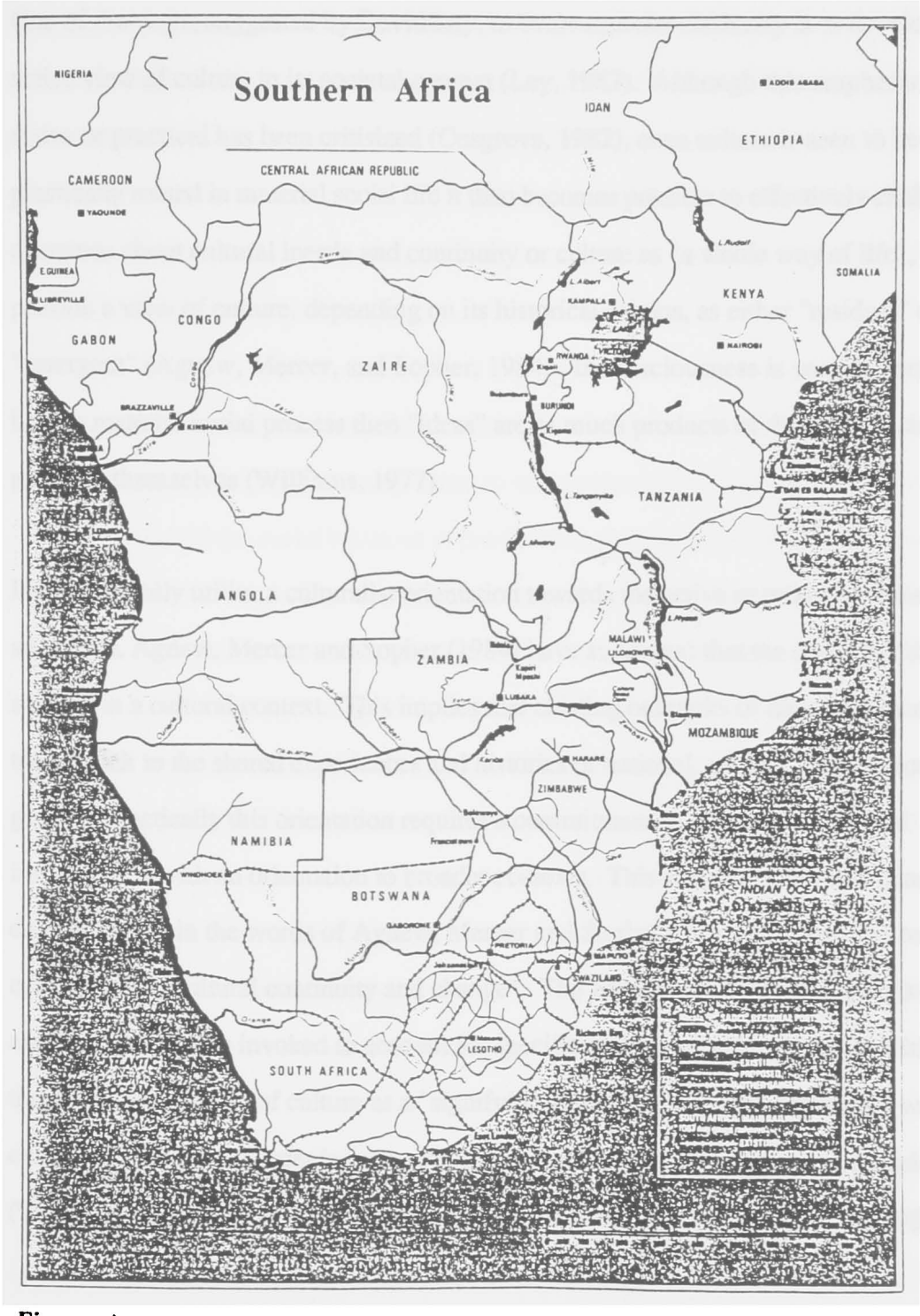

Figure 4
Southern Africa

One of the ways, suggested by David Ley, to overcome this difficulty is to develop a more active view of culture in its societal context (Ley, 1983). Although this emphasis on the active or practical has been critisized (Cosgrove, 1982), once culture is seen to be practically rooted in material social life it then becomes possible to effectively challenge questions about cultural inertia and continuity or culture as "a whole way of life", to provide a view of culture, depending on its historical origins, as either "residual" or "emergent" (Agnew, Mercer, and Sopher, 1984). If consciousness is seen as part of the human material social process then "ideas" are as much products of this process as physical products themselves (Williams, 1977).

In order to fully utilize a culturalist orientation towards the active or practical dimensions of social life, Agnew, Mercer and Sopher (1984) have suggested that the study of cities be situated in a cultural context. This implies that existing networks of ideas and practices be traced back to the shared experiences and histories of national, ethnic and other social groups. Practically this orientation requires a commitment to marry detailed local investigation with an orientation to broader contexts. This allows the use of a concept of culture which, in the words of Agnew, Mercer and Sopher (1984) is, "sensitive to the causes of both cultural continuity and change". The advantage of this approach is that ideas and practices can be invoked to account for specific patterns of urban growth. Ultimately therefore, the concept of culture as a "signifying system" is a particularly useful way to examine how a social order is "communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored" (Williams, 1982), either "autonomously" or consciously "directed" (Western, 1984).

This concept of culture is particularly applicable to southern Africa. Those in power have traditionally used culture to both emphasize differences between groups of people and

actively manipulated it in order to further their own visions of an ideal society. While urban development in the "Western" context is explained outside the realm of culture, studies of non-western societies have constantly lamented the absence of the cultural variable in urban explanations (De Cola, 1986) or pointed to its centrality as an explanatory variable (Abu-Lughod, 1971). Southern Africa, therefore, provides an opportunity to activate the cultural study of society.

The second theme is the *culture of capitalism.* Explanations or definitions of capitalism as a mode of production frequently emphasize its economic substructure (divided into the forces of production and the social relations of production) over its associated superstructure (comprising an ideological and a political realm). Tensions or contradictions which exist within the economic substructure are assumed to bring about change to the capitalist system. Marx, for example, argued that the capital-labor contradiction was central to the progress of capitalist mode of production.[3] The assumed centrality of class struggle has been a major point of dispute between Marxists and other social theorists. Max Weber for example, thought that far too little autonomy was assigned to the superstructural level and to the individual. Values, mentality, morality, emotional structure, and the state were held by Weber to exert a strong independent effect upon the course of history. Both Marxians and Weberians agree, however, that social conflict should provide the basis for explaining urban society.

To understand the culture of capitalism as a signifying system is therefore to understand the totality of "mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behaviour of the

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[3]This is because the owners of the means of production need to minimize wages in order to minimize production costs and thereby maximize profits.

individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself and of each individual to himself. It also includes the products of these activities and their role in the life of groups" (Boas, 1938, in MacFarlane, 1987).

The third theme is the *role that successive governments* have played in the evolution of urban development (Cockburn 1977; Saunders 1979). Institutional structures, administrative processes, and legislative practices are central to the role that the state plays in influencing city development. In southern Africa not only have specific legislative policies, rules and regulations been directly related to urban development but in combination with a host of other supportative legislation have influenced cities and city systems in their attempt to address the "native question" (Rakodi, 1986b). Furthermore, social practices not enshrined in law have also had their place in informing and guiding the dominant cultural milieu. The end result has been the emergence of a highly fragmented landscape characterized by locations, townships, suburbs, reserves, homelands and bantustans.

Finally, a major theme has been *conflict* and its corollary *fear*. The belief by the dominant group, the Whites, that race and cultural differences in society are incompatible and that contact between groups leads to friction has had an enormous impact on urban development (Davies, R. J. 1982). Cities and towns of southern Africa stand testimony to this belief and ironically to the conflict and uncertainty that accompanies it. In an attempt to ameliorate the effects of conflict and fear, physical and psychological barriers have been erected between socio-racial groups. The desire for an end to the conflict and for greater security permeates southern African society today (Crapanzano, 1990), much as it has done in the

Villiers, 1988).

With these themes in mind, this chapter will address the arrival of Europeans in southern Africa and the changes that have attended their presence.

The Europeanization of Southern Africa

Colonies of Settlement

The historical outflow of European population, trade, industry, technology, administration, militarism, music, art and religious beliefs, in other words, culture, from the 16th to the 20th centuries has left its imprint on a number of areas of the world. Yet despite 400 years of European contact with the African continent permanent large scale European settlement was largely undertaken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three major areas of settlement, French North Africa, British South Africa, and Portuguese Africa experienced in-migration of white settler populations at different historical moments. In establishing permanent homes on the "Dark Continent", "settlement came to reflect an ambivalent attitude which sought to establish a new and improved Europe or Asia, but on the African continent "(Christopher, 1984). It is to the nature and source of this ambivalence that attention will be directed.

In southern Africa, the presence of large numbers of Whites came to distinguish it from other colonial African states whether they were British, Portuguese or German occupations. While this distinction is important in itself, greater significance must be attributed to the fact that these large numbers of Whites ultimately "fell within the same general social, economic, and political sphere, thereby creating a greater bond of affinity

among all the British possessions to the south of the Zambezi River" (Christopher, 1984). They came, therefore, to operate under a similar set of cultural norms, values, and mores. It is this group of settlers whose interaction among themselves and between the African population and other immigrant groups that proved so incisive in its imprint on the landscape[4]. This chapter will explore the ramifications of the European on the African continent, by examining the urban impress that the largest and most long-lasting group of settlers who came to occupy southern Africa, wrought.

Largely absent before the arrival of Europeans, urban development has been shaped by the broader lineaments of capitalism as a culture as it emerged in the 16th century in Europe and evolved to attain its current status as a world economy. Grounded in southern Africa by a complex combination of local characteristics and circumstances, the arrival of the European and the subsequent emergence of the Afrikaner and the British, a particular variant of the "Western capitalist city" has developed (Western, 1984).

The Immigrants

The Europeans: The establishment of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company as a refreshment station for ships bound to and from the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies marked a pivotal point in the history of southern Africa. With the "availability" of land and a plentiful supply of food (Lamar, and Thompson, 1981), "the free White population rose to about 26,568 together with 29,861 slaves by 1806, the year the British gained control of the colony" (Christopher, 1976, p. 42). One of the most

[4]This is not to suggest that the groups simply accepted the foreign culture without question, as studies of indigenous strategies of collaboration and resistance have shown (Ranger, 1977).

important aspects of the initial European intrusion into this area of Africa in its early phase was the establishment of settler groups of Europeans who were the progenitors of the Afrikanervolk. The product of Dutch and German settlers, with later additions of French Hugenot refugees fleeing religious persecution in Europe, the Afrikaners, developed a cultural identity based on a history, religion and a common language firmly rooted in the region. By 1814, when the Netherlands relinquished all its interests in the region the Cape Colony with its Afrikaner settlers exercised a degree of local autonomy which ran counter to British imperial ideas and practices (Duly, 1968).

In their efforts to bring the Colony under colonial control, the British imposed a number of reforms including those affecting land tenure, the emancipation of slaves and the treatment of free Blacks. Inevitably these reforms, jarred against the local autonomy of the Afrikaners and created animosity between them and the English. Exacerbated by the language barrier, this resentment produced political pressures that were most keenly felt when the British attempted to establish a permanent line between the expansionist Cape Colony and the indigenous African population on the borders of the settlement.

The combination of political pressure and the perceived need for more land compounded by population growth among the Afrikaner triggered the Great Trek of 1838 when they sought to escape British influence by migrating into the interior of the continent. Moving into areas that were assumed to be uninhabited they established three republics. Two of the republics, the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State remained in the hands of different trekker groups, while Natal was annexed by the British in 1843. (Figure 5). Despite an influx of British urban dwellers with industrial and commercial skills continued immigration which amounted to the first large scale expansion of European

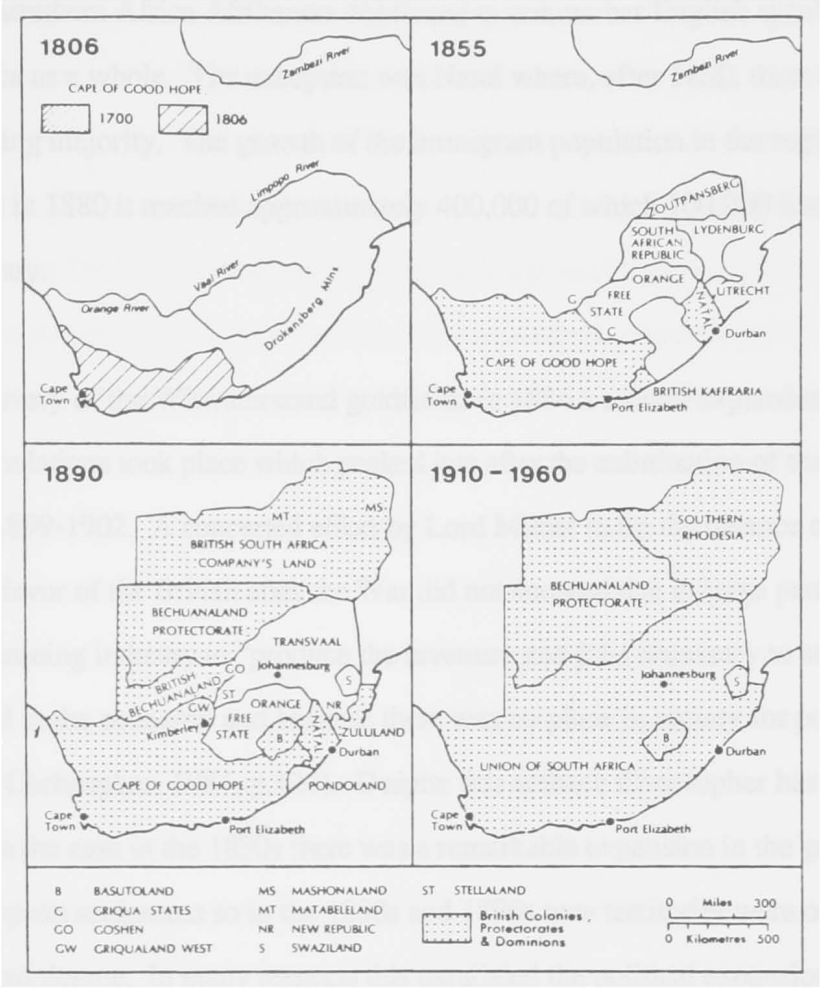

Figure 5
The political development of southern Africa
Source: Christopher, (1976) Fig 1, p. 14

population in southern Africa Afrikaners continued to outnumber English speakers in southern Africa as a whole. The exception was Natal where, after 1850, there was an English speaking majority. The growth of the immigrant population in the region continued and in 1880 it reached approximately 400,000 of which 100,000 lived outside the Cape Colony.

With the discovery of the Witwatersrand goldfields in 1886 a second expansion of White immigrant populations took place which peaked just after the culmination of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. A concerted effort by Lord Milner to tip the balance of the White population in favor of the British after the War did not succeed due in large part to the failure of the mining industry to "produce the revenues and jobs necessary to sustain growth needed in the economy and because there was no place in society for poor immigrants" (Christopher, 1984, p.129). Despite this setback Christopher has observed that, "just as in the case in the 1830s there was a remarkable expansion in the geographical extent of European settlement so in the 1880s and 1890s new territories were occupied, if only to a limited degree. In many respects this paralleled the political expansion of European control associated with the Age of Imperialism" (Christopher, 1984, p. 127). It was during this expansionary phase that Southern Rhodesia was occupied by the British[5]The occupation and annexation of Bechuanaland (1885), Northern and Southern Rhodesia (1890) came as part of a retaliatory move by the British to pre-empt Afrikaner expansion. Southern Rhodesia as the last major area of European settlement that was part of the Cape colonial expansion. Largely the vision of Cecil J. Rhodes who saw a colony to the north under the British flag it was occupied by his British South Africa Company which

[5]The purpose of using historical names for places is that these particular places were very different from what they are today. Periods are sometimes captured by moods which in turn can be recalled by names. The intention here is to capture some of those moments by using their 'old' names.

offered 15 mining claims and half farms (3,000 acres) to pioneers whose main interest was mineral exploitation, and full farms to those whose interest was farming. By 1890 Mashonaland was occupied with the same fate befalling Matabeleland in 1893. After a shaky start, immigrant population within the colony increased from 14,000 to 23,606 between 1907 and 1911. 1910 marked the culmination in spatial terms of the colonial period in South Africa when, an accommodation was reached between opposing Afrikaner and British colonial elites, and Britain as the metropolitan power. All further opportunities for geographical expansion of White southern African settlement had by this date become exhausted. (Figure 6)

Any future expansion had thereafter to be accommodated within southern Africa's newly established national political boundaries. The White population growth continued by natural increase although immigration declined. There were 1.2 million in 1911, 2.1 million in 1936, 3.4 million in 1960, and 4.8 million in 1980 in southern Africa (Christopher, 1982). For South Africa the creation of a Republic in 1961 marked the formal culmination of the British colonial venture in that country as it did in the granting of independence in Botswana (1973). The "colonial" enterprise was to linger a while longer in Zimbabwe with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia (1965) acting as a stumbling block to full political independence in 1980.

The Asians: While Europeans came to occupy the dominant position in southern Africa, they were not the only immigrant group that settled in that part of Africa[6]. Paradoxically, despite the contention that southern Africa would provide sufficient black labor for intending White settlers the shortage of labor resulted in the importation of two forms of

[6]Davies (1981) defines Asian migrants as a 'stranger group.'

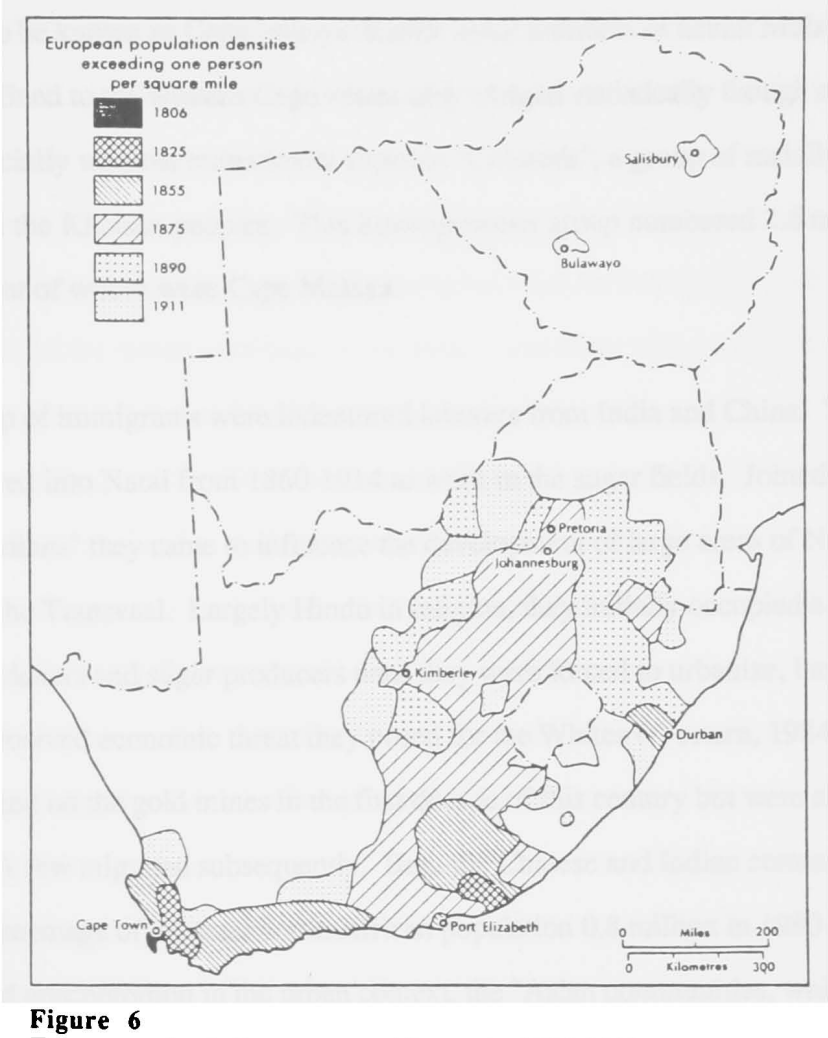

Figure 6
The spread of European settlement, 1806-1911
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 13, p. 247**

labor: slaves and indentured labor. The Dutch brought in slaves from India and Madagascar from 1657 onwards. Largely Muslim in religion and Malay in speech the slaves came to be known as Cape Malays despite small numbers of actual Malayans. They remained confined to the western Cape where they merged statistically though not necessarily racially with the numerically superior "Coloreds", a group of racially mixed parentage and the Khoisan peoples. This heterogeneous group numbered 2.6 million in 1980, 6 percent of whom were Cape Malays.

Another group of immigrants were indentured laborers from India and China. The Indians were introduced into Natal from 1860-1914 to work in the sugar fields. Joined later by "passenger Indians" they came to influence the development of large areas of Natal and to a lesser extent the Transvaal. Largely Hindu in religion, they initially occupied a rural niche as market gardeners and sugar producers until they were forced to urbanize, largely as a result of a perceived economic threat they posed for the Whites (Western, 1984). The Chinese worked on the gold mines in the first decade of this century but were almost all repatriated. A few migrated subsequently. Both the Chinese and Indian communities make up a small percentage of the total South African population 0.8 million in 1980 but because of their forced concentration in the urban context, the "Asian communities, which have been the most severely regulated by the racial legislation of the past 100 years" (Christopher, 1982, p. 32), have had a particularly distinctive influence on the urban environment. The fate of a group of "deflected passenger" Indians who went to Southern Rhodesia, because they were refused entry into South Africa, met with a similar fate as their southerly bretheran (Dotson and Dotson, 1968, p. 34).

The Indegenes

The Africans: The idea that large numbers of indigenous Africans remained as "shadowy figures" (Christopher, 1976) for the Europeans has been challenged in the literature. That the reaction by the indigenous African population to territorial expansion and subjugation by the Europeans was not passivity has been demonstrated in the literature (Ranger, 1977). Reaction to the expansionist posture of the immigrants did, however, differ with each African group and the latters transition to "no-status" was riven with conflict between colonizer and colonized, "manifested in strategies of collaboration and resistance" (Crush and Rogerson, 1983, p. 207). Thus the hunters (San) and gatherers (Khoikhoi) of the Cape either actively resisted as in the formers case or were assimilated despite efforts to maintain their integrity as with the latter. In their assimilation the Hottentots (Khoikhoi) became part of the larger Colored population. Despite efforts by some groups to maintain some degree of autonomy they were finally overwhelmed, or as in the case of the Bushmen (San), driven into the desert by the Europeans and the Hottentots.

Contact with the northern, more sedentary, ethnically heterogenous Bantu speaking Africans including the Nguni, Sotho, and Shona was markedly different. Not "shouldered aside" as easily as the Black groups in the Cape Colony, these groups had adopted much more of a combative posture. Prior to the arrival of the Voortrekkers in 1837, the entire region, which up to the end of the eighteenth century was relatively calm, was shaken by the ferocious *mfecane*, the crushing "a cataclysmic period of black-on-black destruction in the era of Shaka (roughly 1810-1830)" (Cobbing, 1988)[7]. The Zulus under Dingiswayo instituted a standing army in about 1808-18 which under the ten year reign of Shaka Zulu

[7]There are present-day echoes of this attitude in reports of "black-on-black" violence in South Africa today.

(1818-1828) attacked their fellow Nguni, the Xhosa and the Swazi. Mzilikazi's rebels, an offshoot of this group, invaded the core of the Sotho lands, the interior plateau between the Orange and Limpopo Rivers, only to be driven out by the northward migrating Voortrekkers in1837. Undeterred, the Matabele then under Mzilikazi attacked the Shona in the northern Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia, only to be defeated later under Lobengula by the British in Rhodesia 1893. A final battle between the Rhodesian settlers and the Shona and Ndebele (1896-97) culminated in a victory for the settlers[8].

The question that arises from this, albeit but brief history of inter-group contact in southern Africa is what factors motivated these groups to behave in the fashion that they did? These factors will be outlined in the next section.

Motivational Factors

The paucity of historical analyses on southern Africa has been noted by some writers, despite the availability of a rich source of materials the field is relatively weak and remains an enigma (Crush and Rogerson, 1983). Urban studies are not exceptional in this regard although "new wave" scholars have begun to make some progress in addressing this weakness. The creation of urban centers has been conceptualized in the context of proletarianization in a regional economic system (Rich, 1980). Within this context, racial segregation, and control over the labor process have been given primary consideration (Swanson, 1976; Robinson, 1990). Recent work has concentrated on dealing with the informal sector and the plight of the unemployed (Beavon and Rogerson, 1980; Lodge,

[8]In Zimbabwe the Second Chimurenga or guerilla war which led to independence is a re-enactment of this first hostile engagement in a 'tradition of resistance' towards domination.

1981), as well as the role of production capital in the creation of the townships (McCarthy, 1989), and the commodification of housing for Blacks (Parnell, 1990). These studies highlight a number of factors that are helpful in explaining the actions of groups of people within southern Africa.

The first involves *land.* In his discussion on the crown lands of South Africa Christopher (1984) emphasized that land was the basic commodity on offer in British South Africa for an expanding population before the discovery of minerals in the 1870s and 1880s. Although its "availability" constituted the most extensive transfer of land to European settlers anywhere on the African continent, this land transfer was initially directed to local born Whites, mainly Afrikaners, who made up the bulk of the rural population (Christopher, 1984, p. 4). The European - born mainly British population - was largely urban. The significance of last this point cannot be overemphasized since it was British immigration which came largely to influence the creation of an urban system. This transfer of land into private ownership has a number of implications, one of which is of singular importance. The losers in this transfer were the non-whites, especially the Blacks, who were denied access to or restricted from certain land areas of the country. Land, therefore, became the clarion call around which the Blacks and other non-white groups rallied in their resistance efforts[9]

Land however, was not the only commodity that was on offer in southern Africa. During the initial White immigration period the availability of abundant black *labor* was offered as a major attraction to European populations seeking to migrate to southern Africa. This was

[9]The historical founding and development of the African National Congress and its Freedom Charter is an example. In Zimbabwe the 'Land Question' served to galvanize Blacks into armed resistance (Moyo,1990).

the second factor. Constantly mentioned by the various branches of the government, its importance lies in a number of areas. First, it affected the type of immigrant who came to settle in southern Africa.

> Thus the indigenous population was attractive to a certain class of settler in providing cheap labour, but this was achieved by refusing entry to most unskilled working-class European settlers, for whom southern Africa had no place (Christopher, 1976, p. 28).

This situation prevailed in Rhodesia as well. Secondly, despite the perception that southern Africa would provide abundant labor, indigenous people were reluctant to offer their services. Labor had to be acquired from a variety of geographical sources. Thus Asian and African slaves, African "apprentices", Asian indentured labor, and finally, "free" indigenous Black labor came to be utilized. With the growing urbanization of the White population and a growing demand for labor in agriculture, mining, and industry it was coerced non-white labor which came to supply this demand. This led to the growth of the migrant labor system which came to affect the whole of southern Africa including those states under the control of other colonial powers (Arrighi, 1970). The combination of these factors has meant that throughout south(ern) African history the more menial tasks were done by other racial groups whether Asian slaves or indentured laborers, or by African migrant workers (Christopher, 1976). What this came to mean was,

> In essence economic class formation in a capitalist order had been structurally interrelated with race and ethnicity in the determination of levels of patterns of incorporation and association in society (Davies, 1986).

More importantly, social formation was based on the spatial segregation of race groups. Peasants, proletariats, and the capitalists were neatly divided with separation and segregation acting to reinforce the arrangement.

This leads directly to the third factor. This combined demand for land and labor (slave, indentured or migrant, proletariat), came to serve as both the cause and result of scenes of recurring *conflict* and social disorder between and among the indigenous and immigrant communities. For example, the attempt to bring land under White control led to numerous "areas of harassment, conflicts and occasionally full scale wars" (Christopher, 1984, p. 28). Social formation, based as it was on segregation and race led not only to a particular spatial organization of the city, but was the source of conflict in society. Thus for example, the urban black population "became fraught with uncertainty, impermanence, poverty, harassment, containment and the object of official caveat" (Davies, R. J. 1986, p. 5). Since by its nature "the system was coercive and non-integrative" (Davies, R. J. 1986, p. 5), conflict was structural rather than incidental. Protest, social disorder, and conflict were endemic to southern Africa (Davies, R. J. 1986).

Finally, within the context of the culture of capitalism *myth* and *ideology* has played a powerful role in the development of southern Africa. Anthropologists have frequently commented on the role that myth and ideology have in the the development of culture (Geertz, 1973). The development of the culture of capitalism in southern Africa was no exception. For example, the *mfacane* , cited earlier, which crudely conveyed the notion of a self-generated internal revolution culminating in "black-on-black" destruction in the era of Shaka (about 1810-1830) has a certain mythical quality about it. Cobbing (1988) argues that as a myth the *mfecane* has gone from strength to strength and has enjoyed "near-universal acceptance". The significance of treating this event in mythical terms for *apartheid* propoganda is very clear according to Cobbing. Military conquest serves as an important psychological argument made by the Afrikaner about their claims to the region. Furthermore, its major impact lies in its use as a major source for the creation of myths

about Blacks in general and the Zulus in particular, which served as the background for the policies of racial segregation. The *mfecane* therefore came to affect the White's relationship not only with the Black population but with all Non-white racial groups by its legitimation of apartheid[10],[11]. Similarly, Rich (1980) highlights the administrative ideology that underpins urban social control and the origins of apartheid.

It is within this capitalist cultural context of conflict, myth making, and ideology that land, labor, and social formation has shaped the urban system and city form. To provide an idea of how this came about an examination of the urban system within specific historical periods will be attempted next.

The Urban System

In their settlement in southern Africa Europeans "introduced the towns in the region while simultaneously destroying any local urban development in the wars of the early nineteenth century" (Christopher, 1982, p. 138). The European immigrants carried specific urban and village settlement concepts in the cultural baggage which they brought to southern Africa. These concepts were nevertheless adapted to fit the context the Europeans found themselves in. This raises questions about the nature and the product of this adaptation and its impact upon the pre-capitalist social forms that existed in the region. This segment of the chapter will examine the overall creation of an urban system and will then look at city form within this overall framework.

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[10]The current violence in South Africa perpetrated by Chief Buthelezi's supporters is a present day example of the power of this myth.

[11]In his criticism of the conventional Afro-centric views of the events surrounding the Mfecane, Cobbing very plausibly attributes the emergence of that event to the expansion of the slave trade by the Portuguese from Delagoa Bay (Cobbing, 1988).

1652-1806 The Dutch/Afrikaner Imprint

The necessity to establish a refreshment station to supply ships of the United Dutch East India Company led to the foundation of Cape Town as an "urban trading post" complete with fort to guard the proposed garden of the Company in 1652 (Christopher, 1976, p. 139). Thus the establishment of ports and the linear expansion of centers based upon pastoral expansion and crop production is clearly evident in the southern African case. The pre-1870 period was generally associated with settler and indigenous agricultural production unlike the situation in West Africa where early European contact was oriented to trading with the indigenous population. As the Cape population increased and settler agriculture began to expand territorially the need to establish centers of control and administration led to the establishment of frontier towns/villages. Stellenbosch founded in 1679, and Paarl and Tulbagh laid out in 1763 experienced extremely slow growth rates as general trade and business were transacted directly in Cape Town. The expansion of livestock production and with it the need for territorial expansion of the Colony in the eighteenth century led to further economic growth and urban development.

Expansion of the areas settled by graziers was effected in two phases. The first, prior to 1745, was within approximately 200 miles of Cape Town. The second expansion after 1745 which was a eastwards and northwards movement, came to a halt in about 1779 with the first major clash with Bantu tribes at the line of the Great Fish River. The low density and isolation of the white population necessitated the establishment of Swellendam in 1743 which became the seat of a magistrate. By this date settler graziers were already out of reach of his control and Graaff Reinet was established 1786 to control the eastern frontier districts. The last village founded by the Dutch/Afrikaner was Uitenhage in 1804 which was occupied by settlers who were offered free grants for living there on condition that

they were available for military duty. The character of all these settlements in the grazing districts remained "small, providing few services, and through lack of trade they were unable to attract potential artisans" (Christopher, 1976, p. 51).

Although the Dutch and Portuguese mercantilist urban heritage had an impact on the Afrikaner as they came to dominate southern Africa after 1717, the Afrikaners conception of an overall urban system was rudimentary, and developed on an ad hoc basis. This situation is hardly surprising when the nature of the Afrikaner economy is considered. Western (1984) concluded that they "were part of a rather poorly articulated export economy, in, for example, wine and wheat, plus the victualling of shipping". Most Afrikaners were basically subsistence farmers. Hobart Houghton offers a reason why this situation should have arisen:

> Land was abundant, capital and skilled labor was scarce, markets were far-distant and the means of transportation rudimentary. Thus it was that descendants from the great trading cities of northern Europe, and from the intensive agriculture of France and the Netherlands, found themselves transformed in a generation into semi-nomadic stock farmers living in the interior where small-scale units consisting of the farmer, his family, servants, and retainers provided for most of their wants by their own efforts, having relatively little contact with markets, or with the changes in manufacturing techniques which at the time were transforming the economies of Europe and bringing about the industrial revolution (Houghton,1971).

Western (1984) maintains that, "they seem to have established a much-simplified version of the European culture from which they had sprung". They had in fact stepped back into a rustic rurality from which the British would eventually drive them out.

The position of the British who took control of the Cape in 1806 on the otherhand, was radically different given their experience with the industrial revolution which had gone on for close onto half a century by this time. (Figure 7)

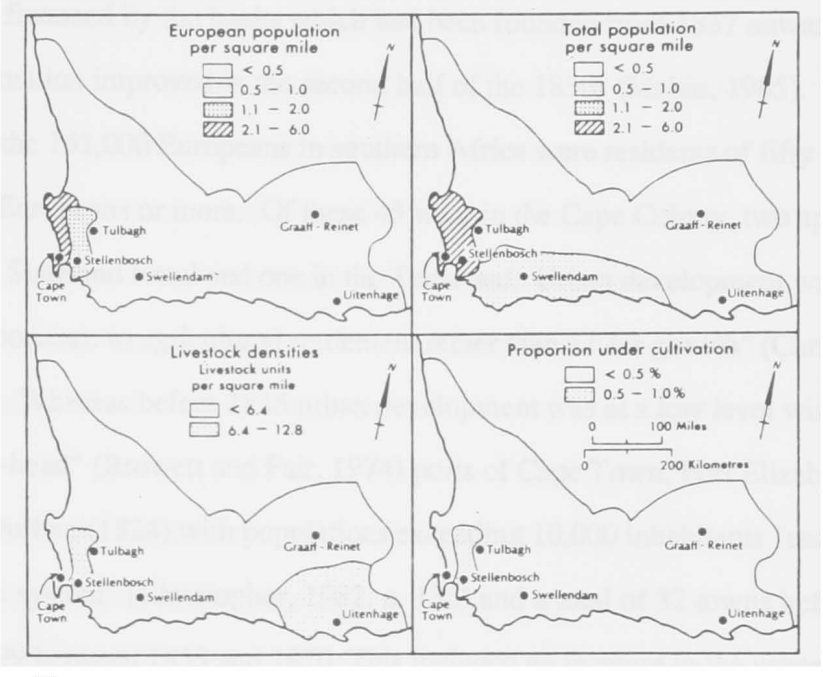

Figure 7
The state of the Cape Colony in 1806
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 13, p. 52**

1806-1910 : The British Impact

The introduction of British colonial rule at the Cape in 1806 brought an increase in urban activity. New colonialization movements sparked of the establishment of commercial agriculture and there followed a series of economic booms after 1835. Part of this urban activity was financed by the banks which had been founded from 1837 onwards as the economic situation improved in the second half of the 1830s (Mabin, 1985). By 1855 up to a third of the 141,000 Europeans in southern Africa were residents of fifty towns which housed 100 Europeans or more. Of these 45 were in the Cape Colony, two apiece in the Orange Free State and Natal and one in the Transvaal. Urban development was therefore of "great importance to agricultural settlement rather than a later growth" (Christopher, 1976, p. 94). Whereas before 1835 urban development was at a low level with only the three "beach-head" (Browett and Fair, 1974) ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth (est. 1815), and Durban (1824) with populations exceeding 10,000 inhabitants "each with its own separate system" (Christopher, 1982, p. 135) and a total of 32 towns before 1835, there were 199 between 1835 and 1870. This included an increase in the urban White population "from a quarter to a third and a simultaneous tenfold increase in the number of towns" (Christopher, 1976, pp. 86-87).

This new phase coincided with the closure of rural settlement as a consequence of it reaching its realizable potential, the closer-settlement movement, and the introduction of a cash economy as a result of the activities of commercial banks. Southern Africa was changing from an agrarian to an industrial society attended with its own difficulties. Thus the prosperity of the 1850s gave place to a depression in the middle 1860s that owed its origin to both internal but mainly external factor[12]. This proved to be a temporary setback

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[12]H. Houghton attributes the depression to a number of factors including the prospect of opening up the Suez

however, as the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 effectively put a seal on that transition. These discoveries were to have major ramifications on the zonal and regional southern African urban system. The urban hierarchy which in 1855 was centered on the ports and to a lesser extent on inland centers under mercantilism had by 1911 reoriented itself to the demands of industrial capitalism with the emergence of the inland centers of Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Kimberley (Christopher, 1976. (Figure 8 and Figure 9). This shifting of emphasis from the coast to the inland centers was accompanied by the urbanization of the White population from 32% in 1835, rising to 37% in 1890 to 51.5% in 1911. Kimberley however, the first modern industrial city in southern Africa saw not only the influx of large numbers of Whites but for the first time Africans as well, for whom the conscious development of compounds was first introduced.

The difference between the British and the Dutch/Afrikaner attitude to the urban system in southern Africa was that whereas the latter appeared to have had an ad hoc approach to the urban system, the British consciously utilized it to stamp their authority and control over the territories they had jurisdiction over. This is not to argue that control was less important to the Afrikaners. The Afrikaners simply exercised it in a more diffuse fashion with agrarian communities and farmer militia whereas the British in conceptualizing town and country as a whole were more comprehensive in their approach and used the urban system to undergird their control of the territory.

1910-1950: The Afrikaner/British Partnership

This period also saw a profound change in the economy of southern Africa after the

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canal, the decline in the price of wool at the end of the American Civil War, a recession in Britain in 1866; in South Africa the drought and bank failures in 1865 (Houghton, 1971)

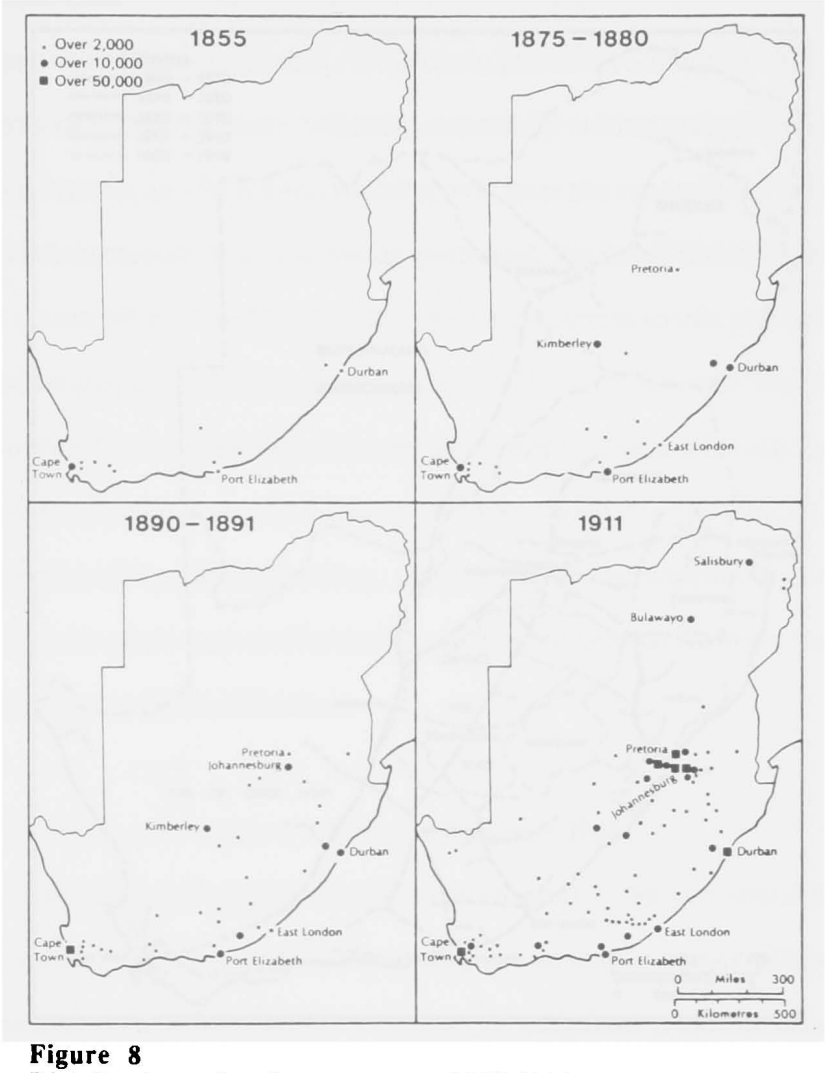

Figure 8
Distribution of urban centers, 1855-1911
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 50, p. 153**

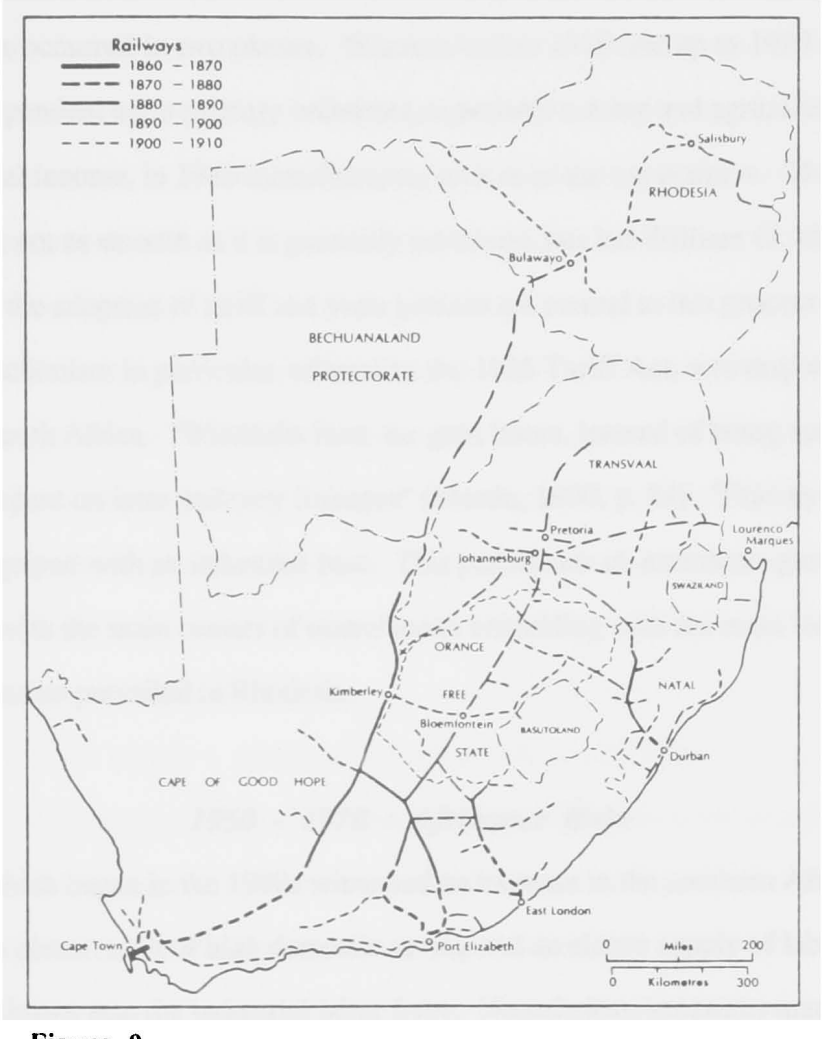

Figure 9
Development of the railway network of southern Africa, 1860-1910
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 60, p. 176**

emergence of the Union of South Africa under the political control of the Afrikaner in 1910. Change occurred in two phases. Whereas before 1910 and up to 1933 south(ern) Africa was dependent upon primary industries, especially mining and agriculture for nearly half its national income, in 1943 manufacturing took over the top position. That this transition was not as smooth as it is generally portrayed, has led William G. Martin to conclude that the adoption of tariff and trade policies are central to this process in general and that protectionism in particular, offered by the 1925 Tariff Act, was responsible for this situation in South Africa. "Windfalls from the gold boom, instead of being spent on imports was spent on inter-industry linkages" (Martin, 1990, p. 84). Thus by 1939 South Africa was equiped with an industrial base. This period saw an enormous growth in the size of cities with the main centers of manufacture coinciding with the main mining towns. A similar situation prevailed in Rhodesia.

1950 - 1970 : Afrikaner Rule

The period which began in the 1950s witnessed an increase in the southern African economy as a direct result of high domestic saving and an elastic supply of labor as more Blacks were drawn into the industrial labor force. Nonetheless, pressures manifested themselves as in 1948, 1952 and 1958 owing to adverse balance on current account. The crisis of 1960/1 was however related to zonal and local political upheavals which induced fears that led to a large flight of capital (Houghton, 1971, p. 39). In part this flight was related to the declaration of South Africa as a Republic and fears surrounding possible political and economic instability. Confidence, however, did return perhaps "to the realization that its government was unlikely to capitulate to the forces of African nationalism" (Houghton, 1971, p. 40).

Both the 1950s and early 1960s then, proved to be an economically bouyant time for southern Africa. In their study of the South African spatial system from 1870 to 1970, Browett and Fair (1974) claimed that "at present, since there is little evidence of fundamental change in the parameters of the South African spatial system, it is expected that the patterns here described should continue well into the future" (Browett, and Fair, 1974). Their study highlighted the sharp differences of the degree of integration between the White and Black population gradients as they fell off from major peaks in the "modern South African spatial system". With the slowing down of the economies in the late sixties however, and the continuing importance on mineral exports in the national economic structure of these countries, a number of developments came to use this racio-spatial divide to extend the urban system in South Africa.

1970 - 1990 : Industrial Restructuring

In the early 1970s the urban system in southern Africa began to respond to a number of initiatives to extend its areal distribution. Industrial decentralization and the concept of growth points became important policy directives in this regard. It has been suggested that both of these strategies were initially associated with the apartheid policies, that is, political rather than purely economic principles were at play (Ratcliffe, 1979). They were seen not only to support the ailing Bantustans but also to reinforce influx control by providing employment at the source of labor. Some writers have suggested, however, that these may not be the only reasons for the move to regional centers by industrialists and that the maintenance of profits has been a major factor for this development (Bell, and Padayachee, 1984). Lacey (1982, quoted in Wellings, 1986)) for example, has argued that the industrial decentralization policy be seen as "part of the process of re-organization of industrial production which has been brought about by the changed conditions of capital

expansion in South Africa". Similarly, Wellings (1986) has argued that it is the failure of the industrial sector in South Africa that is essentially the cause of restructuring, to enable it to compete in international markets. Cobbett et al., (1985) offer another plausible interpretation. They argue that the reorganization of industrial decentralization policy is but one of several measures directed towards a restructuring of the South African state along federal lines.

All this means, in practical terms, is an extension of the South African urban hierarchy to begin to utilize labor in the Bantustans, especially female labor. This dovetails well with the proclivities of the multinationals since the end of the 1970s when the "grouping of pariah states" Taiwan, Israel and Hong kong invested in the Bantustans to benefit from these factors (Rogerson, 1986). The development of Richards Bay and Saldanha (Wiese, 1981) together with the growth points in the bantustans and the attempt by Ciskei to declare itself a Free Enterprize Zone offers more evidence in this regard (Wellings, 1986). In short, South African industry, in responding to the transition in the world economy has responded by extending the urban system into areas that were formally neglected. In Rhodesia a similar orientation to that of South Africa was adopted where industrial decentralization, and a growth point policy was utilized to force feed an economy laboring under economic sanctions (Davies, 1981).

What is evident from this account of the southern African urban system is that its development falls within certain socio-economic periods within which the themes outlined earlier were at work. Within each time period space (land) came to be more sharply defined. For example, in terms of national territories nation states were created by 1910. Within these territorial units land was not only subdivided between rural and urban but

along racial lines as well. It thus came to be that race and the class forming processes of the culture of capitalism operated in tandem to influence the development of the urban system to the point that it now occupies. With the passage of time, however, this scenario has taken some complicated turns. What this has come to mean for labor and for social formation in recent years is that, whereas Black men initially migrated to "white cities" in search of work, the work has of late, gone in search of Black women in their "Homelands". The evolution of this entire urban system to this point has, as noted by R. J. Davies (1986), been attended by conflict in which the forced removal of people to their "Homelands", "Bantustans", or "Reserves" have often been accompanied by scenes of open violence.

The best possible place to detail reproduction, however, and the conflict that attends it is at the local level. It is to the local urban form level that attention will now be paid.

Urban Form

Urban form is defined as "the pattern of residential and non-residential urban activities and their interactions as expressed by the built environment that accommodates them" (Brotchie, Newton, Hall, and Nijkamp, 1985, p. 5). In seeking explanations for these patterns in southern , Christopher's observations about Natal before 1860 provide an important lead (Christopher,1976). Christopher drew the conclusion that,"the experience of the inhabitants was that of the Cape Colony, and the basic framework of that state was applied to the new republics" (Christopher, 1976, p 89). His observation, when applied to urban form in southern Africa, has great force.

In southern Africa the experiences of the settlers of the Cape Colony have shadowed urban development for a major part of its history. Cape Town's unique cultural heritage, its concept of land-holding, and race relations for example came to be applied to urban southern Africa in one form or another. For example, Elphick and Giliomee, (1989), draw the conclusion that Whites were, "convicted of their distinctiveness from the diverse peoples among whom they lived, their virtually exclusive access to power and wealth, and their expectation to be served by cheap labourers drawn from other groups". It is these convictions which formed the "fateful legacy of the pre-industrial Cape to the modern people of South Africa" (Elphick, and Giliomee, 1989), that were linked to the opportunities that mercantile capitalism provided. Christopher makes the point that, "internal social and economic zonation, however began with the emergence of a commercial core and a wealthier European area around the Gardens. Distinct Coloured and Malay quarters were built on either side of the old core, as slavery slackened and was finally abolished in the 1830s" (Christopher 1976, p. 97). While merchantile wealth made physical separation all the more possible, the "shadow of slavery", had a marked impact on the relationship between the settler white community and the indigenous black population (Davies, R. J. 1982). Thus race, ethnicity and economic class formation and its patterning in physical terms by notions of cultural superiority became structurally interrelated in the capitalist order from the very beginning of the development of the capitalist system in southern Africa. These themes were to recur in southern Africa in various places and at various times.

The dominant Afrikaner and British communities translated various cultural attributes in their own terms. The Afrikaner community initially adopted an essentially isolated and self-contained concept for its ideal of an urban community and centered it around a church

site to which later trading sites were added. The British approach associated with close rural settlement was a concept at variance with this southern African practice in that town and country were planned as a whole. Both these concepts, that of the British and of the Afrikaner were ultimately amalgamated to form "a variant of the Western city", a hybrid, which came to be applied to the southern Africa. (Western, 1984). A historical examination of urban forms will be made taking these factors into consideration.

The Dutch and Cape Town

In terms of the patterning of its urban form, the founding of the appropriately named "Mother City", Cape Town in 1652, introduced two important physical features, that were to have ramifications throughout southern Africa. The first was the fort. Cape Town began as a fort to guard the proposed garden of the Dutch East India Company (Christopher, 1976). In the light of the turn of events in southern Africa it was ironical that protection was deemed to be an essential necessity by the settlers. Secondly, in laying out the first houses away from the fort, the grid pattern came to be introduced to southern Africa. (Figure 10). Thus it was from these simple beginnings that the city was introduced to southern Africa. In the main Dutch period towns tended to be small and grew by laying out of new streets and plots as the need arose. In the first phase of development (1836-49) cadastral plans display considerable generosity with regard to size of plot and provisions of townlands. Despite the adoption of the basic grid, the impressive vistas of the Cape town planning in the first decades of the century were ignored as in the case of Stellenbosch (1679). Abandoning their claims to the Cape the Dutch East India Company enabled the Afrikaners to take control.after 1717 before the arrival of the British in 1806.

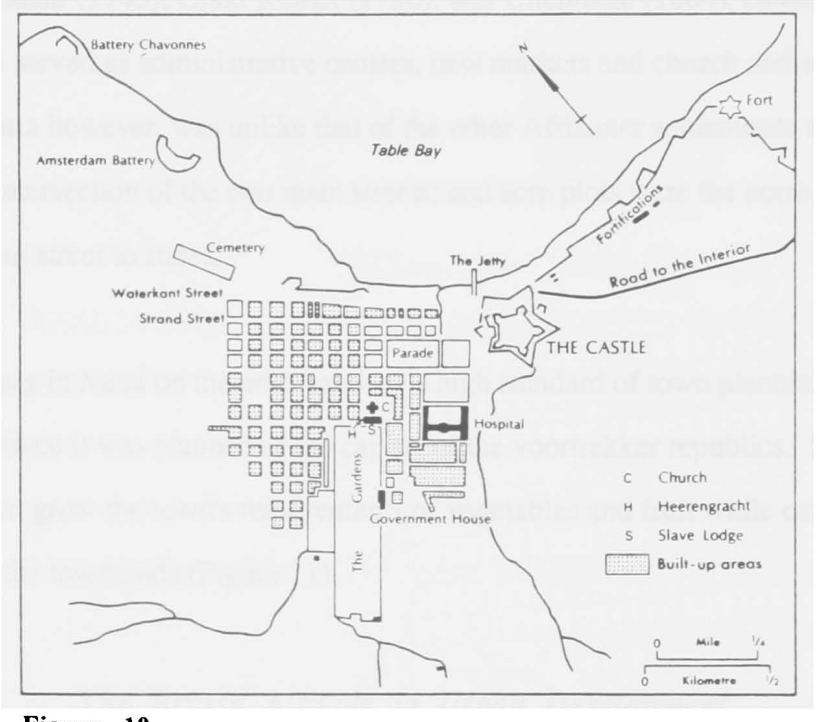

Figure 10
Cape Town in the eighteenth century
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 6, p. 36**

The Afrikaner Attitude to Urban Communities

Towns were envisaged as semi-self contained units in terms of food supply and so plot sizes were over an acre and townlands averaged over 20,0000 acres (Christopher, 1976, p. 107). Swellendam (1743), Graaf Reinet (1786), and Uitenhage (1804), established as frontier towns served as administrative centers, new markets and church and school centers. Pretoria however, was unlike that of the other Afrikaner settlements with a church square at the intersection of the two main streets; and acre plots were the norm as they did not stretch from street to street.

Pietermaritzburg in Natal on the otherhand set a high standard of town planning in its spaciousness since it was planned as the capital of the voortrekker republics. Plots were large enough to grow the town's requirements of vegetables and fruit while cattle (1,700 in 1892) grazed the townlands (Figure 11).

The British Attitude to Urban Development

The arrival of the British in the Cape in 1806 was met by the general absence of towns. The British established towns that were complete and substantial, at least on paper, which were almost uniformly laid out on a grid pattern although no model town layout was devised. The grid was open to various interpretations with the size of plots averaging an acre. This was the result of the demand by plotholders for not only a house and a garden, but also a paddock, stables, byre and other outbuildings. Other sites were reserved for a church and a market square; and after 1825 land was rarely reserved for administrative purposes. Commercial sites were unknown. Business was conducted from a house and its outbuildings with residential and business premises remained inseparable until the late nineteenth century. Although townlands varied according to circumstance, several

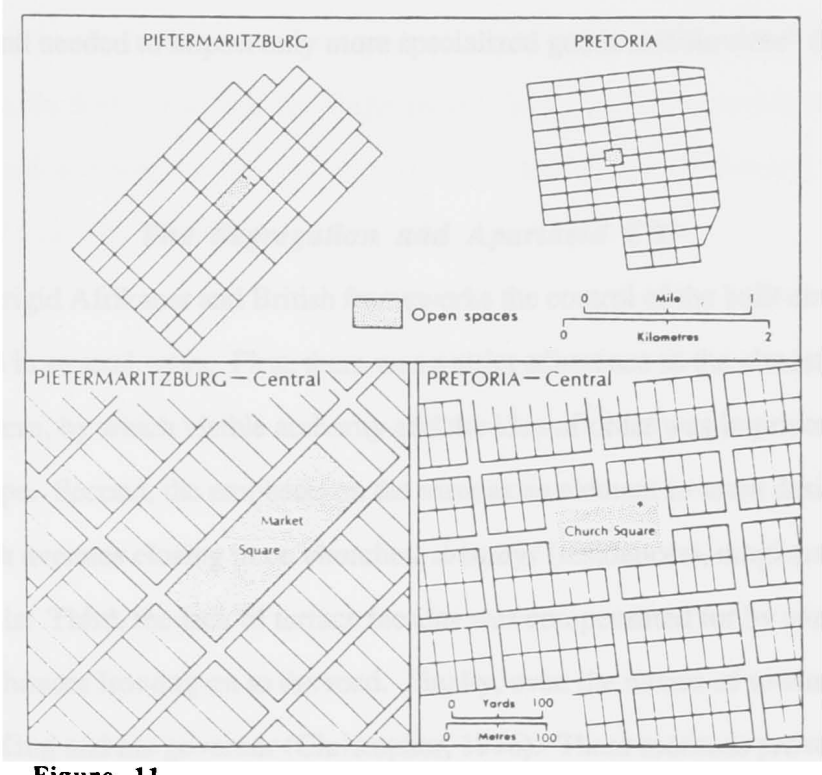

Figure 11
Afrikaner town plans 1836-1855
***Source*: Christopher, (1976) Fig 35, p. 111**

thousand acres were deemed necessary to support the town. The townlands provided grazing for the community's livestock, a source of firwood, clay for brick kilns, thatching reeds and sometimes stone. "Thus to a high degree the town could become self-supporting, and needed to import only more specialized goods and services" (Christopher, 1976).

The Segregation and Apartheid City

Within these rigid Afrikaner and British frameworks the control of the built environment was achieved in several ways. First, there was a strict adherence to the almost universal grid-iron pattern, by which visible authority and the idea of order was imprinted upon the new landscape. Second, the emphasis on the vista as an element in town design was achieved with avenues closing in on churches, *drostdys* (residences), magistrates' offices and even goals. Third, the lack of terrace facades was compensated for by avenues of trees with lines of houses fronting on to the road. Finally, even the names of towns and villages recalled the King and his governor (Christopher, 1976). These methods proved successful for the agriculturally based towns of the early and late mercantilist periods. The new gold and diamond mining settlements which came to be associated with industrialization lacked many of these planning features.

The large "unimaginative towns and suburbs of the Witwatersrand grew up with little planning, amongst the mines and their waste dumps" (Christopher, 1976, p. 157), as it was thought that they would be transitory. Whilst Christopher is technically correct in the sense that few of the former "planning techniques" outlined above were rigidly used in the planning of these centers, what little planning there was, was focussed on the "space relations of race-class groups" (Davies, 1981). Whites and Blacks were segregated.

Although the city was not built to a comprehensive social design and permitted a degree of flexibility, planning was used where it counted most for the dominant White elite, in the creation of native compounds and locations where mine companies fed and clothed single male migrant laborers under controlled supervision (Robinson, 1990). What is clearly evident is that the development of the "Segregation City", though not associated with elaborate formal planning mechanisms nevertheless succeeded in establishing the broad lineaments of a racially divided city (Figure 12).

It was on the foundations of this "Segregation City" that the "Apartheid City" came to be built in South Africa (Davies, R.J. 1981). Apartheid city planning, applied since 1948, was radically reconceptualized with a systematic set of new legal provisions and regulations that control social interaction[13]. This legislation has had the effect of creating a spatial design to conform with the dictates of the "separate development" (Figure 13). In the process of establishing the requirements of apartheid, large numbers of non-whites have had to be relocated with the result that open conflict and violence have often attended that process. In Rhodesia the "Segregation City" did not fully transfer to the "Apartheid City" partly as a result of the greater economic weakness of the country.

The Southern African City

The growth of a capitalist social formation has been accompanied by the demise of racism at the zonal/regional and national levels within southern Africa. This development has meant the emergence of the post-apartheid city. With the removal of racist

[13]This legislation includes the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act (1949), The Population Registration Act (1950), The Immorality Act (1950), The Preservation of Separate Amenities (1953), and The Education Act that provides for separate education for different races.

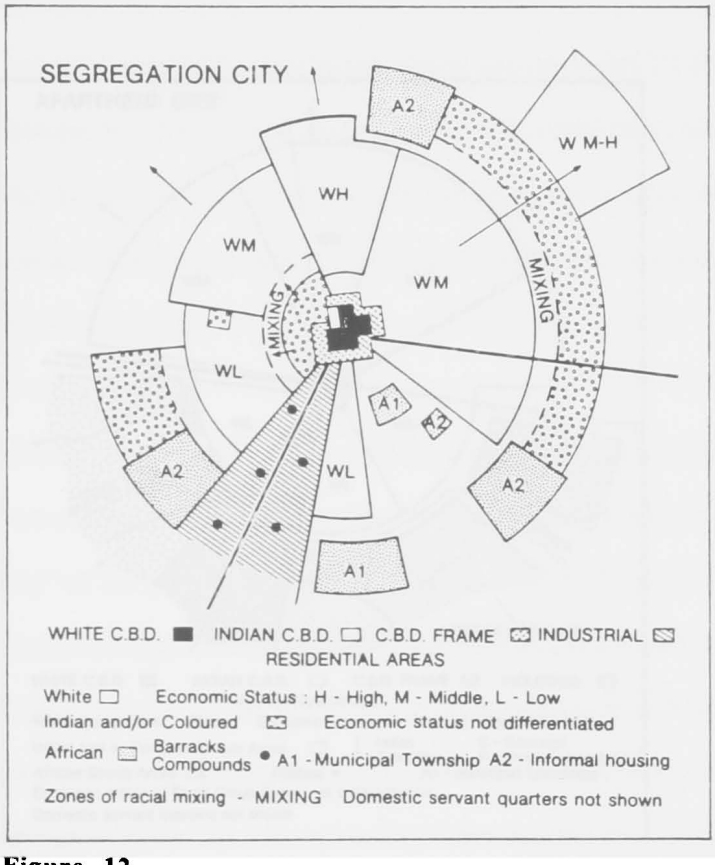

Figure 12
Model of a segregation city
***Source*: Davies, (1981) Fig 2, p. 64**

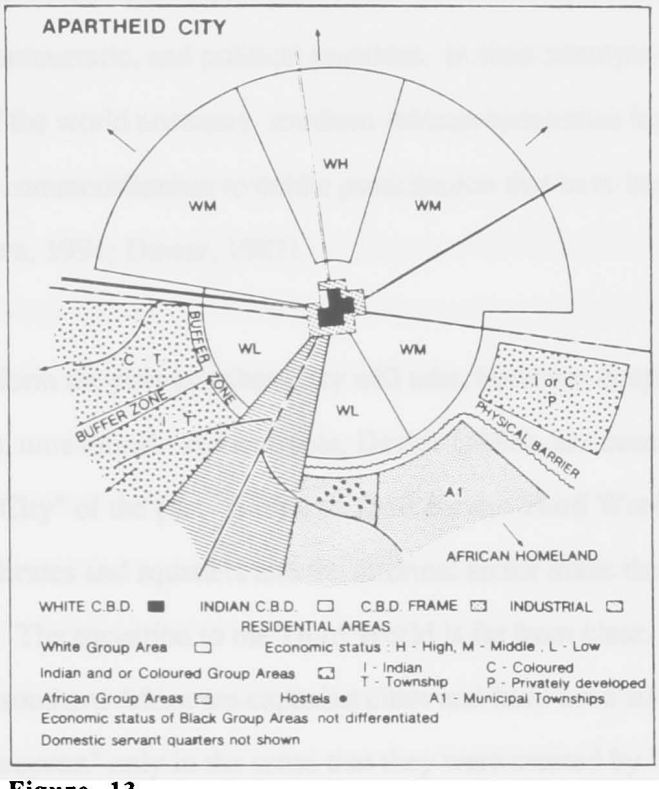

Figure 13
Model of an apartheid city
***Source*: Davies, (1981) Fig 8, p. 68**

legislation, the movement of Blacks from rural to urban areas has quickened. This movement has been accompanied by racial mixing in the cities. For example, former White areas are being occupied by Blacks (Harvey, 1982). Additionally, changes in the international and zonal/regional economies have been accompanied by changes in professional, bureaucratic, and political practices. In their attempts to survive the restructuring of the world economy, southern African economies have adopted policies and practices, from commodification to public participation that have impacted city form (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1991; Dewar, 1987).

What the final form the post-apartheid city will take, however, despite the subject of intense debate is as yet, unresolved. For example, Davies (1986), has concluded for Harare that the "European City" of the past "is now en route for the Third World", as rural-urban migration accelerates and squatters and the informal sector make their physical presence felt within the city. The transition to the Third World is far from clear. What is clear however, is that cities in southern Africa are capitalist cities and have been so since their inception. They were "European" only in the sense that they were created by "Europeans" who were rooted in a capitalist culture. The context has been influential in creating a particular variant of the "Western" city (Western, 1984). It is however, particularly southern African. What is more likely to influence their development is whether southern Africa is elevated to a semi-peripheral condition or whether it attains peripheral staus in terms of the world economy. Some writers are certain that the latter is already the case (Simon 1989).

Conclusion

Within the context of the practice of the culture of capitalism, the urban system and the

form of different cities within southern Africa have been characterized by a number of features. Prime among these is the coincidence between different periods of capitalism and urban development. By suggesting that the culture of capitalism can be divided into periods it becomes possible to differentiate not only new forms of cultural activities but a variety of spatial forms associated with them. Thus we see that land, labor, social formation, and the making of myths are all intimately linked in a web of carefully managed relationships with conflict, endemic to the system, acting both as glue and catalyst of the culture of capitalism in southern Africa. Against and within this charged context of heightened social tension and conflict ,the creation of the urban system and urban form,within specific periods, was explored.

The production of the southern African urban system displays some similarities despite the establishment of national territorial spaces. The Dutch, Afrikaner, British, and African influence on the system is obvious from the very beginning. As the culture of capitalism in its various periods was appropriated by the dominant power groups (Dutch, Afrikaner, British and Afrikaner/British) they shaped the landscape to suit their own purposes. The African, Asian, and "Colored" were not, however, bystanders in this process. Intimately engaged in the development of the urban system, which was initially designed to include them in a particular role, they are presently actively being incorporated at all levels into the system.

At the level of urban form a similar orientation to the processes of the culture of capitalism is discernable. Initially using a cultural argument, which soon translated into a racial one, the Whites developed urban forms which, in following the dictates of the predominant cultural period were subject to racially segregative policies and practices. The Segregation

City was the product. As the Afrikaner became politically and economically more entrenched and the principles of apartheid developed more fully under the direction of the National Party, the Whites consciously designed the Apartheid City. As southern Africa enters into the current period of capitalism, city form has once again begun to change.

There are a variety of conclusions that can be drawn about the culture of capitalism as it was practised in southern Africa. Heading the list is the issue of control. The need to establish and maintain control emerges as a major component of European culture as it manifested itself in southern Africa. This is hardly surprising when an examination of the roots of European culture is made. In his description of American values (rooted in European culture) Talcott Parsons (1989) defines Puritanism as a doctrine of rational mastery over the world. Thus the desire to control, a cultural attribute, combined with fear (generated by the conflict that attended the expansion of capitalism) were actively grounded in southern Africa. This combination generated periods of great social uncertainty and conflict.

One of the results of these unsettled times was a desire by the Whites not only for a precautionary security but complete or full security. Consequently there is the creation of both physical and psychological buffer zones . Physically these are represented by the creation of different spatially distinct "Reserves and "Locations" for the Blacks. The Group Areas Act together with a whole posse of similar legislation legally underpinned this segregation. Psychologically the creation and sustenance of myths about the character of the African epitomised by the "Native Question", "Tribesman or Townsman", or "Swartpelgrim" constantly reinforced a culturally driven notion of the Black and his relationship to "White South Africa".

The operation of capitalism as a culture within the southern African context has highlighted the way that urban development was shaped. Mindful of these developments Chapter 4 will describe the morphogenetic development of Salisbury/Harare based on the premise that South African practice was influential in shaping developments in Southern Rhodesia.

