Street-level bureaucrats and piecemeal planning approaches in the Tanzanian small towns of Mlandizi and Sirari

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The current urbanisation trend in developing countries threatens the development of sustainable human settlements. Urbanisation challenges are likely to worsen as we approach 2050 when 80% of developing countries' population will be urbanised. While this is happening urban research and planning initiatives will continue to focus on cities, while a considerable portion of the world's population will still be living in small towns in the urban hinterlands. There is a need for equal planning efforts for both cities and small towns. The planning of many Tanzanian small towns is piecemeal rather than comprehensive. Piecemeal planning has the potential to undermine the socio-economic well-being of small-town inhabitants as well as their contributions to the development of sustainable human settlements. It is therefore imperative to ascertain which factors influence the adoption of piecemeal planning practices by town planners at subnational levels.

The aim of this research was to investigate how local realities have influenced the adoption of piecemeal planning in two Tanzanian small towns, namely Mlandizi and Sirari. Mixed methods and case study research designs were used to collect quantitative, qualitative and geospatial data sets. The data were collected in Mlandizi and Sirari using 378 structured household interviews, ten in-depth interviews, two focus groups discussions, 118 layout plans, four satellite images, field observations and reviews of documents. Each set of data was separately analysed and triangulation methods were used to aggregate related themes. The themes were combined so as to answer the research questions.

It was found that throughout the planning history of Tanzania the preparations of layout plans has been used to guide spatial development. Layout plans have always been part and parcel of urban design, master planning and strategic planning. But their piecemeal preparation is the result of the complex and multifaceted influences of local realities in the respective urban planning environments. Town planners are forced to adopt piecemeal planning so as to provide minimum planning solutions amid rapid urbanisation and the proliferation of informal settlements in small towns. In Mlandizi and Sirari piecemeal planning practices have been influenced by several multifaceted local realities of these small towns, namely the need to control the rapid development of informal settlements, the lack of institutional planning capacities, the local political climate, the proliferation of informal settlements and the role of

the private sector in urban planning and development. Indeed, the adoption of neo-liberal planning policies in the context of low institutional capacity has increased the severity of these local realities. Moreover, piecemeal planning results in uncoordinated urban structures, limits the provision of and access to social services, constrains economic opportunities, breeds unfriendly environmental conditions and increases inhabitant's susceptibility to environmental disasters.

The sustainability assessment indicated that comprehensive planning stands a better chance of producing sustainable settlements. Piecemeal planning possessed some degree of sustainability potential, especially in terms of creating harmony with nature, promoting a place-based economy and fostering equity through the provision of planned housing. But piecemeal planning practices have failed to provide minimum planning solutions in the fast-growing small towns. Similarly, its adoption by the town planners in sub-national institutions turns them into agents for aggravating the existing ill urban conditions.

Considering the complexities of the local realities in Mlandizi, Sirari and other small towns with similar conditions, this study recommends the adoption of piecemeal reality-based planning for small towns. Piecemeal planning needs to be improved in a way that maximise sustainability in small towns. However, this process must be accompanied by further research on designing planning and sustainability models for small towns. Research should also aim to find out the causes of planning coordination problems in local governments. This call for a clear understanding of urban areas declaration processes and preparedness in local councils in order to institute planning in small towns.

Keywords: Street-level bureaucracies, piecemeal planning, small towns, local realities, sustainability, reality-based planning, Tanzania

OPSOMMING

Die huidige verstedelikingsneiging in ontwikkelende lande bedreig die ontwikkeling van volhoubare menslike nedersettings. Die uitdagings van verstedeliking gaan waarskynlik vererger tussen nou en 2050 wanneer 80% van ontwikkelende lande se bevolking in stede sal woon. Terwyl dit plaasvind, sal stedelike navorsings- en beplanningsbedrywighede aanhou om op stede te fokus terwyl 'n betekenisvolle deel van die wêreld se bevolking eintlik steeds in klein dorpies ver buite stede sal woon. Daarom is ekwivalente beplanningswerk nodig vir sowel stede as klein dorpies. Die beplanning van baie van Tanzanië se klein dorpies is stuksgewys eerder as omvattend. Stuksgewyse beplanning het die potensiaal om die sosio-ekonomiese welstand van inwoners van klein dorpies, sowel as die bydraes wat hulle kan maak tot die ontwikkeling van volhoubare menslike nedersettings, te ondermyn. Dit is daarom noodsaaklik om te bepaal watter faktore die aanneem van stuksgewyse beplanningspraktyke deur stadsbeplanners op subnasionale vlakke beïnvloed.

