Forces shaping urban morphology in Southern Africa Today: unequal interplay among people, practice and policy

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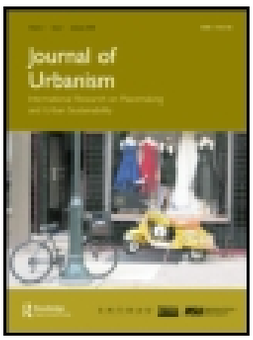

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Forces shaping urban morphology in Southern Africa Today: unequal interplay among people, practice and policy

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ABSTRACT

This article explores public participation and its impact on urban structures in Southern Africa. Often, public participation stands in opposition to existing legislation and prevailing urban policies. Using textual analysis and case studies of Harare, Zimbabwe, Johannesburg, South Africa and Luanda, Angola, this study concludes that the urban fabric and structure of Southern African cities are in a state of instability. The rise of public participation–"right to the city"–has given way to "cities of rebels" in which citizens react or rebel against urban policies and legislation. These forces threaten sustainable urban morphology and service delivery, complicating the roles of urban planners and managers.

KEYWORDS

Integrated development; spatiality; contested space; sustainability; infrastructure; Southern Africa

Introduction

Urbanisation in Southern Africa is occurring at unprecedented levels (SACN 2011; UN-HABITAT 2014). To meet the demands of the growing urban populations, urban areas have undergone increasing spatial transformations (Thrift 2009; UN-HABITAT 2010; Bizjak 2012; SACN 2014). These spatial transformations encompass a myriad of forces and factors that influence the structuring of contemporary urban areas. In particular, a rise in public participation has resulted in agendas that both run counter to, and at times complement, prevailing urban planning policies (UN-HABITAT 2009). These emerging urban dynamics differ from the traditional ones that were characteristic of Southern Africa (Freund 2007). It remains unclear whether public participation is a blessing or a curse in the shaping of urban structures in Southern Africa. Moreover, current urban planning and urban policy discourses in the region seem to be deficient and lacking in a number of ways when compared to contemporary urban planning and policies in other regions (Matamanda 2019). As a result, it is critical to examine the role of public participation in shaping cities in the Southern African context. Beyond the region's historical precedent, in which urban morphology is largely founded on ideals of separate development, we argue that there is a new wave of forces, namely public opposition to urban policies and legislation, that are

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shaping contemporary urban structures in Southern Africa (City of Johannesburg 2011; SACN 2014; Muchadenyika 2015).

Theoretical framework

Urban morphology and space

Originally, Goethe (1952) conceived of the term morphology as the study of physical form, particularly of living things. Thus, urban morphology has come to be conceptualised as the study of the form and shape of urban settlements. More specifically, Calhoun (2002) posits that urban morphology refers to the shape of a city, including its architecture, street layout, and different densities of habitation. In this definition, urban morphology is conceptualised as the product or outcome of the planning process. Therefore, planning may be conceived of as a means while urban morphology emerges as its end. For Topcu (2012), urban morphology is akin to a process or system. It provides an understanding of the form, creation and transformation processes, spatial structure and character of human settlements, as informed by historical processes and the interplay between a settlement's constituent parts. For instance, before the dawn of independence, urban morphology in South Africa was influenced by the apartheid laws that segregated land-uses (Nel 2016). The same can be said for most of the colonial African cities whose urban morphologies were greatly shaped by the colonial planning system (Freund 2007; Cirolia and Berrisford 2017; Mbiba 2017). By considering the historical precedent of colonial planning systems and processes, we can better understand current urban morphologies in African cities

If we consider urban morphology a process, as Topcu (2012) suggests, then we must also analyse its constituent parts, such as public participation, political atmosphere and socio-economic conditions (Kamete 2007). Interestingly, most of these factors are not static but change with time owing to citizen preferences and needs, government, and the elites who normally have the power to define the norms (Kostof 1991; Salat, Labbé, and Nowacki 2011). As social composition changes, so do urban forms. Changes in social composition and urban form are most evident in African cities following the dawn of independence, where efforts have been made by most governments to eradicate spatial segregation and inequalities in service delivery (Myers 2011).

Urban morphology is nested in space, hence the need to focus on spatiality to gain a broader understanding of the dynamics and factors at play. Space and spatial issues have a special place in imperial urban studies (Gotham 2003). Seminal works by Giddens (1989), Bourdieu (1977) and Foucault (1981) all focus on the relationship between space and social action. The significance of space in urban morphology is defined by the practice of urban planning; a spatial process that results in significant alteration of space. Urban planning entails a consideration of how best to structure or restructure space in order to contribute to human well-being. Through urban planning, land use and activities become predetermined, or at the very least, more narrowly defined (Faludi 1973). The urban planning process thus emerges as a careful construction of spatial context, containing elements such as infrastructure, urban structures, open spaces, and boundaries.