CHAPTER IV

THE MORPHOGENETIC DEVELOPMENT OF HARARE

Introduction

To the uninitiated, Third World urban landscapes are a morphological maze. Disorder appears everywhere amidst the chaotic arrangement of buildings and incessant movement of people and goods. In an attempt to come to grips with this problem, morphological studies, patterned on models developed in the First World, have been applied in a number of cities. Some notable successes have been achieved in piecing together these morphological puzzles (Abu-Lughod, 1969). Irrespective of the country of investigation, however, morphological studies have in general been criticized for their adherence to description from which explanatory theoretical analysis have all but been omitted (Jones, 1962). Only in a limited number of cases do they provide a framework of principles of morphological development (Johnston, 1969).

Recently, however, current interest in the structure and form of cities, including colonial

ones, has been resurrected in the wake of a revival of interest in the built environment and historical urban landscapes pioneered in the economically more advanced countries. In this regard the work of M.R.G. Conzen has been not only attributed with keeping the morphological-studies torch burning but of also providing it with greater intellectual rigor (Whitehand, 1981, p. 127). It is through town plan analysis, the fringe-belt concept, townscape management, and the various approaches and techniques he has developed that his ideas have become influential[1].

There are, however, problems associated with employing Conzen's concepts and methods in comparative analysis. First, a study of even a single town is a considerable undertaking and attempting town-plan classifications infused with Conzen's concepts, without the combination in each town of ground survey, cartographic analysis and documentary evidence, important matters are liable to be overlooked. Second, when it comes to deeper considerations of concepts and methods, the inter-disciplinary boundaries are almost as marked as when his work first appeared in the 1960s and they continue to threaten the viability of the project. Third, the cost of such time consuming local studies are likely to only produce works that rely on integrative frameworks within which work in specific towns can be set (Whitehand, 1981, p. 129).

Add comparative research[2] to these difficult obstacles, and the advisability of using Conzenian concepts and methods to study Third World cities raises some serious questions about their utility in that context. Whilst this may be true in general for Third World cities, the case of southern Africa may not be as hopeless as might be expected at first. The

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[1]A volume of work edited by T.R. Slater (1990) *The Built Form of Western Cities*, provides new material in this area.

[2]I suspect Whitehand was not considering comparative work dealing with Third World cities.

introduction of urbanization by Europeans in the region and the course of its development offers a glimmer of hope for this type of study. A start has already been made (Haswell, 1990, pp. 171-185). Furthermore Knox has argued that "a good case can be made for an entirely subjective approach with morphological regions articulated by written descriptions rather than statistical analysis" (Knox, 1982, p. 69).

In the light of these observations, this chapter will examine the City of Harare's built environment.

Built Form and Type

In a paper by Anthony D. King in which he examines the relation of theory to empirical research in the social production of building form, King defines the built environment as specifically referring to, "building type (e.g. factory, farm, prison, church) or different types of dwelling (row houses, studio apartments, villas, high-rise flats), the physical and spatial form, or 'design' of these as well as the larger built environment (city, town, conurbation, as well as the rest of the constructed environment)" (King, 1984). Using this definition as a base, Table 1 was created as a basis for examining the built environment of the City of Harare.

Bearing this basic classification in mind, the intention of this chapter is to establish typologies of ensembles of built form and type which, on the one hand are related to elements of the original function and period of origin (Conzen, orig. 1962) but are also concerned with the manner in which they have come to be utilized in the contemporary city. Largely heuristic, the typologies of ensembles will be "grounded in time spans that have a

Table 1
Elements of the Built Environment

BUILDING TYPE	BUILDING SUB-TYPE	PHYSICAL FORM SPATIAL Structure	FORM Plan	LARGER BUILT EN.
Dwellings	SFD	1 storey	Rows	City
	Apartment	1 storey	Clusters	
Prisons	Remand	1 storey	Block	

What is significant about this classication are the categories (typed in upper case) that King has created. Examples such as, dwellings, are used to illustrate the classification.

***Source*: King, (1984)**

degree of unity within the course of social and economic history" (Whitehand, 1981), defined here as epochal episodes. These episodes will, in combination with the archival research act as a springboard for the discussion of the social production of the townhouse in the next chapter.

The first task, however, is to provide a broad historical survey of the urban system so that Harare can be situated in a wider urban context as well as providing an understanding of the urban system in its wider southern African context. This background provides the context essential to an understanding of the capital.

Urbanization in Zimbabwe

Urbanization in Zimbabwe began with the arrival of the colonial settlers in 1890 when the "Pioneer Column", spearheading the occupation of a largely agrarian population established forts along their route of entry including Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria, and Fort Charter before arriving at their final destination, Fort Salisbury. In establishing themselves at these centers, they further strengthened their position by the construction of the necessary communications network which included the telegraph line (reached Salisbury in 1892) from Kimberley and the railway line (reached Salisbury in 1902) from Bulawayo (Kay, 1977). Until these infrastructural elements were in place, Salisbury's position as the center of the developing urban system in Rhodesia was uncertain as Bulawayo seemed to be destined to occupy a much more prominent position.

Having once consolidated their position militarily, the settlers developed a series of small towns, from about 1930 to 1950, to service the burgeoning mining industry (Shabani,

Selukwe, Mashaba, etc.,) and the expanding commercial farming sector (Banket, Sinoia, Odzi, West Nicholson, etc.,) (Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development, 1985). "These early towns, as centers of administration and commerce, played a crucial role in the colonial economy as urban development was pivotal for the colonialization process" (Wekwete, 1988, p. 56).

In the post World War II period the system was once again extended with towns that were linked to massive investment being channelled to large government initiated irrigation schemes in south-east Zimbabwe such as Triangle and Chiredzi[3]. After 1960 the establishment of centers took on a new direction. With the continued decline in the African peasant sector, coupled with the Government's desire to consolidate separate development, TILCOR (Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation) was established in 1968 with one of its aims being to create tribal centers in selected advantaged situations remote from the main centers. After having discussed various approaches, and having rejected the South African "border industry" approach, it settled on a strategy of "growth points based on agricultural estates which resulted in the establishment of Sanyati, Tshotsholo, Tsholotsho, and Maphisa" (Hanratty, 1985)[4]. Despite TILCOR's efforts, the problems of the urban system were becoming increasingly noticeable when a Parliamentary Select Committee[5] recommended a balanced spread of national development through decentralized urbanization. Not surprisingly, a Government White Paper (1974) opted for more permissive decentralization anywhere outside Harare[6]. This had the effect of strengthening centers such as Norton and creating new ones of which the present day Chitungwiza is an

[3] This period also witnessed the 'extension of the urban system' to include the national systems of Malawi and Zambia under the umbrella of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963).
[4] For an indepth appraisal of rural growth points and rural industries see Gasper, D. 1988. Rural Growth Points and Rural Industries in Zimbabwe: Ideologies and Policies, *Development and Change* Vol. 19, 425-466.
[5] Government of Rhodesia. Report on Decentralization - Parliamentary Select Committee, Salisbury, 1972
[6] Government of Rhodesia. Policy on Decentralization, Salisbury, 1974.

example.

The end product of 90 years of colonial White minority rule is appropriately summed up by the Transitional National Development Plan:

> Zimbabwe's basic spatial structure is characterized by two well-developed and contrasting socio-economic spaces. The first, the central plateau, has the best land and natural environment and conditions for human settlement and is adequately serviced with productive and social infrastructure. This space, which was the main target of white settlement, consists of a central strip beginning in the middle of the south-western border with South Africa, crossing the central veld and ending on the north-east border with Mozambique. A network of urban centers, including the main centers of Harare and Bulawayo, is situated in this area. Around it is a hinterland of large (mainly) white-owned commercial farms forming the basis of the modern commercial agriculture.
>
> In contrast, the second geographic and socio-economic space consists largely of poorer land with a generally less favorable natural environment, relatively inferior possibilities for the deployment of productive infrastructure, high demographic densities and population growth, and a suboptimal settlement pattern. This inferior socio-economic space was compulsorily assigned to the black population by colonial regimes.
>
> Zimbabwe has, therefore, inherited a dual spatial structure historically based on discriminatory land apportionment, compulsory segregation of races and general neglect of the, especially, rural black population (Republic of Zimbabwe, 1982).

While Zimbabwe's urban legacy is fairly easily described, at the intra-urban level both, Rakodi (1986) and Wekwete(1987) have suggested that an examination of urban policy is crucial for any study attempting to understand urbanism in southern Africa. Urbanization in Rhodesia was linked to Whites and the European sector of the economy. The very definition of an urban area as "any center with a population of more than 25 non-Africans, where individual land holdings are less than 15 acres in extent and at least half the adult male inhabitants are employed in industrial sections other than agriculture" (Kay, 1977) simply underlined the fact that officially, Africans were "temporary sojourners" who only provided labor for the urban economy, but would finally retire to their "reserve" homes[7].

[7] The logic presented by the South Africans for the role of the Black in an urban context are similar if not exactly alike - see Western, (1981).

A strict control was kept of migrants seeking employment in urban areas through a variety of legislation. The Land Apportionment Act (1930, 1941) and its successor, the Land Tenure Act (1961), alienated land for use by different racial groups. All urban land was designated "European" thereby effectively barring Africans' tenure to urban land (Riddell, 1978). Secondly, the Vagrancy Act (1952) empowered local authorities to repatriate Africans to tribal homes who could not prove to be gainfully employed or were not registered urban residents[8]. All residents had therefore to be registered in terms of the African Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act 1951 or face repatriation to the Tribal Trust Lands. This legislative framework, combined with strict development control of land use and buildings,[9] strengthened and ensured the continued survival of the "spatial separatism" of the settler economy. The possession of passes, permits and an ever present police force became instruments of authority effectively implementing policies whether handed down by central government or laid down at the local urban level. The "success" of the settlers and the effectiveness of their methods in keeping Africans out of urban areas was emphasized by a UN study in 1981 which concluded that Zimbabwe was underurbanized by a margin of 20% (UNCHS, 1981).

All development at the inter or intra-urban level should, however, be seen in the context of a political history which clearly demonstrates that intra-White political conflict took place within a "democratic" political process in which the African majority were deprived of practically all civil and political liberties and whatever participation there might have been was marginal and peripheral (Sithole, 1988).

The emergence of the pre-independence state of affairs is hardly surprising when an

[8]One could not be registered if one was not employed.
[9]Under the Model Building Bye-Laws and the Town & Country Planning Acts (1933, 1945 and 1976).

examination of the political economy of settler colonialism is made. In his schema of just such an economy, R. J. Davies noted the persistence of strategies and prescription for racial segregation and for the containment of participation of subordinate indigenous groups in order to maintain the economic, social, and political interests of dominant settler group (Davies, 1982). Dewar has pointed out, that in order for these discriminatory settler goals to be functionally effective they were "underpined by a geographic imperative that involves *inter alia* strategies of separation, segregation and separate development" (Dewar, 1987, p. 37), which came to be reflected, in the organization of geographic space both at the national and intra-urban level. Thus the role of the local authority acting as an agent of central government has been especially significant in the creation and evolution of this unique urban form.

In its attempt to redress the shortcomings of the inherited settlement pattern the Zimbabwean Government instituted a series of measures with the aim of restructuring it. It removed racial control on urbanization and participation in the urban economy[10]. A Growth Point and Rural Service Center Strategy was adopted within a seven-tier hierarchical national urban system to operate in tandem with a Rural Resettlement Program in an attempt to, "transform the disadvantaged space" (DPP, 1985)[11] A change in the definition of an urban area was also affected to include any settlement with a population above 2,500. These changes resulted in the increase of the total urban population from 19.83% in 1962 to 25,73% in 1982 and an increase in the number of towns with populations of 2,500-4,000 from 12 to 30 between 1969 to 1982, respectively.

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[10] A process which began in the Rhodesia-Zimbabwe era in 1978/9

[11] The national system of settlements comprises a. Consolidated Villages, b. Business Centers, c. Rural Service Centers, d. District Service Centers, e. Growth Points, f. Existing Towns, g. Existing Cities.(Department of Physical Planning, 1985)

At the pinnacle of this moderately developed one hundred-year-old urban system stands the capital city, Harare. Although in urban primacy terms it is not as marked as capital cities in many other African countries, it does nevertheless account for "54 per cent of all persons in formal employment in the seven major urban centers in 1979 and 58 per cent of the wages paid; 48 per cent of the gross output of the national manufacturing sector (1978); and 55 per cent of all property sales by value and 61 per cent of all building plans approved in the country (1980)" (Davies, 1986). It is this privileged position which makes the city a good example for study as it encapsulates not only the social mood of the country at any given moment but because of its capital city status, its development often served as an indicator of the economic position and political direction of the country.

The City of Harare

The thesis that although the physical shape and appearance of Harare has altered dramatically in its one hundred year history, and that its general character and atmosphere has shown a marked resilience to change is not a new one (Corporate Development Group, 1977).[12] Smout, for example, makes the point that,

> contrary to the more usual process in commercial centres, (sic) where old buildings are pulled down to make way for the new, central Salisbury may be likened to a museum containing full-sized, if in parts rather decrepit, exhibits of the history of its commercial activities over the last eighty years (Smout, 1977, p. 29).

There is ample evidence to support this view. The purpose of this segment of this chapter is to draw out this character. In order to understand the present city, a product of the

[12]Although the Corporate Development Group in their description of the city of Salisbury hint at some of the character elements I am about to raise their description is somewhat limited, constrained as it is by their need to satisfy their clients the Municipality of Salisbury.

outlook and decisions of its citizens, both past and present, a knowledge of its history is essential. The development of the City of Harare can be traced back to a number of important periods in its history which link it very closely to the economic, political, social and cultural aspects of the European society that sought to define it. Its character which in part, arose out of the nature of its introduction and the hostility that came to surround it, has never quite left the city.

Stage One: Company Control, 1890-1923

To further his political and economic interests, Cecil John Rhodes had obtained a concession[13] to exploit the mineral resources of Mashonaland from Lobengula, Chief of the Ndebele. Operating under the umbrella of the British South Africa Company established under Royal Charter in 1889 a "Pioneer Column"[14] of 600 men (200 settlers and 400 police) sought to establish a settlement guided by three factors: a). It had to be in Mashonaland in compliance with the Rudd Concession; b). It had to be in the rich gold and farming region referred to by explorers; and c). It had to be on the high veld for health reasons. The expedition's choice of the settlement's site was thus fixed not only for political (Christopher, 1977; Kay and Smout, 1972, p. 14; CPG, 1977, p. 1), and health (Davies, 1986, p. 133; Tomlinson and Wurzel, 1977, p. 1; CPG, 1977, p. 1) considerations, but in keeping with its martial composition for military ones as well (Davies, 1986, p. 133). The British South Africa Company (BSA Co.) in the guise of the "Pioneer Column" was prepared to defend its commercial venture and dug in accordingly. This was, however, not a defensive posture as might have been expected, but as British commercial capitalism was on the ascendency, the characteristically aggressive strategy of

[13] Known as the Rudd Concession, it was actually obtained from Lobengula by Rudd, Maguire, and Thompson.
[14] The Pioneer Corps of 400 men were enlisted and trained by Frank Johnson who contracted with Rhodes to hand over Mashonaland for a sum of 82,000 pounds sterling (Tanser, 1965, p. 17).

the BSA Co., epitomized its offensive nature.

The "Pioneer Column" established Fort Salisbury on September 13, 1890 by raising the British flag on a site close to the Kopje[15], "with its running water and large pools, and the hill-ranged valley with green marsh surrounded by a treeless belt of flat ground, ...suitable for a township" (Tanser, 1965, pp. 25-26). (Figure 14)

The arrival of the BSA Co. in Mashonaland marked the introduction of an alien race and culture to a sparsely populated territory inhabited by an indigenous rural society. Accompanied by African and "Colored" baggage handlers and transport men, who were also alien, and later joined by Indians, early Salisbury's society was multi-racial, diverse in origin and culture and segregated. Since 1890, however, is was the European who has been able to "exert a dominating influence in Rhodesia quite disproportionate to his numerical strength" (CDG, p.2).

With the disbanding of the "Pioneer Column" Salisbury developed as a primitive, unhealthy and insanitary settlement, criss-crossed by rough wagon tracks and footpaths which were a quagmire during the rainy season and a dust menace during the summer. The inhabitants initially lived in tents or transport wagons until they had African builders erect "pole and daga"[16] thatched huts for them utilizing "imported" designs in some cases[17]. Water was obtained from the rapidly polluted pools of the Makabusi, and toilets were pit latrines. Such furniture as there was, was fashioned out of paraffin tins and packing cases.

---

[15]A hill-like structure composed of banded ironstone.

[16]Wooden pole frames covered with sun-dried mud under a thatched roof.

[17]Tanser (1965) attributes the construction of these pole and daga huts to the settlers and accounts for their 'dilapidated' character to the lack of tools. Jacksons account seems more plausible considering that the Africans possessed the skill and tools to accomplish the task more effectively.

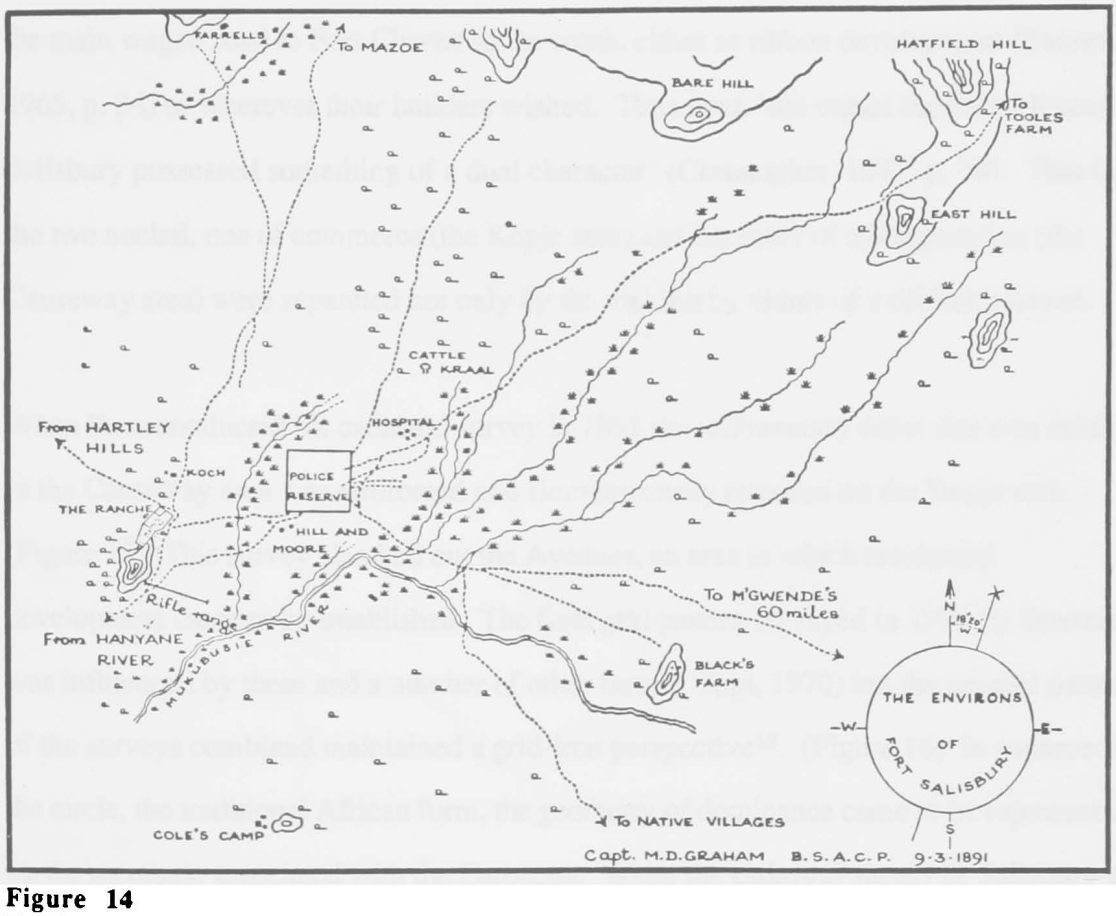

Figure 14
Earliest map of Salisbury, drawn within six months of the first settlement
***Source*: Tanser, (1965) inside front cover**

Order such as it existed was to be found in the area of the fort (the site of the present-day Africa Unity Square) with its auxiliary buildings and the offices of the B.S.A Co. The trading stores and residences were built close to the Kopje and the Ranche, on either side of the main wagon road to Fort Charter to the south, either as ribbon development (Tanser, 1965, p. 34) or wherever their builders wished. Thus from "the outset the initial layout of Salisbury possessed something of a dual character" (Christopher, 1977, p. 14). That is, the two nucleii, one of commerce (the Kopje area) and the other of administration (the Causeway area) were separated not only by the vlei but by orders of a different nature.

When Ross conducted his cadastral survey in 1891 the rudimentary order that was evident in the Causeway area was reinforced and simultaneously imposed on the Kopje area. (Figure 15) This survey also laid out the Avenues, an area in which residential development came to be established. The final grid pattern surveyed in 1894 by Sawaerthal was influenced by these and a number of other factors (Jogi, 1970) but the general pattern of the surveys combined maintained a grid-iron perspective[18]. (Figure 16) In superceding the circle, the traditional African form, the geometry of dominance came to be represented by the rectangle associated with the European. While the cadastral survey of Salisbury was of singular importance to the subsequent development of the settlement its fundamental importance also lay in the establishment of a land market. Land could now be bought and sold and for a number of years land speculation was rampant. By 1900 when most of Salisbury was still unoccupied five companies owned 38 per cent of the alienated stands within the central grids (Christopher, 1977). Not only was land within Salisbury's boundary available for sale but so was farmland on the periphery of the settlement. This was to prove crucial for suburban development in the decades prior to World War I. In fact

[18] 1894 was also the date that the boundaries of the country that was named Southern Rhodesia were finally established.

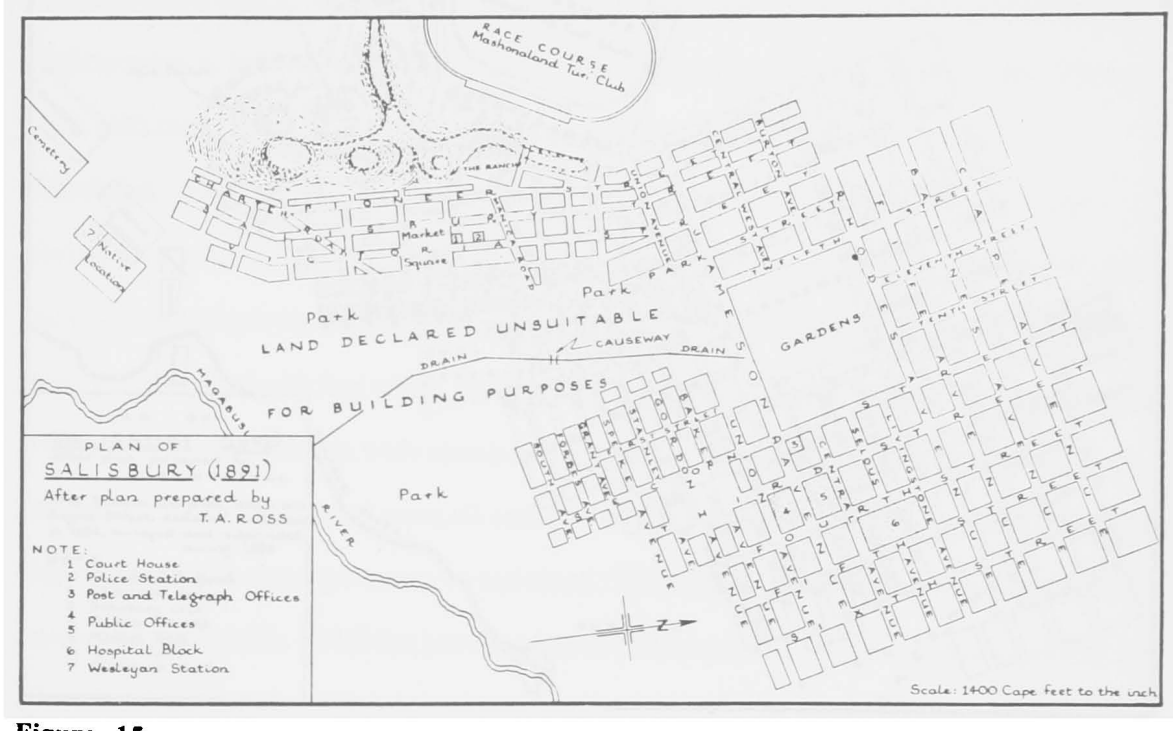

Figure 15
Plan of Salisbury (1891) after plan prepared by T. A. Ross
***Source*: Tanser, (1965) p. 70**

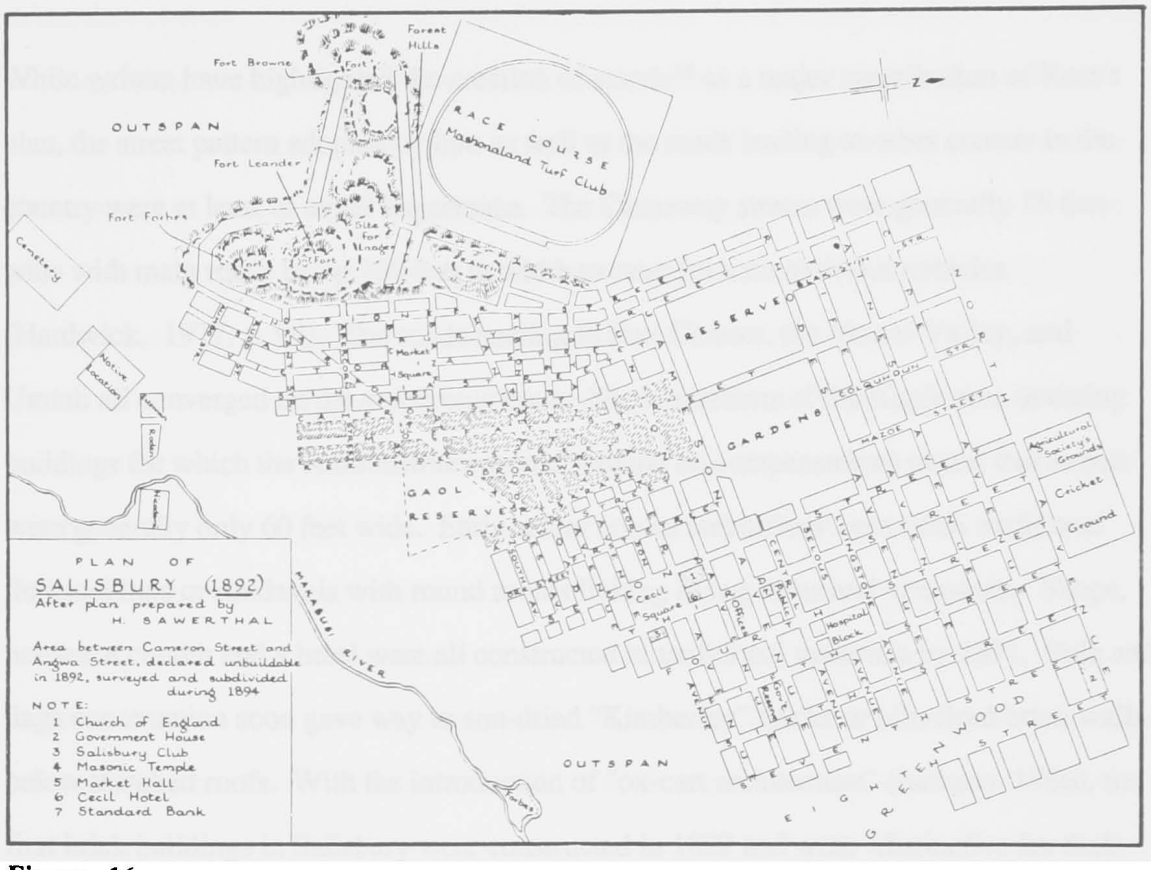

Figure 16
Plan of Salisbury (1982) after plan prepared by H. Sawerthal
***Source*: Tanser, (1965) p. 134**

by 1900 subdivision, and with it building development had already begun to take place in Greendale and in Lochinvar.

While writers have highlighted the creation of stands[19] as a major contribution of Ross's plan, the street pattern adopted by him as well as the roads leading to other centers in the country were at least of equal importance. The Causeway streets were generally 75 feet wide with main roads being 100 feet in width to cater for animal drawn vehicles (Hardwick, 1977, p. 94). The roads leading to Fort Charter, the Mazoe Valley, and Umtali all converged on the embryonic town. The constraints of the Kopje area (existing buildings for which the Administrator would provide no compensation) meant that streets were generally only 60 feet wide. Early settler homes and offices were often traditional thatched huts or rondavels with round rooms linking living areas and verandahs. Shops, houses, a church and a hotel were all constructed in traditional materials by 1891. Pole and daga construction soon gave way to sun-dried "Kimberley" bricks or kiln-fired brick walls below thatched roofs. With the introduction of "ox-cart architecture" (Jackson, 1986), the first brick buildings in Salisbury were constructed in 1892 and were "distinctive for their narrowness, their double pitched corrugated iron roofs with no overhang, their verandahs supported on timber posts and their few sash windows" (Jackson and Oldfield, 1987). With regularity in material supply assured, buildings were often constructed of corrugated iron but were restricted to shops, churches and government offices rather than houses. While early examples of settler buildings continued in the tradition of African architecture in that they were all "roof dominant" symbolizing shelter from the elements (Jackson, 1986, p. 16) they nevertheless broke with the latter tradition by introducing a functional specialization more elaborate than was available locally.

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[19]Both Ross's and Sawaerthals plan totalled 2548 stands.

The survival of Salisbury as a permanent settlement was in balance for a number of years and there was a large turnover of Europeans. Plagued by isolation and an ailing economy when the expected "Second Rand" failed to materialize[20], and living under the vicissitudes of an uprising initiated by the Ndebele (1893), three stone forts, Browne, Forbes and Leander were built on the Kopje. An uprising by the Ndebele and the Shona in the First Chimurenga of 1896-7 timed to take advantage of the settlers weakened military position after Jameson's abortive raid into the Transvaal (1895) and the increased the sense of frustration and besiegement surrounding the White community, failed. The defeat of the African proved to be decisive and with it came not only repression, borne of a desire to avenge the killing of white women and children (Mason, 1958), and an increasing degree of control as "labour" (Williams, 1962, p. 180), but political oblivion (Blake, 1978, p. 155). In practising "the politics of exclusion" it was the settlers inherent "sense of insecurity in the fear of being swamped by the Africans", that led them to develop and maintain policies that were intended to keep Africans at a distance educationally, socially, economically, politically (Mutambirwa, 1980, p. 27), and most importantly, physically. These attitudes came only to serve a basic expectation that Europeans had of Africans, that is, they expected to be served with deference. This expectation was "in large part a manifestation of the Victorian attitudes of Englishmen and South Africans" (Rogers and Frantz, 1973, p. 209), who regarded Africans as primitive and backwards and who were now part of a conquered people.

The railway system that reached Salisbury in 1899 from Beira and joined with the Bulawayo line at Insiza in 1902 broke the isolation of a nascent capital and development took a new direction. With the installation of an infrastructural network beginning with the

[20]As the gold bearing formations were liable to faulting and strikes petered out and had to be abandoned

telegraph (established in 1892), the Zeederberg mule coach service, which took eight and a half days from Pretoria and catered for mail as well as passengers, the efficiency of Salisbury as a market town was further enhanced when a manual switchboard telephone was installed in Salisbury in 1899. Postal services within the city were good and post boxes were introduced in 1902 and a door-to-door delivery in 1911. In 1907, when BSA Co. was forced to establish a new policy to encourage settler farmers[21], the soils and climate of Mashonaland proved suitable for the development of a diverse farming industry, and Salisbury became the the center of an increasingly rich and productive agricultural region.

With the arrival of the railway in 1899 from Beira in Mocambique, a period of "railway architecture" slowly came to supplant the earlier "ox-cart architecture". It introduced the classical European tradition of the day with its architectural elements represented by cast-iron columns and verandahs. Late Victorian and Edwardian colonial architecture flourished between 1900 and 1914 especially during the boom years of 1910-1911. Houses built during this period were also very English in style and plan with half timbered gables and front and back rooms off a central passage. Verandahs provided a transitionary space to the outside. The Cape Dutch tradition of the Dutch gable was also added to houses reinforcing a particular regional cultural identity.

In 1891 a Management Board composed of four members was established, to be replaced a year later by a Sanitary Board (established under the Public Health Act) whose tasks were to,

> maintain and regulate streets and traffic; to deal with obstructions, noises, filth, disease and concerns of health, the pollution of water, native locations, fires, and all matters affecting the

[21]The 'Second Rand' had not materialized as envisaged.

health, safety and rights of the inhabitants (Tanser, 1965, p. 91).[22]

In 1897 Salisbury's status was raised to that of a municipality and by 1901 it had acquired the title to 8150 hectares of Commonage. Increasingly municipal laws emerged to give the municipality greater control of land and power to raise revenue using a rating system. Considered European settlements, urban centers came to be designed for the White population. By the end of World War I among its noteworthy achievements were the erection of a Townhouse in 1903, an ambitious tree planting exercise, the establishment of the Salisbury Gardens, the completion of Cleveland Dam and a piped water supply and the installation of electricity in 1913.

The first census of population in 1901 gave a population of Salisbury of 1,647 Europeans, 89 Asians, and 155 employed Africans. (Figure 17) The "Pioneers" had reservations about the Asians and an early attempt was made by the Management Board to impose licences on vegetable producers. The "Banyan menace" did, however, manage to resist these threats after appealing directly to Rhodes, established themselves initially in market gardening and later in business (Kalsheker, 1974). A decade later the census of 1911 showed that the European population had risen to 4,914. Bulawayo's European population at 5,199 was larger at this time.

At first women and children were not permitted to join the Pioneers in Salisbury but in 1891 the ban was lifted and the aura of an all-male town was lost. It was probably as a result of the introduction of women that black men began to be perceived as a greater threat to the white community. By 1911, 27 per cent of the European male population was

[22]The comparison of these objectives with the preamble of the 1976 Regional, Town and Country Planning Act reveals striking similarities.

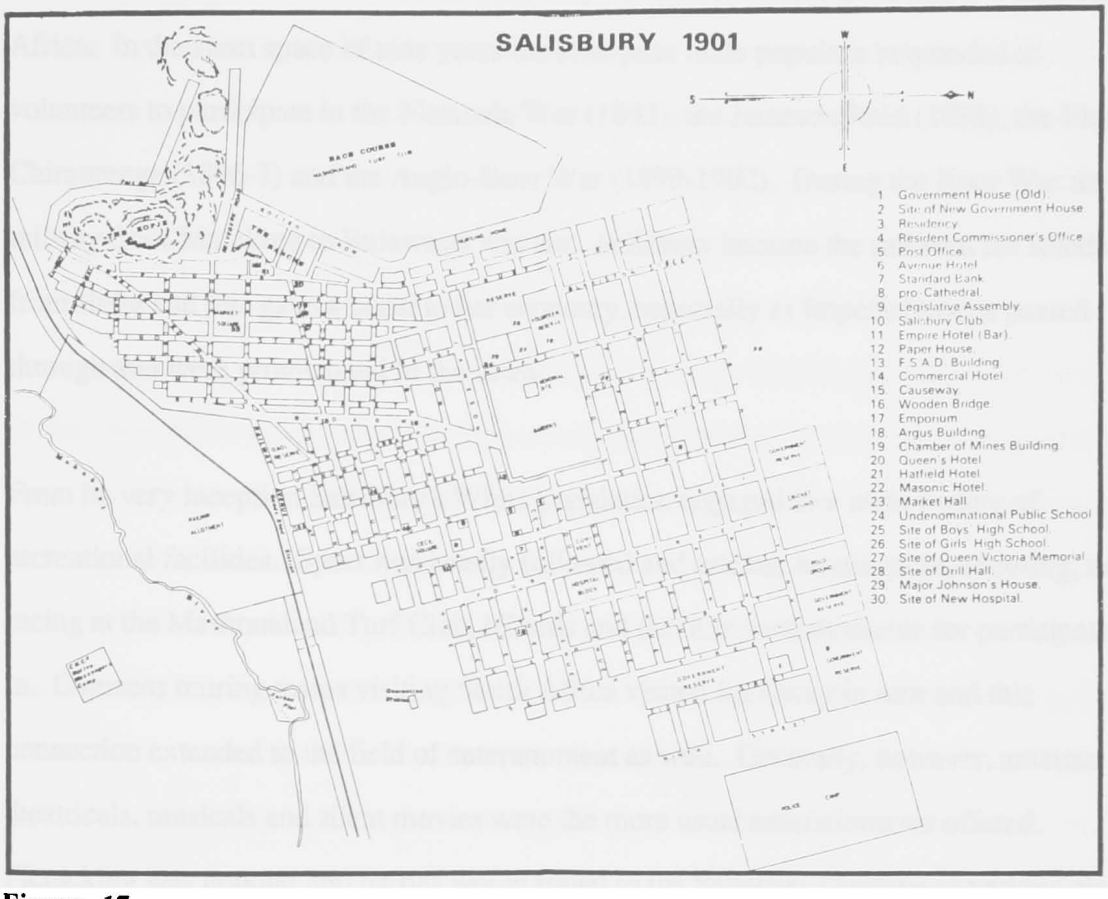

Figure 17
Salisbury (1901) at the time of the first census
***Source*: Tanser, (1974) inside front cover**

supporting families outside the country. Another important factor in Salisbury's early social evolution was the effect of local military ventures, and an international war in South Africa. In the short space of nine years the European male populace responded as volunteers to participate in the Matabele War (1893), the Jameson Raid (1895), the First Chimurenga (1896-7) and the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). During the Boer War the railway from Mafeking to Bulawayo was cut. Salisbury became the railhead for Rhodesia from Beira and this gave a boost to her economy, especially as Imperial troops passed through and were provisioned in the town.

From its very inception Salisbury's White population engaged in a wide variety of recreational facilities. Sport was keenly followed and cricket, tennis, polo, shooting, horse racing at the Mashonaland Turf Club, billards and snooker were available for participation in. Overseas touring teams visiting South Africa visited Salisbury in turn and this connection extended to the field of entertainment as well. Generally, however, amateur theatricals, musicals and silent movies were the more usual entertainments offered. Picnicking was popular and parties would travel to the Salisbury Gardens or various picnic spots in wagons. Social clubs included the Salisbury Club, Loyal Women's Guild, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals popular among residents. Settlers took pride in their animals; and dogs for hunting and guarding of premises were much sought after. The "Club", irrespective of its type, was to provide the settler community with a center around which "a relatively high degree of social intimacy could be generated" (Dewar, 1987, p. 43).

The original town plan of 1891 demarcated a "Native location" north of the Makabusi

River[23]. Considered at first to be a slum[24], control was exercised through a Commonage Ranger appointed to act as a sanitary inspector. The authorities gradually replaced the African-owned huts with Kaytor huts. By 1907 after Government promulgated the Native Urban Locations Ordinance (1906), the Council located another site 1.5 miles from the town center and built "50 Kaytor huts made of corrugated iron tanks and thatched roofs, a brick barracks of four rooms, a well, latrines, and a refuse depot" (Yoshikuni, 1984), which together provided for 328 Africans and called it Harari. The old location was abandoned soon afterwards but was revived at a later date. While the details of the creation of this segregation are important in themselves, the motives for these actions were critical. First, the African was conceived as a "temporary sojourner" in the life of "White" towns and there was therefore no need to delay their stay in the town for longer than was necessary. Second, the siting of the Location on the Commonage meant that regulations made specifically by the Sanitary Board could be applied instead of altering those applying to the "White township". Thirdly, the site was to the lee of the town, away from European habitation and would therefore not endanger the health of the whites. Fourth, there was adequate space for expansion to the south. These considerations, while important in themselves, fail to establish the crux of the location system which Yoshikuni summed up as revolving "around the question of how to control the Black workers most effectively" (Yoshikuni, 1984, p. 13). While this theory of labor control has a good deal more substance to it than Swanson's explanation of sanitary concerns, the matter goes far deeper than that. Mayor D. Bates articulated it with some force in 1902, when he said it was for the security of the Whites to establish a location or locations (Yoshikuni, 1984, p. 9). This not only meant the economic security of the Whites, which was largely dependent upon the

[23]There is some debate as to when this location was actually created. Yoshikuni attributes it to March 1982 "when it was opened." Survey records suggest however that the site was already established by cadastral survey in 1891. The option to actually use it was exercised in March 1892.

[24]The European conditions could have been no better if one considers the writings of Tanser 1965

labor of the Blacks. It also meant the physical security of the Whites of which the "sanitation syndrome" (Swanson, 1977) was one aspect. All this was rooted in a basic fear of the Blacks, a feeling that was to surface again and again during the development of the city.

A considerable literature has developed around the thesis that Salisbury was a planned city from its inception. Generally, this has been related to the provision of the cadastral layout for the city and the development of the city within this framework. There was not much formal town planning until later, when land-use planning was introduced through the establishment of formal town planning legislation. Christopher (1977, p. 16) makes the point that the BSA Company adhered to the South African practice of setting aside large areas around new townships for the provision of pasture of horses, oxen and dairy cattle, and market gardens.

> Early growth in Salisbury was thus concentrated within the Kopje and Causeway areas, which represented an island of development separated from the adjoining farmland by a lake of undeveloped Townlands (Christopher, 1977, p. 17)

A significant proportion of this Commonage was in fact "undeveloped" or used at such a low level of intensity that it partially came to reinforce the notion that Salisbury was a planned city from its inception because it added to the town's visual openness.

The development of water and sewage facilities affected the development of early Salisbury in fundamental ways. Originally pit-latrines were used but by 1903 the Sanitary Department was delighted to report that the duplicate system of sanitation, which had come into operation on 1st October, 1902 had, "from its commencement been an unqualified success" (Mayor's Minutes 1902-3, p. 20). The dual bucket system of night-soil removal

was introduced utilizing the sanitary lanes that Ross had surveyed in his original plans. In the same Mayor's Minutes the Town Engineer reported that the water available in the Makabusi River was adequate for the towns needs "until the town's population increases about fourfold" (Mayor's Minutes 1902-3, p. 4). As the town grew, this water was supplemented by water from boreholes and wells powered by windmills. Forced to find alternative sources of water, due to either drought or pollution, the town constructed the Cleveland Dam on the Makabusi River in 1911. The constant interplay of both water and sewage have had a continuing effect on the development of Salisbury.

As time progressed these elements began to impact on the city in different ways. While the origins of the dual character of Salisbury might have lain in the division between the commercial and administrative aspects of the city's development it was a dualism steeped in the racial division of society that would shape the development of Salisbury in a much more profound manner. The oppressive potential of an administrative system supported by a well-run police force was soon to be fully realized in its (mis)treatment of the non-white population.

Politics and economics were inextricably interwoven from the very outset. The fundamental departure point of the economic history of Southern Rhodesia is that from its inception the colony was linked through systematic primary product export to the wider international community. Consequently, development was controlled and its pattern largely determined by outside interests.

> The economy was firmly planted upon a base of foreign economic interests - in investment, finance, trade, banking, insurance, skills, market access, technology and transport. Even African labour supply to a large extent was at this stage drawn through a sub-continental wide migrant labour system which found an institutional and contract basis over the 1903-33 period in the form of the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau. Many of these initial conditions essentially pertained for

decades to follow. So too did the links forged with South African business and British companies (Clarke, 1980, p. 20).

This does not deny Cecil John Rhodes' personal preoccupation with Southern Rhodesia but puts into perspective the British Government's granting of a Charter to the British South Africa Company to do its business from South Africa in the newly formed country. The consequence of this was an expanding capitalist economy with mines, plantations, industry, commerce, and a plethora of other employment activities. The "Company was the State" until 1923, when the Colony achieved self-governing status, and although it was not in the business of state building (Clarke, 1980, p. 19), it was the administrative power in the land; and policy was determined by considerations closest to its own economic needs. Thus for "the first thirty years of its existence, white Southern Rhodesia was a company country" (Stoneman, 1978, p. 63). Furthermore, it did not lack influence with the political powers of the day, which altered in accordance with the demands of domestic pressures and white lobby groups, although it frequently came into conflict with such groups over its own interests.

The British South Africa Company had also to contend with the tension between its South African and British investors. The latter had less of a settler constituency to which they were accountable and their approach was pragmatic. South African, especially Cape and Transvaal political interests, on the other hand regarded Rhodesian activities as a strategic northern extension quite apart from purely economic motives. In the main, the South Africans provided vital economic resources together with insurance, financial, transport and service links which were rooted in the south. Thus by 1923 when the settlers achieved "self governing status", a variety of "mutually reinforcing interests and balances allowed for a separation of State and Company without the politics of the legal divorce leading to a

post-integration pattern financially inimical to the advantages desired by all" (Clarke, 1980). (Figure 18)

Africans were largely left out of these calculations. The "Native problem" was by and large a management issue for the Company and the different settler groups of white unionists, civil servants, farmers, small workers, traders and churchmen. Little serious concern was paid to issues involving majority rule or independence. These issues did not feature in the agenda of the Colony and they were certainly not introduced for "that would have been both bad business (e.g. if higher African wages eroded profit margins in export-dependent primary sectors) and certainly bad politics" (Clarke, 1980, p. 17).

Stage Two: Settler Colonial Control and Consolidation 1923-1950

Salisbury became the capital of Southern Rhodesia in 1923. The prospect of becoming the capital of a province of South Africa was scotched by a referendum in 1922 to determine self-government. Southern Rhodesia was declared a self-governing colony in 1923 with Sir Charles Coghlan as its first Prime Minister. Absolute *de jure* independence had not been granted as there were reserved clauses in the constitution offered by the British Government which were intended to protect the majority African population. In reality the British Government was reluctant to act whenever the necessity arose and remained passive throughout this period. The Rhodesians took command of their own ship of state and set a course of their own choosing. In the absence of the firm guiding hand of the British, political, economic, and social developments in the country began to assume a greater colonial bias with a marked racist flavor.

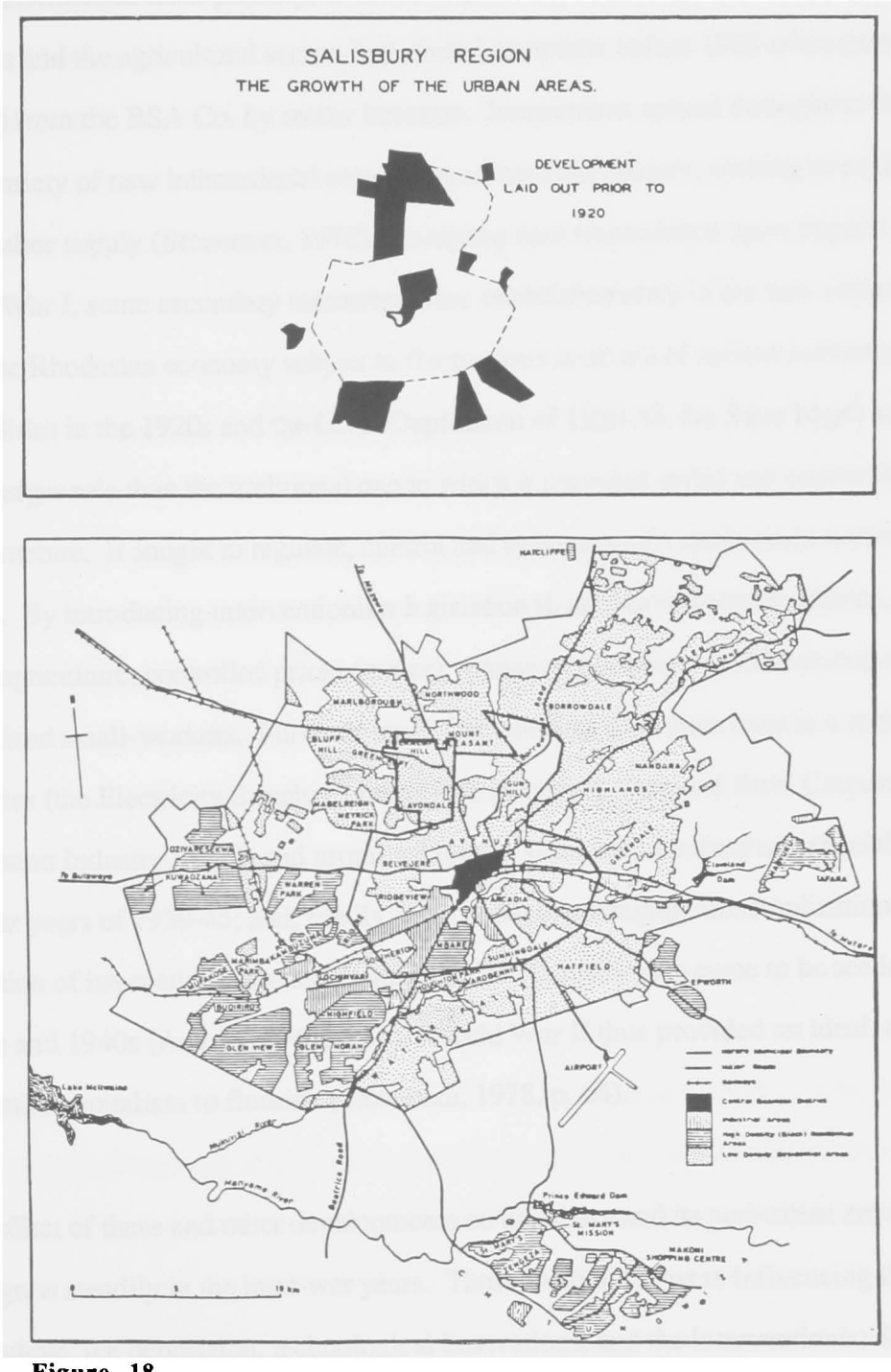

Figure 18
Growth of Salisbury prior to 1920 - Harare-Chitungwiza 1990
***Source*: top map: SRG 1949, Appendix V**
bottom map: adapted from Zinyama, (forthcoming)

The diversification from primary, to secondary and tertiary sectors, and from gold to other minerals and the agricultural sector, had started sometime before 1923 when power was wrested from the BSA Co. by settler interests. Investments spread throughout the Colony and a variety of new international enterprises entered the country, seeking to exploit the cheap labor supply (Stoneman, 1978). Realizing their dependence upon imports during World War I, some secondary industries were established early in the new settler period. With the Rhodesian economy subject to fluctuations in an era of serious currency instabilities in the 1920s and the Great Depression of 1930-33, the State began to play a much larger role than the traditional one in which it provided social and economic infrastructure. It sought to regulate, control and systematically orchestrate economic policy. By introducing interventionists legislation it, among its various policies, sheltered white agriculture, controlled prices (maize), quotas and balances in the tobacco market, and subsidized small-workers. Furthermore, it increased its own asset base in a variety of state activities (the Electricity Supply Commission, Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation, and the Cotton Industry Board) and promoted import substitution industries especially during the war years of 1939-45; and, finally, it set about encouraging industrialization and a reduction of international monopolistic interests. Industry thus came to be seeded in the 1930s and 1940s (Arrighi, 1967, p.31). World War II thus provided an ideal opportunity for settler capitalism to flourish (Stoneman, 1978, p. 64).

The effect of these and other developments on Salisbury and its peri-urban areas was that they grew steadily in the inter-war years. Those factors that were influencing the country as a whole, the depression, technological innovations, and the interventionist State, all had a profound impact at the local urban level. Thus besides the siting of an asbestos-cement factory in 1920, the production of reinforcing and structural steel began in 1928. Locally

manufactured cigarettes appeared in 1929 together with the manufacture of explosives, fertilizers, insecticides and other chemicals. The sale of locally manufactured matches began in 1938. There was at the same time an increase in the variety of consumer goods including meat and leather products, sweets, and timber. These industries were generally located south of the main grid in the area of the railway line. The power station, commissioned and completed in 1942, was built in this area as well.

In the inter-war period two important administrative developments occurred. It was during the late 1920s and early 1930s that the powers of the municipality were increased at first, by the Municipal Act 1930, which gave the Council a degree of autonomy not realized before. Simultaneously, after receiving advice from town planning consultants, the Council formerly introduced town planning as an activity within the professional services of its administration. The Government set up its first town planning Department within the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Town Planning Act of 1933, based on its British counterpart was promulgated. Secondly, Council which had been given title to both the Commonage and Cecil Square by 1928 was amalgamated with Avondale in 1934. Salisbury achieved city status soon after in 1935.

In 1927 the Mayor's Minutes records that 200 acres had been set aside for an aerodrome as the Royal Air Force was about to visit Salisbury as part of a pioneer flight down Africa. Air communications were encouraged by the British Government and in 1931 airmail arrived at Belvedere Airport for the first time. In 1933/34 the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways Company was formed to service both domestic and international routes. This brought Johannesburg within 8.5 hours flight time. By the outbreak of World War II, Salisbury was the center from which other territories could easily be reached.

Radio communications were also fostered by the Salisbury Council which in 1928/29 granted 175 acres for a wireless station. The post office engineers experimentally broadcast a service from the Salisbury Post Office in December 1934 and from then on listeners could tune into SABC or BBC programs for which a comprehensive guide was published in the Herald. 1932 witnessed the extension of telecommunications services to include trunk telephone services to South Africa and Northern Rhodesia.

While road communications were generally poor for the country as a whole, after 1923 the development of strip roads and low level bridges was encouraged by Government. Salisbury first experimented with tar spraying in 1923 when the Wankie Collieries were able to supply the material. With the onset of the Depression in the thirties, this work programme, together with tree planting, was accelerated to create employment in Salisbury. By 1938 there were 65 miles of tarmac roads in Salisbury while strip roads continued to service the peri-urban areas. It was the combination of the motor car, better roads, telephone (public telephone kiosks were installed in 1930) and radio that boosted living in the peri-urban areas and by making it more attractive. Thus while in 1921 there were five peri-urban areas, by 1936 they had risen to eleven. These included Avondale, created largely as speculative ventures, to counter high land prices and escape the the construction of expensive housing in Salisbury because semi-skilled African builders could be utilized in the peri-urban areas. Lack of public transport and the generally sprawling nature of urban settlement made the ownership of motor cars a necessity and ownership rates began to increase.

Housing standards in Salisbury were much improved during the mid to late thirties. Water-borne sewage (made possible by the construction of Prince Edward Dam in 1927) was

introduced and electrical appliances became available. Tiles began to replace corrugated iron sheets as roofing material and parquet floors began to replace strip board flooring. Double storied houses began to appear in Belgravia and Milton Park. "In 1926 Salisbury had 826 houses almost all of which were brick walled dwellings as compared to iron-walled structures which characterized other centers" (CDG, 1977, p. 15)

A water-borne sewage scheme was made possible because of the availability of larger quantities of water with the construction of the Prince Edward Dam in 1930. With rate payer approval the scheme began in the business area first. Council made loans available for sewering private homes but few took the opportunity to do so, and it was some years before the bucket system was removed. In houses the inside toilet, bathroom or sculleries were added by simply closing off the veranda. The retention and development in the peri-urban areas of septic tanks or the bucket system, complete with their "Zambesi Boys," was in large part responsible for the extensive low-density development of these areas.

Electricity generated by diesel engines was available in 1913 when home and street lighting were the primary uses. Private consumers continued to use wood fuel and "Rhodesian boilers" for heating and hot water initially, e.g. in 1916 the Resident Electrical Engineer reported 57,036 light units as compared to only 9,254 power units were sold (Mayor's Minutes 1916-17, p. 24). With the completion of a new steam power station in 1918-19, the cost of electricity was reduced. In an attempt to boost electricity sales and curtail the wood-fuel crisis, the Council introduced an assisted purchase scheme for household appliances in 1934. Salisbury's first thermal power station was commissioned in 1931 but was only operational in 1942.

Although both electricity and water borne sewage made it possible to construct buildings of considerably more than two storeys, Salisbury had no buildings of over five storeys by the outbreak of World War II.

By 1936 the census revealed that the sex distribution of the White community had evened out and that the "majority were born in the country" (CDG, 1977, p. 20). Many South African born immigrants were actually from English-speaking backgrounds and the Rhodesia's European population was basically English-speaking.

Socially, ties with South Africa still remained and the Rhodesian educational, legal and civil service systems were strongly influenced by their Cape counterparts. The problem of education for the white community in Rhodesia was partially resolved by the provision in Salisbury of primary and secondary boarding schools using government land.

A number of religious bodies built churches, a temple, and a mosque together with other non-religious facilities such as hospitals, schools and orphanages. Once the government or the Council deemed it necessary to establish such facilities, they were first extended to the white community and later others were built for the Colored and Asian community with the Africans being the last to be serviced. The military also came to be represented in the city both in its army and air force guise. Large tracts of land were set aside to cater for their needs and they created effective buffer zones to further development in the east and north east.

Buttressed by these administrative, institutional, and technological innovations, life in the cities, especially for the white community, became much less of a pioneering venture and

became more leisurely. Social life was still centered around the clubs and societies, the theater, cinemas, and private parties. Swimming continued to be a popular leisure time activity and by the mid-twenties over 200 acres in Salisbury was set aside for tennis, polo, golf, cricket, football, badminton and squash. Local holidays to the Eastern Districts, where trout fishing had been introduced in 1929, was becoming a favored tourist area. Holidays to the coast, regarded as crucial for the maintenance of good health were encouraged and holiday-makers flocked to the Cape and Natal resorts. Basically, the city was developing a colonial life style, quite different from the towns of England which had been its model. In this the sports club[25], it might be said, came "into existence simply as a protest against everything Europe stood for. There were no divisions here, no barriers, or at least none that could be put into words" (Lessing, 1966, p. 161). Yet barriers did exist and Lessing's description of the Salisbury Sports Club and North Avenue more than hints at this. The club's "boundary fence ran along North Avenue; and for many years people used the phrase 'North Aveune' adjectivally. 'She's ever so North Avenue,' Donovan might say approvingly. Here lived the senior civil servants, the Cabinet Ministers, even the Prime Minister" (Lessing, 1966, p. 156). Yet the idea that all whites belonged together arose in part from their fear of being swamped by the African and a selective immigration policy.

Generally, the life style of the European population was influenced by its relative affluence and the availability of cheap domestic labor. Thus the hospitality and home entertainment that Rhodesians prided themselves on, together with the maintenance and development of large homes situated in spacious and well-tendered gardens can be attributed to the availability of cheap labor in the form of the "a cook boy, a house boy, and a garden boy",

[25]The sports club formed the center of the social life of the White colonial population. Sports clubs existed in all social areas of the city and the competition among them generated a great deal of social cohesion.

for whom accommodation was provided on the property.

This situation in which the Africans found themselves had developed fairly rapidly. Having once achieved responsible government, the Rhodesians increasingly encroached on the right of Africans. As a consequence not only were the Africans less free than before 1923 but they came to depend increasingly on government. The enactment of laws kept "Africans in a permanent status of inferiority" (Mnyanda, 1954, p. 4). To this end, the Land Apportionment Act (1930, 1941) barred Africans from acquiring land in European areas, in which almost all urban areas developed. Secondly, the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (1946, 1951) prescribed that Africans would be allocated municipal accommodation only during periods of employment giving substance to the notion that Africans were "temporary sojourners" in the urban areas. The urban authorities were required to register all employed Africans and those coming to visit or to seek work, and to determine their right to stay in urban areas. Africans came to be progressively proletarianized and marginalized as the Rhodesians stamped their colonial mark on the territory.

In the eyes of the authorities African settlement on farms adjoining the city, and on the Commonage was beginning to cause a "problem", and Highfields was established in 1934 to cater for their needs. Built close to the industrial area by the State (although legislative power existed for city authorities to do so), but outside the municipal boundary, it was intended to bring African "squatting" under control. By and large Harari and Highfields were to remain as the major source of accommodation for the African population until after World War II.

Needless to say, social and recreational facilities for the Africans were generally either deplorable or simply absent. Thus for example, prior to World War II the only education facilities were provided by religious bodies and it was only during the war that a government school was provided for Africans. Recreational facilities fared a little better thus by 1939, when the Medical Officer of Health for the city reported that some progress had been made in the provision of these facilities in the form of boxing, soccer, sewing, and knitting clubs (Mayor's Minutes, 1939).

The economic growth of the 1940s had the effect of pushing the colonial administration to recognize that compounds and native locations could not house a sufficiently socialized labor force so that attention was focussed on family housing, construction of government and municipal housing estates and "tied employer housing" (Cooper, 1983). The question of who should pay for this housing was resolved in part by the development of the "Durban system" (Swanson, 1976), where the municipal monopoly in the manufacture of sorghum beer ensured a revenue which was channelled to the construction of African townships and facilities (Rogerson and Tucker, 1985). Although these moves to create a more stable work force appeared to partially accept the African urbanite, city planning and urban architecture ensured its separation by emphasizing distinctiveness and domination (Cooper, 1983; Elliot and McRone, 1982). Thus while public participation was the acceptable planning practice in the White areas, plans were imposed on the African population. In terms of architecture buildings were standardized and offered very little by way of personal preference.

This period served as an important benchmark for the development of the facilities that were central to an urban center. Located to service the needs of the white urban dwellers,

their distribution within Salisbury displayed the characteristic elements of a typical colonial dual city. By 1940, Salisbury's Golden Jubilee Year, housing and the control of Africans appeared to be the only problems of significance. Thus the outbreak of World War II in 1939 marked the end of an era for Salisbury in which the settlement had grown from a rough, and somewhat primitive pioneer town, to a small but attractive colonial capital city. (Figure 19). The declaration of World War II saw volunteers of both black and white Rhodesians serving the British War efforts together with South African troops. During this period Salisbury was the headquarters of the 1st Battalion Rhodesia Regiment, the training center of the country's embryo Air Force, and the headquarters for the British South Africa Police. Three air stations to train allied airmen also existed in Salisbury between 1940-1945 and together with the manufacture of munitions and the conversion of ordinary vehicles into armored cars, important aircraft and engine repair work came to be carried out in the town. For these military personnel an omnibus service was provided and in 1942 the first municipal bus service was provided for civilians to Avondale.

Between the 1936 and 1941 censuses, the European and African populations had grown by 55% and 51%, respectively. Salisbury's European population first by-passed that of Bulawayo in about 1938.

Stage Three: Internationalism, 1950-1978

Changes in the post-World War II period makes it possible to divide the developments in Rhodesia to 1978 into three distinct phases, although they all fall under Internationalism. The first, the immediate post-war period; the second, the Federal period, and the third, the UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) period.

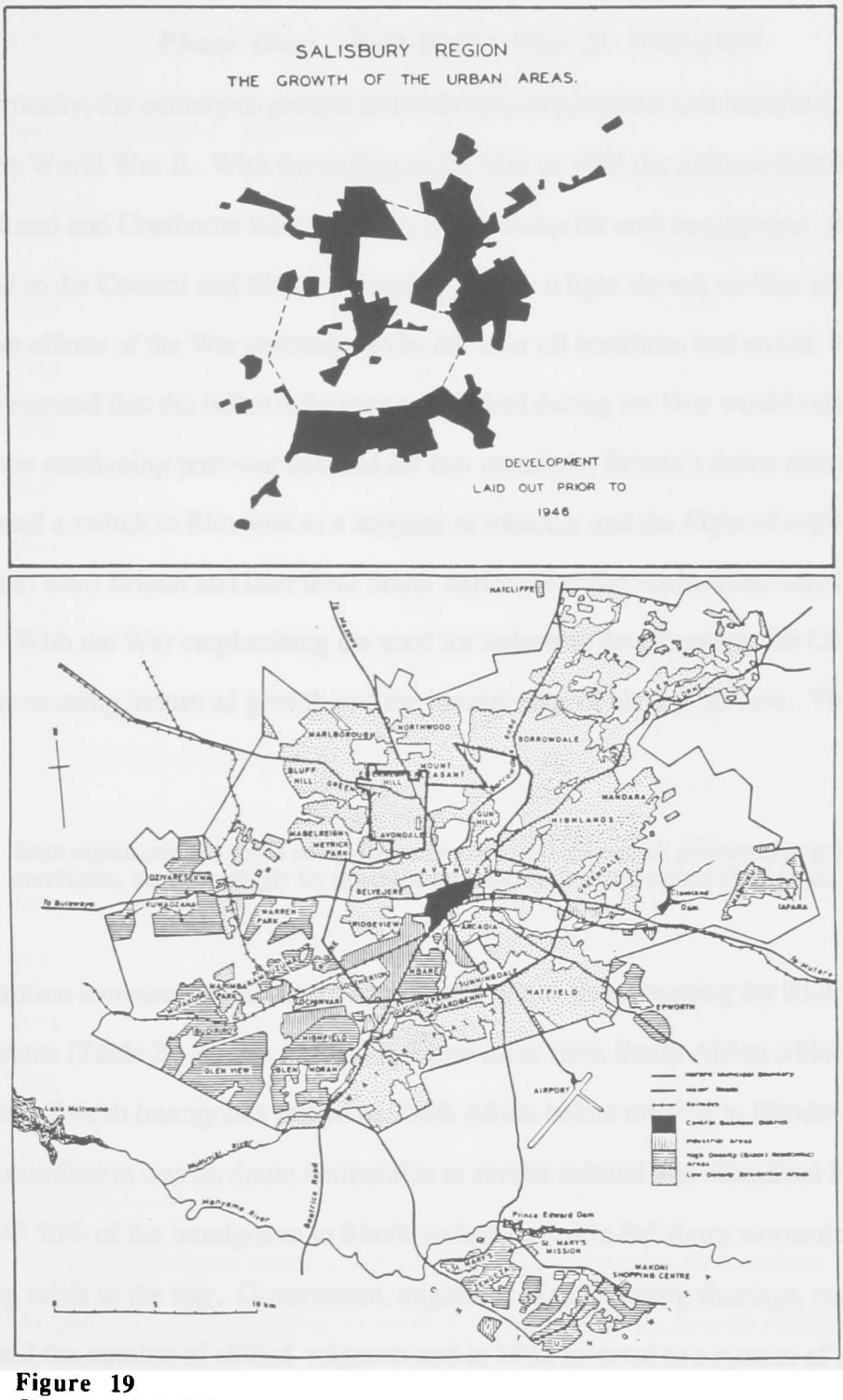

Figure 19
Growth of Salisbury prior to 1946 - Harare-Chitungwiza 1990
***Source*: top map: SRG 1949, Appendix V**
bottom map: adapted from Zinyama, (forthcoming)

Phase One: Post-World War II 1945-1953

Economically, the country in general and Salisbury in particular had benefitted directly from the World War II. With the ending of the War in 1945 the airforce training camps were closed and Cranborne later became a transit camp for new immigrants. Belvedere reverted to the Council and Mount Hampden became a light aircraft civilian airfield. The positive effects of the War continued to be felt after all hostilities had ended. Several factors ensured that the infant industries established during the War would continue to grow: the continuing post-war demand for raw materials; Britain's dollar shortage, which stimulated a switch to Rhodesia as a supplier of tobacco; and the flight of capital (and migrants) from Britain and later from South Africa (after the Nationalists came to power in 1948). With the War emphasizing the need for industrial development ,the Government set about promoting industrial growth and the immigration of skilled persons. The result was that,

> State capital came to play a complementary role to private capital, guaranteeing profitable conditions, but increasingly for international rather than settler capital (Stoneman, 1978, p. 65).

Immigration increased significantly with British nationals accounting for 95.4% of all immigrants (Table 2). 47.2% of the this figure came from South Africa which suggests that many British immigrants settled in South Africa before moving to Rhodesia. Their rapid assimilation was no doubt attributable to similar cultural and attitudinal backgrounds. By 1947 50% of the immigrants to Rhodesia had settled in Salisbury worsening the housing crisis in the city. Government, cognizant of the housing shortage, consciously restricted the number of skilled migrants and in 1952 resorted to a system of quotas.

The housing shortage was partly attributable to the numbers of immigrants but in the main

Table 2
Number of Immigrants (other than African) entering Rhodesia and Estimated European Population of Rhodesia: 1939-1953

Year	Number of Immigrants*	Total Rhodesian European Population (rounded)
1939	3 338	64 000
1940	1 189	65 000
1941	632	69 000
1942	506	78 000
1943	490	81 000
1944	623	82 000
1945	1 759	80 000
1946	9 195	83 000
1947	13 595	88 000
1948	17 037	101 000
1949	14 155	114 000
1950	16 245	125 000
1951	17 561	138 000
1952	14 560	152 000
1953	10 305	158 000

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* Post -war immigration figures include personnel and dependents posted to the permanent staff of the RAF and NAAFI (Navy, Army, and Air Force Institutes) in connection with the post-war training scheme for RAF pilots.