Die doel van hierdie navorsing was om te ondersoek hoe plaaslike werklikhede die aanneem van stuksgewyse beplanning in twee klein dorpies, Mlandizi en Sirari in Tanzanië, beïnvloed het. Gemengde metodes en 'n gevallestudie-navorsingsontwerp is gebruik om kwantitatiewe, kwalitatiewe en georuimtelike datastelle in te win. Die data is in Mlandizi en Sirari ingesamel deur middel van 378 gestruktureerde onderhoude met huishoudings, 10 diepte-onderhoude, twee fokusgroepgesprekke, 118 uitlegplanne, 4 satellietbeelde, veldwaarnemings en die bestudering van dokumente. Elke datastel is afsonderlik ontleed en triangulasiemetodes is gebruik om verwante temas saam te voeg. Hierdie temas is gekombineer om die navorsingsvrae te beantwoord.

Daar is bevind dat die voorbereiding van uitlegplanne regdeur die beplanningsgeskiedenis van Tanzanië gebruik is om ruimtelike ontwikkeling te rig. Uitlegplanne was nog altyd ten nouste deel van stadsbeplanning, meesterbeplanning en strategiese beplanning. Hul stuksgewyse voorbereiding is egter die gevolg van komplekse en veelkantige invloede van plaaslike realiteite in die onderskeie stadsbeplanningskontekste. Stadsbeplanners word gedwing om stuksgewyse beplanning aan te neem om minimum beplanningsoplossings te verskaf te midde van vinnige verstedeliking en die proliferering van informele nedersettings. Stuksgewyse beplanningspraktyke in Mlandizi en Sirari is beïnvloed deur verskeie veelkantige plaaslike

realiteite in hierdie klein dorpies, insluitend die behoefte om die vinnige uitbreiding van informele nedersettings te beheer, die gebrek aan institusionele beplanningskapasiteit, die plaaslike politieke klimaat, die proliferasie van informele nedersettings en die rol van die privaat sektor in stedelike beplanning en ontwikkeling. Die aanneem van neoliberale beplanningsbeleide binne 'n konteks van gebrekkige institusionele kapasiteit het ook die intensiteit van hierdie plaaslike realiteite verhoog. Verder het stuksgewyse beplanning ongekoördineerde stedelike strukture tot gevolg, beperk dit die verskaffing van, en toegang tot, maatskaplike dienste, perk dit ekonomiese geleenthede in, skep dit 'n teelaarde vir ongunstige omgewingstoestande, en verhoog dit die vatbaarheid vir natuurrampe.

Die volhoubaarheidsassessering het aangedui dat omvattende beplanning 'n beter kans staan om volhoubare nedersettings tot gevolg te hê. Stuksgewyse beplanning het oor 'n sekere mate van volhoubaarheidspotensiaal beskik, spesifiek deur die skep van harmonie met die natuur, die bevordering van 'n plekgebaseerde ekonomie en die najaag van groter billikheid deur die voorsiening van beplande behuising. Stuksgewyse beplanningspraktyke het egter nie daarin geslaag om minimum beplanningsoplossings in vinnig groeiende klein dorpies te voorsien nie. Die aanname daarvan deur stadsbeplanners in subnasionale instellings maak ook van hulle agente in die verslegting van alreeds swak stedelike toestande.

Gedagtig aan die kompleksiteite van die plaaslike realiteite in Mlandizi, Sirari en ander klein dorpies met soortgelyke toestande, beveel hierdie studie aan dat stuksgewyse realiteitsgebaseerde beplanning vir klein dorpies aangeneem word. Stuksgewyse beplanning moet verbeter word op 'n manier wat volhoubaarheid in klein dorpies maksimeer. Hierdie proses moet egter ook vergesel word van verdere navorsing oor die ontwerp van beplannings- en volhoubaarheidsmodelle vir klein dorpies. Navorsing moet verder poog om die oorsake van probleme met beplanningskoördinering in plaaslike regerings te bepaal. Hiervoor is 'n duidelike begrip van die deklarasieproses van stadsgebiede, asook gereedheid aan die kant van plaaslike rade om beplanning in klein dorpies in te stel, noodsaaklik.

