ABSTRACT

Intensive urban growth and proliferation of urban settlements are basic characteristics of postcolonial development of Botswana. Immediately before gaining independence only 4% of population lived in urban settlements. According to the government Central Statistic Office (CSO) 47.5% of population will live in cities, townships and urban villages by year 2001.

However, beside positive effects, urban development in Botswana has resulted in problems related to rural-urban disparities and increased pressure on urban infrastructure and services. Today, local governments are facing problems in adequate and efficient service provision, as well as in the sphere of co-ordination and management of a wide range of public and private sector activities. Obviously, the situation cannot continue in the present direction, and improvements must be made to the current practice of urban management.

Thus, the question for urban planners, and other policy makers is: how can future urban growth of such magnitude be managed in such a way that it does not occur to the detriment of the rural economy, the surrounding environment and the urban system itself?
KEY WORDS: urban management, urban development, urban planning, urban settlements, Botswana

INTRODUCTION

Urban development and management has become a major concern in most cities of the world. The problem, which is not a simple one, as it has several dimensions, interrelated causes and various different actors involved. By its virtue an urban centre is a major pole of economic growth and a generator of industrialisation and economies of scale. The growth of urban development between the late 60s and middle 70s has influenced an intensive proliferation of urban settlements and caused rural to urban migration. The young and most active cohorts of rural population flooded the cities and towns trying to find better living and working avenues. In the beginning, this process of shifting jobs from agriculture to industry had positive repercussions on rural-urban disparities, until it reached a stage of overcrowding and economic decline. During the 80s, pressure on cities communal funds (e.g. buildings, urban infrastructure) and natural resources, as well as the lack of access to better employment opportunities, became a major obstacle for prospective citizens.

A National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA, 1994) report has noted that between 1990 and 2025, the world’s urban population is expected to double and rise up to the 5 billion people and more. At the same time, almost all of this urban expansion is viewed to occur in the Third World countries. For example Latin America and the Caribbean constitute the majority of urbanised regions and more than 70% of its inhabitants are living in urban settlements (Gavidia, 1994). In spite of this, Africa and Asia are now only 30—35 percent urban, but the
most explosive growth in both is under way and it is projected that 54% of their total population will be urban by year 2025.

Although rates of urban growth vary dramatically from country to country and from city to city, the patterns of urban growth in Africa today is not much different from what occurred a century ago in developed countries of Europe and North-America. In the least development countries, urban growth rates are among the highest in the world, at nearly 5% per year (Devas & Rakodi, 1993). And, to make the situation more complicated, economic problems are coupled with political instability, voluntarism, and corruption of ruling autocrats and the elite. Limited human resources in the local government sector in general, and development sectors in particular made urban deterioration worse. Furthermore, the manageability and operability of urban assets, and urban areas are complex, diverse and dynamic systems which have reached a ceiling that necessitates urban renewal and regeneration. As an illustration in 1994, some 30% of African urban residents were not served by municipal water services in any form (Ibid, p. 6).

In most African countries today, urban development and urban management are still not treated as two interrelated and constructive activities, which can influence the process of rising, functioning and changing settings of urban areas. The natural symbiosis between them has never been established accordingly, and this would be greatly criticised for its narrowness and in-co-operation.

Despite the different disciplinary backgrounds, political and ideological viewpoints, the practice and meaning of urban development as analysed here draws an interdisciplinary attention. Today’s urban development deals comprehensively with spatial components of urban production including a broad mixture of human, socio-economic, technical,
environmental and visual components. The economic, social, political and physical (both natural and man-made) dimensions must be recognised as a prerogative for any action which can influence urban development and well-being of individuals and groups living in cities.

However, the practice in African is that there are still several approaches and dilemmas towards urban development. Some thoughts exclusively recognise urban development only as an activity or process that involves construction of physical urban components. Another thought insists that urban development is solely focusing on socio-economic and policy issues, as well as on comprehensive cost-benefit appraisals of every single development proposal, due to scarcity of financial resources in most of the African countries. It is evident that both approaches have influenced heavily the African urban development arena in which different visible and invisible forces shape the urban environments.

