

23.11.2021



16 Lawson Avenue, Milton Park, Harare, Zimbabwe
Telephone: + 263 2 253001/2/3 or 2928337
E mail : director@wlsazim.co.zw
Website: www.wlsazim.co.zw

Demolitions and evictions in Harare, Zimbabwe: An analysis of drivers and some policy options

Prepared by



The Development Governance Institute
D Z I V A G U R U H O U S E
2682, Mainway Meadows, Harare-Zimbabwe
www.degi.co.zw
kudzai@degi.co.zw

Harare, November 2021



23.11.2021

© *Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA)*

Suggested citation

Chatiza K, Zivhave M, Nyevera T, Marewo M and Chatiza T M (2021) Demolitions and evictions in Harare, Zimbabwe: An analysis of drivers and some policy options

Acronyms

CBD:	Central Business District
CHITREST:	Chitungwiza Residents Trust
CHOGM:	Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting
CHRA:	Combined Harare Residents Association
COVID19:	Corona Virus Disease, 2019
CSOs:	Civil Society Organisations
ESAP:	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
EO:	Enforcement Order
FNC:	Food and Nutrition Council
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
OM:	Operation Murambatsvina
PO:	Prohibition Order
TIZ:	Transparency International, Zimbabwe
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
USD:	United States Dollar
VISET:	Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation
WFP:	World Food Program
ZACC:	Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission
ZANU PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCIEA:	Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations
ZESA:	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZIMVA:	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee

Executive Summary

Harare city has experienced inordinately more frequent evictions that have affected more people than other parts of the country. Most of these evictions have constituted violation of rights. This is because most cases have been unwarranted and done without following due process often at the behest of national government. Victims' lives and livelihoods have been disrupted with their dignity and right to development, access to social and economic spaces increasingly denied the kind of public protections they expect. Permit-issuing and service delivering authorities who have progressively failed to provide services space demand are the ones evicting people and disrupting their lives.

The evictions have been inevitable given that demand for land, housing, jobs, and other services have outstripped supply. The resultant self-provisioning often led by 'make-do' intermediaries including outright fraudsters has seen non-compliance with basic planning law let alone administrative procedures. The rising 'permit-free' building, occupation and operating of residential and economic spaces (i.e. informality) has inevitably attracted displacements. This is because actual evictions are a remedy in cases where victims threaten others' property rights or disregard plans. Without actual or threatened evictions security of tenure and predictable development become difficult.

Evictions are often pitched as 'restoring order and sanity' 'removing filth, cleaning up and renovating workspaces. The reasons why residents lose homes and trading spaces are case-specific and general. They mainly arise from land access and overall administration issues. However, the national sanctioning of clean-ups creates procedural and substantive issues. Victims are mainly the poor seeking shelter and workplaces that the state is failing to provide formally. That these are no longer formally provided adequately and in the right locations makes evictions more commonplace than when the state had capacity. Further, availed services lack appropriateness across people's life and work cycles with authorities unable to facilitate transitions.

Gaps in spatial planning and overall administration of development (mining, dams, plantations etc) result in displacement of residents without compensation let alone their prior informed consent. Some housing and trading spaces are established in environmentally sensitive areas and in locations that are suboptimal. The overall inadequacies regarding settlement and economic planning as well as governance are thus a challenge that make evictions a product of citizen and state (in)actions.

Not much is being done to address national and local eviction drivers, which are i) law enforcement that proceeds without adequate dialogue and development facilitation, ii) unresolved urban poverty, iii) fragmented land administration and weak spatial governance, iv) city-wide bulk or trunk service inadequacies hampering scaled service delivery, and v) systematically weakened city governance performance.

Overall, a balancing of the state's constitutional obligation to deliver on the service-related rights and citizens' responsibility to respect the state's legislative and other measures taken to meet those state obligations. This balance is communicated in the exceptions built into ss71 and 74 that empower the state to evict or displace someone subject to a Court Order. This shows that protections against eviction are therefore absolute. For the City of Harare to be a responsive institution regarding evictions and displacements it is important for its policy making and administrative practices to be proactive. The city must consider the following:

- *Creating and Effectively Manage a Land Database.*
- *Popularising Formal Land Access and Housing Development.*
- *Building Resident Capacity.*
- *Enhancing Policy and Legislative Compliance as well as Communication of Results.*
- *Refurbishing City Delivery Capacity on Key Services.*
- *Strategically Siding with Victims of Evictions and Demolitions, and*
- *Strengthening its Research and Development Management Capacity.*

Table of Contents

Acronyms.....	ii
Executive Summary	iv
1.0 Introduction: demolitions, displacements, and evictions.....	1
1.1 Document Purpose, Methodology and Structure	1
2.0 Demolitions, Displacements and Evictions: A Legal Framework	2
Box 1: Enforcement & Prohibition Orders	3
3.0 Selected Cases.....	3
3.1 Introduction and Case ‘Snapshots’	3
3.2 Issues from the cases.....	5
3.3 Reflecting on Demolitions in Harare	6
3.3.1 Do authorities break the law?	6
3.3.2 Illegal Occupation of Municipal Land and Demolitions	7
4.0 A culture of evictions and demolitions: Synopsis of Drivers.....	7
4.1 A state that is long on enforcement but short on urban dialogue and facilitation	8
4.2 Unresolved urban land and poverty questions	9
4.3 Fragmented land administration and underfunded spatial governance	10
4.4 Inadequate large-scale or city-wide infrastructure	11
4.5 Weakened city governance	11
5.0 Civil Society: Its role and performance	11
6.0 Policy alternatives and some practical actions	12

1.0 Introduction: demolitions, displacements, and evictions

The removal of residential and commercial development considered to have proceeded outside formal approvals has increased in Zimbabwe. The developments are often unrecorded, unregulated, unofficial, and sometimes outright illegal. Overtime, the demolitions, displacements and evictions have not fully respected the rights of those affected. Even where the legal procedures have been followed the negative outcomes for victims have attracted considerable outrage directed at the authorities. Victims, civil society, and researchers have highlighted the inadequate handling of the evictions. This has earned Zimbabwean authorities an image of insensitivity and brutality.

