

Rural urban encounters in Swaziland: the peri-urban interface in Manzini City

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Abstract

The explosive growth of cities in most developing countries has dramatically reduced the division between the urban and the rural creating the so-called peri-urban interface (PUI) or peri-urban areas. The supply of land in the peri-urban areas cannot be entirely separated from urban land supply since in many respects they are two sides of the same coin. The rural and urban interaction has increasingly diluted the divide between the traditional and the modern. Notably, approximately 11,9% of the land that occur in the Manzini-Mbabane corridor in Swaziland is peri-urban land and an estimated 80% of this land is Swazi Nation land administered under the traditional "khonta" system. Whereas most people seek to acquire land from here because it is cheaper and not governed by formal planning controls, they also want to access the social facilities provided by the municipalities. Confusion, conflicts, contests and contradictions occur due to blurred roles and functions of the administrative, legislative and policy planning arrangements. This article explores the case of Manzini City by situating it in the context of cities in the development world. It looks at the planning challenges that are raised by the traditional khonta system and policy changes for the management of peri-urban areas. The thrust of argument in this paper is that an integrated development approach is crucial for harmonising the traditional-modern contrasts and contradictions in the urban management of the PUI of Swaziland. This argument is intended to speak to the experience of cities in the developing world and it suggests some approaches of dealing with these problems by deriving from the experience of "new regionalism" in the United States and in South Africa.

KUNGCUBUTANA KWABOSOMADOLOBHA KANYE NABOSHIFU ETINDZAWENI LETISETICINTSINI, KAMANZINI ESWATINI

Kukhula kwemandolobha sekwente kutsi banfufu labanyenti bagcine sebahala eticintsini. Emkhatsini waseMbabane kanye naManzini 11.8% webanfufu labaseticintsini, kani 80% wabo basetindzaweni letiphetfwe boshifu. Lite labanfufu lahlala lapha bayafisebentisa takhiwo telidolobha njengemanti, emgwaco, gesi, njalo njalo. Kepha esikhatsini lesinyeni abafuni kuphatfwa ngekwe mtsetfo welidolobha. Loku kubangela kutsi lidolobha libe netinkinya tekwakha timali tekutimatisa letakhiwo talo. Futsi nebudlelwano emkhatsini waboshifu nemadolobha abukho. Lokubanga loku kutsi imitsetfo lephetse banfufu baseticintsini ngumtsetfo wesinfu lolawulwa boshifu, kantsi welidolobha wona wehlukile ngobe usebenta ngekwelidolobha. Umtsetfo welidolobha wenta kutsi banfufu bawukhandze ulukhuni kuwulandzela. Linyenti lebanfufu ke likhandza kulula kwakha esicintsini kunasekhatsi kwelidolobha. Umgomo waleliphepha ke kubukisisa lokungcubutana lokwenteka emkhatsini wabosomadolobha kanye naboshifu mayelana nemtsetfo, nekhuphatfwa kanye nekunakelela kwaletindzawo letiseticintsini. Leliphapha liveta bulukhuni labahlangabetana nabo bosomadolobha nabafuna kuhlelisa takhamuti taseticintsini. Ingcikitsi yaleliphepha kufunisisa taba letentiwe eNingizimu Afrika kanye naseMerika ekucatululeni lenkhangano.

INTRODUCTION

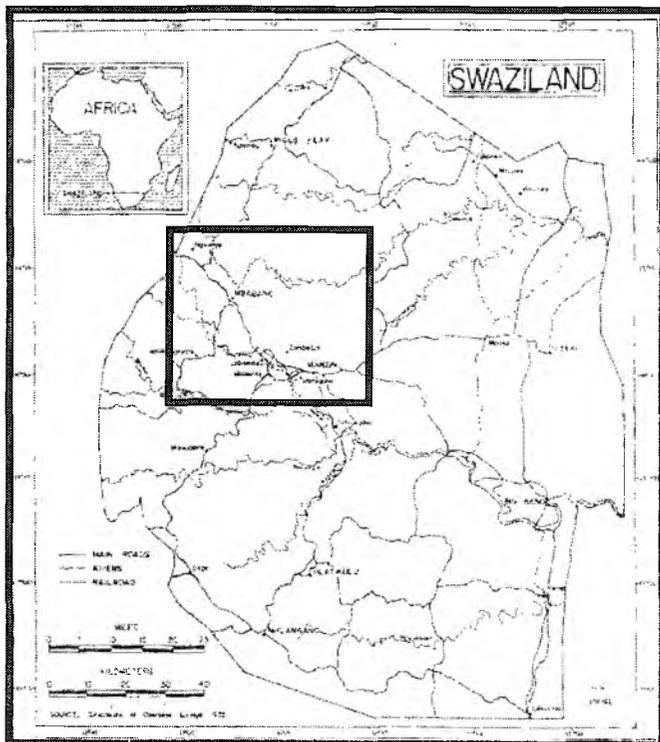
Although there is no consensus on the conceptual definition of the Peri-Urban Interface (PUI), there is an increasing recognition that the rural and the urban features co-exist within and beyond their limits (Ellen 2001). Tacoli (1998: 149)

observed that "the size of the city's ecological footprint is typically several times the area of the city itself although its size as a multiple of the city area vary considerably ...". Therefore, "the boundaries of urban settlements are usually more blurred

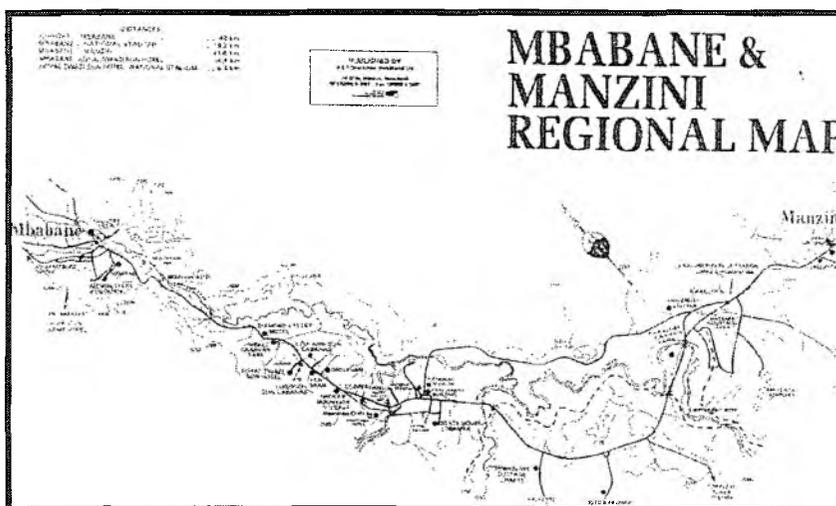
than portrayed by administrative delimitations, especially when the town's use of rural resources is considered..." (*ibid*:147). For that reason the rural-urban gap is now impossible to measure and there is little by way of reliable measurable economic and social indicators providing a statistical base for spatial planning in Sub-Saharan Africa (Jamal 2001).