Taking into consideration African reality and specific urban milieu with accumulated socio-economic and political tensions, the solution for efficient and people oriented urban development might be somewhere in between. Definitely, purely technical and engineering solutions are not always acceptable in the daily battle with poverty and economic deprivation. For example a visual attractiveness of some African down-towns do not conform with inner city, periphery, urban-fringes and other pristine areas dominated by poverty, lack of services, black markets, vending industry, rising crime, deteriorated landscapes and squatter settlement.

A systematic and comprehensive approach based on sustainability, and also the introduction of concepts such as eco-development (Riddell, 1981; Sachs, 1981), integrated human development, man-centred development (Seers, 1969) and urban stake-holders partnership (Mosha, 1992) might be excellent ingredients of modern African urban development receipt book.
The other crucial counterpart in securing better prospects for African cities is the fact that urban development can be also conceived as part of the urban management process. By its philosophy urban management covers the entire process of governing, administering and planning the urban machinery and its development for the well-being of present and future urban dwellers. Traditionally, urban management has been mainly concerned with the provision and maintenance of housing, infrastructure and adequate services for the population within the jurisdiction of a local urban authority. In addition, it has been concerned with such wide-ranging issues as public health, urban public finance, environmental pollution and recreation.

In the 1908s, however, urban management in many African countries increasingly came under pressure, causing a change in approaches and by the end of that decade it was widely accepted that it was not achieving its objectives. Ster and White (1989) concluded that the urban management crisis is a complex syndrome and among its major elements are the financial inability of local and national governments to provide critical urban services, the inadequacy of administrative and skilled technical personnel to operate urban services and to maintain infrastructure, and the ineffectiveness of local communities in the local administrative and decision making process. While some of these problems exist even in developed countries, their co-existence in Africa in the face of historically unprecedented urban growth and extreme poverty constitutes a real crisis.

This management crisis operates in a generally adverse economic environment with low or even negative real economic growth, worsening terms of trade, high debt service ratios and low foreign exchange reserves. The crisis manifests itself in various forms, which are somewhat interrelated, but all of which provide a challenge to urban management. Firstly there
is rapid population growth with all its pressures on residential land supply, housing provision, building materials and essential services ranging from water and power to education and health. Secondly, transportation crisis in many cities is eminent. An enormous urban sprawl, huge open spaces and a strict land use separation inherited from the colonial era has made transport a daily necessity. However, shortages of cars and public transport facilities aggravated the problem, resulting in long journeys and much time is wasted in waiting for transport. In most African cities unemployment is a further big problem, particularly amongst school-leavers and rural-urban migrants. All these problems and challenges of urban life require quick, flexible and creative solutions.

The understanding of African urban management is a daunting exercise and it is often seen as the specific task of local urban government only. However, the government is not the only actor involved in the management process and usually not one person or organisation is able to manage a city. Firstly, a distinction should be made between urban managers and gatekeepers Urban managers such as local government councillors, planners, public officials are concerned with the overall running of the city. At the same time gatekeepers such as estate agents, developers, solicitors and investors decide on the specific issues of urban development and finance. They determine whether the development is viable and what type of professional and financial assistance is needed for project implementation.

Urban managers will have to understand how gatekeepers operate and what their objectives and procedures are in order to be able to manage them too as part of overall urban management. Without this understanding and without appropriate policies to guide gatekeepers, there may very well be undesirable effects on the overall management of the city.
The findings presented here examine urban development in Botswana and its consequences on urban management in major towns and urban villages. This research explains that effective urban development and use of urban facilities, services and spaces depends on the extent to which urban management can influence supply, utilisation, maintenance and improved development of urban fixed assets. In addition the debate on advantages and disadvantages of Botswana urban development is based on analysis of urban management efficiency and on recommendations for its improvement.

**URBANISATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT GROWTH IN BOTSWANA**

Botswana is landlocked, semi desert country, situated in the heart of South African subcontinent. It is bounded by Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and Zambia. It covers an area of 581,736 km², which is approximately the same size of as France, Kenya, Afghanistan or Spain. The topography is mainly flat or gently undulating with the mean altitude of 1,000 metres above sea level. The capital city is Gaborone with 190,000 people. According to Central Statistic Office estimate (GoB, CSO, 1997) the population of Botswana was around 1,533,000 inhabitants. Although its total population size is small comparing to other countries in the region, an average annual population growth rate of 4.1% in the period from 1971 to 1991, placed Botswana among countries with the fastest population growth in Africa.

