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The Role and Importance of Local Economic Development in Urban Development: A Case of Harare

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Abstract

The study assessed the role and importance of Local Economic Development as a means of enhancing urban development paying particular attention to the regulators of Local Economic Development in Harare. Local Economic Development is a process which encourages partners from the community, public sector, private sector and non-governmental sectors to work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation with the aim of improving the locality economic future and the quality of life for all citizens. The study was premised on the theory of competitive advantage which puts up that prosperity and wealth creation is determined by microeconomic factors and that prosperity means increasing the standards of living for the local people and ultimately their quality of life. Primary data for the research was gathered through observation and key informant interviews. Data on key stakeholders understanding on the concept of Local Economic Development, how it is being practised and how the current regulatory framework enhance or impinge on local people's participation in Local Economic Development was collected. Secondary data was also collected from Harare's 2014 budget, census and existing forward plans. The study revealed that the practice of Local Economic Development in Harare is biased towards the setting aside of land zoned for industrial and commercial uses and implementation of development control parameters. Small to Medium Enterprises and the informal sector have also been identified as the major forms of Local Economic Development that citizens are involved in. However, the study revealed that proper policy frameworks which guide practice of Local Economic Development initiatives were missing.

Keywords: Local Economic Development; Urban Development; Harare; Quality Of Life; Prosperity.

Introduction

"Our world today is predominantly urban. Cities can be prime driving forces of development and innovation. Yet the prosperity generated by cities has not been equitably shared, and a sizeable proportion of the urban population remains without access to adequate infrastructure and the benefits that cities produce" [p. ii] (Ki-moon (2013)).

Exploding urban populations, strains on inadequate and deteriorating physical facilities and social pressures to expand service coverage are all increasing the demand for public services, shelter and infrastructure in cities of many developing countries. This paper seeks to assess how the instrument of Local Economic Development (LED) can enhance urban development in Harare.

Therefore various private, public and community stakeholders have an obligation to perform and maximise their intrinsic roles in a harmonic manner through a participatory and consultative decision making process.

Background of the study

Karsada and Parnell (1993) articulate that accompanying the explosive growth of cities has been a plethora of problems seemingly of unmanageable proportions. The problems of urbanisation are countersigned through high rates of unemployment and underemployment as urban labour markets are unable to absorb the expanding numbers of job seekers, soaring urban poverty, insufficient shelter, inadequate sanitation, inadequate or contaminated water supplies, air pollution, environmental degradation, congested streets, overloaded transportation systems and above all municipal budget crises [p. 65] (Devas, & Rakodi, 1993). As a result, few local authorities have been able to provide services and infrastructure to meet the growing needs (ibid). In addition, overburdened ministries often provide services and infrastructure inefficiently, and they often generate losses rather than revenues (Nel, 2001).

Zimbabwe is not an exception to the urban miseries that urban planners, managers and the inhabitants are facing. Cities such as Harare continue to grow without any apparent limit and this poses a huge challenge to those responsible for the management of urban development and the provision of services (Tibaijuka, 2005). Local authorities have been crippled with budget restrictions, decreasing revenues and cuts in public sector expenditures [p. 23] (Chaeruka, & Munzwa, 2009). The rapid process of urbanisation seems to be dodgy for the scale of problems it seems to entail. Urban management issues common in Harare are urban sprawl, squatter settlements, corruption, street children, inadequate urban service delivery and urban agriculture (Tibaijuka, 2009).

Harris (1992) observed that most third world economies have not been able to expand at the pace needed to meet labour force growth. The structures of these economies are rapidly changing, requiring new skills for new economic roles especially in mega cities hence the need for policy initiatives to stimulate greater urban job creation (Karsada, & Parnell, 1993). In Harare, a huge manifestation of unemployment is seen through the informal sector, which expresses itself in many different forms, that is, housing, vending, theatre, transport and urban agriculture. Urban managers have been subdued to the pressures of the informal sector. Shop fronts in Harare are littered with informal traders of various goods and services such as carrier bags, locks and keys and food items. Foreign currency dealership and airtime hawking has become the most lucrative ventures by most sectors of the public (Chirisa, 2009). Brown (2006) elucidates that Local Authorities (LAs), have criminalized the informal sector. Most informal traders are in a situation of dilemma always, that is poverty at home and police at their workplace (Chirisa, & Dube, 2012).

The informal traders have positioned themselves on strategic points where it is easy to attract customers for example along streets close to transport pick up and drop off points. An issue of concern to most private businesses is that informal traders have cowed them to unfair competition, for instance in Harare Central Business District (CBD), those who sell school uniforms usually stand in front of shops selling the same goods an illustration being school uniform vendors operating in front of Enbee and Nargaji stores in L. Takawira street.