Permeating this rural-urban link are numerous problems of crime, environmental degradation, unemployment, sprawl, traffic congestion, inadequate infrastructure, etc. which can no longer be single-handedly dealt with by one local authority without a framework of collaboration, cooperation and coordination. These problems are rendering the traditional rural-urban dichotomy, formal-informal distinctions and traditional-modern discrimination deeply engrained in our planning system inadequate to deal with the environmental challenges generated in the PUI. Brenner (2002) has noted that, "new regionalism" has been developed to deal with these problems in the United States (US). "New regionalism" help "to coordinate the activities of competing municipalities in a metropolitan region according to shared goals for regional growth; to establish a regional framework in which local planning policies, infrastructural investments and other aspects of inter-local governance may be coordinated; to pool fiscal resources at a regional level and to limit environmental destruction through the establishment of compulsory region-wide land-use planning" (*ibid*:13). The question that arises for cities in the developing world is, how can urban planning deal with these problems? To answer this question, this article firstly looks at the militating factors behind the concern for PUI in Swaziland.¹

¹ The peri-urban interface (usually used interchangeably with peri-urban areas) is where the urban and rural activities meet in a mosaic of agricultural and urban ecosystems affected by material and energy flows demanded by urban and rural areas. These are socially and economically heterogeneous and subject to rapid changes (Allen & Davila 2002). Whilst the PUI has is not spatially definitive in terms of boundaries, the peri-urban areas tends to designate areas around the outskirts of cities with definite boundaries.



Map 1: Ngwenya-Mbabae-Manzini: location of the Peri-urban interface in Swaziland



Map 2: The Manzini-Mbabane corridor

Secondly, it relates the background to the growth of the PUI in Swaziland. Thirdly, it deals with the PUI of Manzini city and highlights the epitomising environmental planning and management challenges that are posed by the traditional khonta system² and lastly, the paper explores the policy changes and challenges in response to the growth of the PUI. The thrust of argument in this paper is that an integrated development approach is crucial for harmonising the traditional-modern contrasts and contradictions in the urban management of the PUI of Swaziland. This argument is intended to speak to the experience of cities in the developing world and suggest some approaches of dealing with these problems deriving from the experience of 'new regionalism' in the United States.

Concern for the PUI

The concern for the PUI in many cities in the development world e.g. Maseru and in Swaziland in particular arises from three factors: the rapid growth of the areas in the outskirts of the cities; the complex nature of the PUI and the tension that arises out of the peri-urban growth; and the quality of urban management between the traditional and modern structures of governance.

Rapid growth of the city

Notably, out of a total population of 980 722 persons (1997 census) in Swaziland, 759 318 or 77% are located in rural areas and 221 404 or 23% are in urban areas, an estimated 98 072 or 10% (11,9%) are in the peri-urban areas. These areas experience a rapid growth rate of between 5 to 6%. More than 60% of their residents are found in informal unplanned communities. The plots on which they reside are un-surveyed and are not owned by them. Less than half have safe water and fewer than 20% have access to proper sewerage system. All-weather road access is rare and few houses have electricity (Housing Policy 2000).

According to that Peri-urban Growth Policy (1997), peri-urban areas are those lying outside the urban boundaries particularly in areas adjacent to Mbabane and Manzini

² Khonta is a traditional way of acquiring land paying a cow (or an equivalent in cash) to a chief through the facilitation of the chief advisors (Libandla).

city.³ However, it is noted that throughout the Ngwenya-Mbabane-Manzini corridor there are areas that would fall under this category (Map 1) as well as in the outskirts of large district towns (highlighted). But traditionally, it has been the Mbabane-Manzini corridor that has been a focus for the PUI (Map 2).

The complex interface

The PUI in Swaziland typifies an infinite complexity of the rural-urban interactive development process. For instance, there is a deluge of economic activities that occur between Manzini and its peri-urban interface. These activities include: transportation networks (e.g. combis), hawking (arts and craft), vending (at highways, filling stations, etc), cultural villages, shebeens, prostitution, tourism resorts, gambling, local customs and costumes, pilgrimage, etc in various degrees of intensity. They are formal and informal, small and sometimes illegal and they are facilitated by networks of kinship, citizenship, and common factors of religion, tribe, and language (social capital). These activities have contributed to the rapid rise in rental housing outside the formal urban market whereby subjects of the chiefs provide accommodation: to those who are working in the factories in Matsapha, for students studying at the surrounding educational institutions and for those who are working in town.

The high demand for rental housing has triggered the use of a usufruct system of land allocation due to the breakdown of traditional forms of administration. The Housing Policy Document (2000) noted that "gate keepers" (informally authorised people) allocate land to newcomers. This has occasionally caused disputes amongst chiefs and led to the degeneration of traditional control mechanisms for environmental resource management.⁴ Invariably, informal housing has fostered a spatial growth of the city beyond its municipal borders and, as

observed elsewhere in Africa, "The rural-urban divide has become blurred" (Bryceson & Bank 2001:19).⁵

Retrospectively, far from the exclusivity often projected between urban and rural planning in the third world, the PUI here reflects a complex dynamic of interaction between the two such that one can no longer define their development categorically along orthodox lines. The Swaziland Ministry of Housing and Urban Development Housing Policy Document (2000) concluded that it is not simply a matter of migration from rural areas. There are complex and continuing economic and social interactions between rural and urban areas.⁶

Duality of the PUI

The general problem that arises from this situation is that, "rural and urban areas are often conceptualised in opposing terms to each other... Rural areas are regarded as places of low population densities with predominantly agricultural economies whereas 'urban' areas are regarded as places with high population densities distinguished by a service economy" (UNDP 2000:9). Consequently, cities have been (and are still) seen as the poles of growth and industrial development for the rural areas. This is particularly true for Swaziland since there is a parallel management of the rural and urban areas. Whilst the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD) is responsible for urban development under municipal administration, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC) is in charge of rural development under the control of chiefs. The former administers urban physical planning in terms of the Town Planning Act of 1961 and the latter is responsible for land use planning in terms of its Agricultural Development strategy⁷ (Green 1986; Shongwe 1983) and in terms of Swazi traditional law and custom administered by chiefs.