The country gained independence in 1966. Until then, it was a British Protectorate under the name of Bechuanaland. The country is divided into 4 planning regions and 10 districts. It has a 6 towns and three townships with different names and levels of governance. In addition there are 18 major urban villages. Immediately after getting independence, most of the people in Botswana lived in rural areas and only 9.1% of the population lived in urban areas. Before 1963, the proportion of the country’s population living in urban centres were
approximately 1.0% (Gwebu, 1987). During the last 30 years this ratio has drastically changed. The prognosis is that, more than 50% of the country's population will have urban characteristics by year 2000. Comparing with other parts of the world and Africa, it is almost evident that urban population growth will continue. (see Figure 1).

Place for FIGURE 1

There are numerous reasons for such intensive development and proliferation of urban settlements in Botswana. In the first place the discovery and beginning of the exploitation of diamonds has provoked a real economic revolution. Radical changes in the structure of activities took place in the country that was essentially rural and ranked as one of the poorest countries in the world. A part of gross national product (GNP) gained through the distribution of the diamonds on the world market started to trickle and influence the development of the other sectors of the economy. In the slow, but secure pace this has resulted in forming of the administrative and professional apparatus of a new and propulsive young state.

Durable political stability typical during the protectorate era and exceptionally intelligent political and economic visions of the first president Sir Seretese Khama have had a positive influence on the country's further development. Urban policy was created in compliance with the generally established policy. It has influenced the creation of new towns, primarily the new capital city of Gaborone and mining towns of Orapa, Jwaneng and Sowa Town. Raising of general economic, educational and health care levels as well as the concentration of people in the
eastern most perspective part of the country have laid a foundation to today s urban settlement network. The most productive and the youngest part of rural population has started to knock slowly into the doors of newly established towns searching for better working and living conditions.

In the period spanning from 1981 to 1991 Gaborone has gained the epithet of primate city due to the permanent overflow of the population from rural parts of the country. For example, measured by a primacy index, in 1991 Gaborone was 104,6 larger than the second largest city in the country Francistown. However, beside Gaborone, Francistown, Lobatse, Selebi-Phikwe, Orapa, Jwaneneg, Ghanzi, Kasane and Sowa Town, and twenty other settlements have been proclaimed as urban centres on the basis of population larger than 5,000 and the criterion that more than 75% of active labour force does not work in agriculture.

In analysing urban development, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that some of the urban settlements, primarily mining centres and capital have played a role of growth poles of development in wider area (see Figure 2). They were the source of trickle-down effects to their surrounding and helped in creation of elementary urban skeleton with the network of smaller urban centres. Thus, for example, the attraction of the city of Gaborone has effected in 80s that about a half of the country s population lived within a radius of 200 km of Gaborone, that is reduced to 100 km in 1991 (Cambpell, 1995).

Some urban settlements being district or sub-district headquarters had a good commercial development and improved income due to employment generation. Some rural centres, so called urban villages, are also getting a boost resulting from the reaction of some large public and parastatal investments (GoB, NSP, 1998). However, those initiatives were not followed by an adequate urban service, which would attract and keep investors and developers. An important
number of locations foreseen for industrial and commercial development has remained un-serviced and undeveloped. Land Boards have been also unable to reposes those plots for reallocation and new development.

In spite of an evident positive trend, first negative effects caused by intensive development of urban settlements have come to light in the mid of 90s. Intensive population growth consequently called for serviced urban land and all other pertinent elements typical for city life. That has caused over-saturation. Social services, health care and education institutions have found themselves under pressure. A number of low-paid and less attractive jobs were reduced, and a number of competitive working posts were increased. Everyday traffic congestion as well as the first signs of jeopardised environment has been a sign to the urban dwellers that maintaining of the reached level of development and living standard in the cities is endangered.