Zimbabwe's capital, Harare has witnessed an inordinately higher number of demolitions, displacements and evictions when compared to the rest of the country. This has been a product of the city witnessing a higher rate of urban growth. Comparatively, the sharper media focus on and higher presence in Harare has enabled the cases to be reported quickly, more vividly and widely. However, it is noteworthy that the proportion of unapproved and '*unapprovable*' developments is higher in the Harare Region than elsewhere in the country.

Residential and economic informality relate to 'permit-free' building, occupying, and operating. Development permits are issued by Council or a relevant national government institution. These are the 'permit-issuing authorities', which also have service delivery responsibilities. Unfortunately, they have progressively failed to provide services apace demand. At the same time, existing formally provided services have become overrun by excessive demand, informalised and inequitable access as well as poor management. This has also been compounded by inadequate maintenance.

As demand for land, housing, jobs, and other services outstripped supply self-provisioning became endemic. Most self-providing actors have operated outside the formal development approval processes. Two generalizable observations relating to 'operating outside formal rules' are worth backgrounding. One is the capacity regression within formal institutions. This has been for both direct provision and regulation or facilitation of provision by others. The second is the exponential rise in the number of '*make-do*' intermediaries including outright fraudsters. These have arisen from within social, economic, and political sectors as well as from within the national and local government bureaucracy.

National and local governments use variable combinations of politically competitive and cooperative actions to respond to unplanned urban housing, economic structures, and unauthorized occupation of and trading spaces. Affected spaces include environmentally sensitive areas like wetlands, land reserved for future development, road, power/energy, and other infrastructure servitudes¹. State responses have taken the form of demolition, displacement and eviction operations, clean-ups, or blitzes. Oftentimes, the support of the police and army have been enlisted. The use of force has often threatened human security² with general violation of civil liberties and political (participation) rights.

1.1 Document Purpose, Methodology and Structure

This analysis and policy proposals are for consideration by the City of Harare. The analysis is based on a review of policy, legislative, and academic literature complemented by interviews with city officials and presentation of a draft at a Housing Delivery Policy Dialogue in Harare on November 15th, 2021. The brief seeks to better inform civil society actions tackling drivers of evictions. In terms of structure, it frames the relevant institutions, draws selected cases, and summarises the drivers of evictions, analyses gaps in civil society actions and makes policy recommendations. These are principally for the attention of the state, the City of Harare. However, this does not ignore the role that national government can play in freeing Harare's capacity to govern the affairs within its area of jurisdiction more competently, sensitively, and on its own accord. Possible civil society roles are also discussed.

¹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2007. Zimbabwe: New evictions likely as humanitarian crisis worsens: A profile of the internal displacement situation

² Used here in relation to the definition applied by the UN in general Assembly Resolution 66/290 that focuses on i) survival, ii) livelihood and iii) people's dignity, <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/what-is-human-security/>

2.0 Demolitions, Displacements and Evictions: A Legal Framework

Zimbabwe's 2013 Constitution has provisions that clearly define property rights and the protections available to the rightsholders. For instance, s71 states as follows:

'Subject to this section and to section 72, no person may be compulsorily deprived of their property except where the following conditions are satisfied...in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health or town and country planning; or in order to develop or use that or any other property for a purpose beneficial to the community' (Government of Zimbabwe 2013:35)³

Exceptions defined include public health or town and country planning related interests. Importantly however, even where those interests have been defined s74 provides further protections to ensure that:

'No person may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances' (Government of Zimbabwe 2013:37)⁴

In essence the two sections define a framework for implementing demolitions, displacements, and evictions in accordance with the law. However, not all recent evictions have followed due process. The result has been pain for victims. This was true regarding the social and political revulsion that followed Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. The anger was framed as a state violation of domestic and international law. For instance, Solidarity Peace Trust (2005)⁵ noted that Zimbabwe was in breach of the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights, the Governing Council of the United Nations Compensation Commission, the Treaty of Rome and the 2001 Report on the International Commission of Intervention and State Sovereignty. Further, Solidarity Peace Trust (2005) noted that the order made under the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (the Planning Act) advertised on May 19th and 26th addressed to owners, occupiers, and users of properties in the Greater Harare area was 'badly written', 'not in accordance with the Urban Councils Act' or the Planning Act, it was not served on those transgressing planning provisions warranting demolitions of their homes and demolitions began before the notice period lapsed (ibid: 17; see also UN 2005).⁶ While there were other significant evictions before⁷ Operation Murambatsvina (OM) and others since, the arguments ignited by OM had far-reaching implications.

For urban housing, key legislation includes the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Regional Town Country Planning Act, Urban Councils Act, Housing Standards Control Act, the Environmental Management Act, the Housing and Building Act and the Civil Protection Act. Unfortunately, most demolitions, displacements and evictions have i) not always fully observe relevant legal provisions, and ii) not followed sufficient engagement with victims for purposes of developing an understanding of their infractions that necessitated demolitions. The Constitution defines the rights of potential victims of evictions and demolitions while the Planning Act provides some of the pre-demolition planning-related and local authority issued Enforcement and Prohibition Orders⁸. The Court Order referred to in s74 of the Constitution overturns actions provided for in s37 of the Planning Act, which now require a court order to execute. Essentially, no conflict arises between individual protections from eviction and their evictability for violating development rights. The Constitution appears to uphold the importance of approved Master and Local Plans, layout plans, architectural drawings, licensing of activities or operations and certifying occupation of structures.

The formality in the approval of development rights involves i) legally mandated consultations including of the public, ii) decision cycles through Committees of Council, technical teams, and Full Council, and

³ Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act No. 20, section 71

⁴ Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act No. 20, section 74

⁵ Solidarity Peace Trust (2005) Discarding the Filth/Operation Murambatsvina: Interim Report on the Zimbabwean Government's 'Urban Cleansing' and forced Eviction Campaign, May/June 2005

⁶ UN (2005); Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to assess the scope and impact of Operation Murambatsvina by Special Envoy on Human Settlement Issues in Zimbabwe, Mrs. Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka.