In this context, Manzini city's population of approximately 70 000⁸ finds itself torn between the urban and peri-urban interface. Whilst an

urban population of 31 382 falls within the urban boundary, the larger remainder of the population (more than half) falls in the PUI under the jurisdictions of several chiefs on Swazi Nation Land (SNL).⁹ The Manzini City Council Annual Report (1999) reckoned that "this population causes a great socio-economic strain on the urban dwellers that are supposed to provide financial backing for the provision of services and overall maintenance of the city".

THE MAKING OF THE INTERFACE IN SWAZILAND

The question that arises is, what are the factors behind the making of the PUI in Swaziland? In order to respond to this question, it is important to look at the history that relates to the processes of de-peasantisation, de-agrarianisation, colonisation, informalisation and peri-urbanisation in the developing world in general and, in Swaziland in particular and how this applies to Manzini city.

De-peasantisation

Bryceson (1996) identified de-peasantisation in the continent referring to small-scale local community-based family farmers' loss of economic capacity, social coherence, and their demographic shrinkage relative to the rest of the population as a foundation to the ultimate creation of peri-urban settlements. Swaziland's de-peasantisation started with the recruitment of native labourers to the mines through enforcement of colonial tax systems creating manpower imbalance in subsistence farming. Crush (1986) noted that there was abundant evidence that British officials in Swaziland viewed taxation as a major device to 'spur the native Swazi to work.' Lord Milner was quoted by Crush saying, "The able-bodied men could earn enough in a month (to pay tax). Nowhere was it so easy to pay the tax as in South Africa, where there was always plenty of good work and good wages for natives. The country was starving for want of labour and the British law ensured that a man would be paid wages he was promised" (Crush 1986:68).

The land partition undertaken in terms of the High Commissioner's

³ Whilst the PUI is not spatially definitive in terms of boundaries, the peri-urban areas tend to designate areas around the outskirts of cities with definite boundaries.

⁴ The rise of crime in these areas in the 1980s was a serious urban issue (see The Swazi Observer, 9 January 1985 and Times Of Swaziland, 1 January 1985). Also, housing has marginalized agricultural land. It has increased refuse disposal, degeneration of the social fabric, transport congestion and led to rapid rise in uncontrollable informal business in the city.

⁵ Also observed by Garvin and Visaria 1997; and Jamal and Weeks 1988).

⁶ Also noted in Maseru (Shale 1997).

⁷ From 1970 to 1987, Rural Development Areas Programme (RDAP) was implemented through the support of British funding.

⁸ The city had a growth rate of 5,7 % between 1976 and 1986. Currently, it grows at an average rate of 5%.

⁹ Chiefs fall under the traditional Tinkhundla Local Councils (TLC). Each TLC administers development for 2-5 chiefdoms.

Proclamation No. 8 of 1907 became another form of accelerating depeasantisation as it fostered native people to engage in occupations outside the native land. In the process, it gave a further decisive advantage to land concessionaires who needed labourers from the designated reserves (Booth 1983:24). The concessions began to pressurise the emerging peasantry with the development of capitalist relations as the competing demands for labour between mining capital and white farmers, chiefs and emergent petty commodity producing peasant enterprises ensued (Levin 1997).

De-agrarianisation and 'urban bias'

This led to de-agrarianisation which is a long-term process of occupational adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification, and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural-based modes of livelihood (Bryceson 1996). This was linked to the fact that traditionally, African governments spend more on education, training, housing, plumbing, sewerage, staple food, medical care, and transport in urban areas (often through subsidies) than in rural areas (Bryceson & Bank 2001). The inequality between urban and rural areas was the centrepiece of the dual picture conventionally projected through the exclusivity of the traditional and modern. The popular literature of the 1960s and 70s highlighted how the rural-urban inequality or 'urban bias' played a major role in the conceptualisation of African development (Jamal, 1993). Central to this characterisation was the view that these societies exhibited wide differentials in living standards between town and countryside, and that to a large extent the privileged position of the town resulted in the impoverishment of the countryside.

Thus when the 'African crisis' gripped world attention towards the end of the 1970s, all the elements for its explanation could be found in the gap model. It was argued that rural-urban migration initially occurred because of the search for employment in town (Becker *et al.* 1994; Kelly 1999; Zachariah & Conde 1981).¹⁰ According to

Holleman (1964) in 1960, over 50% of Swazis had settled permanently in Manzini urban and peri-urban area. In 1976, a total of 10 019 were in town and 18 818 in the peri-urban area making up a total of 28 837 for Greater Manzini. Subsequently in the 1980s, migration was largely due to falling levels of production in the rural areas and the austerity economic policies (Jamal & Weeks 1987).¹¹ By 1986, the population had spiralled to 17 100 and 28 900 in the urban and peri-urban areas respectively making a total of 46 000 for Greater Manzini. This stretched the peri-urban areas in Manzini over an area of 3 200 hectares which consisted of Matsapha, Sichelwini, Logoba, Kwaluseni and Mhobodleni in the western part of the town and Lwandle, Mhlabeni, Madonsa in the east and north east as shown on Map 3.

Occupational scramble: rise of non-agricultural activities

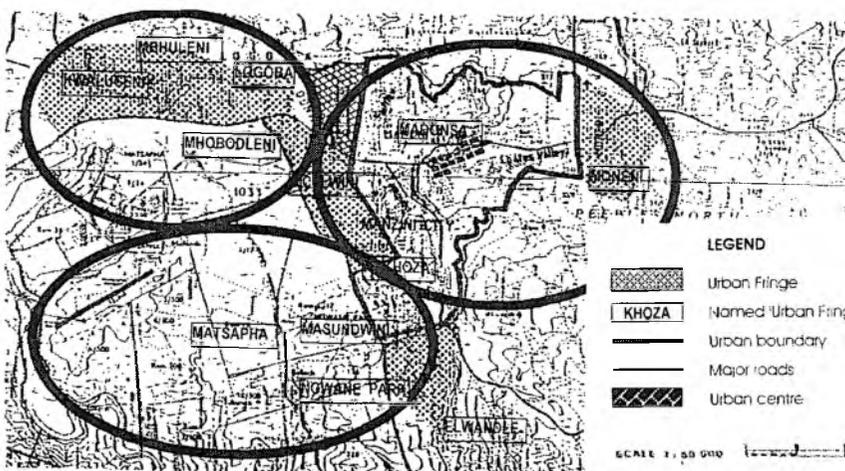
At the time, most governments were in debt in Africa. Jamal (2001:25) pointed out "governments had squeezed the agricultural sector through distorted prices to the benefit of wage earners and that

¹¹ In Swaziland, Booth (1986) argues, "... Migrant labour reduced household labour power, altered sex roles, removed the locus of decision making, created domestic disharmony and unrest ... and in these and a dozen other ways sapped agricultural productivity to the level of chronic crop deficit ...".

widened the gap and encouraged migration to town causing unemployment and in the rural areas the squeeze on agriculture caused stagnation." As such, motivating rural-urban migration was the severe problem of unemployment in the Swazi economy. Retrospectively, whilst industrialisation in the 1960s was carried out in the light of 'urban bias thesis' (Lipton 1977) which caused the rise of unplanned growth and the development of squatter settlements in the PUI, de-industrialisation in the 1980s became a process of informalsation of production and the creation of an amorphous informal sector.