At the same time, rural areas that have been neglected for a long period of time have been crying for rural development programs and projects, which would find a way out from the economic and social depression. Since it is accepted that towns, townships and urban villages provide marketing and service facilities to their hinterlands, it was therefore important that regions that lack such urban settlements should have some of their own settlements established, declared and stimulated as towns and townships, and be developed to take up the role (NSP, 1998). An intensive campaign to stimulate the development of major urban villages and their hinterlands took place at the end of 80s and beginning of 90s. The preparation of the first formal
Regional Plans started at the turn of 90s with an aim to support the revival of the economically depressed rural areas.

It is quite obvious that at the moment the country has reached an ultimate urban development threshold and it would be necessary to find new solutions for the progressive continuation of that development. The country is in the stage of stabilisation and activation of new economic programs, as the time of the diamond boom has gone. From that point of view, urban development as a part of national development concept, as well as the expected development of the network of settlements and centres in rural areas are becoming the priorities in the new millennium. The 1999 Human Development Report of (UNDP, 1999) using Human Development Index — (HDI — 0.609) which is a comprehensive indicator of income, health and education, ranks Botswana 122nd among 174 countries in the World. Certainly, this information gives reason for moderate optimism and hope for continuation of the successful Botswana story.

**URBAN MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS**

From the above it may be seen that with the rapid urbanisation and urban development growth, Botswana local government has reached the stage when it is necessary to reconsider the existing management practice regarding increased demands for social and economic services in major urban settlements. Thus, the question for urban managers and other policy makers is: how can urban growth of such magnitude be managed in such a way that it does not occur to the detriment of the rural-urban economy, the surrounding environment and the urban system itself?

There is no ready-made solution but it is evident that are several influential factors which can be considered as the most important elements of urban management practice. This section of
the paper aims to give an overview of these important factors and evaluates their effectiveness in Botswana's urban management machinery.

**Weak Local Government Structures**

Today Botswana local governments face increased pressures to provide efficient services and infrastructure levels and to co-ordinate and manage a wide range of public and private enterprises in major urban settlements. These pressures are becoming more and more compelling because basic urban services and infrastructure are becoming inadequate in terms of user needs and satisfaction of capacities. On the one side there are noticeable efforts in new urban developments, especially in the capital of Gaborone. But at the same time there is water inadequacy, transport congestion, garbage removal problems, maintenance and repairs of major facilities.

**Restrictive Finance**

A scan through the majority of urban local governments shows that they are also facing financial constraints to run and manage their jurisdictions. Urban and District Councils' expenditure has increased much more rapidly than their revenues. Fortunately, the difference is financed by Central Government, through increased contribution from the Central Government Budget (known as deficit grants) and, for urban councils, through loans from central government.

In principle, urban councils are expected to be self financing. Two thirds of the revenues of Urban councils are derived from rates, with the rest coming from abattoir fees, sales tax on breweries, clinic fees, building material loans, rents, trade licences, market fees and service levies (GoB, NDP, 1997a).
**Shortage of Trained Manpower**

There is still a shortage of properly trained people able to run the administration of the councils in general, and to deal with urban management issues in particular. To make it worse, technical bureaucrats like planners, architects, engineers, public health officers, economists, and IT specialists are insufficient at all levels. For example, the overall vacancy rate in local government is 15%, however, for technical areas the rate is between 30% and 40%. In spite of there being expansion of university and post-university programmes and courses in the country and elsewhere, there are still not enough trained man power to meet the rising demand.

For example, each year the University of Botswana organises during a winter holiday a number of courses to refresh the knowledge of the government officers already employed in town and district administration. The problem with the qualified and skilled staff shall remain acute at least one decade more prior to the commencement of its normal reproduction.

**Infrastructural Services**

Local governments and parastatal agencies are responsible for a whole host of services. such as a water, electricity supply, telecommunications, refuse removal, housing, land allocation and land use planning. However, in provision of infrastructure services there are a number of restrictions. In the towns most of the available infrastructure services operate within the capacity limits satisfying the needs of the users. The threshold of development has not been crossed yet, but there is a problem with regular maintenance.