⁷ Another massive urban displacement occurred on the eve of the 1991 Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting (CHOGM) held in Harare. Thousands were displaced with some being taken to a Holding Camp at Porta Farm towards Norton

⁸ Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1996), Chapter 29:12. Part V, ss32 to 34

iii) inter-governmental oversight processes. In reading s74's '...after considering all the relevant circumstances' care is needed to observe the phrase's meaning. This relates to both the potential evictee's circumstances as well as the collective or community rights and benefits delivered through the formal processes. Section 71:3b (i & ii) of the Constitution provides these caveats.

Section 74's 'court order window' is about providing an independent arbiter (the Court) to hear the arguments or circumstances of both 'permit-issuing or service-providing authorities' and potential evictees. It is not a blank cheque for either. The fundamentals of the conceptual framework are twofold. The first is that the state is constitutionally obligated to deliver on the service-related rights (ss27, 28, 29, 30 etc.)⁹. The second is that the citizens have a responsibility to respect the state's legislative and other measures taken to meet those obligations. As noted above, the other measures relate to competent application of planning law in urban planning, governance, and management.

Box 1: Enforcement & Prohibition Orders

An *Enforcement Order (EO)* is issued by a local planning authority in terms of s32 of the Planning Act. This is where a development contravenes provisions of a Council operative plan. It specifies the action to be taken and the period for executing the remedies. An EO may require i) submission of an application for a permit, ii) restoration of the land to conditions before the development, iii) the demolition or alteration of any building (by the owner or developer), and iv) discontinuance of any operations. The EO becomes operative after the expiry of a period not less than one month from the date served. It is suspended where those served appeal until the appeal is finalised, withdrawn, or abandoned. Where an EO will affect persons (other than developer) the local planning authority may publish it, which shall be deemed to constitute service of the EO on the other concerned persons in that area.

A *Prohibition Order (PO)* is issued in terms of s34 of the Planning Act. It is issued to ensure that offending activities are ceased before an EO becomes operative. It is thus served together with or immediately after issuance of an EO. The PO specifies the operative and expiry dates irrespective of any appeal against an EO. It helps ensure that the 30-day EO window is not abused by a developer to continue with illegal development.

Source: Adapted from Government of Zimbabwe (1996)

The constitutional stipulation that no evictions should be arbitrary shows that a court order must be served or delivered to those affected. A reading of the Planning Act, which stipulates notice periods valid for not less than a month suggests that evictions, demolitions, and displacements that fall short of that time horizon may be unconstitutional (*The Herald* 2016)¹⁰.

3.0 Selected Cases

3.1 Introduction and Case 'Snapshots'

Policy making benefits from analyses of the nature of cases and of the responses to policy problems. This section presents some of the recent eviction cases. These are summarised below and include cases that illuminate lessons from non-Harare experiences. The cases reviewed reflect the relevant policy issues and practical experiences.

1. In June 2020 Chipinge Town Council demolished market stalls affecting at least 1000 traders¹¹. The structures and operations were illegal. Their demolition was nationally sanctioned by the Ministry responsible for local government. Operators were not consulted prior to demolitions. Some claimed they had Council permission to build the trading structures and were paying Council rates.
2. Chitima Market stalls in Masvingo were demolished in April 2020¹² following a government directive to clean-up the area before renovation began. No notice was served. Traders lost produce¹³.

⁹ Education, shelter, health, and social welfare respectively

¹⁰ The Herald Newspaper, 16 February 2016. Available on <https://www.herald.co.zw/demolitions-unlawful-high-court-rules/>

¹¹ <https://www.manicapost.co.zw/chiping-council-demolish-illegal-structure/>

¹² <https://www.thezimbabwean.co/2020/05/icod-zim-engages-masvingo-city-council-on-behalf-of-pwds/>

¹³ <http://democracyinfrica.org/abductions-brutality-demolitions-state-becomes-harmful-covid-19/>

3. 10 households lost homes near Juru Growth Point¹⁴ in October 2020 following demolitions. They had erected houses deemed illegally developed on private land occupied for more than 10 years. Stands were bought through Eastdale Heights Cooperative. The Messenger of Court served them with a court order, which victims claimed ignored an existing High Court Order against demolitions.
4. In 2014 demolition of illegal structures was conducted in Chitungwiza's Manyame Park (St. Mary's), Zengeza 5, Seke Units A, C, N, O, P and Riverside.
5. In 2015 structures along Highglen and Kambuzuma Roads were demolished. Owners were part of 32 bogus housing cooperatives¹⁵. Houses were on state land meant for social services.
6. Another high-profile demolition was at Arlington Estates, Harare in 2016. The justification was the residents illegally settled on land reserved for expansion of Robert Mugabe International Airport¹⁶
7. Tembwe Housing Cooperative beneficiaries suffered when their Budiro 5 houses were demolished in 2020. The homes were built on an open space in the middle of Budiro 5 High Density suburb.
8. The 2021 Demolitions at Diamond Park, Melfort was another high-profile case. The settlement was reportedly illegal. Goromonzi RDC got a Court Order against the developer. Some residents lost homes to demolitions.¹⁷ A ZANU PF brokered dialogue saved further houses from demolition.
9. Chegutu Municipality demolished illegal structures in the Central Business District (CBD) in 2019. Council justified the action as about restoring sanity in the town.¹⁸
10. In 2021 at least 18 Kariba families were left desperate after being served with eviction notices to vacate Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) houses they lived in¹⁹. ZESA terminated the leases with the ex-ZESA employees to address an accommodation crisis for its current staff.
11. Marondera Municipality issued eviction notices to over 200 families occupying houses allocated under Garikai/Hlalani Khule for failing to pay over USD5 000 each to government²⁰.
12. About 2,000 Mudzi households faced eviction to make way for planned expansion of the border town²¹. 140 were served with notices to relocate without compensation.
13. In Mutoko's Ward 11 residents faced eviction after rumours about granite mining in 2021²².
14. Manyame Rural District Council was set to demolish about 17 houses in Murisa Phase 2 in July 2021. The houses were built on the banks of Duri stream²³. The stream flooded in January this year following the heavy rains, leaving families stranded and property destroyed.
15. In Hwange and Binga residents were under eviction threat to make way for Chinese mining company in 2020²⁴
16. Some Ntabazinduna villagers faced the risk of eviction to pave way for the installation of power lines in June 2021²⁵
17. Upmarket homes illegally developed in Victoria Falls were threatened with demolition in January 2021²⁶