Zimbabwe is one of the few countries in Africa still using the government or municipal system in urban management. A chief hindrance of the municipal system is its susceptibility to unceasing political interference at the expense of efficiency, effectiveness and transparency in service provision. Recently in July 2013, the Minister of Local Government, public works and national housing, Dr Ignatius Chombo gave a directive to all Local Authorities to slash all rates owed by residents and the rates were valued at USD330 million in Harare only. This move by the minister have also induced a dependency syndrome on residents as debts of USD5 million is already in existence three months after bad debts were written off.

From the above analysis, it is undisputable that there is need for LAs to have sustainable development mechanisms that improve urban development and management and fosters an economically competitive environment so that there is no decrease in welfare and quality of life of urban populace. Cities are also important global hubs of finance, manufacturing, trade and administration. Rondinelli (1983) postulates that cities offer locations for services that require high population thresholds and large markets to operate efficiently. This is because cities are centres for

innovation and diffusion and they facilitate widespread modernization. For example, Lagos with 5% of Nigeria's population has 57% of total value in manufacturing and has 40% of the nation's highly skilled labour.

LED therefore has the purpose to mobilise the local economic potential by bringing innovation to all its growth dimensions that is infrastructure, local SMEs and their skills, attracting foreign investment, fostering territorial competitiveness and strengthening local institutions. Since urban areas in developing countries are concentrated with, the jobless or even the poor there is need for LED so that there is no decrease in welfare and quality of life for urban inhabitants. Nel (1997) further elucidates that the high concentration of persons in cities implies that proper approach to growth can enhance the wide spread of benefits of development.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework for LED

Local Economic Development, Urban development and Competitive Advantage

Porter (2000) elucidated that prosperity and wealth creation is determined by microeconomic factors and that prosperity means increasing the standards of living for the local people and ultimately their quality of life. This view corresponds to LED which hinges itself on improving the quality of life for the local people through economic empowerment (Nel, 2001). The view by Malecki (2007) that regions are the primary spatial units for attracting investment as it is at the grass root level where knowledge and resources circulate is very important when it comes to the execution of LED since community participation, use of indigenous knowledge and locally available resources are at the heart of LED.

As urban development is concerned with agglomeration of industrial sectors, regional competitive advantage can be derived from the ability of agglomeration to reinforce clusters of business and also to attract other businesses (Huggins, *Izushi, & Thompson.*, 2013). Urban development through improving the transport networks, institutional setups, telecommunications and other physical infrastructure improves the determinant of related and supporting industries for local competitive advantage by promoting innovation (Frăsineanu, 2008).

The theory of competitive advantage also highlights how crucial government policies are in making and implementation of decisions for an industry. Government policies and priorities are influential as they are the ones that direct the issues that industries and local authorities should prioritize as well. Nel (2001) put up that in LED it is the government that create the platform for LED programmes to take off, prioritize issues to be dealt with at the local level, give fiscal transfers and most importantly it is the government nature that promote or limit the levels of autonomy that local authorities can exercise.

The evolution of Local Economic Development

Keeble (1969) enthuses that LED originally emerged as a way of responding to industrial cities such as Manchester in England and to come up with answers to the cities' problems. LED did not emerge simply as land use planning nor did it emerge as a sectorial approach but it connects (Blakely, & Bradshaw, 2013). Goodman (1972) shared the same sentiments with Keeble (1969) when he further articulated that planning for LED in early industrial cities was concerned with eliminating the impacts of the communist economy approach that led to congestion, underdevelopment, and unbalanced development. The industrialisation period distorted cities to the extent that poverty, ill health and overcrowding became a prominent feature.

Keeping up with Keeble (1969) LED planning was concerned with creating spatial relationships between rural and urban centres that are conducive for compact development in the improvement of a local economy. LED was aimed at establishing orders which provided regulations for economic planning through designation of "special areas" to act as insurance against unemployment and also to eliminate regional economic imbalances by creating environments conducive for business development in the periphery areas.