***Source*: Corporate Development Group, 1977, p.29**

was aggravated by the restriction on building during the war and shortage of building materials after the war. In an attempt to resolve this crisis, a National Housing Board was established which adopted a number of strategies among them being the building of flats, pise-de-terre[26] and no-fines housing[27] (Cary, 1985). A number of Government hostels were used to provide immigrants with temporary accommodation. Despite these measures, temporary "pole and daga" huts were also erected in Coronation Park in an attempt to resolve the problem.It was during this period that the development of Mabelreign, a farm some 3.2 miles from Salisbury was purchased and then planned in accordance with Radburn principles[28] to serve as residential area for middle income White immigrants. Developed in three phases, the project proved successful although some design elements had to be abandoned because of local conditions (Wilson, 1980, pp. 214-218).

It was during and especially after World War II that the movement of Africans into the City also took on serious proportions. In an attempt to tackle the problem the Council established a Department of Native Administration in 1946. In 1948 it was estimated that at least 20,000 Africans were living in Salisbury outside Harari Township in overcrowded single quarters in backyards, in unauthorized structures and in structures authorized by the Council as temporary accommodation. Outside the municipal boundary, thousands were living in shantytowns. Harari by far the largest township with 4,370 units compared to 453 for Highfields. It was also a male preserve with 59% of its residents being alien men. In an attempt to ease the situation, 100 nissen huts were erected in Harari causing the

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[26]The name pise-de-terre applies to a system of building using shuttering to construct compressed earth walls which are rammed into place.

[27]No fines housing refers to a type of building in which the walls are made of a mixture of cement and crushed stone without the addition of sand . It gave an appearance of 'honeycombing' to the finished walls.

[28]In the development of a residential neighborhood in Radburn, NJ, Clarence Stein applied a number of design principles including the creation of superblocks, specialized pedestrian roads, and parkways or open space as the "backbone" of these developments.

township to be called "Magaba" owing to the tin-like shape of the structures[29].

Housing for Europeans on a private home-ownership basis was largely dependent upon Council and Government. The attempt to solve the Colored housing situation with the provision of subsidized rental in blocks of flats was attempted. In 1945 Arcadia witnessed the erection of a number of pre-fabricated houses as a temporary measure. An attempt was made to alleviate the housing problem by building men's hostels in Harari, the first of which was completed after the War. In 1944 the Mayor noted that the African drift to Salisbury was becoming a problem, and the fear that profits from African beer sales would be inadequate to finance African projects.

When town planning consultants in 1935 had suggested that the peri-urban areas of Salisbury should be brought under the control of the City, their advice went unheeded and it was only with the promulgation of the 1946 Town and Country Planning Act that legal controls applying to the sub-division of peri-urban areas were instituted. These proved to be largely effective in establishing the one acre plot as a norm for housing..

Both King George VI Barracks and the Royal Rhodesian Air Force established permanent bases at a site on the Borrowdale Road and at new Sarum respectively and substantial government development took place in these areas.

All these activities concentrated in Salisbury meant that it became a major consumer market unsurpassed in the country. This lead quite naturally to the establishment of manufacturing industries whose principal products were consumer goods and an increase in service

[29]Nissen huts were made of semi-circular corrugated iron and measured 36' x 16' x 10' 6" and accommodated 20 single African males

industries. Being well placed with respect to water, power, land, and labor Salisbury established itself as the manufacturing center of the country.

Phase Two: The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

At a referendum held in April 1953 the approval of the public for the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was given although it officially came to being on September, 7th 1953. The idea of such a federation had first been mooted sometime in 1940 when the Otto Beit Bridge at Chirundu was opened and connected Lusaka and the area to the north with Salisbury. From 1933 to 1962 Rhodesian politics were dominated by a liberal element of the settler community led by the United Rhodesia Party (URP), renamed the United Federal Party (UFP) during the period of the Federation, 1953-1963 (Sithole, 1988, p. 219). During the Federal period the "parallel development" or the "two-pyramid partnership" among races policy came to dominate the ideology of the ruling white government (Arrighi, 1967) but had a limited impact at the level of the local government system (Wekwete, 1985, p. 3). What impact there was came to be associated with an increase in "home-ownership schemes" among the city's black population which was growing owing to the labor demands made on it. This political structure was founded on a belief by the Rhodesians "that they 'knew and understood' the African mind and they could prescribe for them" (Dewar, 1987, p.43).

Town planning in this period was most effective and schemes to control development became more effective with the completion of Schemes for the city. This provided structure for the development of the city and its peri-urban areas which all grew rapidly.

It was during this era that Salisbury earned itself the nickname "Bamba Zonke" meaning

"take all", and an air of exuberance permeated this period. Having become the Federal as well as the territorial capital the decision set the seal on a period of major development. By far the largest center with 25% of the total European population, its concentration of expertise led to unprecedented growth which was to transform the skyline. Commercial, industrial, financial and Government development expanded to include the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the National Art Gallery, plus a host of other prestigious office blocks together with the a major share of industrial development. Thus in 1948, whereas no buildings exceeded five storeys, by 1960 there were 89 ranging from 50 to 250 feet; and legislation was introduced to permit buildings over 300 feet. The development of flats on the eastern edge of the city center in the Avenues took place.

Simultaneously, development in streetscape architecture to cope with increase in traffic marked an area of growth which frequently meant the loss of trees that had been planted some time in the past.

With this development, the shortage of accommodation for European, African and Asian and "Colored" accentuated especially when one considers that immigration from the other central African territories added to the burden. This wave of immigration which began to subside only after 1961, produced shortages not only with regard to housing but infrastructure and social services as well. The construction of Lake McIlwaine in 1953 and Lake Kariba in 1960 eased the water and electricity supply situation, respectively. The city's suburbs, townships and peri-urban areas began to develop to a degree not seen before. With the development of suburbs came the establishment of suburban shopping centers. Largely built between 1950 and 1960, their functional specialization increased with growing population numbers (Smout, 1977, p. 73).

Industrial development in the Workington, Southerton, and Graniteside industrial areas grew rapidly and by 1959 150 stands were occupied. Expansion took place in the Ardbennie, Lochinvar , and the Beverley industrial areas (Trinder, 1976).

From 1957 to 1960 African Nationalism began to bring a sense of reality to the "squandermania and other stupidity" that prevailed in the Federation in general but in Salisbury in particular. When the Monkton Commission reported that the territories in the Federation should be given the right to secede, political and economic uncertainty began to unsettle the Federation. In Salisbury the bottom fell out of the property market and there were 2000 houses for sale in Salisbury. African nationalism and the violence that accompanied it had its roots initially in an urban setting. Attributed by the authorities to be the result of single males of whom there were about 30,000 in the city housed in some 51 hostels all centered in Harari, the disturbances quickly attracted the attention of the BSA Police[30]. The police presence in the townships which had been limited to municipal police were disbanded in 1962 after having been established in 1944. The state police force took over from 1959 onwards in Highfields and other townships where police stations were rapidly constructed at strategic exits/entrances to the townships. The hostels thus remained one of the more beneficial legacies of the City's past heavy reliance on migrant labour as it was the concentration of supposedly supervised and docile labor that came to violently question the conditions of their servility. (Figure 20)

The pressure exerted by the African Nationalists in Rhodesia inspired by the political development in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland led to the dismantling of the Federation on December, 31, 1963. The political tide was turning and on the one hand White

[30]Sithole attributes some of the violence to factional fighting among contending African political parties (Sithole, 1988, p. 224)

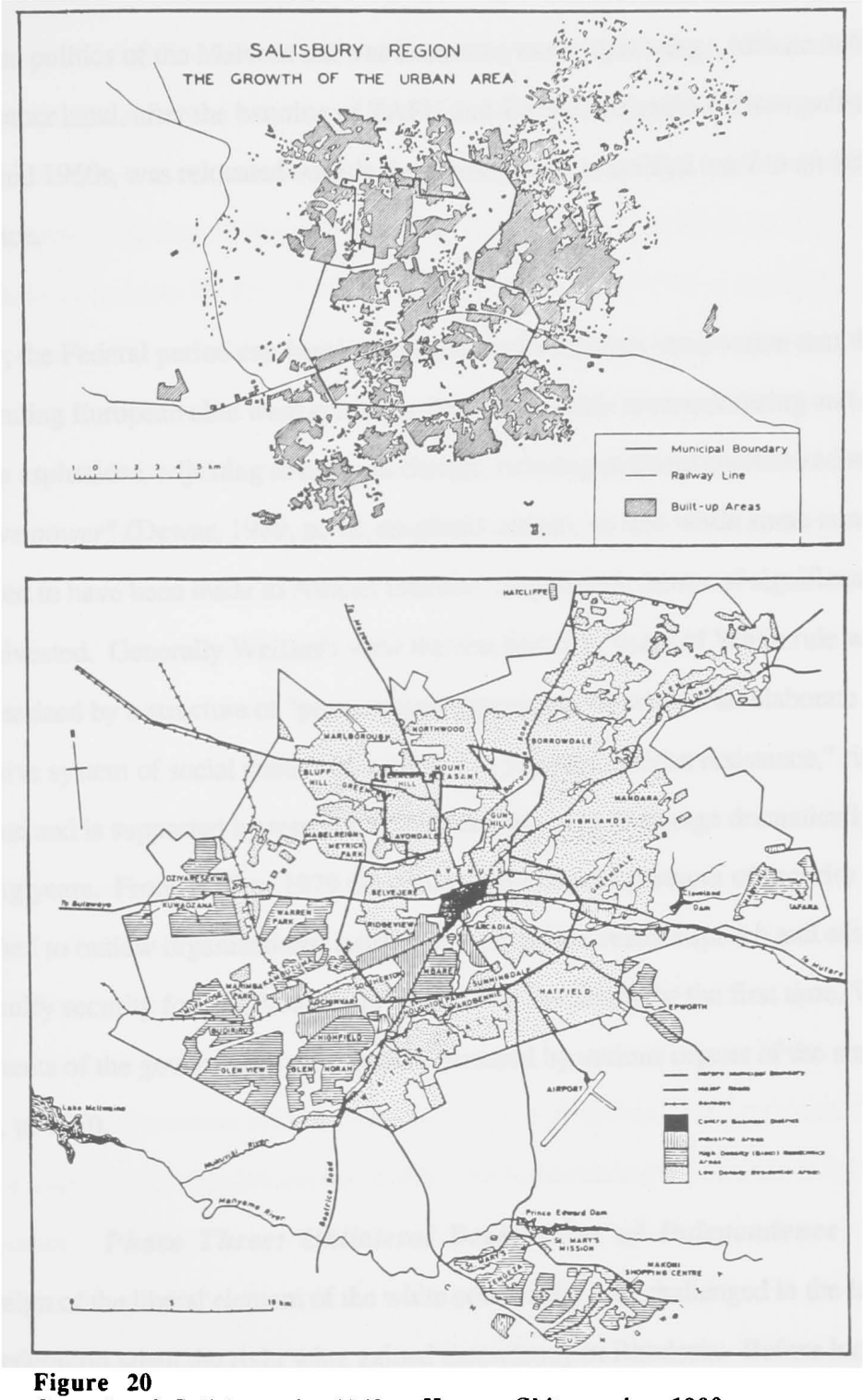

Figure 20
Growth of Salisbury in 1963 - Harare-Chitungwiza 1990
***Source*: top map: Zinyama (forthcoming)**
bottom map: adapted from Zinyama, (forthcoming)

moderate politics of the Malvern era was becoming more right wing. African nationalism on the other hand, after the banning of ZAPU and ZANU, the main African political parties in the mid 1960s, was relocated outside the country and committed itself to an armed resistance.

Finally, the Federal period can best be summed up by Dewar's observation that the "actions of the ruling European elite were generally directed towards accommodating and gratifying African aspirations, adjusting to material change, reducing political conflict and *maintaining effective power*" (Dewar, 1989, p. 42, emphasis added), so that while some concessions appeared to have been made to African interests, no political power of significance had been divested. Generally Weitzer's view that the first fifty years of White rule was characterized by a structure of "preventative oppression" by which "an elaborate and pervasive system of social control was created to preempt African resistance," rings accurate and is supported by research . This situation was to change dramatically in the ensuing years. From 1959 to 1979 the country witnessed a plethora of security laws designed to outlaw organizations, issue detention orders, restrict speech and assembly, and indemnify security forces (Weitzer, 1984). Under Ian Smith for the first time, White opponents of the government were openly harassed by various organs of the state (Sithole, 1988, p. 220).

Phase Three: Unilateral Declaration of Independence

The reign of the liberal element of the white community was challenged in the latter years of the Federation when the right wing gained ascendency in Rhodesia. Before loosing its political grip and in an attempt to "steal a march on the law-and-order crusade of the opposition," the United Federal Party (UFP) introduced a series of the most repressive

laws the country had ever known. These instruments were used to entrench the position of the incoming government under Ian Douglas Smith. Under the Rhodesia Front Party (RF), the right wing held sway in Rhodesian politics from 1962 to 1978, the eve of black majority rule. Feigning no liberal intentions, the leadership was forthright in its denial of any political freedoms for the African and simultaneously established a policy of "separate development". These developments were underpined by an array of legally repressive instruments, including the Unlawful Organizations Act (1959), Preventative Detentions Act (1959), and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (1960). Powers not provided in these acts were made available under the Emergency Powers Act (1960) in the form of executive regulations. In November, 1965 the Rhodesia Front Government issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) severing ties with the United Kingdom and plunging the country into fifteen years of international isolation and civil war.

These developments changed the framework of economic policy making, local expectations, and the perception of foreign investors in just how safe their investments would be. From 1963-1965 a period of uncertainty followed in which foreign investment quickly slowed down or withdrew (Clarke, 1980, p. 28). Faced with the grim prospect of collapse, most foreign companies complied with *de facto* authority and after making their own internal and external adjustments, reinvested their profits. This provided finance for local expansion and simultaneously, had the effect of shifting the control of foreign companies to resident directors. From 1965 to 1975 the economy of the country and that of Salisbury in particular flourished. Inflation was kept at below 3% with astute financial management and together with protection from external competition and incentives provided to save foreign exchange manufacturing industries once again began to grow. From 1970 - 1975 economic sanctions busting and import substitution activities functioned

at their peak. Agriculture diversified, away from its dependence on tobacco and considerable development took place in industry and particularly in mining (Stoneman, 1978). Allied with these developments was a tendency for a rising share of South African investments in the total foreign capital stock.

Construction in the multi-residential two and three storey garden flats proliferated in the White suburbs especially those in the north, though not exclusively, on land zoned for this use. Designed in a variety of styles including Mediterranean, English, and Cape Dutch, they generally catered for the more affluent groups within Salisbury's white population. Additional shopping centers were built and to those completed in the 1960s greater functional specialization took place (Smout, 1977, p. 73).

Beginning in 1974, however, the economy was adversely impacted in two ways. The first was the effect of the world-wide oil price shock combined with the world recession, and the second was the growing strength of the liberation struggle. As a result of these events, the Smith regime came under increasing pressure to negotiate with the African nationalists. The product of these negotiations was the installation of the interim Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government of Bishop Muzorewa.

Architectural firms were affected by a general slowing down of the construction industry although some work was still available. Abandoning the more traditional styles and new design began to follow the trends of the International Style where the self-finished off-shutter concrete as an external material came to be increasingly recognized. Southampton House (1972), Chancellor House (1972), and Earl Grey Buildings (1976) were examples of this style. Furthermore John Boyne (1970) and the Legal and General building is a fine

example of curtain walling. The Monomatapa Hotel (1974) combined both these techniques. The Parirenyatwa Hospital (1976) with off-shutter concrete frame with brick infill panels also provides an example of the International Style.

In 1971, after a seven month Government study the City of Salisbury was amalgamated with the surrounding local authorities to become Greater Salisbury. Additionally, with the supercession of the Municipal Act (1930) by the most comprehensive of all local government acts, the Urban Councils Act (1973) the powers of city governments were reinforced to apply any policies that central government might wish to implement. Local government in Salisbury was strengthened and the "twin-city" concept (European/African) became firmly established. (Figure 21) Salisbury's "townships" grew as separate development of the African population was reinforced. Seki, a planned town 25 km from Salisbury was established; and "site and service" projects undertaken at Glenview in the city. This was in recognition that the granting of freehold tenure to blacks and the provision of housing on a self-help basis was crucial to the development of the economy in general. This did not, however, deviate from the beliefs of the government of the day that Africans and Whites could not live together. The march of the African townships to the south-west of the city continued while the development of the north-east south-west alignment was reinforced even further.

Associated with these policy shifts was an increasing influx of rural migrants to Salisbury which resulted in the development of squatter areas such as Derbyshire, Epworth, and Chirambahuyo (Patel, 1986).

Finance for development was readily available as large financial institutions unable to

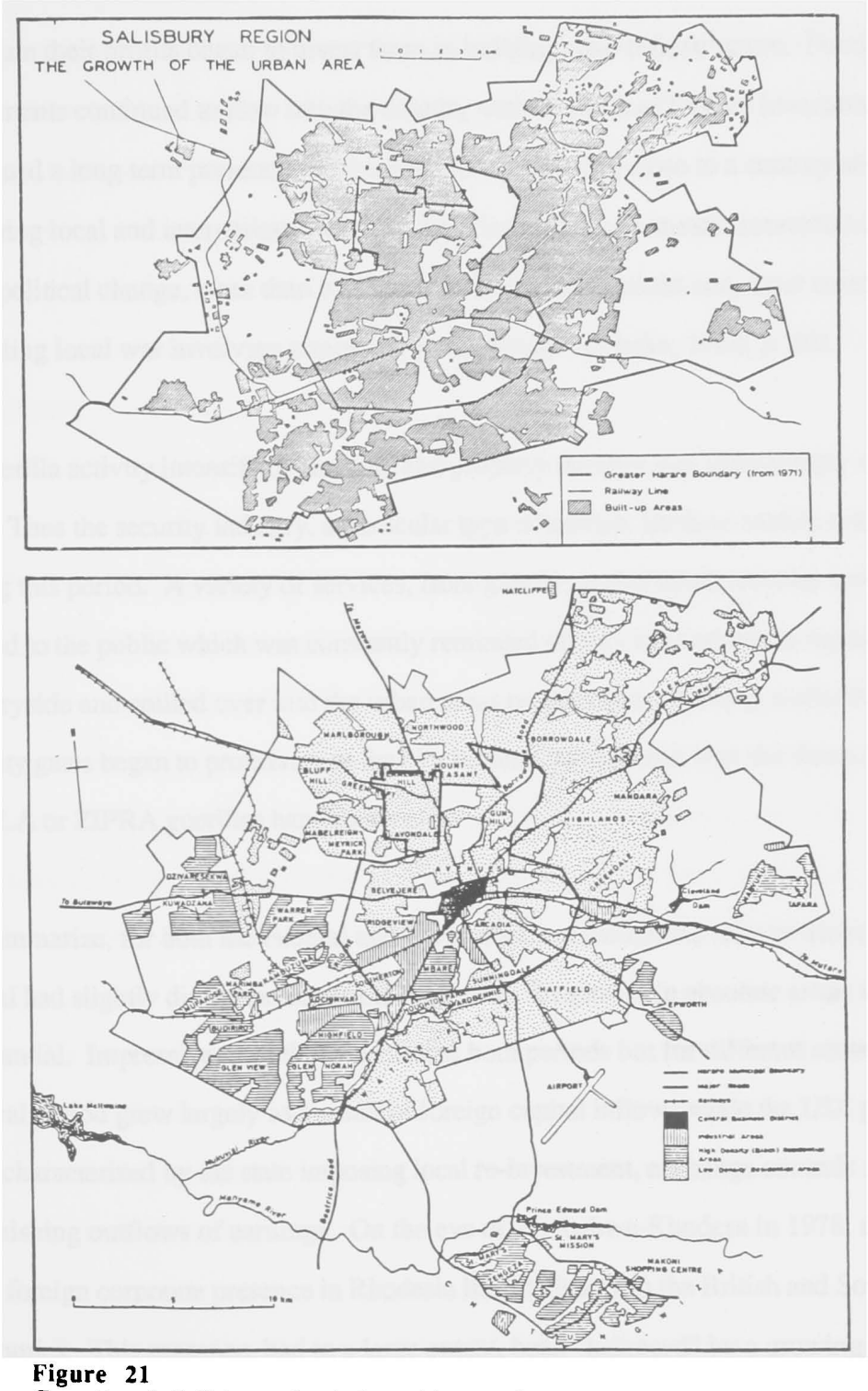

Figure 21
Growth of Salisbury in 1974 - Harare-Chitungwiza 1990
***Source*: top map: Zinyama (forthcoming)**
bottom map: adapted from Zinyama, (forthcoming)

repatriate their profits began to invest them in buildings and infrastructure. Foreign investments continued to flow into the country with the bulk of foreign investments. "So continued a long term presence and growth record spanning close to a century and outlasting local and international wars, cyclical instabilities, domestic economic crises, rapid political change, more than a decade of economic sanctions and, most recently, an escalating local war involving almost all social groups" (Clarke, 1980, p. 30).

As guerilla activity intensified, personal and property security was increasingly sought after. Thus the security industry, a particular type of service, became readily available during this period. A variety of services, from guards, to electronic security systems, were offered to the public which was constantly reminded of the civil war that is raging in the countryside and spilled over into the urban areas on occasion. Security walls, burglar bars, security gates began to proliferate as the city became beleaguered with the threat of either ZANLA or ZIPRA guerillas hanging over it.

To summarize, for both the Federal and UDI periods, although the relative share of foreign capital had slightly diminished over the long term, the growth in absolute terms had been substantial. Impressive growth rates marked both periods but for different reasons. The Federal period grew largely as a result of foreign capital inflows while the UDI period has been characterized by the state imposing local re-investment, exchange controls and thereby diminishing outflows of earnings. On the eve of Zimbabwe-Rhodesa in 1978, there was a large foreign corporate presence in Rhodesia linked closely to the British and South African economies. This presence, had to a large extent, been "balanced" by a growing share of both state and private local capital of between 27-33 per cent (Clarke, 1988, p. 33). While it is important to understand the role of foreign and local capital in the economy, it is

equally crucial to ascertain which sectors were central to this role. The internationalist period witnessed the shift to the financial sector and its growth and importance had increased by the end of that period. There is no reason to suppose that growth and importance has waned in the post-independence period. For the last ten years the importance of the financial sector has in fact been heavily underscored in a variety of ways as banks, pension and insurance companies have continued to increase their involvement in development.

Stage Four: Globalism, 1978-1990

By 1978 the steam had begun to run out of the economy. The installation of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa brought only a greater resolution by the guerilla movement to intensify their activities. The transitional government of Bishop Muzorewa ushered in the next development period of the country, now called Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Asked to represent nationalist interests in the country, his acceptance of the results of a referendum held in the country led to a rift in his relationships with the leaders of the movement who were based outside the country. When finally Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 after the Lancaster House agreement, Bishop Muzorewa's party sought also to retain his political superiority but was defeated in the process. Before its demise which eventually culminated with independence being granted to Zimbabwe on April 18, 1980, Muzorewa's Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government made crucial decisions vis-a-vis the future growth of the city.

A report, Population Influx Problem published in 1978 highlighted the future population growth of the city. In response, a committee comprising officials from the City of Salisbury and government recommended that the southern portion of Warren, Parkridge,

and Fontainbleu Farms be developed for low income housing. This recommendation together with the construction of Glenview, set the pattern for future high density housing development.

A feeling of euphoria returned to Salisbury (renamed Harare in 1982) at the cessation of the guerilla war and the attainment of independence in April, 1980. Simultaneously there was a sense of apprehension as the new African government took its first steps in a highly charged military situation. Initially very little investment took place within the city as Government investment was channelled to the rural areas to rebuild physical and social infrastructure (Government of Zimbabwe, TNDP). The private sector (largely white owned and controlled) adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude. The physical fabric of the city, which had not suffered physical damage by hostilities, that lasted from 1967 until 1980, stood intact. With the formal relaxation of controls in migration to urban areas, the population of Harare began to grow in keeping with the national trend, which by 1982 had reached a 13.6% increase per annum (Underwood, 1984). The repercussions of this growth were felt throughout the city's fabric.

First, with the exodus of the White population, which had begun before 1980, the previous racial composition of the city began to slowly change with Africans moving into former White suburbs (Harvey, 1982). Second, simultaneously, a new type of migrant arrived in the city. With the normalization of international relations diplomatic/consular and contract expatriate staff began to make their appearance felt. Third, squatters who had begun to make a appearance in the city before independence, slowly began to establish themselves and with them the informal sector appeared (Muchena, 1980). With the white population largely confined to the low density suburbs to the north and north-east, the Asians and

Coloreds occupying their former areas, and the Africans still largely occupying areas to the west and south-west and in Chitungwiza "a compartmentalized city of distinctive areas and groups" (Davies, 1986, p. 135), began to emerge.

International finance also began to flex its muscle. By 1978, although international finance was spread across the economic landscape, its major areas of concentration were in manufacturing, distribution, finance and property. This investment shift into non-mining activities came during the Federal period. The major shift has been in the area of bank and non-bank institutions (Clarke, 1988). This trend has continued into the nineties since the Reserve Bank has had a dampening effect on the transfer of profits from international corporations. Outside funds had begun to enter the local market through a number of sources. International funding agencies began to fund the low income housing sector and as a result there was rapid development in the local government areas[31] (World Bank, 1982: USAID, 1983). Those people unable to afford low income housing, the housing waiting list in Harare have grown significantly in this period, and have found themselves as lodgers or "squatters". House occupancy rates in the city in general but in the low income areas in particular have soared as a result (City of Harare, 1985). Squatter settlements were razed to the ground except in the case of Epworth which remained because of political reasons (Butcher, 1985)[32]. Other international funding agencies representing different countries, competed for the opportunity to construct prestiges projects such as Heroe's Acre, The Sheraton Hotel and Conference Centre, and the National Sports Stadium. A new uni-cameral parliament complex was designed and planned utilizing local expertise but has received no funding to date.

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[31]The former high density areas or townships renamed immediately after independence.

[32]It was spared demolition because the occupants were seen to have been defiant against the regime of Ian Smith.

Accompanying these developments, the construction of government, parastatal office blocks, and private commercial structures proliferated. This was despite the apparent shortage of materials and finance. Infill development, began to utilize space that was neglected as the price of land rose to levels not known before. Beginning in 1987 the city found itself in the throes of a general building boom. Large office developments such as Royal Mutual House (1983), PTC Headquarters (1985), University Land Management Building (1986), Karigamombe Centre (1987), ZANU (PF) Headquarters (1990) and CABS Centre (1990), were constructed utilizing post-modern styles.

Industrial buildings and land were in demand and while the Council was able to alleviate the latter it is only with the utilization of prefabricated systems and innovations in building management supply that the former supply is being met. This has not curtailed the introduction of style in the industrial landscape and the Tobacco Sales Floors (1986) with its "combination of exposed steelwork, profiled steel cladding, off-shutter concrete columns and primary colors are parts of the vocabulary used to create a building which is essentially industrial" (Price, 1986).

The development of wealthy prestigious townhouses and garden flats began to mushroom and the development of cluster units of townhouses (1987) is a significant innovation to Salisbury's built environment. Associated with this type of development is the construction of shopping malls at Borrowdale Village (1990) and, although not associated with the wealthy, the town center mall development in Chitungwiza (1990).

there is an effort to introduce other components of current planning practices such as historic preservation, although there was some precedence in the preservation of historic

sites legislation, and the Harare City Council makes a concerted attempt to institutionally formalize it. This also applies to the Transfer of Development Rights. Meanwhile the Market Hall (1894), the BSAP Commissioners Office (18933) are restored.

Communication links with the outside world has meant the construction of a digitized satellite communications system and the associated growth in computer technology. (Figure 22)

After independence politics has been waged at the local government level where the Zimbabwe constitution provides for locally elected city councils. Although, as Wekwete has observed, that there was some "confusion and conflict about the goals of local government in urban areas", from an administrative central government perspective there has been a move towards centralizing control in terms of staff recruitment and controls on budgets in an effort to strengthen the viability of urban local governments (Wekwete, 1988). There has thus "been the frequent call from central government for local authorities to engage in income generating activities" (Wekwete, 1988), in part paralleling the development of the entrepreneurial cities of the United States.

All these developments took place after the guerilla war that had engulfed the country for 15 years came to an end in 1980. Internal security, however, continued to be problematic. First, civil unrest in the form of ethnic violence flared up in Matabeleland and both military and police units were deployed to bring the situation under control. Second, there was an increase in crime as both public welfare and safety came under pressure from criminals. Increases in housebreaking and theft, robbery, rape, fraud, and the theft of motor vehicles began to be recorded by the police (Sunday Mail, July 29, 1990).

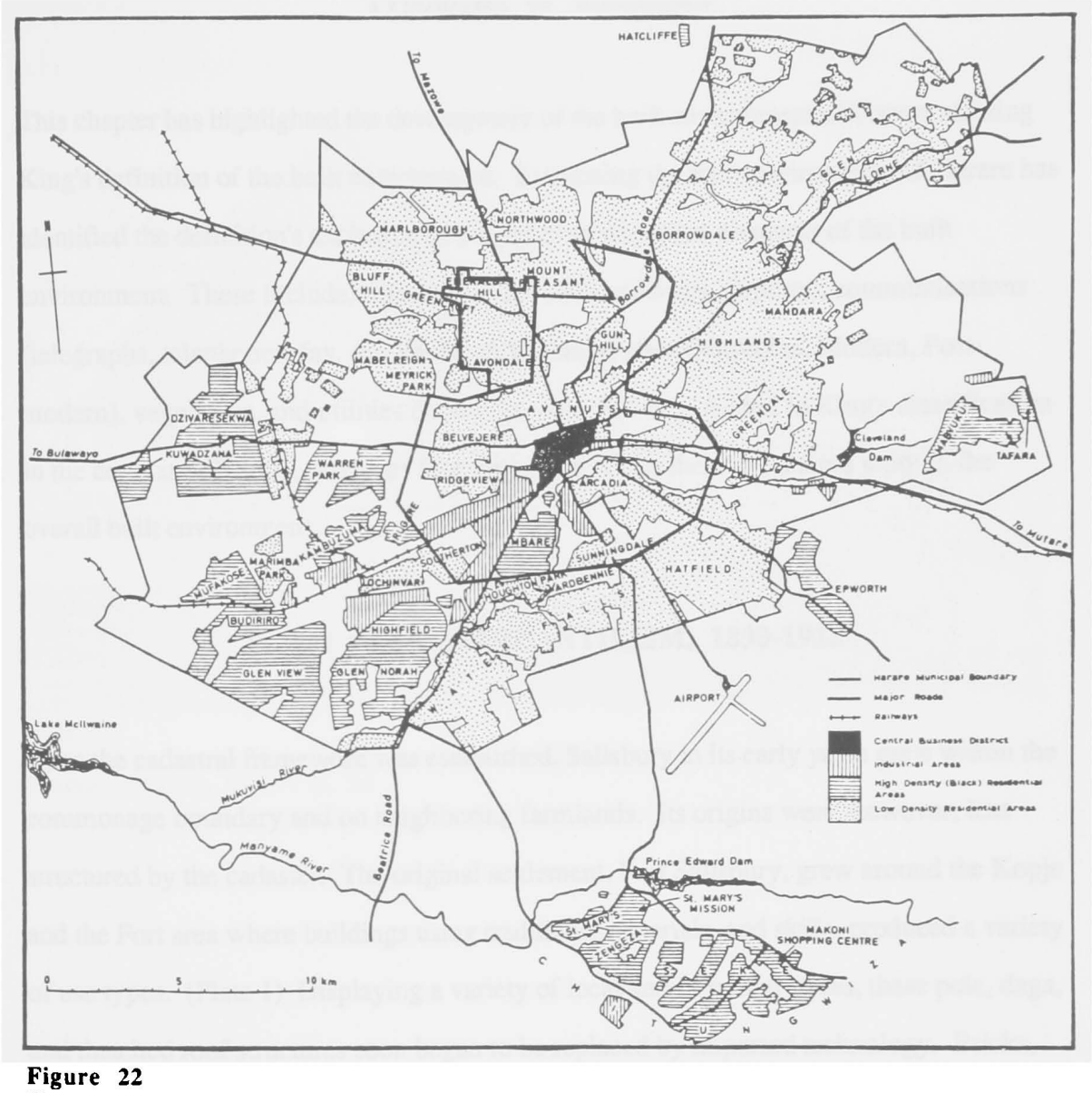

Figure 22
Harare-Chitungwiza 1990
***Source*: adapted from Zinyama, (forthcoming)**

Typologies of Ensembles

This chapter has highlighted the development of the built environment of Harare utilizing King's definition of the built environment. Examining the built environment of Harare has identified the definition's exclusion of a number of important elements of the built environment. These include, infrastructure (roads, railways, airports), communications (telegraphs, telephones, fax, satellites), architectural style (Victorian, Modern, Post-modern), vegetation, and utilities (water, sewage, power). Added to King's classification in the context of Harare, produces four periods in which there is a shared unity in the overall built environment.

Period One - MERCANTILISM, 1890-1923

Once the cadastral framework was established, Salisbury in its early years grew within the commonage boundary and on neighboring farmlands. Its origins were, however, less structured by the cadaster. The original settlement, Fort Salisbury, grew around the Kopje and the Fort area where buildings using traditional materials, and skills, produced a variety of use types. (Plate 1) Displaying a variety of local and imported styles, these pole, daga, and thatched roof structures soon began to be replaced by imported technology. Bricks, sun-dried (Kimberley) or kiln-fired made on site around the Makabusi River soon replaced pole and daga walls although the use of thatched continued. Lasting for just under two years, this period came slowly to end once a supply of tools, building materials, including planks, glass, nails, and corrugated iron was imported from South Africa. By 1895 Salisbury boasted 204 brick buildings as compared to only 13 iron ones (Jackson, 1986, p. 13) one of which was the Market Hall completed in 1894.

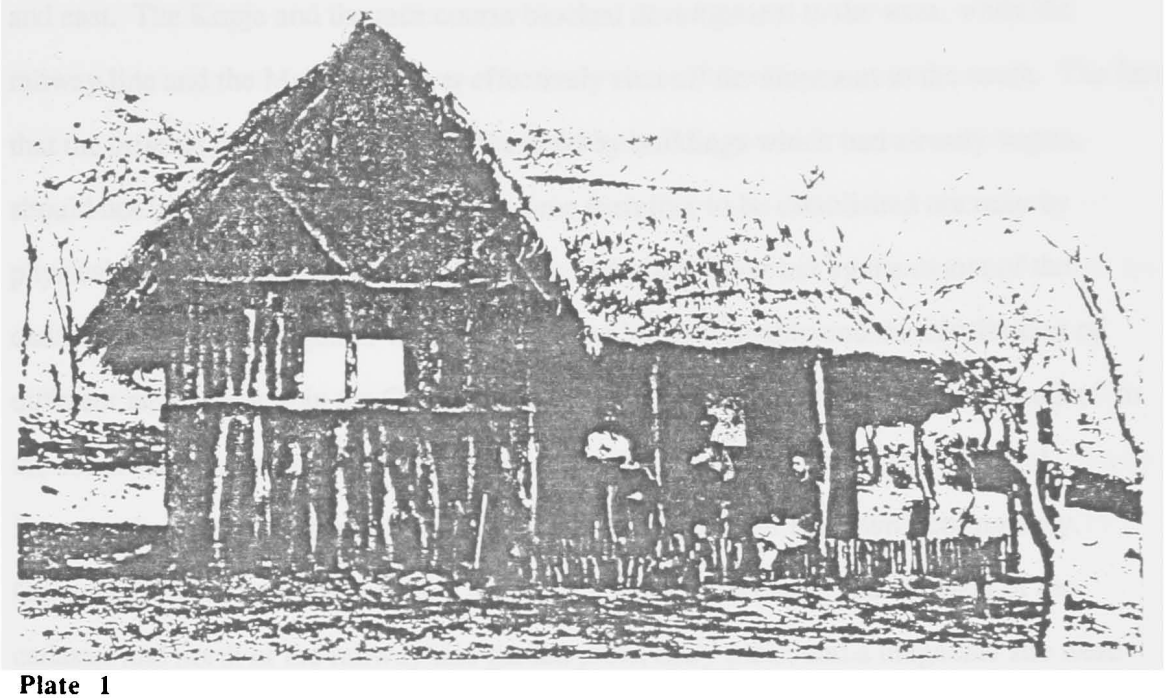

Plate 1
Thatched settler house of "pole and daga" c 1890
Source: Jackson (1987) p. 14

Influenced by several factors, the original cadaster once established was later amended to include blocks of government land which effectively restrained development to the north and east. The Kopje and the race course blocked development to the west, while the railway line and the Makabusi River effectively shut off development to the south. The fact that the original cadaster was itself influenced by buildings which had already begun, should not be overlooked. Fringe-lines came therefore to be established not only by physical characteristics such as the Kopje or Makabusi River but by the extent of the cadastral framework together with the pattern of land ownership and the distribution of different land uses within the Commonage including the siting of the "Native Location" to the south-east. Located within the Commonage boundary but outside the cadastral framework were a number of uses that served the interests of the town's community. Generally, natural grasses provided grazing for horses and cattle. To the west of the cadaster and north of the railway line garden plots, dairy plots, and a magazine site were located. To the south of the railway line garden plots which supplied the town with fruit and vegetables, stone quarries, brick fields, the sewage farm and works, and close to the "Native Location", the bacon factory, and the cemetery were situated. To the east of the settlement a golf course, rifle ranges, and the police camp with the goal were established. With the development of the center some of these needs declined and the character of this fringe-belt changed.

Cadastral development outside this Commonage area took place partly in response to the high land prices that were being charged for surveyed land within the jurisdiction of the local authority. Thus by 1900 subdivision for residential purposes was taking place on the farms of Greendale in the east and Lochinvar in the west. By 1910 portions of Avondale, Mount Pleasant, and Waterfalls farms were being subdivided. While subdivisions

continued on these properties, by 1923 Hatfield Estate, The Nursery, and Borrowdale Estates had begun to subdivide plots for sale.

Building development within the Commonage was restricted to the surveyed area. Although no clear demarcation of different land-use was enforced by the authorities or suggested by the grid-iron survey[33], a differentiation did take place. The Kopje was the original commercial area of the town. As the town grew, commercial enterprises developed westwards along Manica Road and then northwards along First Street. Commercial activity did not completely abandon the older area, instead a "secondary" shopping area appeared that was frequented by different racial and socio-economic groups. Moffat Street for example, with its concentration of Asian owned shops was frequented mainly by an African clientele.

In this period commercial development displayed a variety of structures and styles which were introduced chronologically. First, there was the construction of simple traditional structures such as the offices of the Mashonaland Herald and Zambesian Times. Second, these types of structures were soon replaced with brick walls and corrugated iron roofs which were a symbol of their progressiveness, such as that displayed by The Rhodesia Herald offices in 1892 (Baxter and Turner, 1966, pp. 177-178). (Plate 2) Third, by 1900 commercial development was characterized by parapetted neo-classical facades concealing simple single and double storey structures under corrugated iron roofs. The iron roof was no longer fashionable and "for the better commercial buildings was rather hidden behind parapets of confidence. The parapets were often as thin as the basis for that confidence,

[33]Although writing about a different context (U.S.A.) the suggestion that grid layouts in of themselves "favoured a fundamental democracy in property market participation" (Conzen, 1990), is certainly not borne out in Salisbury's case where Africans were simply barred from participation in the land market.

but were elaborately decorated with classical details, boosting the image and prestige of the owners" (Jackson, 1986, p. 16). The architects, mainly of British origin displayed a restrained classicism derived from Victorian revivals of Queen Anne and early Georgian English styles. Cope-Christie's Lonrho Building (1910) and the Standard Bank building (1911) are fine examples. In contrast, Servaas le Roux displayed a Dutch influence in the baroque gables and ornate stucco of his India House (1903). Fourth, these neo-classical facades became the base upon which the "colonial" style, with its delicate prefabricated cast-iron work and timber columns, brackets and balustrade additions, were built. Cope-Christie's Arnold Building (1910) and Store Brothers (1911) in Manica Road are good examples of this style (Jackson, 1986). (Plate 3) Government administrative activity, generally located in the Causeway area and office buildings, followed the dictates of the neo-classical style whose appeal lay in its representation of respect, and austere authority. The original Townhouse (1902) (Plate 4), Drill Hall (1902), Lonrho Building (1910), and Union Building (1910) are good examples of this style (Tanser, 1974).

Residential development took place in four areas and was generally intermixed with other activities. First, the north-west Kopje area and northern Causeway was in some ways least attractive with the smallest plots, although the stands around the northern and southern foot of the Kopje were prized above those in Pioneer Street. Cunningham's House (1902) with its "double-pitched iron roof, with an extended half timbered front gable, sits comfortably over this four-roomed cottage; the building was probably originally facebrick" (Jackson, 1987, p. 39), describes residential construction in these areas. This type of house, frequently covering no more than 80 square meters, was built on a plot of between 1,000 and 2,000 square meters with sanitary lanes at the rear of the stand. Originally, serviced by pit latrines, a bucket system of sewage removal, using the sanitary lanes was introduced

Plate 2
The Rhodesia Herald offices in 1892 built with a corrugated iron roof and 'kimberley' bricks
***Source*: Baxter and Turner, (1966) p. 178**

Plate 3
Store Bros., 1911 and W.H. Adams, 1917
Source: Tanser, (1974) p. 240

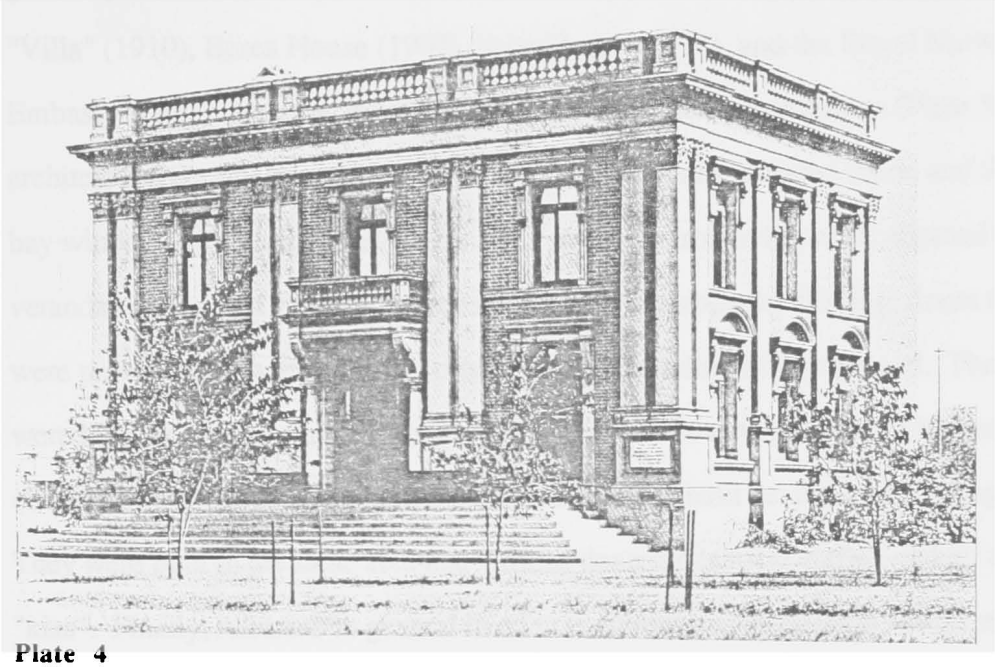

Plate 4
The Salisbury Town House - 1902
***Source*: Tanser (1974) p. 64**

later. Second, in the vicinity of Causeway and occupying and area to the east of it and to the north to Selous Avenue was an area of largely semi-detached and detached housing that occupied a middle position. Third, the Avenues was the high status area where, houses generally built after the First World War were constructed. These houses of which the "Villa" (1910), Berea House (1903), State House (1910), and the Royal Norwegian Embassy (1923), are good examples, differed from their predecessors (Plate 5) in size and architectural detail. Iron pillars for supporting verandahs replaced brick, and three sided bay windows were introduced at this time. Wrought iron trellis work adorned roof ridges, verandah pillars and railings. Internally wooden floorboards, skirting, doors and frames were protected from termites by constructing the building off the ground. These houses were built on one acre plots (Smout, 1977, p. 35). The development of latrines at the rear of residential stands was an established feature of the built environment during this period. They were built in the same area that African domestic labor occupied in their one-roomed "kias". Finally, Africans in general lived in traditional pole and daga structures, which themunicipality later replaced with kator huts in the "Native location", south of the rail line. (Plate 6)

Industrial activities, which included a bacon factory, were located in the area of the railway line and to the south of the city in the vicinity of the African location. They were peripheral to the central thrust of economic development of the period. Commercial (trading and wholesaling) and administrative functions were the mainstay of Salisbury's economic activity.

Building density tended to be low because the availability of land enabled new development

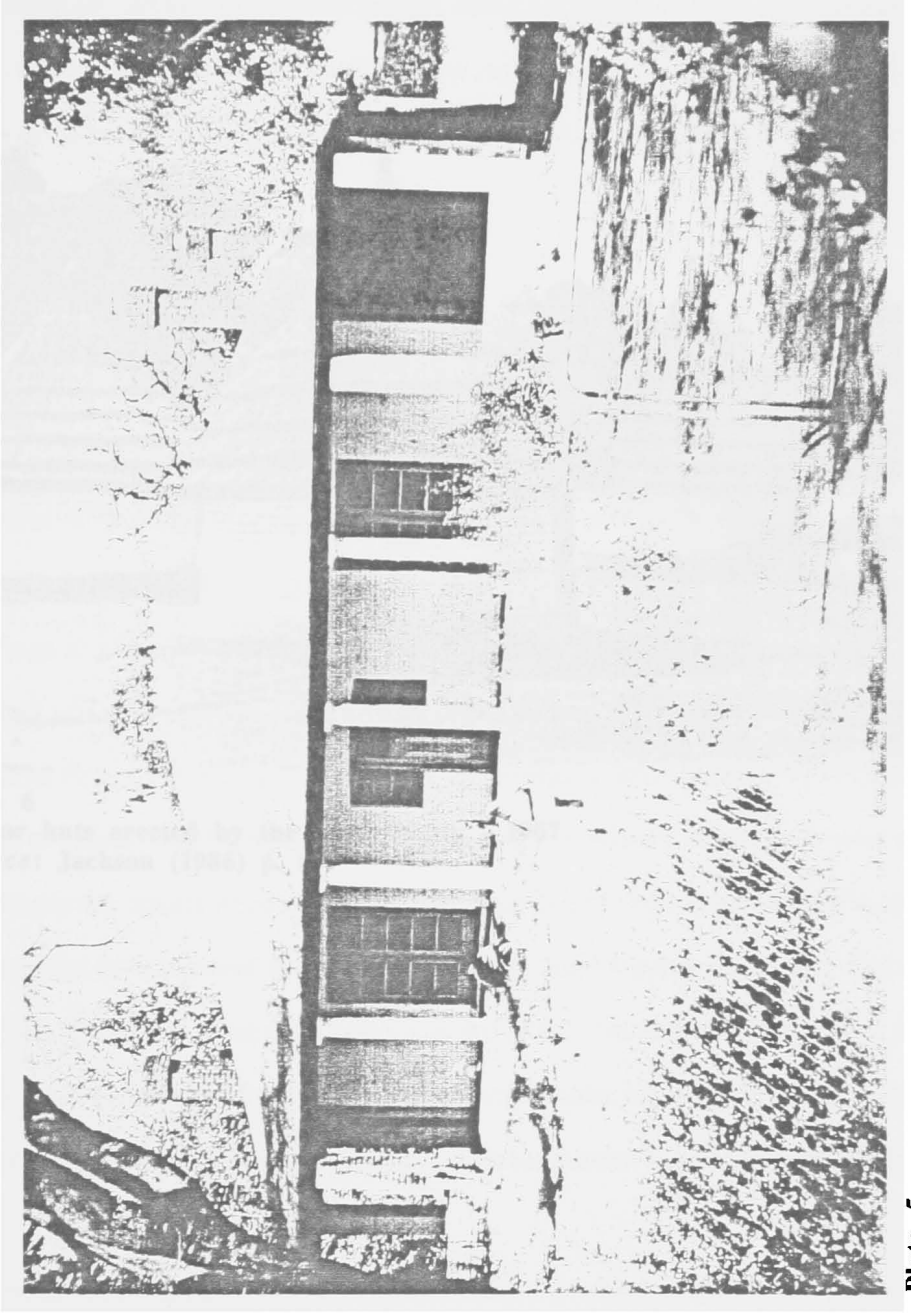

Plate 5
A house built in the 'Avenues' - c. 1907

Plate 6
Kaytor huts erected by the municipality - 1907
***Source*: Jackson (1986) p. 9**

to be located on new stands. The variety of stand sizes together with closed plats[34] and one storey structures meant that commercial buildings generally covered the street front presenting an "urban" built environment along particular streets. Thus although large areas of the town had no buildings at all or were set back on the stand, building concentrations along stretches of Manica Road, First Street and South Avenue presented much more of an enclosed urban environment.

Streets in this period which were used largely by animal drawn vehicles, rickshas, horses, and bicycles displayed two important characteristics. They either had the effect of binding building development together on either side of them to form a unified urban element or had the effect of creating development barriers. The bound street was related to commercial buildings that had a direct street frontage. Building owners delineated the street with their buildings and the verandah, thereby giving it some structure. The continuity of one building after the other had the same impact. (Plate 7) The authorities in turn demarcated the street first, by planting trees[35] along its perimeter and secondly by surfacing them with gravel or stone. Streets were nevertheless dusty or muddy depending upon the weather and where the streets were wider as in the case of Jameson Avenue and Second Street commercial development was "restricted" from leapfrogging it and was thus contained by it. (Plate 8) As the town developed, and the streets became more apparent, the habit of wagoneers to drive randomly across the town became less frequent and the town took on an aura of greater order. Furthermore, the street pattern highlighted nodes that were

[34]In which streets, blocks, and lots are all demarcated. The practice of open platting, although seen in South Africa was not applied in Salisbury's case. For such a case and its effect see Haswell R. F. (1990) "The making and remaking of Pietermaritzburg: the past present and future morphology of a South African city."
[35]Hundreds of trees were planted in the early years and satisfactory progress had already been made by the Town Engineer in 1906 (Mayor's Minutes, 1906). An office of the Curator of Gardens was created soon after.

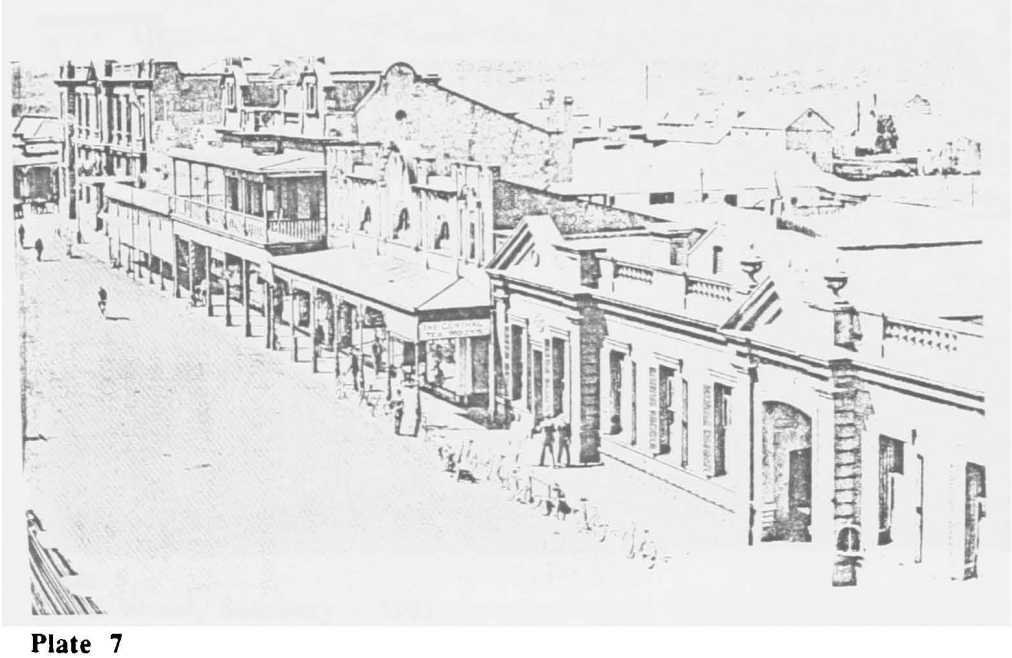

Plate 7
Manica Road in 1915 with continuous street facade
***Source*: Tanser (1974) p. 256**

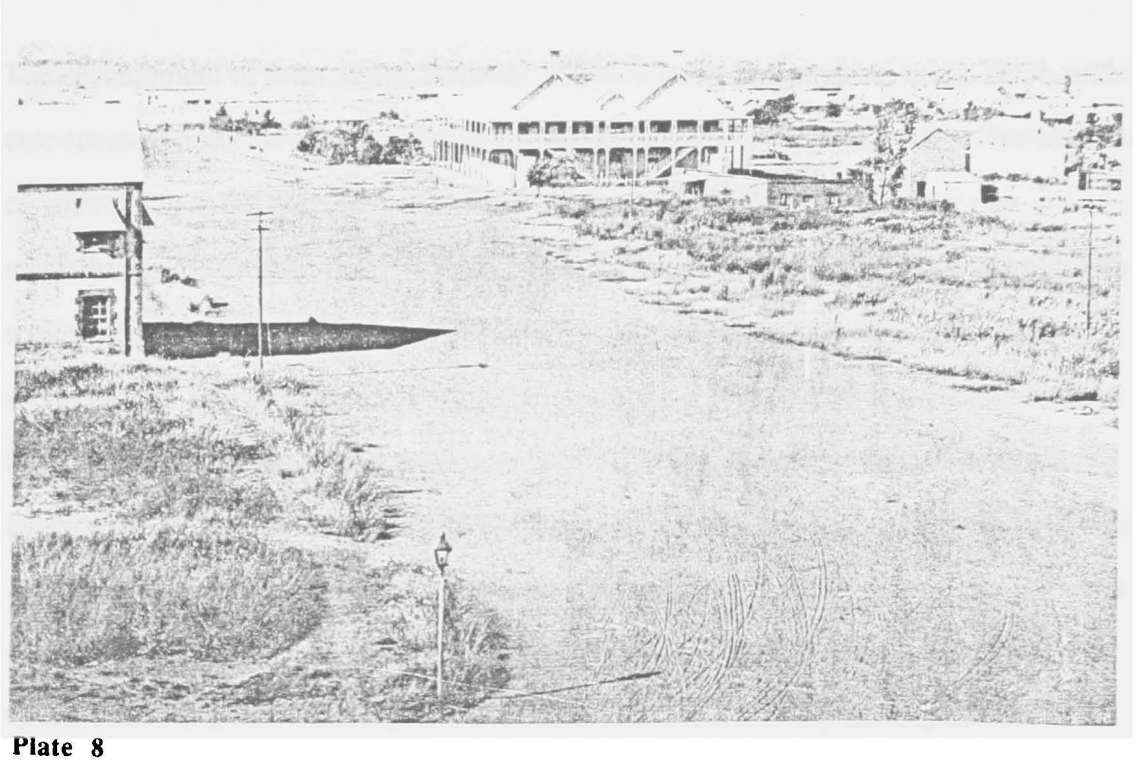

Plate 8
Third Street, Salisbury - 1902
***Source*: Baxter and Turner (1966) p. 222**

important to the growing center. The railway station, Standard Bank, the Salisbury Gardens, the race course, all these nodes provided the town with an air of confidence and order. That all was well, and in place.

The development of recreational facilities of which parks and gardens, sports clubs, and the race course topped the list, were important characteristics of early Salisbury. The absence of "something to do" for men only, at first, and then as women came, meant that recreational activities from tennis, and croquet, to hunting and cricket, were central to the social well-being of the white community. To cater for these needs "the club" came to serve not only as a means of creating social welfare but of strengthening social intimacy. In this way social/sports clubs later came to be described as being responsible for the creation of "a great degree of perceived homogeneity within the European society, of value consensus and unanimity derived from shared experience and permeation of similar ideas and information" (Dewar, 1987, p.43). Three open park areas (the Salisbury Gardens, Greenwood Park, and Cecil Square) were established and actively developed with the Salisbury Gardens receiving the greatest attention. Together with a vigorous tree planting program undertaken by the municipality, Salisbury's reputation as a "garden city" with an open aspect, began to take root in this period.

Water was a key ingredient in the development of this scenario. Initially acquired from the Makabusi River and then from wells and boreholes powered by windmills. A supply was only guaranteed with the construction of the Cleveland Dam in 1913 and gravity fed to the town. The public swimming pool built in 1915 was an immediate and successful product of this supply.

A regular supply of electricity installed in 1913 meant that oil streets lamps could be replaced by electric ones although the supply proved too expensive for domestic consumption.

By 1923 when Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony, Salisbury, its capital, appeared as an extremely orderly and disciplined settlement. "The pole and mud huts of the early Pioneers soon gave way to structures of wood and iron. The primitive severity of the early buildings was softened as brick came into use, and many buildings compensated for past structural nakedness by going to the opposite extreme of senseless elaboration" (Rayner, 1962, p. 200). Policed by a well-trained para-military force and governed by an enthusiastic authority in the guise of the BSA Co., her built environment came to echo the contemporary mood in Britain. The Victorian world was being created on the highveld of Rhodesia under corrugated roofs. Salisbury's openness to outside pressures was firmly established. It can be further illustrated by the responsiveness, not only of her inhabitants to calls for volunteers during a variety of military ventures but to the impacts (both positively and negatively) of those ventures on her economy. The very early development of the city witnessed the establishment of a built environment in which the leaders of the city responded to the task of establishing an urban settlement based on the cultural baggage that they carried with them. They created a "Company Town" in the image of mercantilism, where free trade could be practised without let or hinderance. In this scheme of things, the African was of course peripheral. They were, however, perceived as a threat to the order that was being established. In an attempt to resolve this paradox, city fathers adopted a solution tried and tested in the region. (Figure 23 in envelope)

Period Two - SETTLER COLONIALISM, 1923-1950

The era in which the Depression of the 1930s was bracketed by two world wars, was characterized by the state stimulating and controlling economic development. With this impetus, the general trend of the national development was one in which the administrative, infrastructural, and technical innovations were pioneered establishing conditions that would stimulate building development in the post 1950 era. Salisbury's development come to epitomize this perspective. Essentially development can be divided into two periods: The first phase 1923 - 1935; and the second phase, 1935 - 1950.

Phase One: 1923-1935

Salisbury's cadastral framework expanded in a number of different directions in the first phase between 1923 - 1935. First institutional users of land, mainly government, in the form of the police, the prisons, and the army as well as agricultural and veterinary research stations, utilized extensive areas in the north and north-east. These created an effective buffer zone to the north-east and eastern Commonage. Similarly, the Municipality in 1927 set aside an extensive 200 acre site for an aerodrome, a sanitary farm, and a showground on the western Commonage[36]. Land was set aside as garden plots in the eastern Commonage around Hillside and the south of the Makabusi River. Sewage works and a sewage farm were sited in the vicinity of the Native Location in the southern Commonage. Second, the more intensive use of land in the form of the White residential suburbs were laid out for the railways to the east. The more prestigious areas of Milton Park and Belgravia were established in the proximity of the Gardens and Greenwood (collectively referred to as the Avenues), using Second Street and North Avenue as access roads. These

[36]Title to the Commonage which had been in the hands of the BSA Co. was secured on 1926 (Mayor's Minutes)

were the wealthy residential neighborhoods where a number of double storey houses began to be erected; whereas before this period single storey houses were the norm in the town.

Outside the Commonage subdivisions continued with a large number of stands being added to The Nursery (known as Welmoed), in the north-east, Rietfontein, and Greendale. Development continued at a slower pace on Hatfield Estate in the south-west and additional stands were added to Waterfalls, known as Parktown in the south. In the north-west Monavale was subdivided where it borders on Avondale farm. On Mount Pleasant Farm to the north a small number of stands began to appear. The amalgamation of Avondale with the Salisbury Municipality was completed in 1934[37], extending the area of the town considerably.

The first experiments with tar roads are conducted in Avondale in 1923 and by 1938 Salisbury had 65 miles of tarmac roads within its boundaries. Covering only the center of a road reserve, they served effectively as transport carriers as the volume of traffic was fairly low although by 1935 vehicle ownership was growing. The construction of these roads was facilitated by the availability of labor during the Depression when government employed workers at reduced rates and set them to plant trees and build roads. These developments had an impact on the movement of people and the growth of peri-urban areas.

Building construction during this phase grew at a steady pace. With the introduction of a water-borne sewage system after the construction of Prince Edward Dam in 1928, a large proportion of building plans submitted for approval were for main sewerage connections,

[37]R.G.N. 299 of 18th May, 1934.

to replace the bucket system. With less stringent controls in peri-urban areas, building construction also took place in those areas that were being subdivided. Building development also tended to move away from the railway as people and goods could be transported with greater ease. This meant that development took place in the First Street area and moved closer to Causeway, the center of government activity. (Plate 9) Asians who had been barred from immigrating in 1923 and who were moving out of market gardening found this an opportune time and moved into the Railway avenue area to open businesses. With the establishment of Native Locations and the progressive proletarianization of the peasantry, more Africans moved into Salisbury. Brick-roomed barrack accommodation for single males began to be constructed in increasing numbers. In 1935 the Mayor approved the design of a hostel and an agreement with government was made for its funding and construction close to the Native Location. Although the initial years of the 1920s saw little change in architectural style by the second half of the decade several technical innovations were introduced that when utilized had an impact on the physical form of buildings. The elevator, introduced in 1927 with the multistory concrete framed structure, together with clay tiles and water-borne sewage, were all available for Salisbury's commercial and residential development. Their general usage was, however, delayed till after World War II. The combination of these elements in Cathcart's N.E.M. style with a Mediterranean flavor, both for public and commercial buildings. (Plate 10) Characterized by exposed Roman-tiled roofs and plastered walls in place of facebrick, it heralded a move away from English styles and certain materials, which had been dominant to that date.

Public government buildings (both local and central) utilized this form of neo-classicism style in many cases; and together with their exposed tile roofs and pressed metal windows

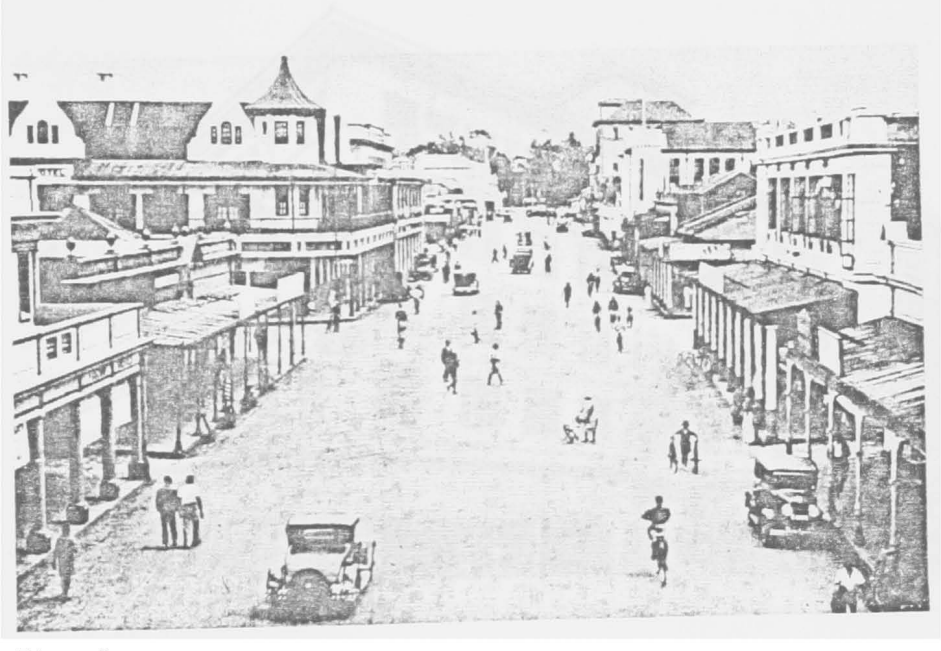

Plate 9
First Street, 1932, looking north from Manica Road
***Source*: Kay and Smout, (1977) p. 33**

Plate 10
N.E.M. House, the first multi-storey reinforced concrete building - 1930
***Source*: Jackson, (1986) p. 77**

became a feature that has characterized public buildings.

Recreational facilities included the construction of bowling greens in the Salisbury Gardens in 1927; and Cecil Square came under the control of the Municipality in the same year (Mayor's Minutes, 1927).

Although there were no substantial industrial developments in this period, industrial stands were usually situated close to the railway line by 1928. A flour mill and a soap factory stood on the corner of Wynne Street and Manica Road by 1920. (Plate 11) Some of the brickfields to the south of the Makabusi were coming to the end of their usefulness and were beginning to cause problems by 1928 as the workers could not be housed off-site and a portion of Hatfield was authorized in 1932. The water to both Native Locations was supplied in the same year from the town reservoir and not long after that water was supplied to Royal Salisbury Golf Club from the Hartmann Hill Reservoir in 1934 (Mayor's Minutes, 1932 and 1934).The supply of electricity to Avondale, Highlands, Newlands and Upper and Lower Hillside

Phase Two: 1935-1950

Within the Commonage cadastral development took place to the north when Belgravia, and Alexandra Park were established. To the west Milton Park was extended; and Belvedere was laid out. The east portions of Eastlea south and Eastlea north, together with Coronation Park were planned and surveyed. South of the railway line a section of Braeside and Queensdale and Arcadia, a Colored suburb was laid out.It was in the 1940s to 1950 period that the layout plan for the industrial areas of Workington, Southerton and Graniteside were surveyed. This was a "natural" extension to the south-west, made more

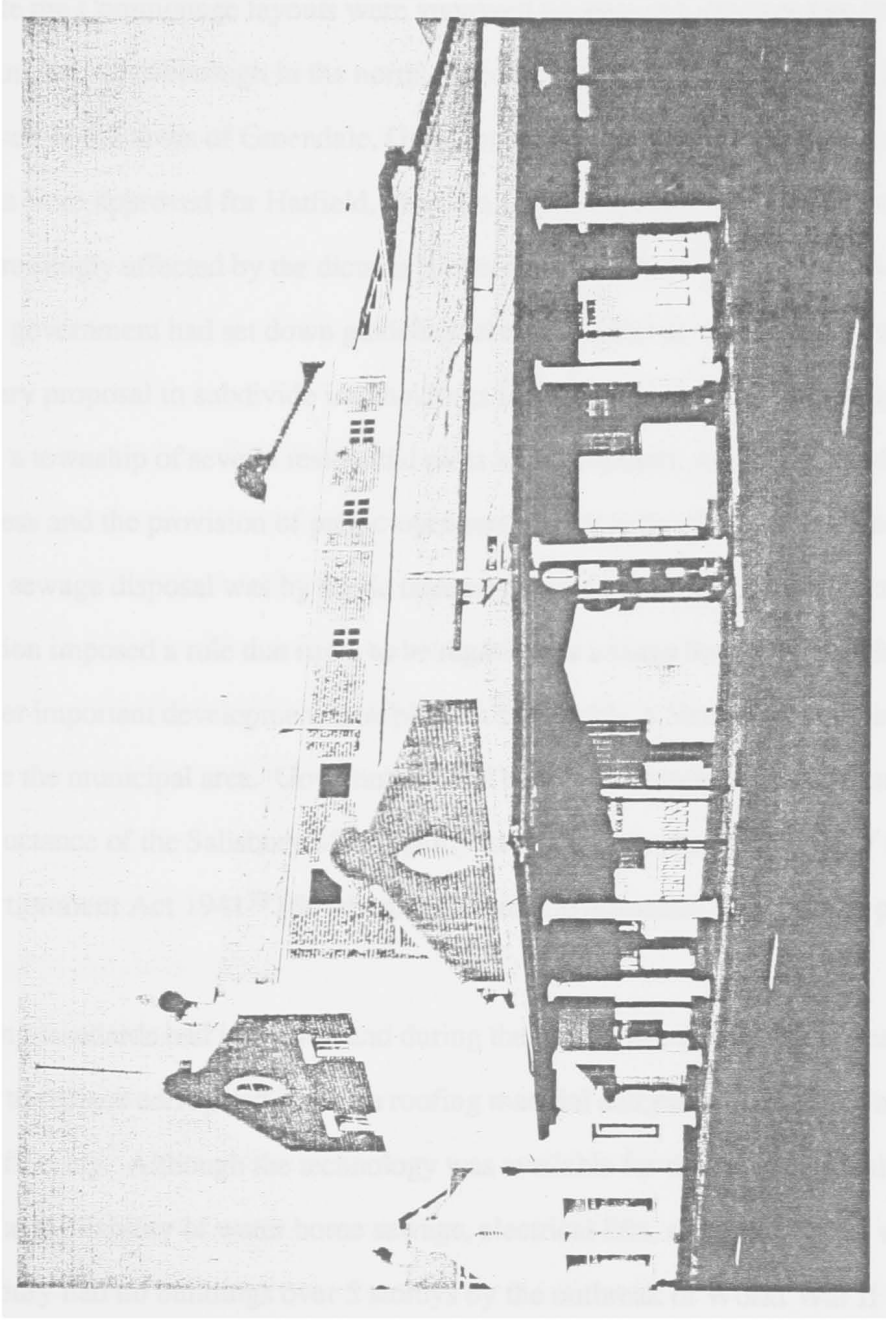

Plate 11
Flour mill (1918) and soap factory (1920) close to the railway station

convenient by the proximity of the African locations that were to provide its labor.