Further, the world recession and adverse economic conditions in the region combined with the freezing of government posts in the early 1980s fuelled problems of unemployment and underemployment to serious proportions. It was estimated by Barclays Bank of Swaziland that almost 5,000 additional school leavers were annually entering the ranks of the unemployed – i.e. in the period 1975-80, there were 5 000 more job seekers than jobs available each year. The structural unemployment was compounded by lay-offs in virtually all sectors. According to the Quarterly Report of the Swazi Central Bank more than 2 000 workers had been laid off at the end of 1982 (Davies *et al.* 1985).

The National Physical Development Plan 1996-2006 document (1995:11-12)



Map 3: Peri-urban areas of Manzini City (Source: adapted from a peri-urban policy document)

¹⁰ Low agricultural returns, higher industrial wages, and more urban amenities spurred rural-urban migration (Natziger 1988:150).

indicated that between 1985 and 1990, an average of 3000 formal jobs were created annually, while the number of school leavers averaged 8 000 a year. A survey identified 50 000 people as being unemployed of which just under half were between 15 and 24 years of age. This was exacerbated by the fact that the SNL cultivated area had declined from about 100 000ha in 1969/70 to about 85 000 ha in 1991/92.

One study found that 80% of all rural homesteads had one or more family members earning off-farm income - i.e. selling labour power outside of the Swazi Nation areas.¹² Such absentees amounted to one quarter of the population of these areas in the 1976 census, with a male to female ratio of 3 to 1. This was exacerbated by the impact of both the drought in 1982 and the cyclone Domoia, which devastated the country in January 1984 (Davies, et al. 1985:29). It was further intensified by adverse international terms of trade and the undermining of African economies by indebtedness, crisis management and negligence of small farms in favour of large-scale capital-intensive projects hit hard on peasant farmers in the 1980s.

Home working and rapid flow of resources

Bryceson and Bank (2001:13) noted a general emergence of home-working skills: making beer, snacks, hair plaiting, small-scale retailing, prostitution, tailoring, handicrafts, midwifery, etc., as commoditised activities in Africa. These are occupations in the non-agricultural sector.¹³ Tacoli (2001:5) presented it as occupational and income diversification in non-farm employment.¹⁴ In the process, there has been dissolution of the long-standing agrarian division of labour

as well as economic rights and responsibilities within peasant households (Bryceson and Bank 2001). There is a rapid flow of resources, goods, services, people and information between rural and urban areas creating reciprocal economic interdependency between the traditional urban and rural areas resulting in the blurring of boundaries.

In Manzini, the intensity of this industry is reflected by the rapid operation of mini-buses, taxis between the city and the peri-urban areas. The activities entail small formal and primarily informal businesses for people in rental housing in the PUI such as: repairs, filling stations, baking, sewing, wood logging, gardening, curios, beads, "taxi pirating" poultry, groceries, etc.

These are visible along the Mbabane-Manzini highway and spread over a number of growth centres and commercial nodes e.g. Logoba, KaKhoza, Sicelwini, Mbhuleni, Moneni (Map 3). In Rabinovitch's (2001:46) view, this points to the fact that: "Just as rural or urban environmental impacts cross over to the other; the long-term environmental health of any society depends on sustaining the environment everywhere and at all spatial scales."

ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

This crossover of activities raises a critical concern for urban planning since it bears a lot of traditional-modern contrasts and contradictions. The Peri-Urban Policy Document (1997) identified the institutional, environmental, land tenure/land-use, and infrastructure and planning issues:

Institutional issues

Notably, the current institutional framework for service provision specifically addresses urban and some rural needs, but there is no specific and coherent institutional framework for the special needs of peri-urban areas. For that reason, government at present is ill equipped to provide adequate services (sewerage, water, waste collection and disposal, etc) in peri-urban areas. Therefore, planners (in this case urban administrators) are faced with a situation where residents in peri-urban areas use some urban services but municipal governments are unable to charge

for these through rates and other user charges because they are under chiefs. Even, public/private sector relationships in issues such as infrastructure and service delivery are difficult since there is lack of coordination between the traditional and modern local governments. In cases where there is coordination, the bureaucracy is very slow and tedious.

This is because there is resistance to change by many chiefs since changes might reduce their influence in the area. This means for now, formalisation of tenure and financing of tenure towards ensuring that the use of peri-urban land to help establish a culture of entrepreneurship is limited.

Environmental issues

Directly consequential to these institutional problems is the inevitable and irreversible rapid population growth/rural-urban migration that aggravates the social and economic costs of unregulated peri-urban growth. More and more people are attracted to the peri-urban areas since:

- One does not have to buy the land (khonta costs less than urban land)
- The relative cost in khonta-ing on peri-urban Swazi Nation Land (SNL) compared to the cost of freehold land is very cheap e.g. no legal documentation costs
- PUI provides a "soft landing" for those moving to the urban areas for employment for the first time since it offers the opportunity of proximity to the workplace (city) which saves time and transport cost
- Free-use of facilities paid by rate payers in the urban municipality
- One escapes the enforcement of building and planning controls that increases the cost of building, reduces opportunities for small business and increase the cost of living in urban areas due to the need to pay for council inspectors.

The lack of development controls tends to favour the availability of cheaper accommodation outside the urban market forces. However, unregulated growth causes environmental degradation due to

¹² Funnel (1982) quoted by Booth (1986:37) noted that in the 1980s, "For the homestead, improved subsistence agriculture- earlier and more careful planting and cultivation, even without the expense of fertilizers, insecticides, and tractor hire - may well not be cost-effective if it draws labour away from wage-earning activities. Cash cropping does so generally to employ labour not already engaged in paid employment, those hiring tractors use the labour saved to earn wages rather than to expand farm production."

¹³ Sallinger-McBride (1986) identifies failures of the Rural Development Agricultural Programme (RDAP) in Swaziland and Robins (1994) cites examples of failures in rural development projects in the Southern African region in relation to the rise in non-agricultural activities.