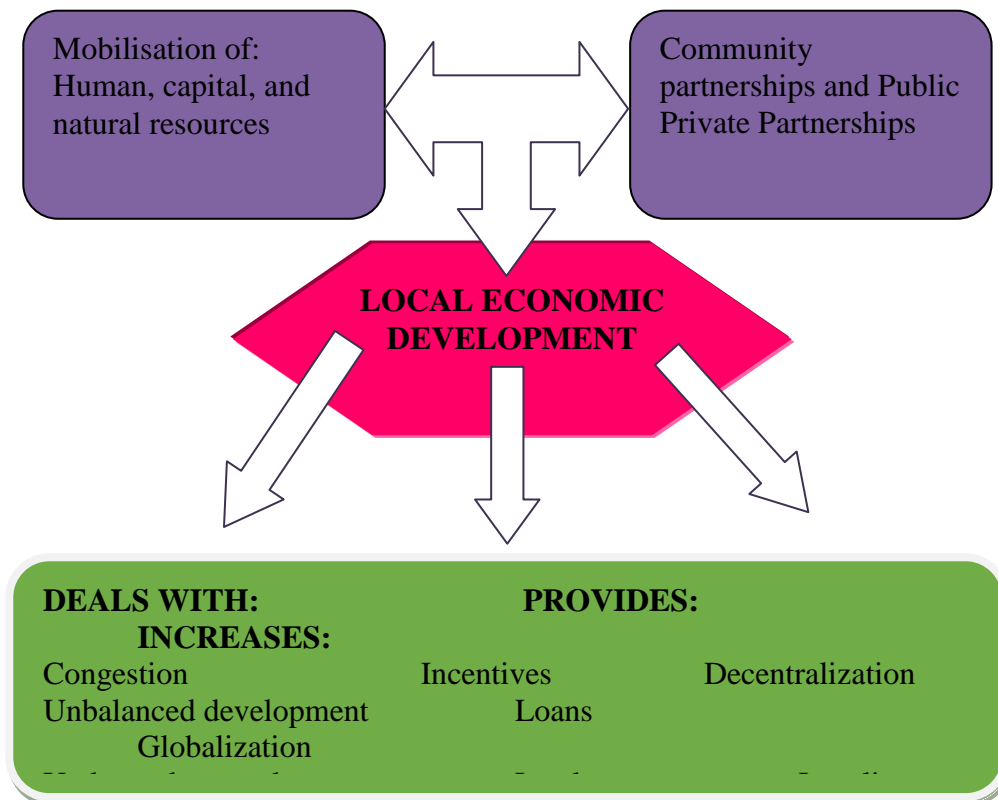


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for LED

Source: adapted from Keeble (1969), Friedman (2005) and Nothnagel (2011)

Nothnagel (2011) bring up the new dimension that has emerged in recent age that has called for LED. LED has been recognized as a key response to contemporary trends such as increased decentralization, globalization forces, economic change within localities and the unconvincing results of macro-level planning. Markusen (1996) and Friedman (2005) highlight on the influence of globalization to the need for LED. Globalization defines the logical space and calls for measures on how to manage it. Improvements in transport, technology and communications are increasingly flattening the world making the space more slippery and as such reducing the importance of place (Friedman, 2005). On the other hand, globalization has made localities more important for economic growth and prosperity.

In this sense LED is playing a critical role in responding to the three phases of globalization as identified by Friedman (2005). The first juncture brought significant prosperity to LAs by selling and exporting and here LED provides incentives such as loans, tax and hard infrastructure to investors. In the second phase, globalization caused an increase in plant closures as they relocate to areas outside the country where there are favorable operating conditions including cheap labor and materials (export of plant). In phase two, LED focuses on business retention by shifting attention towards creating more indigenous business through promoting entrepreneurship, technical support for Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and micro finance. In the third phase, the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) sell products back home however these goods do not gain the livelihoods of local people. In response to this challenge LED helps to create more conducive and attractive business environments. Friedman (2005) summarized that in the age of globalization, LED can be used to become a proactive measure to globalization effects.

Method

This study was based on the qualitative analysis and employed the phenomenological approach method in conducting the research. This method was used to collect large amounts of data by seeking contextual opinions and subjective interpretations of participants. The study mainly focused on the strategies, structures and methods that have been used by different stakeholders in the planning and implementing LED programmes in Harare.

Purposive sampling technique is also known as judgment sampling whereby it is the conscious choice of an informant according to the qualities that the informant possesses (Bernard 2002). In this nonrandom technique, the researcher came to a decision about what was needed to complete the study and set out to find relevant people willing to provide information by virtue of knowledge or experience. The research solicited data from key informants drawn from the City of Harare, Ministry of Local Government, Public works and National Housing, Department of Physical Planning and Sunway City (Pvt Ltd).

The data collected from the key informants was first transcribed and entered verbatim into a computer as data files for text analysis. Transcribing and analysing of the recorded discussions was conducted with the help of Microsoft Excel qualitative data processing software. Data was analysed using a coding process.