Outside the Commonage layouts were approved for Pomona, Borrowdale Estate, Mount Pleasant, and Marlborough in the north. The largest subdivisions occurred in the east, however, in the areas of Greendale, Greengrove, Beverley, and Rhodesville. In the south, layouts were approved for Hatfield, Prospect, and Waterfalls. These subdivisions came to be increasingly affected by the dictates of the Town and Country Planning Act 1945 in which government had set down guidelines for residential development. It set down that a). every proposal to subdivide into holdings less than 100 acres had to be approved; b). where a township of several residential plots were proposed, minimum standards in terms of access and the provision of public open spaces had to be observed; and most notably, c). where sewage disposal was by septic tank no plot should be less that one acre. This last condition imposed a rule that came to be regarded as a norm for residential development. Another important development took place in Highfields, a Native Village Settlement outside the municipal area. Government took the lead to establish the settlement in view of the reluctance of the Salisbury Municipality to do so under the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act 1941[38] (Southern Rhodesia Government, SRG, 1958, p. 27).

Housing standards had improved and during the mid to late thirties, clay tiles and asbestos began to replace corrugated iron as a roofing material and parquet blocks to replace strip board flooring. Although the technology was available for the erection of taller buildings with the availability of water borne sewage, electrical lifts, and an adequate water supply, (Salisbury had no buildings over 5 storeys by the outbreak of World War II - i.e. as stated before). The city's commercial and residential development consisted largely of two-storey

[38]The Report appears in error at this point and was probably referring to the 1930 Land Apportionment Act instead.

structures. Densities were therefore low. Buildings were frequently imposing, however, with their fancy cast iron balustrades and awnings.

By the late 1930s the extensive use of art deco facades with its rectilinear-stylized form of classicism, epitomized by Edward Building (1936), and the Municipal Workshops near the Market Square came to be added to the repertoire of architects, and represented a distinct stylistic move in the modernist movement. This style was also introduced in the wealthy residential neighborhood of Milton Park.

With the construction of Bradlow's Building in 1938 a new architectural language "with expressed structural elements, large areas of glass spanning the full width of the concrete frame and a flat pitched roof with wide shading eaves", introduced the modern style to Salisbury in which architecture "ceased to be the mere application of a stylized facade" (Jackson and Oldfield, 1987). (Plate 12) It was applied in domestic architecture with the construction of Parker's house in Belgravia in 1939 .

The impact of technological innovations continued in this phase. In the absence and shortage of certain building materials and the speed with which houses were required to be completed, the attention of the government was attracted. Under the direction of the National Building and Housing Board, established in 1946, a variety of building innovations and one traditional approach was introduced in the city's built environment. Pise-de-terre, no fines, prefabricated, family and singles' hostels, "Nissen huts", and "austerity houses" were constructed in all newly laid out residential areas. Traditional "pole and daga" huts were also constructed. Simultaneously, the shortage of accommodation also led to the construction of flats in the Avenues. The distribution of different types of

Plate 12
Bradlows Building - 1938, first 'modern' style building

structures was dependent upon racial type thus nissen huts were not constructed in White residential areas irrespective of need.

By 1945 construction for four European Housing Schemes and one Coloured House Letting Scheme were underway by the Municipality. For the former, Eastlea and Belvedere were chosen; while for the latter, Arcadia in the vicinity of the Graniteside industrial area, south of the rail line was chosen. Cranborne Housing Scheme area was sold to the Government to cater for returning ex-servicemen. In 1949 a total of forty-one Nissen Huts were erected and ready for occupation by the African population in Harari. Simultaneously men's hostels were completed and occupied in Harari as well.

The first power station was commissioned in 1931 but was only completed in 1946, when the Council introduced a scheme to help the purchase of electrical appliances to boost electricity sales. (Plate 13) A Fire Station was commissioned and constructed near the Market Square in the same year.

The erection of the Pioneer Memorial on a site in Cecil Square was completed in 1936. A lily pond, rose garden and pergola were constructed in commemoration of King George VI in the Public Gardens in the same year. This name was to endure until 1949 when the name the Salisbury Gardens was inferred upon it. The Coronation Park camping site was established in 1939. The Mayor suggested the site of Kopje suitable for Parliament. The Cenotaph which had been erected in the Public Gardens after the First World War in 1918 had an additional inscription and the dates 1939-1945 inscribed on it in 1950.

In this period the city continued to be guided by the provisions of an interim town plan in

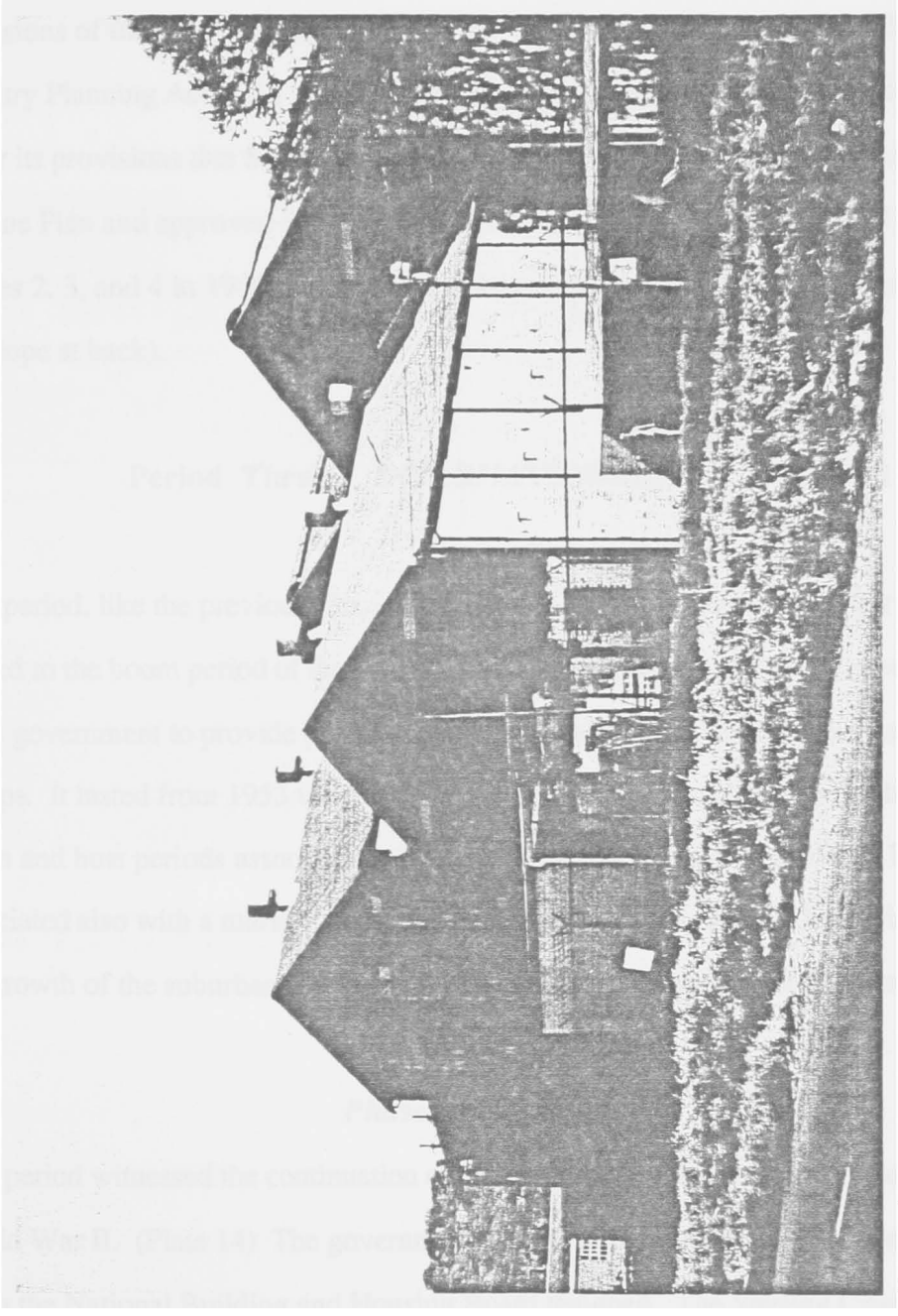

Plate 13
The power station built in the industrial area in 1946

which a conscious attempt at the legal separation of different land uses began for the first time in 1937. The war in 1939 postponed the completion of a formal town plan under the provisions of the 1933 Act (Sparrow, 1979). The introduction of the 1945 Town and Country Planning Act had a more positive impact for Salisbury in this regard and it was under its provisions that Schemes areas were prepared and approved for a Resubmitted Outline Plan and approved Second Resubmission for Phase 1, and approved Schemes for Phases 2, 3, and 4 in 1946 (Department of Physical Planning, 1974). (Figure 24 in envelope at back).

Period Three - INTERNATIONALISM, 1950-1978

This period, like the previous one, can be divided into two phases. The first is largely related to the boom period of the Federation which helped strengthen the powers of the city's government to provide public goods and social welfare services to a variety of social groups. It lasted from 1953 to 1962. The second phase is associated with the onset of the boom and bust periods associated with the UDI period from 1965 to 1978. It was associated also with a marked swing in the separation of the races. This period witnessed the growth of the suburban shopping centers and the development of flats and garden flats.

Phase One: 1950-1963

This period witnessed the continuation of the development that took place immediately after World War II. (Plate 14) The government control of building activity continued until 1953 when the National Building and Housing Board resigned. The Sterling Crisis that occurred during this period was surmounted by the creation of the Federation which gave the economy the boost it required. It had already geared itself up for development (Cary,

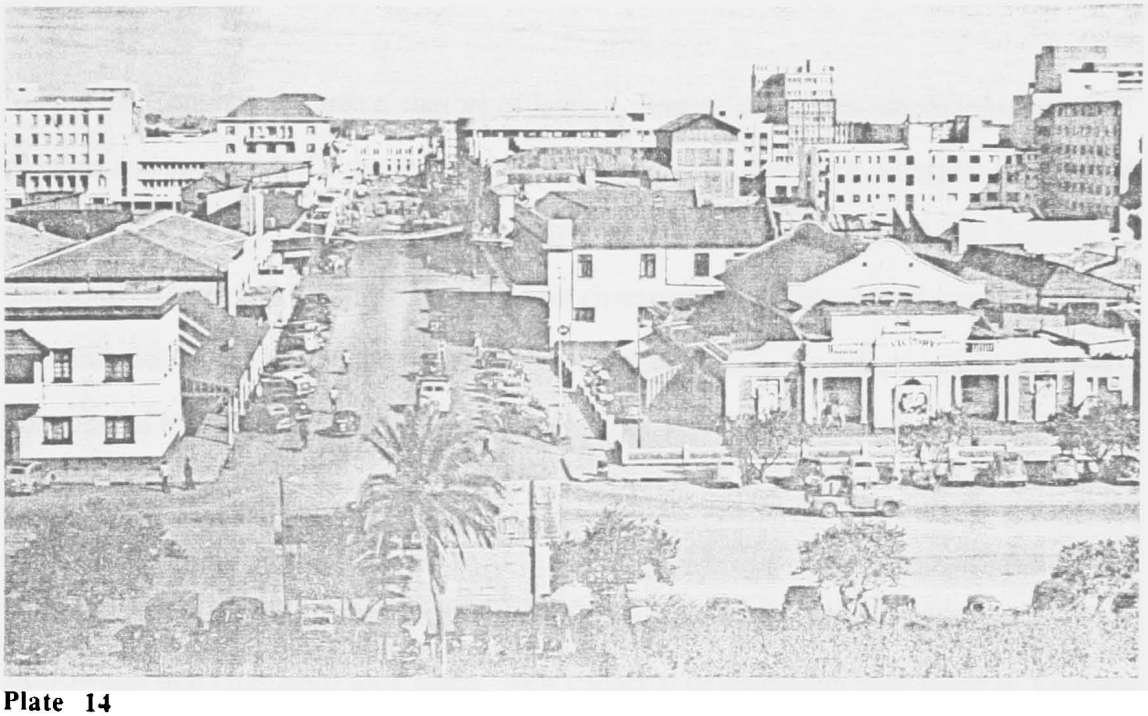

Plate 14
First Street, 1952. Looking south from Jameson Avenue
Source: Kay and Smout, (1977) Plate 8, p. 32

1984, p.18). Beginning in this period of the "scheming sixties" the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act 1945, the thrust of which was mainly urban, were implemented fully both within and in the suburban areas of the city. By the late 1960s and early 1970s twenty Schemes were fully operational (City of Harare, 1985) and although cumbersome in their procedures guided development into the mid 1970s (Whittle, 1982).

Within the Commonage area a number of layouts were extended and other areas were planned and surveyed. Of the former, Eastlea, Cranborne, Braeside, Arcadia, and Milton Park, were extended. Those that were newly created included Ridgeview (for Asians), and Southerton (for Coloreds). An important characteristic of this period was the consolidation of stands to cater for large scale development in the office, residential, and commercial building sectors. No additional African areas were planned within the Commonage.

Outside the city boundaries, extensions in Marlborough, Mabelreign, Mount Pleasant, Borrowdale and Highlands took place. New cadastral development took place in Vainona, and Pendennis Farms. (Figure 25)

For the African population, on the other hand, largely as a result of the Municipality's acquisition of Crowborough Farm in the south-west in 1951, Council established a new trend in African housing. "The development by the Salisbury City Council of a housing area outside its area of jurisdiction and because of the existing housing at Harari and Highfield it firmly committed the south western sector of Salisbury to African housing use" (City of Harare, 1988, p. 4). In line with these developments Rugare, a Rhodesia Railway Native Area, St, Mary's, a Native Urban Location established in 1956, Dzivarasekwa

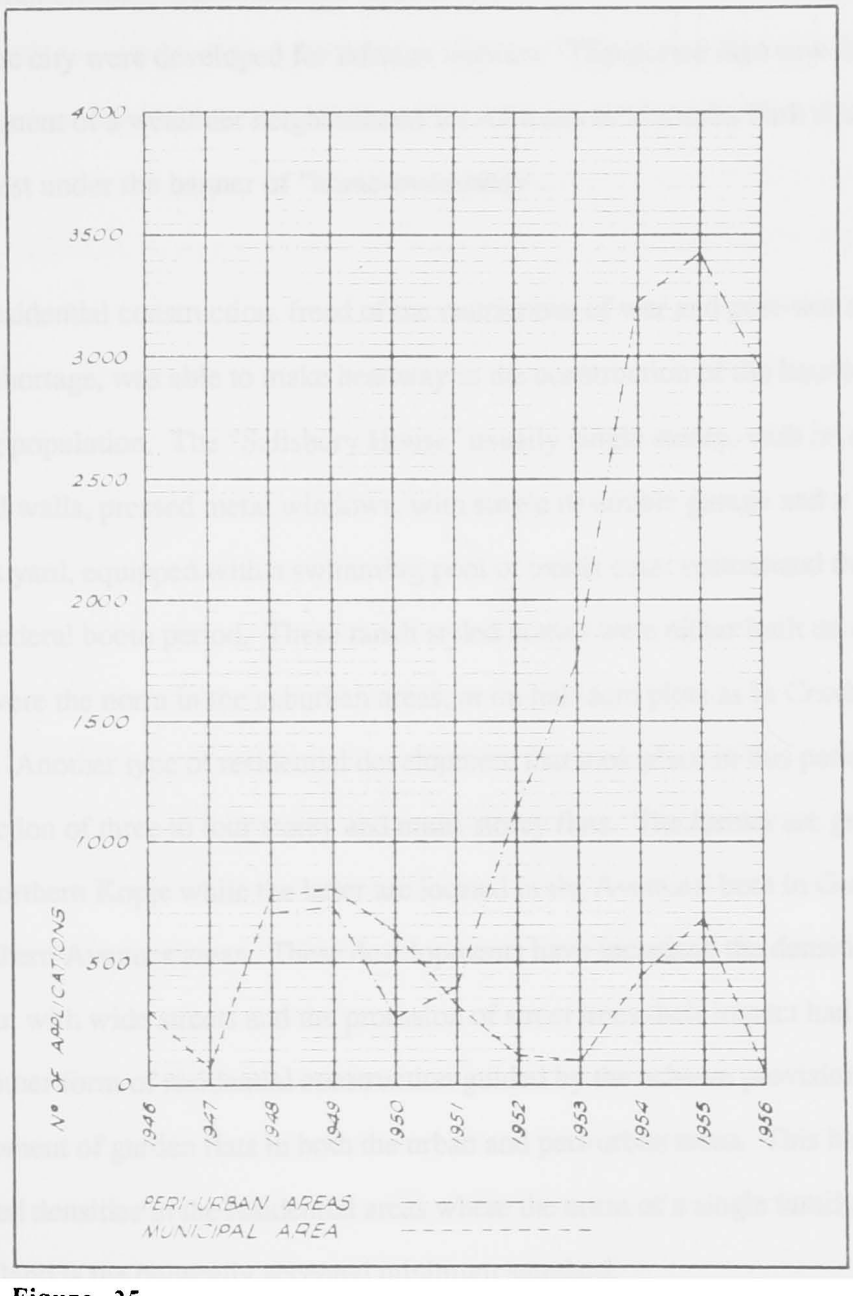

Figure 25
Salisbury area - residential subdivision approvals
***Source*: SRG, (1956) p. 4**

(1961), Kambazuma, and Mufakose located to the south-west, and Mabvuku located in the east of the city were developed for African workers. This period also saw the establishment of a wealthier neighborhood for Africans in Marimba Park situated in the south-west under the banner of "home-ownership"..

White residential construction, freed of the restrictions of war and post-war material and money shortage, was able to make headway in the construction of the housing for a rapidly growing population. The "Salisbury House" usually single storey, with its clay tile roof, rendered walls, pressed metal windows, with single or double garage and a "boys kia" in the back yard, equipped with a swimming pool or tennis court epitomized the heady days of the Federal boom period. These ranch styled homes were either built on one acre plots, which were the norm in the suburban areas, or on half acre plots as in Cranborne or Eastlea. Another type of residential development that took place in this period was the construction of three to four storey and multi-storey flats. The former are generally located in the northern Kopje while the latter are located in the Avenues, both in Greenwood and the northern Avenues areas. These developments have increased the densities of these areas but with wide streets and the profusion of street trees their impact had been softened. Yet another form of residential construction guided by the scheme provisions was the development of garden flats in both the urban and peri-urban areas. This has marginally increased densities in the residential areas where the norm of a single family dwelling on a acre of land is the culturally accepted minimum standard.

Residential developments in the African areas presented a different picture. A variety of housing types designed in the immediate post-war period were used. In the main the bulk of accommodation provided for single men and women consisted of hostels. Varying in

size from blocks of six rooms each to multistoryed blocks sufficiently large to cater for 750 person, with an average of five persons per room. Another type included the detached or semi-detached three or four roomed unit with attached kitchen room to house single males. The Nissen hut made of corrugated iron and measuring 36' x 16' x 10' 6" for the accommodation of 20 single males was another type. Finally, for family accommodation Home Ownership schemes normally consisted of a living room, two bedrooms, a kitchen and verandah. Streets and sidewalks were largely unpaved with buildings in need of a coat of paint and repair. Generally bleak in outlook, the condition of African housing was critically summed up by the signatories of a government commission, "above all, there is left a feeling of inadequacy - inadequacy in regard to the amount of accommodation available, inadequacy in regard to the services available, inadequacy in regard to the amenities available" (Government of Southern Rhodesia, 1958, p. 53). They were quite clearly the "products of poverty and paternalism" (Kay, 1977, p. 166). In sharp contrast to this pattern, however, Marimba Park for wealthy Africans, although in the same south-western area of the Salisbury as other African townships, displayed the same housing types and standards as might be found in the wealthy White suburbs of the day.

Type of buildings in the industrial areas, which grew considerably during this period, were largely associated with the type of industry prevalent in a particular area. Thus, for example in the "heavy industrial areas"[39] of Workington and Southerton, large asbestos or corrugated sheet clad steel structures mingled with barn-like brick buildings in which a variety of manufacturing functions were performed. These brick buildings were usually concrete framed with brick infill. (Plate 15) The noxious heavy industries of cement, brick, and fertilizer manufacture were located away from these areas at Mount Hampden

[39]No true 'heavy industry' appears in the quantity one might associate with the industrial regions of Europe or North America.

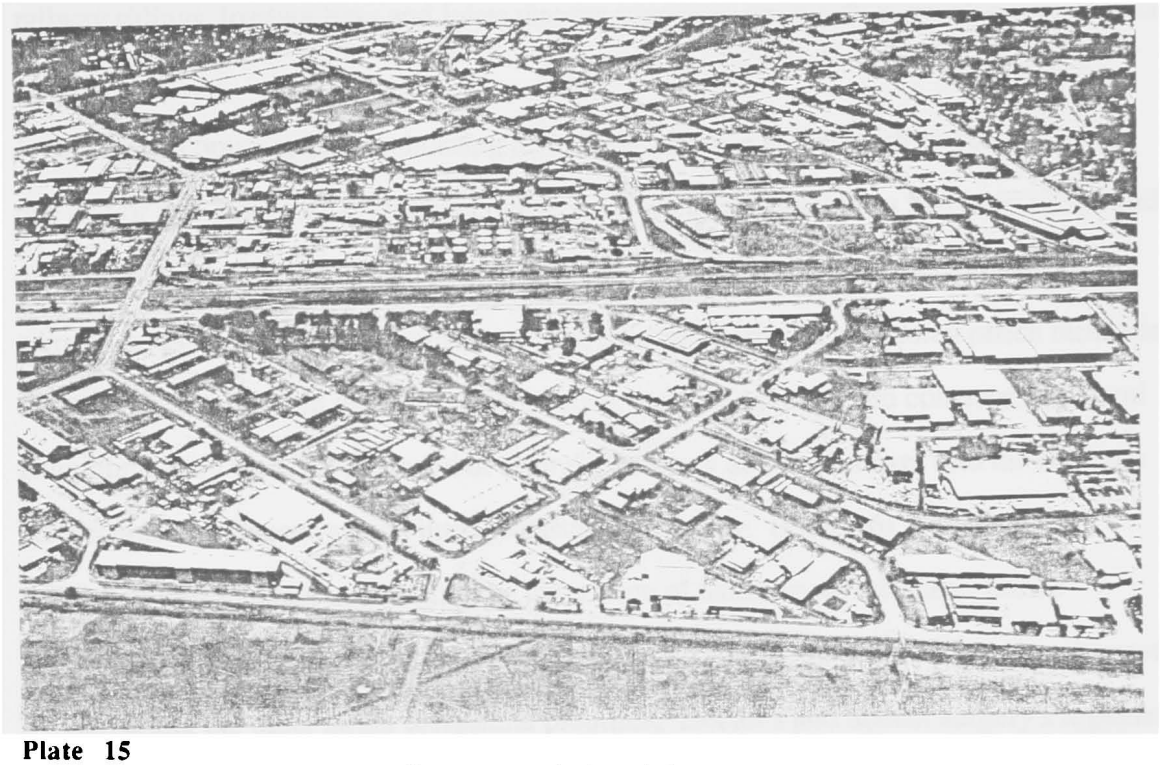

Plate 15
Part of the Workington and Southerton industrial estates
***Source*: Trinder (1977) in Kay and Smout, p. 8**

and Msasa. Trinder reports that "many established industries have room for expansion on their present sites" (Trinder, 1977, p. 93), which indicates the fairly low densities that comprised industrial development. Another aspect of this industrial development were the railway sidings, loading bays and joists that are necessary for the delivery of raw materials.

In the mixed commercial, warehousing and industrial areas to the south of the main grid one and/or two-storey structures concrete-framed brick-infill buildings had been raised and were occupied by the motor industry. Office, and office and commercial development came to be associated with the construction of concrete framed multi-storey office blocks in this period. Designed in the "international style," utilizing prestressed concrete, glass and aluminium, they were concentrated in central Causeway and spilled over into the northern Kopje, northern Causeway and into the eastern Causeway. (Plate 16) They had the greatest impact in terms of affecting the townscape of Salisbury to this date. Office accommodation also crept in to the area east of Fourth Street and south of Jameson Avenue by converting the older larger residential premises. Doctor's and dentist surgery's together with a profusion of professional offices with their brass name plates located in this area and to the north of Rhodes Avenue and to the west of second Street. Commercial development in the suburban areas was also characterized by the construction of shopping centers. In a 15 year period some 44 suburban shopping centers had been established. This flood of development almost came to a complete halt in 1960 once the disturbances that accompanied the dissolution of the Federation generated a climate of economic uncertainty (Smout, 1977, p. 73). (Figure 26)

With the increase in motor car ownership in this period (Table 3), street architecture and design began to take much more cognizance of the private motor vehicle. The first task

Plate 16
Compensation House, Salisbury 1959
***Source*: ZED (1983) p. 17**

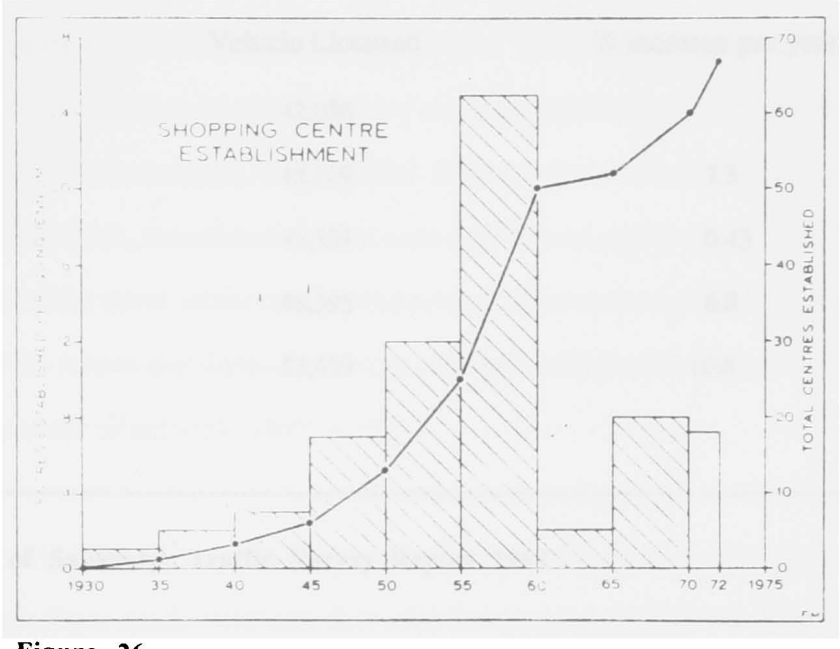

Figure 26
Establishment of suburban shopping centers, 1932 - 1972
***Source*: Smout, (1977) in Kay and Smout, Fig 24, p. 73**

Table 3

Total of all types of vehicles within the Salisbury Magisterial District 1959-1963

Year	Vehicle Licensed	% increase per year
1959	42,036	
1960	45,109	7.3
1961	45,301	0.43
1962	48,395	6.8
1963	53,459	10.6

***Source*: City of Salisbury, Traffic Survey Report 1965**

was to introduce a more reliable method of keeping a record of cars. Based on this new method of vehicle registration, the following vehicle numbers were generated.

Car ownership was on the increase and the demands for greater speed and safety required that streets measure up to a different set of standards. Traffic lights appeared in greater numbers and streets began to be constructed to make use of the generous road reservations laid out by the original surveyors in the 1890s. Streets were tarred from sidewalk to sidewalk, raised islands, sometimes planted with exotic trees, and parking meters changed the appearance of the street whilst making them more efficient as corridors of traffic. Thus the inherited wide streets and limited off-street parking facilities were able to cope with the increases in demand (Hardwick, 1977, p. 98)

All this development could not have happened without an adequate supply of water and electricity. Both these needs were met, first with the construction of Lake McIlwaine on the Hunyani River and the second with the development of Lake Kariba on the Zambesi. With these supplies assured, development proceeded rapidly.

The statues of Alfred Beit, Cecil John Rhodes, and of Physical Energy occupied prominent places in the city. The Physical Energy statue symbolically represented, it was suggested, the White rider atop the horse of African labor, the "partnership" of the Federation.

Phase Two: 1965-1978

With the break-up of the Federation in 1963, there was a two year hiatus during which time very little new development took place in Rhodesia. It was a period of uncertainty as the Whites pondered their future. There was intense lobbying at this time as different White

groups sought to influence the RF. Once the decision was taken to break away from the United Kingdom, the White community was galvanized into action and with the help of South Africa and Mocambique the economy grew despite application of international sanctions.

Partly as a result of the volume of traffic entering the central business district (CBD), patterns of car ownership, design of the road network (the grid pattern with its numerous intersections), and the dual nature of the city's society and their different usage of the transport system, traffic and parking conditions in the city began to deteriorate in the mid to late 1960s and early seventies. The solution advocated and planned for, based upon the desire to cater for the private car, envisaged the construction of a freeway network and additional CBD multi-storey car parks, as the only feasible approach. (Figure 27)

Other solutions have included park and ride services, pedestrianization of First Street in 1974 and the possibility of introducing staggered hours as a means of reducing peak-hour traffic congestion (Hardwick, 1977). These "solutions" have left their mark on the city. Thus although First Street is fully pedestrianized, the highway construction program, of which the William Jarvis Flyover was a part, remains largely on the drawing boards. (Plate 17)

The Prime Minister's Statement of Policy and Directive to the nation in 1965 initiated a revision of the local government system. In the case of the City Salisbury and the surrounding local authorities, a commission to determine the broad structure of local government administration recommended a unitary authority. Greater Salisbury became a reality in 1971 in which all the surrounding local authorities were amalgamated with the

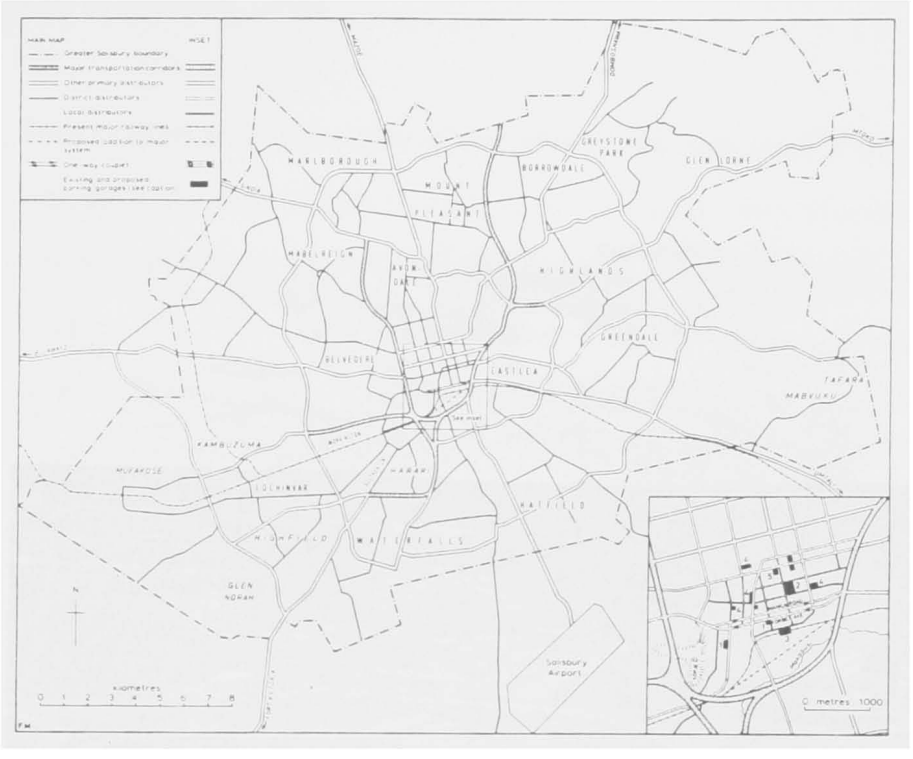

Fig 35 Transportation Proposals for Greater Salisbury
Source 'Salisbury Region Landuse and Traffic Plan' *plan numbers TPY 223/1 and TPY 222/1, City of Salisbury 1971*
Car parks 1 - multi-storey parks in conjunction with African bus termini, 2 – underground park at Cecil Square, 3 multi-storey park and new railway station 4 multi-storey parks to replace present ground-level parking

Figure 27
Transportation proposals for Greater Salisbury - 1971
***Source*: Hardwick, (1977) Kay and Smout, Fig 35, p. 112**

Plate 17
Beatrice Road fly-over complex - 1975

City of Salisbury. (Plate 18)

With an increase in the number of war refugees and other rural-urban migrants, coupled with the increasing numbers on the housing waiting list, there was a proliferation of informal (shanty) settlements around Epworth Mission and Chirambahuyo/Derbyshire Quarries. The Chirambahuyo/Derbyshire residents were subsequently relocated to a serviced area in Zengeza, Chitungwiza. A prominent residential dormitory suburb that was created at this time was Chitungwiza in the Seke Tribal Trust Lands.[40] The right wing RF government while accepting the idea of an urban African believed that racial and cultural parity could not be reached. Logically, this led to the development of African satellite towns in which the African could fully participate in an urban setting. Chitungwiza was created on this basis 25 km from Salisbury and attached to St. Mary's Township which had been established in 1956. Large areas were devoted to single-family dwellings, semi-detached houses, and terrace housing. Site and service schemes were also constructed in the African areas. (Plate 19)

Sunningdale and St. Martins were created for the :Colored" population as an extension to the residential development provided in Arcadia. (Figure 28 in envelope in back).

Period Four - GLOBALISM, 1978-1990

Independence brought with it greater prospects for another round of physical development. In 1980 there was a commitment within the context of the Zimbabwean Constitution and the 1984 Prime Minister's Directive, by the State to vest democratic powers at the local

[40]Renamed Communal Lands after Independence in 1980.

Plate 18
Salisbury, 1972

Plate 18
Glen View, site and service project - 1978

authority level. In this regard the establishment of a democratically elected Harare City Council with the removal of all racial discrimination within the territorial boundary of the City had been perceived in terms of not only creating "one-city" but of reducing the dependence of local authorities on central government. With its complex organization and growing array of technical staff, the city came to be seen in terms of its ability to plan, innovate and implement development and therefore to develop greater independence from central government (Wekwete, 1985, p. 17).

With the cessation of the guerilla war in 1980 the cadastral development outside the Greater Harare boundary witnessed the rapid growth in small-holdings especially in the area of Ruwa, east of the city. This latter area also saw the development of a industrial "growth point" in which private industrialists were able to establish industrial and residential properties outside the control of the municipality of Harare and under a rural council which had far less experience with the type of development that was intended for the growth point. Tax and customs incentives, together with less stringent development control regulations meant the rapid construction of an industrial landscape on the periphery of the city.

Within the boundaries of the city, subdivision on Local Plan land reserved for residential development in the high income areas of the north-east as well as the local government areas[41] of Warren Park, Parkridge, Fontainbleu, Midlothian, Gleneagles and Patrenda witnessed rapid growth. This was accompanied by the establishment of a high density suburb at Hatcliffe in the north, counter to such developments in the west and south-west.

[41]By 1982 these areas were called high density suburbs.

Chitungwiza's cadastral development also began to grow as finance for development became available. A major cadastral development in this era was the survey of stands in the former townships so that sitting tenants could own the properties which they occupied. Commodification of housing began to reach all sections of the population.
Industrial stands within the city were subdivided for development largely in zoned industrial areas. Thus Willowvale, and Graniteside were expanded to cater for this demand. Chitungwiza also experienced a demand for stands with a number of large warehousing and manufacturing industries came to dominate the industrial zone.

Sites for commercial and office construction were already available in zoned areas and three types of commercial development began to take place. First, large government and private development took place in the CBD and in suburban areas. (Plate 20) Some of these developments required the consolidation of stands in order to meet the requirements of the agency concerned. Thus the Posts and Telecommunications Headquarters (1985), the Agricultural Finance Corporation (1986), and the Ministry of Education Building (1986) all occupy large sites requiring more than one stand. Second, commercial development for the private sector included the construction of Globe House (1983), the Karigamombe Center with its arcade (1987), Batanai Gardens (1986), and the Mobil Office development (1989). (Plate 21) The third type of development has consisted of shopping centers and shopping malls. The largest of these has been the Town Center development in Chitungwiza (1990) together with the development of Borrowdale Village (under construction at the time of writing Plate 22). Generally architects have tended to follow the styles and forms of the pre-independence period but post-modern stylish facades have also been introduced where reference to historical elements have been incorporated in the design of buildings. (Plate 23) Examples of these buildings include the University Land Management Building

Plate 20
Central African Building Society's offices in suburban Borrowdale

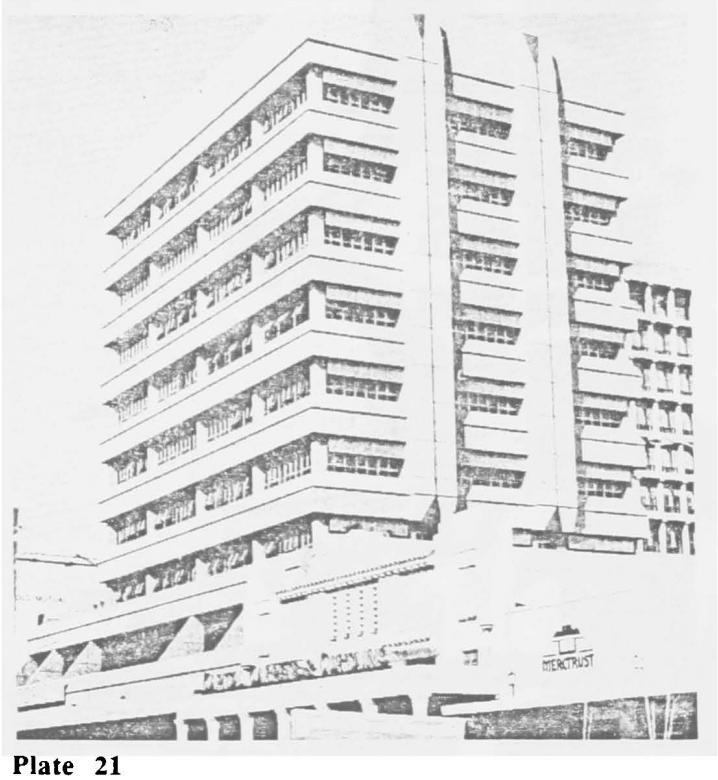

Plate 21
Globe House, commercial office development - 1983
Source: ZED (1983) p. 9

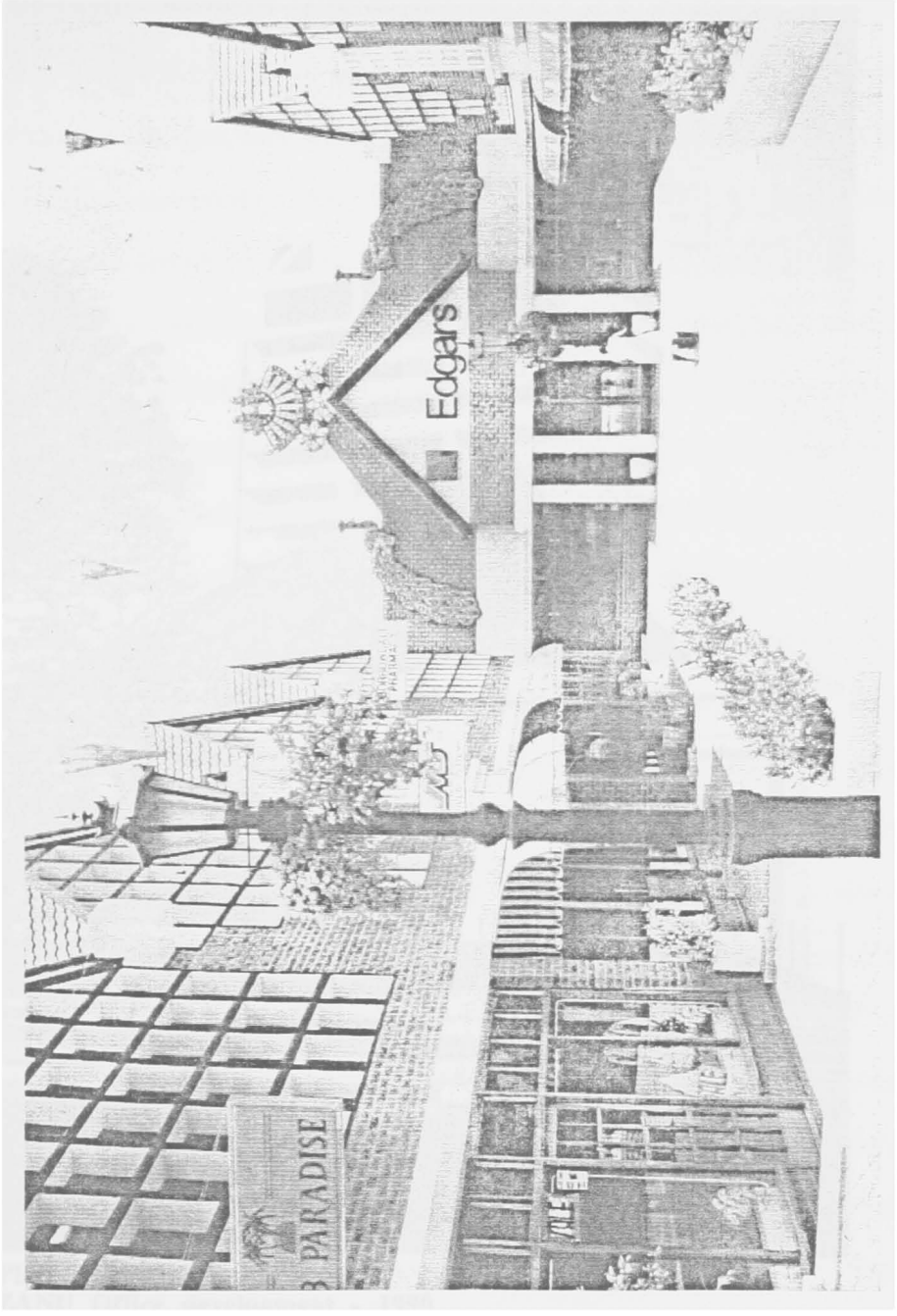

Plate 22
Borrowdale Village shopping mall - 1990

Plate 23
ZANU Office development - 1990

(1986), the ZANU Office development (1990), and CABS Offices (1987).

Residential construction within the various socio-economic zones consisted of the following: a). The high density sector saw a shift towards house construction on site and service stands. Designs were for single family developments, with capacity for lodgers, on stands of 300 square meters. This was after the rejection of the ultra-low cost "solution" which had been one of the standard models from the pre-independance 1970s (Mills, 1979). b). There was an escalation in the development of garden flats/townhouse construction for the wealthy. Situated in the northern areas of the city a variety of traditional, modern, and post-modern styles have been utilized in their design. Entrances are designed to utilize the "sanitary lanes" where these are in existence. There has been a tendency, as this type of development moves further away from the city center, for a cluster type layout to develop as at the Village Green in Borrowdale. c). Signs of the war included the existence of squatter settlements composed largely of refugees fleeing the violence of the war in the rural areas. Three years of drought from 1981 to 1983 had also strenghthened the rural-urban migration to Salisbury and added to the "squatter problem". Chirambahuyo near Chitungwiza, a growing "squatter" community was demolished by Central Government in 1982 (Patel, 1986). However, the "squatter" area of Epworth Mission had been spared demolition and with finance available from USAID the area is currently in the process of being redeveloped (Department of Physical Planning, 1987). There has been a lack of middle income housing as land values have soared especially since 1983 when the slack created by Whites leaving the country had been taken up.
Large public developments have included the construction of the National Sports Stadium built and designed by the Chinese (1985), the Sheraton Hotel (1983) built by the Yugoslavians with French assistance, and Heroes' Acre designed and built locally but

based on a North Korean concept (1982).

Recreational developments have included the creation of the Mukuvisi Woodlands (1980), Water Whirld (1988), the Lion and Cheetah Park, and the Larvon Bird Gardens. These have been added to the large number of golf courses, parks and gardens, and clubs that mainly service the needs of the wealthy sector of the population (City of Salisbury, 1977).

This period had also witnessed the attempt by the City to produce regulations for the preservation and conservation of historical buildings. Although not formally ratified by the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, much work had already been done. The Harare Market Hall (1894) and Collings House (1910) and its incorporation into a new block of apartments (Charingirah Court), together with an attempt to salvage the FSAD Building[42] has set the stage for the possible preservation of the architecture of the mercantilist period along Manica Road.

The City of Harare renamed a large number of important streets in 1989. (Figure 29 in envelope at back)

Summary and Conclusion

In its examination of the City of Harare this chapter has established that using the built environment as an indicator, urban growth can be classified into four different periods in the history of the city. These are the mercantilist, settler colonialist, internationalist, and globalist periods. The built environment associated with each of these periods can be

[42]It was believed that Mbuya Nehanda was tried in this building after her arrest by the Rhodesian police in 1897.

identified by the appearance of distinct cases. Their appearance is not incidental to a particular period but are the product of that period. That is, they are directly associated with the manner in which, actors who are responsible for their production, and the processes that they participate in,relate to each other for a given period. These periods are defined as epochal episodes. The cases on the other hand are not random items appearing out of nowhere. Furthermore these cases form a coherent whole. When taken together under the umbrella of the epochal episodes, they form a typology of ensembles. (See Figure 30 in envelope in back).

When the latest epochal period is considered separately and the typology of ensembles associated with it is examined in some detail, the largest in number, and in some ways most prominent example of a built structure of this epochal episode is the townhouse. Located in the former White suburban and downtown areas, there has been a proliferation of this type of residential development from the mid 1970s. Exactly what these "townhouses" are and why they began to appear in this period has not been considered. While some allusion has been made as to who exactly the actors are that produce the built environment, that is, public or private, no clear identification has as yet been made as to who is responsible for their development. These and other questions will be considered in the next chapter as the townhouse, a component of the globalist epochal period, is examined in the context of the development process.

CHAPTER V

THE ASSEMBLY OF LAND SITES

Introduction

Traditionally the development process has been understood as a linear set of operations. Roles were narrowly defined, and development stages were segregated into neat sections chronologically ordered (Urban Land Institute, 1990, p. 9). Increasingly this model of the development has been questioned (Gore and Nicholson, 1991). Development projects have become larger and more complex and brought with them the greater involvement of experts, the government and the public. In an effort to manage this complexity, development teams have become increasingly necessary. Although this team approach has satisfied practical problems associated with the development process, it has effectively disturbed the order the development process was formerly conceived.

The immutability of the development process has also been challenged from another

direction. In his study of the speculative house building industry in Britain for example, Michael Ball (1983) described the development process as involving a number of interrelated, but temporally separated, activities: the assembly of land sites, production, distribution and consumption of completed houses. Dominated by their economic interests, groups of actors, defined as "structures of provision" determine the course of their actions embedded in institutional and other social structures (norms and practices). By suggesting that the specific nature and precise manner in which these structures operate and interact will vary between countries and over time Ball argues against the notion of a general model applicable to all development. Instead, he maintains that it ought to be possible to delineate "structures of provision" for residential, commercial, retail, industrial development or where appropriate specific subdivisions of these broad categories[1].

Following Michael Ball's lead, the following four chapters will examine the structures of housing provision associated with garden flats and townhouses in Harare, Zimbabwe. Specifically each chapter will examine a component of the development process, i.e. the assembly of land sites, production, marketing, and consumption of townhouses (THs). As a result of this disaggregated approach, each chapter will come to separate conclusions. These conclusions will then be drawn together in the discussion in Chapter 9. This chapter will examine the assembly of land sites that have enabled the development of THs to take place.

Before detailing these developments, it is imperative that the nature and quality of the empirical evidence utilized in the following four chapters be emphasized. Besides feasibility studies, reports (government and private), professional magazines, newspaper

[1]For a discussion of different models of the development process see T. Gore, D. Nicholson, Models of the Land-development Process, *Environment & Planning A*, 1991, vol. 23 pp. 705-730

articles, and the Questionnaire Survey, individuals in their capacities either as government officials or private individuals were consulted. In some of these consultations, individuals backed up their perspectives, views, and ideas with documented evidence, such as copies of feasibility studies, letters, and reports for more detailed examination at a later date. In other cases, informants were reluctant to make documents available although they were prepared to discuss issues. More importantly however, in-depth interviews were undertaken. In a majority of cases these interviews, lasting from 1 to 3 hours, were recorded[2]. It is from this stock of evidence that these chapters have emerged.

Before the actual process of house building can begin, there are a variety of pre-construction activities that have to be carried out. Collectively defined as the "assembly of land sites" they include the acquisition of land, the provision of public infrastructure, urban planning, and the architectural design of the scheme. Engstrom and Putnam (1979), refer to the later three activities as "design". Design as an activity has generally been conceptualized in the literature as an individualized activity which ultimately culminates in the production of a building (Boyle, in Kostof 1977, p. 331; Buckley, 1989, p. 259). Contrary to this view, the intention of this chapter is to provide a detailed descriptive analysis of a collection of actors engaged in the assembly of land sites. Specifically, the purpose is to show the reciprocal relationships that exists between exchange agents working in the private and public sectors and the factors that structure their interchange in the production of the built environment. The development of GF/TH will be used to illustrate the discussion[3]. Questions relating to: who are actors within a particular activity? Do they change over time and what conditions affect this change? What is the character of

[2]As stated in Chapter 2 the real names of the interviewees and firms have been withheld and substituted by pseudonyms to protect their identities.

[3]Garden apartments, or garden flats (GF), as they are commonly known, are the precursors to townhouses (TH). It would therefore be unrealistic to describe and explain the development of TH without including GF.

these activities and their sequencing?. Central to all these questions is the availability of land. This aspect of the assembly of land sites will be discussed first.

The Assembly of Land Sites

The availability of land, as a necessary condition of the development process, remains unchallenged. Changes in land ownership however, do not necessarily signify the lands potential for development because of the varied conditions under which land is held (Massey, and Catalano, 1978). The initial state of potential urban land is realized however, when "one of the decision makers considers it so" (ULI, 1990, p. 5), that is, when the conditions for the "highest and best use" are considered to be optimal (Derbes, 1981)[4]. What those conditions are and when these decisions are made are difficult questions to answer. The difficulty of tracing these decisions lies in the way they are embedded in the activities of public and private decision makers including planners, architects, landowners and developers. This chapter will begin to address these questions.

The Supply of Land

Land in and of itself is a commodity that is readily "available". At present the City of Harare estimates that 6,200 Ha of land are available for residential development. 266 Ha are owned by the municipality, 422 Ha by the State and 5,552 Ha by other categories of land owner, mainly private (City of Harare, 1987). The supply of this land suitable for the development for privately owned housing in general and THs in particular is dependent on a number of conditions which need not concern us directly at this point. What is important

[4]The advantage of using the planning concept of 'highest and best' use rather than either economic or cultural definitions is that it combines elements of both.

is to get a measure of the flow of land into the house building market especially the TH segment.

Tracing this flow by identifying owners is problematic. The task of identifying owners of individual pieces of land is a long and arduous one often shrouded in private and bureaucratic "secrecy". Land owners preference for anonymity is frequently strengthened by bureaucratic procedure. Although municipal records require the owners to divulge names, they frequently do not. Company or agents names are accepted substitutes. Fortunately however, a measure of the supply of land for TH development is not solely dependent on identifying individual ownership. The actual development of TH can be used as a surrogate to measure the "availability" of land. Not all land is however, "suitable" for development. A variety of public interventions frequently determine where and what land is available for the development of THs. These interventions, which establish the conditions for private development to take place, are public infrastructural development, subdivision and consolidation procedures, zoning and development plan approval . These topics will be examined in turn.

Infrastructural Development

The provision of urban infrastructure is generally a public sector undertaking. The City of Harare is a good example of a public institution tasked with that responsibility under the provisions of the Urban Councils Act (1980 as amended). The third schedule of the Act provides municipalities with powers to provide infrastructural services but limits the "powers to engage in forms of economic activity other than the provision of infrastructure" (MLGR & UD, 1985, p. 17). This proviso has had far reaching consequences for the

division of functions between the private and public sectors. Organized into seven departments, the City provides not only utility services but social services as well. It is however, the services provided by the Department of Works (water, sewage, and roads), and the municipalities Department of Electricity which are of central interest to this study. Before addressing the ramifications of a division between public and private responsibilities with regard to these services, a general description of the types of infrastructure provided by Harare will be given.

Water Supply

The development of the water supply system of the City of Harare up to its present day capacity was determined by 2 major sources of water, i.e. an underground and dam or reservoir supply. Their histories overlap with the latter source finally taking precedence from the mid 1950s. Although ground water supplies featured highly as a source of supply in the years prior to World War II, its use was greatly extended after the War (Tomlinson and Wurzel, 1977, p. 6). As far as suburban development was concerned, its rapid growth meant that many householders had to drill their own boreholes because Harare could not meet their water needs.. With the emergence of Town Management Boards however, small reticulations schemes were developed in the suburbs. Groundwater availability therefore came to have a marked effect on new suburban growth. Suburbs like Highlands, Greendale, Parktown, and Waterfalls prospered on their groundwater supplies while areas such as Greystone Park remained free of development. Ultimately it was the development of Lake McIllwaine in 1954 with the prospects of suburban areas being connected to a main supply system that the importance of underground water consequently diminished to about 15-30% of the total supply in Harare (Tomlinson and Wurzel, 1977, p. 8).

The declining use of underground water supplies was dependent upon two factors, increasing population and establishment of surface water supplies. Although some areas of the Harare straddle water bearing rocks, areas to the west of Harare do not. With increasing population growth it was inevitable that other sources of water had to be tapped. The first major water development scheme, Cleveland Dam, was completed in 1915. Prince Edward Dam followed in 1928 but it was the construction of Lake McIllwaine in 1954 that assured future water supplies for the city and the surrounding suburban settlements. Further development on the Hunyani River, including the Henry Hallam Dam (1974) and the Darwendale reservoir completed in 1976 became necessary as the city and suburbs grew. Darwendale came on stream in 1985 when a water intake tunnel was completed to operate in conjunction with the Lake McIllwaine supply. A pumped water supply is therefore available to all areas under the jurisdiction of the city, installed at a cost to the public purse.

Sewage Disposal

There are two methods that Harare uses to dispose of its sewage; a reticulation system and septic tanks. Those areas serviced by the city's reticulated sewer system, largely dependent on gravity flows, generally support higher densities of residential development and lie to the south of the city. Traditionally the northern areas served by septic tanks were predominantly low density and occupied by Whites. No residential plot could be less than one acre in these northern areas unless a sewage reticulation system was in place, as in the case of Mabelreign. The fact that much of Harare is served by private septic tanks has had a marked impact on the built environment of the city. (Figure 31)

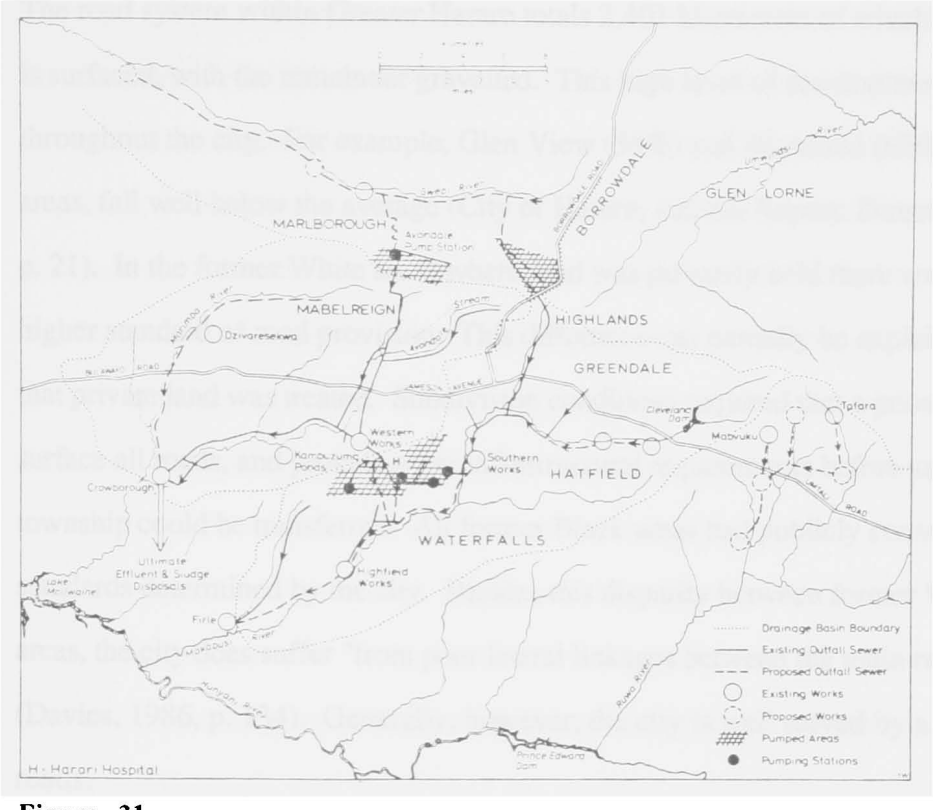

Figure 31
Harare's sewage disposal schemes - 1977
Source: Tomlinson and Wurzel, (1977) in Kay and Smout, p. 11

Roads

The road system within Greater Harare totals 2,401 kilometers of which 95% (2,280 km) is surfaced, with the remainder gravelled. This high level of development is not consistent throughout the city. For example, Glen View (56%) and Highfield (65%), former Black areas, fall well below the average (City of Harare, Annual Report: Director of Works 1986, p. 21). In the former White areas where land was privately held there was generally a higher standard of road provision. This difference can partially be explained by the way that private land was treated. Subdivision conditions required that a private developer surface all roads, and provide other infrastructural requirements before any stand within the township could be transferred. All former Black areas had publicly constructed roads to standards determined by the city. Besides this disparity between former White and Black areas, the city does suffer "from poor lateral linkages between the main radial roads" (Davies, 1986, p. 134). Generally, however, the city is well served by a public network of roads.

Electricity

With the merger of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Commission and the Harare City Electricity Department in 1986, the supply of electricity to Greater Harare moved into a another stage. Historically the City generated its own electricity from coal from Hwange. The post World War Two period saw a rise in the demand for electricity and the thermal station was unable to cope. With the construction of Kariba hydro-electric scheme, Harare's supply was linked to the national grid and its supply assured. Currently, with the demand for electricity constantly on the rise, prospective consumers face delays in the physical construction of power lines as materials, equipment, and skilled manpower to do the work are in short supply. Electricity is however, generally available on demand

throughout the city.

To summarize, the city has "a well developed infrastructural system" (World Bank, 1985, p. 22). Administratively, it is controlled by professional administrators including, engineers, doctors, and planners. Given this situation the questions that have to be answered are: What was the impact of these services on "raw" land? In other words, how was "raw" land brought into urban service? What role did the provision of infrastructural services play in this process? Were these services co-ordinated and how was co-ordination achieved? To answer these questions, it is important to turn to the urban planning system.

Urban Planning

Zimbabwe has a long urban planning tradition. Historically dependent upon a strong cadastral framework, land subdivision and building development in cities and towns was initially controlled by sanitary boards and later by municipalities (Hosford and Whittle, 1979). Harare shares this tradition.

With the introduction of statutory town planning in 1933 and 1945 and the appointment of professional planners, the preparation of urban plans became obligatory for Harare and other local authorities under the strict and often acrimonious supervision of central government. By 1976, when a third act was introduced, Harare had a number of approved plans prepared during the sixties. Despite the commitment to produce master and local Plans under the 1976 legislation no master plan for Harare was produced by 1990. A majority of schemes and a handful of local plans were in operation and guided development in the city at the time of the study (Table 4).

Table 4

Harare's Approved Land Use Plans in 1990

TITLE	DATE APPROVED
1. Phase 1	12/14/73
2. Phase 2	12/14/73
3. Phase 3	12/14/73
4. Phase 4	12/14/73
5. Harare East Combined Schemes 1-4	02/14/78
6. Harare North-East Combined Schemes 1-4	01/12/79
7. Harare South Schemes 1 & 2	01/12/73
8. Harare South 3	05/30/79
9. Harare South 4	05/22/70
10. Harare West 1	05/28/71
11. Harare West 2	06/02/72
12. Harare West 3	07/21/72
13. Harare West 4	08/27/71
14. Harare Rural South West	12/23/66
15. Groombridge Local Plan	08/29/78
16. Avondale Local Plan	04/29/82
17. Beverley Local Plan	02/25/82
18. Warren Local Plan No. 5	03/13/80
19. Warren Local Plan No. 6	08/21/80
20. Cleveland Local Plan	06/26/83
21. Kopje-Market Square Local Plan No. 17	05/16/90

***Source*: City of Harare**

Special attention will be paid to four aspects of the planning system in Harare. These are: its co-ordinating role, the subdivision and consolidation procedures, land-use control especially zoning, and development plan approval procedures. It is within the context of this scenario that the development of GF/TH must be seen.

Infrastructure Co-ordination and Land-use Planning

Within the larger framework of municipal authority, the central role of the planning system for co-ordinating and regulating development was established early in the history of Harare. This centrality has been recognized by a number of writers commenting on the system. Hosford and Whittle (1979), commenting on the early development of the planning system concluded that municipal control was patterned on grid-iron cadastral layouts and supported by the imposition of a variety of by-laws and Public Health Ordinances (Hosford, and Whittle, 1979). From an early date the co-ordination of infrastructure in Harare was dependent upon strong municipal government[5] employing surveyed grid-iron layouts as a base. This tradition continued with the introduction of formal town planning in 1933 when uncontrolled peri-urban development threatened co-ordination (Sparrow, 1979).

In 1981 Patrick McAuslan concluded, that the Regional Town and Country Planning Act No. 22 of 1976 was "the center piece of the system of town and country planning and development control in Zimbabwe" (U.N. 1981, p. 149). It was critical for the co-ordination of infrastructure which was achieved in a number of ways. First, in the preparation of master and local plans. For example, section 14(2) of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, 1976 (as amended) stipulates that a master plan for a local

[5]Salisbury had a sanitary board by 1982 and by 1897 a Municipal Ordinance empowered the provision of water, electricity, sanitary services and housing for Africans (Hosford and Whittle, 1979).

planning authority shall:

> Formulate the policies of that authority and its general proposals for the planning area in respect of the co-ordinated and harmonious development and redevelopment and other uses of land (Republic of Zimbabwe, 1980).

Thus the plans, both master and local, produced by the planning department were an essential means by which co-ordination of development was achieved. One of the immediate effects of the preparation of these land-use plans was the co-ordination of the physical provision of public utility services. Services were provided for areas that were specified in the plans. A direct corollary of the development of these services was that private sector development came also to be guided by its implementation[6].

The private sector did however, play a distinct and separate role. Thus while the municipal authorities provided the basic infrastructural bones of the city system, the private sector fleshed out the details for areas where freehold tenure applied i.e. in the former White areas. In this detailing process by the private sector, the planning system exercised further control through its subdivision/consolidation, and zoning procedures.

Subdivision and Consolidation

Following on from the practice of using surveyed plans as a basis for infrastructural development, the power to subdivide and consolidate land has been a powerful tool in the hands of government to achieve co-ordination as well. Sparrow (1979) reports that historically,

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[6]Wekwete has argued that there is no correlation between capital development plans and master plans within local authorities that have attempted to adopted them. No evidence is however, provided for this position (Wekwete, 1987)

> the emphasis was more on the control of subdivision of land rather than on the development of land and it was not until the mid 1950s, that through major amendments to the 1945 Act, it became mandatory to seek planning permission for development (Sparrow, 1979, p. 256).

If it became necessary to subdivide or consolidate land for development, planning law required that an application be made in terms of section 40 of the 1976 Act to the local planning authority. This application was both administratively and professionally dealt with by the planning department. Administratively it was the planning department that co-ordinated the comments of the other agencies of the local authority. After consultation, planners either refused or approved (with conditions where necessary) the application. These conditions may have required the applicant to pay an endowment, construct roads and drainage, provide a water supply and sewage disposal system to the satisfaction of the authority (Figure 32). Land assembled in this fashion could only be transferred or developed after all these conditions were met. This, according to a former official in central government's Department of Physical Planning, "has been the general accepted principle in this country" (Tonsult, Q. 12).

Although subdivision periodically outran demand (Christopher, 1972) and therefore building, the growth and development of THs follows the growth and development of infrastructural facilities assembled in this way. That is, once public services were put in place, the land was "ripe" for development for private developers to play their part. What facilitated co-ordination to a greater degree was the fact that Harare's planning department was administratively controlled by the Director of the Department of Works, an engineer. Heads of the planning department in the past were frequently also engineers. The style of physical planning with its commitment to control, all conspired to make co-ordination a priority.

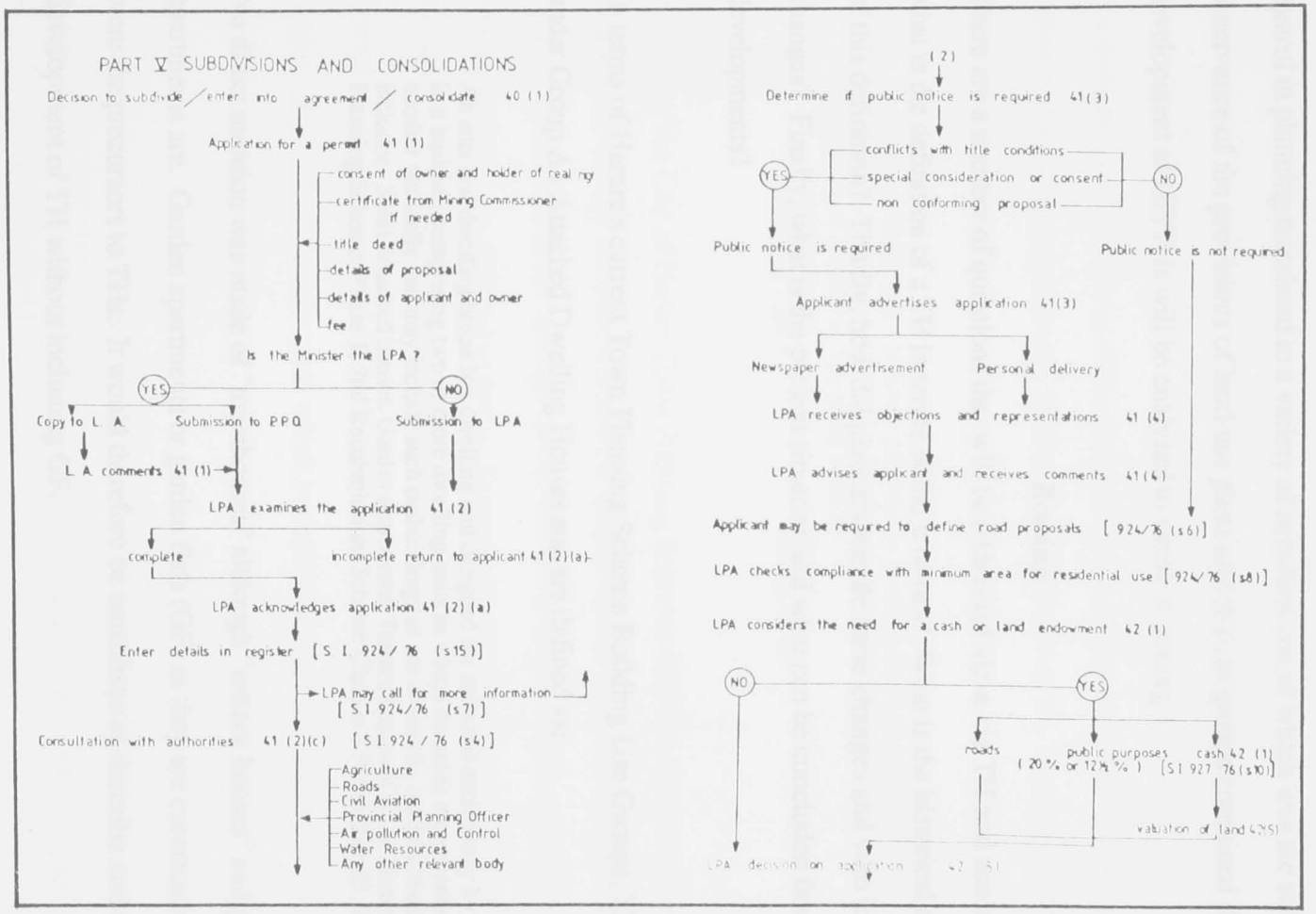

Figure 32
Part V: Subdivision and consolidation approval procedure, showing conditions
Source: Regional Town and Country Planning Act, 1976 (as amended

There was, however, one other factor that the town planners controlled that was central to this process of land assembly. That was zoning. Harare's commitment to development control in planning translated to a variety of activities one of which was the strict observance of the provisions of land-use plans and the use groups contained therein. The development of GF/THs will be analyzed in terms of zoning.