Major urban villages are still in the course of construction and completion of water supply, power and telecommunication networks. The aim is to service the maximum possible number of users. For example, in most of the urban villages and town suburbs street water taps are the main means of water supply. They are permanently overcrowded due to the big number
of users especially in the summer. Apart from their basic use to provide water to the households within the neighbourhood or ward boundaries, they are also under pressure of other numerous users. Watering of cattle, washing of cars and laundry are only some of the examples.

It is evident that the provisions of the most required infrastructure for the biggest possible number of people influences the quality of supply and minimum cost-recovery. The other problem is related to the type and kind of services to be provided bearing in mind the size and structure of particular settlement. Connection of all the buildings within the settlement could not be carried out at the same time and the only solution is the execution of these works in stages which is unfortunately not established considering the priorities, so there is lot of room for manipulation. Thus for example water supply might be prioritised for those parts of settlement or settlements inhabited by the most influential politicians and their relatives.

**Waste Disposal**

Waste disposal and management are the most pressing questions in Botswana urban settlements. Especially, the most evident problems are water and land contamination. For example, only for city of Gaborone an annual quantity of 756,000 m3 tones of waste is foreseen to be collected and disposed. Nevertheless, much is still left uncollected, especially in the industrial areas. In spite of the evident problem of overflowing, the city still keeps pending the opening of a new landfill. An additional problem with the waste is its structure, which has changed drastically. Previous domination of biodegradable and agricultural waste gave up its position to the new forms where plastic, hazardous waste, food-industry waste and construction and demolition waste prevails, most of which is not biodegradable (GoB, CSO, 2000).

Several efforts have been made on how to handle the refuse including privatisation, but up to date the final solution has not been made formal. Recycling and reuse, recovery and
reclamation or extraction of economically usable material or energy from solid and liquid waste might be the only viable answers to the problem. It is assumed that the newly established (1998) government’s Department of Sanitation and Waste Management would resolve the present situation. Passing of the National Waste Management Strategy (1998) and formulation of the Waste Management Act (1998) are the initial attempts in that sense.

**Public Transport**

In urban settlements of Botswana there is still no public city transport. Taxi-vans, private cars, bicycles and motorbikes are the dominant transport means. Still, a quite number of the city dwellers, mostly from the poorest class, is forced to walk or use animal-drawn vehicles.

Topography of most of the urban settlements in Botswana, apart from a few exceptions, as in the case of Lobatse is ideal for the introduction of mass public transport. Fore example a price of electric energy and reduced environmental impacts (such as noise and air pollution) may go in favour of trolley-bus option. It is still very hard to provoke the people awareness in that direction. The cult of private car as status symbol and means of transport is extremely expressive in case of wealthy citizens. At the same time, nothing is left to the majority but to wait patiently for taxi-vans during peak hours.

The governments role is limited to the issuing of road permits, to regulatory duties (routes, time tables, fares) to the provision and maintenance of infrastructural facilities, and to the encouragement of the private sector to engage in transport services. Services could be improved with more adequate timetabling and the provision of separate bus lines.

**Housing**
The housing situation in Botswana is still under control and new improvements are expected after the establishment of the latest National Policy on Housing (1997). The existing housing supply in urban areas is based on the following three major providers: Self-Help Housing Agency — SHHA (45%), Botswana Housing Corporation — BHC (28%) and others (27%). Demographic projection shows that it would be necessary to develop 12,000 dwelling units in the next ten years in order to meet present and expected needs.

However, the essential problem is cost/price regime whereof only a smaller portion of projected population is in situation to finance the construction from their own sources. Only one household in five could afford even the basic 50 sq.m. house. In respect to that, the interventions in the field of reduction of land and building costs are foreseen. It is also foreseen to make balance on the real estate market where the artificial shortage of dwelling units is still factual as well as the uncontrolled raising of rent values and land speculations.

Definitely, the existing government role and its parastatal representatives such as BHC in the housing sector as major financier, housing producer for the market and owners is to request changes. The latest review of the National Housing Policy argues that government emphasis should shift to a role that facilitates housing production by the private sector, including small and large scale developers, owner-builders, community groups and non-governmental (NGOs) and community based organisation.