Shaping human settlements: putting people, policy, and practice into perspective

In the Southern African context, master plans have traditionally been used to determine urban form, but misgivings about this type of planning have compelled most local authorities and municipalities to shifts towards more integrated forms of development (Singh and Steinberg 1996; Cullington and Nadin 2006). Despite its focus on building relationships between people and place, master planning projects often fail to take citizen participation into consideration (Todes 2011; Watson 2014). It is in this vein that Watson (2014) equates master planning in Africa to dreams and fantasies that are largely utopian and difficult to achieve. Given the rigidity of master plans, most urban planning proponents now advocate for cities based on integrated development planning (Todes 2011; Nel 2016). JESSICA (2010) asserts that adequate integrated urban development is established through non-statutory plans and other policy documents that are approved following public consultation and appropriate community impact assessments. Integrated urban planning is therefore increasingly becoming a panacea to urban development problems in most African countries. For example, the Ministry of Local Government in Zambia launched guidelines for Integrated Development Planning on 29 January 2019 which would guide local authorities in preparing and implementing integrated development plans (Jere 2019).

Engaging the public through integrated development encourages mutual accountability on agreed upon priorities and allocation of resources (City of Johannesburg 2010, 4). Integrated development considers all policies, projects, and proposals in relation to one another rather than in isolation. This approach to development is a participatory, rather than bureaucratic, process that seeks sustainable outcomes. Because the integration of priority areas for development prolongs the development process, thereby affecting multiple city sectors, integrated development can have permanent effects on urban form. Simply put, policy that seeks to transform urban space must be inclusive of community concerns in order to be successful in the long-term. Hence, the connection between the three Ps–people, policy and practice–becomes imminent.

Contested space: the case of conflicting rationalities

Bourdieu (1977) emphasised the relationship between people and spatial performance through social situations. In other words, the public is a key contributor to the development and functioning of spatiality because societal norms and values often dictate ensuing urban forms and structures. Because space is at the core of urban development and determines the development trajectory of a city, it is also at the centre of political struggles and public contestation (Bizjak 2012). However, some critics argue that the spatial planning process is a bureaucratic one that is spearheaded by politicians who enforce their interests upon their constituents (Castells 1978; Harvey 2012). This results in differences in opinion among the citizens and planners, resulting in urban forms that do not always conform to the needs of the public.

Rapid urbanisation has led to an increase in people and activities in urban areas, resulting in diverse cultural patterns that at times conflict with political and economic interests. These differences often create conflicting rationalities, leaving urban planners at a crossroads with regards to striking a balance between people, policy and practice

(Watson 2003). This dilemma is examined by theorists such as Harvey (2012), Castells (1977) and Lefebvre (1991), who have defined the city form as a product of conflicts between the working class and the ruling elites. These conflicts create contested spaces and lead to planning practices that at times diverge from both people and policy. Contested spaces provide insight into the dynamics of diverse societies and urban identities, and explain why satisfying the needs of the public become a challenge. In Zimbabwe for instance, Muchadenyika and Williams (2016) argue that the influence of politics plays a large role in eroding the legitimacy of public participation and eventually silencing the people in urban planning and development initiatives. The product of conflicting rationalities and contested spaces is usually public disobedience as citizens challenge incompatible policies and take matters into their own hands to establish what they want.

Public participation: the glue to the 3Ps

In light of conflicting rationalities concerning urban spaces, public participation is increasingly being hailed as the solution to effective urban planning that conforms to the local realities, needs and aspirations of communities. Public participation is an umbrella term that encompasses various forms, types and levels of involvement. The UN-HABITAT (2009) observed that in the past millennium, urban planning has shifted from being an expert-driven technocratic activity to an inclusive one that considers public opinion and perspectives. Through well-articulated public participation, diverse stakeholders have been able to contribute to the shaping and transformation of urban forms and to have their views considered in planning initiatives (Healey 2010). According to Laurian (2004), a desirable public participation process is one that enables the public to shape planning decisions and outcomes while simultaneously increasing their levels of social and political empowerment.