¹⁴ Clark (1985) shared the same idea.

uncontrolled growth in settlements. Even infrastructure development is difficult to provide because of the haphazard location (in some cases) of settlements. Hence, there is general lack of interest or attention in retaining functional green areas-arable land, forests and recreational areas.

Land tenure/Land use

Therefore, ensuring that there is land supply to meet future demand i.e. land banking is not possible. There is no special attention given to retaining of rural land to be utilised as open space especially on the best soils and maintaining a balance between urban and rural land use can not take place. Instead, land is obtained through payment of quasi-commercial fees without any corresponding transfer of written, clearly defined enforceable and transferable property rights. Ironically, much as the lack of controls benefit the ruling chiefs/gate keepers, it is resulting in the breakdown of the traditional system of land use management.

This tends to promote rapid stratification of residents into owners/landlords and tenants and it frustrates small businesses because properties on Swazi Nation Land cannot obtain collateral. It means that investments in peri-urban areas are inhibited without security provided by an agreed, workable tenure and land transfer system. Consequently, it makes a majority of the people depend largely on informal means of production, distribution and exchange.

Infrastructure and planning

Under these political and cultural circumstances, there is lack of forward planning and control and so building guidelines and regulation cannot be applied. This means that waste disposal in particular, the use of treated urban water and sewerage waste on peri-urban agricultural land is uncontrollable. It prevents the implementation of adequate health and safety standards. These areas therefore have little access to protected water supplies and other forms of infrastructure are limited.

Coordination and cooperation in land uses is difficult under the circumstances.

END OF URBAN BIAS: BLURRING OF BOUNDARIES

The intensity of these problems in the PUI became a visible sign of the escalation of unemployment, the growth in the informal sector, the escalation of crime and poverty. It was largely symptomatic of the failure of the Tinkhundla political system in the country. In a way, Manzini city had amassed an army of the unemployed and people in the informal sector from the peri-urban area. Therefore, the general despondency that caught up the third world against austerity policies and despotic governments raised a tidal wave of street protests against the inefficiency of the Swazi political system. Consequently, numerous stay-aways were mounted intermittently in the 1990s to demand democratic changes. The improvement of the economic conditions was perceived inextricably bound with the democratisation of the political system. As such, lack of political change was synonymous with lack of possible policy changes for land, urban development, housing, etc.¹⁵

It was at this moment that the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD) under whom local governments operate recognised that, "Swazi Nation Land can not be excluded any longer in their attempts to provide for the housing and urban pressures of Swaziland" (MHUD document 1993:7). As (Rabinovitch 2001:3) generally observed, "Poverty in rural areas has a clear relation to poverty in the city and is largely determined by the human capital that migrants to the city." This point is buttressed by Tacoli (2001:7) who wrote that the PUI is "an integral part of the urban centre both in terms of natural resources and population, although it is often excluded from urban governance systems." To which Laquinta and Drescher (2001:2) added, "Rural and urban environments operate as a system rather than independently."

For Meagher, such a shift represents a rejection of the old rural-urban,

agriculture-industry dichotomies which are now regarded as too rigid and schematic to capture the fluid dynamics of resource flows, economic activities and population movements within the African context (Meagher 2001:40). This is in tandem with Bryceson and Bank's (2001) observation that "post-modern liberal discourse is now disowning negative images and inferences about urban exploitation of the rural populations. The World Bank (1999/2000) is attempting to turn the urban bias concept on its head. Cities are touted as 'engines of economic growth.' Urban wages, estimated to be on average two to four times higher than rural earnings, are now seen as reflective of higher urban productivity rather than rural-urban inequity. The urban salaried classes have been rechristened as virtuous dynamisers rather than exploitative leaches."

POLICY RUPTURE

Subsequently, after a number of research studies and workshops, the Urban Development Programme (UDP) was initiated to upgrade the areas between Mbabane and Manzini (now up to Ngwenya-see Map 1). These areas are namely: Ezulwini valley, Lobamba, Mahlanya, Malkerns and the adjacent small places falling along the 45 km Manzini-Mbabane corridor (Map 2). A hierarchy of urban settlement has been formulated by MHUD for which development targets have been identified.

The concept of the UDP project draws heavily on the experience of rural-urban linkages by focusing on the role of small towns, growth centres and commercial nodes in relation with the large cities. Along this trend Bryceson and Bank (2001:18) argued that, "large cities are being recast as catalysers of rural economies... The expanding urban population is seen to be generating housing and income-earning opportunities as well as dynamising local agriculture by triggering the market demand for food."

This shift in thinking has motivated government to develop a Peri-urban Growth Policy in 1997 to deal with the urban sprawl. The policy document contains proposals on how to manage the urbanisation process in the peri-urban areas (Housing Policy Draft 2000).

¹⁵ The rise of the opposition and criminal activity tarnished the image of the city. The city was now "home of political radicals" (Hall 2000) and, "a haven of *Sidanti*." Informal settlements were growing both within and outside the city that became a test of endurance to the City Council, as the sprawl was overwhelming.

The objectives are:

- To provide affordable service infrastructure and safe services in order to ensure introduction and maintenance of minimum health standards in accordance with the requirements for evolution to urban status in due course
- To direct and channel urban expansion and market forces towards urban amenity including the retention of green belt areas
- And mitigate the problems related to spontaneous human settlements through policies and programmes that anticipate unplanned settlements.

The policy will be implemented through a two-level institutional framework namely the Peri-Urban Authority (PUA) and the Community Development Associations (CDAs). The functions of the PUA are to: Implement a macro structure plan for urban expansion and assist the CDAs in the planning of micro-development within their geographical areas of authority; coordinate the implementation of major trunk infrastructure with other relevant ministries; review and approve the application to establish a CDA and to facilitate an application's passage through government ministries thereby providing a one-stop shop; facilitate the preliminary process of establishing a CDA; provide technical support to communities in the planning stages promote an understanding of the concept of CDAs; administer Community Mortgage loans for infrastructure; enter into contracts with CDAs; provide a forum for the resolution of grievances outside of the CDAs and; approve changes in the community contracts.

The PUA would have jurisdiction over all Swazi Nation Land, Crown Lands, Concessions and Freehold Land, which is not within an urban boundary but falls under peri-urban. It will establish Community Development Associations (CDAs) to which authority over government land would pass. The PUA will be at government level and the CDAs at community level. The Peri-Urban Growth Policy was produced to support a 99-year lease concept that provides a mechanism to secure land for urban development.

The concept has been introduced at Mhobodleni (Map 3), some project areas on Swazi Nation Land just outside Manzini, to provide a significant step towards a mechanism for securing land for urban development. The possibility of wider application of the concept at national level is being investigated (Peri Urban Growth Policy 1997).