The programs that should address the housing needs of the low-income class, such as Land Accelerated Land Servicing Programme (1987) may even further to exist as social support to newly promoted housing policy. Certainly, with the creation of appropriate financial mechanism which will address the needs of low-income groups and secure the delivery of serviced land and building materials.
Urban Land

There are three basic types of land tenure in Botswana: tribal or communal, state and freehold. The prevailing type in cities is state land tenure, while the tribal land tenure with the tendency to transform into state tenure in the settlements with the established planning areas boundaries is characteristic of urban villages and its hinterland. From urban management point of view there is a gradual restriction of the formal urban land market to the wealthy and the well-connected and influential people. There is also a problem of slowness in registering and transferring land titles up to 55 years for residential and 99 years for business purposes.

When investors want to purchase land to start a new business, or expand on the existing one, they certainly require speed in the acquisition process. Long delays increase costs and risks and the new owners must have secure title to avoid legal difficulties. Unfortunately, the laws and processes regulating land title transfers seriously frustrate these objectives. The motives and wishes of the developer for the efficient investments and gaining of profit rapidly dwindle in clash with the land acquisition constraints. Coincidentally that leads to the losses caused by the engagement of local working force to which the possibility of employment in the companies interested for the purchase of the land and investment in the development projects is denied.

Current, Urban Development Standards (GoB, 1992) and Development Control Code (GoB, 1995) typically requires a strict separation of commercial and industrial land uses from residential uses. These requirements, when enforced by authorities, impose substantial costs on small-scale enterprises, which normally have a preference for locating business operations in the owner’s residence in order to cut down on total land and building, transportation and warehousing costs.
Urban Planning

Urban Planning in Botswana currently enters into a new phase with the accent on inter-disciplinary response to the increased problems in urban development and especially the problems with the management of sophisticated urban system and land. Through 1970s and 80s, physical planning produced first generation of unrealistic plans without addressing in an appropriate manner the problems of land economy, environment, social impacts and participants. The most of those plans were based on strict land use zoning and inappropriate high standards that most end-users could not adhere to afford and certainly their implementation was not considered as a viable option.

At the beginning and mid 90s it was entered into the stage of the existing plans review and preparation of new ones, but with insufficiently determined vision according to which the physical plan should become one of the essential instruments of development. Separated from social-economic, cultural and environmental milieu, with the notably loose connections in relation to architecture, engineering and other related disciplines, the existing planning resembles more like political marketing than as precisely profiled development profession.

For example, frequent delays and perplexity in the last campaign (GoB, 1997b) in preparation of the Development Plan for the capital of Gaborone reflects the present state of urban planning and development running in more parallel tracks. The discrepancies between the planned and developed are evident on numerous locations. That is notably distinctive for capital projects and buildings that for their development do not require planning and/or ministerial blessing. However, when such projects provoke public reaction, that raises a question of disconnection and lacks of co-ordination between planning and implementation from one side and engineering and development from the other side. Different social, economic, environmental
and visual impacts are aftermath a logical consequence of such inconsistency and lack of teamwork.

In a situation when the positive reaction to the realised shortages is a necessity, an interdisciplinary and systematic approach, including a concept of sustainability might be a starting point and the core ingredient of the new planning practice. At the same time the discipline itself must be recognized as a profession that deals comprehensively with the spatial components of all urban developments including a broad mix of human, socio-economical, technical, environmental and visual components.

**RECOMMENDATIONS AND SOLUTIONS**

Obviously, the situation cannot be left to continue as it is at the present. Improvements must be made to the current practice of urban management in Botswana. Herein below are the suggested measures that may influence the changes in compliance with the interests of different urban dwellers. Of course, by this all the measures, which might be applied in urban context in Botswana, are not exhausted. Unquestionably positive practice from other countries should be reconsidered.

**Improving Urban Productivity**

The first step is to improve the urban economies so that Botswana’s urban settlements can sustain themselves. Existing mixture of rural and urban typology and/or economy even in the capital of Gaborone is not adequately placed and it should not be seen as a part of urban pattern. A traditional rural life concept and behaviour coupled with small scale agriculture activities and newly established commercial and industrial enterprises are reality in a most of the recently transformed urban villages. Practically in urban settlements of Botswana a process of ruralisation is taking place and it can cause a retrograded consequences. In situation of the
expected new urban development and adequate urban management, changes in rural character of existing urban settlements are prerequisite.