Public participation is a diverse process that takes on a whole range of meanings and processes, as shown in Figure 1. It can either be comprehensive or partial, depending on the role played by the public and how their ideas are incorporated into final outcomes. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD 2001) focuses on three typologies, namely, information dissemination, consultation, and active participation. Information dissemination is the weakest (i.e. fake or pseudo) form of participation, while active participation represents the desired state of complete, real or full participation (Verba 1961; Pateman 1970). Pateman (1970, 70–71) clearly distinguishes between the two types of participation. He observes that partial participation refers to a process in which two or more parties influence each other in decision-making, but the final decision rests with one party only. In developing countries, it seems that this form of participation is the most common as the state usually dictates planning matters while communities are merely informed of the planning outcomes (Myers 2011). In South Africa, public participation is legislated through policy documents and statutes such as Integrated Development Plans, Spatial Development Frameworks, Municipal Act and the National Development Plan. In practice, however, such participation is not always truly reflective of the needs of the community as marginalised groups do not always contribute to the shaping of urban morphology. The same applies in Zimbabwe where the constitution and the Regional Town and Country Planning (RTCP) Act uphold

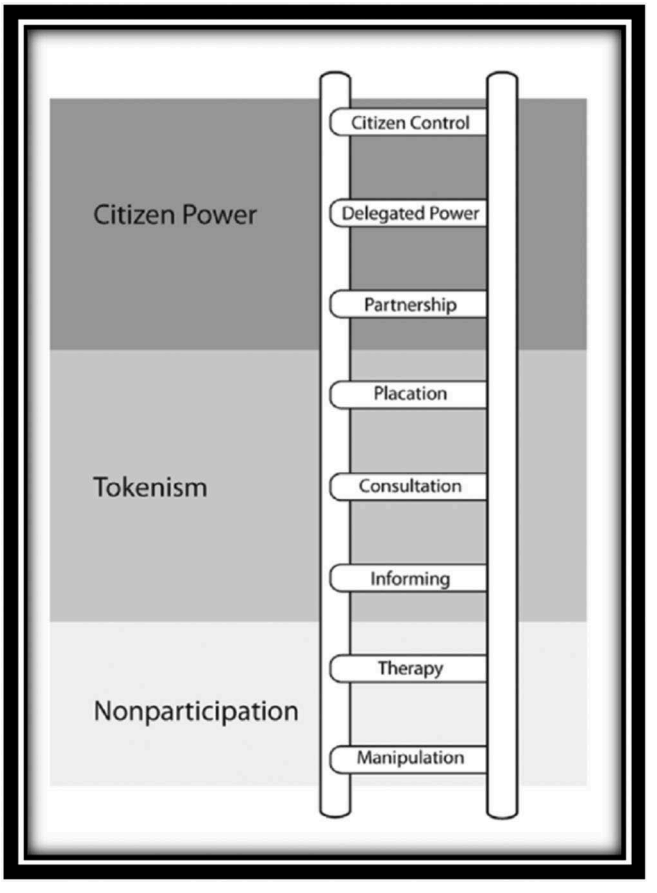

Figure 1. A ladder of participation by Arnstein (1969).

the need for citizen participation in urban development, yet closer analysis indicates that public participation is seemingly non-existent on the ground-level (Mbiba 2017).

Full participation is a process whereby each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power in determining decision-making outcomes. When the public is empowered to influence decision making, it can effectively influence urban morphology. For instance, several European countries exhibit forms of participation where citizens engage in urban development and planning initiatives. The Lisbon Treaty article 10 provides that: "citizens shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the union. Decisions shall be taken openly and as closely as possible to the citizen." In the United Kingdom, local authorities are mandated through "*White Paper Communities in Council: Real People, Real Power*" and the "*Local Government, Economic Development and Construction Bill*" to promote democracy and facilitate petitions that involve the public in their functions. Another example is the German city of Duisburg's 2027 Strategic Plan, which was created through consultations with various stakeholders in the city. The consultations were facilitated through local forums, allowing the views of diverse collaborators to be integrated into the city's plan. Clearly, decisions made by the public can have

a bearing on the outcome of urban policies, and ultimately, the urban morphology. However, there is also a need to focus on the sustainability of decisions made by the public, since at times what the public desires is not always the best possible alternative.

Sustainability as the epitome of urban development

The concept of sustainability has recently become a mantra in almost all disciplines of study. In the context of urban development, sustainability focuses on the continued productivity and viability of economic, social and environmental facets of urban areas (Chirisa 2014; Adams 2006). More specifically, substantiality literature and initiatives address the ways in which urban populaces can maintain environmental integrity, mitigate environmental hazards such as climate change, and promote sustainable livelihoods by mobilising the government, private sectors, and the general public. Recent urban development trends are particularly focused on promoting sustainability. Awosusi and Jegede (2012) argue that given the need for decision-makers to engage various stakeholders in pursuit of sustainability, an urban form that fails to tap into local human ingenuity can be viewed as unsustainable. Sustainability is, however, a contested concept. Differences in space, environment, and situation inhibit universal agreement over what a sustainable urban form looks like. Jabareen (2006) demonstrates that some urban forms are more sustainable than others, hence the need to pay attention to site-specific sustainability issues when shaping urban morphology.