Results

What is the understanding of stakeholders on LED in Harare?

The research established that different stakeholders and individuals have diverse understandings with regards to the concept of LED. The Chief Planning Officer from DPP defined LED as development initiatives that positively transform the economic well-being and improve the per capita income of a community in an environmentally sustainable manner. From the same institution, the Principal Town Planning officer identified LED as the strengthening of a regional community's capacity to make optimal use of the existing and potential characteristics of the area with the aim of improving conditions for job creation and economic growth in order to secure local interests versus central government, to support small businesses, and to deal with challenges affecting the local community. It is evident that even if the interviewees were from the same organization, LED still remains a difficult phenomenon that people have had a tendency of subscribing different meanings and consequently varied approaches to dealing with LED.

The Business development unit officer from City of Harare had a different understanding to LED which he defined as the sum total of activities with a monetary value which are conducted within a defined location. Alternatively, the Secretary General for Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) informed that many people understand LED as projects or things that are tangible but he advised that that notion is now being refuted on the basis that it is a process which results in the empowerment of individuals economically. From the above scenario, it is clear that even when CoH and UCAZ are said to be birds of a feather there is actually a divergent relationship between their understandings of the concept. The response from City of Harare is concerned with all things that have a monetary value in a given locality but UCAZ highlights the importance of individual economic empowerment.

The definition from City of Harare remains shallow in that if wealth or income in a given society is owned by a smaller segment of the population yet the rest only share the minority of the wealth, will it still bring the notion held of LED. From the aforementioned responses it can be unequivocally established that there are different perceptions and understanding of LED between UCAZ and its affiliate the City of Harare with regards to LED yet there should be common ground on this matter. This brings out the elusive nature in the understanding of LED amongst local government authorities in Zimbabwe. However, different perceptions of a concept leave a question towards their working liaison.

DPP officials highlighted that their role in LED is simply a supervisory role to all local authorities to ensure that they conform to law and policies. The ministry of Local Government Public Works and National Housing in the Department of Urban Local Authorities also alluded their major role is of policy formulation. They also facilitate forward plan review so that they capture changes in the socio-economic environment. UCAZ comes in to lobby and advocate for local authorities just in case there are laws and policies that hinder their performance. These relationships imply that there is need for intensive stakeholder coordination to ensure that a coordinated LED framework is created. However, none of the key informants illustrated that they play the roles of promoters instead all they revealed was that they enforce regulation measures. This gives a challenge in that regulators only without promotion will lead to a negative relationship with the implementers or owners of LED initiatives.

What are the perceptions of stakeholders towards LED?

a. Spatial planning as the driver for LED

LED in Harare has simply been understood as spatial planning and creation of zones. The Business Development Unit officer from City of Harare cited that, “Including LED in spatial planning allows for a more effective use of available land resources and promotes a balance between purely economic development and other social needs.” This response matches with the definition of LED given by the Chief planning officer from Department of Physical Planning, which is, “LED refers to development initiatives that positively transform the economic well-being of a community in an environmentally sustainable manner.” These responses indicate that for LED to be sustainable and beneficial, spatial planning is needed first.

Figure 2 illustrates how spatial planning leads to LED. Foremost there is need for the preparation of master plans, which identify different inventory of assets that a region has. The master plan will further identify the needs that are there within that region. Sunway City (Pvt Ltd) believes that it is critical to start a new town with industrial development in order to develop the locality and that all development projects are examples of economic development.