¹⁴ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2020/10/demolitions-leave-10-families-stranded-in-goromonzi/>

¹⁵ The Herald, 11/12/2015. Demolitions leave 3000 families homeless. Available at:

<https://www.herald.co.zw/200-houses-demolished/>

¹⁶ The Herald, 29/12/2016. Arlington Demolition Victims Sue Council, Government. Available at:

<https://www.herald.co.zw/arlington-demolition-victims-sue-council-govt/>

¹⁷ Africa Press, 26 June 2021. Hundreds Of Houses In Diamond Park, Melfort Demolished. Available at:

<https://www.africa-press.net/zimbabwe/all-news/hundreds-of-houses-in-diamond-park-melfort-demolished>

¹⁸ Zimbabwe Today, 9/10/2019. Chegutu council demolishes illegal structures. Available at: <https://zimbabwe-today.com/chegutu-council-demolishes-illegal-structures/>

¹⁹ New Zimbabwe, 11/09/2021. Ex-ZESA Workers Face Eviction In Kariba

²⁰ New Zimbabwe, 15/11/2021. Govt set to repossess 200 Garikai/Hlalani Khule houses in Marondera. Available:

<https://www.newzimbabwe.com/govt-set-to-repossess-200-garikai-hlalani-khule-houses-in-marondera/>

²¹ SW Radio Africa, 12/12/2013. Zimbabwe: Mudzi Rural Council to Evict 2,000 Households. Available at:

<https://allafrica.com/stories/201312130627.html>

²² The Herald, 12/09/2021. 1500 Mutoko households face displacements. Available at:

<https://www.herald.co.zw/1-500-mutoko-households-face-displacement/>

²³ NewsDay, 17/07/2021. Manyame wants to demolish 17 houses on the river bank. Available at:

<https://newsbeezer.com/zimbabwe/manyame-wants-to-demolish-17-houses-on-the-river-bank/>

²⁴ <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/zimbabwe-several-villagers-in-matabeleland-province-face-evictions-to-pave-way-for-mining/>

²⁵ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2021/06/ntabazinduna-villagers-face-eviction/>

²⁶ <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/govt-to-demolish-illegal-upmarket-homes-lodges-in-vic-falls/>

18. Umguza RDC was battling with some illegal church buildings in August 2021²⁷. At the same time the Council has a neighbourhood where some residents had built homes on Council subdivided land in Reigate without approval resulting in demolitions.
19. Harare City bulldozed illegal market stalls in Mbare Musika built on roadways and pavements. The stalls were obstructing pedestrian movement. Families relying on informal trade were affected and lost livelihoods and investment in traded stock and building materials. The demolitions continued even after the High Court order²⁸ which prevented the city from continuing with the demolitions.

3.2 Issues from the cases

Fifteen of the nineteen cases (78.9%) above relate to housing. Considering housing as an economic and political space not just social, the implications of tenure insecurity are thus far-reaching. Several points can be noted from the cases. First is the reality that the reasons why residents lose homes and trading spaces are varied. The demolitions and evictions experienced are now a national occurrence. Second, there are many case-specific and general issues that emerge. These include land access and overall administration issues as the Juru, Melfort, Harare (Tembwe and Arlington) and Marondera cases show. A third issue regards national sanctioning of clean-ups. Sub-issues arising relate to the extent to which these are thought through, procedurally notified to local governments and their residents as well as the post-demolition responses. There are some inadequacies in this regard.

Fourth, is the question of encroachment onto infrastructure servitudes as well as land reserved for uses other than housing and trading. These two (shelter and jobs) seem to be the needs that appear to be inadequately provided for the most in Zimbabwean urban areas. As a result of considerable unmet demand, which continues to rise, unprocedural land, housing and trading space access is set to continue. This is made more difficult by the limited capacity of public sector agencies to respond in terms of performing their regulatory functions effectively let alone facilitating access to services.

The fifth issue from the cases is one of provision for appropriate services across the life and work cycles of those needing housing and trading spaces. To some extent the Kariba case demonstrates the issue of retirement housing needs. Before independence it was common for retired urban residents to return to their rural areas. Part of this was inevitably a product of their not having owned urban housing. While this 'returning to rural areas' still occurs there is a growing number who are either unable or unwilling to do so. This is in a context of a very limited rental and social housing stock following mass conversion into home ownership during the early years of independence.

Point six relates to gaps in spatial planning and its overall administration. The Mudzi urban expansion, Mutoko and Hwange-Binga mining developments are cases in point. In the absence of approved and regularly updated physical plans residents are not always aware of 'common good' uses to which the land they will be using may be put to in the future. At the same time, local planning authorities²⁹ do not effectively engage communities where displacements will take place. This includes on matters of compensation and assisting with movements to alternative settlements. There are many historical and contemporary experiences of inadequately managed displacements (Ndlovu and Nwauche 2021³⁰; IDMC 2008³¹). These make residents mistrustful of authorities even where some attempt to engage.

The seventh point relates to environmental conservation concerns where housing and trading spaces are established in sensitive areas. The parceling out of land for housing and commercial developments on wetlands (Sithole and Goredema 2012³²; Mandishona and Knight 2019³³) with about 30 wetlands

²⁷ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2021/08/16-byo-church-buildings-face-demolition/>

²⁸ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2021/06/demolitions-continue-in-harare/>

²⁹ These include the Parks and Wildlife, Mining, Tourism, and other authorities outside local government (national and local)

³⁰ Ndlovu N and Nwauche E S (2021) A Review of Land and Property Rights of Internally Displaced Persons in Zimbabwe: Steps Towards Restitution, Book Chapter, Springer

³¹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC 2008) The Many Faces of Displacement: IDPs in Zimbabwe

³² Sithole A and Goredema B (2012) Building in Wetlands to Meet the Housing Demand and Urban Growth in Harare, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 3 No. 8

³³ Mandishona E and Knight J (2019) Users' Perceptions and Understanding of two urban Wetlands in Harare, Zimbabwe, pp326-348, South African Geographical Journal, Vol 101(3)

under threat from illegal settlements (UNDP 2020).³⁴ These have been within the context of protecting water sources and ensuring that critical environmental services continue to be available. Yet partly because of inadequate physical planning, regulatory coordination amongst relevant state institutions and politicised land access some wetlands in Harare have been illegally developed.