Methodology

Three African cities have been selected to inform this research paper in order to allow for a case-study comparison of issues related to urban morphology. The cities considered are Harare, Zimbabwe, Johannesburg, South Africa and Luanda, Angola. They were selected because they are colonial cities with a long history of a colonial urban planning systems that largely marginalised Africans. These colonial planning systems are markedly different from the cities' contemporary planning efforts, which seem to be rooted in public participation. Furthermore, Harare and Luanda act as primate capital cities in Southern Africa, and therefore worth researching as they are the economic, social and cultural hubs of their respective countries. Textual analysis enabled the researchers to describe and analyse literature on various issues such as sustainability, integrated development, and spatiality in the selected cities. Emerging themes were noted down and these were used to develop the argument presented hereunder.

Results and discussion

This section presents case studies that reflect upon the ways in which Harare, Johannesburg and Luanda's urban forms have evolved over time.

Harare, Zimbabwe

Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, was established in 1890 by the Pioneer Column that migrated from South Africa. At the time the city centre was concentrated around the Kopje which provided a panoramic view of the plains as well as for safety reasons. As presented in Figure 2 representing the map of the city of 1891, the morphology of the city was composed of grid iron development which was in proximity to the Harare Kopje as well as accommodating a few Europeans who had prospects of finding the second rand. According to the last census, the population of the city was approximately 2.1 million people and is projected to increase to over 5 million by 2025 (Kadirire 2013; ZIMSTAT 2013). Urban planning in Harare has always been guided by master planning, which follows a strict and rigid way of development (Zinyama, Tevera, and Cumming 1993). This adherence to master planning is attributed to the colonial planning system and policies which, prior to independence, centred on a philosophy of separate development resulting in separate land use zones across the city as well as a segregated urban form (Cirolia and Berrisford 2017). These zones are evidenced by various residential, commercial, industrial and recreational areas in present-day Harare, which are often not integrated or mixed-use (Figure 3). During this period, Africans migrated to Harare to work for European settlers, who determined where the Africans worked and lived. At the time, infrastructure development was determined by the Europeans, and Africans had little or no contribution to the urban planning and development initiatives (Brown 2001). In other words, citizen participation for the Africans was non-existent.

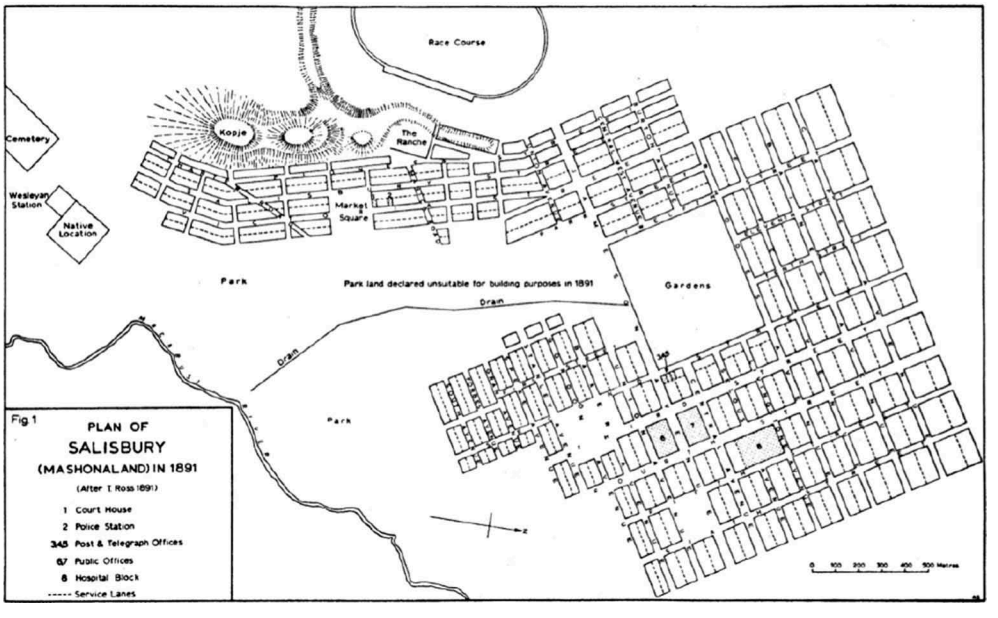

Figure 2. The first town planning scheme of Harare showing small blocks extending and concentrated around the Kopje area which is in the background as well as large expanses of land reserved for gardens and parks.