Zoning

There are a number of questions that will be addressed viz-a-viz TH and zoning. First, what is the definition of a TH in terms of the schemes? What is the historical development of this definition? Thirdly, how did planners handle these changes and who introduced the changes? Finally, what is the present situation and what can be concluded from these developments?

In terms of Harare's current Town Planning Scheme Building Use Groups, THs appear under Group A1 Attached Dwelling Houses and are defined as:

> An attached dwelling house is a dwelling unit designed for and used exclusively by a single family in a building comprising two or more dwelling units in which the units are separated from one another vertically and may include such outbuildings as are ordinarily used therewith. This group includes - Semi-detached houses. Garden apartments. Terrace houses (City of Harare, Town Planning Scheme, Phase 1, 2nd Resubmission, Scheme Clauses - November 23, 1973, p. 26)

No direct mention was made of "townhouses" although "terrace houses" and garden apartments are. Garden apartments or garden flats (GF) as they are commonly known were the precursors to THs. It would therefore be unrealistic to describe and explain the development of TH without including GF.

Implicit in the above definition is that two or more dwelling units may appear on a single

plot of land or stand, i.e. blocks of GF/TH developments occupy single stands, irrespective of the number of units that comprise them[7]. What makes them distinct from flats/apartments in general is their attachment to the ground since a second floor flat/apartment would classify that dwelling unit as a flat (Figure 33).

The definition of GF/TH was inconsistent for different parts the city. For example, the Salisbury East Planning Scheme, Section 1, defined Group B1. Residential Buildings (Other than Dwelling Houses) as:

> A residential building is a building other than a dwelling house or residential school or college, designed for, or containing provision for, human habitation, together with such outbuildings as are ordinarily used therewith. The group includes -
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Boarding House | Hostel |
> | Residential Club | Private Hotel |

In terms of the City of Harare Town Planning Schemes GF/THs can be developed in a wide area of the city but were restricted to specific zones. Development can either take place as a permitted use or through special consent procedure. The application of these procedures however, differed in detail. Schemes for the area of the original city and the surrounding suburban areas were amalgamated at a later date as Greater Harare. For example, GF/TH as defined above are specifically catered for in the schemes for the original city. Table 5 makes clear which zones/sub-zones would require permission to be sought from the local authority.

In the former suburban areas however, GF/TH were not specifically mentioned by name and permission was more severely restricted across use zones. Flats, on the other hand,

[7]Technically, other factors such as density and height do limit the actual number of units that can be built on a single stand.

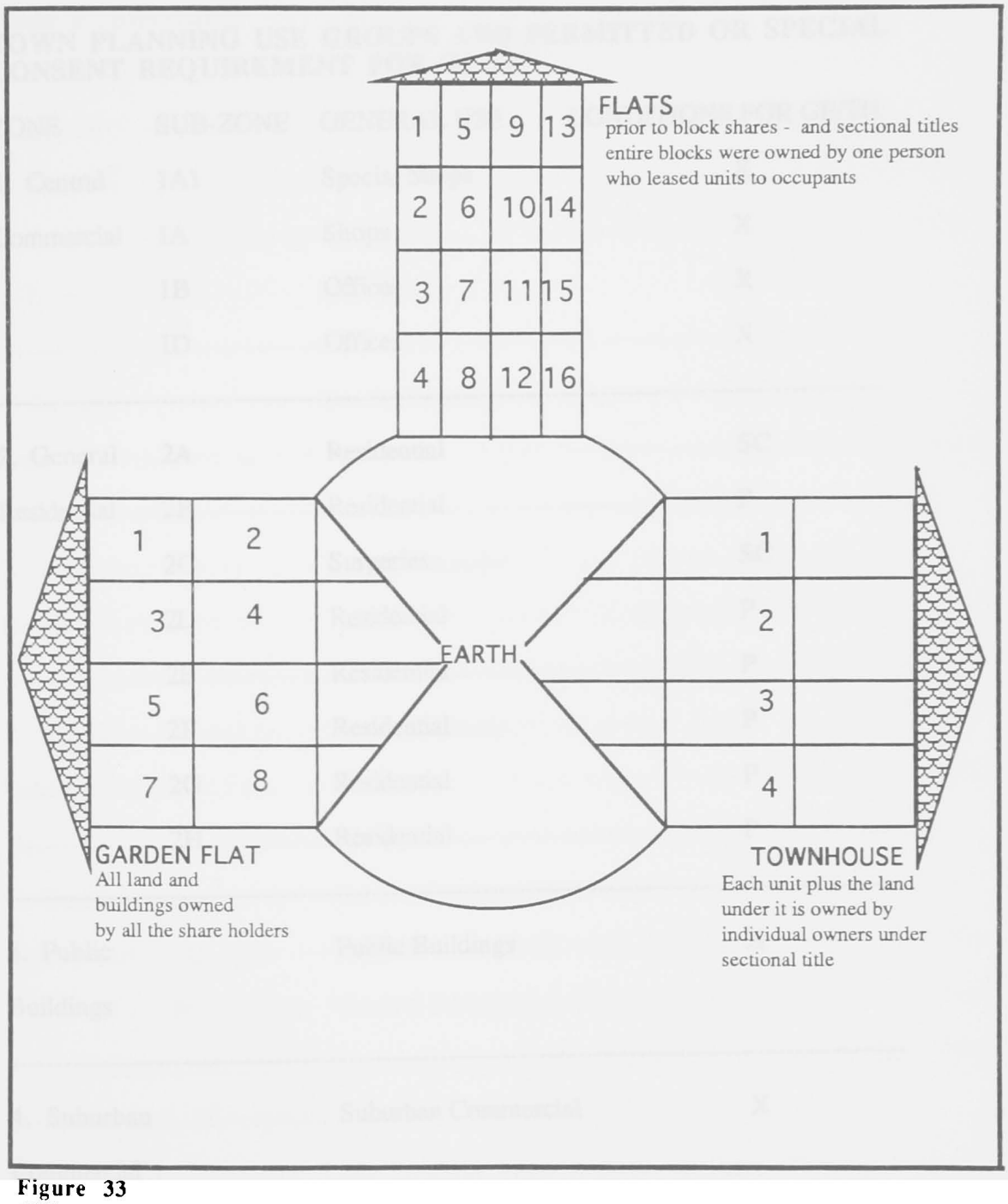

Figure 33
Differences between apartments and garden flats/townhouses

Table 5

TOWN PLANNING USE GROUPS AND PERMITTED OR SPECIAL CONSENT REQUIREMENT FOR GF/TH

ZONE	SUB-ZONE	GENERAL USE	CONDITIONS FOR GF/TH
1. Central	1A1	Special Shops	X
Commercial	1A	Shops	X
	1B	Offices	X
	1D	Offices	X
2. General	2A	Residential	SC
Residential	2B	Residential	P
	2C	Surgeries	SC
	2D	Residential	P
	2E	Residential	P
	2F	Residential	P
	2G	Residential	P
	2H	Residential	P
3. Public Buildings		Public Buildings	X
4. Suburban Commercial		Suburban Commercial	X

Table 5 (continued)

5. Special Residential	5A	Residential	X
	5B	Residential	X
	5C	Residential	X
	5D	Residential	X
6. Service Industry		Service Industry	X
7. General Industry		General Industry	X
8. Special Industry		Special Industry	X
9. General Commercial	9A	General Commercial	X
	9B	General Commercial	X
	9C	General Commercial	X

X = prohibited SC = special consent P = permitted

Source: **City of Harare, Town Planning Scheme, Phase 1,2,3,4, 1973.**

were included in Group B. Residential Buildings, but there was no specific definition with respect to vertical or horizontal separation. GF/TH were permitted where flats were generally permitted. Table 6 shows the zones and the procedure that needed to be followed.GF were therefore, not permitted throughout most of these areas. Special Consent was the standard practice; their construction was scrutinized and controlled. The courts came therefore, to play a significant role in determining when and where GF could be built.

Development Plan Approval

What is evident from the foregoing analysis is that the planning system in Harare developed after 1945 put considerable authority in the hands of the planning department to control development. The exercise of this authority, writers have claimed, has historically produced a rigid planning system in Harare based on a development control logic (Wekwete, 1988). The record indicates however, that authority was, not unfettered. To an extent change ensured that.An assessment of planning practice suggests two kinds of changes that had an impact on the system. First, planners recognize that planning changes. Thus Hosford and Whittle wrote of the 1945 Town and Country Planning Act that, "as time went on it became apparent that it had become outmoded as a vehicle through which the complex needs of the country could be met" (Hosford and Whittle, 1979, p. 253). The Regional Town and Country Planning Act 1976 introduced a two-tier system. The second form of change, less difficult to assess but equally as important in its effect, was introduced by the interpretation of planning law.

Speaking of planning law, a former planner in the development control office remarked that,

Table 6

RESIDENTIAL USE GROUPS AND PERMISSION REQUIRED WITHIN SUBURBAN AREAS OUTSIDE FORMER CITY BOUNDARIES

ZONE	SUB-ZONE	GENERAL USE	CONDITIONS FOR GF/TH
1.	1A	Residential	SC
Residential	1A1	Residential	SC
	1B	Residential (Flats)	P
	1C	Residential	SC
	1D	Residential/Business	P
2. Business	2(A)	Business/Shops	SC
	2B	Business/PF & SS	SC
3. Industry	3	Service Industrial	SC
3. Rural	3	Agricultural	X

P = permitted SC = special consent X = prohibited

***Source*: Salisbury East Planning Scheme, Section 1, 1951**

> Ya, it changes all the time actually and I must admit that I didn't appreciate that when I became involved in interpreting the law, the town planning law (Leng, Q. 21)

Planning systems are frequently designed to be either rigid or flexible. The establishment of a town planning court in terms of the 1945 Town and Country Planning Act ensured that disputes relating to planning issues could be settled in law. An appeal to the Appellate Division of the High Court could also be made where parties were dissatisfied with the court's decision. The cornerstone of flexibility in Zimbabwe was therefore the Administrative Court. The "Special Consent" procedure, the General and Special Development Orders and the absence of specific official programme of enforcement were designed to keep the system flexible as well (MacAuslan, 1981).

The special consent procedure is therefore a good measure of the approach (rigid or flexible) that the certain officials took. Initially in the years immediately following World War II the court was more flexible in its interpretation, the case of Kopje Properties v the City Council of Salisbury (1957) being a case in point. By the early 1970s this flexible approach had gradually been replaced by a much more rigid approach as is contained in Doves Morgan (Pvt) Limited v the City of Salisbury (1972) or in Beryl and Doris Augustus vs Mount Pleasant Town Council (1970) in which the court reasoned that,

> no matter how high their quality and there was doubt in the mind of the Court that the introduction of such flats into Mount Pleasant would constitute disharmonious development (Index of Town Planning Court Judgements , 1989).

By 1981 flexibility had returned and was once again a characteristic feature in the interpretation of special consent. A consultant remarked that, "there is a wish on the part of Council, as I interpret it, to go as far as they can in using any degree of flexibility which

exists in the schemes and the Act" (Tonsult, Q. 21). This flexibility on the part of council frequently bordered on the margins of legality.

Thus the land-use planning system in Harare has assumed a fairly central role in controlling the "release" of land for the development in general and that of GF/THs in particular. Shown to be subject to a number of internal pressures it is also open to other pressures external to it. The other activities that have affected land assembly are those associated with the private sector. The development of GF and THs are the responsibility of private developers working to produce a commodity for sale to consumers. In the land assembly process the role of the architect and the developer has been vital.

Architectural Design

While architects are generally associated with the design of buildings, the bulk of buildings in any given city, at any one time, is not the work of architects. Draughtsmen, technicians, engineers, builders, contractors all contribute to the design and ultimate construction of a variety of buildings. The history of the architectural design of GFs and THs is not exceptional in this way. Although a difficult question, attempt will be made to ascertain who the designers of GF/TH are and how their identity has influenced the supply of land for development.

In order to ascertain who the original designers of GF/THs were, building plans, files, and ledgers were inspected in the municipal offices of the City of Harare. Before an analysis of this record is presented, a number of caveats need to be introduced. First, on the development application forms most developers used the proposed name of the

development instead of giving their own. This made it difficult to determine exactly whether the developer was a landowner-developer or a builder-developer or who the designer was. Secondly, local authority records were either difficult to acquire[8], or were simply missing.

Garden Flats

Given these limitations, the picture that emerged, *prior* to the construction of THs in the mid-1970s, showed that most plans for GFs submitted were not by architects, but by land owner/developers and builder/owners. Concentrating their activities in the suburbs of Greendale Mount Pleasant, Hatfield, Marlborough, and Borrowdale, these developers were either individuals, e.g J.W. Field, M.E. Charhon, or, as in most cases, companies, e.g. Construction Associates, Invicta Construction, Greendale Development Co. City of Harare's Councillor John West in a recent article, "Marked Increase in Flat Projects" identified these builder/developers using another criterion. He observed that,

> The names sometimes gives a clue to the identity of the developer. Anciao probably built by a hero of the invasion of Italy, Venezia (with the z reversed) was surely built by a Venezitian, while several blocks display their Portuguese origin (Financial Gazette, 6/6/1991, B2).

Nationality is a way of identifying the developers. There were groups of Portuguese, and Italian builders employing local Black artisans. A practice that these developers engaged in, that supports the idea that developers were largely designers, was replicated production. The names given to GFs provide an important clue of this practice. GFs with similar names like Glenfriars, Avonfriars, Dalefriars, Merryfriars, Westfriars, Ridgefriars, and Southfriars are physically exactly alike and were built by one developer/builder as suggested by West (Financial Gazette, 6/6/1991, B2). These builders drew up their own

[8]The rapidity of staff changes has meant that tracing records is a long and arduous process and many times officers turn away requests for these records.

plans and in some cases repeated the pattern in a number of locations. Why did developers act as their own agents and designers?

There are a number of reasons that fostered GF development to take place this way. First, an architect concluded that, in a sellers market meant development was speculative without any research and without necessarily identifying the market when it, "may not have been so critical, when building costs were very low in this country and certainly very low compared to the relative incomes,... to produce architectural plans that were either economically efficient and/or aesthetically pleasing" (Sketch, Q. 11). Secondly, the attitude that architects held at the time that "housing is not for architects" (Sketch, Q. 17), meant that others could design these projects. Architects consciously abdicated their role in the process of house building and preferred instead to concentrate on commercial and industrial development. Finally, the bulk of garden flats were initially developed on less heavily regulated suburban land where change and innovation stood a greater chance of bureaucratic acceptance. Suburban authorities were keen on development and were more lax in their acceptance of certain standards. For example, in terms of zoning, a stricter definition of GF was only introduced at a much later date in the late 60s to mid 70s. [Group A1 Attached Dwelling Houses: semi-detached houses, garden apartments, and terrace houses (City of Harare, 1973, p. 26)]. These practices/attitudes coincided with major growth phases of suburban development.

Townhouses

All that changed in the 1970s. Townhouses construction began to replace garden flat development. Garden flat construction declined while townhouse construction increased, for example, from 1966 to 1970 there were 52 blocks of garden flats constructed with no

townhouses built. From 1971 to 1975 there were 83 blocks of garden flats constructed with 21 townhouse complexes built. From 1976 to 1980 there were 7 blocks of garden flats with 12 blocks of townhouses constructed. (Figure 34) Within a general decline in construction activities developers were shifting from the construction of garden flat construction to that of townhouses. This shift was accompanied by the greater involvement of architects in the townhouse development process. One architect commented that ,"making them work as schemes", has come to occupy more of architects time and talents (Sketch, Q. 22). He concluded that this general shift in orientation from garden flats to townhouses was brought about by both "economic circumstances and also by a changing professional perspective" (Sketch, Q. 25).

A downturn in the Zimbabwean economy had already begun in the mid 1970s and continued after political independence. 1980 not only brought political independence but ushered in rising inflation, "starting at about 25% a year in the early 1980s and we're now probably talking about possibly 40% a year in building costs" (Sketch, Q. 11). One effect of this "tough economy" was that marginal profitability in construction fell to a point where a more refined decision making process was required before building could begin. Thus economic stringency, coupled with developers who were "relatively unsophisticated" (Sketch, Q. 11), meant that feasibility studies became imperative. It was no longer possible to do calculations on the back of the proverbial cigarette box. Feasibility studies were the product of the changing context that developers and other professionals found themselves in. Within this context, architects began to re-oriente their practices to meet the needs of developers, and their own need for work. How they achieved this will be examined next.

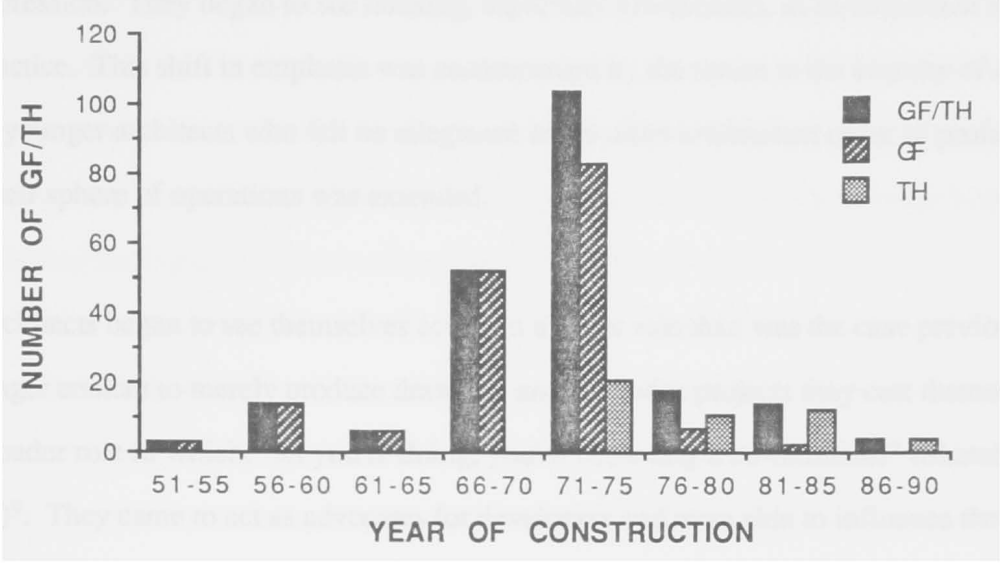

Figure 34
Dates of construction of garden flats and townhouses
Source: City of Harare

This shift in orientation went hand-in-hand with a change in the attitude of the architectural profession. They began to see housing, especially townhouses, as an important area of practice. This shift in emphasis was accompanied by the return to the country of a number of younger architects who felt no allegiance to the older established order of professionals. Their sphere of operations was extended.

Architects began to see themselves acting in a wider role than was the case previously. No longer content to merely produce drawings and supervise projects they cast themselves in a broader role in which, "all you're doing, you're becoming a co-ordinator" (Sketch, Q. 12)[9]. They came to act as advocates for developers and were able to influence the planners. For example, after the increase in TH development in 1975 an inspection of the Special Consent Register in the City of Harare's Development Control Office reveals that 50% of all applications for GF/TH were made by architects/planners, with 32% made by individuals and 16% made by builders. 66.6% of all applications were for TH developments (City of Harare, 1990).

Conclusions

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing analysis of the development of THs when viewed from the perspective of the assembly of land.

First, in an examination of THs it is imperative that GFs be included. As precursors to the development of THs, they share some important similarities as well as distinctions.

[9]The co-ordinating role of architects is examined further in Chapter 6 on Distribution

Second, the availability of land for GF/TH development is triggered by the owners decision to either sell land for development purposes or to proceed with the development after consultation with a variety of exchange agents. Owners' decisions are influenced by the performance of the economy. Stringent and strong economies influence the construction industry in different ways. The composition of agents changed with changes in the economy leading to the introduction of different building types.

The third involves the introduction of GFs and THs. They were both introduced as an innovation of building type. Townhouses were a later innovation and followed on the heels of garden flats. Being the first to be introduced garden flats were constructed in suburbs on land only marginally zoned for the purpose (see City of Harare: Salisbury East Planning Scheme, Section 1, 1951). Subsequently approved schemes incorporated garden flats as permitted development. The emergence of townhouses in the mid 70s was characterized by a shift from zoned areas that permitted the construction of TH as a right (those areas being largely utilized) to areas closer to the central business district where special consent (variance) was required, e.g. in the Avenues or Avondale.

Fourth, the shift from garden flats to townhouses was also accompanied by a corresponding shift in the type of exchange agents. The design and development of garden flats was associated with builder developers. Townhouses on the other hand were designed primarily by architects and built by medium to large sized contractors. The architectural profession was also undergoing some internal changes as returning and younger architects began to infiltrate the older architectural profession.

Finally, the centrality of the planners in the land assembly process was underscored.

Although the character of land-use plans and the "development control logic" that underpined them, appeared to make demi-gods of the town planners they nevertheless remained open to the possibility of innovation under certain conditions. The planners reacted to a variety of external and internal pressures. These included the condition of the economy, the degree of flexibility that they used or were required to use, in interpreting planning law and regulations, and the numbers of planners and the the pool of experience that they brought to bear on planning matters before them. Other exchange agents were also able to influence planning decisions. Architects especially, brokered the introduction of townhouse innovation when it suited their own purposes. The combined effect of these pressures in terms of the land assembly process was that planners were more likely to be inflexible in periods of economic growth when there was a large pool of development applications. In periods of economic stringency they appeared to be more open to innovation and change.

Having examined the assembly of land sites for the purposes of GF/TH development, the next chapter will examine the marketing of these units.

CHAPTER VI

MARKETING OF GARDEN FLATS AND TOWNHOUSES

Introduction

Land, labor and capital are three important elements of capitalism. The concern of this chapter lies principally with land. At the aggregate level in the form of "territory", land is essential to the existence of the nation state. Without territory there can be no state about which we can speak. Under capitalism, "land can variously function as an element, a means, or a condition of production, or as a reservoir of other use values" (Harvey, 1989, 91). For it to do so, however, the monopoly of private property in land is essential. Private ownership of land and real property (or real estate, that is, land plus permanently attached structures) are therefore, centrally important features of the capitalist system. Since the supply of urban land is "limited" and cannot be increased by human action, an urban land and building market is set up to handle transactions between buyers and sellers.

Capitalist property markets operate under a variety of assumptions. Among the leading

ones are: that the interests of the individual and society are one; that individual urbanites are more important than business and corporate decision makers; that no one agent (group or individual) has a determinate influence on the urban land system (Feagin, 1983, pp. 5-6). The purpose of this chapter is to examine these assumptions and to attempt to answer the question of whether a small group of powerful actors can do more to shape the property markets than simply outbid their competitors.

The Real Estate Industry

Real estate has played a central role in the settlement and development of Zimbabwe. The arrival of White colonial settlers in 1890 marked the emergence of a capitalist way of dealing with land and buildings. The "land question", not surprisingly, has been at the heart of political debate for some time. Prior to and immediately after independence, the "land question" in Zimbabwe has been largely concerned with the distribution of land, especially rural land (Riddell, 1978; Moyo, 1986). The distributional questions asked at the rural level have not been raised at the urban level.

All appears well in terms of urban land. Yet issues of urban land have at least as great or if not greater potential for affecting development in the context of Zimbabwe if precedent can be relied upon. At the center of these issues lies the real estate industry. This chapter will examine the changing role of the realtors in real estate development. Traditionally limited to the selling and management of property, currently it will be argued, those roles have been extended and so that realtors have assumed a more centralized position in the development process. Using the example of garden flat and townhouse developments, this chapter will trace these propositions in the context of realtor practice.

Historical Development of Flats

Part of the larger housing market, garden flats and townhouses are a subset of apartment living. Before assessing the impact of realtors in the marketing component of the development process as it pertains to garden flats and townhouses, it is important to briefly trace the development of apartments in general. An important observation that needs to be made at this point is that apartment living in colonial Rhodesia has always been regarded as socially inferior to single family dwelling occupancy. Most British people did not occupy apartments. Continental Europeans favored this form of accommodation (Pritchard, 1989). It is within this context that the development of apartments, garden flats and townhouses must be seen.

The development and ownership of apartment complexes was "shared between public and private agencies and can be traced back to the 1920s" (Pritchard, 1990, p. 43). Public ownership lay in the hands of both local or central government. Catering mainly, though not exclusively for Blacks, publicly controlled apartments and "hostels" were built in areas reserved for the appropriate segment of the population (Yoshikuni, 1989).

Historically, privately owned apartments on the other hand, were largely financed mainly by external shareholders living in South Africa and in England. By 1946 for example, syndicates were formed to invest in building in Southern Rhodesia. After an examination of the records of two blocks of flats, Hamilton Heights and Rembrandt, Margaret Cary concluded that, "the directors were mainly British and South African citizens, many of whom never came to Rhodesia" (Cary, 1984, p.17).

A number of implications arise from these observations . The first is in terms of external

investment and its impact on the real estate industry. In the absence of on-site landlords, there was a need for property managers at the local level. The second relates to property ownership. Before the introduction of sectional title in 1976 units in an apartment block could not be individually owned. Property law defined property as land and not in building terms[1]. Consequently it was land that was registered in the Deeds Registry Office. Entire apartment blocks were either owned by individuals or companies with individual units being leased or rented out. The secondary position that apartments held in colonial society was translated into specific property ownership rights. This meant that once apartments were constructed, there had to be managers to oversee blocks of apartments. Furthermore, since individual units could not be sold to individual owners, entire blocks of apartments were put on the market, the sale of which had to be managed. The sale and management of apartments was therefore established as an intrinsic part of the business of realtors early in the history of the industry.

The company of Landcompany, Real Estate Agents which began its operations in 1958, is a good example of a segment of the real estate industry . Originally two companies, Land was primarily responsible for property sales, while Company was responsible for the management of all residential property that was let. While residential property continues to be the main business of the merged Landcompany (Mealtor, Q. 8)[2], the changing dynamics of the residential sector of the real estate industry has significantly influenced their operations. An analysis of the impact of GF/TH developments will serve to illustrate this point.

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[1]In terms of the Deeds Registry Act.

[2]Mealtor, P. is a pseudonym for the managing director of the real estate company.

Garden Flats and Townhouses

The development of garden flats and townhouses must therefore be seen against a background in which apartment living was generally regarded as a second choice. They must also be seen in terms of the distaste that British colonial settlers regarded terrace housing[3]. Garden flats and townhouses are essentially terrace houses. Terrace housing was for the working class and they were built in the working class neighborhoods. In Rhodesia this translated to the former African areas where "terraces" can be found. How then did "terrace" housing come to be built in wealthy White areas?

Chronologically, the development of garden flats followed on from apartment or flat development. Townhouses were the latest addition to this type of development. The fundamental question relating to the provision of garden flats and townhouses is: With a change in the provision of this type of residential accommodation, who were the actors involved? What was the "structure of provision" as it related to garden flats? Why did it change?

Garden Flats

The role of realtors in the development process of garden flats was characterized by a number of specific activities. Traditionally, new garden flat residential development followed a particular development path before on-site construction took place. Speaking in general terms, P. Mealtor, managing director of a large real estate company, described this process;

[3]This distaste was in part acquired from the colonials desire to avoid duplicating the London, Manchester, Liverpool examples of "undesirable housing" and the potential for worker revolt that terrace housing stood for.

> The old scenario would be ; the developer goes to an architect. The architect would design something: an architect would nominate a builder and the developer would at some stage then say to the estate agent, go and sell it (Mealtor, Q. 52)

As was suggested in Chapter V, however, most of garden flat developments were designed by developers/builders themselves. Frequently, building plans were simply repeated throughout the city. Once the structures were constructed it was the realtors responsibility to sell, manage, and maintain blocks of garden flats. In practical terms this procedure closely resembled the theoretical development process as a linear set of operations. Developers as prime motivators garnered financial resources to supply a market that was "demanding" garden flats. Realtors went out and sold them. How were realtors able to sell garden flats in the face of hostile societal values?

The sale of garden flats was assisted by a number of factors. In the 1950s there was an increased demand for accommodation from immigrants who came to Rhodesia. Garden flats served to meet some of this need. Although there was a decline in the production of garden flats immediately after the break up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963, the development of garden flats increased significantly after 1965. Secondly, this increase in the demand for housing was also accompanied by a change in the type of ownership available to prospective buyers. Block shares were introduced by 1961[4]. This made it possible for buyers to "own" individual units in garden flats. Thirdly, although garden flats were essentially terrace houses, an attempt was made to remove any negative connotations by referring to them as "garden flats". Additionally, their names generally recalled some familiar English place, for example, Tudor Gardens, Melrose, or Arundel Gardens. 75.3% of all garden flat developments had names that were foreign, i.e. either

[4]T.C. Hardy, a prominent industrialist/developer claimed in a discussion that his company was the first to introduce this form of ownership for apartments that he had built in Borrowdale (personal communication 1990).

English, Scottish, French, or South African. Finally, realtors marketed garden flats by appealing to the consumers need for smaller dwellings and their desire for privacy (Mealtor, Q. 47). The combination of all these factors enabled realtors to successfully market garden flats.

By the mid-70s, however, this systematic delivery system in which realtors played a specific marketing role began to change. In part this change was brought about by changing economic circumstances that the country was facing and the war situation that prevailed at the time. The experience of Landcompany, a real estate company, serves to illustrate this change.

Townhouses

Before 1980 the Lnadcompany had virtually little or no association with the "A socio-economic group" (Mealtor, Q. 23) in terms of both houses and townhouses. The sale and management of residential property within the company was mainly geared to the middle and low income sector of the market, of which the sale and management of garden flats were an important component. Townhouses were not. The recognition that there was an undesirable gap in the company's portfolio and that future large scale development, particularly in the private sector would concentrate itself in the A socio-economic group, led the company to turn its attention to townhouses. At the same time that this situation was being recognized, there was a reduction in the numbers of apartments that were being sold or managed. This reduction was brought about by a variety of factors the main ones of which were, the conversion of apartment blocks to offices, and the impact of the Rent Control Regulations imposed in 1982 (Pritchard, 1989).

The combined impact of these trends for the real estate industry was that there was a decline in both sales and the need for management. For the Landcompany the result of this shift in the market was a reduction in staff by 17% as selling divisions in the company were forced to close. By 1990, however, this slack had been partially ameliorated by increases in townhouse activity. These included co-ordinating new townhouse developments, management, and sales, which accounted for 14% market share within the company. Totally, the company was responsible for the sale of 37 TH blocks and was managing a further 7 blocks comprising 302 units.

The questions this new orientation raise is, how did the company handle its townhouse portfolio? In other words, how were new townhouse developments, sales and management handled? Who were the actors involved and what were the factors and what was their impact on the real estate industry in general? In answering these questions, this chapter will discuss changes within the context of developments within the real estate industry in general.

The developer-centered process, which appropriately described the development of garden flats, changed with the introduction of the TH in the mid-1970s. By 1990 the Landcompany's experience has been that,

> the scenario today is that the developer first of all sees the estate agent, who in conjunction with the architect produces a feasibility study which indicates the market potential for that piece of land which the developer wishes to develop on and in the case of townhouses there is an input today in the feasibility stage from an architect, from an estate agent and even from a builder. All trying to produce the best unit for the lowest cost. So the inputs today are more or less the result, as far as the Landcompany is concerned, as a team effort and **I principally act, in all regards as the project manager in co-ordinating the activities of the architect and all the professional people involved in advising the developer of the viability of a townhouse scheme** (Mealtor, Q. 52, emphasis added).

Judging from these statement, it is clear that for TH development realtors had moved to a more central co-ordinating position. Is this an anomalous situation in which a project team is headed up by a realtor? To explain this strategic shift in the position of realtors, it is important to gain an understanding of the nature of today's development projects.

D. Friend, Property Manager of the Insurance Company speaking about his division's role in the construction of commercial development offers a partial explanation. Commenting on his staff he said, "we had no built in professionals in this division. They've all come green as grass" (Friend, Q. 19). Running a Z$350,000,000 a year property operation can only be sustained with personnel of this sort if consultants are employed on a project by project. The Insurance Company recognized that and used "architects, quantity surveyors, engineers (structural, civil, mechanical, and electrical), and of course town planning consultants are available on the project where we might need them" (Friend, Q. 25). The creation of this team is essential to the Insurance Company's operations because "we actually basically are managers, money managers, project managers" (Friend, Q. 25). As project managers they are responsible for the co-ordination of the team. As money managers they are responsible to their investors.

Ultimately, both D. Friend and P. Mealtor recognized in general, a number of important characteristics regarding new developments. First, today's construction projects, whether townhouses or large-scale office development, are complex. This complexity requires that professionals be co-ordinated so that a decision about the feasibility of a particular project based on their technical expertise can be reached. Secondly, the production cost of a project is not everything. Thus while D. Friend for example concluded that, "we're very cost conscious...building economics is enormously important" (Friend, Q. 25), he also

conceded that, "we'd be very brave to start telling an architect that something didn't look nice. Just because I don't think it looks nice" (Friend, Q. 26). So although costs are crucial to the final decision as to whether the project would to go ahead or not, what they determined finally, is whether a *particular* building gets built or not. Once investment within a particular sector is chosen the type and style of the structure are important considerations as to whether construction will begin. Thirdly, most importantly, they recognized that financial feasibility stands at the center of this decision making process. P. Mealtor very clearly articulated this.

It is within this decision making process that realtors have insinuated themselves and gained prominence. As co-ordinators their claim is that they are able to assist not only in **managing** the various components of the real estate market but they have the skill to **manage complexity** that is generated from the need for a variety of professionals to work together in the development process. Their claim, however, does not end there but extends to cover financial matters. In order to discuss this claim attention will be focussed on investors who, irrespective of whether they are large, medium or small, are willing to make financial commitments. The first question is, who are these investors and for what reasons have they chosen to invest in TH developments?

The main group of investors in THs, according to P. Mealtor, are individuals who are running medium size commercial and industrial enterprises. These investors are faced with,

> the tremendous increase in the money supply in this country and the lack of investment opportunity in terms of the need to protect the value of the dollar against the current inflationary rate and also the fall of the dollar against other major currencies (Mealtor, Q. 37).

They are "unwilling to invest any surplus funds into capital plant and machinery", and have looked to "bricks and mortar as an avenue of investment" (Mealtor, Q. 57). Investment in the development of townhouses was an obvious choice. P. Mealtor, again describes why this group of investors chose townhouses as a target of their investments,

> The majority of developers tend to invest where their personal interest lies. If they themselves are living in a townhouse or a large mansion they will tend to associate themselves with a scheme similar to the environment in which they are living (Mealtor, Q. 59).

Mealtor further observes that it is difficult to convince investors of investing in other highly profitable areas. The fact that the townhouse sector, compared to other residential sectors of the housing market, has generally the greatest profits for the Landcompany may have affected the strength of Mealltor's convincing. The reason for choosing townhouses as an investment opportunity, however, may lie in another aspect of the development process, that is, sales or marketing. This area will be discussed next. The sale of THs raises the question of who are the sellers and how do they sell THs?

Marketing

The sale of residential property is an established function of the real estate industry in Zimbabwe. For example, realtors were responsible for the sale of garden flats. The sale of townhouse units has come to occupy a special position in the hands of realtors. At the time of this study in 1990 the sale of THs by realtors was standard practice. THs were purchased by prospective owners primarily through realtors whose advertisements appear in the local press (Figure 35). The major difference between the sale of garden flats in the late 1960s and 1970s was that sales were made *after* the units were constructed. Townhouse units are still on the drawing board when they are sold, "all townhouse units

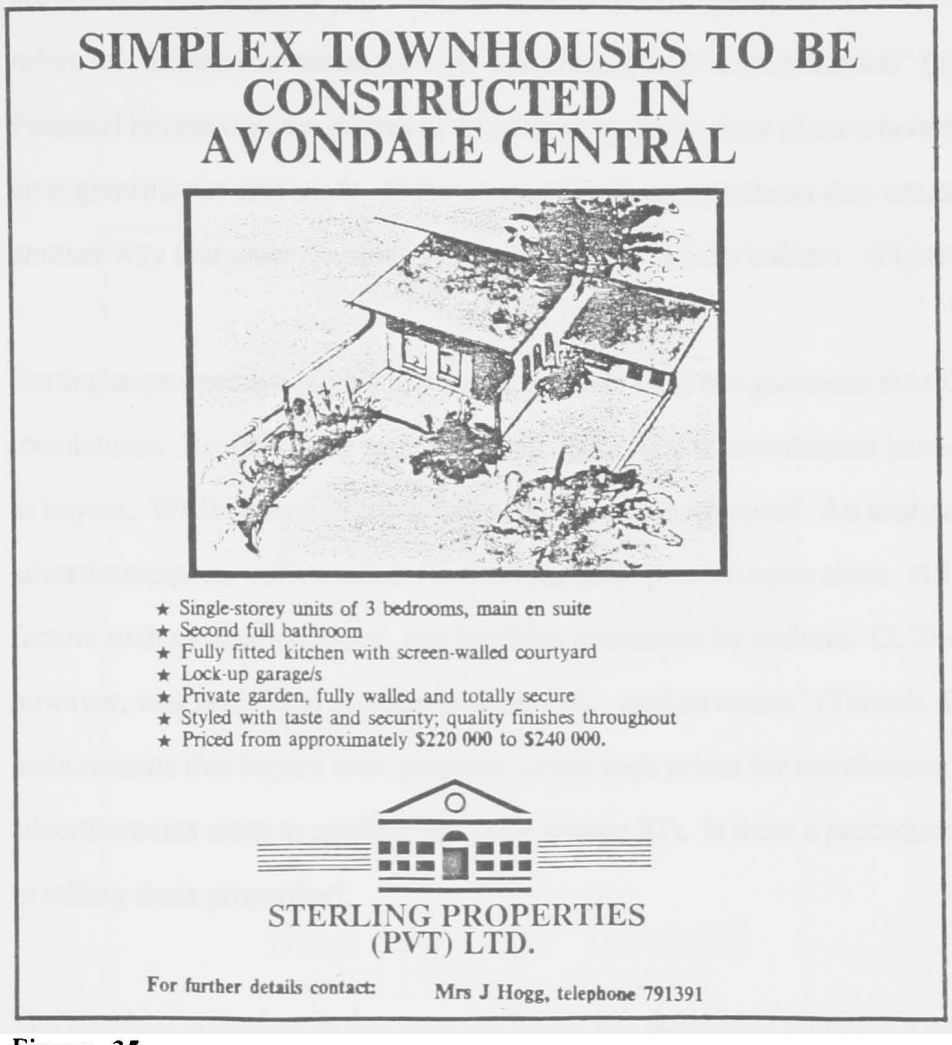


Figure 35
Advertisement for Sterling Properties (Pvt) Ltd
***Source*: Financial Gazette, November, (1989)**

are presold" (Mealtor, Q. 51). The advertisement cited above makes this clear when it refers to, "Simplex townhouses *to be* constructed in Avondale Central" (emphasis added). Potential buyers visit the offices of a realtor to examine these plans where other arrangements are also made. If the units are built, as sometimes they are, sale by tender is another way that units are sold, which ensures the highest bidders. (Figure 36)

Getting to prospective buyers to visit their offices does not guarantee the sale of townhouses. Realtors have to actively *sell* them, that is, townhouses have to be attractive to buyers. What aspects of townhouses do realtors emphasize? An analysis of townhouse advertisements as well as articles in the local press provide some clues. All the traditional factors such as location, price, and facilities mentioned by realtors. G. Tonsult's view, however, was that, "first security and secondly, exclusiveness" (Tonsult, Q. 47), were the main reasons that buyers were prepared to pay high prices for townhouses. The advertisements seem to confirm this view (Figure 37). Is there a procedure that realtors use in selling these properties?.

The standard procedure is that once the **buyer** has decided to purchase a unit he/she will put down 25% of the purchase price on signing an agreement of sale indicating the intention to buy. There is a further 25% payment at wall plate level. The remaining 50% is due once the unit is completed or the notarial deed is completed whichever is the latter. Why is the business of selling THs conducted in this fashion? A number of reasons can been suggested.

First, from the perspective of the **developers** these procedures provide the assurance they seek about their investments yielding profits in a stringent economy. Construction starts

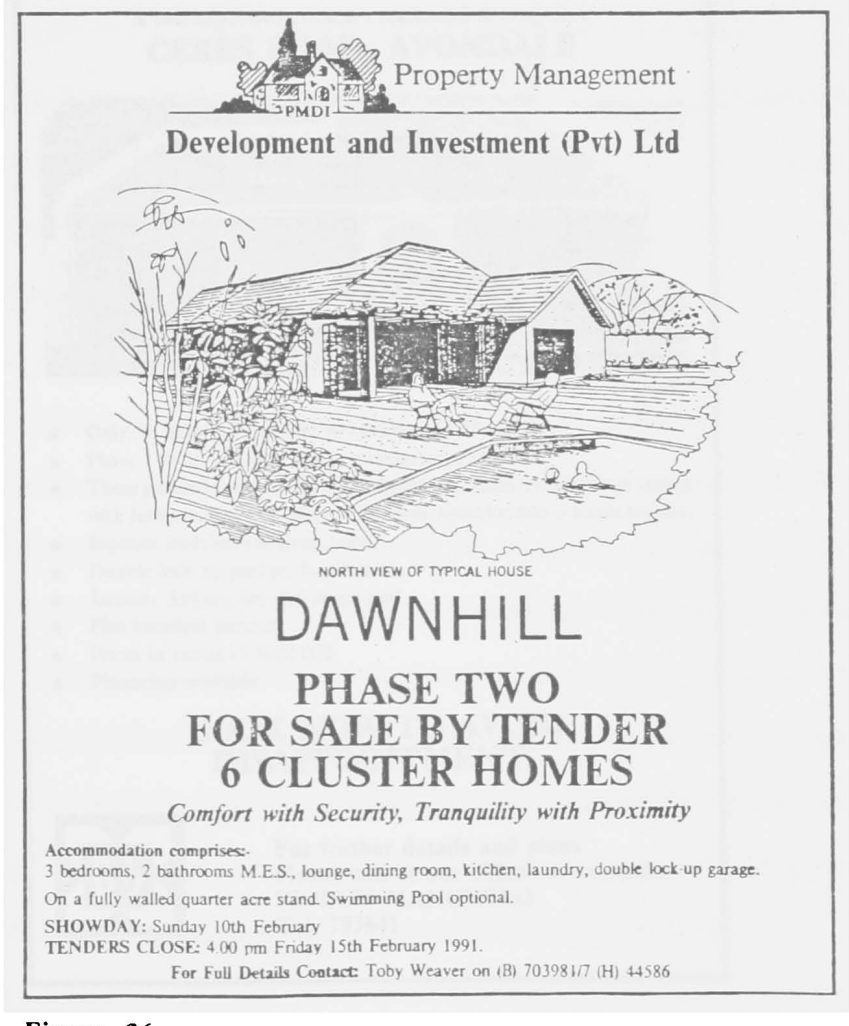


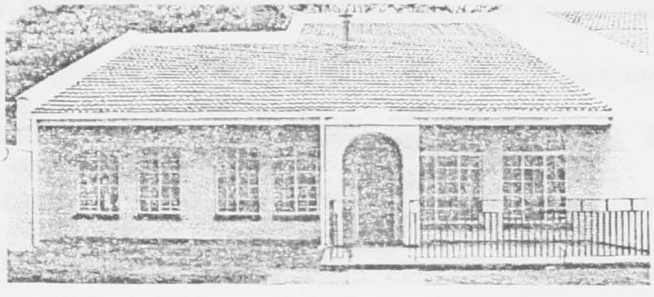
Figure 36
Development and Investment (Pvt) Ltd - Dawnhill sale by tender
***Source*: Financial Gazette, February, (1991)**

FROM MARGID HOLDINGS

AVON VILLAS

A well-appointed exclusive residential development

CERES ROAD, AVONDALE



- ★ Only 31 units will be built to exacting specifications.
- ★ Phase 1 & 2 (sold out) only 1 remaining in Phase 2.
- ★ These garden homes each contain 3 bedrooms, main en suite, large lounge with Jetmaster fireplace, dining room area, fitted kitchen — ample sockets,
- ★ Separate bath/shower/guest toilet,
- ★ Double lock up garage, Sun terrace,
- ★ Jacuzzi, Atrium, laundry court-yard
- ★ Plus excellent security.
- ★ Prices in excess of $450 000
- ★ Financing available

BOOK NOW TO AVOID DISAPPOINTMENT.

KF RZ

For further details and plans
Please call at our offices or contact:
FIDELIS MANGWIRO
Tel. 793841

Figure 37
Margid Holdings - Avon Villas
***Source*: Financial Gazette, March, (1990)**

only when the project is financially secured with the sale of a minimum number of units early in the development process. By tapping into the financial reserves of their buyers, from the outset developers are guaranteed that their cash flow position begins and remains positive. Financial risk has been transferred to the client.

Secondly, from a **buyers** point of view, although "there is a considerable risk that the developer might not complete the scheme because monies are not held in trust" (Mealtor, Q. 69), there still are advantages and they accrue in two areas. The first is the reputation of the developer. It is vouched safe by the realtor because they "are duty bound to try and ensure that we link in with reputable properly financed developers to guard against fraud" (Mealtor Q. 69). Additionally, a buyer can be assured of acquiring a unit in a block in which the realtor has some knowledge of the type of people who will live there. For example, the Questionnaire Survey established that 88.4% of all respondents were satisfied with the number of families living within their developments. This figure increased to 97.6% among townhouse occupants. This has meant that realtors have tailored the needs of their user clients based on trust. What this finally entails is that in the buying/selling of townhouses realtors are ideally positioned to meet and satisfy the demands made by both developers and buyers and turn a healthy profit in doing so. The arrangement goes further than this and it is the area of management that must be explored.

Management

Once THs are built their **management** is another area in which realtors are intimately involved. Realtor's management role is split into a number of different parts. In addition to the traditional roles of rent collection, finding tenants for vacant accommodation, and managing caretaker staff for the repair/maintenance of buildings, realtors have acquired

new roles in advising residents associations, and acting as "watchdogs" for building societies who may have a vested interest in particular THs.

The traditional role that realtors have played in the management of GFs which has now spilled over into the TH market is that of **collecting rentals** from lessees. P. Mealtor estimates that of the 307 units his company manages 60% of them are rentals. Renters include senior members of the diplomatic community, professionals including out of town farmers, and companies requiring a base for VIP visitors. Associated with these rental units are the twin tasks of **finding tenants** for any vacancies that might occur and the **repair and maintenance of buildings**.

In a market in which housing is in short supply, the task of finding **tenants** is not a difficult one. The problem is, however, acquiring the "right" tenants. Generally vacancies are not advertised in the local press and news of vacancies is spread by word of mouth. Prospective tenants are scrutinized by the realtors where their personal and financial details determines their entry into the market. Once prospective tenants are vetted and approved they are required to sign a lease agreement.

Generally in Zimbabwe the lease agreement is the standard form of tenurial arrangement between lessee and lessor. This arrangement applies in the leasing of townhouses. In these agreements the "landlord is responsible for the exterior structure of the building and the tenant is responsible for aspects of the interior" (Mealtor, Q. 39). The lessor or his agent is allowed entry into the apartment under certain conditions. The maintenance of the exterior of buildings, being the responsibility of the landlord, is generally directly managed by realtors. The Landcompnay for example, manages "on behalf of many of the owners,

approximately 92 persons, mainly cleaners, caretakers and the like" (Mealtor, Q, 14). Thus the day to day business of managing the problems of THs are in the hands of realtors. It is not only those TH that are leased with which realtors have a management role to play.

With regards to TH that are **owned by the occupants,** realtors have also come to play a very important role in their management. GF/TH can be "owned" either by block shares or notarial deeds. Notarial deed or sectional title as it is commonly known, is a legal instrument that came long after the block share scheme was introduced. There are a number of differences between these different legal instruments of owning an apartment. They share one major similarity, i.e. owners' associations or residents' associations are set up for the "purposes of running the common areas of the property to the mutual advantage and benefit of all the individual owners who acquire property" (Mealtor, Q. 71). Residents' associations frequently request the assistance of realtors to advise them on the management of their day to day affairs. That role is usually determined by the association. The realtor is "prepared to do as little or as much as the committee or association requires, but in general terms they act in an advisory capacity" (Mealtor, Q. 72). This includes advice on the day to day management of a particular property to,

> ensure that proper financial control in terms of; we provide a set of accounts each year, we provide a budget for the following year but beyond that we are there to advise on legal matters or any other matter pertaining to them (Mealtor, Q. 72).

Some of this legal advice pertains to the Rent Act. Pritchard (1989, p. 43) has suggested that under present housing conditions in which individual owner occupiers are on the increase the effectiveness of the Rent Boards to set and control rents in apartments in general, is likely to be reduced. This is because Rent Boards have come to rely on realtors for the implementation of rent control. The assumption here is that individual ownership

means that realtors no longer deal with apartment owners and therefore have no knowledge as to what is going on. This concern is understandable in the context of P. Mealtor's observation that "they (associations) come to us or they don't come to us. If we see anything going wrong we tell them" (Mealtor, Q. 72). The impression that is given is that associations are well managed and independent organizations capable of running and carrying out their own affairs. This is, however, not the complete picture. To finalize this scenario, the last role that realtors play must be examined.

The fifth and final role that realtors play is one in which they act for or **represent the interest of a major mortgagee**. This is to ensure that pension funds or building societies, major investors, are not unduly prejudiced by irresponsible actions by any association. In this context realtors frequently find that,

> it is difficult to get people to serve on committees. It is purely nonprofitable in terms of the constitution and yes, **we end up running it**, but we always emphasize we only do that, that is, that they express a wish. We don't impose but if so happened we do actually (Mealtor, Q. 73, emphasis added).

Apathy has dictated that realtors now find themselves further involved in the affairs of owner occupiers as they often are in the rented property sector. Pritchard's concern may therefore be unfounded for the reasons he raised. There may still, however, be some concern because realtors may not be as prepared as they might have been in the past to share their knowledge with the Rent Board as they gain control of larger sections of the market..

These non-traditional advisory roles that realtors perform, **advising residents associations,** and **major mortgagees** such as building societies has enabled realtors to

play a major role in the co-ordination of townhouses. Their former role in the industry has provided them with an unprecedented "leg-up" to a point where they occupy a commanding position in the real estate industry.

Conclusion

Before drawing any conclusions it is important to underscore one factor that is central to the marketing of garden flats and townhouses. Michael Ball (1986) emphasized the central importance of economic interrelations between social agents. Based on economic criteria alone, the development of townhouses, for example, has allowed greater profits to be made (Mealtor, Q. 25). Profitability, however, is not the only factor, although it has remained at the core of the provision of this type of housing. It is against this economic background that conclusions about the structure of provision of garden flats and townhouses are drawn.

First, realtors have become financial advisors and central to a structure of provision. In the context of difficult economic conditions, financial decision making becomes of paramount importance. Experts claiming that they are able to assist in making better economic decisions have the potential to become central to the decision making process. Realtors have managed to do both. They not only supply much of the information to enable sound financial decisions to be made but have also assisted in co-ordinating development teams. They co-ordinate because they make financial decisions.

Secondly, realtors are central to the co-ordination of development teams. Despite the apparently conflicting claim made by the architects that they co-ordinate development, the available evidence suggests overwhelmingly that realtors are the main co-ordinators. This

is not to deny that architects do not co-ordinate projects. In the context of this structure of provision, they are less likely to, given the architects' limited historical role in the development process. There are, however, different contexts within the development process where the notion of co-ordination suggested by both realtors and architects operate. Realtors are more likely to be involved on the management side of both the pre-construction and post- construction side of the development process. Architects on the other hand are more likely to be involved on the construction side where their expertize in imaging and "putting the building together" has been traditionally been recognized and appreciated.

Thirdly, realtors have gained the trust of their clients. Both users and producers of townhouses have come to rely upon the advice of realtors and in the process have come to place their trust in them. Trust has therefore played a major role enabling realtors to occupy a central position in this structure of provision. In a context in which the previous social order has been disturbed, and where large sums of money exchange hands on a "gentlemen's agreement" trust plays a very important role and goes to the very heart of the historical way of doing business (Crapanzano, 1990). Realtors have successfully incorporated trust as a mark of their business dealings .

Fourthly, apathy has worked in the realtors favor. They have been able to control co-ordination because of apathy on the part of residents associations. Here the realtors traditional role as managers of property has put them in good stead. They have been able to use their previous standing to enhance their current position. Privy to information that only they have access to, realtors have come to control the co-ordination, sale and management of townhouses. In this way they have emerged as key central actors in the structure of provision of townhouses. (Figure 38)

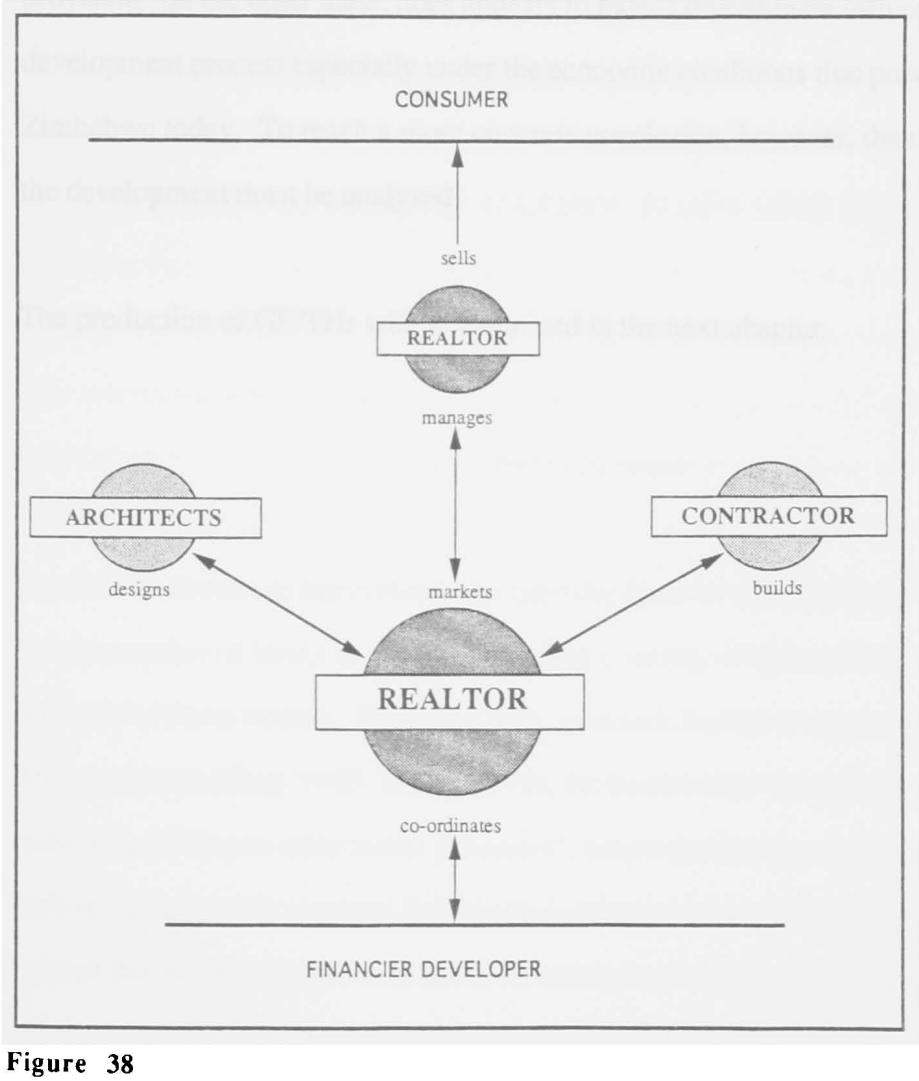


Figure 38
The realtor's role in the production of the townhouse

Finally, seen against the larger context of a changing globalist economy, realtors have, in their involvement with townhouses, assumed a more central role. This contrasts markedly with their role in the marketing of GFs under the internationalist phase. As a component of a "structure of provision" they stand in a pivotal position. This particular "structure of provision" on the other hand, does appears to have a determinate influence on the development process especially under the economic conditions that prevail within Zimbabwe today. To reach a more concrete conclusion, however, the other components of the development must be analyzed.

The production of GF/THs will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRODUCTION OF GARDEN FLATS AND TOWNHOUSES

Introduction

The built environment has traditionally been the focus of attention for a number of writers. A large number of books and articles covering a variety of topics attest to the interests and concerns of these writers. There has been, however, been one major omission. With a few exceptions (King, 1980, Tafuri, 1976), the treatment of the built environment as a "passive backdrop to other social processes", has meant that the social production of the built environment has received little theoretical/empirical examination (Ball, 1986). In the light of this omission, what is needed, according to Knox, is an approach which encompasses the "reciprocal relationships between individuals, the built environment , and society at large" (Knox, 1987b, p. 355). To achieve this, Michael Ball has suggested that the study of the production of the built environment may be divided into two components: design and construction (Ball 1986). This chapter will examine each of these components in turn.

Architecture and Construction

In the literature on architecture or design, these terms are often used interchangeably, occupying a very similar position to that of the built environment. There are a number of studies attesting to the nature and quality of architecture/design that has been produced. The specific image of architects that these studies portray is cast in the architect-as-artist mold with claims to individuality and artistic creativity (Larson, 1983; Gutman, 1985). Only a small percentage of empirical work examines the role of the architect/designer and those that they work with in the actual production of that architecture/design (Cuff, 1991; Gutman, 1985; Blau, 1984). Consequently, the social role of the design professions in the built environment remains theoretically underdeveloped and weakly integrated with urban social theory (Knox 1984). While reference has already been made to the role of designers as a group in Chapter 5, the specific role of architects in the design of garden flats and townhouses will be examined in this chapter.

To begin to understand the role of architects in the design process, two types of questions are asked in this chapter. The first attempts to ascertain what designs architects have produced. The second asks why particular designs were chosen by architects. Answering these questions required a detailed description of the design attributes of garden flats and townhouses, such as their internal and external spaces, orientation, landscaping, parking facilities, architectural design elements, security, and architectural styles of the built products. Description alone, however, is insufficient and an attempt is also made to explain their inclusion in the design of garden flats and townhouses.

Another active component of the built environment, construction, suffers from a similar

fate to architecture/design. That is, the way that industrial production has been conceptualized and described in the literature differs markedly from the way that construction is described. The latter, although a production process itself, is still largely seen by some writers as a vestige of pre-industrial production and subsequently equated with backwardness and "craft" production (Braverman, 1974). Others have argued however, that it is far from being backward and that the methods employed by the construction industry exhibit characteristics of contemporary capitalism (Ventre, 1979; Smythe, 1985).

Despite the conceptual uncertainty that surrounds the construction industry, its role as an indicator of the health of an economy and its contribution to the economy remains undisputed. The construction industry is mainly involved in two areas of the economy. The first is in production and circulation (factories, offices, roads etc.), and the second is in consumption (housing and leisure facilities). For the purposes of this chapter, the involvement of the construction industry in the means of consumption rather than in the production of the means of production and circulation will be considered. Specifically, the construction industry and its involvement in the construction of garden flats and townhouses will be examined. First, the question of who in the industry builds garden flats and townhouses is examined. Secondly, an attempt is made the answer the question of why they are produced in a particular way.

Before detailing these design and construction developments, it is important to reiterate the type of empirical evidence used in this chapter. Besides the information contained in professional magazine and newspaper articles, and the Questionnaire Survey, a number of interviews, both formal and informal, were conducted with a variety of people interested in

the development of GF/THs. Twelve informants were interviewed with a majority being formally interviewed and recorded. Informants included architects, engineers, planners, a land surveyor, and a planning consultant. At the time of the interviews informants either worked in the private sector or the public sector. Formal interviews were structured in a way that not only permitted the answers to certain basic questions but were sufficiently flexible to allow interviewees some freedom to discuss issues in depth. Sessions lasted from 1 to 3 hours. In support of their views some of these informants supplied additional documentary evidence such as feasibility studies, reports, letters, and out of print books and manuscripts.

The Design of Garden Flats and Townhouses

In order to ascertain what architects included in the design of garden flats and townhouses the above data was analyzed. The townhouses and garden flats were disaggregated into a number of components including, internal and external spaces, recreational facilities, orientation, landscaping, parking, architectural elements, and architectural styles. Their analysis revealed the following results.

Internal Spaces

There are a variety of internal spaces that constitute garden flats and townhouses. These are outlined on Table 7.

The are some critical differences in the provision of these internal spaces. The internal spaces associated with garden flats generally consist of a kitchen, living and dining room combined, a main bedroom with one or two other bedrooms, a bathroom and a half

Table 7.

Garden Flats and Townhouses - Internal Spaces

Type of space	Garden Flat	Townhouse	Total
Entrance Hall	36 (23.7%)	24 (55.8%)	60
Kitchen	151 (99.3%)	43 (100%)	194
Pantry	15 (9.9%)	9 (20.9%)	24
Dining Room	29 (19.1%)	25 (58.1%)	54
Living Room	40 (26.3%)	24 (55.8%)	64
Living/Dining Room	122 (80.3%)	18 (41.9%)	140
Main Bedroom	132 (86.8%)	19 (44.2%)	151
Main Bedroom Ensuite	20 (13.2%)	35 (81.4%)	55
Bedrooms	147 (96.7%)	39 (90.7%)	195
Bathrooms excl Ensuite	147 (96.7%)	42 (97.7%)	195
Half-bathroom	111 (73.0%)	40 (93.0%	151
Laundry	16 (10.5%)	10 (23.3%)	26
Lock-up Garage	59 (38.8%)	31 (72.1%)	90
Carport	81 (53.3%)	16 (37.2%)	97
Other	5 (3.3%)	10 (23.3%)	15

n = 197

Source: **Survey Questionnaire**

bathroom, and finally a carport in the rear yard. Townhouses on the other hand normally comprise

> a front entrance into an entrance hall, off which there is a guest toilet and wash hand basin. Adjacent to that normally is a kitchen of between 11 and 14 sq. meters. Off the kitchen is normally a small open or enclosed drying area with perhaps a couple of laundry tubs. In the majority of cases there is a separate dining room, although the tendency today is to provide one large room, the separate dining area, in other words it is not separated either by a door, it is designed in such a way that it is a distinct dining area but can be part, or is part of one room which gives that entertainment facility should the owner occupier so require. ...Upstairs normally three/four bedrooms with at least two bathrooms; one of which is ensuite and for the last five or six years one or both of the bathrooms is now incorporating a shower. Recognizing the modern trend, traditionally it would always be two bathrooms, no shower, but today you will find that at least one of those upstairs units has a shower. All bedrooms having balconies as a feature, always has been. ...That is simply for me, I mean there are many variations to the unit. In the early days the townhouse units were perhaps slightly bigger than they are today. There was an additional utility room on the ground floor which could either could be made into a sewing room or study or even fourth bedroom, if it was a three bedroom unit but that tends to be eliminated today (Mealtor, 1990, Q. 44). (Figure 39)

As a group, therefore, townhouses are generally larger than garden flats and vary between 165 and 200 square meters (Mealtor, 1990, Q. 44). Garden flats on the other hand are generally smaller and vary between 80 and 112 square meters (ARCHITECT LTD., 1986, p. 4). Importantly townhouses incorporate spaces that distinguish them from garden flats. The entrance hall, the main bedroom ensuite, the two and a half bathrooms and the lock-up garage. Talking about lock-up garages, an architect made the comment that,

> People expect a brick garage with an up-and-over garage door on it if they're buying a townhouse (Meer, 1990, Q. 25).

These different choices, however, relate not only to the provision of internal spaces and the size of development but also to the provision of external spaces

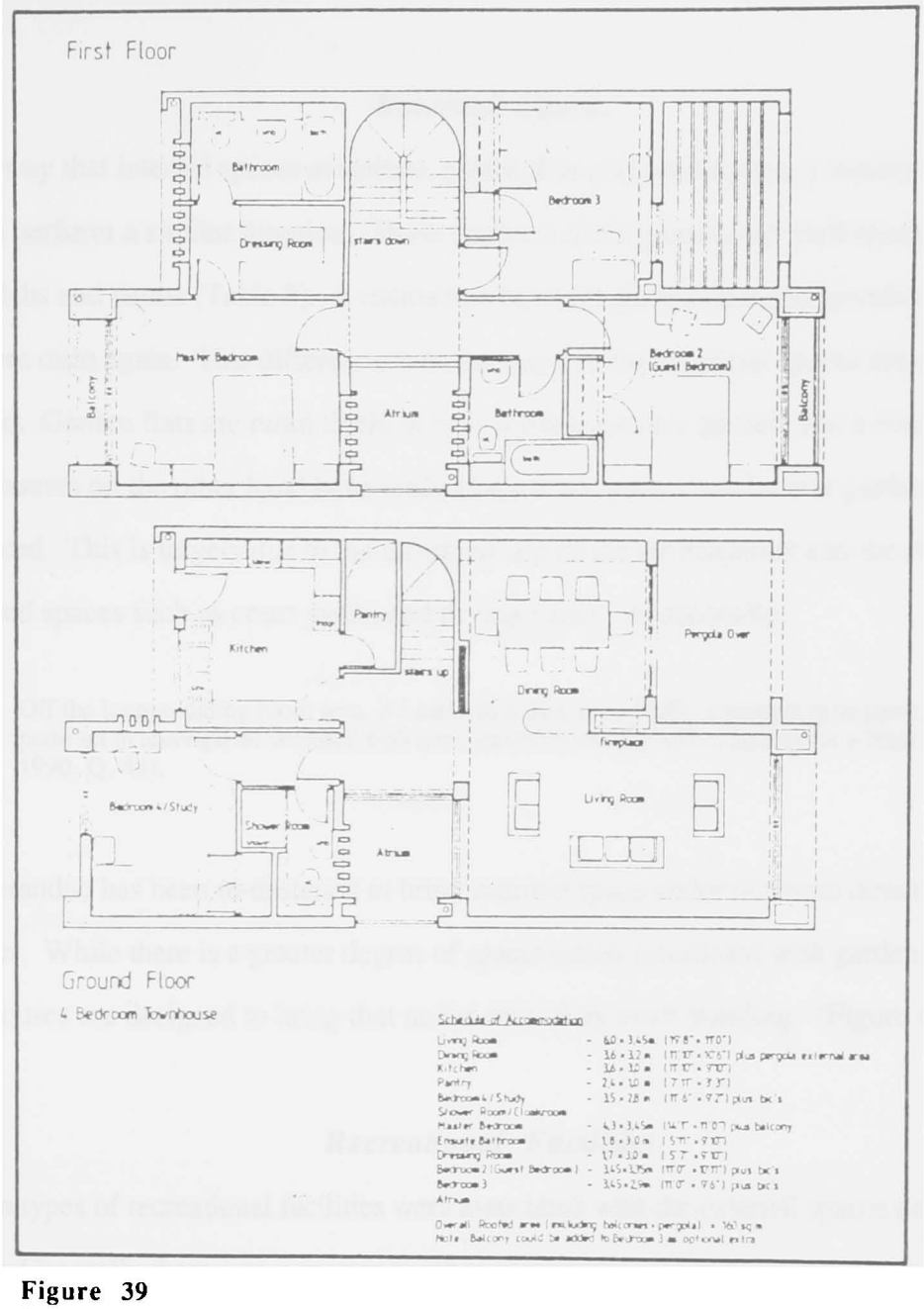


Figure 39
Jacaranda Mews - Internal spaces of a 4 bedroom townhouse
***Source*: ARCHITECT LTD., Architects**

External Spaces

In the way that internal spaces constitute garden flats and townhouses, a variety of external spaces perform a similar function. These spaces include garden and yard spaces, verandahs and patios (Table 8). A distinction between garden flats and townhouses was apparent once again. This difference is in the way in which external spaces are designed to be used. Garden flats are more likely to have a front and rear garden, and a verandah. Townhouses on the other hand have retained the front garden but the rear garden has been sacrificed. This is largely due to the increased size of the development and the creation of enclosed spaces such as court yards, and drying yards. Additionally,

> Off the lounge-dining room area, if I can call it that, is normally a pergola type patio, or open patio set in amongst an enclosed wall area, gardened usually with a facility for a braai (Mealtor 1990, Q. 44).