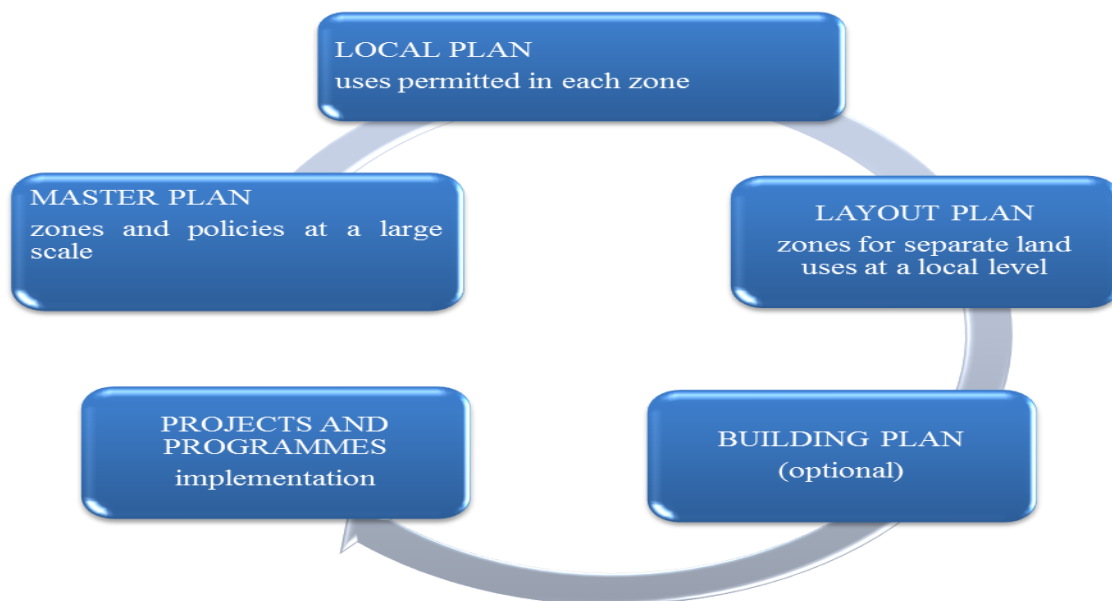


Figure 2: The conception of LED from spatial planning to project implementation
Source: Fieldwork, 2014

b. An ideal situation not applicable to Harare

From the key informant interviews it was noted that most of the people interviewed argued that LED was not easy to adopt in Harare. For example, the Deputy City Planner from the City of Harare actually laughed at the concept of LED “... why would we want to copy a South African concept”. The official also noted that it was not practical for LED to take place in Harare. He notes that there is no policy framework making it mandatory for local authorities to implement LED, as compared to the South African scenario whereby LED is mandatory and local authorities are obliged to implement it. The official from the Department of Physical Planning also noted that in as much as LED is a noble idea there lacks a proper policy framework for it to be implemented thereby agreeing with the sentiments from the City of Harare. This gives rise to a situation whereby plans are shelved in offices and are never implemented.

c. LED as a non-planning activity

The department of urban planning services in the City of Harare gave the impression that LED is important but it is not a planner’s responsibility. The City of Harare argues that the only responsibility of an urban planner is to create zones for economic development and to impose development conditions that ensure that these activities do not have a negative impact to other land uses and surrounding people. Although City of Harare officials claim not to have a role to play in the promotion of LED in Harare, they play this role since it is part of their job to distribute

resources on space and allocate different conflicting uses to the finite land resource. Planners also stand in as a public sector that protects the marginalized groups of society through promoting public participation, providing public infrastructure and reducing negative externalities from the capitalist developers.

What is the relationship between LED and urban development in Harare?

From the data gathered in the key informant interviews, of note is the fact that currently there are no action plans pursued in relation to implementing LED initiatives. It is imperative to note that the major stakeholders place much focus in creating spatial plans and policies that promote LED but these initiatives seem to be in vain since no measures are in place to make sure that there is achievement of plan or policy objectives. With reference to the response from the Chief Planning Officer in the Department of Physical Planning commenting on the meaning of LED in spatial planning, he notes that, “*LED is simply the outcome of spatial planning. Spatial plans create zones for industries and commerce to promote economic development in an environmentally sustainable manner, hence spatial planning can be identified as ‘socio-economic-environmental planning’.*”

From the data gathered it seems the approach to LED in Harare is sound and noble. The major sticking point to the approach is that it does not have benefits on the citizenry of Harare as the plans or policy document are shelved and never implemented. Harare has well-documented plans and well-articulated policies but the problem faced is implementation. As a point of illustration, the City of Harare, Department of Physical Planning and Sunway city officials raised a similar issue pertaining to lack of funds and technical resources for implementation of forward plans.

a). Pro-poor strategies

From the key informant interviews most data gathered indicated that the approach for LED in Harare is pro-poor rather than pro-growth due to shortage of funds as the informants were highlighting. Harare has been characterised with high population growth, high industry closures and consequently high rates of unemployment and enormous poverty. With this challenge in mind, city residents and the local authority have alternated to the practice of allowing quick gains through promoting “innovation”. The practice removes barriers to entry, creates simple networks and challenges government bureaucratic requirements. The above strategy manifests in workplaces that do not have services to cater for the users and customers to those businesses. For example, the new public market along Speke and Chinhoyi Street in the CBD of Harare accommodates huge numbers of clothes sellers and customers but does not have a toilet or water point. Focus is on providing for operating space but little attention is on the provision of infrastructure and services to cater for these operating spaces.