Source: Hardwick (1974, 181)

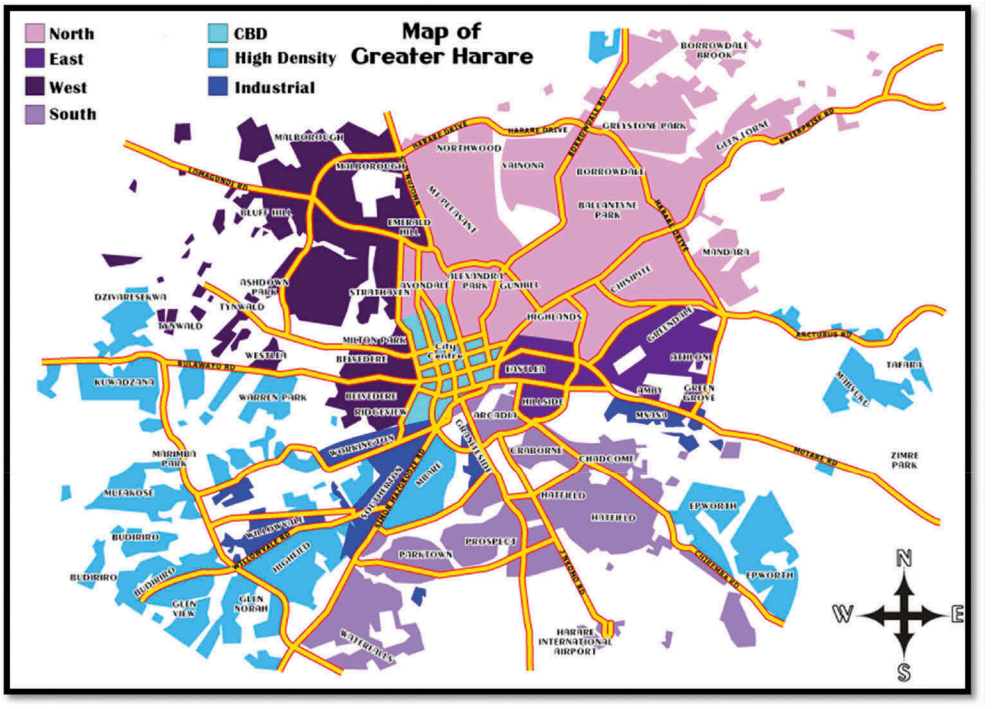

Figure 3. Map of Harare showing land uses concentrated across the city.
Source: Surveyor General

During the Federation period (1953–1965), Harare benefited from infrastructure development because it was the capital of the Federation and therefore received a large chunk of the investment. The University of Zimbabwe and Parirenyatwa Hospital are examples of infrastructure services that benefitted European residents, while the African majority were excluded from accessing them. Such increased investment in infrastructure development relates to David Harvey's (1985) conception of the city as a place where capital is produced and reproduced. Between 1965 and 1979, there was increased housing development for Africans in Harare through township development under municipal lease arrangements. These townships were developed in the southwest side of the city as indicated by the royal-blue shades in Figure 3. There were improved services in townships such as Highfields, Warren Park, and Glen Norah through the construction of water, power, waste management and public transport infrastructure so as to ensure the wellbeing of citizens.

Public participation during the pre-independence period was virtually non-existent in Harare, and limited to consultations in 1976 when the RTCP Act was enacted in the country. The public participation at the time corresponds with Arnstein's (1969) tokenism, a type of public participation involving consultations and informing, which has been categorised as the weakest form of public participation by Pateman (1970). Independence in 1980 brought some reforms to urban planning in Harare, though the public remained marginalised in decision-making processes. The policy of separate development was removed by the government as adults were allowed to vote for

their rights, and by extension, participate in urban design activities. Despite these developments, citizens' power to participate in urban planning matters through consultations remained limited by the RTCP Act and Urban Council's Act. In fact, local authorities in Harare continue to marginalise the public in terms of decision-making processes, exacerbating mistrust between local authorities and the public. City budgets, by-laws, policies and local development plans are often formulated without sufficient public input.

In other words, citizen participation is embodied the form of representatives, paper adverts and consultations; however, no legal documents make provisions for full citizen participation in Harare (Chikerema 2013). As a result, there has been resistance from members of the public and the outcome is land-uses that do not conform with the envisaged plans. Examples include the proliferation of informal settlements in Harare and cultivation and housing construction in open spaces such as wetlands (Muchadenyika 2014). Wetlands in Harare and other open spaces have become contested spaces in which the local authority and various stakeholders are always at odds when it comes to the use of these spaces (Matamanda et al. 2018). Operation *Murambatsvina* is a typical example of how the government demolished all the informal structures in Harare that did not conform to the city's planning forecasts (Mbiba 2017).