The verandah has been re-designed to bring external space under the more direct control of the user. While there is a greater degree of spaciousness associated with garden flats, townhouses are designed to bring that under control by more building. (Figure 40)

Recreational Facilities

Certain types of recreational facilities were associated with the external spaces described above. Generally there was a greater number of recreational facilities in townhouses developments [12 (30.0%)] than with garden flats [31 (20.9%)]. These facilities include children's playgrounds, swimming pools, barbecue areas, tennis courts, and gym facilities. Some of these facilities were individually provided such as barbecue areas and swimming pools. (Figure 40) Generally however, the limited availability of space has precluded the provision of recreational facilities.

Table 8

Garden Flats and Townhouses - External Spaces

Type of space	Garden Flat	Townhouse	Total
Front Garden	148 (97.4%)	41 (95.3%)	189
Rear Garden	91 (59.9%)	13 (30.2%)	104
Court Yard	27 (17.8%)	16 (37.2%)	43
Drying Yard	50 (32.9%)	24 (55.8%)	74
Verandah	100 (65.8%)	13 (30.2%)	113
Patio	31 (20.4%)	24 (55.8%)	55
Other	6 (3.9%)	3 (7.0%)	9

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

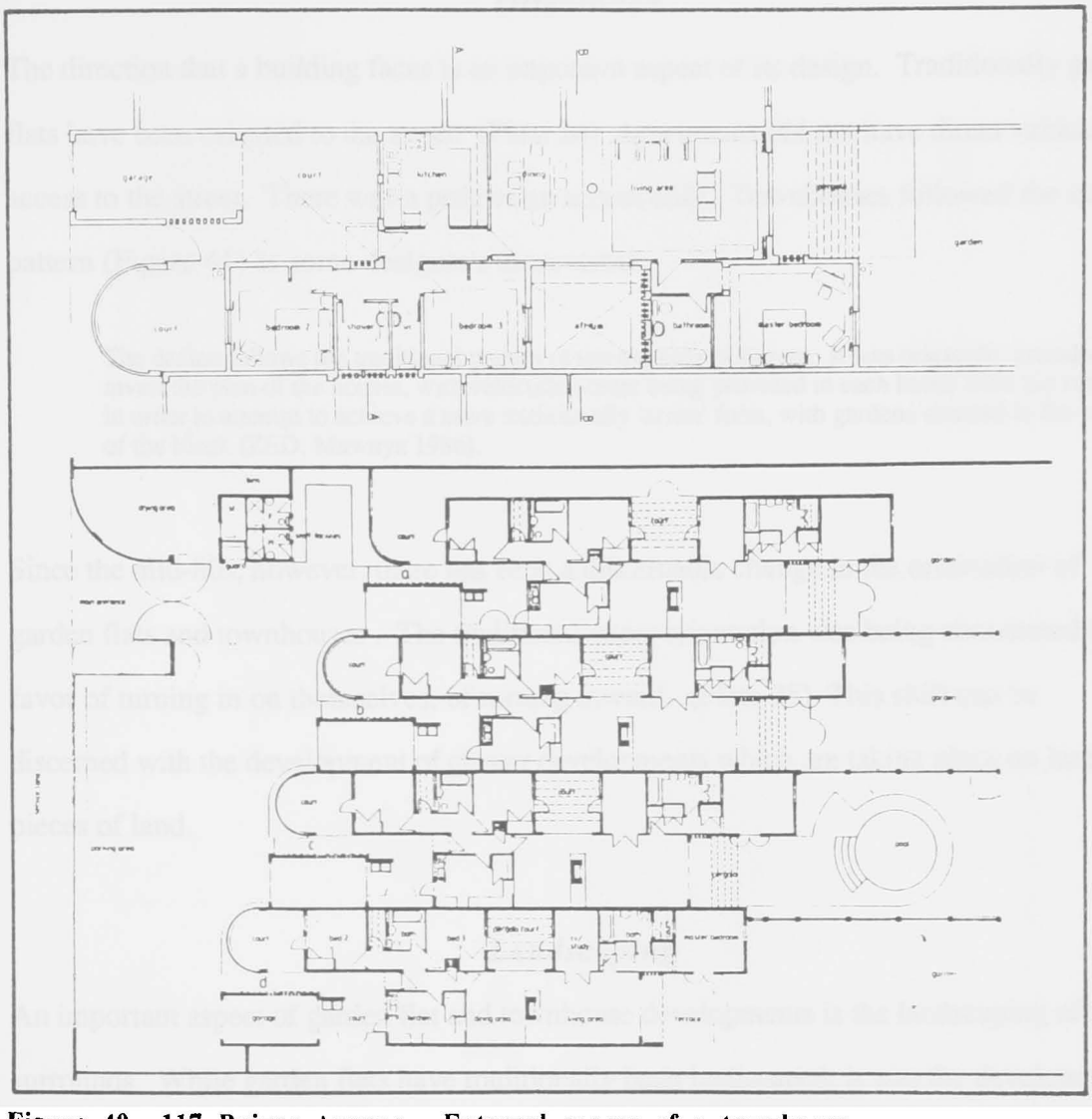


Figure 40 117 Baines Avenue - External spaces of a townhouse
***Source*: ARCHITECT LTD., Architects**

Orientation

The direction that a building faces is an important aspect of its design. Traditionally garden flats have been oriented to the street. (Plate 24) Apartments did not have direct vehicular access to the street. There was a pedestrian access only. Townhouses followed the same pattern (Figure 41) as some designer's discovered:

> The design follows the traditional pattern of townhouses in Harare. It was originally intended to invert the plan of the houses, with vehicular access being provided to each house from the roadway in order to attempt to achieve a more traditionally 'urban' form, with gardens situated in the center of the block (ZED, Mawuya 1986).

Since the mid-80s, however, there has been a discernable change in the orientation of garden flats and townhouses . The traditional street orientation was being abandoned in favor of turning in on themselves, of turning inward. (Plate 25) This shift can be discerned with the development of cluster developments which are taking place on larger pieces of land.

Landscaping

An important aspect of garden flat and townhouse developments is the landscaping of the surrounds. While garden flats have traditionally been landscaped, it was the developer who laid out the rudiments of design. bougainvillaea, privet, and hibuscus hedges with front lawns were preferred plantings. The responsibility of maintaining each area fell on the individual occupant. Townhouses on the other hand have used the services of professional landscapers. Landscaping is therefore much more generous (Sketch, Q. 53) and frequently an attempt is made to landscape the street area as well. Hedges are not generally favored, while more exotic species of plant material are frequently used. From the outset landscape maintenance has fallen to the residents association. 82.1% of

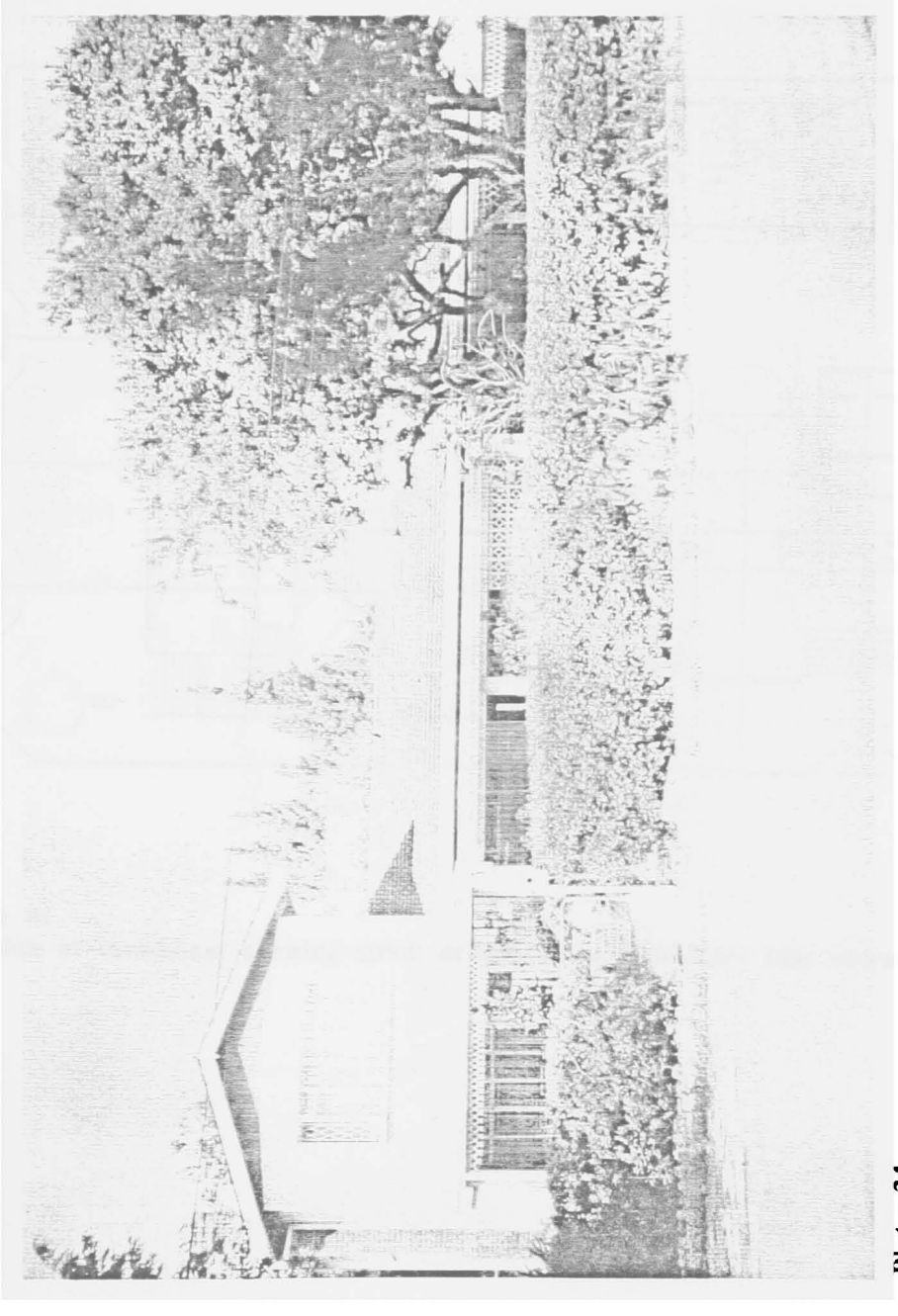


Plate 24
Garden flat fronting street - note 4' gate and hedge

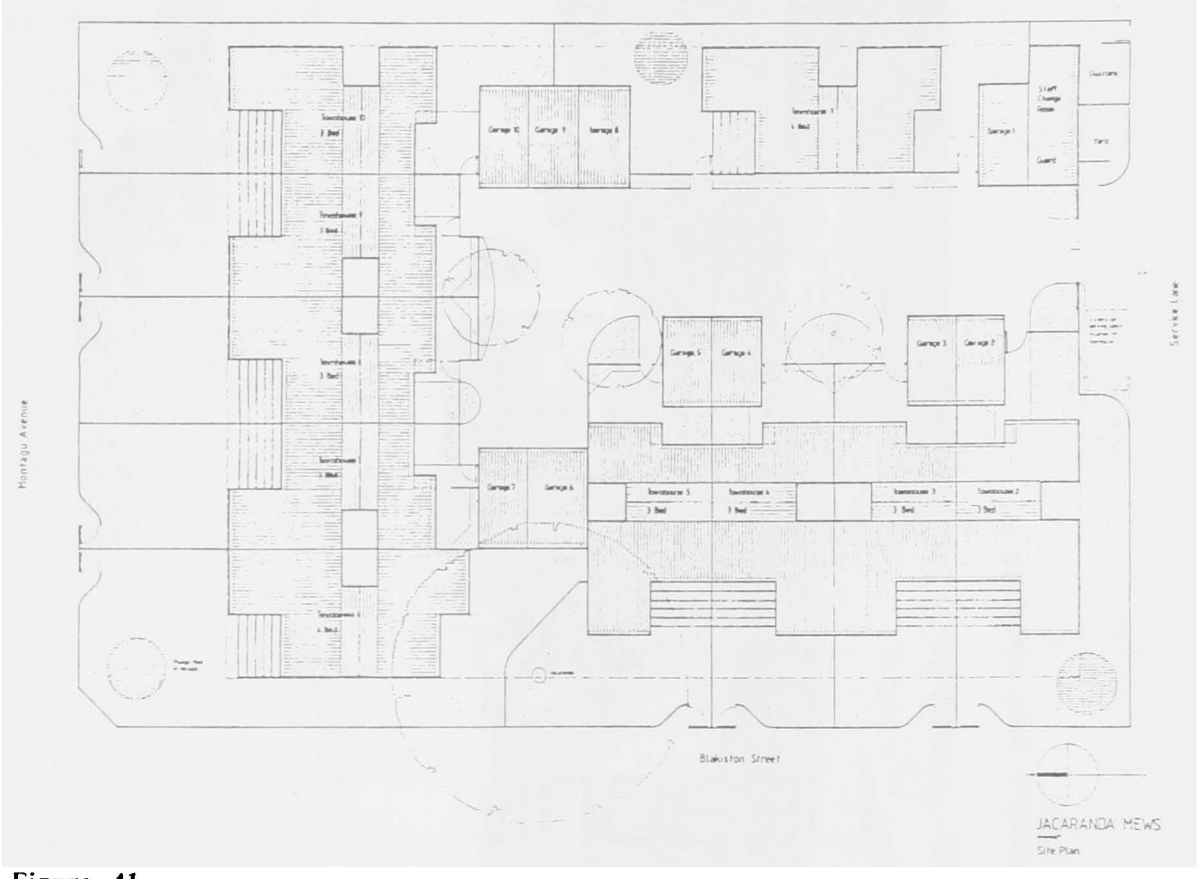


Figure 41
Site plan of townhouse showing street orientation and sanitary lane entrance/exit

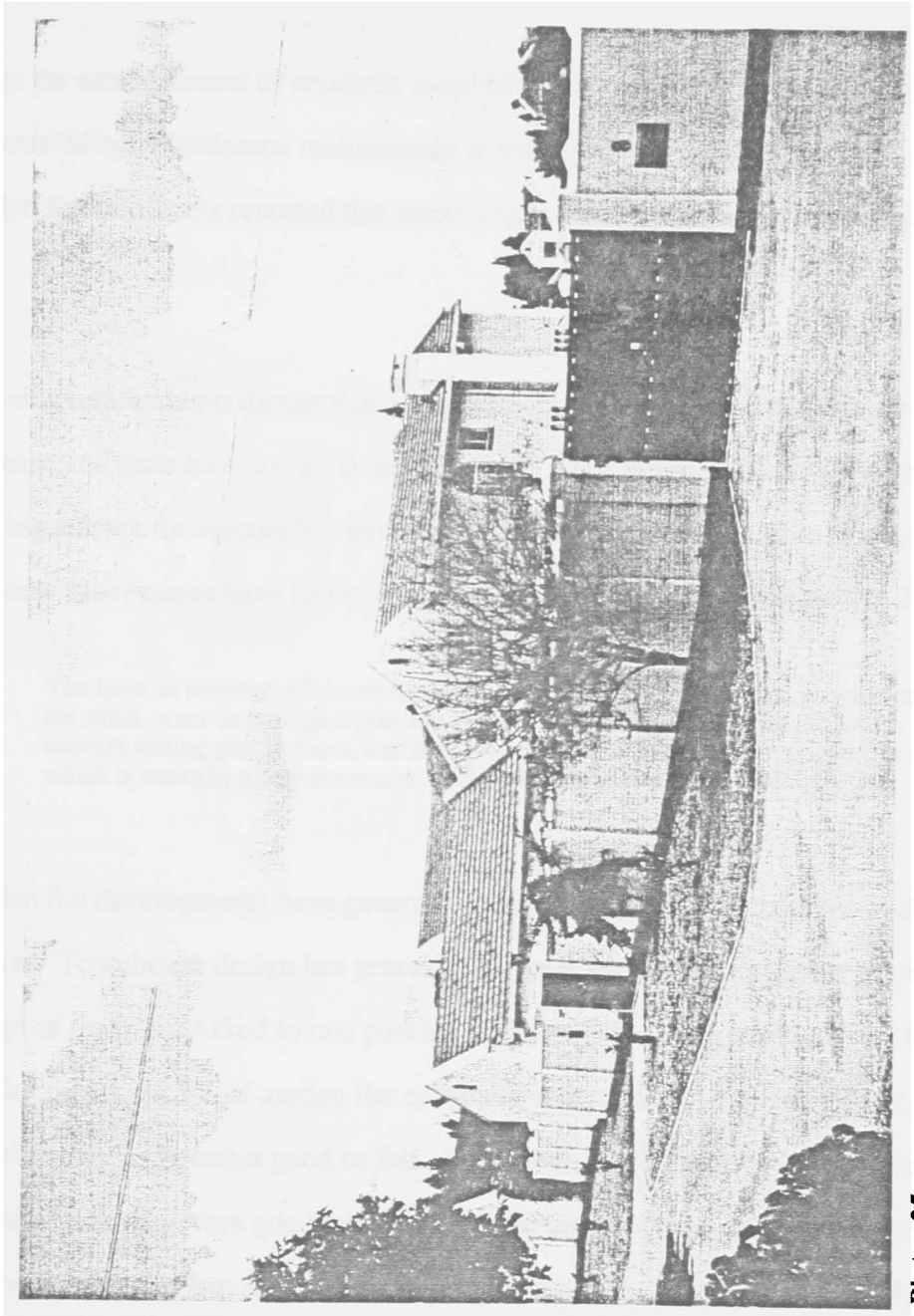


Plate 25
Village Green townhouses fronting inner courtyard
Note 6' security walls and gates

townhouse occupants reported that their respective associations provided a gardener to maintain gardens for which they paid a service charge.

Since the establishment of residents associations there has been a general shift of responsibility of landscape maintenance to this organization. For example, 75.2% of garden flat occupants reported that gardening services were provided by their associations[1].

Parking

Planning requirements dictate that not only must parking be provided on-site but vehicular entrance and exits have to be via the rear of the stand through the sanitary lane. On street parking, except for visitors has never been encouraged by the local authority. Garden flats and now townhouses have had to design around these requirements. (Plate 26)

> You have an entrance off the street, a pedestrian entrance off the street, so your visitors can park on the street, come in through a gate and into your garden, and then enter the house, the townhouse, through sliding glazed doors, into the living room. The alternative access is that it is at the rear, which is basically to private access for the dwelling owner (Meer, 1990, Q.22).

Garden flat developments have generally provided for either open on-site parking or a carport. Townhouse design has generally incorporated a lock-up garage as part of the design of the unit. Asked to rate parking facilities (good, fair, poor) of their respective developments, 26.5% of garden flat occupants indicated that they were poor, while 36.7% said that they were either good or fair. In contrast, 55.8% of townhouse occupants indicated that they were good while 32.6% said they were fair with 11.6% indicating that they were poor. When asked how parking arrangements could be improved, 55.1% of both garden flat and townhouse groups indicated that additional parking was needed.

[1]While the establishment of residents associations may account for a certain percent of this shift the fact that minimum wages for gardeners was set in 1981 may also account for this movement.

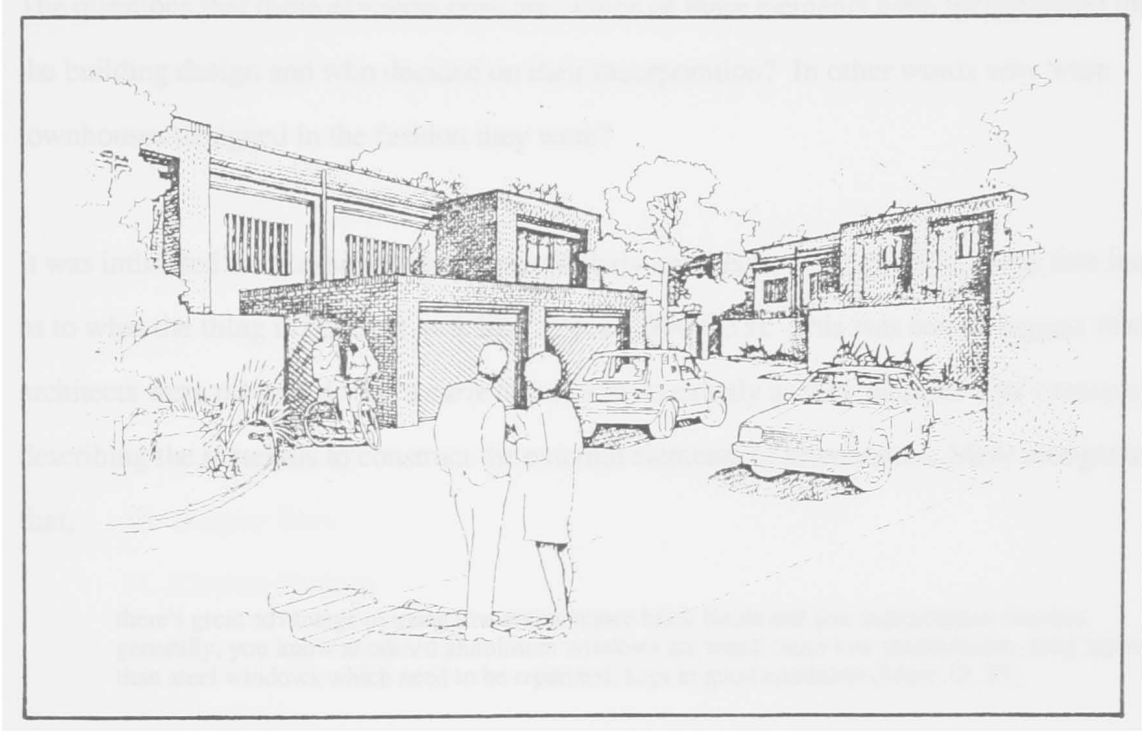


Plate 26
Jacaranda Mews townhouses - on-site parking with garages
***Source*: ARCHITECT LTD., Architects**

Architectural elements

Besides the spaces that designers incorporated in their designs, a variety of elements which included wall finishes, floors, ceilings, windows, doors, security measures as well as post boxes, and kitchen and bathroom fittings were also included as outlined in Table 9.

The questions that these elements raise are, which of these elements were incorporated into the building design and who decided on their incorporation? In other words why were townhouses designed in the fashion they were?

It was intimated earlier that designers, particularly architects, were given "a pretty free hand as to what the thing is going to look like" (Meer 1990 Q33). This was not to suggest that architects were presented with a *carte blanche* to do exactly as they pleased. For example in describing the materials to construct the external elements of townhouses, Meer recognized that,

> there's great advantage in using low maintenance brick finish and low maintenance finishes generally, you know anodized aluminium windows are much more low maintenance, long lasting than steel windows which need to be repainted, kept in good condition (Meer, Q. 35).

P. Mealtor was very clear about materials and the role they play in building maintenance,

> There is a tendency, certainly in the blocks that Landcompany are involved in, to ensure, where possible that townhouses are maintenance free as possible in recognition of the high costs of maintaining these developments (Mealtor, Q. 47).

There is hint of a suggestion here that where development teams are involved architects work within given budgetary constraints. Thus questions of maintenance are central to what architects select in terms of materials and building elements. Maintenance, however,

Table 9

Architectural Elements

1. External Wall Finishes
2. Internal Wall Finishes
3. Floors
4. Ceilings
5. Windows
6. Doors
7. Security Walls
8. Security Fencing
9. Security Gating
10. Burglar Bars
11. Kitchen Fittings
12. Bathroom fittings
13. Fireplace
14. Light Fittings
15. Built-in Cupboards
16. Post Boxes
17. Electronic Security Systems

is not the only reason for selecting certain materials. R. Meer again:

> asbestos cement roof sheets for instance are a no-no on anything of the middle to upper income market. It's a material that's got a low status if you like, so here we don't have an awful lot of choice, so then you're stuck with concrete Marley tiles. So there's not an awful lot of elements that you can play with if you're stuck with face-brick, aluminium window frames, Marley tile roof (Meer, Q. 35).

The choice of high status materials and elements play an important role in the design process. Designers of garden flats and townhouses were very aware of the elements that

make them sell. The generous use of landscaping, larger space standards, the use of more expensive fittings, and the high security all make up factors that add to the up-marketness of development schemes. Sketch concluded, however, that those "things you take for granted in the Western World in a more up market housing scheme, but here it being imported" (Sketch, Q. 53), was the ultimate lure. Imported elements were the finest status symbols.

Given this situation, the question of what building elements attracted occupants was put to respondents. The respondents were required to number their preferences according to the following categories: 1 = most important, 2 = very important, 3 = important, 4 = less important, 5 = least important. The results, using only the first 3 categories, are tabulated in Table 10.

In the **Most Important** category building elements pertaining to security (walls and burglar bars) dominated the choices that occupants made. These were then followed by bathroom fittings, built-in cupboards and kitchen fittings. In the **Very Important** category, although burglar bars came in first, it was followed by kitchen fittings and then

Table 10

Pos	Element	Garden Flats %	Townhouse %	Total %
Architectural Elements: Most Important				
1	Security Walls	10.5	18.9	29.4
2	Burglar Bars	13.7	13.9	27.6
3	Bathroom Fittings	-	15.8	15.8
4	Built-in Cupboards	14.4	-	14.4
5	Kitchen Fittings	10.8		10.8
Architectural Elements: Very Important				
1	Burglar Bars	12.1	16.7	28.8
2	Kitchen Fittings	11.7	13.5	25.8
3	Security Walls	-	16.2	16.2
4	Windows	6.8	8.3	15.1
5	Built-in Cupboards	12.8	-	12.8
Architectural Elements: Important				
1	Built-in Cupboards	14.4	20.5	34.9
2	Floors	8.9	5.6	14.5
3	Bathroom Fittings	5.9	7.9	13.8
4	Burglar Bars	11.3	-	11.3
5	Security Gating	-	8.8	8.8

Source: Survey Questionnaire

security walls. Windows were an additional element that was added to the list. The **Important** category displays an interesting reversal. Built-in cupboards, floors and bathroom fittings surpass security (burglar bars and security gating) in the choice that occupants made.

If, as it was the case, that imported items were not available locally because of foreign exchange restrictions, was there a way of circumventing the problem of acquiring imported elements? Meer (Q. 40) has suggested one way. Local manufacturers, he said, were surprisingly willing to experiment and produce building elements to suit individual design requirements. By designing these products architects have had a direct hand in the manufacture of these status-sensitive building elements. Chumly's design of a weather proof letter box was a case in point (Sketch, Q. 56). Another way was to allow the prospective buyer to provide their own elements. Thus a spokesman for Princecam, a new townhouse complex suggested that,

> With building not yet begun owners will have a certain amount of choice in carpeting, color schemes and tiling (Financial Gazette 1990).

Security

If security was considered such an important characteristic of garden flat and townhouse development in what forms was it offered? The first three types of security elements are well represented in both garden flats and townhouses (Table 11). That is, burglar bars, security guards, and security walls are present in all of these developments. It is in the townhouses that these items are most found. Although security guards are not architectural elements, they are frequently "built" into a block of townhouses, for example, the

Table 11

Architectural Elements: Security

Pos	Element	Garden Flats	Townhouse	Total
		%	%	%
1	Burglar Bars	76.9	86.0	79.9
2	Security Guard	47.8	74.4	54.2
3	Walling	36.6	60.5	42.4
4	Fencing	19.4	25.6	20.9
5	Elec. Sec. System*	6.7	9.3	7.3

* Electronic Security System

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

provision of gatehouses. This is most likely to be the case with townhouses. The concern for security is most readily measured in the provision of these elements. (Plates 27, 28, 29, 30)

Architectural Styles

The combination of architectural elements and external/internal space into a cohesive whole is frequently referred to as style[2]. What must be remembered, in the case of Gf/THs, is that after the Second World War the building materials that were necessary for the construction of different styles were generally available. The choice of styles was, therefore, a decision based on other factors. An attempt will be made to outline these factors. Before addressing those factors, however, it is important to clarify two points. The first is that there is some dispute among practitioners in Zimbabwe about style. Some architects are very certain that they design with certain styles in mind while others do not. For example, asked about style P. Chumly was very clear that he used a "modern" style. R. Meer was less sure of his employment of a style as a conscious effort on his part. The second is that despite this controversy different styles could be discerned in the city. They were represented by Spanish/Moorish, Cape Dutch, Tudor, Rhodesian, and Modern. Their distribution among GF/THs is shown on Table 12. Each of these styles, a product of variable proportions of local, regional, and international influences, will be defined in turn before addressing the debates surrounding styles is discussed.

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[2]The National Trust for Historic Preservation advises that, 'to be useful, stylistic nomenclature should describe visual features,' but that for many long standing terms such as 'colonial' and 'Victorian' they refer essentially to historical and political periods and 'tell little about a buildings appearance.' (Poppeliers et al, 1983)

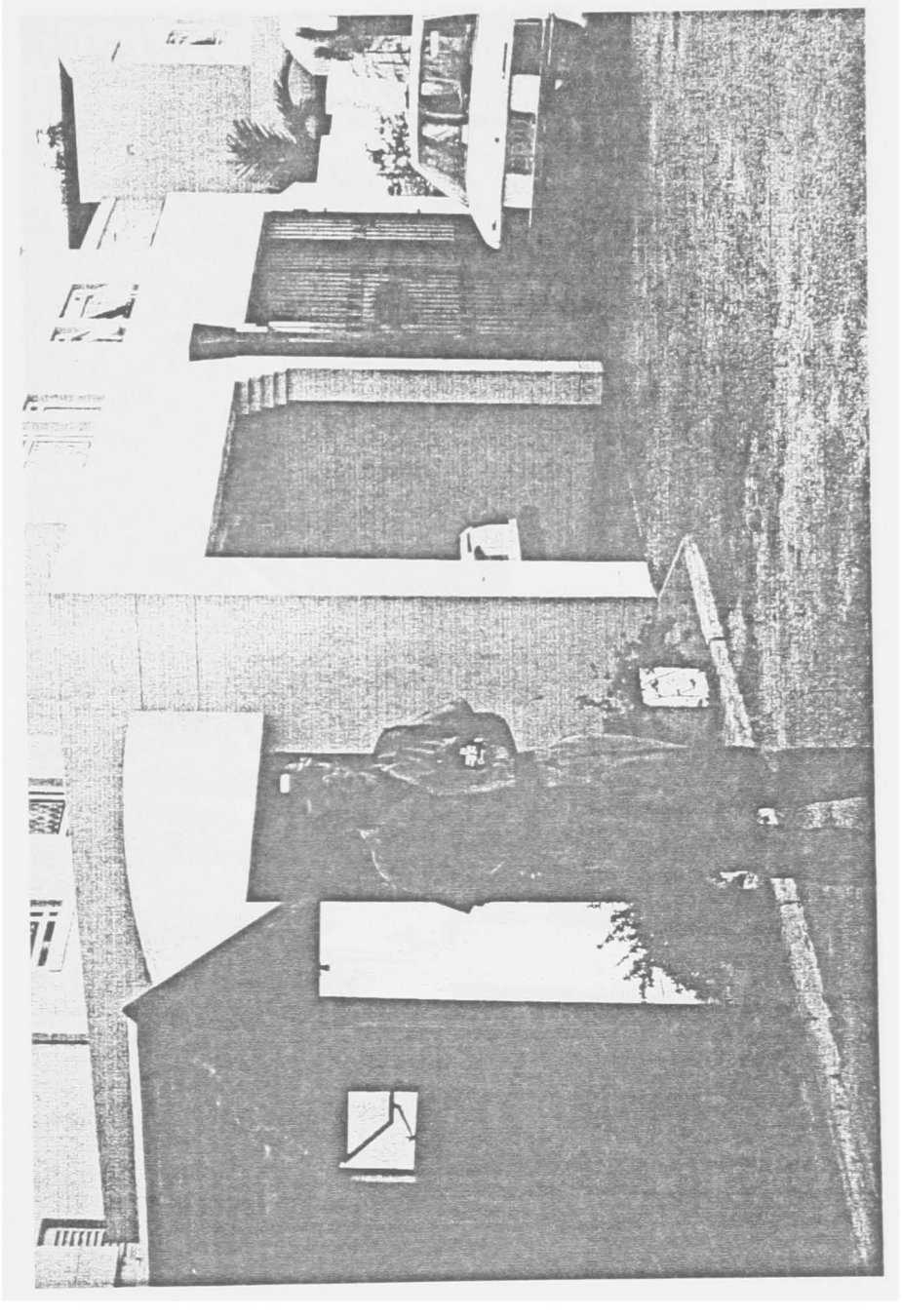


Plate 27
Mawuya townhouses - security guard

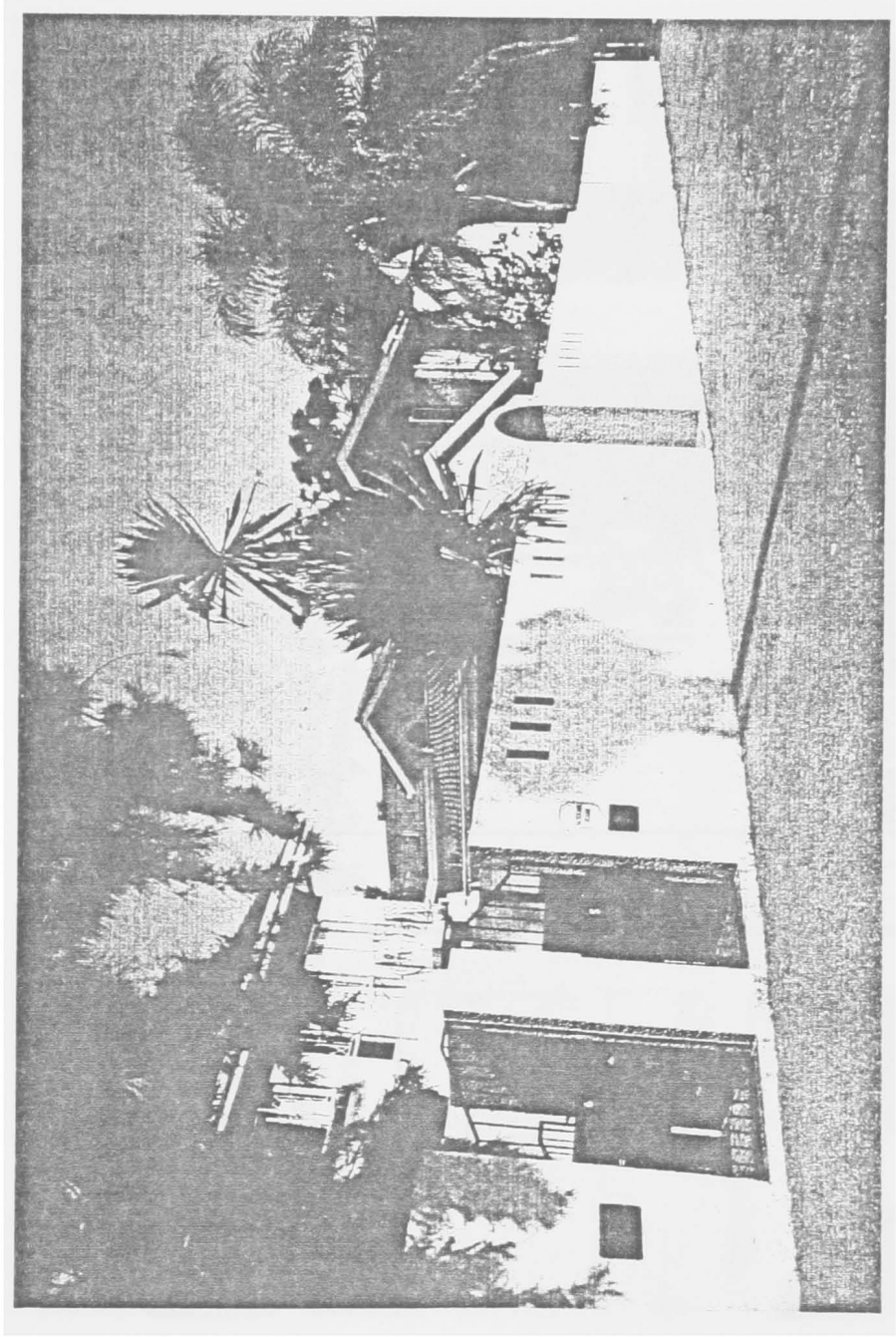


Plate 28
El Paso townhouses - 6' security walls and gates

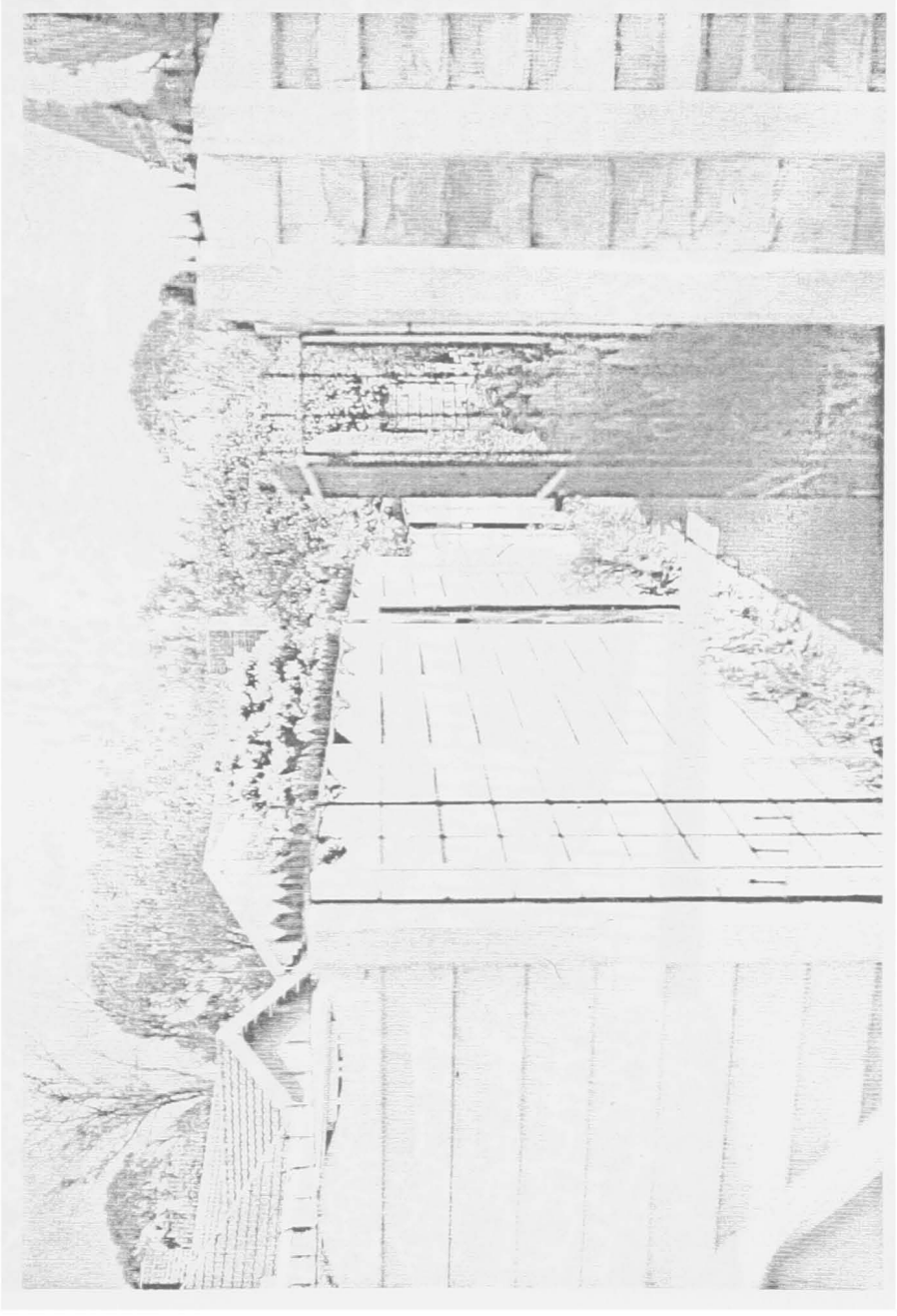


Plate 29
Bellfriars garden flats - 6' Durawall security walling

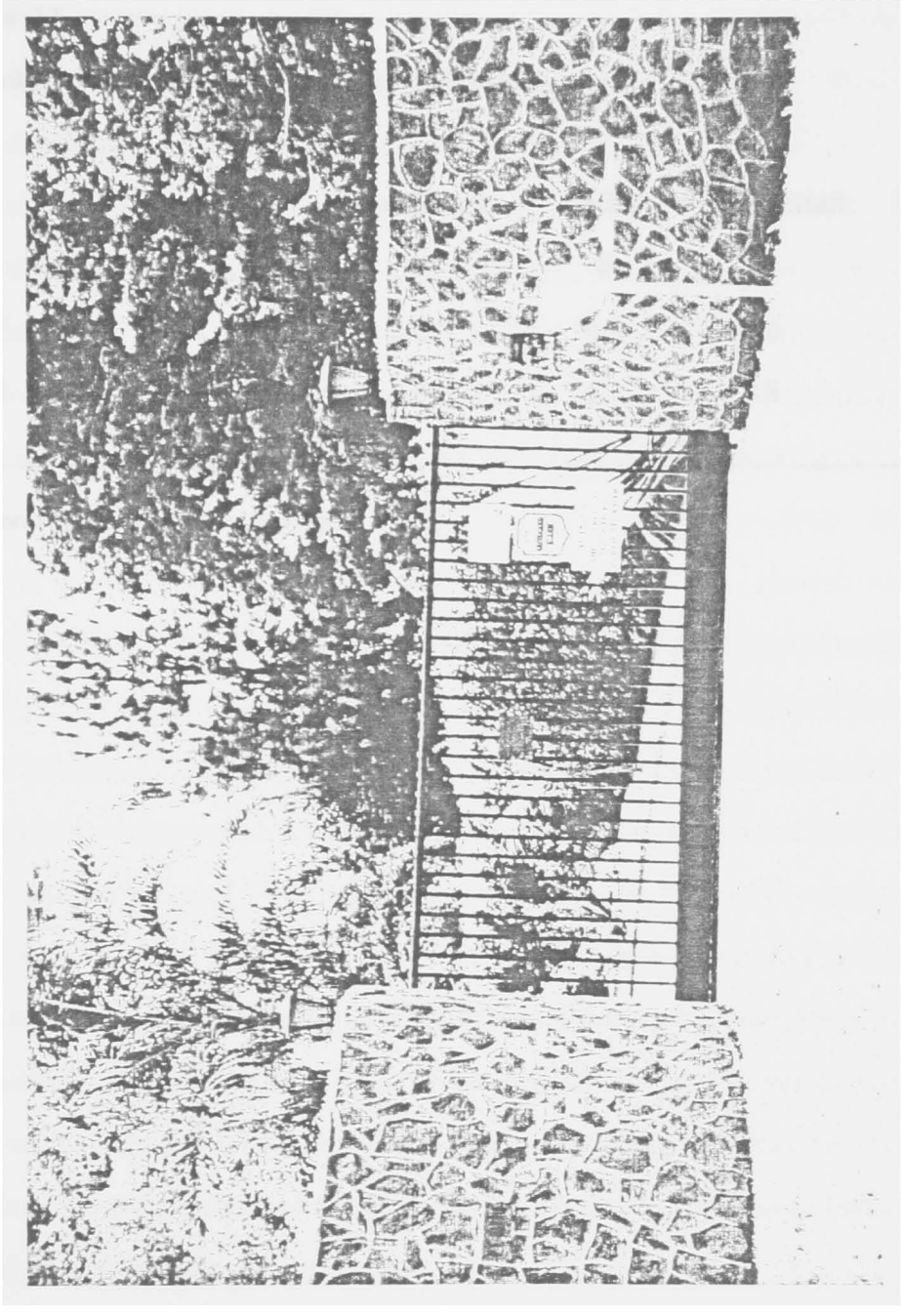


Plate 30
'Talking Gates' - security gates and walls

Table 12

Architectural styles of garden flats and townhouses

	Spanish	Cape Dutch	Tudor	Rhodesian	Modern
	%	%	%	%	%
G/F	3.4	2.0	9.5	30.6	47.6
T/H	21.4	4.8	14.3	4.8	38.1

Source: Questionnaire Survey

At the turn of the century domestic architecture in Harare was largely, "English in style and plan, with half timbered gables and front and back rooms off a central passage. Verandahs provided an appropriate transition to a tropical context" (Jackson, and Oldfield, 1987, p. 19). With an increase in demand for housing in general and GFs the "Rhodesian" style was the first style to be used. Generally built with one floor, the style has a predominantly horizontal appearance, although not as accentuated as the American Prairie style. The roof is either a hipped or gabled and covered with asbestos or cement tiles with overhanging eaves. On occasion asbestos is used as a roofing material. Walls are at right angles to one another in either brick or stucco, usually the latter. A low chimney was added as the style developed. Casement steel windows with large steel and glass doors leading to the living room are standard features (Plate 34).

Variations on the above theme was developed using the Tudor style (Plate 33). The distinguishing characteristics of an English style of house historically defined as Elizabethan or Half Timber. The popular term of reference has been "Tudor". Largely adapted to suit local conditions it is recognized by a number of features of which the roof with a half timbered gable end has been most prominent. There are a variety of roof planes with the example in Plate 33 having a particularly steep roof with dormer windows also displaying the half timbered appearance. The half timbered appearance is, needless to say, simulated. That is, the garden flats, and most Tudor style apartments are, are built in brick and stucco and the half timbered feature is only applied for aesthetics. In keeping with the Tudor style the casement windows are usually muntined. Sculptured chimneys are sometimes part of the design.

Based on modern structural principles the International or Modern style is characterized by

the common use of materials such as glass, steel, and concrete. In assembling these materials, balance and regularity were a prerequisite. The ribbon windows with their bands of glass became a trade mark of this style. There was also a rejection of ornamentation and non-essential decoration. A final distinguishing feature was the flat roof (Plate 35, 36, 37)

The Cape Dutch style generally, with its distinctive concave-convex gable was developed as a regional style of domestic architecture which evolved in the Cape Colony by Dutch, Flemish and Huguenot settlers in the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The revival in the style in Townhouse form is marked by the reintroduction of such elements as small-paned windows and the gable end. As in Plate 32, Townhouses constructed in this style are sometimes two storeys high with balconies on the second floor. Pergolas are sometimes incorporated in the front of the building and are often covered with some kind of creeper, usually a bougainvillaea. Cement tiles are standard roofing material.

The Spanish/Moorish style (Plate 31) with its exposed Roman tile roof and distinctive Corsican chimney was an innovative architectural style bringing a Mediterranean flavor to what has been largely an English or Dutch environment. Small-pane windows are a standard feature with the bay-window almost obligatory. Walls are stuccoed but are frequently rough plastered. Generally there is an attempt to escape the angularity of the Modern style with the inclusion of rounded walls. Sometimes wooden poles are used to construct pergolas in the front of the structure, very much in the Cape Dutch style, and planted with some creeper.

Both garden flats and townhouses are represented in the styles that are prevalent in the city. The difference between garden flats and townhouses are apparent in the distribution of

styles. Garden Flats are more concentrated in two categories; Modern (46.6%) and Rhodesian (30.6%). Garden flats are represented in the other categories but only in small numbers. With townhouses, concentrations in style appear in three categories; Modern (38.1%), Spanish (21.4%), and Tudor (14.3%). Importantly, there is a drift away from the Rhodesian style and the use of other "exotic" styles, Spanish, Tudor and Cape Dutch. This movement is also evident when the dates of the introduction of these styles is tracked. Between 1951 and 1970 the predominant styles were Rhodesian and Modern. After 1970 Spanish, Cape Dutch, Tudor styles were introduced. This diversity coincides with the introduction of townhouses in the 1970-75 period. What was the importance of this change and how can it be accounted for? To answer these questions it is essential to examine the role that style plays in the design of these units.

P. Mealtor, a realtor denies that architectural style plays a role in the occupants decisions to buy townhouses. P. Sketch, an architect, is less sure;

> I would like to think partly through the appearance of the architecture, if you like, and that's just how it appears from the street.(Sketch, Q. 53).

Style therefore may have been used to produce a distinctive appearance. Was the production of different styles a matter of concern for architects? P. Sketch was adamant that for him it was. Referring to one of the townhouse developments that he was responsible for he was very clear that was designing in the Modern style. He was also very sure about the origin of the ideas that went into the design of the townhouses. For him the ideas came from,

> A book called Community and Privacy by Serge Chermayeff, very much work he was doing in the 30s and 40s, the early modern movement (Sketch, 1990, Q. 55).

It important for him personally to produce these particular ideas because, "its something I wanted to do for a long time" (Sketch, 1990, Q. 55).

An opportunity presented itself and the architect was able to make use of it. To suggest, however, that the application of ideas is purely opportunistic behavior on the part of architects would be fallacious. What is opportunistic, however, is the application of a particular style of design. The architects' production of styles is somewhat limited by their training and by the systems they work with. Styles are not in limitless numbers and fashionable designs are even more limited. Furthermore, fashionable designs are "imported" together with the architect. What this means is that designs are learnt in schools in architectural schools in, "Moscow, Germany, quite a number from Germany, the States, not very many...not many from Australia I can think of immediately" (Sketch, 1990, Q. 23). Added to which, "most of Rhodesia's architects were trained in South Africa with a few exceptions who came from U.K. predominantly" (Sketch, 1990, p. 24).

Did this choice in styles matter to anyone else? R. Meer, another architect, observed that "unlike Europe or the States, there are very few people here who have any real feel for what they actually want" (Meer, 1990, Q. 32). He concluded, however, that style for realtors is important because its, "a sales pitch if you like. They want to put something on the brochure. Brand new Moorish style garden flats" (Meer, Q. 32). Thus appearance or style and aesthetics were synonymous and were crucial for sales and for the realtors style meant a great deal. Thus although consumers, including realtors don't really know what they want at the project initiation stage, they know it when they see it. There is more than a suggestion here that styles, especially imported ones, are valued possessions. (Plates 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37)

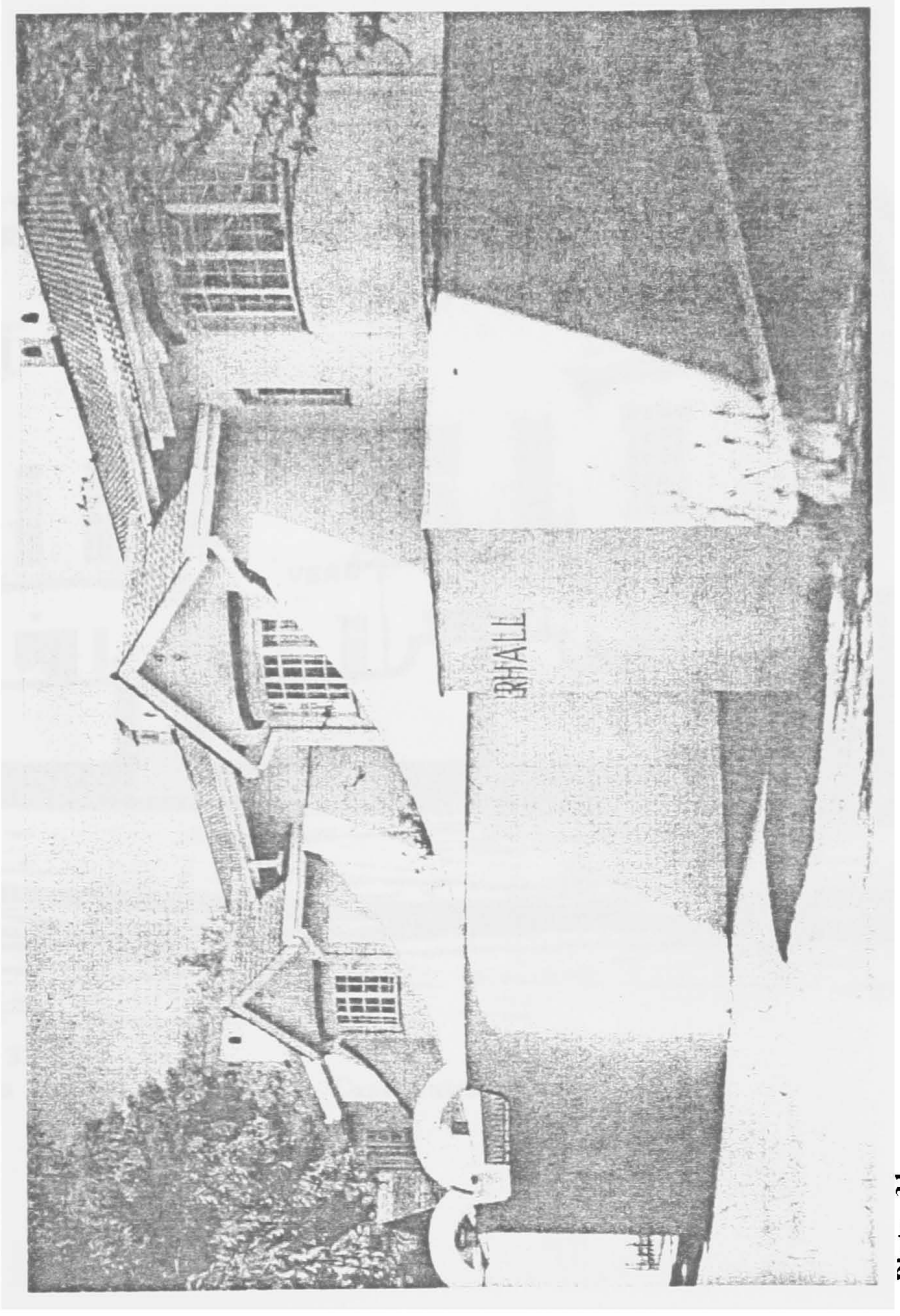


Plate 31
Peterhall townhouses - Spanish style

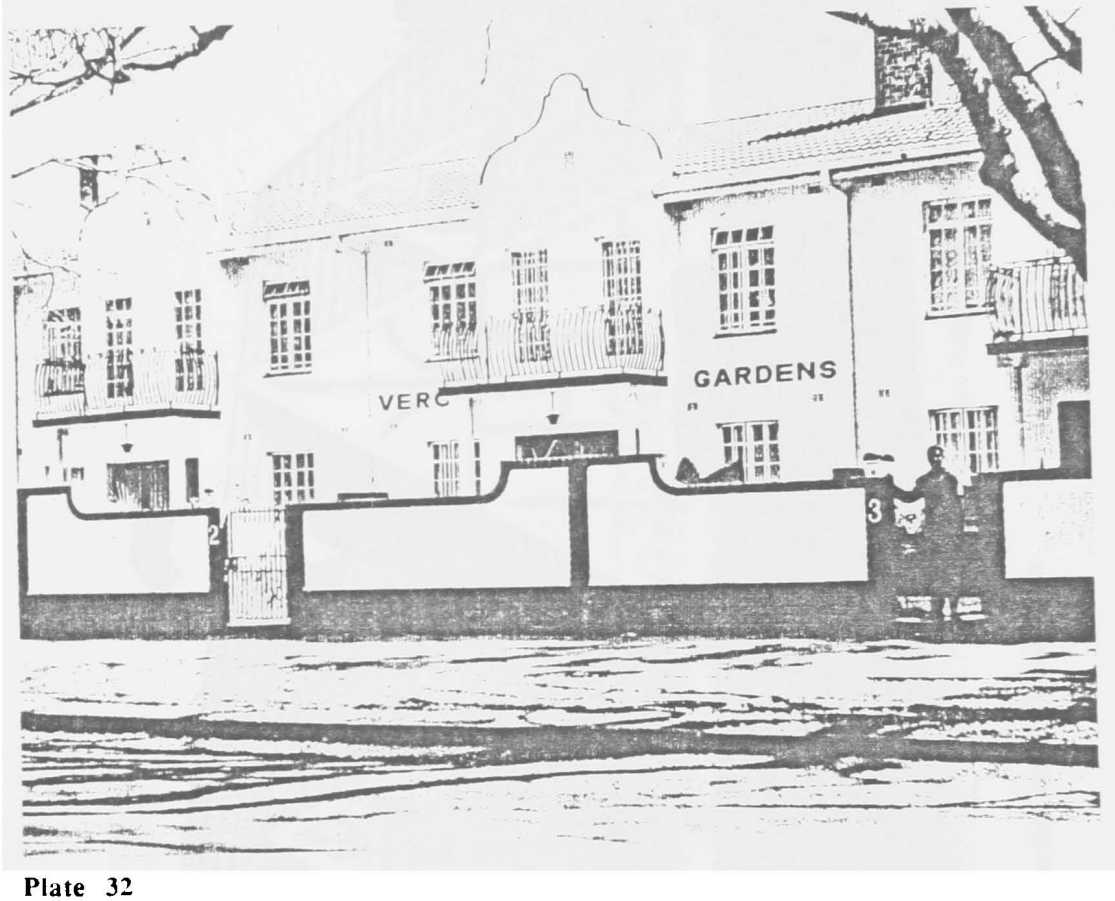


Plate 32
Verona Gardens garden flats - Cape Dutch style

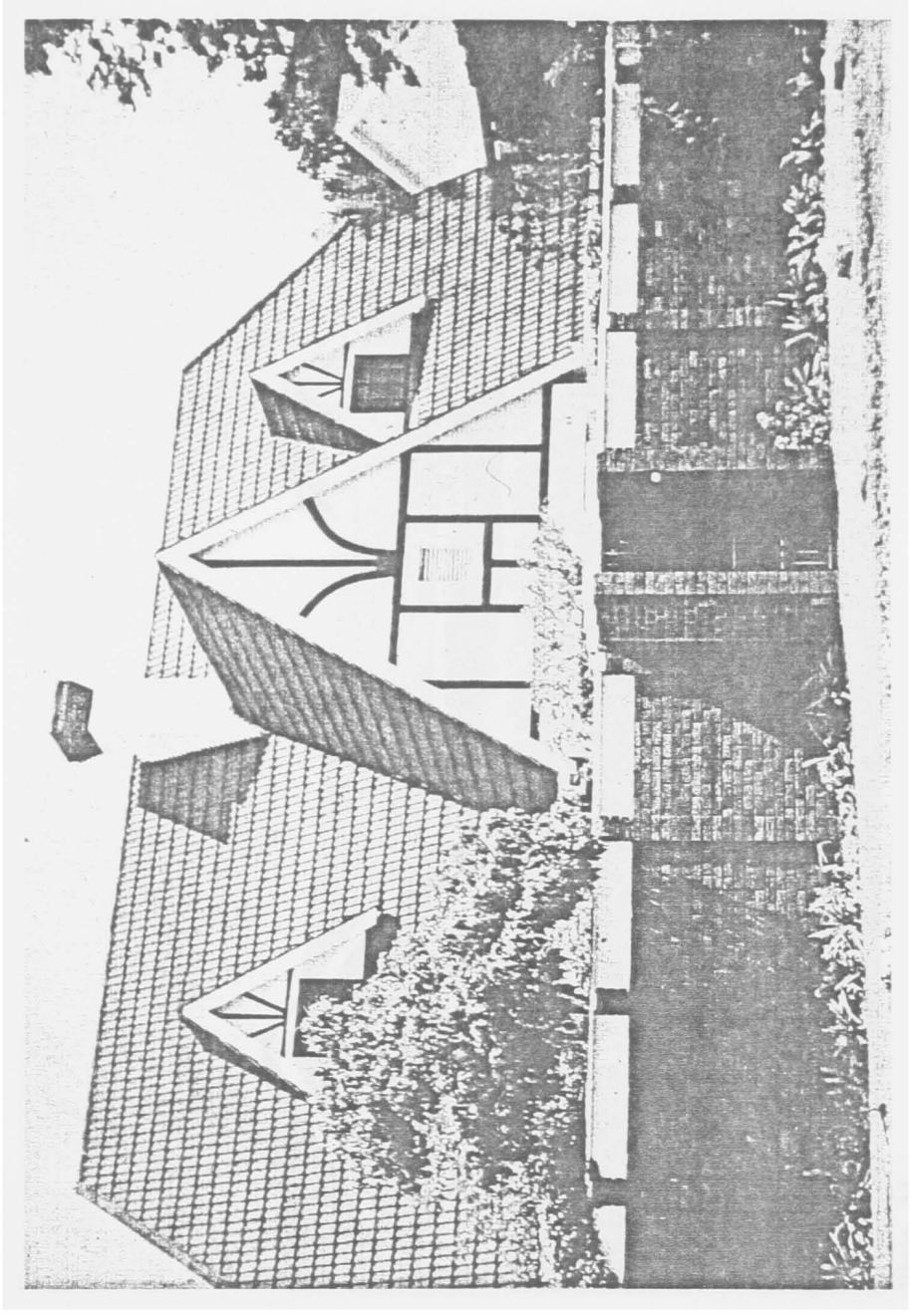


Plate 33
Tudor Gardens garden flats - Tudor style

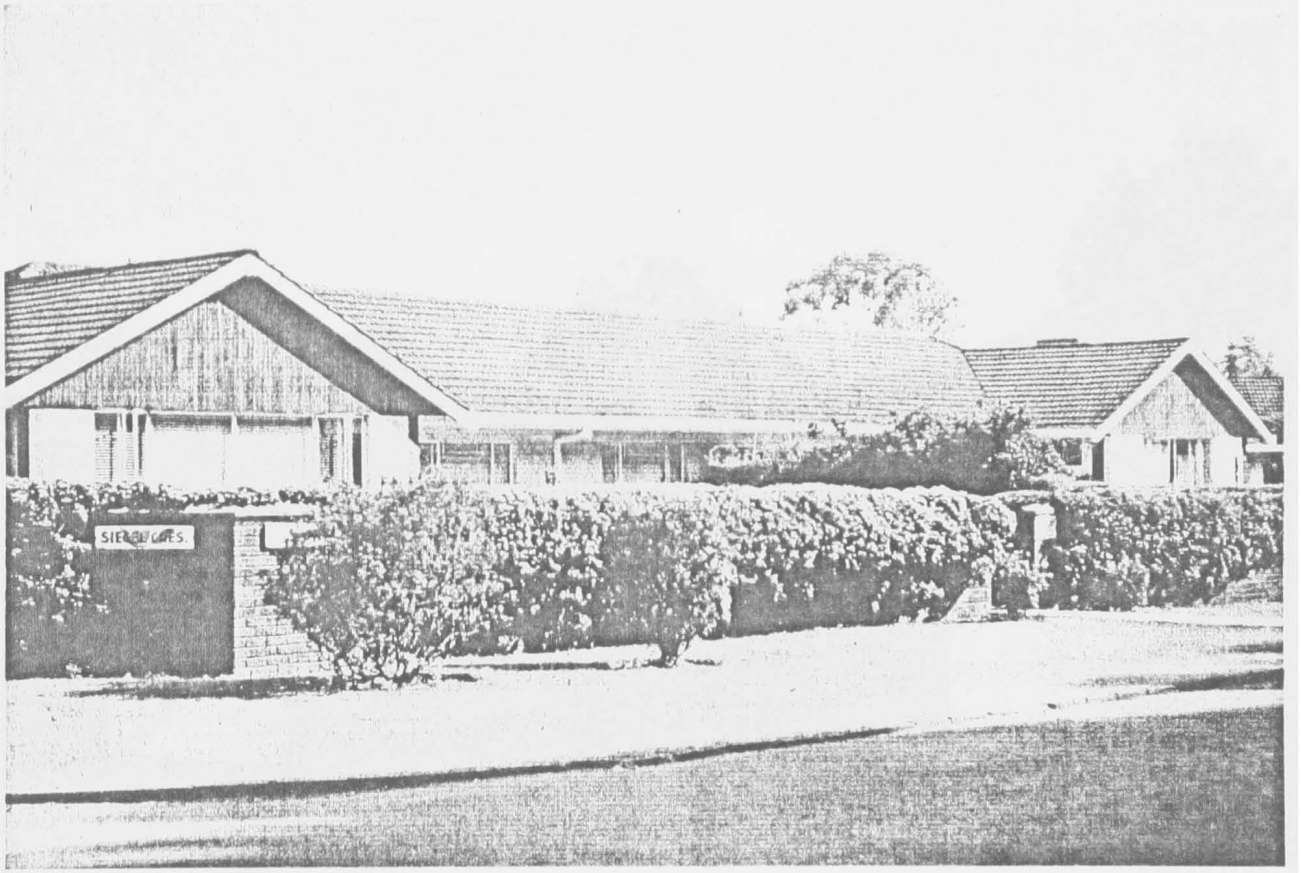


Plate 34
Morayshire Gardens garden flats - Rhodesian style

Plate 35
117 Baines Avenue townhouses - Modern style

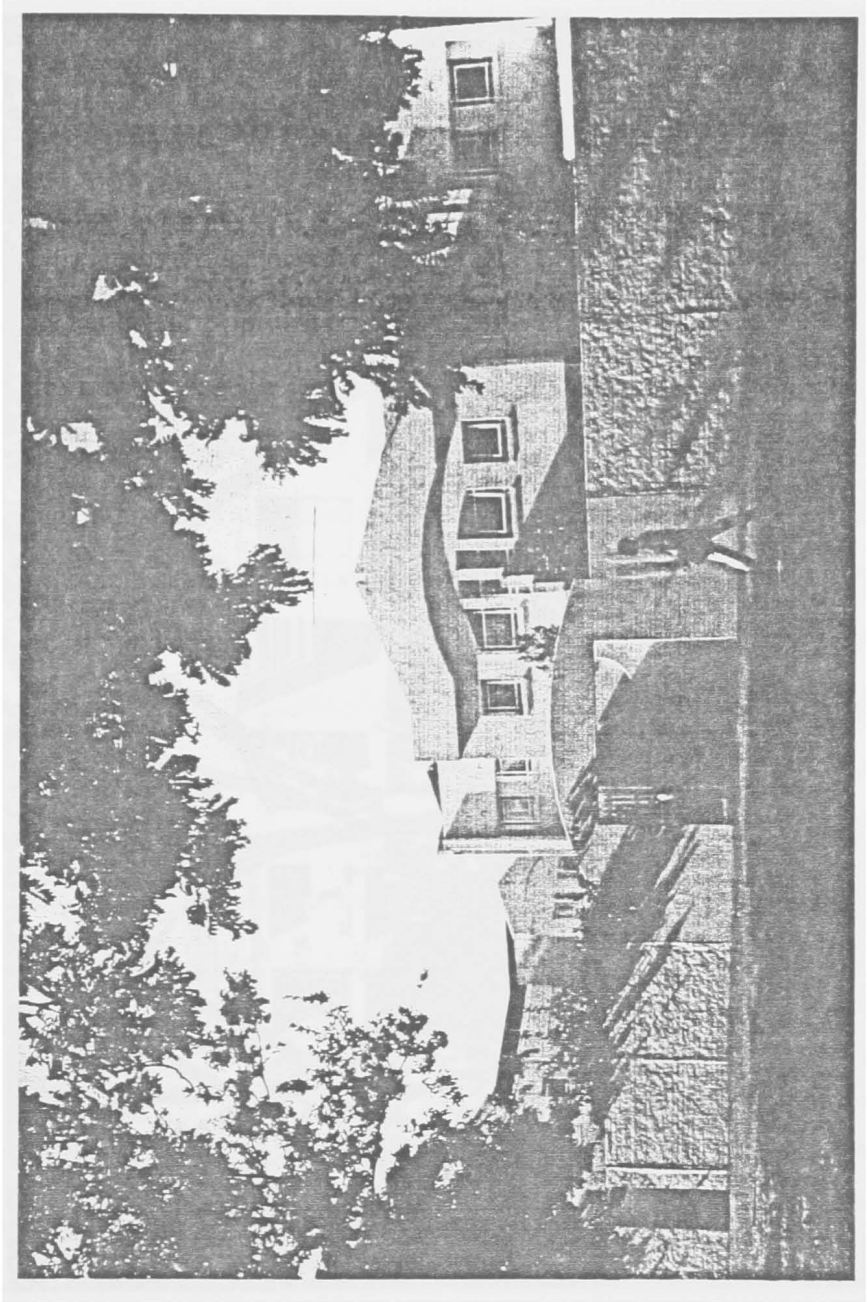


Plate 36
Mawuya townhouses - Modern style

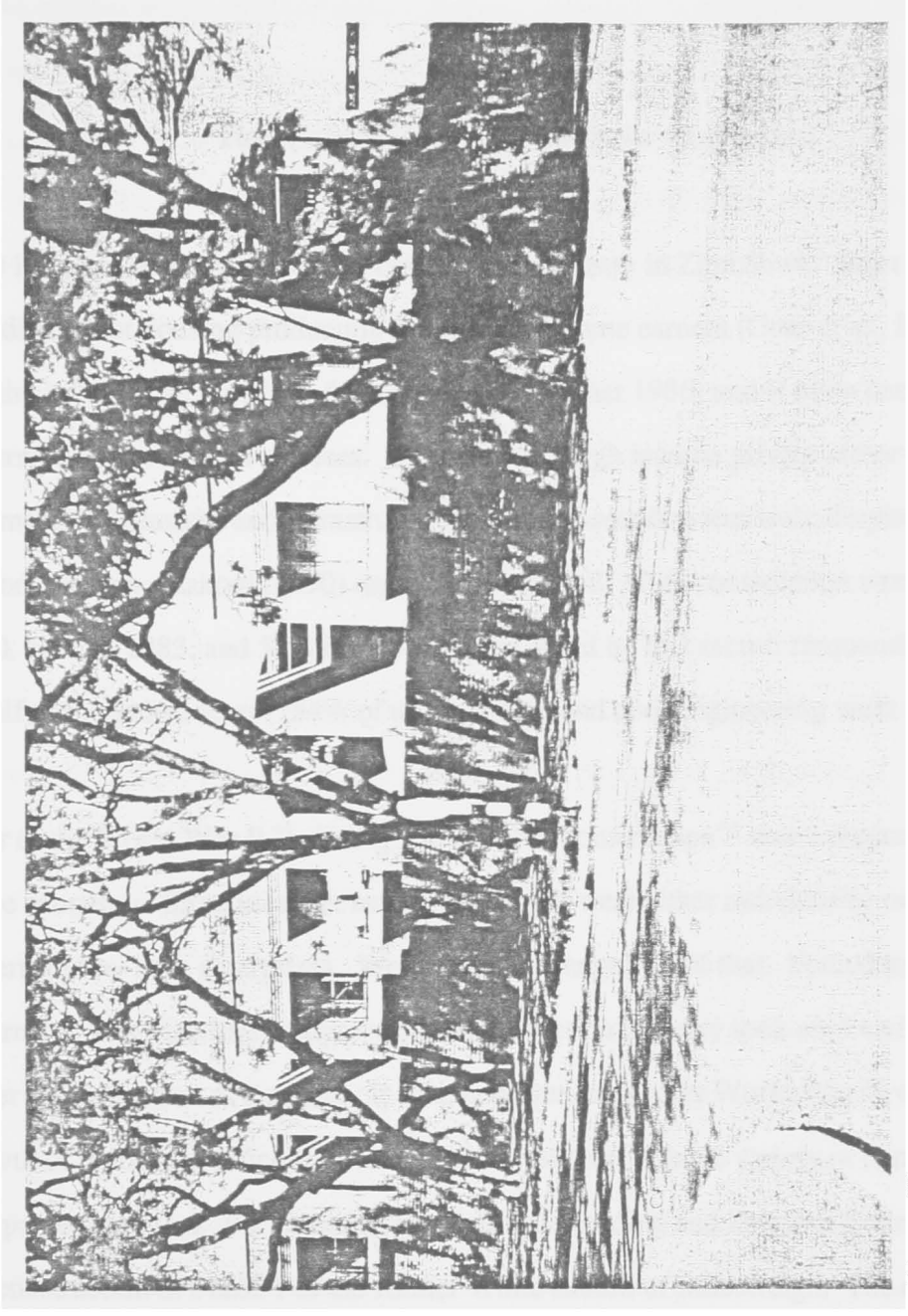


Plate 37
Jacaranda Mews townhouses - Modern style

What is the role of the construction industry in the production of garden flats and townhouses?