Critique of the peri-urban policy

The policy can be criticised in that the MHUD has developed the peri-urban policy in a top-down fashion without involvement of the various participants, namely: MOAC, urban councils, chiefs, Tinkhundla councils, regional officer, gatekeepers, NGOs, CBOs, Business, etc. Khumalo (2000: 157) noted that generally in Swaziland, "There has not been enough public education on urban planning by the council itself, thus at the end of the day even if public notices appear for ratification of a plan, objections are minimal or non-existent. This defeats the democratic principle of the planning process and popular participation in urban planning and its implementation;"

The peri-urban policy focuses exclusively on the PUI and so maintains the problem of institutional fragmentation;¹⁶ the policy is likely to meet resistance from traditional authorities since the proposed institutional frameworks (PUA and CDA) are "artificial inseminations" into a world that is dominated by people who gain authority through heritage or appointment. Therefore, conflicts are bound to continue between the traditional leaders and those that would be appointed in terms of the policy. Such conflicts get complicated in time because the policy has no legislative backing nor mandate in terms of the Urban Government Act of 1969 and so it is liable to abuse and manipulation by the master plans of the hegemony of the traditional law and custom. David Simon's (Baker & Pedersen 1992) observation that small and intermediate city strategies have generally been inadequately focused and poorly implemented takes special relevance here. He argued that this is due to the

persistence of the master plan mentality in Third World state bureaucracies where the emphasis has been on physical planning to the neglect of economic and social relations. In Swaziland the peri-urban policy development was top-down, centralised, non-participatory with an overemphasis on technical solutions and urban-centric plans and it is presented as a master plan for all urban areas. Yet some urban areas may have typical circumstances that warrant different approaches.

It can also be argued that the policy is inward looking concerned with the particular issues of PUI without considering the broader environment such as national and South African influence. For example, the membership of the CDAs is drawn from the local players only, yet some of the role players come from areas outside the peri-urban e.g. Mbabane, Johannesburg, etc. This point is made clear by Allen's (2001:13) observation that "Urban-rural and rural-rural, or international-local interactions may also form the basis of the organisation of 'peri-urban interfaces.'"

Some observations about the PUI in Swaziland, Manzini

Firstly, it must be understood that Manzini is a city officially, and by any technical assessment it is a small-town¹⁷ located within the sphere of influence of Johannesburg. Its historical growth, investment composition and physical location have a strong economic link to South Africa. Therefore, the growth of the PUI in Manzini has to do with the economic changes both in the country as well as in the Southern African region especially South Africa. For example, the political stability in the region has reduced the amount of investment coming into the areas and subsequently its impetus to grow at a rapid rate has suffered.

Secondly, the growth of the PUI in Manzini is a result of industrialisation in Matsapha (the sanctions imposed on South Africa during apartheid facilitated industrialisation). The rapid increase in the number and size of educational institutions in the city and surrounding areas and the ease with which land and housing is acquired on Swazi Nation Land is an added advantage to the growth of the city. Thus, the PUI is a functional

¹⁶ Allen (2001:13) observes that geographical and administrative boundaries prevent a strategic approach to the environmental planning and management of the PUI that is holistic enough to include concerns at the city-region level and take into consideration at the same time the specific problems affecting peri-urban dwellers.

¹⁷ Confirmed by David Simon (in Baker & Pedersen 1992:31)

spatial link between urban Manzini, the agro-industrial area of Matsapha and Kwaluseni peri-urban areas forming "a Manzini-Matsapha-Kwaluseni"¹⁸ (MMK Metro region" *Figure 1*);¹⁹ The MMK metro region therefore (traditionally referred to as Greater Manzini) has complex processes of economic inter-dependencies and reciprocal development networks (formal and informal) in the aspects of housing, job creation, transport, resource management that need to be coordinated and planned. It relates quite intimately to the notion of "new regionalism" (refer introduction) whereby "city regions" or "metropolitan regions" or "uni-cities" are created to cooperate and collaborate on cross border issues of development. City regions are created to deal with problems and prospects arising from social, economic, political, spatial interdependencies between local government and other interesting parties through processes and structures of cooperation, coordination and collaboration (Brenner 2002).

Thirdly, the urban sprawl favours Swazi Nation Land and it is facilitated by need for rental housing to support the industrial site, educational institutions and the city. The PUI therefore is well submerged into the politics of land, housing and urbanisation within the dynamics of the Tinkhundla political system;

Fourthly, the PUI also falls outside a strong and effective regional (district) governance and non-existence of legislated mandates for local government. Hence there is fragmentation of land use, policy and legislation, resource management, institutional operation and no vision. As a result, the management of the environment, society and the economy is fragmented as well.

THE WAY FORWARD: TOWARDS INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT

In order to address the Manzini PUI problematique, a process of Integrated Development Planning should be well developed to deal with the 'trauma of rural-urban

fragmentation.' Integration is critical in this regard because of fragmentation in institutions, processes, policy, regulations and space primarily between the traditional and the modern. Integration is also important to deal with the power differences in the hierarchy of Swazi society in terms of clans, gender, age and status in the PUI.²⁰ It would create the 'MMK' metropolitan region with a new metro governance, consolidated spatial plan, coordinated policy and regulatory framework (among other things) to avoid fragmentation. As Rabinovitch (2001:7) argued: "Categorising one issue as urban only and the other exclusively as rural ignores their interdependences and can exacerbate problems."

Therefore, the integration process should focus on binding the rural and the urban and most important, it should have a genus approach, that is: developing a dynamic participatory integrated planning process in the MMK region to mitigate the multiple dimensions of fragmentation but at the same time create strategic networks with the large cities like Johannesburg and Durban because the economic growth of this area is influenced by South Africa. So the so-called 'new regionalism' as well as 'inter-city cooperation' is advocated to deal with the challenges of the region. 'New regionalism' is a process that may encompass a range of institutional forms, regulatory strategies, i.e. modification of jurisdictional boundaries, merger or consolidation, establishment of supra- or inter-municipal agencies, councils, districts etc. (Brenner 2002:5). Intercity cooperation refers to creation of collaborative networks between different cities close and far away on specific issues of development.

The work of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford is instructive in terms of planning for an organic unity of environment, society and economy. Mumford in particular emphasised the reintegration of fragmented parts into a harmonious whole (Mumford 1938). The UNDP (2001:4) report stresses this point by stating: "Just as cities cannot be sustained without dependable supplies of food, natural resources, and industrial crops, rural economic expansion depends on urban markets, central place services, and urban networks

connecting rural production to more distant national and international markets and information." The fragmented parts in this case: Manzini as a commercial centre, Matsapha as an industrial site and Kwaluseni peri-urban growth centre should be integrated to harness the interdependencies.