b). Public Private Partnerships

City of Harare, which is the major driver of LED in Harare, is collaborating with private companies such as Old Mutual, ZIMRE Properties, FBC Bank and Central African Building Society (CABS) to provide residential, industrial and commercial infrastructure. The local authority is also working in conjunction with smaller societal groups in the maintenance and upgrading of infrastructure. Of note is a project in Masasa Park suburb, which focuses on road rehabilitation. In contrast, PPPs have been limited due to incompetency that the public sector is blamed for. According to the Quantity Surveyor of Sunway city, City of Harare mostly holds back their projects due to their procedural delays. He reiterated that, “*..fees after dollarization is very high. And procedure for development proposal processing is unnecessarily too long*”. Incidences of delays in plan permit approval affect timeous completion of projects, which means the project cost increases. Another drawback from City of Harare was that the local authority is not willing to provide premature expenses since their focus is on maintaining services already provided for.

c). Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and the informal sector

Table 1: Harare population against unemployment

Year	Population	Percentage increase	Unemployment rate
1992	1 478 810	5.6%	-
2002	1896 134	2%	12%
2012	2 098 199	1%	88%

Source: Zimstats 2012 census

Table 1 shows that the population of Harare in between 2002 and 2012 increased by 1 % when compared to the period 1992 to 2002 population census growth of 2 %. On the other hand, the rate of unemployment has increased from 12 % in 2002 to 88 % by 2012. The difference shows that the rate of unemployment is far much ahead of the rate of population increase. This means that the increase in the rate of unemployment was not merely as a result of the increase in population but it means that the available industries and other sources of formal employment in Harare have diminished. This is a total reverse which can only be explained by an economic meltdown. The closure of companies has been directly related to the increase in informality.

The informal sector as well as the small to medium enterprises now dominates the economy of Harare. The Deputy City Planner from the City of Harare finds fault in the economic turmoil between 2002 and 2009, which he blames to have led to a 'free for all behaviour'. The officer uttered that the local authority did not have resource capacity to enforce development control. This scenario is now manifested through illegal partitioning of buildings in the Central Business District (CBD) to accommodate the emerging small businesses. Taking a closer look at this scenario implies that CoH is losing out on revenue since tenants only pay to the landlord. This manifestation of small-scale businesses has affected property values since the buildings are congested and services are not meeting the new crowded numbers in the building.

Although building partitioning promotes LED initiatives by providing space for small rising business and more rentals to building owners, City of Harare is crying foul on loss of revenue. Another major problem is the flight of high value uses from the CBD since investors are not attracted to the congested and deteriorating buildings and streets in CBD. Small-scale industries are promoted in Harare through the provision of home industry space, for example in Glenview 8, Siyaso and Kuwadzana 1. The informal sector is manifesting itself through illegal traders and manufacturers both in residential and in the CBD.

d). Revitalization of declining neighbourhoods

Harare has many dilapidated and deteriorating residential neighbourhoods such as Mbare and Dzivarasekwa. However, little efforts have been shown towards the revitalization of these neighbourhoods. In contrast, efforts to revitalize the CBD have been shown especially in the downtown areas. Efforts towards revitalization have been seen through redevelopment of buildings such as the Gulf Complex, Chinhoyi Street shopping mall and the AMC building in Union Avenue. Redevelopment of these deteriorating buildings has been in the direction of promoting small scale retail businesses in the CBD.

The deputy city planner from City of Harare noted with concern the flight of high value uses from the CBD to suburban areas such as Eastlea, Milton Park and Newlands. The planner highlighted that they found establishing offices in residential areas such as in Newlands through Local Plan 27 as a means to decongest the CBD. Companies and business people received the idea with pleasure as they regarded office space in the CBD to be very expensive as reflected in Figure 3. This can be seen by the high rental values for both retail and office from 2009 to 2011. However, office rentals have been decreasing from 2011 to 2013 to \$7 while retail rentals remain very high at \$23 in 2013. The decrease in office rentals can be attributed to company incapacitation, eviction and foreclosure. This can be related to the rate of unemployment in Harare.

On the other hand, the high increases in retail rentals are conceived as indicators of the emergence of the small to medium enterprises which is largely involved in retail businesses such clothes selling and smaller food grocery shops. Rentals for retail space grew with more than 100% from 2010 to 2011. This attracts more investment for retail rather than office as the trends exhibit high demand in proportion to supply.