Other types of contested spaces include urban agricultural and informal trading land uses. Despite the utility of urban agriculture in enhancing human livelihoods and greening the city, it has not been integrated into local development plans by the local authorities (Mbiba 1995; Chirisa, Matamanda, and Bandauko 2014). This has often resulted in conflicts between citizens and local authority with regards to urban agriculture (Toriro 2019). Such practices also contradict the ideology of sustainability which is premised on the three pillars of environment, economy, and society (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014). Similarly, informal trading has seen the City of Harare engaging in running battles with vendors, who are not provided with trading spaces at strategic sites. This conflict is also an indication of unsustainability because informal vendors are not being accommodated by the ensuing urban form.

Johannesburg, South Africa

Johannesburg is the capital of Gauteng Province and South Africa's largest and wealthiest city, making it the country's economic hub (Magni 2013). The discovery of the gold reef in Witwatersrand in 1886 resulted in the establishment of Johannesburg. Subsequently, the area was transformed from a gold-prospecting camp; mining town and a centre of manufacturing to its present status as a regional and global financial and trade hub that dominates in Africa and beyond (see Figure 4).

As a result of the discovery of gold, there was a population boom in the city (City of Johannesburg Metro Municipality 2014). At the present moment, the city is one of the most populous in South Africa with a population of at least 4.4 million. Consequently, the development of infrastructure became imminent as the growing population required services such as housing, water, sanitation and transportation. The government at the time made great strides in providing such services and infrastructure. Albeit the provision of such services and the participation of the urban population in urban

Figure 4. Johannesburg in the 1890s.
Source: Ballard-Tremeer (2016)

development, it is indicated by Ballard-Tremeer (2016) that the Boers who had settled earlier on feared that the British migrants where outnumbering them hence the ZAR government passed some policies to restrict the "foreigners" from participating in urban affairs. This was effected through policy which stated that only those people who had been in residence for at least fourteen years and over 40 years had voting rights. This excluded the African who had no voting rights whatsoever. However, the provision of such services and infrastructure and ultimately the development and shaping of the city was premised on apartheid laws that sought to segregate urban development processes based on race and ethnicity (see Figure 5).

The product was the establishment of an apartheid city where services and infrastructure were apportioned based on such segregations. Public participation was non-existent during the apartheid period and the Government planned for the people. Africans were confined in the townships such as Soweto and Alexandra where they lived in squalid conditions in houses that were very small. The government at the time used identifiers based on race, for example Indians and Coloureds lived in better suburbs, but it was the Europeans who influenced much of the planning processes and resource allocation. Spatial inequalities became prominent as the colonial government took matters into their hands and determined how the city was to evolve (see Figures 6 and 7). Despite efforts by the Africans to challenge the apartheid government so as to reform planning processes, such efforts remained futile (Kurtz 2010). In this way, the apartheid city form was established in Johannesburg and it remains to this day. Therefore, Johannesburg is a city divided and a city that still bears the spatial scars of the unjust and immoral system of apartheid (City of Johannesburg 2011; see Figures 6 and 7).

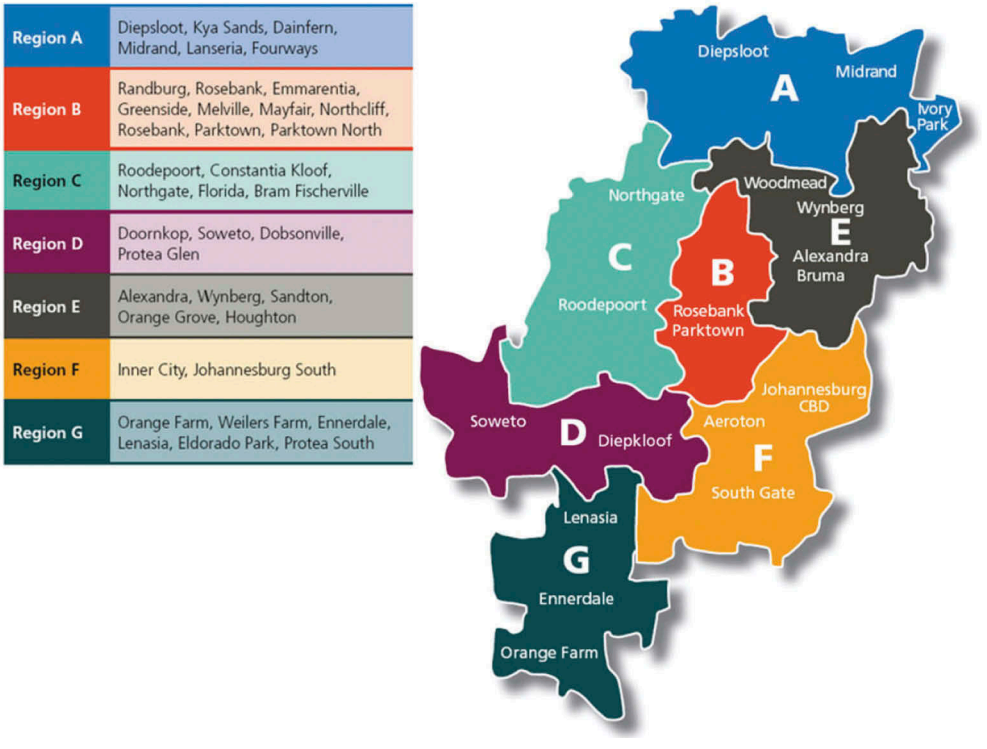

Figure 5. Map of Johannesburg showing the 7 regions of the city.
Source: http://www.pikitup.co.za/contact-us/