The Construction Industry in Zimbabwe

Very little has been written on the construction industry in Zimbabwe. Most of what there is is directed at housing production for the low-income earners (Gore et al., Mafico 1987) and the informal sector (Patel & Adams 1981: Butcher 1986) and is often centered around government provision of services. The middle to high income private sector residential, commercial, industrial and infrastructural developments fare less well, despite their impact on construction. Rakodi (1990) reports that over half of all construction work (59% in 1980, 64% in 1983, and 52% in 1987) is performed by this sector, frequently working on behalf of the public sector (54% of new building and civil engineering work in 1987).

Prior to the World War II "building" rather than "construction"[3] was a predominant activity in the economy. Structures that needed to be built were either individually organized or undertaken by state enterprises. World War II changed all of that. Forced to be self-reliant in terms of materials and manpower, the construction industry took seed and flourished under the protection of the state. It was, however, only after World War II with the rapid growth of industrial, office and residential development, that a variety of construction companies emerged. For example, the National Building and Housing Board undertook the construction of Phase 1 of the former White suburb of Mabelreign. The development

[3]This difference draws on the distinction between the association of a contract with construction companies and generally the lack of it in building activities. Private housebuilding for sale and construction companies acting as property developers being examples of the latter (Smythe 1985, p. 60).

of Phase 2 was, however, undertaken by the private development company of Posselt and Coull (Cary 1984; 15). Although the task of providing African housing was accepted almost entirely by the Council and the "Native" building section built both hostels and housing for African occupation in Nenyere in 1951-1952, the private construction firm of Laing and Roberts undertook development of 850 houses at Mabvuku in 1951 (Cary 1984; 20). Thus while the development of most White areas came to be the sole responsibility of private companies, these companies were nevertheless, also heavily involved in the construction of state sponsored housing for Blacks.

Private companies came therefore, to depend on both public and private projects (commercial, industrial, and residential), and shifted their operations to those sectors where work was available. In this regard the construction of African townships (generally a public undertaking in Zimbabwe) played a vital role in the historical development of the construction industry. The larger construction companies came to rely on it. For example, between 1970 and 1980, when large public sector residential work was still available, 15 contracts were won by only 5 firms and 14 by only 3 companies (Columbard-Prout, Marciano, and Mansell, 1986, cited in Rakodi, 1990, p. 149). If, as some writers have suggested that the construction industry can be regarded as the balance wheel of the economy, then African township construction acted as its mainspring, keeping the whole system steady.

The provision of African townships, on the other hand, changed as time went on and influenced the degree of involvement by construction companies . Traditionally African housing developments were turnkey operations. Sites were prepared and houses were completed before occupation took place. By the 1970s when "site and services" was used

as a strategy for the development of African townships, construction companies were forced to look elsewhere for building work. This period was also characterized by a general decline in construction activity (Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, 1987). The construction of townhouses became a viable alternative.

The Organization of Construction

Construction has always been bedeviled by the need to balance materials, manpower, and money. The interaction of these elements at the individual project level (residential, industrial, or commercial), creates the need for the establishment of a particular type of management associated with that particular project. Construction management is therefore fashioned on a project by project basis. Some idea of how the construction process is organized and controlled was attained for both garden flats and townhouses.

Garden Flats

For garden flats the organization of the control of the construction process was in the hands of small builders and was a speculative venture i.e building contractors built garden flats which were then offered for sale. Where developers, landowners, or financial institutions were involved design, build, and supply contracts were often negotiated between the client and the general contractor. The contractors co-ordinated the entire process which helped to accelerate completion times and profitability. Acting principally as property developers they were able to reduce costs (especially labor) to a minimum. Repressive labor laws aided this process. Materials were also more available than they had been in the immediate post-World War II period since by the mid-1960s industry was more geared to produce construction materials.

Townhouses

By the time that townhouses were introduced in the built environment of Harare, the Zimbabwean economy in general and the construction industry in particular came under increasing pressure and began to slow down from the growth peaks of the 1950s and 1960s. The small white owned builder/contractor declined in number as the medium to large contractors began making inroads into other areas of construction. The development of townhouses was one such area. Townhouse construction was not speculative but more conservative as a risk taking venture. More reliant on the activities of medium to large contracting companies[4], who squeezed out the smaller contractor, these include such companies as Construction Associates (Pvt) Ltd., Pettigrew (Pvt) Ltd., Kenmark Builders (Pvt) Ltd., Frank Pentony (Pvt) Ltd., John Sisk and Son, Costain (Africa) Ltd., Progress Builders and Construction (Pvt) Ltd., Matejcic Construction, and Tower Construction (Pvt) Ltd. These companies frequently had the backing of financial institutions or provided their own financial resources, e.g. Kenmark Builders. Others were subsidiaries of larger externally based multi-nationals e.g. Richard Costain Ltd. (London) and therefore has access to finance. What all these companies shared was their credit rating was sound. Construction finance was available to them.

Organizationally, these companies were members of the Construction Industry Federation of Zimbabwe (CIFOZ) which represented less than 25% of the legally registered contractors in the country. The Zimbabwe Building Construction Association being the other organization that represents the interests of other contractors. Of the companies that CIFOZ represent only about 10 to 15 companies handled 90% of the available construction

[4]Hedley Smythe warns against the dangers of defining construction companies on based on activity, size, and structure, since the empirical evidence does not help to provide any explanation of the character of the sector operating in each definitional category (Smythe 1985, p. 61).

work which totalled Z$930 million in 1990 (World Bank, 1991). They were thus part of a highly financed, select group of companies. Did these characteristics prove beneficial to their operations? To answer this question it is necessary to examine their links with architects.

The Links Between Architects and Contractors

The link between architects and builders goes back a long way in history. The link is not, however, a crucial one in the sense that only architect designed and supervised buildings get built. There are, however, certain buildings where this link has been more evident. In Zimbabwe townhouses is one of these. The links have been formalized in a number of ways.

First the link is strengthened in law. Legally the Zimbabwean Architects (Conditions of Engagement and Scale Fees) By-laws, of 1980 PART II, outlines the **Specific Duties of Architects** under three headings: Project, Contract, and Supervision (see Appendix E for full details). Under SUPERVISION an architect is required to supervise construction of any works he is responsible for;

> 12.(a) for approving the programming for the progress of the work set by the contractor; and
> 12.(b) until the works are completed, for making such periodic visits to the site as may be necessary to ensure that the provisions of the contract relating to the construction of the works are fulfilled, co-ordinating the work of specialist consultants, and issuing any certificates of progress or other certificates which may be required (IAZ Yearbook, 1987).

Contractors therefore frequently, come under the direct supervision of architects and for good reason.

Secondly, another way that the link between architects and contractors is strengthened is

suggested by architect R. Meer when he concluded that,

> without an architect or professional in the construction business supervising a construction project in Zimbabwe today you're really asking for trouble. Either you're going to be taken to the cleaners by the contractor or the job will never get finished, or the job will be finished but nothing like to the standard that you had intended it to be (Meer, Q. 15)

The protection of investments and therefore the client, in the sector was assured by the inclusion of architects as project supervisors. The fact that architects were prohibited by law to be developers worked against possible collusion between architect and contractor, in their role as watchdogs of the construction process to the benefit of investors.

It is, however, not only the interests of the developer that were the concern of architects. Architects were the concern of architects i.e. they sought to protect their own interests. For example, the shift from builder designed garden flats to architect designed townhouses was accompanied by the enactment of The Architects Act of 1975, described as "an incestuous piece of legislation, ... written by architects to protect architects" (Meer, Q. 48). Although single family residential developments were exempt from the provisions of the Act and could therefore be designed by persons other than architects, townhouses were specifically excluded from this requirement (Architects Act 1975, Third Schedule Section 2)

Contractors, on the other hand, are faced with a different set of problems in their links with architects. Cost control was one of them. The real cause of escalating prices in the construction industry, an "Honest Contractor" explained in a letter to the Financial Gazette, was;

> the depreciating Zimbabwe dollar, high import duties on all raw materials, the lack of forex for the construction industry, unscrupulous monopolies and the 'suitcase businessman' (Financial Gazette 1/08/91; 5).

He added that in practice, the problems facing building contractors were exacerbated by;

> 15-year old vehicles that break down everyday, pathetic work forces, and materials that just never seem to arrive (Financial Gazette 1/08/91; 5).

This situation was confirmed on daily basis in the press by reports about material and manpower shortages. It isn't any wonder that Architects in Zimbabwe regard supervision as probably the most difficult phase of the job when they have to oversee contractors who are constantly, it appears, going from one crisis to another (Meer, Q. 15). Sticking to contractual obligations under trying conditions is a difficult business. Yet even in this context contracts for development projects are completed as schedule. Baeck and Ward's 12 unit townhouse scheme "Mawuya" was scheduled and completed in 4 months. How, given these adverse conditions, are these target dates met and projects completed within budgetary constraints?

Material supply provides an example of how contractors succeed. The supply of bricks, cement, sand, and timber are crucial to the successful completion of any project. When these are in short supply contractors stand to be affected directly. Completion times would invariably be extended accompanied by cost increases. The possibility of such a situation arose when Willdale Bricks (Pvt) Ltd, the biggest brick manufacturer in Harare announced that they would drastically reduce production. The Financial Gazette predicted "Difficult times ahead for emergent and private builders" (Financial Gazette 9/11/90). Large contractors were, however, spared the shock reduction in production. How was this achieved? According to the general manager of the brickfields his company was committed to supplying the big contractors with bricks as *they were in it for a living*. The report went on to to add that "established contractors could get orders from Willdale *using their credit*

worthiness." In the same report an unnamed contractor alleged that Willdale preferred to "supply their *old and established customers* " (Financial Gazette, 9/11/90, emphasis added). The point is that larger contractors, in the face of shortages, are ultimately in a better position to meet construction deadlines because of historically strong ties they have with their suppliers. Size and age, have important advantages in Harare. In a situation in which the construction industry comes under stress (either because of too much growth or the lack of it) traditional links play a significant role in determining the success with which contractors negotiate bad times.

While contractors do have a measure of control with respect to material acquisition their management of the construction process *per se* was directly tied to costs. To minimize costs contractors were wary of the type of contract they signed. Traditionally the cost plus percentage contract (usually 25% for 1990) has been used for the construction of townhouses (Meer 1991; personal contact). The percentage figure being tied to inflation. With the agreement of clients, contracts were usually tendered by the architects on a selective basis. The advantages of this form of contract lay with the contractor and the architect. Since the architect was usually paid on a sliding fee scale (Second Schedule-Section 14) and was therefore somewhat shielded from cost overruns, both architect and contractor were nevertheless protected by the contract. The client stood to lose the most for any delay that might have arisen as a result of cost overruns.

Conclusion

A variety of features distinguish the design and production of garden flats and townhouse.

In design terms townhouses differ significantly in a number of areas from garden flats. These include internal and external spaces, orientation, landscaping, parking, the provision of certain architectural elements, security, and architectural styles. Ultimately the distinctions are concerned not only with security (walls, burglar bars, and security guards), but with commodity aesthetics. It is at this point that the role of the architect as the "designer" of townhouses has had a major impact. The incorporation of high status materials in "imported" styles designed by architects has led to the production of exclusive residential accommodation much sort after by their occupants.

The role of the construction industry in actual production has been characterized by a number of features. First, it has been shown that the age and size of construction companies are important characteristics that have assisted them as they switch from one production sector to another. Second, the type of contracts used by contractors have enabled linkages between designers, financiers, realtors, and consumers to be forged in the face of difficult economic conditions. In effect, there has been a change from the negotiated design build and supply contract (for garden flats), to the more selective cost plus percentage contract (for townhouses). This form of contract, it was contended, suited both contractors and architects but may have negative impacts for project financiers. Ultimately, however, it is the purchaser/occupant of a townhouse that pays the increased cost.

It is to this group of people that attention will be turned in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSUMERS

Introduction

An analysis of the "structures of provision" for GF/TH centers on groups of key actors within the development process. Functionally interrelated but usually separated in time, the development process involves a number of activities, viz., land assembly, production, consumption, and distribution, all of which can be analytically considered as distinct entities. This chapter will examine the consumption of the built environment by concentrating on GF/THs households. This is done by examining the socio-economic variables of these households as they relate to the consumption of other goods and services including the housing unit itself. This chapter will, first suggest why consumption is an important attribute to include in an analysis of class fractions before presenting the socio-economic profile of GF/TH occupants. Second, it will then present an analysis of a variety of consumption areas that occupants participate in. Third, this will be followed by an

analysis that examines the correlation between occupants and the built environment. Finally, the conclusion will draw together these analyses to provide a description of the character of GF/TH occupants.

The literature on the state and class in the Third World has suggested that there exist in Third World countries classes of people that can be described as either bureaucratic bourgeoisie, managerial bourgeoisie, or corporate bourgeoisie (Shivji, 1976; Sklar, 1987: Becker, Frieden, Schatz, and Sklar, 1987). Only a few empirical investigations have been carried to establish the validity of these categories (Armstrong and McGee, 1985). Generally, these studies have failed to adequately capture the nature and character of these social groups as they pursue their interests, strategies and actions . In part, this failure can be attributed to the reliance on a limited number of socio-economic variables, such as age, sex, income, and occupation to capture the character of these groups. Commenting on this limitation, Smith (1987) for example, has argued that, "occupational structures are insufficient in themselves to establish the emergence of new class fractions". To facilitate the investigation of such social groups he has suggested that, "it is spending power and *patterns of consumption*, in addition to occupational status that are the defining characteristics of the new bourgeoisie/petit bourgeoisie". Using this suggestion, this study argues that, by establishing linkages between classes and their consumption of certain types of goods and services, including the built environment, it is possible to begin to establish a much clearer picture of these groups and the people that constitute them.

In order to ascertain the character of GF/TH occupants, based on the above observations, the answers to 4 basic questions were analyzed:

1). What is the current household socio-economic profile of GF/TH occupants?

2). What is the household's lifestyle and tastes in other areas of consumption?

3). Is there a relationship between the socio-economic profile and the GF/TH they occupy?

4). Why did occupants choose this particular form of dwelling?

5). What conclusions can be drawn about the peculiar character of the occupants of GF/TH within the structure of hosuing provision?

The answers to these questions will assist in establishing the peculiar character of GF/TH occupants, and how that character affects their actions as social agents both in the structure of housing provision associated with GF/TH, and in the larger community of Harare.

The Socio-economic Profile of GF/TH Occupants

The total number of garden flat/townhouse blocks in the City of Harare, at the time of the survey stood at 183 [25 (13%) were townhouse blocks and the remaining 158 (87%) were blocks of garden flats]. They all made up a total of 1,865 units in the city. The number of units in each block ranged from a low of 4 to a high of 42 with an average of 10 units per block. These units were either single-storey or duplex. A total of 900 (50%) of all units were randomly surveyed. A total of 215 (23.8%) of the survey questionnaires were returned using the self-addressed envelope that was provided. Of these 47 (22.4%) were from townhouse occupants compared to 150 (77.6%) from garden flat occupants.[1]

The socio-economic character of GF/TH occupants will be described using a standard set

[1]Using Chi Square Distribution no significant difference was found for the GF/TH sample at the 1% level.

of variables generally selected for this purpose. These cover the age of the principal wage earner, the number of occupants under 20 years of age, marital status, annual family income, occupation of the principal wage earner, nationality, and race. Each of these will be described in turn.

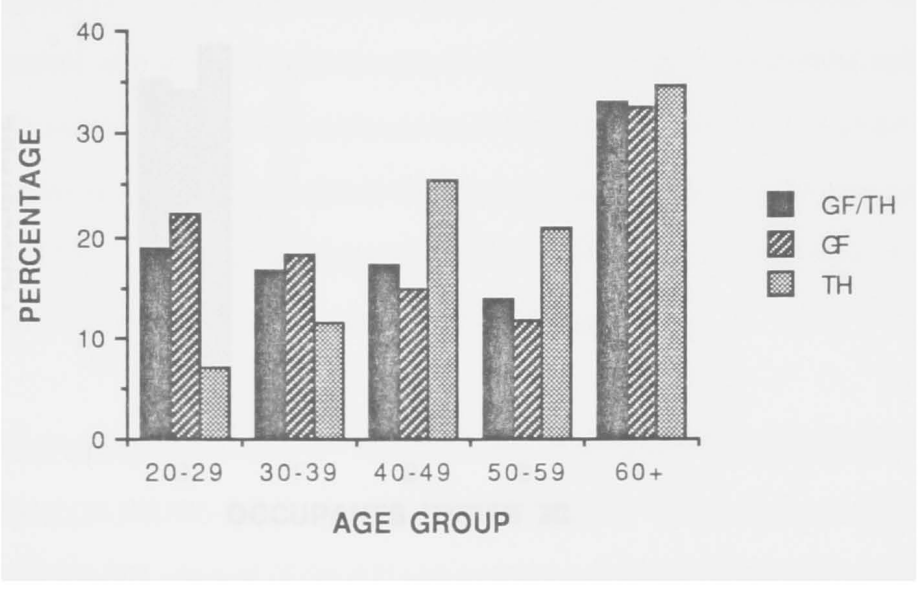
The **age of the principal wage earner** was used to classify occupants into groups. The largest group and therefore one that occupies the greatest number GF/THs (33.2%/65) is the 60+ years category. The 20-29 year age group was next with 18.9% (37). The remaining age groups are fairly evenly spread with a slight fall (13.8%/27) in the 50-59 year group. This pattern differs appreciably when age groups are associated with either GF or TH occupation separately. The largest number of GF are occupied by the 60+ age group (32.7%/50). The second largest GF group is the 20-29 year old group with a 22.2% (34) occupancy rate. Occupation declines with the other age groups with a reversal in the trend with the 60+ age group showing an increase. The age occupation of THs displays a steady increase in the number of occupants, with a slight dip in the 50-59 year old group, increasing again with the highest occupancy rates in the 60+ age category which stands at 34.9% (15) (Figure 42).

In 70.1% (138) of all GF/THs **persons under age 20** are not found. This is the case in 68.2% (105) of GFs and 76.7% (33) of THs. As expected individuals under 20 decline from a high of 15.2% (30) with 1 person per household to 2% (4) with 4+ persons per household. Generally, it is in the GFs that the largest number (78.2%/154) are to be found. THs have 21.8% (43) of the total number of persons under age 20 (Figure 43).

In terms of their **marital status** 50% (99) of all GF/TH occupants were married, while

Figure 42

Age of Principal Wage Earners

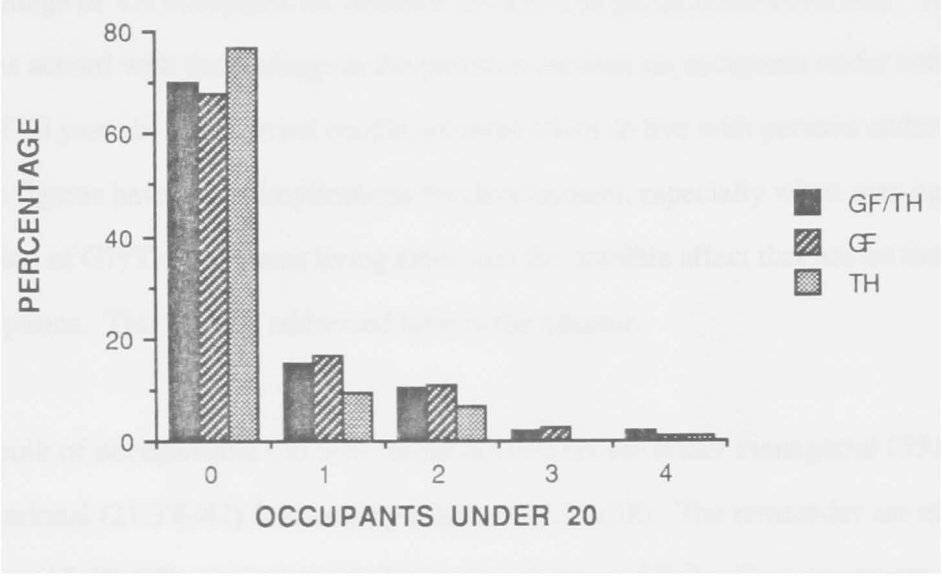


Age Group	GF/TH	GF	TH	Rank Order
	%	%	%	
20-29	18.9	22.2	7.0	2
30-39	16.8	18.3	11.6	4
40-49	17.3	15.0	25.6	3
50-59	13.8	11.8	20.9	5
60 +	33.2	32.7	34.9	1

Source: Survey Questionnaire

Figure 43

Number of Occupants under 20 years



# of Occupants Under 20	GF/TH %	GF %	TH %	Rank Order
0	70.1	68.2	76.7	1
1	15.2	16.9	9.3	2
2	10.2	11.0	7.0	3
3	2.0	2.6	-	4
5	2.0	1.3	1.0	4

Source: **Survey Questionnaire**

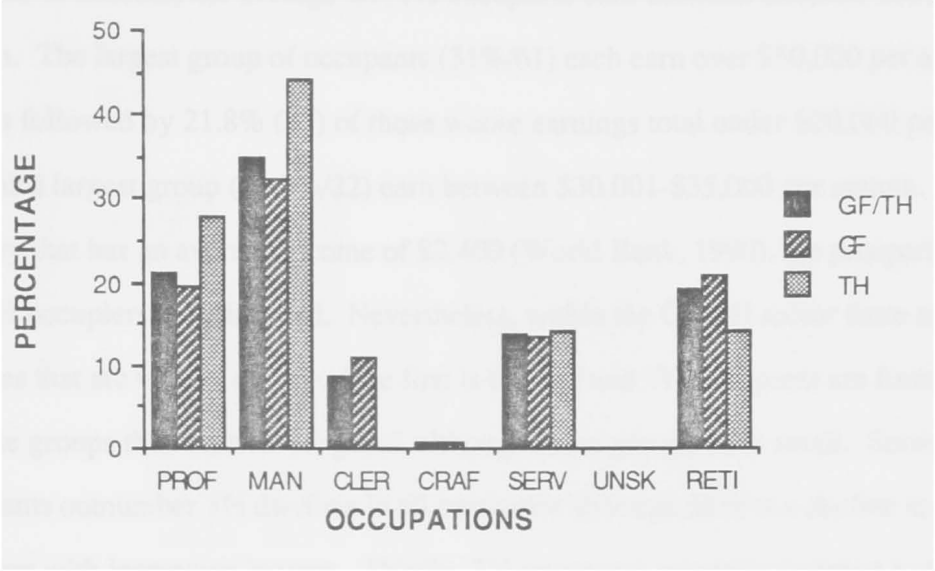
22.7% (45) were single, 17.7% (35) widowed and 9.6% (19) divorced. The distribution of these groups in GFs or THs reveals that GFs are more likely to be inhabited by single persons (53.2% either widowed, divorced or single) than THs (38.5%). A larger percentage of TH occupants are married (61.4%) compared to GFs (46.8%). These figures accord with the findings in the previous sections on occupants under and over the age of 20 years in that married people are more likely to live with persons under the age 20. These figures have major implications for development, especially when seen against the question of GF/TH occupants living alone and the possible affect that has on their perceptions. This issue is addressed later in the chapter.

The bulk of **occupations** (56.3%) found in GF/THs are either managerial (35.0%/69) or professional (21.3%/42) followed by retirees (19.3%/38). The remainder are made up of service (13.7%/27), clerical (8.6%/17) and craftsmen (.5%/1). Two points are worth noting. First, the virtual absence of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled manual workers. Secondly, the presence of a large percentage (19.3%/38) of retirees. Occupationally, GF/TH shelter the non-manual skilled spectrum of the labor market (Figure 44).

An analysis of **educational status** somewhat strengthens this observation. The numbers of occupants with post elementary education are spread fairly evenly from 4 years of high school to university undergraduate education, although graduate education stands at a low 4.1% (8), in contrast to the general pattern. The distribution between GFs and THs follows this trend, except for graduates, where a slightly higher figure of 7.0% as compared to 3.2% is to be found in THs. This is in contrast to a range of between 15%-25% in the other categories. Generally the occupants of GF and THs are formally well educated with an average of 7 years of post-elementary education. In a country where

Figure 44

Occupation of Principal Wage Earner



Occupation of Principal Wage Earner	GF/TH %	GF %	TH %	Rank Order
Professional	21.3	19.5	27.9	2
Managerial	35.0	32.5	44.2	1
Clerical	8.6	11.0	-	5
Crafts	0.5	0.6	-	6
Service	13.7	13.6	14.0	4
Unskilled Labor	-	-	-	7
Retired	19.3	20.8	14.0	3

Source: **Survey Questionnaire**

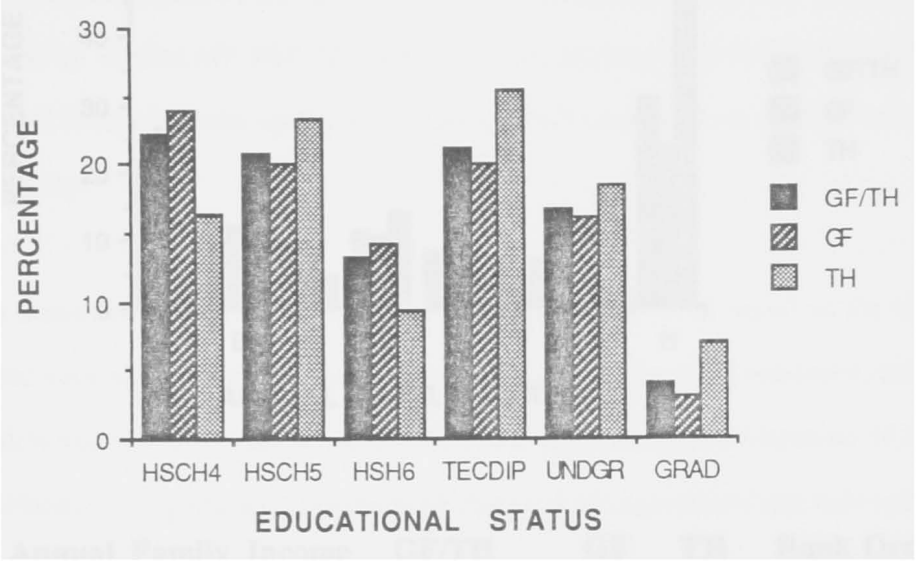
formal education is purchased at a premium, this figure points to the educational privileges that this population enjoys (Figure 45).

In terms of **income,** the average GF/TH occupants earn between $30,001-$35,000 per annum. The largest group of occupants (31%/61) each earn over $50,000 per annum. This is followed by 21.8% (43) of those whose earnings total under $20,000 per annum. The third largest group (11.2%/22) earn between $30,001-$35,000 per annum. In a country that has an average income of $2,400 (World Bank, 1990), the prosperity of GF/TH occupiers is undisputed. Nevertheless, within the GF/TH sector there are three features that are worthy of note. The first is that GF and TH occupants are found in all income groups that were investigated, although some groups were small. Secondly, GF occupants outnumber TH dwellers in all categories although there is a decline in their numbers with increasing income. Thirdly, TH occupants generally increase in numbers as income increases. Their largest numbers are found in the $50,001+ income group (Figure 46).

Zimbabwean **nationals** comprised the largest group (74.6%/147) of garden flat/townhouses occupants, followed by British (14.7%/29), South African and Dutch (2.5%) citizens. There was also an American, French, Angolan and Norwegian. Combined, foreign nationals constituted 25% of GF/TH occupants. Although no figures are available for other types of houses in Zimbabwe which accommodate foreign personnel, a concentration level of 25% in GF/TH would appear to be particularly high. There is therefore, a particularly strong international flavor in this sector of the housing market.

Figure 45

Educational Status of Principal Wage Earner

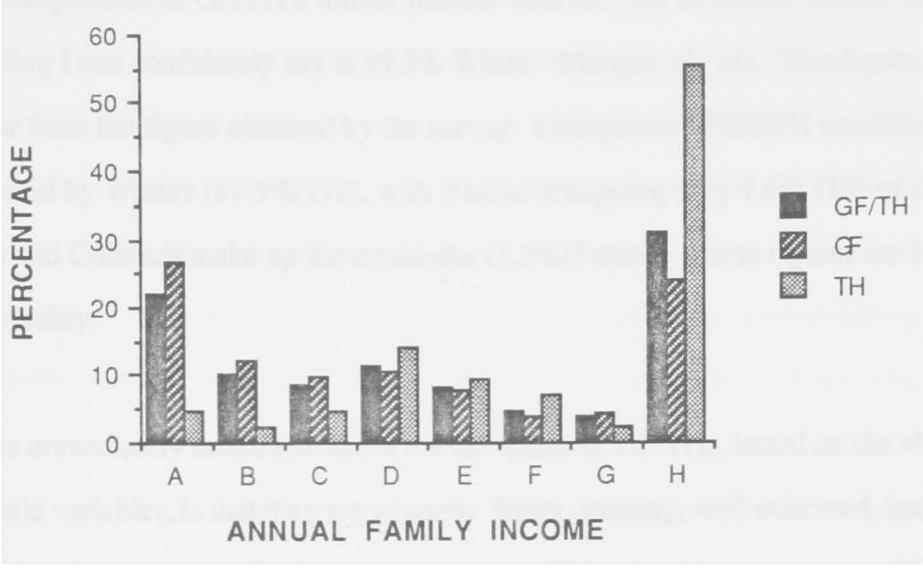


Educational Status of Principal Wage Earner	GF/TH %	GF %	TH %	Rank Order
4 years of high school	22.3	24.0	16.3	1
5 years of high school	20.8	20.1	23.3	2
6 years of high school	13.2	14.3	9.3	5
Technical Diploma	21.3	20.1	25.6	3
Undergraduate	16.8	16.2	18.6	4
Graduate	4.1	3.2	7.0	6

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

Figure 46

Annual Family Income



Annual Family Income	GF/TH %	GF %	TH %	Rank Order
A. Under $20,000	21.8	26.6	4.7	2
B. $20,001-$25,000	10.2	12.3	2.3	4
C. $25,001-$30,000	8.6	9.7	4.7	5
D. $30,001-$35,000	11.2	10.4	14.0	3
E. $35,001-$40,000	8.1	7.8	9.3	6
F. $40,001-$45,000	4.6	3.9	7.0	8
G. $45,001-$50,000	4.1	4.5	2.3	7
H. Above $50,001	31.0	24.0	55.8	1

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

One of the more intriguing features of Harare today is the persistence of **race** as a major factor in the distribution of households. Asked to provide some figure with respect to the racial composition of GF/TH a former planner with the City of Harare replied emphatically, "one thing I can confidently say is 99.5% White" (Mangle, Q. 16). This figure was not very far from the figure obtained by the survey. Occupation of GF/TH continues to be dominated by Whites (87.3%/172), with Blacks occupying only 9.6% (19) of the units. Asians and Coloreds make up the remainder (1.5%/3 each). These figures are irrespective of nationality.

What is immediately noticeable about the occupants of GF/THs, based on the above socio-economic variables, is that they are a largely White, wealthy, well-educated, but aging population that is mainly Zimbabwean but with a fairly sizeable component of foreigners. Occupationally, a significant proportion of them are managers/professionals with a fifth of the group in retirement.

As discussed earlier it is insufficient, however, to merely describe the socio-economic characteristics of GF/TH occupants, consumption patterns need to be factored in. To strengthen the description of the occupants of GF/THs, respondents were asked to provide answers to a number of questions relating to a variety of consumption areas such as travel destinations, reading material, cultural and recreational activities, and consumer goods. Responses to these questions varied somewhat, largely due to the sensitivity of the questions concerned. Despite this variation, however, the data was usable and helped in providing a deeper understanding of GF/TH occupants. A descriptive analysis of this data is presented next.

Areas of Consumption

Travel

GF/TH occupants are a particularly well-travelled population both in terms of business and recreation. Questioned about business trips 46.3% (88) of respondents have taken 5 or more **business trips outside the country** while a further 36.8% (70) have been away on between 1 to 4 trips. All together 83.1% (158) respondents have been outside the country on 1 or more business trip. On the other hand 16.8% had never been outside the country on a business trip. Business was not the only reason they left the country.

Questioned about where they went on vacation, 65.3% (126) of GF/TH occupants had been on **vacation inside the country** while 74.6% (144) had been outside the country. Those respondents who went outside the country, 74.6% (138) had vacationed within southern Africa, while 56.4% (109) went overseas. A small 3.1% reported taking no vacations at all.

Reading

The 177 responses elicited from the **purchase/subscription of professional journals or other magazines** drew the following replies. The purchase of international newspapers/magazines drew the largest response (51.4%/91), with women and family type magazines (36.4%/64) followed by professional journals (31.6%/56). The fourth category was home and garden (29.4%/52) with sports (20.9%/37) and hobby (14.1%/25) magazines coming in fifth and sixth respectively. Importantly only 7.3% (13) of respondents reported they subscribed or purchased none of this type of literature.

Cultural and recreational activities

Intragroup activities in a cultural, recreational and or social settings are important for group solidarity. Respondents were asked to list **visits to cultural and recreational facilities** within the past year. The following response were produced. (Table 13) From a total of 218 the theatre drew the largest numbers (120; 65.9%), with the Larvon Bird Gardens (101; 55.5%), National Parks (91; 50%), and the Botanical Gardens (87; 47.9%) coming in second third and fourth respectively. While the other facilities follow at fairly regular intervals behind the first four it is important to note the fourteenth and last position that Heroes Acre occupies.

Historically social clubs have always played a special role in inter and intragroup activities in Harare. GF/TH occupants participation in these activities was high. For example, 60.2% (80) of all respondents were **members of a sports club** which prevail throughout the city. Other **shared/club activities** included membership of video clubs (49.4%/78), keep-fit classes (25.3%/40), nature/conservation/wildlife groups (20.3%/32). Sailing was the least patronized activity with 7 (4.4%) people participating. Discounting those respondents who did not complete the question at all, 7 (4.4%) indicated they did not belong to a club or participated in social activities of any sort. The high degree of participation in these activities suggests a high degree of social interaction between individuals who occupy GF/THs.

Goods

Among the goods that this group of people consumed included cars and electronic equipment. **Car ownership rates** among the respondents were 1.19 for the 215 cases. If, however, non-respondents are factored in it rises to 1.43. 97.8% of occupants own at

Table 13
Cultural and Recreational Activities

#	CULTURAL/RECREATIONAL ACTS	PERCENT/N
1.	Theatre	65.0%/120
2.	Larvon Bird Gardens	55.5%/101
3.	National Parks	50.0%/91
4.	Botanical Gardens	47.8%/87
5.	Library	46.7%/85
6.	Ewanrigg Gardens	39.0%/71
7.	Lion and Cheetah Park	33.5%/61
8.	Art Gallery	26.9%/49
9.	Mukwisi Woodlands	26.4%/48
10.	Museum	24.2%/44
11.	Snake Park	12.6%/23
12.	Water Whirld	12.6%/23
13.	Other	11.0%/20
14.	Heroes Acre	6.0%/11

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

least one car. The largest group of cars in terms of make are of Japanese, German, French and British origin in that order. In terms of age 6-10 years old, with 1-5, and 11-15 year old cars coming in third and fourth respectively. 4.5% of cars are more than 20 years old.

Information on the possession of a variety of **electronic consumer goods** was also supplied. The four items that head the list include television (85.4%; 164), camera (55%; 144); record player (74.5%; 143); and tape recorder (74%; 142). The video recorder (56.3%/108), microwave (30.2%/58), compact disc player (8.9%/17), and movie camera (8.3%/16) completed the list. It was noted that distribution of these items in terms of GF or THs depended upon their newness in the market. Thus televisions were owned by most (75%) households. On the other hand there were proportionately twice as many (14% compared to 7%) CD players in townhouses than they were in garden flats. This generally reflected the income status of the two types of dwellings. Similar trends were observed for videos and micro-waves.

What is the implication of this ownership pattern? There is a suggestion here that as a group, occupants of garden flats and townhouses are associated with a certain lifestyle. Although there is no comparable information for other social groups within the city, what is evident from this data is that occupants share a specific *consumer* lifestyle. This lifestyle is associated with the consumption of specific goods and services. For example, they travel frequently, both inside and outside the country, for business and for pleasure. They read professional journals and certain types of magazines. Finally, they enjoy the privilege of owning cars, cameras, and a host of other consumer goods. Ownership of these goods is part of a larger social and cultural reality that binds this group of people together. In part this reality is created by the cultural, recreational, and social *activities* in which occupants

participate. The theatre, the club, visits to the botanical gardens, national parks etc., provide the setting for the sharing and enjoyment of these goods. The occasions and activities are themselves part of the service that is provided for this group to consume. Highly segregated by race, wealth, stage in family life-cycle, and immigrant status, consumer identity plays a crucial role in clearly demarcating the lineaments of this community.

Society and the Built Environment

Up to this point it has been possible to draw important linkages between socio-economic variables and patterns of consumption of a variety of goods and services associated with the occupants of GF/THs. What the role of the built environment is in the definition of this community will now be addressed.

Anthony D. King made the observation that the "built environment, building and urban form in all their conceptualizations, do not represent, or reflect social order, *they actually constitute much of social and cultural existence*" (King, 1990, p. 404, emphasis added). To understand how and why this is so, it is important that the dynamics associated with this group of people as they center their activities in, around, and through the built environment be understood. How do members of this community use their GF/TH to differentiate among themselves and how is this differentiation achieved? The socio-economic variables discussed earlier, will again be used. In an attempt to come to a better understanding of these dynamics, the first step will be to correlate socio-economic variables with selected physical aspects of GF/THs.

The question of whether the socio-economic profile described above correlate with the type of GF/TH that are occupied will be examined next. Seven "socio-economic" and five built environment indicators (i.e. attributes that measure the physical components and the location of the built environment) were selected for this segment of the study:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC (independent)	SPATIO-PHYSICAL (dependent)
Marital Status	Type of Development
Age of Principal Wage Earner	Style of Development
Persons under 20 years of age	Security Precautions
Occupation	Location
Educational Status	Age of Development
Annual Family Income	
Nationality	
Race	

Analysis[2]

To begin to bring some order and understanding to the data, initially two basic analyses were carried out, canonical correlation and cluster analysis. The advantage of using canonical correlation with cluster analysis was that it permitted social and spatial factors to

[2]In their assessment of canonical correlation Hair, Anderson, and Tatham (1987) advise that in interpreting data using this method, they recommend that three criteria be used in conjunction with each other to decide the canonical functions to be interpreted. They suggest that the level of statistical significance of the function, the magnitude of the canonical correlation and the redundancy measure for the percentage of variance accounted for from the two data sets should be used. Although a .05 level (along with a .01 level) level of significance of a canonical correlation is generally accepted to be the minimum for interpretation the above writers have suggested that these levels are not "necessarily required in all situations" (Hair, Anderson, and Tatham, 1987, p. 194). In assessing the redundancy measure of shared variance the writers have suggested that in the absence of a minimum acceptable redundancy index the analyst, "must judge each canonical function in light of its theoretical and practical significance to the research problem being investigated" (Hair, Anderson, and Tatham, 1987, p. 197).

be used together, in a holistic way. Once this correlation between the social and spatial was established it became possible to use cluster analysis and be able to geographically locate the units in Harare. The combination of the two statistical procedures, therefore, allowed a more realistic assessment of just how a particular group of people related directed to their dwelling units.

Canonical Correlation

In order to explore the relationship between the spatio-physical and social aspects of GFTH populations, a canonical correlation was first undertaken. Canonical correlations offer an opportunity to investigate the possibility that **sets** of dependent variables can be related to **sets** of independent variables. Canonical correlation measures the strength of the overall relationship between the liner composites of the predictor (independent) and criterion (dependent) sets of variables. In effect, "it measures the bivariate correlation between the two liner composites" (Hair, Anderson, and Tatham, 1987). This is in contrast to say, multiple regression where one dependent variable is explained by a set of independent variables. Thus canonical correlations "may facilitate the analysis of richer, that is, multidimensional, dependent variables" (Levine, 1977, p. 12). This makes the technique particularly valuable for exploratory studies such as this one.

The first analysis, based on the total sample, utilized the 8 predictor (independent) socio-economic variables and 6 criterion (dependent) spatio-physical variables. The results of this analysis established that the predictor set does have a statistically significant impact on

the criterion set at the 05 (95%) level of confidence[3]. Two canonical vectors together accounted for 55% of the variance in the criterion set. Figure 47 shows 2 important correlations. First, annual family income and race correlate with type and age of GF/TH developments. What this means is that a largely White (87.3%), wealthy GF/TH

population that has an average income of between $30,001 to $35,000 per annum live in homes with a particular style which are located in particular areas within the city. GF/THs are located in the wealthier sectors of the city. Second, that marital status, race, and annual family income correlate negatively with style, location and the security of the development. What this means is that being either widowed, divorced, or single, (53% of the population), or Black or having a lower than average annual family income may restrict access to GF/TH with particular styles, locations, and security arrangements. Third the relationship between education, occupation, and nationality and the dependent variables are only marginally correlated. This analysis suggests that annual family income, race, and marital status are most likely to affect the choice of the type, age, location, and style of GF/TH that occupants select.

Cluster Analysis

In order to establish whether there was any variability among GF/TH occupants, a second analysis was carried out. A cluster analysis of the 197 GF/TH was undertaken with the 8 "socio-economic" and 5 spatio-physical variables as input, using Ward's hierarchical clustering method. Based on the comparisons of cluster percentages with the aggregate 197 GF/TH rates for each of the 12 variables descriptive summaries for the clusters are provided in Table 14.

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[3]Using Pillais, Hotellings, and Wilks

Figure 47

Canonical Correlation Analysis, Total Population

1st canonical vector: accounts for 29.8% explained variance of dependent variables: 6% of independent variables. Figures in parentheses are canonical cross loadings.

Annual family income (0.723)	Type of development (0.795)
Race (0.514)	Age of GF/TH (0.816)

2nd canonical vector: (25.2% of dependent variables; 3% of predictor variables)

Marital Status (-0.764)	Style of development (-0.796)
Race (-0.570)	Location (0.524)
Annual Family Income (0.381)	Security (-0.410)

Table 14.

A Typology of GF/THs based on Socio-Spatial Variables

CLUSTER 1 (22)

The Avenues I

Spatial	Central city.
Physical	High level walled, security guarded, new, modern townhouses.
Socio-economic	White, high income, with high divorce rate.

Kirstenbosch Mews (2), Wansford (3), Lambton, San Fernando (3), Monterey Villas, 109 Baines Avenue (2), Montebello, 86 Montague Avenue (2), Apaloosa, 10 Montague Avenue, Balmoral, 117 Baines Avenue, Mawuya, Village Green (2).

CLUSTER 2 (28 units)

The Avenues II

Spatial	Central City
Physical	Well secured, fairly new tudor, Rhodesian vernacular garden flats and townhouses
Socio-economic	White, high income, marrieds.

Ashwicken, Windsor Park, 86 Montague Avenue, Buckingham Gate (2), Sardy-Les-Forge (2), Regent Place (2), Lambton (2), Wiwona, Zermatt, Georgian Place, Marken Court, Volendaam, Tudor Gardens (2), Zandaam, Aviemore, Peterhall, Hyde Park, Georgian Mansions, Selmont Gardens, Bellfriars, Bellview Gardens (3).

CLUSTER 3 (12)

Chadcombe

Spatial	South-east periperal
Physical	Walled, fairly new, Rhodesian vernacular garden flats
Socio-economic	Mixed whites and blacks, low income, marrieds

Jamelen Court, Tristine Court (3), Larbes (2), Santa Barbara, Chadcombe Gardens, Selmont Gardens, Bellfriars, Bellview Gardens (2).

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continued..

(continued)

CLUSTER 4 (42)

Avondale West/Greencroft

Spatial	North-west semi-peripheral
Physical	Average secured, fairly new and fairly old Rhodesian vernacular garden flats
Socio-economic	White, high and low income mix, below average married with fairly high single and widowed households.

Derby Place Cottages (2), Glenside (3), Villa Montmatre (2), Beveridge, 7 Dwarf Flats, Portofino, Cheryl Gardens, Cherrydale, Nevele, Woodfields (2), Hillfriars, Silverhaze (2), Tauranga, Villa Bremaren, Ridgefriars, Beryl Gardens (2), Greenvalley Heights, Tunsgate Park, Parkwood, Mountfriars (4), Arundel Gardens, Kelvin Court, Forest Row (3), Southfriars, Glenfriars, Tudor Gardens, Lynndale (2), Strathdale, Rothsay Gardens (2).

CLUSTER 5 (43)

Avondale/Mount Pleasant

Spatial	North, north-east semi-peripheral
Physical	Below average walled, fairly new and fairly old modern garden flats
Socio-economic	White, high low income mix, marrieds

Forfar Gardens, El Dorado (2), Helens Place (2), Shiraz (3), Keywest, La Panousse (2), Villa Montmatre, Meathcott (2), Rosedale, Shalimar (2), Fountain Gardens, St. James, Glenfriars, Lynndale (2), Selkirk, Tunsgate Park, Parkwood, Chard, Mountfriars, Aboyne, Kirstenbosch Mews, Valley View, Cleardale Flats, Morayshire Gardens, Zagreb Court, Melrose Court, Kelvin Court, 174 Fife Avenue (2), Hyde Park, Balmoral Gardens, Dungarvan Gardens, Northwood Gardens (3).

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continued..

(continued)

CLUSTER 6 (29)

Marlborough/Kensington

Spatial	West, north-west peripheral
Physical	Above average walled and fenced fairly new modern garden flats
Socio-economic	White, low income marrieds, with above average widowers

Costo Do Sol, Mountview, Diora Gardens, Beveridge (2), St. Annes Court, Whitefriars, Monaco Court, Strangford Flats, Avondale Court, Cheryl Gardens, Merryfriars, Beryl Gardens (3), Pentland Gardens, Danmar Gardens, Lincolndale, Ridgefriars, Lynndale, Paisley Gardens (2), Nyararo (2), St. Camilla, Dalefriars, Sareba, Avon Friars, Avon Mews.

CLUSTER 7 (20 units)
Borrowdale/Greendale

Spatial	North-east, east peripheral
Physical	Fenced and burglar barred, old to fairly new Rhodesian vernacular garden flats
Socio-economic	White, low to medium income, singles and divorced families

Gaydon Heights, Sunbury Green, Tottering Heights, Lovers Lane (2), Morayshire Gardens (4), Norest Heights, Valley View, Priory Court, Barons Court, Simon Court, Monaco Court, Mitchells Court, Brians Court, Belle Court, Ann Rich Court, Ridgefriars.

Geographically, the distribution of these areas is illustrated on Figure 48. An analysis of this distribution pattern reveals a number of important characteristics that assist in defining these groups. They are described below.

First, the two wealthiest areas, Avenues I and Avenues II are at the center of the city. This area was traditionally the choice of wealthy colonials before suburbanization and the acquisition of larger plots of land became the practice. The Avenues I area contains new modern townhouses over half of which were built after 1980 (Plate 38). Security guards protect 45% of the properties besides being well-secured physically. Over 90% of the occupants are white with 60% earning over $50,000 per annum. Socially, however, they have the highest percentage divorced as well as married people. This area also has the largest number of foreigners at 36.4%.

This group is followed by another central city group in the Avenues II area. Physically they share the similar characteristics as the Avenues I area although there is a component of Cape Dutch style garden flats mixed with Spanish style townhouses. Socially they share similar characteristics as the Avenues I group except they do not share the same high divorce rate. Foreigners constitute 36% of the occupants.

The peripheral group in the Chadcombe area has the largest numbers of Blacks. They occupy 50% of the units. Lying to the south of the city where Blacks have made the largest gains in occupying other house types (Harvey, 1982.), they have the largest percentage of low income earners with 50% of the occupants earning below $20,000. The style of the accommodation is Rhodesian vernacular garden flats built in the mid 1950s and early 1970s and is secured by perimeter walling (Plate 39).

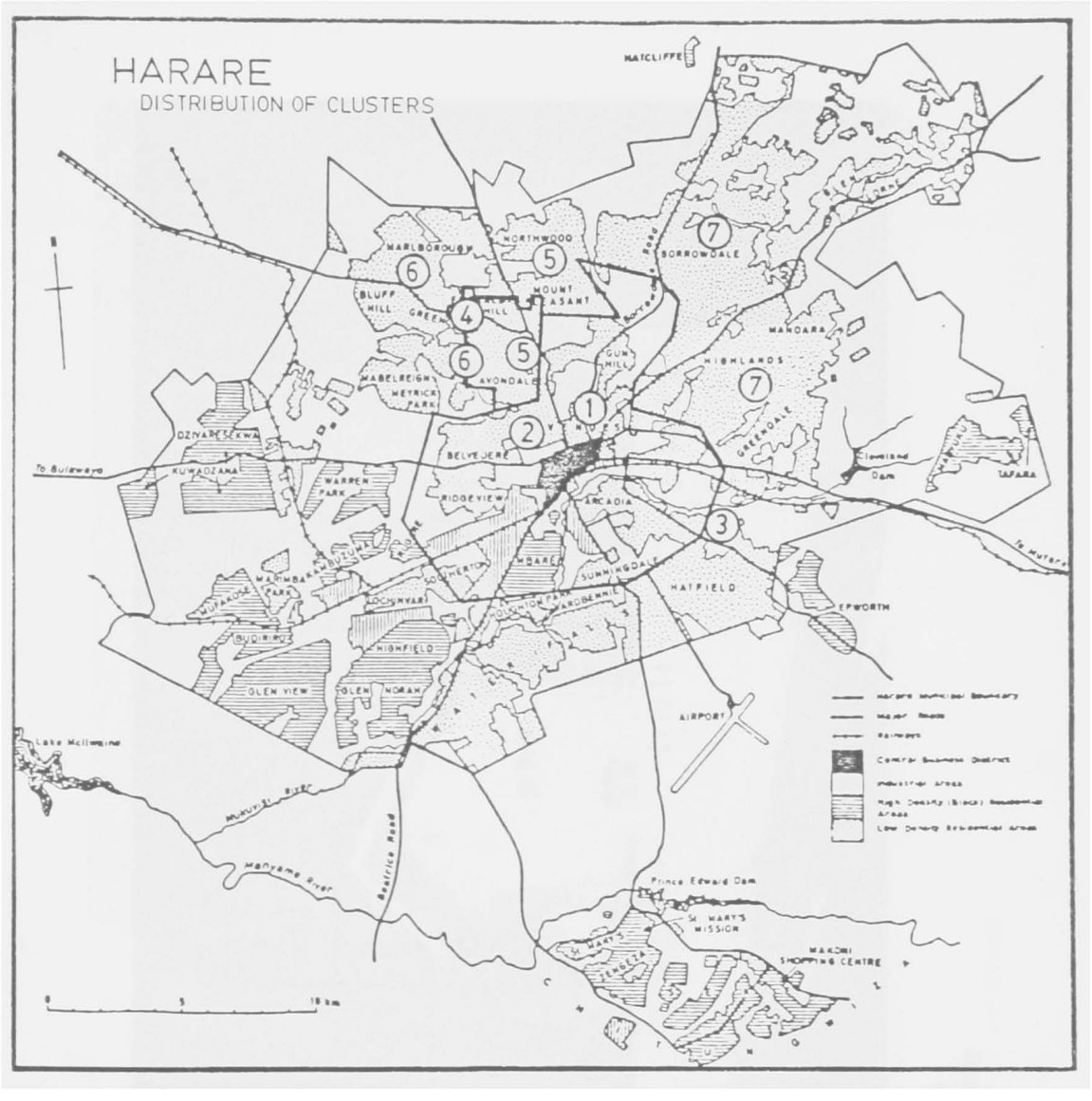

Figure 48
Harare - Distribution of clusters
1. Avenues I 2. Avenues II 3. Chadcombe 4. Avondale West/Greencroft
5. Avondale/Mount Pleasant 6. Marlborough/Kensington
7. Borrowdale/Greendale

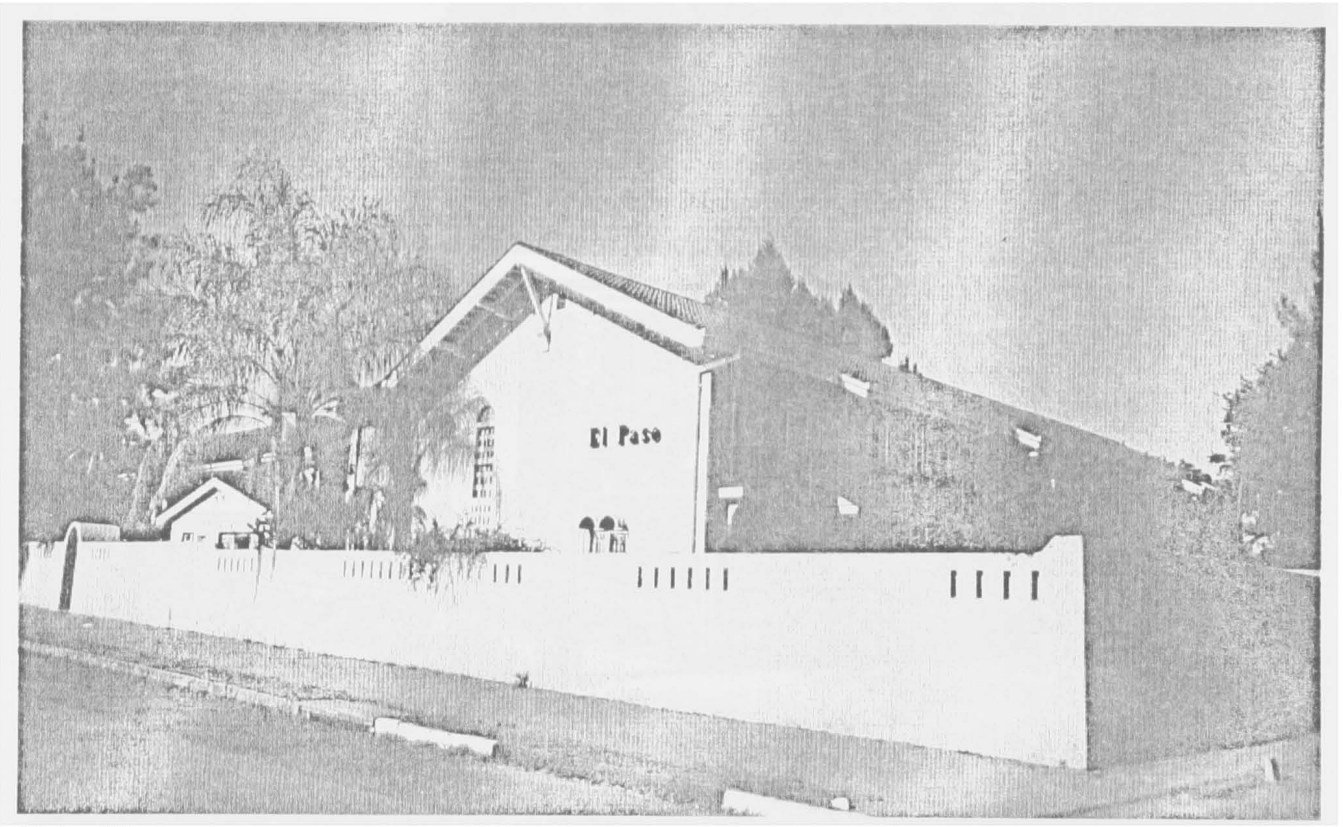

Plate 38
El Paso townhouses
Cluster 1, Central city
The Avenues I

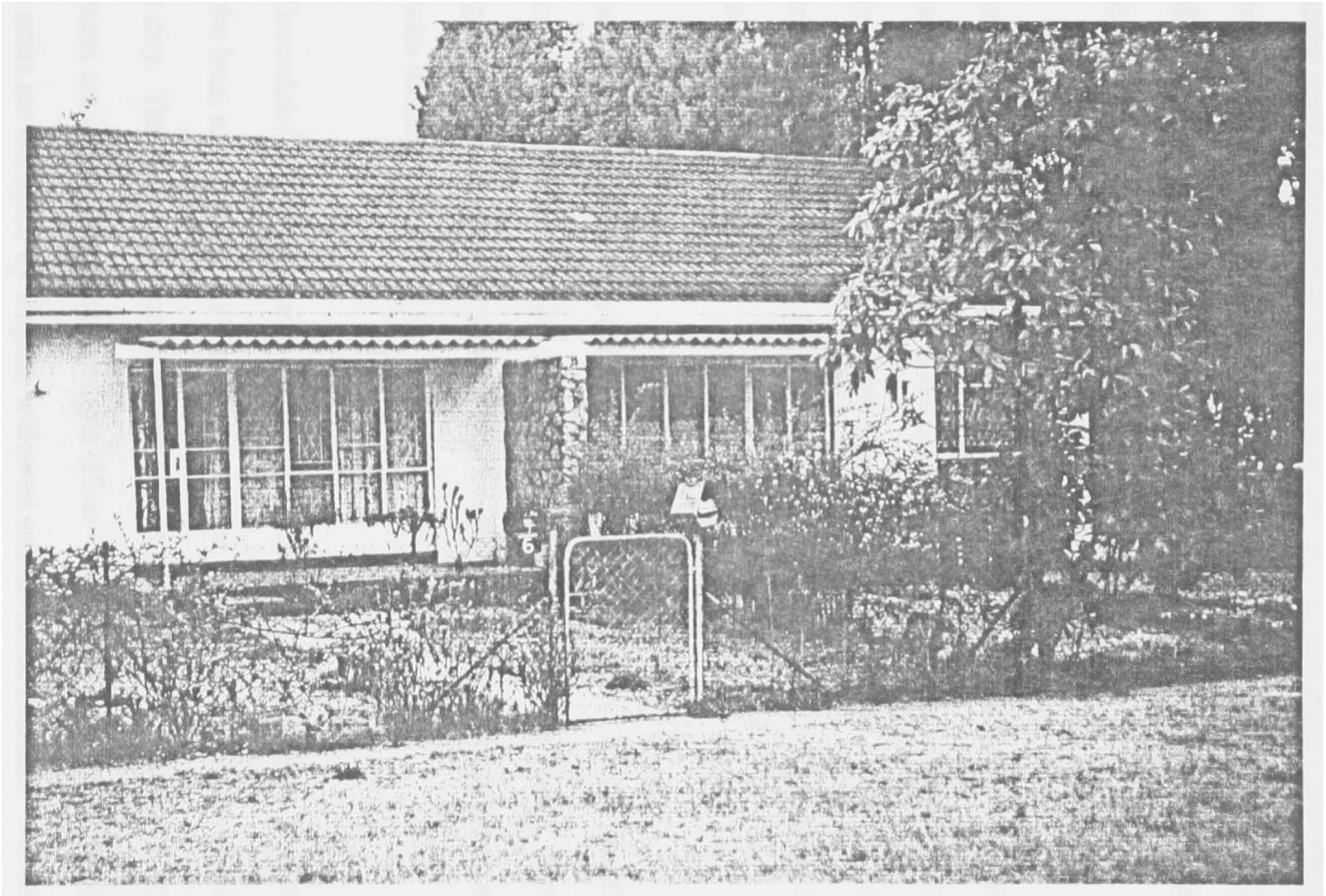

Plate 39
Tristine Garden Flats
Cluster 3, South-east peripheral
Chadcombe

Avondale West/Greencroft in the north-west semi-peripheral area has units that were largely built in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Plate 40) The units are Rhodesian vernacular garden flats and share a range of security arrangements, including walls, fences and security guards. Largely occupied by whites, they have a mix of high (26% over $50,000) and low income (28% under $20,000) occupants with below average marrieds and above average widowers and divorced people.

A group that occupies the Avondale/Mount Pleasant north, north-east semi-peripheral area has units that are below average as far as security arrangements are concerned. Built largely in the 1970s, they are a mainly modern in style (Plate 41). They have a higher proportion of incomes above $50,000 than the previous group with 63% of the occupants married.

Marlborough/Kensington has the largest groups of widowers. This is coupled with 35% of occupants earning below $20,000. The occupants are mainly White. The security arrangements consist mainly of walls and fences. In the Marlborough area units are fairly new with modern units.

The Greendale/Borrowdale areas show some interesting similarities. They are the units with the least security and the Greendale area has the largest collection of older garden flats in the city. The north-east, east peripheral areas are the furthest from the city center. The structures are largely Rhodesian in style (Plate 42 and 43). An above average proportion of these units are occupied by singles, widowed and divorced families. Incomes fall in the low to middle range.