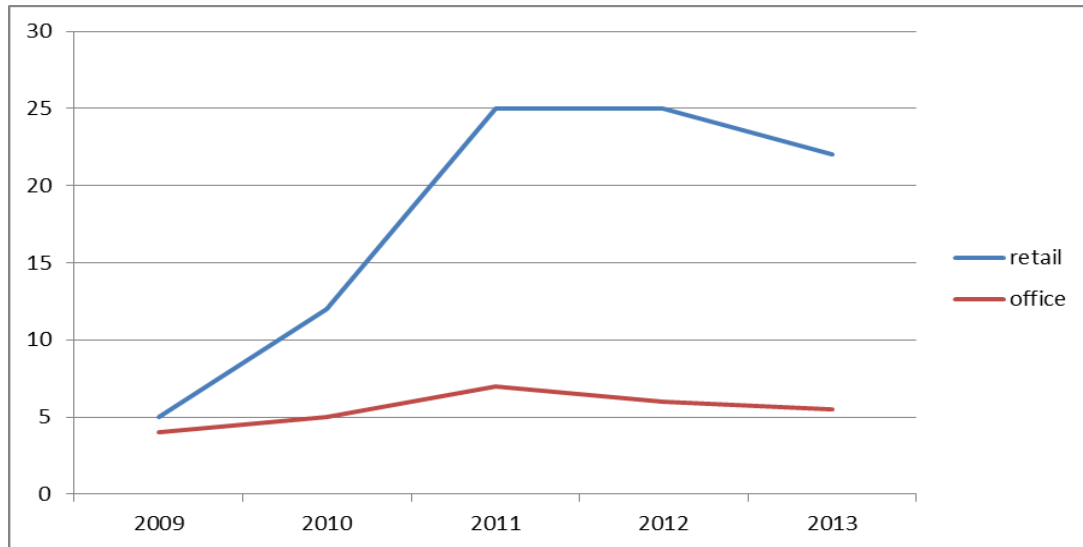


Figure 3: Average retail and office rentals/m² in Harare

Source: City of Harare valuations roll (2013)

As is the case that prices increase with high demand in excess of supply, the decrease in retail rentals in 2013 can be accredited to the responses made by the property owners and the City of Harare for the need for retail space. This is evident in the CBD where there has been massive partitioning and subleasing. Many boutiques and small sized shops have been created in the CBD and in residential areas. City of Harare have also taken advantage of the higher demand of retail space by subleasing their Rufaro marketing beer halls in residential areas to TN Mart (Pvt Ltd). The above entails that LED is being promoted through small scale business units in Harare which are largely involved in the retail sector as compared to commercial enterprises.

e). Infrastructure development

LED depends on viable infrastructure. Little is being sacrificed for infrastructure development in Harare. This entails that Harare can never achieve its vision of being a world class city. Out of the USD 273.7 million 2014 revenue for the City, salaries and allowances consumed 48 %, general expenditure 28 %, repairs and maintenance 9 %, administration charges 8 %, capital charges 4 % and the least of 3 % was allocated for capital outlay. This budget clearly indicates that City of Harare is not anywhere near the investment process since only 3 % was granted towards capital outlay while the rest of the budget was allocated for salaries.

It is evident that macroeconomic challenges have implications on the micro economy. In 2009 there was an economic crisis in Zimbabwe and this was felt in Harare as most of revenues collected (96 %) could only sustain the payment of salaries to the local authorities' workers. Although City of Harare is showing efforts of working towards achieving the mandatory 30:70 ratio, the employment costs are still too high hence compromising on the quality of services offered. Fig 4 shows that employment costs is decreasing from 96 % in 2009 to a constant 48 % in both 2013 and 2014.