Johannesburg covers 2,300 km^2, and approximately half of this area is covered by buildings and infrastructure. Johannesburg is described as a city with a unique, African character with world-class infrastructure in the fields of telecommunications, transportation, water, and power and with globally-competitive health care and educational facilities (Magni 2013). This supports the assertion by Mohamad and Shahbuddin (2003) that infrastructure is the pillar of any city because it helps to shape a city as well as support multiple city functions. Although this structure is a product of the apartheid laws that resulted in spatial and racial segregation, current urban planning policy are concerned with reversing this biased planning regime. Platt (2004) indicates that the demise of apartheid in South Africa occurred in tandem with significant changes in local government and urban planning. Subsequently, the post-apartheid Government of South Africa set down a new legislative and policy environment which controlled the functioning of local governments, urban planning and development issues (Platt 2004).

The city's planning regime is determined by various legislative and policy frameworks that all seek to promote public participation and infrastructure development with the view to produce a sustainable city form as espoused by Jabareen (2006). The *Municipal Act* of 2000 is the major document that guides urban development and the shaping of the city's spatial structure. Chapter 4 of the *Municipal Act* of 2000 focuses on community participation. Specifically, section 16 (1)(a) stipulates that a municipality must develop

Figure 6. The skyview of Soweto showing clustered residential units on small plot sizes without any greenery.
Source: VINCENT (2014)

Figure 7. A view of Rosebank one of the European and affluent suburbs in Johannesburg showing larger plot sizes, lower density and integrated with vegetation unlike the aerial view of Soweto in Figure 6.
Source: SA Commercial Prop News (2016)

a culture of governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance, and must create conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality. Section 17–20 outlines that the nature of participation has to be fully involved.

Other planning documents for Johannesburg echo the same sentiments. For example, the Growth and Development Strategy 2040 (a 30 year strategic plan) and Integrated Development Plan (a 5 year medium-term strategic plan) emphasise the role of Johannesburg Metro Municipality and the community in shaping the spatial structure of the city of Johannesburg together. The City of Johannesburg approved its first five-year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) in 2006. This was used to guide the activities of the municipality for the 2006/11th term of office. In 2011, another IDP was published, in line with the Municipal Act (2000), which in chapter 5 states that each elected council should develop and adopt an IDP at the start of its elected term of office. The main objective of the IDP has been to promote economic development and provide infrastructure while ensuring long-term sustainability. The IDP is an idealisation of the ways in which community issues and demands can be effectively heard and acted upon. The aim of the plan is to provide a viable and inspiring future strategy all citizens support, have input in and realise its utility in their lives.

Despite the utility of public participation echoed in the development plans for Johannesburg, it seems justice has not been fully realized in the plan's implementation. This has had an impact on the spatial structure of Johannesburg. As Murray (2004, 17) observes:

> '*The spatial morphology of the extended metropolitan region (Johannesburg) has polarised around two compartmentalised extremes: on the one hand, the spaces of affluence are healthy, functional and largely the exclusive preserve of the white upper- and middle-classes; on the other, the overcrowded spaces of confinement are distressed, dysfunctional and where the overwhelming majority of black urban residents live and work … '*

By focusing more on local economic development, the IDP overlooks issues such as sustainability, civic citizenship, cultural identity, and democracy. Furthermore, the focus was placed on municipal action programmes while the potential for public participation was ignored or limited to providing information on prospective developments which is merely informing the citizens. Thus, the IDP in Johannesburg failed to respond to some issues raised by the public, resulting in a rise in public disobedience as local authorities fail to deliver desired development outcomes.

Despite these failures, the IDP and the city's Spatial Development Framework (SDF), coupled with public engagement, have been successful in maintaining Johannesburg's green spaces. Current greening initiatives are also transcending apartheid barriers, as there is consistent tree planting in areas that were neglected by apartheid-era urban planning. In the transport sector, the Bus Rapid Transit has been a milestone highlighted in the SDFs. To have effective and meaningful community participation, the City has embarked on a new community-based planning approach, which has been piloted in Region E and will be rolled-out to other regions in the next financial year (see Figure 3). This document has a dedicated section that details community-based planning and stakeholder engagements. The IDP outreach process also includes detailed feedback on issues' previously raised by communities.