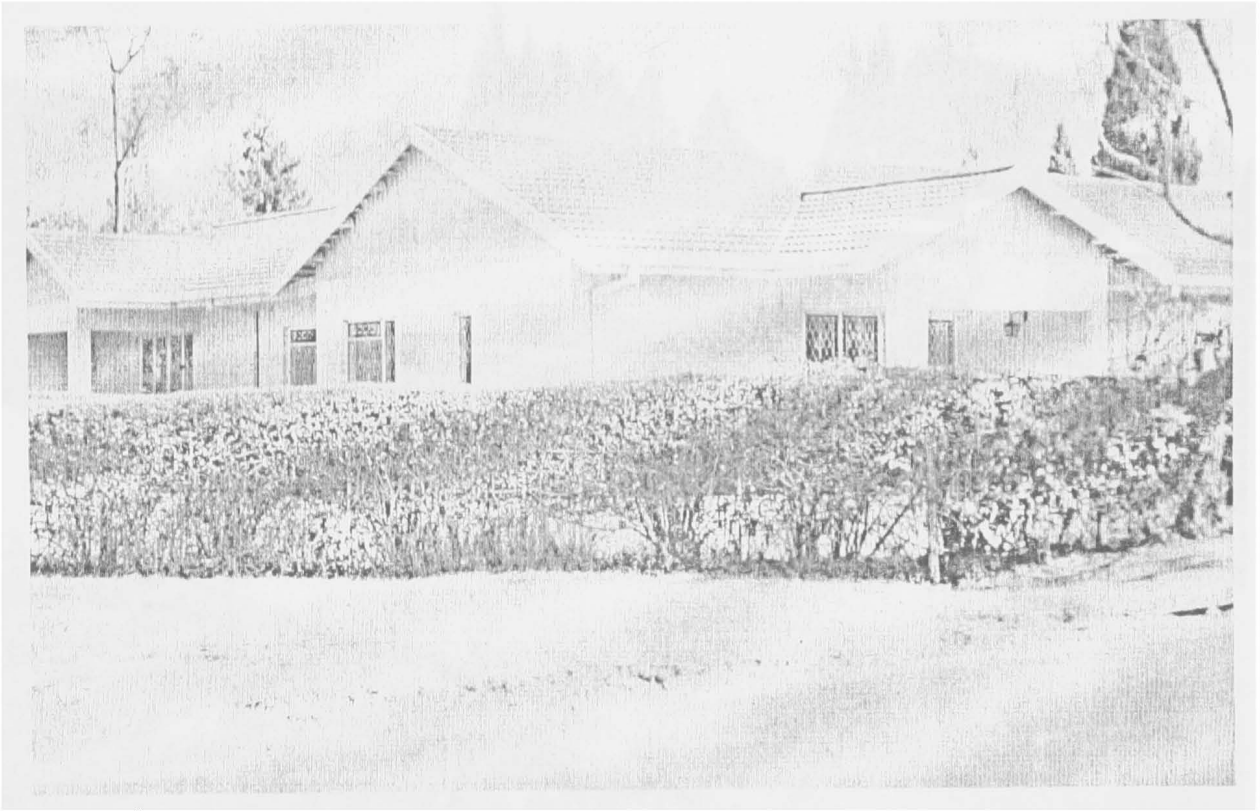

Plate 40
Leyton Hill garden flats
Cluster 4, North-west semi-peripheral
Avondale West/Greencroft

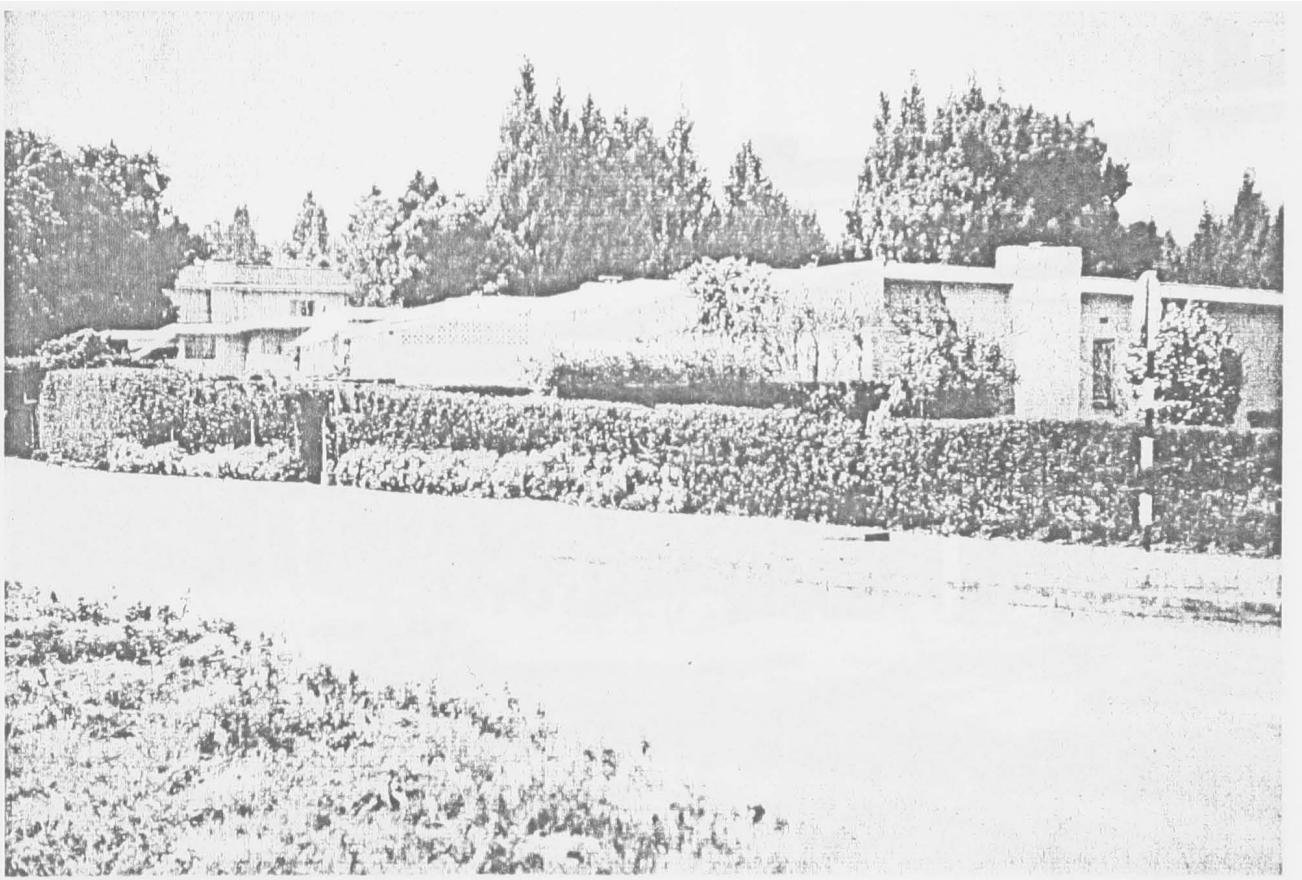

Plate 41
Kingsbridge Court
Cluster 5, North, north-east semi-peripheral
Avondale/Mount Pleasant

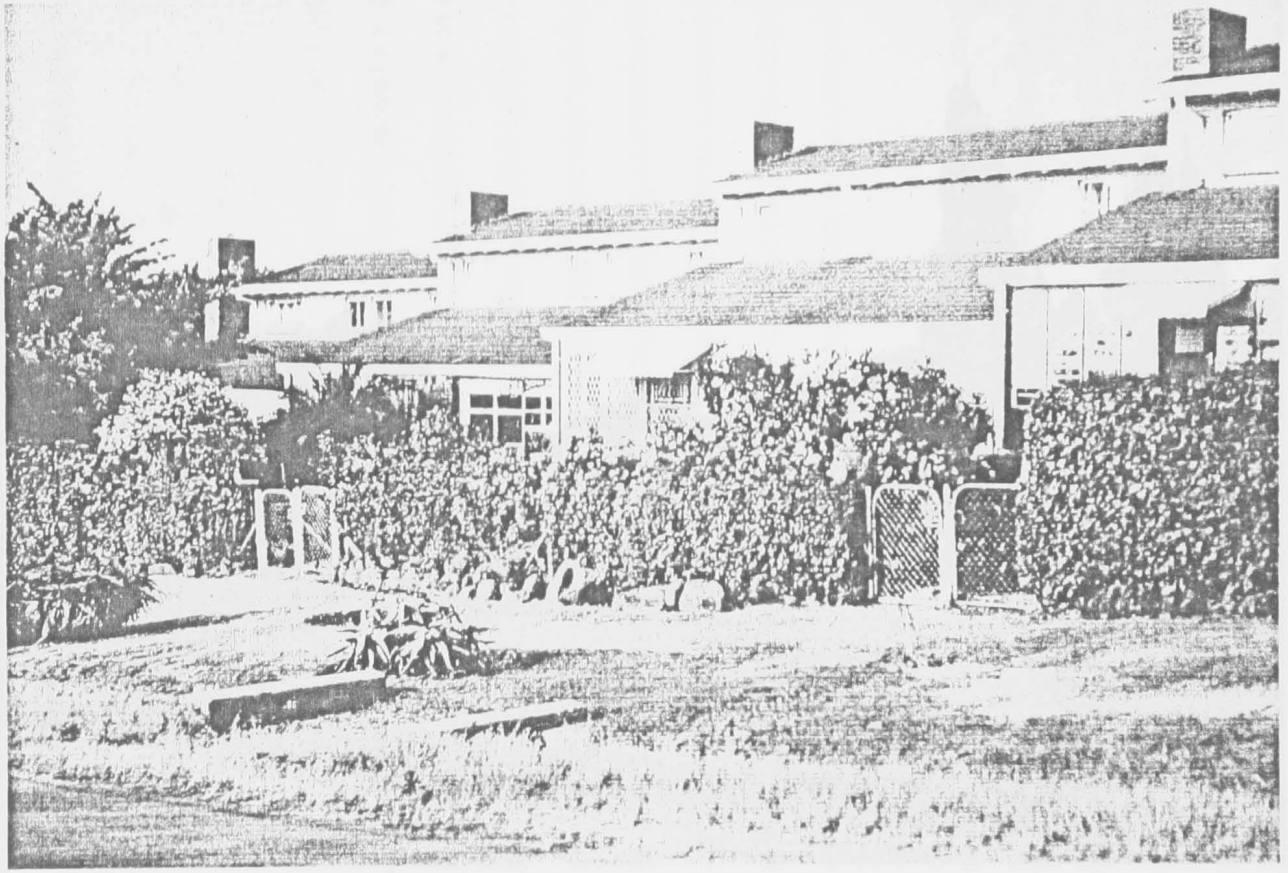

Plate 42
Norest Heights
Cluster 7, North-east, east peripheral
Borrowdale

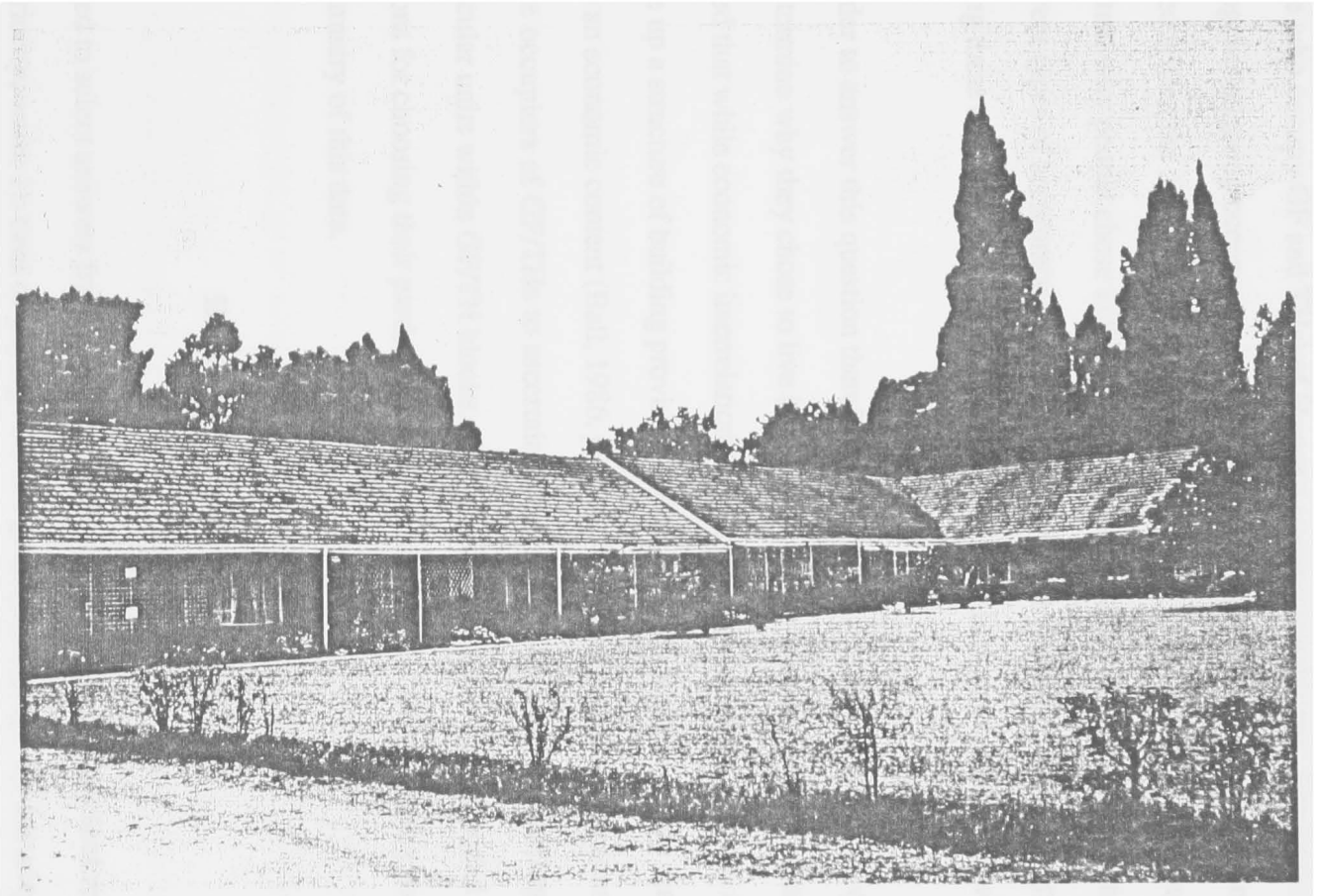

Plate 43
Simone Court
Cluster 7, North-east, east peripheral
Greendale

In sum, correlating socio-economic and consumption variables using both cannonical correlations and cluster analysis has made it possible to draw distinctions among a segment (those who occupy GF and THs) of Harare's wealthy inhabitants. Far from being a homogeneous group occupants of GF/THs display important variations that can be spatially located within the city. These findings are important. They are, however, insufficient to ascertain why people chose to live in GF/THs given the choice they have in selecting different types of accommodation. The answer to this question also has the potential of linking these consumers to the other actors in this particular structure of provision.

In order to answer this question therefore, occupants were asked a series of questions to try to determine why they chose to live in either garden flats or townhouses. Ball (1986) has argued that while economic interrelations are central to the constituent social agents that make up a structure of building provision, the factors that determine them may or may not have an economic content (Ball, 1986, p. 455). With this in mind, questions were directed to the occupiers of GF/THs to ascertain their **reasons for buying/renting** their particular units within GF/TH blocks. Occupants of GFs and THs provided different reasons for choosing their particular type of development. The following section provides a summary of this data.

Reasons for Choosing GF/TH

Asked to select answers from a variety of choices the 5 **most important** reasons, in order of priority, were; 1). tired of paying rent and getting no equity. 2). Security. 3). Costs less than single family dwelling. 4). Location. 5). Privacy. The **very important** reasons were; 1). Location. 2). Privacy and tired of paying rent and getting no equity. 4).

Costs less than single family dwelling. 5).Security. The **important** reasons were; 1). Distinctive architectural style. 2). Freedom from household and yard maintenance. 3). Friends. 4). Location. 5). Costs less than single family dwelling. A quantitative aggregation in percentage terms of these reasons appear in Table 15;

Another question which sought to get respondents views about what the **best features (most important, very important, and important)** of their respective developments were had the results listed in Table 16;

Finally responding to a question about the poorest features of their developments **the most important** reasons given by occupants were; 1). Small size and architectural design elements. 3). Security. 4). Neighbors. 5). No poor features. **Very important** reasons given were; 1). Small size, security, and parking. 4). Architectural design elements. 5). Noise. Finally, **important** reasons were; 1). Architectural design elements and parking. 3). Noise. 4). No recreational facilities, landscaping, poor maintenance, small size, and neighbors. Averaging these reasons resulted in Table 17;

Taking the Reasons for Choice, Best Features, and Worst Features and averaging all of the results produced the list of factors that affected the choice of GF/TH in Table 18.

The reason that most occupants (14.5%), selected as affecting their choice was security. This was followed by location, the cost of an apartment when compared to a single family development, and privacy. While the broader ramifications of these choices will be discussed in the Chapter IX, two observations would not be out of place. The first is that

Table 15
Reason for Choosing Garden Flat or Townhouse

#	REASONS FOR CHOICE	PERCENT
1.	Tired of paying rent and getting no equity	18.5%
2.	Costs less than single family dwelling	16.06%
3.	Security	14.6%
4.	Location	14.03%
5.	Privacy	13.0%

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

Table 16
Best Features of Garden Flat or Townhouse

#	BEST FEATURES OF DEVELOPMENT	PERCENT
1.	Security	20.3%
2.	Location	14.5%
3.	Privacy and peace	11.5%
4.	Freedom from household and yard maintenance	10.3%
5.	Costs less than single family dwelling	9.8%

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

Table 17
Poorest Features of Garden Flats and Townhouses

#	POOREST FEATURES OF DEVELOPMENT	PERCENT
1.	Architectural design elements	15.1%
2.	Parking	10.9%
3.	Small size	9.06%
4.	Security	8.8%
5.	Noise	6.5%

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

Table 18
Factors affecting choice of Garden Flat or Townhouse

#	FACTORS AFFECTING CHOICE OF GF/TH	PERCENT
1.	Security	14.5%
2.	Location	9.5%
3.	Costs less than single family development	8.6%
4.	Privacy	8.1%
5.	Tired of paying rent and getting no equity	6.1%

***Source*: Survey Questionnaire**

occupants are aware of their wealth as individuals or families, when compared to the general wealth of most city residents. Their concern for the security maybe a direct measure of the dichotomy between occupants (wealthy) and the poor of the city. The choice of a particular affordable location may, therefore, be a way of ameliorating the anxieties they share. Second, from a socio-cultural angle there may also be a concern for the development of a lifestyle that they consider to be desirable, but which they see as having little chance of surviving in this particular context. In considering themselves to be under constant threat the desire to feel more secure may be ameliorated by living in close proximity to one another.

What is particularly interesting, however, is that the use of canonical correlation and cluster analysis has made it possible to draw distinctions among the total population that occupies GF/TH. Significantly, however, the image that GF/TH foster is one of community solidarity and cohesion. This is epitomised in one variable that a number of GF/TH shared and that was the names that were associated with these developments[4]. In tracing the names of GF/TH it was found that 96.7% of all names were foreign (English, French or Portuguese) with only 3,3% derived locally. Foreign names like Georgian Mansions, Tudor Gardens, Sardy-Les-Forges, Portofino, and Windsor Park, stand in sharp contrast to local ones such as Mauya, Tauranga, and Nyararo. What, if any, significance can be attributed to these names?

First, there is a suggestion that the builders of these GF/THs were appealing to a particular clientele whose cultural roots lay elsewhere. Occupants could be made to feel "more at home" in a context in which familiar names could be recalled. Second, it may have simply

[4]This variable was not included in either the canonical correlation or the cluster analysis.

been a sales ploy, with its appeal to the exotic. Third, the distinctions that the above typology of GF/THs draws, although important in itself, may be less significant *to the wider population of the city*, in so far as these GF/TH units may simply be seen as housing for the wealthy. For this largely indigenous Black population the names may simply assist in the identification of GF/THs with wealthy foreigners. For the occupants, however, the overall cohesiveness that naming provides in the context of an alien culture, may be the most important factor in terms of their group identity. Naming serves as a mark of solidarity around which people congregate. Mary Douglas referred to this cohesion when she argued that consumption in a physical sense is "only part of the service afforded by goods; the other part is the enjoyment of sharing names" (Douglas, 1979, p. 75). In examining the "enjoyment of sharing names" Douglas finally concludes that, it is precisely this sharing of names "that have been learned and graded", that is culture (Douglas, 1979, p. 79). In the realm of consumption, goods and names, serve to distinguish one group from another.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the character of a segment of a specific group of inhabitants of Harare. Despite the paucity of data in certain areas of the data set, it was possible to draw conclusions of some significance. First, this group of people generally share similar socio-economic characteristics although there are some important differences within the group. Obviously wealthy, when compared with the general population of Harare, they are mainly white Zimbabweans, although not exclusively so (25% belong to other nationalities), who belong to the managerial and professional class. They are unencumbered by children either because they are empty nesters (retired) or, as young managers or professionals have no

families.

Second, when socio-economic characteristics are clustered with physical-spatial ones occupants of GF/TH divide into 7 groups which are located within specific areas of the city. Although the Avenues are the center of gravity of the newer townhouse developments, the traditional suburban areas continue to attract large numbers of units.. In this regard Avondale seems to developing as a GF/TH area of some significance. Historically Avondale has always attracted higher densities than the rest of the city. On the other hand retirees have sought the relative calm of the suburban locations such as Marlborough partly because they are also in close proximity to other services. They are scattered throughout the city but more importantly, in the wealthy areas. There are, however, other conclusions that can be drawn from these social and physical patterns.

One of the major characteristics of this particular group of people is their high personal incomes. Concentrated in the hands of this small sector of the population has guaranteed their ability to separate themselves into a *single cohesive community* visible throughout the city. The basis of this community being the consumption associated with the goods and services, centered on the ownership/occupation of GF/THs. As consumers of high status commodities they are highly visible both in physical and social terms. In physical terms the built environment assures them high visibility. Their social visibility is assured in another way.

In terms of other lifestyle characteristics occupants are mobile (there is at least one car per household) well travelled, and partake in a host of cultural activities which includes a concern with environmental issues. They are, therefore, able to set themselves apart in the

things they do together. They are thus, not only visible in terms of the built environment they consume, but in the socio-cultural activities they participate in. Basically the lifestyle of the communities occupying GF/TH suggests values and attitudes that are coincident with consumer ethic generally found in the First World.

At the same time that they portray a picture of group solidarity, these residential communities are clearly much more *self-consciously segmented.* There are, therefore, clearly visible lines of distinction between people who occupy GF/TH. Different sectors of the city are clearly assoociated with different groups of occupants. These differences are all etched in the built environment in terms of either location, type of development, or security arrangements. The dynamic associated with this outsideness and insideness is a lot more intertwined than is being suggested. Both consumption and production activities hold the key to this connection..

There is a suggestion that consumption and production activities are related in the same group of people. The occupational categories of GF/TH occupants suggests that the managers and professionals that produce goods and services may be the same people who occupy GF/THs. What this means is that the structure of provision associated with GF/THs is a lot more bounded together than might have been initially imagined. Essentially what this means, in practical terms, is that GF/TH units basically advertise the services for those that produce them.

The benefits of this consumption/production link are obvious. It serves not only the dictates of a capitalism, that seeks markets to serve its need for profits and the status seeking desires of those engaged in consumption, but, simultaneously, primes the pump of

production. This structure of provision, therefore, not only provides the images and symbols that create future demand but it will also satisfy that demand.

Finally, there is, however, a downside to this pattern of consumption/production in the context of a Third World city. It draw attention to the consumers. There is a consequently, a heavy price to pay in psychological terms for such consumption. In the case of the occupants of GF/THs in Harare this price expresses in the need for security by GF/TH occupants. As a result this group of consumers have closeted themselves behind high security walls, gates, and guards.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Summary

The aim of this study was to explore a Third World city. In order to better understand the interdependence between space and society, it was argued that cities in the Third World need to be re-examined in the context of the world economy, drawing on concepts such as the socio-spatial dialectic and the built environment. To date, the application of such concepts has been largely confined to the study of western cities, yet they are analytically robust, and provided they are organized in a suitable way, can be applied to Third World settings.

After a review of the literature on images, signs, and symbols, and geographical landscapes, it was suggested that Third World cities can best be understood if examined in a cultural context. Specifically, this study examined southern African urban development

within the context of the culture of capitalism, which it was argued, can be divided into three historical periods, viz., competitive, organized, and disorganized capitalism. These epochal periods were specifically identified at the zonal/regional southern African urban system and city form levels. Detailed attention was finally focussed at the level of one city, the capital of Zimbabwe, Harare.

In "unpacking" the built environment of the city of Harare, a typology of "landscape ensembles" of different epochal periods was established. Having identified these landscape ensembles, an element of the latest period, the townhouse, was selected for study at the micro unit level.

Data on the built environment at the micro townhouse level was obtained through the use of mail questionnaires, interviews, and secondary source materials. In an attempt to draw the reciprocal relationship between producers and consumers of townhouses, respondents -- producers and consumers -- answered questions relating to their motives for involvement with and their experiences and perceptions of the development of the townhouse.

The findings of this study will be discussed with all these levels in mind.

Conclusion

First, results at the macro zonal/regional southern African urban system and urban form level will be addressed. Secondly, at the meso city-wide level the built environment of Harare will be discussed. Finally, at the micro garden flat/townhouse level, conclusions pertaining to the development of structures of built environment will be reported.

The type of capitalist culture that has been practised in southern Africa has influenced and is in turn influenced by the formation of a particular urban system and city form. The coincidence between different periods of capitalism and urban development at the system and form level is particularly significant. Generally the urban system appears to be at the root of the spread of capitalism. Thus race, land, labor, social formation, and the making of myths were all intimately linked, and individually and collectively manipulated to produce a particular pattern of capitalist urban development that is uniquely southern African. Accompanied by conflict and social tension these developments were attended by a web of carefully managed relationships in which the state played a leading role.

The southern African urban system displays remarkable similarities despite the establishment of national territorial spaces. The impact of the Dutch, Afrikaner, British, African, Asian and "Colored" influence on the system is obvious from the very beginning. The appropriation of the culture of capitalism in its various periods by dominant power groups (Dutch, Afrikaner, British and Afrikaner/British) shaped the landscape to suit their own purposes. The other racial groups were not, however, bystanders in this process and were intimately engaged in the development of the urban system.

Initially using a cultural argument, which later translated into a racial one, the Whites developed urban forms which were subject to racially segregative policies and practices. The Segregation City and then the Apartheid City were the products of consciously directed state policies. The desire for security by the Whites resulted in the creation of both physical and psychological buffer zones. Consequently, physically and spatially distinct "reserves", "locations", and "homelands" for Blacks were established. Underpinning this segregation were a host of myths about the character of the African and his relationship to

"White South Africa". As southern Africa entered the current period of capitalism, the city system and city form has once again begun to display some change patterns.

The organization cities, both at the system and individual city level, in southern Africa was influential in shaping urban developments in Rhodesia. The urban system shares similar characteristics. Tribal Trust Lands, or Reserves were distinct places with the formal urban system largely confined to the former White areas. The globalist period has witnessed the extension of the urban system into the Communal Lands with the establishment of growth points and service.

At the urban form level although the Apartheid City was not adopted in Rhodesia the Segregation City thrived. Attempts at "separate but equal development" were made. The globalist period has ushered in a variety of developments which have also impacted the form of the city. These findings are in keeping with,

Proposition 1. Zimbabwe's national urban system is part of a larger southern African zonal/regional system and shares similarities with it both at the system and urban form levels.

Proposition 2. Distinct built environments can be distinguished for the different phases of capitalism and these environments can be ecologically identified within Harare.

As Rhodesia and then Zimbabwe passed through the three stages of capitalism, four distinct epochal periods were identified. These were mercantilism, 1890-1923; settler

colonialism, 1923-1950; inter-nationalism, 1953-1978; and, finally, globalism, 1978-1990. The built environments associated with these periods consist not only of different types of buildings but other components of the built environment represented as a unified entity. For example, under colonialism, the the "dual city" together with compounds, or mission stations, the bungalow and the railway and telegraph were predominant features. Under the internationalist epoch the "primate city" associated with, master plans and Radburn layouts for suburbs, the development of skyscrapers, squatter settlements and highways and airports took precedence. During the current globalist epoch, growth points, malls or PUDs, and development of computer based telecommunications are either being planned or developed. These findings served to confirm Proposition 2.

Proposition 3. Under the contemporary globalist period, distinct landscapes have been produced of which the townhouse is a dominant type.

There is evidence to suggest that development associated with the contemporary globalist period include shopping malls, PUDs, computer based telecommunications, office park development, internationally funded low-income housing projects,and peri-urban development. Among this group the development of townhouses is particularly visible. Garden flats, however, are from a different epoch. Initiated in the internationalist period, for different reasons they were nevertheless the foundation upon which the townhouse came to be built.

This history is borne out by the data on the high percentage of retired people living in the building type. These "old age homes" or "garden flats" were built in areas that were zoned for flats which were close and/or adjacent to areas that were zoned as suburban commercial

centers. Secondly, the garden flat was an import into the city being developed in the suburbs first and was constructed in the city at a much later date. They were the precursors to the townhouse which made their first appearance in the mid-1970s when a different structure of provision began to operate. In contrast to garden flats, townhouses developed in the city first before their migration to the suburbs began. Their migration has been accompanied by a change in layout form, as they sought refuge in a narrowly defined concept of community.

Proposition 4. Developers are at the center of townhouse developments as they pursue market segmentation through product differentiation.

There is evidence to support Proposition 4. The definition of a group of people who can be described distinctly as developers is, however, changing. The individual "entrepreneur developer" is being replaced by the "corporate developer". In the interim the "investor developer" or companies or individuals with capital to invest and who generally know very little about real estate are relying on the advice of realtors, architects, and builders to direct their investments. It is the latter type of developers who are largely involved with townhouses.

Proposition 5. Architects are more concerned with their own artistic needs than with the exigencies of profit maximization.

All the evidence suggests that architects are equally concerned about their artistic preferences as well as making a profit. In a situation in which their skills are in demand they are given latitude to pursue their artistic preferences. These efforts are not, however,

completely free of profit maximization or the development of their offices. There are instances in which architects are particularly keen to see their designs implemented and they will occasionally take a cut in profits to ensure this. There are also cases in which architects are prepared to do "peripheral architectural work" in order to establish a name for themselves before they pursue more lucrative contracts.

Proposition 6. Townhouses are being developed in the wealthier neighborhoods of the city.

Townhouses were specifically being built in the wealthier neighborhoods of the city, i.e. in some of the former White neighborhoods. This pattern has not altered significantly from the construction of garden flats, except that there is evidence to suggest that townhouses are likely to be developed in the north-east of the city where there is potential for larger projects to be constructed. This emphasizes the fact that the city has gradations of "wealthy neighborhoods" and not all of them are being targeted by developers for the construction of townhouses. Avondale, a stronghold of flat development continues to attract townhouse developments.

Proposition 7. The design of townhouses has begun to take on a greater "community" component than has been the case in the past.

Although there are a variety of definitions of community, there are two definitions that are particularly applicable to townhouses. The first relates to their physical development. Townhouses are more likely to include a component of communal living. That is, recreational activities are being added to the list of amenities that townhouses offer. This is

in addition to the communal management services, and the supply of gardening and security services they already enjoy. Additionally, whereas garden flats faced the street, townhouses are in the process of changing their orientation. They are achieving this change by orienting the units inwards or by building high walls to enclose their developments.

Community can also be defined using socio-economic variables such as age, income, occupation, and the number of children, race, nationality. There is evidence to suggest that these communities can be located within Harare. What this suggests is that households can be defined by what they can afford to buy. Specifically, the identification of occupants is dependent upon their lifestyle and consumption patterns, of which the townhouse is a major contributor. In this sense, communities are being created at the plot level by the construction of blocks of townhouses.

Proposition 8. Garden flat/townhouse occupants perceive them as positive in terms of security, status and lifestyle.

Occupants of garden flats/townhouses validated this proposition in general. More importantly, however, there were differences between these three variables. Although the physical security of the seven groups of occupants differed, they nevertheless regarded themselves as secure in the context of a particular neighborhood.

There is clearly status associated with these units. They appear as a distinct part of the built environment in the city. That GF/TH appear near the top end of a social ranking list is also

evident. Associated with this ranking is the role that GF/TH play in the social relationships of the city.

With respect to lifestyle the combination of social and physical/spatial criteria suggests also that there is a community of consumers who share similar tastes and preferences in a variety of areas and that the choice of a particular GF/TH offers them the opportunity to choose.

Proposition 9. Owners and occupants of garden flats/townhouses consume other forms of global culture.

The pattern of consumption of goods and services displayed that occupants of GF/THs participate in leads to the conclusion that there is a similarity between this pattern and the consumerist lifestyle portrayed in the literature of First World cities. This consumption includes the cars (97.8% owned at least one car), electronic consumer goods such as televisions, cameras, record players, and tape recorders, video recorders, microwaves, and compact disc players. Combined with the consumption of the actual garden flat/townhouse are the services surrounding its ownership, such as gardening, and security services. Associated with the residents associations are the management and maintenance services offered by realtors. All these patterns of consumption take place in contexts in which occupants participate in intra-group activities. These activities include, business meetings, cultural and recreational activities such as visits to the theater, national parks, bird, and botanical gardens which strengthen intra-group solidarity. The combined effect of all these consumption activities suggest that GF/TH households participate in a pattern of lifestyle

reminiscent of residential communities in the First World which suggests the presence of a global culture.

Proposition 10. Garden flat/townhouse occupants similarly share socio-economic characteristics that distinguish them as members of *the managerial bourgeoisie.*

What appears clear from the occupants of garden flats and townhouses is that although there are distinctions between income, occupation, race and nationality, it appears to be a "socially comprehensive category" (Becker and Sklar, 1987), and can be defined as a managerial bourgeoisie especially when their consumption and group activities are concerned. Sharing common socio-economic characteristics, they can be identified as having a common class interest. What is particularly interesting, although it is expected, is the presence of members of the international community, French, British, South Africans, etc., in the midst of the occupants of GF/TH. These members of the international community, who can be identified as members of the "corporate international sector of the managerial bourgeoisie" (Sklar, 1987, p. 37) are most always found in these upper-income neighborhoods since they share the same class interests. Here is perhaps part of the link that ties Harare to the zone/region and to the wider international community.

Proposition 11. Access to garden flats/townhouses is controlled by economic as well as social factors.

There is evidence to suggest that entry into this segment of the market is not only dependent upon having sufficient funds to purchase this type of property. Potential occupants have to

satisfy gatekeepers -- usually realtors -- as to the validity of other social attributes. Here race may play an role, but it may not be the determining factor. Other factors that may play a positive role in gaining access to this market is whether a prospective occupant is a foreigner or a member of the diplomatic cadre that is so visible in the city. Thus marketing practices that are designed to attract prospective occupants are balanced with exclusionary ones that determine access to garden flats/townhouses.

Findings in Theoretical Perspective

In the past, theoretical dualism has characterized the literature on Third World cities. Seen as pathological variants of their First World counterparts, a host of separate concepts were deemed necessary to understand cities in the periphery. This dichotomous orientation has, in part, led to studies of Third World cities that have traditionally concentrated greater attention to the "unpaved streets, squatter settlements, and open drains", and a host of undifferentiated social movements.

Recently, however, writers have suggested that Third World cities be conceptualized as complementing city development in the core (King, 1990). In terms of the built environment, Anthony D. King (1990) has highlighted the importance of recognizing the complementarity that existed between the Classical Revival banks in the City of London and the Classical Revival mansions of the Egyptian comprador class on Alexandria, Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. In the context of a world economy that "functions increasingly as a global system" (King, 1985, Simon, 1987), what are the implications of studying the built environments of Third World cities that consist of skyscrapers, luxury shops and offices, and palatial homes, as this study has attempted to do?

The first implication of this direction is that it does not mean that there should be less of an attempt to pay attention to the plight of the poor or that those groups who dominate the system should be the only ones that come under academic scrutiny. The have and the have-nots are two sides of the same coin. They are part and parcel of the same functionally interdependent system be it at the national, regional or the global levels. The commitment to study built environments in the context of the global economy has the potential to expose some of the linkages that facilitate the operations of the global capitalist system.

The second implication is that, in order to carry out this type of study it is important to establish a framework within which the cities of the Third World can be incorporated into a global framework. To achieve this aim, this study has proposed that capitalism be divided into its constituent periods[1] despite the dangers of drawing what appear to be simplistic notions of distinct periods. Sivanandan (1979) has rightly issued a word of warning about periodization, and our tendency to think that one epoch fits tidily into another. The risk of periodizing capitalism has to be taken because the advantages of doing so are manifold. Some of these opportunities have been seized in the past, for example, David Gordon (1977), Ernest Mandel (1978), Frederick Jameson (1985) Anthony D. King (1990) and others, have found sufficient empirical evidence in the "built environment", to suggest that not only are there distinct periods of capitalism but these periods have different urban characteristics associated with them.

The third implication is that the framework utilized by this study can be used at the zonal/regional, as well as at the national and individual city levels. In this way Rudiger

[1]In his article 'The Contemporary Transition' (Webber, 1991) comes to the conclusion that there are no 'periods of constant characteristics' only evidence of waves or cycles. However his measures in terms of economic indicators may have led him to this conclusion.

Korff's (1987) insistence that, cities on the lower rungs (regional) of the world city hierarchy have to be studied if a serious attempt is to be made to understand the global system, can actually be operationalized. In many ways the results of this application have, by far, greater ramifications for the study of Third World cities. These will be discussed in turn.

Cities are large and complex entities to handle. Their study is frequently made more difficult by the need for an appropriate focus. The built environment offers an unprecedented opportunity for the examination of culture and society. Specifically, it has been argued by a number of writers, that it is the social creation of the built environment that requires understanding (Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1977). Despite this acknowledgement, however, accounts of the production of the built environment have increasingly been criticized for the almost cavalier fashion by which people, acting in groups or individually, are excluded from the whole process (Ball, 1986; Healey, and Barrett, 1990).

In an attempt to overcome these obstacles, Michael Ball (1986) has paid attention to the social relations of building provision, defined as structures of building provision.[2] His analyses have highlighted the fact that social relations of building provision cannot be isolated from the wider social context in which they exist. Linkages between particular structures of building provision and that context can be either functional, historical, or political. He has observed that, "none of the three types of linkages can be understood in the absence of the others" (Ball, 1986). This study has validated these observations.

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[2]'Creating and using built structures involves particular sets of agents defined in terms of their economic relation to the physical process of provision itself. Each historically specific set of social agents can be defined as a structure of building provision. By provision is meant the production, exchange, distribution, and use of a building structure (Ball, 1986, p. 455)

In making this claim, this study recognizes that contemporary southern African cities are similar in some important ways to their First World counterparts. This similarity is expressed in a variety of ways. First, southern African cities and city systems have passed through all the stages associated with the development of capitalism as the culture of capitalism sought to establish itself in the zone. In this process of cultural adaptation a particular variant of the capitalist city can be recognized as a product of that culture. There is, however, not only one variant of the capitalist city but a number of different types associated with the different stages of capitalism. Thus for example, there are mercantilist, colonial, internationalist, and globalist cities.

Another similarity can be found within the current stage of global capitalist development. In terms of the built environment there is sufficient evidence to suggest that cities look alike. Residential, commercial, industrial and educational structures are similar in appearance. For example, commercial development in downtown Tokyo, New York, London, Johannesburg, and Harare look similar, although it may be simultaneously various[3] and may vary in terms of mix. At the level of different types of structures similarity often abounds. Townhouses or office blocks, for example, designed in the International Style using self-finished off-shutter concrete as an external material, look alike despite their development in different cities of the world. This similarity, often referred to as homogeneity, should not be confused with complementarity, to which King (1990) refers when he writes about the Classical Revival banks in the City of London and the Classical Revival mansions of the Egyptian comprador class on Alexandria, Egypt. Form, however, is not the only area in which similarity abounds.

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[3]The word various commonly lays stress on the number of sorts or kinds, in this case it would be different kinds of commercial developments such as, shops, offices, warehouses et.c.

Another area in which there is similarity is in the area of the social creation of the built environment, specifically in the linkage between the built environment and the NIDL. This study of the built environment and the structures of provision associated with the townhouse has enabled a number of other observations to be made. The shift of industries from the core has been accompanied by the emergence of specific class fractions in southern Africa, referred to as the managerial bourgeoisie. Partially identified as members of the garden flat/townhouse community, they have been segregated by race, class, stage in family life-cycle, and immigrant status. Underlying this segregation is a greater use of lifestyle and consumer identity in which capital plays a major role. Specialized spaces are being created to supply the consumption demands of this group. While the actual size of this group is not as its counterpart in the United States, for example (Law and Wolch, forthcoming) there is nevertheless a marked similarity with the consumption patterns in Harare.

There is another also another important observation that has been made. There is a suggestion in the available evidence, that the consumers of this lifestyle belong to the same structure of provision as the producers. That is, those that produce the goods and services also consume them and in so doing perpetuate the demand for these types of products. Standing at the pinnacle of society they set the standards by which this type of consumption is measured. There is, therefore, a symbiotic relationship between the producers (image makers) and the consumers in the structure of provision associated with garden flats and townhouses. This is however, not the sole reason for the appearance of this structure of provision in this form.

If the above situation is considered in greater detail, is it any wonder that occupants living in garden flats and townhouses have a high average income, are materially well endowed, and are largely White? How can this situation be explained? Past White privileges can only provide a partial explanation. What about the proportion of Blacks, Asians, and "Coloreds" that form part of this community? Racial explanations alone are insufficient. Rather, it would appear that in a largely poor city with a small population that is visibly wealthy, explanation must be sought in the uncertain, and often insecure circumstances that surround the wealthy in a Third World city. This insecurity derives from, first, the high incidence of crime. Wealthy people are frequently the target of criminals and the security arrangements that surround the rich are a guard against crime. Second, often culturally distinct and afraid of losing their identity the bourgeoisie must pursue strategies that make them feel "more at home". Surrounded by what they consider to be an alien culture, living in close proximity to one another is an important morale booster. In other words, although there is a price to be paid for belonging to a particular class and being visibly wealthy, the benefits accrued by communal living may assist in alleviating any disadvantages.

While insecurity can be understood in these functional/psychological terms, its roots may lie much deeper. At this point explanation may be found in the very nature of the culture of capitalism. In its struggle to remake itself capitalism is constantly in flux. Although periods of capitalism can be recognized these epochs must be seen in this context of constant change. It is from the culture of capitalisms' ceaseless quest for accumulation that insecurity essentially derives. This insecurity permeates southern Africa. It has manifested itself in a variety of ways. In terms of the built environment it has historically been symbolized by the fort. Today the desire for security continues to be expressed by the occupants of garden flats and townhouses in the form of high walls and security guards.

As global capitalism seeks to remake itself the pervayers of the culture of capitalism continue to find themselves under threat, both externally and internally, as they traditionally have done. To ameliorate their condition they have attempted to create communities based on the consumption of the goods and services that capitalism creates. This is the theme that pevades the culture of capitalism in southern Africa.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

This study has sought to establish a practice based approach to the study of the Third World city. Recognizing that individual agents do not operate in cultural vacuums, this study has suggested that the development of built environments in the periphery be seen in the context of the changing stages of the culture of capitalism. An examination of late capitalism and the structures of building provision associated with garden flats and townhouses has demonstrated how the strategies and interests of a given set of social relations between and among individuals translated into the built environment. The study examined the role that the built environment plays in those relationships.

What this study has suggested is that Third World cities are amenable to investigation if the practices of people and institutions are studied within epochal periods of capitalism. The findings in this study are sufficiently robust to argue that this direction has potential for further development.

While built environments and structures of building provision are elemental starting points, it would be lucrative to explore at least two other avenues of research in combination with

the former areas[4] that are essential to provide a fuller understanding of built environments and structures of building provision in the Third World. A third area would assist in linking different levels of the world economy.

The first is the relation between the financial system as a whole and investment in land and development processes. This will require an understanding of the diverse sources of capital, from international aid/donor agencies (including bilateral organizations), multinationals, and those of small local investors. It will also require knowledge of the different strategies that investors utilize at any given point as well as the place of property investment in the portfolios of different investors. Studies would relate types of capital, types of firms, and types of investment strategy as they relate to the built environment.

The second type of study must favor what Rakodi (1990) has defined as "the political decision making process and administrative structure for policy making and implementation". This type of study would examine the various ways that the state structures the changing practice in the form of a variety of intervention tools (taxes, subsidies, etc.), and the rules adopted by individual firms to make investment decisions.

The third area is an examination of the practices of local professional organizations and their linkages to firms, the state, and international organizations. This type of study would detail the role that these organizations play in the promotion of ideas, perspectives, and practices. It would be instructive to follow the possible diffusion of the townhouse in the context of Harare, in this regard.

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[4]Both of these suggestions are made by Healey and Barrett (1990) for Britain. They are however, equally necessary and valid for Third World contexts. The methods however, might differ depending on the city/country under study.

Ultimately it is envisaged that this work would continue to operationalize the concept of the "socio-spatial dialectic" and would necessarily activate the world of practice and work. This direction means that empirical work would have to be undertaken. The difficulty of doing empirical work in the Third World has constantly been commented on by many writers. In an attempt to lessen the burden of doing traditional quantitive research in the Third World city it is suggested that other research methods be explored. At this point the growing body of quantitative research comes to mind. This is not to suggest that qualitative research methods should atke precedence over quantitative ones. Rather, that both quantitative and qualitative methods be used in conjunction with each other. Combined innovatively, they have the potential to make inroads into a more realistic assessment of the Third World city.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE MAKE EVERY ATTEMPT TO ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS ANONYMOUS AND ENTIRELY CONFIDENTIAL

Except where a written answer is indicated, please show your response by placing a tick ( ) in the appropriate box.

1. Name of townhouse or garden flat development (development refers to the entire complex of garden flats or townhouses in which you live).

   _____

2. Type of development (tick one)

   a ☐ garden flat b ☐ town house

3. Do you own or rent the garden flat or townhouse that you occupy?

   a ☐ own b ☐ rent

4. If you rent your garden flat or townhouse unit, what is the form of tenure?

   a ☐ privately agreed lease from unit owner
   b ☐ leased from real estate company
   c ☐ leased from company you are employed by
   d ☐ other (specify)

   _____

5. If you own your garden flat or townhouse unit, what is the form of ownership?

   a ☐ sectional title c ☐ other (specify)
   b ☐ block share

   _____

6. Why did you buy/rent your unit within the development instead of another type of home or flat? (Number the 5 most important reasons as follows: 1 = most important, 2 = very important, 3 = important, 4 = less important, 5 = least important)

   a ☐ friends are near when needed
   b ☐ feel more secure
   c ☐ recreation facilities
   d ☐ costs less than single family dwelling
   e ☐ professional landscaping
   f ☐ privacy
   g ☐ distinctive architectural style
   h ☐ architectural design elements
   i ☐ location advantages
   j ☐ whole surrounding is better
   k ☐ tired of paying rent and getting no equity
   l ☐ freedom from house and yard maintenance
   m ☐ other (specify)

   _____

7. Original price of unit when built? _____

8. Present value of unit? _____

9. How long have you lived in this garden flat or townhouse?

a ☐ 1-6 months
b ☐ 7-12 months
c ☐ 13-18 months
d ☐ 19-24 months
e ☐ over 2 years

10. How much longer do you expect to live here?

a ☐ 1-11 months
b ☐ 1 year
c ☐ 2 years
d ☐ 3 years
e ☐ 4 years
f ☐ 5 years or more

11. What kind of home did you live in before you moved here?

a ☐ single-family home you owned
b ☐ single-family home you rented
c ☐ a rented flat
d ☐ a rented townhouse
e ☐ a townhouse you owned
f ☐ other (specify) _____

12. Do you own a second home other than your garden flat or townhouse?

a ☐ yes
b ☐ no

If yes, please specify location and type

_____

13. What proportion of the year do you live in the garden flat or townhouse?

a ☐ 25%
b ☐ 50%
c ☐ 75%
d ☐ 100%

14. How do you rate the quality of the entire surroundings of your development?

a ☐ very good
b ☐ good
c ☐ fair
d ☐ poor
e ☐ very poor

15. How could the surroundings be improved?

_____

_____

_____

16. How do you rate the size of your entire development?

a ☐ too large
b ☐ large
c ☐ about right
d ☐ small
e ☐ too small

17. How do you feel about the number of families living close to you within your development?

a ☐ too many
b ☐ right number
c ☐ too few

18. How much do your neighbours' noises bother you?

a ☐ very much b ☐ somewhat c ☐ no bother

19. How many of your neighbours do you know by name within your development?

a ☐ 0 c ☐ 3 - 4
b ☐ 1 - 2 d ☐ 5 +

20. Is it easier to make friends here than in any other places you have lived?

a ☐ yes b ☐ about the same c ☐ no

21. Is there outdoor space available for family activities:

a ☐ too much? b ☐ adequate? c ☐ inadequate?

22. Please list the recreation facilities in your development which your families use most, in order of popularity.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

☐ No recreation facilities available

23. List in order of priority any additional recreational facilities you would like to see provided in your development.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

24. Please specify the architectural style of your development.

a ☐ Modern d ☐ English Tudor
b ☐ Spanish e ☐ "Rhodesian" vernacular
c ☐ Cape Dutch f ☐ Other (specify)

_____

25. How important was the architectural style of your development in determining the choice of your unit?

a ☐ very important c ☐ not important
b ☐ fairly important

26. How do you rate living conditions in your particular unit within the development?

a ☐ very good
b ☐ good
c ☐ fair
d ☐ poor
e ☐ very poor

27. Is the arrangement of individual housing units (in rows or blocks) the best possible?

a ☐ good
b ☐ adequate
c ☐ poor

28. How could the arrangement be improved?

_____

_____

29. Which of the following INSIDE spaces are provided within your unit? Tick all appropriate boxes and, where given, circle the number.

a ☐ entrance hall
b ☐ kitchen
c ☐ pantry
d ☐ dining room
e ☐ lounge
f ☐ combined living/dining room
g ☐ main bedroom
h ☐ main bedroom ensuite
i ☐ bedrooms (excluding main) 1 2 3
j ☐ bathrooms (excluding ensuite) 1 2 3
k ☐ toilets (separate) 1 2
l ☐ laundry
m ☐ lock-up garages 1 2
n ☐ carports 1 2
o ☐ other (specify) _____

30. List, in order of importance, the INSIDE spaces which determined your choice of the unit (1 = most important, etc).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

31. Given the opportunity, which aspects of the floor plan would you change? List in order of priority.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

32. Which of the following OUTSIDE spaces are provided with your unit?

a ☐ front garden
b ☐ courtyard
c ☐ rear garden
d ☐ drying yard
e ☐ kitchen yard
f ☐ verandah
g ☐ patio
h ☐ other (specify) _____

33. List in order of importance the OUTSIDE spaces which determined your choice of the unit (1 = most important, etc).

1. _____ 4. _____

2. _____ 5. _____

3. _____

34. How do you rate the available parking facilities in your development?

a ☐ good b ☐ fair c ☐ poor

35. How could parking be improved?

_____

36. Number, in order of importance, which particular architectural elements attracted you in choosing a unit in this development? (1 = most important, etc.)

a ☐ external wall finishes
b ☐ internal wall finishes
c ☐ floors
d ☐ ceilings
e ☐ windows
f ☐ doors
g ☐ security walls
h ☐ security fencing
i ☐ security gating
j ☐ burglar bars
k ☐ kitchen fittings
l ☐ bathroom/toilet fittings
m ☐ fireplaces
n ☐ lighting fittings
o ☐ built-in cupboards
p ☐ post boxes
q ☐ electronic security system
r ☐ other (specify) _____

37. Does your development offer any of the following security arrangements?

a ☐ security guard

☐ days only ☐ nights only ☐ 24 hours

b ☐ security walling
c ☐ security fencing
d ☐ electronic security system
e ☐ burglar bars
f ☐ any other (specify) _____

38. Compared with your previous residence, do you now feel:

a ☐ more secure b ☐ less secure c ☐ about the same

39. For what services provided by your association do you pay a monthly/annual charge?

a ☐ gardener
b ☐ insurance for exterior of building
c ☐ maintenance of exterior
d ☐ rates
e ☐ water
f ☐ security guard
g ☐ other (specify) _____

40. Compared with your previous residence, do you find the costs of maintaining your garden flat or townhouse to be:

a ☐ very much more
b ☐ more
c ☐ about the same
d ☐ less
e ☐ very much less

41. How do you rate the organization and operation of your garden flat or townhouse management committee/association?

a ☐ very good
b ☐ good
c ☐ fair
d ☐ poor
e ☐ very poor

42. What have turned out to be the best features of garden flat or townhouse living for you? List in order of priority.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

43. What have been the poorest features? List in order of priority.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

44. In buying/renting a garden flat or townhouse in <u>another location</u>, if you have a choice of several different neighbourhoods, which of the following categories would be most important when making your selection? Number in order of importance (1 = most important, etc.).

☐ locational
☐ landscaping
☐ architectural
☐ other (specify) _____

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

In order to assess your responses acurately, we need to have some personal information about you and your household - we would be most grateful if you would answer them. Please remember that this questionnaire is confidential.

45. Nationality: ☐ Zimbabwean ☐ Other (specify) _____

Race: ☐ Black ☐ Asian ☐ Coloured ☐ White

46. What is your marital status?

a ☐ married c ☐ widowed
b ☐ single d ☐ divorced

47. Sex of person filling in this form:

a ☐ male b ☐ female

48. Age of principal wage earner?

a ☐ 20-29 c ☐ 40-49 e ☐ 60 +
d ☐ 30-39 d ☐ 50-59

49. How many adults, aged 20 or over, live in your unit?

a ☐ 1 b ☐ 2 c ☐ 3 d ☐ 4 or more

50. How many persons under 20 live in your unit?

a ☐ 1 b ☐ 2 c ☐ 3 d ☐ 4 or more

51. Occupation and position of principal wage earner (please state whether retired)?

_____

52. Formal educational status of person filling in form?

School:
a ☐ "O" level
b ☐ "M" level or matric
c ☐ "A" level

Technical Diploma: d ☐

University: e ☐ graduate f ☐ postgraduate

Other post school qualification (specify): _____

53. Does your spouse have an outside job?

a ☐ yes b ☐ no

54. Your spouse's occupation? _____

55. Your total annual family income? This is important because it gives us a clue to the price of houses that should be built. This is completely anonymous, so the figure remains your secret. We will appreciate an answer.

a ☐ under $20 000 e ☐ $35 000 - $39 999
b ☐ $20 000 - $24 999 f ☐ $40 000 - $44 999
c ☐ $25 000 - $29 999 g ☐ $45 000 - $49 999
d ☐ $30 000 - $34 999 h ☐ $50 000 or over

56. How often do you travel out of the country on business trips?

a ☐ often (5 +) b ☐ seldom (1-4) c ☐ never

57. Have you been away on holiday in the past 3 years? Tick **all** appropriate boxes.

a ☐ inside the country
b ☐ outside the country
☐ within southern Africa
☐ overseas

58. Do you subscribe/purchase any magazines or journals in the following categories?

a ☐ professional
b ☐ sports
c ☐ women/family
d ☐ home and garden
e ☐ hobbie
f ☐ international newspapers/ magazines
g ☐ other (specify) _____

59. How often do you and your household go out to eat?

a ☐ once a week
b ☐ once a fortnight
c ☐ once a month
d ☐ more frequently than (a)
e ☐ less frequently than (c)

60. Please tick any of the following facilities you have visited in the past year and indicate the approximate number of visits to each:

		Visits			Visits
a ☐	library(ies)	☐	h ☐	Ewanrigg	☐
b ☐	museum(s)	☐	i ☐	Lion & Cheetah Park	☐
c ☐	art gallery(ies)	☐	j ☐	Larvon Bird Garden	☐
d ☐	theatre(s)	☐	k ☐	Botanical Garden	☐
e ☐	national park(s)	☐	l ☐	Snake Park	☐
f ☐	Mukuvisi woodlands	☐	m ☐	Heroes Acre	☐
g ☐	Water Whirld	☐	n ☐	Other (specify) _____	☐

61. List the make and age of the car(s) owned by your household.

a _____ c _____
b _____ d _____

62. Are you or is any member of your household a member of a sports club? Please indicate name(s) of club(s).

_____

63. Are you or any of your household a member of/participate in?

a ☐ video club
b ☐ orchestra/theatre
c ☐ keep-fit classes
d ☐ horse riding
e ☐ sailing
f ☐ nature/conservation/wildlife
g ☐ painting/sculpture/pottery
h ☐ bridge
i ☐ other (specify) _____

64. Tick all of the following items which you own:

a ☐ record player
b ☐ tape recorder
c ☐ compact disc player
d ☐ video recorder
e ☐ TV
f ☐ Microwave
g ☐ camera
h ☐ movie camera
i ☐ video camera
j ☐ other (specify) _____

APPENDIX B

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

a land-grant university

College of Architecture & Urban Studies
Environmental Design and Planning
201A Architecture Annex
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061-0113
(703) 231-7508 Telex: 9103331861 VPI BKS
Fax: (703) 231-3367

8 August 1990

TO OWNERS/RENTERS OF GARDEN FLATS AND TOWNHOUSES IN HARARE

We need your help and ideas.

Ever since the introduction of garden flats and townhouses in the residential townscape of Harare, no formal recognition has been given to this type of accommodation in meeting the shelter needs of the City's residents.

This year, in a report published by the Financial Gazette, garden flats and townhouses were, for the first time, recognized as a vital component of the housing scene in Harare.

This survey is seeking your assistance in establishing exactly what your opinions are about garden flats and townhouses. By filling out and returning the enclosed Survey Questionnaire, your advice will help influence builders/developers, architects, planners and public officials in their efforts to build garden flats and townhouses that would be good places to live in.

Answering the survey will only take about 30 minutes of your time. Do **NOT** sign your name. Answer carefully and completely. Your replies will be treated in the strictest confidence. Please use the attached return envelope for your reply.

We wish to complete the survey work before 30 August 1990. We would therefore be grateful if you would complete the questionnaire as soon as possible. We are most anxious to receive your reply.

With many thanks,

Sasha JOGI

APPENDIX C

15th Floor CABS Centre
Stanley Avenue Harare
P O Box 70, Harare, Zimbabwe.
Tel. 729591

The National Property Association

28th June 1990

To the occupant.

Recent development in the housing market in Harare has highlighted an increase in the number of townhouse and residential cluster developments. It is necessary therefore to define as precisely as possible the composition and nature of this development and to identify any problems that might be present in the industry.

Mr S Jogi is a Ph.D. student in the United States conducting a survey of townhouse/residential cluster developments in order to gain information on the size, types and locations of this development, together with data on the socio-economic profile of the occupants.

Please give him all the assistance he may require. The results of the survey will be of immense value to the National Property Association. Please complete the questionnaire and return it within 2 weeks or as soon as possible to this address : P.O. Box 1586,
Harare
Zimbabwe.

Your co-operation in this project is vital to its overall success.

All answers will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Yours faithfully

C Mafico (DR)
Newsletter Editor

APPENDIX D

Institute of Architects of Zimbabwe
Riembarta 256 Samora Machel Avenue East PO Box 3592 Harare Zimbabwe Tel 735440

10 August 1990

To: Occupant(s) of Townhouses and Garden Flats

As you will have seen from the covering letter Mr. S. Jogi, who is from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Virginia, is conducting a survey of townhouses and garden flats in Harare.

The Institute of Architects of Zimbabwe fully supports this survey as your views will give a more accurate assessemt of the needs of this sector of the housing market.

Your assistance in completing the questionnaire is greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

G. PRICE
PRESIDENT
INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS OF ZIMBABWE

APPENDIX E

PART II

SPECIFIC DUTIES OF ARCHITECTS

PROJECT

10. Before preparing working drawings for his client, it shall be the duty of an architect to —

10.(a) hold preliminary discussions with his client for the purpose of determining the requirements and scope of the commission;

10.(b) prepare a brief, outlining the requirements and planning proposals including the necessity or otherwise of appointing any specialist consultant or clerk of works;

10.(c) advise on the form in which the project is to proceed

10.(d) advise on town planning and building by-law legislation and on the financial limitations set by the client;

10.(e) prepare design drawings, which shall show the general layout, design, construction, outline specification and costs of the work sufficient for the purpose of obtaining the approval of the client;

10.(f) obtain the approval of his client of the design, specification, construction and cost of the work before proceeding to working drawings.

CONTRACT

11. The architect shall proceed to contract stage as follows —

11.(a) prepare working drawings, details, schedules and other documents necessary for the complete carrying out of the works; and

11.(b) co-ordinate the work of any specialist consultants employed, and supply them with all information required by them to complete their part of the work; and

11.(c) ensure that all necessary by-law and other building approvals have been received; and

11.(d) call for, and receive, any tenders required, and advise on their acceptance; and

11.(e) prepare for signature any contract documents required in connexion with the work; and

11.(f) select and recommend a suitable person for appointment as clerk of works.

SUPERVISION

12. Where an architect is required to supervise the construction of any works, he shall be responsible —

12.(a) for approving the programming for the progress of the work set by the contractor; and

12.(b) until the works are completed, for making such periodic visits to the site as may be necessary to ensure that the provisions of the contract relating to the construction of the works are fulfilled, co-ordinating the work of specialist consultants, and issuing any certificates of progress or other certificates which may be required; and

12.(c) for rendering such assistance as may be required to the contractor in handing over the building to a client in a state suitable for occupation; and

12.(d) for presenting the final accounts relating to the work.

PART III

FEES CHARGEABLE

13.(1) The fees provided in this Part shall not be lower than the scale and variations referred to in the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Schedules.

13.(2) The architect shall inform his client and obtain his formal acceptance, before he renders the service concerned, of the fees which he intends to charge, whether the fees are in excess of those referred to in subsection (1) or not.

GENERAL FEES

14.(1) Subject to the provisions of this Part, the fee for designing and supervising the construction of any building shall be a percentage of the final cost of the works according to the fee scale shown in the First Schedule and the variations to it as shown in the Second Schedule.

14.(2) The final cost of the works shall include the cost of the mechanical, electrical and other services which are an integral part of the design.

14.(3) The fees referred to in the First and Second Schedules shall be calculated in accordance with the provisions of the Schedules on the percentage of —

14.(3)(a) the final cost of the complete work; or

14.(3)(b) when payments are to be made before the final cost can be ascertained -

(i) an estimate by the architect or quantity surveyor for the complete work;

(ii) the lowest bona fide tender for the complete work, excluding any amount in that tender in respect of contingencies, if no contract is entered into;

(iii) the contract sum:

Provided that, when work is executed wholly or in part with old materials, or where material labour or carriage is provided by the client, the percentage shall be calculated as if the works had been executed wholly by a contractor supplying all labour and new materials at such rates as were applicable at the time when the work was executed.

14.(4) The fees payable in respect of any stage of the work of an architect shall be calculated according to the provisions of the Third schedule, which the architect may require to be paid at the end of the appropriate stage, except the fees for preparation of the brief, which shall be payable on the acceptance of such services:

Provided that, in the case of a large contract, the architect may require interim payments to be made.

14.(5) Where the work of an architect relates to buildings which fall into more than one category, the fees shall be calculated in accordance with the provisions of that section in respect of each category.

CHARGES ON A TIME BASIS

15. Where any fees or charges are to be calculated on a time basis, they shall be calculated according to the provisions of the Fourth Schedule.

WORK NORMALLY PERFORMED BY SPECIALIST CONSULTANT

16.(1) The fee referred to in section 14 shall not cover work performed by an architect which is normally performed by a consultant.

16.(2) Where an architect, at the request of his client, performs work which is normally performed by a consultant, he shall charge for that work in accordance with the scale of fees normally charged by members of the professional body concerned.

PROJECTS COMPRISING TWO OR MORE CONTRACTS

17. Where a project undertaken by an architect is covered by two or more contracts, the fees shall be calculated separately in respect of the work covered by each contract.

PARTIAL SERVICES OR COMMISSIONS

18.(1) Where an architect provides only part of the services normally provided by an architect, the fee for that part shall be calculated on a *pro rata* basis:

Provided that, if only a part of the normal service on any stage is provided, the fee for that part shall be calculated on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule.

18.(2) Where an architect has been paid his fee in respect of a commission which has been terminated or deferred, if that commission is subsequently resumed

18.(2)(a) without substantial alteration within two years of the termination, the fee so paid to him shall be regarded as payment on account towards the total fee due, based on the final cost of the project; or

18.(2)(b) with substantial alteration, whether caused by changed statutory conditions or otherwise, within two years thereof, or after a lapse of more than two years, the commission shall be regarded as a new one, unless the architect and his client agree that the additional work shall be charged on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule.

18.(3) Where work which has been included in the original building contract has subsequently been omitted, the fee chargeable shall, notwithstanding such omission, be seventy-five *per centum* of the final fee calculated in terms of this Part in respect of the work included in the original building contract.

18.(4) Where one architect is commissioned to take over work which was not completed by some other person during or after any of the stages detailed in the Third Schedule, he shall, for his professional services, charge a minimum fee calculated in accordance with the provisions of the First Schedule, increased by a surcharge of twenty *per centum* on each of the stages still to be completed.

TRAVELLING AND SUBSISTENCE CHARGES

19.(1) Where an architect requires payment in respect of any transport expenses incurred by himself or by an employee of his, they shall be calculated as follows —

19.(1)(a) in respect of travel by air, rail, sea, hired or fare-paying vehicle, the actual cost of the fare;

19.(1)(b) in respect of transport by motor-vehicle, the rate fixed from time to time by the council.

19.(2) Any charge made by an architect in respect of subsistence whilst he or his employee is away from his ordinary place of residence shall be calculated on the basis of the actual expenses incurred by himself or his employee, as the case may be.

19.(3) In addition to travelling and subsistence charges in terms of subsections (1) and (2), an architect may charge according to the circumstances on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule in respect of the hours, including time caused by delays, during which he or his employee, as the case may be, is absent from his ordinary place of business or residence, whichever is applicable.

19.(4) Except by prior arrangement with the client, the charges in terms of subsections(1), (2) and (3) shall be based on reasonable costs, having regard to the nature of the journey involved.

EXPENSES

20. In addition to the fees referred to elsewhere in this Part, an architect shall recover from his client the charges for any of the following expenses which he has incurred on his behalf -

20.(a) printing and reproduction of any document, map, model, photograph or other record for communication to and between consultants, the clients, contractors, subcontractors and suppliers;

20.(b) telephone trunk-calls and cables;

20.(c) excessive postage on packets or parcel delivery;

20.(d) the cost of any research, test, investigation, specialist advice and advertising for tenders which has his client's approval;

20.(e) fees payable to a local authority or Government department; any search fee and any similar disbursements.

VALUATION OF BUILDINGS

21. Where an architect makes a valuation for the replacement of any building, the fees charged by him shall be in accordance with the provisions of the Fifth Schedule, with a minimum fee of twenty dollars, exclusive of any expenses or charges mentioned in section 19.

ARBITRATION FEES

22. Where an architect is appointed as an arbitrator for any dispute in terms of these by-laws, he shall charge —

22.(a) if there is more than one arbitrator, on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule;

22.(b) if he is the sole arbitrator, on the basis of forty dollars per hour, with a minimum of two hundred and forty dollars.

EXPERT WITNESS

23. Where an architect is called to give evidence before any court or tribunal as an expert witness, he shall charge on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule, depending on the complexity of the problem.

FEASIBILITY STUDIES

24. Where an architect undertakes, on behalf of a client, feasibility studies involving a preliminary technical or economic appraisal of a project in order to enable the client to decide whether and in what form he shall proceed with the project, he shall charge an additional fee for such studies, which shall, unless otherwise agreed with the client, be calculated on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule, depending on the complexity of the problem.

SPECIALIST AND OTHER SERVICES

25. Where an architect undertakes any of the following services, the services shall be agreed to and defined in writing,and remuneration therefor shall be in addition to the fees elsewhere enumerated in this Part, and shall be calculated on a time basis in terms of the provisions of the Fourth Schedule -

25.(a) advising as to the selection and suitability of the site;

25.(b) negotiations as to the site and buildings, if any;

25.(c) the preparation of additional drawings necessitated by a material alteration in, or in addition to,the client's instructions, or altering the working drawings and specification in consequence thereof prior to the commencement of the work;

25.(d) altering drawings or preparing new drawings and promoting other services involved in consequence of variations or additions required by the client after the commencement of the work;

25.(e) making extra drawings for the client's or contractor's use, drawings for and negotiating with ground landlords, tenants, adjoining owners, public authorities, licensing authorities or other services in respect of servitudes,litigation, arbitration or valuations, bankruptcy, negligence of parties, *force majeure*;

25.(f) any survey or investigation of an existing building;

25.(g) any inspection of building work in progress not referred to elsewhere in these regulations;

25 (h) any specialist consultant architectural services, including the design of residential, industrial or commercial layouts;

25 (i) any interior or furniture or specialist joinery design, shop-fittings or exhibition work.

WORK OUTSIDE ZIMBABWE

26. Where an architect engages to perform work in respect of a building to be erected outside Zimbabwe, he shall, in respect of the work undertaken outside Zimbabwe, adhere, as far as possible, to the fees provided for in this Part.

EXTRAORDINARY FEES

27. Where an architect undertakes any services for which fees are not adequately provided in this Part, he shall apply to the council for guidance in respect of the fees which he should charge.

PART IV

GENERAL

TERMINATION OF AGREEMENT

28. An architect shall ensure that any agreement entered into with a client provides for —

28 (a) the termination thereof at any time by either party on the giving of reasonable notice; and

28 (b) the remuneration of the architect in accordance with the provisions of Part III for services rendered prior to the termination of the agreement.

DISPUTES

29 (1) An architect may agree with his client that any difference or dispute which they may have shall be referred to the council for a ruling, subject to the following provisions -

29 (1)(a) the reference shall be by way of submitting a joint statement of undisputed facts, plus separate statements of disputed facts;

29 (1)(b) the parties shall agree in writing to accept the ruling of the council as final and not subject to appeal.

29 (2) An architect shall ensure that, in his agreement with his client, provision is made that where any difference or dispute arising out of the requirements of these by-laws cannot be determined in accordance with the provisions of subsection (1), it shall be submitted for arbitration by a person agreed between the parties, and that —

29 (2)(a) either party may give to the other a written request to agree on the appointment of an arbitrator;

29 (2)(b) if, after fourteen days from the request referred to in paragraph (a), there is no agreement, the chairman of council may, at the request of either party, nominate an arbitrator.

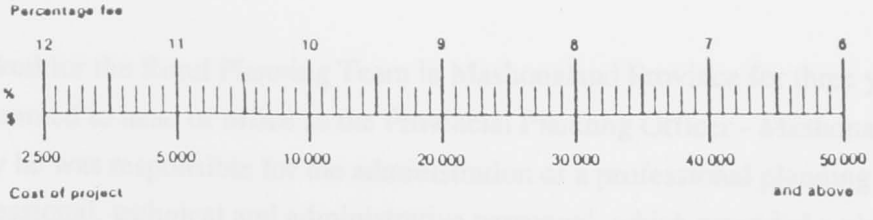
REPEAL

30. The Architects (Conditions of Engagement and Scale of Fees) By-laws, 1976, published in Rhodesia Government Notice 977 of 1976, are repealed.

FIRST SCHEDULE (Section 14)

THE FEE SCALE

N.B. This scale and the Schedules refer to the lowest fees which may be charged by an architect for his services, for which the client's formal acceptance is required. See subsections (1) and (2) of section 13.



VITA

One of five children, Shasekant Jogi was born in Selukwe (Shurugwi), Zimbabwe, on Novermber 29, 1947 to Chotubhai and Shantiben Jogi. He started his primary education at Stanley Primary School in Gwelo (Gweru) before joining Louis Mountbatten Primary School in Salisbury (Harare). Upon completion in 1960, he attended Morgan High School for six years until the end of 1966. He was accepted at the University of Rhodesia nd Nyasaland (University of Zimbabwe) and completed a B.A. (General) in English and Geography together with a Graduate Certificate of Education.

In January 1972 he was employed by the government as a high school teacher at Founders High School in Bulawayo until August 1975. Upon his request he was transferred from Bulawayo to Morgan High School in Salisbury (Harare), where he taught until March 1977. Having left the employment of government he worked as a geography tutor for Speciss College, a private educational college. In September 1977, he returned to the University of Rhodesia and studied for his B. A. (Honours) Geography. In August 1978, after being awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship he attended Nottingham University to read for his M. A. Environmental Planning for Developing Countries. Upon completion in 1980 he returned to Zimbabwe where he again took up employment with the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning.

He worked for the Rural Planning Team in Mashonaland Province for three years before he was promoted to head of office as the Provincial Planning Officer - Mashonaland. In this capacity he was responsible for the administration of a professional planning office, with 30 professional, technical and administrative personnel, which provided a planning service

to the public and to government agencies within the three provinces of Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, and Mashonaland Central.

In August 1987, he was offered a Fulbright Scholarship, to pursue his doctorate degree at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, in Blacksburg, VA. He was accepted in the College of Architecture's Environmental Design and Planning Program. While studying he worked as an Instructor teaching courses on the Contemporary American City for the Urban Affairs and Planning Department.