Clearly settlement and economic planning as well as overall spatial governance issues are a challenge beyond the City of Harare. The use of the terms chaos and insanity in public policy discourse have become commonplace. Unfortunately, arguments in favour of order, amenity and sanity are within a context of an economy and society unable to immediately finance orderly, socially equitable and environmentally sustainable development. This lack of capacity largely explains why the pursuit of these objectives now seem contradictory and incompatible. At the same time, the pursuit of these noble objectives is now guided by a Planning Law that some analysts consider inappropriate (UN 2005; Kamete 2013³⁵, 2009³⁶; Chirisa and Dumba 2012³⁷; Chigudu 2021³⁸). They are used to justify clean-ups, which in practice are demolitions of lives, structures, and livelihoods.

3.3 Reflecting on Demolitions in Harare

Demolitions and evictions in Harare are couched as about 'restoring order and sanity'. This suggests a response once urban spaces become chaotic beyond what national political authorities can tolerate. In 2020 and 2021, demolitions and evictions were justified under the banner of responding to COVID19 leading to people being evicted from trading spaces. The evictions were directed by the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works following a cabinet resolution. Local authorities were asked to clean up and renovate workspaces used by SMEs and informal traders³⁹.

Municipal police and other Council officials demolished market stalls and illegal cabins with national police protecting them. Demolished structures included those constructed within road reserves. A three-day (72 hour) ultimatum was issued by the Harare Provincial Development Coordinator⁴⁰ for residents to remove illegal structures considered. Following the expiry of the 3-day ultimatum, authorities embarked on demolitions. Affected operators lost property and traded wares.

3.3.1 Do authorities break the law?

The Arlington case showed how state agencies can violate the law. The City of Harare was directly involved in demolishing houses. Subdivision E of Arlington Estate, in Hatfield, Harare was targeted. The city did have a court order anticipated under s74 of the Constitution. Relevant provisions of the Planning Act were also not followed. There was also no consideration of adequate restitution. At court the state admitted to these facts. The urgent Chamber Application (Case No: HH 114-16, Dusabe & Anor v City of Harare) after the demolitions, cited the city alongside the Ministers responsible for lands and local government.

Residents of Arlington Estate argued that they had settled on the land legally and their 'papers' were in order. They acquired the land lawfully from Nyikavanhu Housing Co-operative, which had been formally allocated land for housing development by the state lands office in the Ministry responsible for local government. The offer was on 15 January 2006. This was subsequently confirmed in 2010 and 2013 through a Notice and a Letter of Recognition respectively. These papers permitted the cooperative to develop the land. Despite these 'papers', the demolition still occurred. Following demolitions, applicants

³⁴ <https://www.zw.undp.org/content/zimbabwe/en/home/blog/urban-development-and-wetland-conservation.html>

³⁵ Kamete, A. (2013). 'Missing the point? Urban planning and the normalisation of "pathological" spaces in Southern Africa'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38(4): 639-651.

³⁶ Kamete, A. (2009). 'In the service of tyranny: Debating the role of planning in Zimbabwe's urban "clean-up" operation'. *Urban Studies* 46(4): 897-922.

³⁷ Chirisa I and Dumba S (2012) Spatial planning, Legislation and the Historical and Contemporary Challenges in Zimbabwe: A conjectural Approach, *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol. 4(1), p1-13

³⁸ Chigudu A (2021) Influence of Colonial Planning Legislation on Spatial Planning Development in Zimbabwe and Zambia, *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, Vol 147(1)

³⁹ Bill Watch 18/2020 - 22nd April - Demolitions: Who is Responsible?

⁴⁰ The Herald, 08/06/2021. Blitz Razes illegal structures. Available at: <https://www.herald.co.zw/blitz-razes-illegal-structures/>

and their families were left living in rubble, constantly facing threats of forced removal from the city. Their movable property was wasted through exposure to weather elements.

The court concluded that while the applicants were under the impression that they had acquired their land lawfully, they had been duped by Nyikavanhu Housing Cooperative. The Cooperative did not own the land but was also fully aware that the land had been reserved for industrial and commercial land uses associated with the Airport. The cooperative was also clear that they would not receive approval for a residential layout on the land. Yet they sold the land while authorities looked the other way. Further, houses were built and inhabited only to be demolished later.

3.3.2 Illegal Occupation of Municipal Land and Demolitions

Many residents of Budiro 4 and 5 were affected by demolitions that the City of Harare instituted in December 2020. Council secured at least 20 High Court Orders to evict individuals and cooperatives from its land in Graniteside and on its farmland. A Press Statement issued by the Ministry responsible for local government's Provincial Office for Harare dated 17th December 2020 announced '...the full list of Housing Cooperatives that sole residential stands to home seekers irregularly...and judgments...passed in favour of the City of Harare', further noting that '...Housing Cooperatives are required to have valid offer letters and site [layout] plans approved by authorities' (Government of Zimbabwe 2020).⁴¹

Those that had bought the land were left in despair after their investments was reduced to rubble. The cases brought against the Housing Cooperatives show the extent to which City of Harare has become overwhelmed by rising illegal settlements promoted by land barons selling land they neither owned nor properly planned let alone developed. Further, the sales were to innocent residents genuinely seeking urban housing land. While the December 2020 list had at least 20 Housing Cooperatives operating on illegally occupied or accessed land, the challenge was much wider and covered mostly state but also private land accessed since the start of Fast Track Land Reforms in 2000.

One the demolitions that took place in December 2020 affected Tembwe Housing Cooperative. In this case an additional twist was that of their dispute over land ownership with Events Housing Coperative. Homes had been built on land bought from Tembwe in 2010. The cooperative was also collecting regular subscriptions from members. While the cooperative claimed to have purchased the land from the city the latter claimed that it only had advertised its intention to sale the land in 2015 to Events Housing Cooperative. As such, Tembwe Housing had invaded Municipal land, sold irregularly subdivided parcels and the two cooperatives were at court over land that neither owned.