The interdependencies already established need one to look at the systems theory, which directs the way in terms of engaging a planning process that goes beyond blueprint planning. The systems approach highlights the practice of planning beyond the ordering of land uses in space. Beyond the question of wholeness, it places planning onto a platform of interconnectedness of things and parts, an organised body of material or immaterial things and as groups of objects related or interacting so as to form a unity (McLoughlin 1969:75).

This is essential in the Manzini case since various issues of institutional, social, economic, spatial and environmental nature have to be developed and coordinated into a unit. This will resonate with Faludi's (1973) concern for consideration of all possible factors that affect regional or urban development whereby he calls for development of multi-planning agencies that would link activity in various sectors.

A range of stakeholders such as: the Manzini Regional Administrator, Manzini city council, Chiefs, Tinkhundla local councils, Matsapha industrialists, Town Council, Kwaluseni resident associations, Manzini rate payers associations, NGOs, CBOs, University and colleges, etc will need to define a collective partnership to engage on participatory integrated development. The collective partnership should be informed by the fact that the Swazi people are now diverse in economic need and expression within a post-modern social landscape. Within this framework, Foucault (1984:xiii in Harvey 1989) instructs us, "to develop action, thought and designs by proliferation, juxtaposition and disjunction and prefer what is positive and multiple, difference over uniformity, flows over unities, mobile arrangements over systems."

The recognition of the postmodern character of the people within the urban environment in Sandercock's (2000) work is a starting point of negotiating fear and desire in the future of planning for multicultural

¹⁸ Kwaluseni area include peri-urban areas such as Mbuleni, Logaba, Mhobodleni, etc.

¹⁹ The National Physical Development Plan 1996-2006 (1995) makes a recommendation that the urban boundary of Manzini needs to be reviewed with the objective of incorporating Matsapha and the north-west suburbs (Kwaluseni etc).

²⁰ This is shown in Booth (1983), Hitchcock *et al.* (1989) and Kuper (1947) among others.

societies. Multicultural in this case refers to the diversity of socio-economic activities between Manzini, Matsapha and Kwaluseni. There are those who fear that changes might result in loss of land and income e.g. land owners and those e.g. landless, whose desire is to change the system. Sandercock wrote, "I dream of a city of bread and circuses, where those who don't have the bread aren't excluded from the circus. I dream of a city in which action grows out of knowledge and understanding; where you haven't got it made until you can help others to get where you are or beyond; where social justice is more prized than balanced budget; where I have a right to my surroundings, and so do all my fellow citizens; where we don't exist for the city but are wooed by it, where only after consultation with us could decisions be made about our neighbourhoods; where scarcity does not build a barbed-wire fence around our carefully guarded inequalities; where no one flaunts their authority and no-one is without authority; where I don't have to translate my 'expertise' into jargon to impress officials and confuse citizens" (Sandercock 2000:201).

This postmodern vision is particularly important in Swaziland where people live under the misnomer of a 'homogeneous society' wherein activists "face the difficult task of convincing the public that resistance to an undemocratic government is not a betrayal of cultural identity" (Salmond 1997:7). The homogeneity that existed in the pre-colonial period has been overstretched so much so that now mono-ethnicism is confused for homogeneity irrespective of having diverse people of conscience, persuasion and purpose. An understanding of the collective partnership and economic diversity thereof, would add to the development of a metropolitan region that is sensitive to the needs of the people especially those that are at the lower tier of the political and economic hierarchy.

In other countries e.g. South Africa the tension between neo-liberalism and neo-Marxism has forged some integration between forces of the market and social concerns in the 1990s, but in Swaziland this balance is still hamstrung by a neo-liberalist conservative government. A collaborative partnership should play a significant role in mitigating the competing needs of the market and that of social democracy. Integral to

this process are the issues of 'sustainable development,' 'community development,' 'environmental and gender sensitive development'. The resonance of these concepts in a wide literature on local economic development has been critical when dealing with diverse groups where there are ideological differences, fragmented interests and diversity of values such as those identified in the MMK metro region. In order to harness these concepts into development and develop mutual understanding, familiarity with diversity and identification of common goals are critical. In this regard collaborative planning has been used in growth management, environmental planning, and neighbourhood planning (Innes *et al.* 1994; Julian 1994; Sellin & Chavez 1995).

Collaborative planning involves interaction in the form of a partnership throughout consensus building; plan development and implementation (Lowry, Adler & Milner 1997). Innes *et al.* (1996:vii) described it in terms of "long term, face to face group processes ... whereby groups are called together to prepare legislation, policies, plans, regulatory principles, and implementation strategies".

The rise of collaborative planning (Habermas inspired school) advanced by scholars such as Patsy Healey and Judith Innes, Leonie Sandercock has taken the discourse on integration to another level that recognises diversity (Sandercock 2000), collaborative planning, (Healey 1995; 1997) consensus building (Innes 1996) and communicative action (Forrester 1989; Innes 1996). In this discourse of collaborative planning, power is an important issue in terms of managing the process.

One category of power relates to the capacity to influence processes through the control of agendas, information and persuasiveness (Amy 1987). The other category that relates to power is the ability to mobilise influence and organise action or resistance through stakeholder constituencies (Amy 1987; Susskind & Cruikshank 1987). This is complex to address and minority interest can express concern about it. Sellin and Chavez (1995) indicate that, "Even consensus building can be inhibited by significant power differences". This can be highly expected in a hierarchical and patriarchal country

such as Swaziland (culturally imbedded in the PU) where the King has all administrative, legislative, and judicial powers (Salmond 1997), where age, gender and kinship play significant roles in job allocation, appointments and determining social status (Booth 1983).

Innes *et al.* (1994:20) suggested that stakeholders must evaluate power differentials in a kind of cost benefit analysis before they enter into the integration process. Fisher and Ury (1981) argued that stakeholders should assess the range of actions available to them, including the best alternative to negotiated agreement. Other writers have argued that consensus building requires a kind of power sharing that will produce a stalemate. For one, Gray (1989:119) argued that participant groups are successful when they have "mutually authorised each other to reach a decision." McCarthy and Shorett (1984:13) wrote: "Power parity is reached when each interest group is unable to impose its proposed solution on the other affected parties." This becomes a way of creating power stalemate in consensus building in respect of collaborative planning.