Also, to improve macroeconomic management, authorities must tackle obstacles to growth such as deficient infrastructure, cumbersome regulations governing urban land and housing, weak municipal institutions, and inadequate financial services for urban development. This can only be achieved if governments, donor agencies, and non-governmental organisations work together to radically reform policies for urban assistance. The new approach should be focused on policy reform and institutional development at the central and local level. The latest decentralisation campaign in Botswana Government machinery can be viewed as a good example of certain progress.

The urban management programme of the World Bank spearheaded by the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) recognises that participatory management, coupled by an integrated approach that involves technical, administrative, and political capacity building is essential to ensure both sustainable development and environmental improvement. In Botswana this implies a change in the role of government from being a provider of urban services to a supporter or enabler, concentrating on building partnerships between governments, self-help groups and the private sector (Urban Edge, 1991). As a global exercise, the SCPO is designed to promote the sharing of experience and experience between cities and different regions of the world. As an interorganisational effort, it will mobilise know-how, technology and financial resources. Botswana should participate in this programme as soon as possible, in order to benefit from it and to avoid the existing trend of ruralisation of urban settlements.
**Infrastructure Availability**

Infrastructure deficiencies seriously constrain the productivity of expected private investment in Botswana. Manufacturers incur heavy costs by providing their own infrastructure, which hamper productive growth and job creation, explains Kyu Sik Lee (1989), an economist at the World Bank. The Government should be adopting a new policy of dealing with infrastructure deficiencies not just by increasing public sector capital investment, but by improving the institutions responsible for maintenance and by enlisting the private sector.

Infrastructure alone is not influential enough to street development. The simplest local economic development strategy is to try to attract business firms by offering them special tax or financial advantages. Further, as an alternative to simply offering tax advantage to firms willing to relocate within its boundaries, a city may attempt to put together a more comprehensive local economic plan and feasibility analysis.

Cities have rarely made the effort to analyse their own strengths and weaknesses in competing for economic growth, or to formulate a plan that would take advantage of their strengths in certain sectors of the economy. Instead most cities reflectively undertake the same investments as their neighbours.

**Regulatory Framework**

Inappropriate urban regulatory policies are another major constraint to urban productivity so, these have to be changed and made simpler. Reforming regulations, however, takes time. The first step is to compile an inventory of regulations for business, land and housing, examine the costs associated with them, and then determine why they were created. On the basis of these Regulatory audits, authorities can then decide how regulations should be revised.
**Municipal Institutions Development**

The financial and technical weaknesses of municipal institutions are another key constraint to urban development and productivity. The dominant role of central government in planning and financing urban services has starved local governments for local resources.

One way of improving the situation is to continue with decentralising responsibilities from the centre to the local authorities. This should not be done wholesale. The division of central and local responsibilities must be determined by a realistic assessment of local capacities. Some activities are still best done from the centre.

Further, central government should expand the borrowing capacity of local governments so that municipalities can more effectively meet the growing demand for urban services and infrastructure, through the establishment of municipal development funds. These supplement or replace grant systems for financing long term assets — semi autonomous institutions are created that obtain funds from central or state government and in turn, lend to municipalities. Acting as development banks, the new institutions are responsible for ensuring that projects meet technical, financial and economic criteria before funds are provided.

Finally, user charges and other cost-recovery mechanisms implemented in Botswana, should be utilised along side banking and financial reforms that mobilise private savings to reduce the overall size of government subsidies. These will still be needed for the poorest, but must be designed more carefully to prevent new distortions to the housing market and financial sector.

**Urban Poverty Reduction and Environmental Protection**
For Botswana’s urban areas to function as engines of future growth as envisioned in several Government Documents (Gaothe et al., 1996), urban poverty must be reduced. Also, an effective curative action must be taken to deal with urban environmental degradation. Strategies to alleviate poverty and cope with the effects of environmental impacts and pollution in Botswana’s urban settlements should be followed by government as part of their overall urban policy.