4.0 A culture of evictions and demolitions: Synopsis of Drivers

The progressive provisions of the constitution that constrain arbitrary evictions are yet to be fully embraced in the national laws, planning policy and administrative psyche. At the same time, citizens and their civil society partners seem to underplay the limits imposed by state capacity regression in recent decades. While at one end there is agreement on state obligations to deliver on rights understanding of and respect for the measures that the state takes to deliver is inadequate.

The depth and breadth of urban poverty has also bred a justifiably restless, impatient, and generally youthful population. The political and economic governance frameworks ae inadequately adjusted to these realities. In this context interventions of the state on issues of urban land rights are mainly guided by the Planning Act as well as allied legislation. Unfortunately, this legislative regime is yet to be adapted to the 2013 Constitution. This section lists and briefly discusses the factors sustaining the culture that makes demolitions and evictions more commonplace than what the constitutional framers envisaged.

⁴¹ Office of the Provincial Development Coordinator for Harare Metropolitan Province,

4.1 A state that is long on enforcement but short on urban dialogue and facilitation

Zimbabwe's national laws define procedures for carrying out evictions and demolitions conducted as part of development control. Some of these give rise to human rights violations⁴². This is particularly true when carried out without procedural guarantees (Mavedzenge 2018).⁴³ While there are circumstances where forced evictions are justifiable, they still need to be conducted within the law. Unfortunately, some evictions and demolitions have been incompatible with relevant international and domestic policy and legislative instruments. Further, the purpose and execution of some evictions have not helped expand the general welfare of people within the context of a democratic society. This has exposed the Zimbabwean state's inclination towards enforcement rather than facilitation. Developing urban planning and land governance literacy has not been a key focus of the state.

UN Habitat (2016)⁴⁴ notes that laws governing urban areas reflect residents' rights and responsibilities. These planning and governance laws balance competing public and private interests, especially in relation to land use and development (Slaev 2016)⁴⁵. They distinguish real and personal rights. The latter are contractual and only binding between the parties involved. The former rights binding are on everyone. Real rights allow holders to use or prevent others from using, while personal rights allow holders to make someone perform or prevent performance of a defined act (Payne 2004)⁴⁶.

International human rights frameworks and the Constitution show that all persons must be able to enjoy equal rights and opportunities provided in urban areas. Zimbabwe's constitution sets out rights and freedoms people are entitled to⁴⁷. If the rights are violated, one can seek redress (Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission 2020).⁴⁸ The Zimbabwean state has three obligations relating to economic, social, and cultural rights. These are to respect, protect and fulfill people's rights. This requires the taking of appropriate actions to make rights realisation and enjoyment a reality (ibid). In the context of evictions and related enforcement of planning regulations the clarity on responsibilities is currently inadequate.

When it comes to development rights conferred under planning law individual rights (e.g. to own or use a property) are limited on the basis of how they relate to the rights of other landowners, zoning principles and operative plans for an area. Development control is used to regulate erection and use of structures, including constraining setting up of buildings or land uses out of character with existing ones in each area. Town planners use relevant tools to regulate land uses (and thus rights of landowners) to restrict pursuing of development interests that may be harmful to neighboring properties. The Planning Act emphasises principles of order, harmony, and conservation, among others. This means that the right to shelter is realizable within the limits of permitted land uses. Yet properly planned and serviced land for affordable housing and other land uses is in serious short supply. Further, those seeking such land are not fully aware of how to safely negotiate the many land administration actors and processes (TIZ and ZACC 2021).⁴⁹

⁴² Human Rights Watch, n.d. Zimbabwe's Obligations under International Law. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/background/africa/zimbabwe0905/8.htm>

⁴³ Mavedzenge, J.A., 2018. *An analysis of how Zimbabwe's international legal obligation to achieve the realisation of the right of access to adequate housing, can be enforced in domestic courts as a constitutional right, notwithstanding the absence of a specific constitutional right of every person to have access to adequate housing* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town).

⁴⁴ UN-Habitat, 2016. Rules of the game: Urban Legislation. Available at: https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/09/rules_of_the_game8_0.pdf

⁴⁵ Slaev, A.D., 2016. Types of planning and property rights. *Planning Theory*, 15(1), pp.23-41.

⁴⁶ Payne, G., 2004. Land tenure and property rights: an introduction. *Habitat international*, 28(2), pp.167-179.

⁴⁷ 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe

⁴⁸ Zimbabwe Human Right Commission, 2020. Declaration of Rights: Chapter 4 of The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Sections 44 – 87)

⁴⁹ TIZ and ZACC (2021) Urban and Peri-Urban Land Governance in Zimbabwe: Towards a Corruption-free, Transparent and Accountable System

4.2 Unresolved urban land and poverty questions

Urban poverty has been rising faster in urban than rural Zimbabwe. The ZIMVAC urban assessment report of 2021 observes that urban areas are increasingly precarious places to live and experience worsening food security (FNC 2021).⁵⁰ The report noted that 42% of households (up from 30% in 2019) were unable to meet their cereal needs (WFP 2021).⁵¹ A key manifestation of the precarity is informal work (make-do manufacturing and trading) and shelter. Informal economy actors and authorities have clashed within a context of constrained economic performance. Many urban residents have turned to the informal sector for jobs and services. Traders occupy streets where customers are perceived to be. The pedestrian traffic obstruction and interference with other commercial operators has raised concern over 'fights for the street' in a context of asserting one's right to the city.

The COVID-19 pandemic exposed the extent and distribution of poverty and inequality within the urban environment. It also triggered evolutions in the way informal traders operate. As preventative measures saw closure of trading spaces operations were shifted to homes and boots of cars (Toriro and Chirisa 2021).⁵² The new trading forms like night trading, door-to-door sales, and car boot sales even attracted actors that previously were not involved in street trading (Kiaka et al 2021).⁵³

Acknowledgement of the urban economic challenges began during the economic structural adjustment program (ESAP) of the 1990s (Kamete 1999).⁵⁴ State responses in terms of planning included enactment of Statutory Instrument (SI) 216 of 1994. The SI redefined homes as both shelter and workplaces. Effectively SI 216 allowed development of non-residential activities in residential areas (Government of Zimbabwe 1994).⁵⁵ Activities such as hairdressing, tailoring, bookbinding, wood or stone carving were deregulated (UN 2005). In 2005 however, most of the activities were affected by Operation Murambatsvina disrupting relevant urban economic transformations.