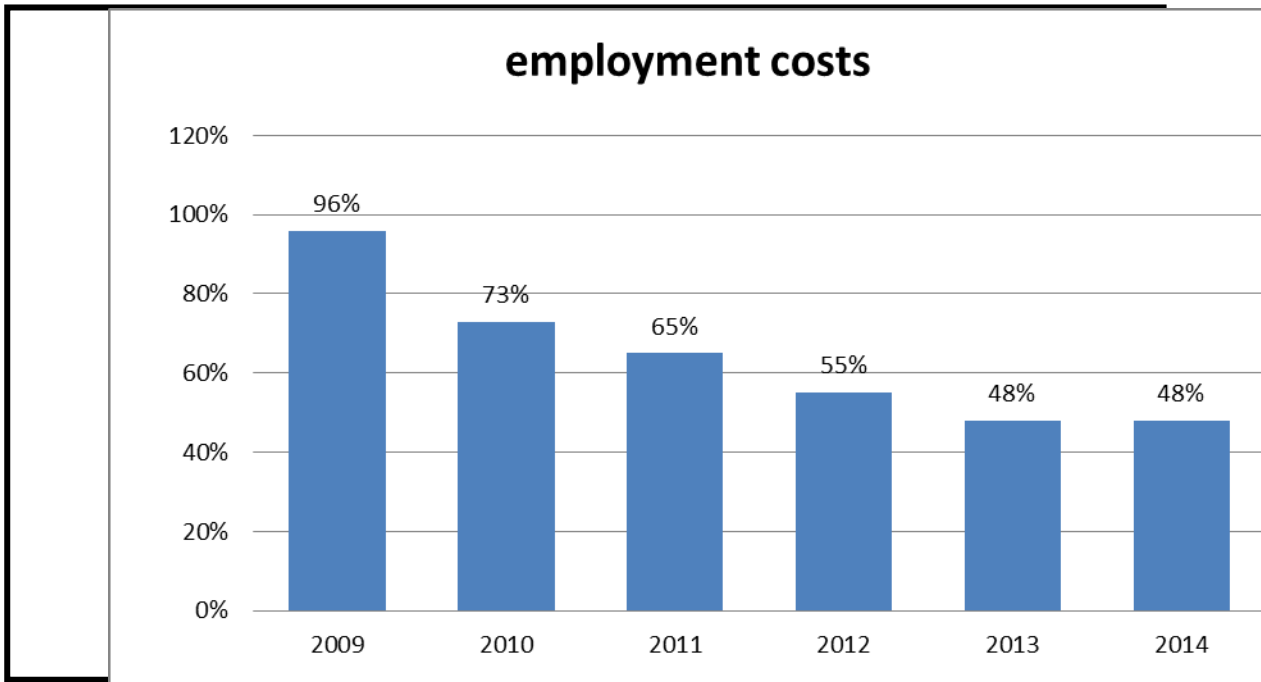


Figure 4: Employment costs in City of Harare

Source: city of Harare 2014 budget

Discussion and Recommendations

The approach to LED planning in Harare is more skewed towards spatial planning. The nature of LED in Harare promotes improvement of the livelihoods for local people but mostly this is done through illegal development channels. Brown, (2006) stated that the formal urban economy has lost glamour in favour of the informal one as actors have taken advantage of its easy of entry and that urban areas have vast human and natural resource endowments. Development control is very important in order to retain sanity for the local area.

In literature, Teitz (2009) advised that devoid of control over land, LED is basically unworkable since land management and land deals form an integral component of LED programming. The study managed to find out that though LED is a noble idea that promote employment creation and improve the quality of life for citizens, in Harare there are no properly documented plans and policies of LED and that the regulators lack competence. Following the study the following recommendations are forwarded:

- The Government of Zimbabwe should formulate a national policy on LED which makes it mandatory for local authorities to implement LED strategies. This will give clear strategies and outcomes expected from implementing LED initiatives.
- There is need for City of Harare to adopt strategies on how to market their forward plans so that investors can come in and assist in implementing the plans. In this sense City of Harare should therefore make implementation plans as their work plans from which performance is measured through results achieved for the master or local plan.
- City of Harare should also device resource mobilization strategies. The current 2014 budget for City of Harare does not match duties and the rate account is the major source of revenue. Resources for planning should be sourced so that plans can be implemented. Technological resources also need to be advanced to improve on efficiency.
- City of Harare should facilitate stakeholder coordination during situation analysis, plan preparation and implementation to ensure that all stakeholders accept and own the plan.
- Monitoring and evaluation of the current practice of LED should be facilitated so that there are no negative externalities to the environment, to fellow citizens and to other businesses.

Conclusion

The study was motivated by the fact that there is consensus among residents, urban practitioners, private sector, the City of Harare and the government of Zimbabwe at large that serious

urban development and management issues haunt Harare. This is observed through indicators such as lack of adequate water provision, burst sewage pipes, dilapidated educational facilities in the city, and refuse not being collected and improper road maintenance leaving roads with potholes. Another major issue of concern is the exacerbation of poverty among the residents due to the shortage of employment opportunities which leads to low quality of life for residents in Harare.

LED in Harare has been mainly achieved through spatial planning. On the other hand, a policy framework have been identified as the missing link for ensuring adherence to LED planning and implementation. Strategies such as PPPs, SMEs, informal sector and revitalization of declining neighbourhoods have been used to solve challenges of poor infrastructure development that Harare is facing.

LED practice in Harare predominantly takes the form of pro-poor strategies but with little efforts directed towards infrastructure development which is pro-growth in nature. Small to medium enterprises and the informal sector have been mainly used to achieve objectives of alleviating poverty and supplementing the formal market which is having challenges in employing the high populations of Harare.

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