Building effective relationships and communication among stakeholder groups require conflict resolution especially in a power-contested case like PU in Swaziland. One of the conceptual themes underlying much of this work is communicative action (Forrester 1989; Innes 1995; 1998) in which values and assumptions about the decision making process and potential outcomes are not accepted priori but are discussed as an integral component of consensus building (Mohr & Spekman 1994). Communicative action requires an ongoing learning and not just dependence on one-time solutions to identify problems (Innes & Booher 1999). In addition Westley & Vredenburg (1991) stressed the importance of "strategic bridging." This consists of a combination of negotiation and the commitment by each organisation and each organisation's leader to the outcomes of the negotiations.

The process outlined here should facilitate the development of the MMK metro region to deal with the issues emerging from the rural-urban dichotomy. But, there are a number of immediate planning implications that arise as part of the aforementioned integration process in order to implement

interconnectedness in space, in parts, in institutions and in materials.

There is a need to devolve political and economic decision-making power to local government. It is argued by Baker and Claeson (1990:19) "if real decentralisation of decision making occurred it would provide the means through which the articulation of local needs and priorities could be made and would stimulate both rural and urban development" In conjunction with this there is need to develop physical, social and institutional infrastructure. This is seen as a prerequisite to facilitate rural-urban and urban-rural reciprocity. Rondinelli (1987:29) argued: "Investments in physical infrastructure and facilities that link towns and cities to rural areas can have a strong impact on accelerating agricultural development and generating increased income for rural households. Recent studies of rural-urban road investment in developing countries, for example indicate the pervasive impact these linkages can have on agriculture and on a regional economy."

These developments should be hinged on a common long-term vision, development priorities and objectives and strategies for the development of the integrated MMK locality. As Rabinovitch (2001:47) argued: "A rural-urban policy approach can bring the broader spatial reach into the calculus for policy intervention and complement current urban- or rural-based efforts. It can help policy makers to better identify the priorities of the poor, to see hidden opportunities for poverty alleviation and prioritise the use of scarce resources for poverty alleviation." To facilitate this an integrated legislative and policy framework should be provided to develop the MMK metro in terms of transport plans, water plans, and waste management plans, housing strategies, etc. The UNDP (2001:50) report warns that: "Separate government for 'rural' and 'urban' areas and separate plans drafted by agencies with separate 'rural' and 'urban' mandates are not necessary or conducive to holistic solutions to address these 'shared' problems."

Further, financial, human, technical, institutional and political capacity should be provided to carry out reconstructive change and upgrading. Rabinovitch (2001:78)

emphasized, "By sharing power, the energies, capacities and talents of the weak, poor and the powerful are channelled in one direction to profit all stakeholders." Then an MMK metropolitan region for the development on the urban continuum can be demarcated. Rabinovitch (*ibid*:79) highlighted that, "Improved spatial linkages impact the movement of goods, people and capital. Villagers when linked with one another through local feeder roads and bridges in addition to highways and with more than one urban centre widen market potential and overcome monopolistic market practices."

The metro region should be developed along the lines of Friedmann's approach of Agropolitan Development and Territorial Regional Planning (Friedmann & Weaver 1979; Stohr 1981; Weaver 1981). The Agropolitan approach belongs to the territorial planning approach, which focuses, on rural development and on an egalitarian agrarian structure as preconditions for development. Development from this approach is understood as a set of territorial-based processes of valued social, economic and environmental changes. To appreciate this perspective, Hyden's analysis of Economy of Affection (Hyden 1983; 1985; 1986) finds special relevance here. The concept of Economy of Affection refers to the various networks of support, communications and interactions among structurally defined groups connected by blood, kin, community, or other affinities which is typical of the Swazi people. However, these approaches must be informed by global economic changes that are taking place.

This would ensure that an environmental planning policy that is sensitive to local socio-economic circumstances but recognise international standards are formulated. This can go a long way towards meeting Mushala's (2000:258) conclusion in the study of environmental issues in Swaziland in which he saw a need to enact relevant environmental legislation e.g. air, and water pollution control, management of natural resources of forests, farmland and freshwater; and establish institutional mechanism for the enforcement of legislation.

Critical to the growth of this region would be the promotion of urban agriculture in Swaziland since most rural incomes are derived from agricultural-related activities and the agricultural land in the PUI can also be put into better use and promote more environmentally sustainable land uses. Evans (1990:75) argued, "no single factor affects the nature of rural-urban linkages more than the domestic terms of trade between agriculture and the rest of the economy." Latz (1991) described the persistence of agriculture in urban Japan and suggested that the prevalence of urban food gardens questioned not the success of development itself, but the idea of development as a linear progression from rural-agricultural to urban-industrial. Latz argues that urban agriculture forces us to rethink a key proposition shaping economic development theory, namely that in the course of national development there should be a structural shift in employment such that people should come to live in urban places and engage in non-agricultural employment. Above all, it is critically important that the metro strategically position itself to take advantage of the global economic changes in South Africa and the world in general but at the same time minimise threats that may arise from the elusive impact of globalisation. Entering the global economy with a low level of competitiveness might be detrimental to the well-being of the city. Sassen (2002) has warned against cities e.g. Sao Paulo and Bombay that incorporate themselves into the global network at the cost of losing functions which they used to perform before since the incorporation happens without gain in the share of the global market.

CONCLUSION

There is a clear indication in Swaziland that more than three quarters of the urban population live outside the formal urban resource management system. This generally means that more than three quarters of the population is not under urban control. In order to deal with this challenge Rabinovitch (2001:46) argued, "Breaking this syndrome of rural-urban poverty cannot be accomplished either by slum improvement programmes in the city alone or agricultural policies in the rural areas. Rather a value added in rural-urban linkages will be found through policies that bring elements

of the rural and the urban together to synergise local economies and to reverse the growth of poverty where it arises." Therefore, it is important to adopt an integrated development process within a new regionalist approach to form a metropolitan region.

Like in Johannesburg, urban regions have been created to integrate spatial, institutional, financial and development programmes of the city, the Manzini case warrants a similar process. A process of city-to-city cooperation may mark a start in the right direction. Corollary, drawing from the theories and processes of systems approach, collaborative planning, consensus building, dispute resolutions and strategic bridging would be crucial in the development of a more sustainable metro region.

However, the critical challenge for integrated development lies with a constitutional democratisation process in the country. South Africa has engaged the process of integrated development planning on the basis of a fundamental process of constitutional democratisation where local governance is recognised as a sphere of government in its own right (*LED Resource Book* 2001:1). Therefore, it does suggest that any meaningful changes in local governance and integrated development in Swaziland should begin with a constitution that grants a development mandate to local government. For Swaziland to do this, it has to engage in a genuine and rapid process of democratisation. Cosmetic changes can only derail the process.

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Maps

Map of Manzini. 1995. Manzini, Surveyor General's Office.