Despite the repeated disruptions informal trading has taken root. Formal economic spaces in the CBD and in residential neighborhoods have been taken up. Yet the soft and hard infrastructure in cities like Harare is not designed to support the largescale informality. For instance, nationally the housing backlog is estimated at 1.3 million with nearly half this number in Harare, 54.4% of population below poverty line, 11.3% unemployed, & slum population at 33.5% (CAHF 2020⁵⁶; Economic Intelligence Unit, EIU 2021⁵⁷). The economy has become dominated by informal employment at 94.5% (ibid)

Not everyone is in support of unregulated trading in terms of spaces and activities. For instance, Mbare residents supported the June 2021 demolitions arguing that the traders were not Mbare residents. Market dynamics also play a part with location of traders in 'undesignated areas' considered as giving better returns compared to city-run sites (Mutami and Gambe 2015).⁵⁸ CSOs like the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations (ZCIEA), Chitungwiza Residents Trust (CHITREST) and the Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation (VISET) raised concerns regarding extortion and harassment of traders⁵⁹. They argued demolitions were ill-advised, and brutal. Further,

⁵⁰ Food and Nutrition Council (2021) Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZIMVAC) Urban Livelihoods Assessment, UNDP, WFP, UNICEF, REACH

⁵¹ <https://www.wfp.org/news/hunger-urban-zimbabwe-peaks-ripple-effect-covid-19-felt-across-nation>

⁵² Toriro, P. and Chirisa, I., 2021. Vendors on wheels! The changing terrain and manifestation of informality in Harare under Covid-19 pandemic restrictions. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), p.1939230.

⁵³ Kiaka, R., Chikulo, S., Slootheer, S. and Hebinck, P., 2021. "The street is ours". A comparative analysis of street trading, Covid-19 and new street geographies in Harare, Zimbabwe and Kisumu, Kenya. *Food Security*, pp.1-19.

⁵⁴ Kamete, A.Y., 1999. Restrictive control of urban high-density housing in Zimbabwe: Deregulation, challenges and implications for urban design. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 16(3), pp.136-151.

⁵⁵ Government of Zimbabwe, 1994. Regional Town and Country Planning (Use Groups) Regulations (Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994). Harare: Government Printer.

⁵⁶ Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (2020). 2020 Yearbook: Housing Finance in Africa. Johannesburg, South Africa. <http://housingfinanceafrica.org/>

⁵⁷ <http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=453276029&Country=Zimbabwe&topic=Economy>

⁵⁸ Mutami, C. and Gambe, T.R., 2015. Street multi-functionality and city order: The case of street vendors in Harare. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 6(14), pp.124-129.

⁵⁹ Social and Economic Transformation (VISET), 16/06/2021. VISET Urges Harare Provincial Development Coordinator To Take A Chill Pill

they pushed back on accusations that traders would spread COVID19 due to the crowds they attracted and the poor conditions at their workplaces.

Essentially, the authorities governing urban spaces and the urban poor do not work well together. Informal sector entrepreneurs lack access to adequate spaces, are unable to follow the rules they are expected to and are not included in the planning and governance of their place in the urban economy. Where spaces are provided, they are rarely integrated into existing city systems. With urban poverty rising, rural-urban migration is no longer the key urban challenge it used to be. The new frontier is addressing the land access and economic development needs of urban residents whose numbers are swelling from natural growth. The numbers needing support through the informal sector is set to rise. As with general application of urban planning and governance legislation which lacks adequate facilitation the nurturing of informal economic actors in Harare and other urban areas needs better structuring, resourcing, and implementation.

Fortunately, there are noticeable changes in regulating urban informal trade. For instance, Government enacted Bulawayo's Hawkers and Vendors By-law (Bulawayo City Council 2020)⁶⁰, Statutory Instrument 181 of 2020. The by-law guides applications for licenses, stalls, and flea markets. The cities of Harare and Mutare, Chipinge Town Council and Gwanda Municipality are other local authorities that have started reforming their urban economic governance with support under the Zimbabwe Urban Resilience Project.⁶¹ NGOs have made significant strides towards redesigning and restoring urban markets. For instance, UNDP and CARE International restored infrastructure at markets in Mutare to make them resilient to the impact of current and future shocks (UNDP 2020).⁶²

4.3 Fragmented land administration and underfunded spatial governance

City Master and Local Plans are ill-adapted to some of the pressures defined above. For Harare, its 1994 Master Plan has run its course. Efforts at a revision have stalled over funding, technical capacity and inadequate support from neighboring local authorities involved in preparing the 1994 Harare Combination Master Plan. Part of the delays and non-cooperation has been triggered by a changed political economy arising from the post-2000 peri-urban developments. This has seen rural local authorities developing housing on the city's edge in manner that obstructs their cooperation with Harare.

Related, the city's application for additional land to be incorporated into its boundary has not materialized. At the same time, the neighboring Councils have hemmed the city in by sponsoring or failing to fully regulate peri-urban housing developments drawing on the city's unhoused residents. Some of the developments have been on state land allocated to cooperatives and other land developers working without City of Harare involvement. Further, some of the peri-urban land is agricultural land allocated by the Ministry responsible for lands and not yet formally incorporated into Harare. Yet beneficiaries of rural farmland have converted the land into urban without following appropriate processes. Some of the land corruption has occurred on such land (TIZ and ZACC 2021).

The point about lack of an updated Master Plan reflects inadequate forward planning within the city. This has meant that the city's spatial planning policy framework used to guide land uses has fallen behind demand or expectations that new developers bring to the city for processing. Staff responsible for the planning function are inadequate in terms of numbers. They also lack adequate operational resources to appropriately execute relevant development management functions. This explains why at times it takes long for them to act on illegal developments. With some illegal developments taking weeks if not days it is not surprising that some developments are demolition when already looking complete. Informed and connected 'make-do land developers' use their knowledge of the fragmentation to defraud beneficiaries and bully national as well as local planning authority officials.