Luanda, Angola

Luanda, the capital city of Angola, is one of the oldest cities in sub-Saharan Africa, established in 1576 by the Portuguese. The city was developed as a military requirement for Paulo Dias de Novais's 1571 concession of Angolan territory by the Portuguese crown (Jenkins 2010). Luanda also emerged as a small fortified trading settlement which restricted its growth since it remained a small settlement. Located on the Atlantic coast, Luanda was the main entry point for migrants from Portugal. Hence, with this large influx of Europeans, there was marked racial segregation in the development of the city that still persists to this day. Jenkins (2006) illustrates that the urban form produced in the colonial period was distinctly dualistic, with the establishment of the inner *cidades de cimento*–permanent buildings aligned along leafy boulevards that were surrounded by informal settlements. The central core was planned and well organised with adequate infrastructure, yet the periphery was left unplanned and deficient of requisite infrastructure (Freund 2007). It may seem that there was no public participation at the time, but the ability of the minority groups to develop around the city in contradiction to the plans of the colonial governments shows how powerful this group was in shaping the structure of Luanda (Jenkins 2010). This dynamic inevitably created conflict later on when the demand for land at the centre increased but the informal settlements could not be removed (Buire 2014).

Due to its history as a colonial city shaped by European settlers' urban planning system, Luanda developed along racial lines. In the initial plan prepared for the city in 1665, the Portuguese centralised economic activities and services such that they all occurred in one place (see Figure 8). As a result, the structure of the city was planned and reorganised by the Portuguese such that there was clear segregation between the

Figure 8. 1665 map of Luanda.
Source: The ShowaDaily (2018)

Figure 9. A view of Luanda's coast which is the well-planned and formal part of the city. In the immediate background are the administrative offices and residential units for the elites.
Source: Aderibigbe (2015)

European European and African areas. Moreover, the socio-political conditions arising from the civil war in Angola between 1975 and 2002 have also largely influenced the city's form (Buire 2014).

After independence in 1975, government and local authorities in Angola and Luanda adopted a centralised, bureaucratic planning system inherited from the Portuguese, as was the case for Harare wherein the planning system has remained a legacy of the colonial system (Roque 2011; Cirolia and Berrisford 2017: Figure 9). Urban planning and control in Luanda have remained a top-down and politically-oriented activity that has been condemned for failing to forecast and plan for the city's unprecedented growth. Public participation simply exists in policy documents and rarely occurs in practice. The fact that an estimated 69% of the city's population live in informal settlements (*musseques*) shows that urban planning in Luanda has failed to address the needs of the public, as evidenced by the lack of basic infrastructure. There have been some recent attempts to clear the *musseques* in Luanda, however, and reclaim the land for other uses such as expensive offices and luxury housing development (Croese 2016). Such clearance is often undertaken with minimal public participation, giving rise to informal settlements in other areas of the city.

Luanda continues to face many urban development challenges. There is a general lack of well-managed and democratic urban development, which is the bedrock of effective urban growth, and of public service and infrastructure development (Waldorff 2016). Politics have also had an impact on the urban morphology in Luanda. It seems that the national political agenda lacks a realistic urban development policy (Jenkins, Robson, and Cain 2002), which translates into a chaotic urban development form characterised by a high proportion of urban slums.

Conclusion

This study set out to reflect upon the urban planning and policy discourses in Southern Africa in relation to the socio-political forces that shape urban forms. The urban morphologies of Harare, Johannesburg, and Luanda served as case studies for analysing the 3Ps: policy, practice and public participation. From the texts analysed, it appears that the colonial policies that shaped these three cities have left scars on their contemporary structures. Johannesburg, Harare and Luanda continue to suffer from inconsistencies in urban planning policies much to the detriment of the urban fabric. The potential of public participation, which ought to guide the spatial structure of cities, has not been fully realized and the concerns of many citizens, especially the poor, are being overlooked.

Politics seem to be at the center of the urban planning and development process for these cities. Local authorities have their own priorities, which usually differ from those of the public, resulting in distrust and conflict between authorities and their constituents. The participation of communities in Southern Africa remains a pipe dream despite its potential benefits and ability to transform cities into vibrant and sustainable spaces that meet the demands and needs of every citizen. The use of public participation is limited and exists mainly as a coercive mechanism meant to consolidate political power. In response, some citizens tend to take matters into their hands to get their way. Public disobedience becomes common, as citizens disregard the city plans and decide on what they want the city to be like. Slums become prevalent as well as other mal-practices such as cultivation or construction in informal green spaces or trading venues.

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