**Training Programmes**

Special in service training programmes and graduate programmes should be initiated to train all cadres involved in urban management. Such courses should be in-country or overseas where certain institutions train local government employees. Only this way can the problem of lack of adequate manpower be solved adequately.

**Better Co-ordination**

Another solution that has been called for is "better co-ordination" and/or "streamlining of procedures". Different departments often work alongside each other, without knowing what the other is doing. This not only causes frustration among workers and the general public alike, but also results in long delays, for instance in housing development or infrastructure provision. Improvement of co-ordination, sharing of information and reorganisation of tasks and procedures could improve this situation and prevent duplication of efforts.

**Information Technology Support**

Improved co-ordination definitely requires more, reliable, and up to date information on various aspects of the urban fabric. In many urban settlements even basic information is missing, there are only outdated census data, no systematic inventory of infrastructure, no property records and no reliable maps. Planners and general managers alike need good information, not
only to plan ahead, but also for day to day management. In addition, more information could improve the urban income base, for instance through up-to-date records of ownership combined with an effective system of property tax, while it could also reduce expenditure by preventing unnecessary activities. More attention to the design and functioning of urban information systems could therefore assist in the improvement of urban management.

**Rural-urban interactions**

For various reasons, it is also essential for urban managers to take rural-urban interaction into account. Firstly, the continuing influx of migrants makes it imperative to provide housing, infrastructure and municipal services for a fast growing population. Secondly, infrastructure and marketing facilities are needed to secure a smooth transfer of rural goods and raw materials to urban centres. Thirdly, as a number of urban services are and will be used by rural dwellers, their capacity and nature need to cater for this.

Finally, a number of economic policies change rural-urban price and wage differentials, thereby affecting rural-urban migration. For all of these reasons, it is important that the mechanisms of rural-urban interaction and their implications for urban management be well understood. Rural-urban interaction is one of the dynamic elements in urban systems. Urban systems, in general, are dynamic, they change and sometimes they change fast. Changes occur, not only with respect to size, but also with respect to the nature of economic and social functions.

This also calls for speed and flexibility on the part of urban managers, who need not necessarily stick to rigid principles, practices and procedures. New challenges may require new approaches; new problems call for new solutions. Urban management is therefore also a matter of looking at how decisions are made, how effective they are, and whether the effectiveness and
efficiency of procedures and organisations can be improved. This must be a central concern in the reform of urban management practices in Africa.

CONCLUSIONS

From the previous discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn on the experience of urban development and management in Botswana:

• Urban management in general is becoming more difficult due to rapid urban development growth which creates problems of service provision, unplanned settlements and employment but also due to the deterioration of the urban environment as well as the difficulties in economic situation of most vulnerable social and income groups.

• There is usually a weak institutional framework which is not conducive to effective urban management and which is characterised by a lack of local level autonomy, the inability of local authorities to be flexible and innovative, a lack of co-ordination among the many actors, conflict in the institutional machinery, and detrimental political interference.

• The financial base of local authorities is normally very weak. There are still many central government restrictions on local revenue generation, but also the recovery mechanism and the ability to exploit local level resources have often hardly been developed.

• There are clear inefficiencies in urban land management. Firstly, there is unequal access to land, particularly the poor have a problem in obtaining land legally. Secondly, there are still some dualities in the land tenure systems particularly in major urban villages. It is creating problems of clarity, accountability, and scope for proper management.

REFERENCES:


GAVIDIA, J., 1994, Housing and land in Large Cities in Latin America. In *Enhancing the Management of Metropolitan Living Environments in Latin America* (United Nations Centre for Regional Development)


NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS (NIUA), 1994, *Urban Environmental Maps: Delhi, Bombay, Vadodara, Ahmedabad*. NIUA, New Delhi, India, pp. 27


We undersigned are hereby declaring that our joined paper titled: Towards better Urban Development and Management in Botswana would not contravene any copyright or other contractual agreements relevant to the article or the research upon which it is based.

Dr Branko I. Cavric

Dr A.C. Mosha