⁶⁰ Bulawayo City Council (Hawkers and Vendors) By-laws, 2020.

⁶¹ The project is being implemented by the Ministry responsible for local government with support from and participation of UNDP, UNICEF, UN Women, ILO and other state and non-state stakeholders

⁶² UNDP, 2020. COVID19 and the Food Supply Chain: Restoring markets in Mutare

4.4 Inadequate large-scale or city-wide infrastructure

Harare's trunk road, transport, communication, energy, water, and sanitation infrastructure development has been grossly underfunded. This is reflected in the lack of largescale development projects in the last 20 years since Urban II in the mid-1990s. Lack of large-scale infrastructure investments limits the city's development options including densification, renewal as well as bringing un or lightly developed areas into more intense and mixed development. Part of the consequence has been urban sprawl. In essence, the lack of investment has limited the city's economic growth prospects and overall performance. Further, the existing infrastructure has become choked due to increased demand beyond design thresholds.

4.5 Weakened city governance

Since the turn of the century the complexion of Harare's political governance changed straining intergovernmental relations (Muchadenyika 2015).⁶³ In the last decade for instance the city went for more than four years without a substantive Chief Executive (City of Harare 2018).⁶⁴ Further, nearly half of the 2018 to 2023 cohort of policy makers faced recalls impairing the running of Council business (*The Herald* 2021⁶⁵; CHRA 2021⁶⁶). Some 15 senior staff members were suspended for allegedly defrauding their employer in land sales amounting to USD1.1 million (*The Herald* 2020).⁶⁷ Senior executives are in acting capacities undermining the performance of relevant functions. In essence, Harare's governance performance is weak, and the structures have almost been dismantled largely because of political and administrative strains between the city and national government.

5.0 Civil Society: Its role and performance

Like other cities, Harare hosts three categories of civil society of interest to the debate on evictions. One is local civil society organisations of Harare, natives. These are formed by and for operating largely in Harare. The main ones are resident associations with Combined Harare Residents Association, Harare Residents Trust and others coming immediately to mind. The second relates to Zimbabwean civil society organisations based in Harare but working beyond the city and its region. Category three is of international development organisations headquartered in Harare. Some of these work in Harare while others do not and still others cover other countries from Zimbabwe's capital.

All three categories are critical to issues of demolitions, displacements, and evictions. They are involved in mainly demand side work. Some of the activities relate to direct service delivery, anti-eviction advocacy and capacity development before, during and beyond demolitions, displacements, and evictions. Some engage the city in their work on a systematic basis including supporting dialoguing on policy and actual development. For instance, the alliance of Dialogue on Shelter and the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation has partnered the city on enumerating slum and informal areas, modbilised resources to implement a slum upgrading in Dzivarasekwa between 2010 and 2016, set up a joint fund for the urban poor, the Harare Slum Upgrading Finance Facility and are involved in ongoing organising of the urban poor to access land and housing. The Civic Forum on Human Development has also supported policy development and practical actions to address challenges and evolve solutions in human settlement or built environment governance.

For those organisations focusing on advocacy work without direct interventions the understanding s74 of the constitution is an area need strengthening. The complexities of the city's performance challenges are not fully understood. There is also an assumption of sufficient capacity at the city that seems

⁶³ Muchadenyika, D. (2015). 'Land for housing: A political resource – Reflections from Zimbabwe's urban areas'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41(6): 1219-1238.

⁶⁴ City of Harare (2018). *State of the City Address* by Mayor, Councillor Bernard Manyenyeni, 11 April 2018.

⁶⁵ <https://www.herald.co.zw/just-in-harare-aborts-full-council-over-mayoral-chaos/> published 20, August 2021

⁶⁶ <https://kubatana.net/2021/09/01/harare-pays-the-price-as-council-fails-to-meet/> published 1, September 2021

⁶⁷ <https://www.herald.co.zw/council-suspends-14-over-corruption/>, published 08, July 2020

unrealistic. Consequently, the framing of the advocacy work is one that carries a risk of frustrating participants, both civil society and residents.

6.0 Policy alternatives and some practical actions

The City of Harare has a history of pro-poor urban and housing policies. For instance, from the 1980s the city supported several housing cooperatives through training, land allocation and actual technical support in housing development. This and other experiences are worth building on so that it rebuilds its authority regarding urban planning and land governance. Additional policy ideas include the following:

1. *Create and Effectively Manage a Land Database*: the city should have a complete database for Municipal, state and private land awaiting development complete with planning status. This information should be in a searchable database with appropriate access rights
2. *Popularise Formal Land Access and Housing Development*: The city has a responsibility to develop, regularly update and disseminate or popularise formal land access and housing development guidelines or procedures. It should use simplified yet legally and administratively sound policy language and devise ways of innovatively disseminating the information through appropriate partnerships and platforms
3. *Build Resident Capacity*: on its own and in appropriate partnerships the city should ensure that appropriate community structures, political parties and individual residents participate in Council-run training initiatives on participatory local governance and inclusive service delivery. The support should aim to achieve inclusive, transparent, and accountable city governance
4. *Enhance Policy and Legislative Compliance as well as Communication of Results*: in all dealings the city should attend to performance and compliance gaps, communicate remedial actions, capacity development initiatives and results from its actions clearly and consistently. This also includes complying with the Constitution of Zimbabwe and legislation relevant to regulating development
5. *Refurbish City Delivery Capacity on Key Services*: the city should build its formal land delivery capacity internally and in partnership with carefully and transparently selected partners
6. *Strategically Side with Victims of Evictions and Demolitions*: the city should develop and deploy mechanisms to help affected residents. This may include i) developing and publicising names of 'black-listed' land and housing actors, ii) jointly suing individuals and entities convicted of illegal land allocation and development for victims to be compensated, and iii) taking other legislative or administrative measures to entrench an image of caring local authority
7. *Strengthen City Research and Development Management Capacity*: the above policy alternatives can be completed through internal capacity to gather and analyse spatial development and governance data. This includes using appropriate settlement monitoring and communication tools. It will create a strong basis for evidence-based decision-making on land and its governance including enforcement of appropriate rules