Sleutelwoorde: straatvlak-burokrasie, stuksgewyse beplanning, klein dorpies, plaaslike realiteite, volhoubaarheid, realiteitsgebaseerde beplanning, Tanzanië

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, my father Yamungu Erasto, my mother Asia Sumbya, my wife Josephine, children, brothers and sisters for your support on my academic journey.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APA	African Planning Association
CBD	central business district
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CMT	council management team
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DAS	district administrative secretary
DCC	Dar es Salaam City Council
DCC	District Consultative Council
DED	decentralization, entrepreneurship and democracy
GIS	geographical information system
GIT	geographical information technology
GN	Government Notice
IMC	Ilala Municipal Council
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KDC	Kibaha District Council
LESA	Land Environment and Society in Africa
LGAs	Local Government Authorities
MLHHSD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development
MTEF	medium term expenditure framework
PA	planning authority
PORALG	President's Office Regional Administration and Local Governance
PPP	public-private partnership
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
RCC	Regional Consultative Council
REC	Research Ethical Committee
SA	South Africa
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Development Corridor of Tanzania
SAPs	structural adjustment programmes
SCP	Sustainable Cities Programme
SDGs	sustainable development goals

SDI	sustainable development indicators
SDP	Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project
SLBs	street-level bureaucrats
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SU	Stellenbosch University
SUDP	Strategic Urban Development Plan
SWOC	strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Challenges
TANROADS	Tanzania National Roads Agency
TDC	Tarime District Council
TEO	Township Executive Officer
TPRB	Town Planners Registration Board
TTC	Tarime Town Council
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USD	United States Dollars
USA	United State of America
WB	World Bank
LED	local economic development
TZS	Tanzania Shillings

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

One wonders whether the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats in Tanzanian small towns is a revolt against a rigid conventional master planning approach or results from diverse local realities. This research investigates the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats in local governments as well as the sustainability outcomes of such planning. It aims to find out the extent to which piecemeal planning practices promote sustainability[1] in small towns. This research idea draws on the interrelationships between urban planning[2] and sustainable development (Rakodi, 2005; United Nations, 2015a). To address the challenges associated with urbanisation, scholars have proposed various planning approaches for guiding urban development. These approaches, with their various philosophical, theoretical and conceptual backgrounds, have generally been employed to improve the liveability of urban settlements. Nevertheless, planning approaches[3] are not static, they evolve in accordance with the changing social, economic and political conditions in urban settings.

The global evolution of urban planning approaches has been informed by universalistic ideas, some of which are based on modernist, postmodernist, liberal and neo-liberal rationalities. In this progressive unfolding of urban planning ideas, there is a great need for improved liveability of urban settlements (Watson, 2012; Namangaya, 2013; Scott & Storper, 2015). Thus, planning practices in developing countries have undergone transformation informed by social, economic and political developments (Harrison et al., 2008; Xue et al, 2014; Watson, 2016). In spite of

[1] In this research, sustainability draws on the definition by the Brundtland commission. Therefore, sustainable development is the kind of development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Our Common Future, 1987). The concept has provided an important planning tool to the field of urban planning and development by ensuring that the built environment sustains social, economic and environmental benefits for current and future generations (Parnell, 2014).

[2] Urban planning is defined as a process involving the identification and analysis of critical urban development challenges, the defining of actions and the mobilisation of the resources that are required. The aim is to guide and control land use and environmental management to facilitate the provision of quality living environments in urban areas (Halla, 2007; Siu & Huang, 2015).

[3] A planning approach is regarded as the organisation of planning personnel, communities and planning resources in the planning process. An urban planning process can adopt a comprehensive approach that encompasses a broad range of urban development issues and factors or a piecemeal approach which concentrates on some specific areas or aspects of a local urban setting.

these transformations, urban planning throughout the global South continue to borrow ideas and principles from the global North. Given the contextual differences between these two environments, there are ongoing debates on the appropriateness of the planning ideas and principles in both the global North and the global South settings. This essential critical of urbanism is fed by the different realities existing in the urban global North and global South. The discussion is about whether what works in one context can work in the same way in another context (Kunzmann, 2005; Watson, 2012; Oldfield, 2014a). To date, the global South still borrow extensively from the global North. It borrows such things as urban design, master planning and strategic planning. The corollary of this is that development agencies and planners in the global North use the cities in the global South as grounds for testing their development ideas (Kunzmann, 2005).

But because of limited absorption capacities the planners in the global South, entertain the above practice of the global North in terms of transferring planning knowledge and capacity building. Unfortunately, at an abstract level, urban planning can be theorised to the extent of making indigenous conditions irrelevant. At the operational level, however, planners in local governments in the global South adopted various approaches in order to provide planning solutions that observe some essence of planning principles. This is exemplified by what is happening in the small towns of the United Republic of Tanzania, in such towns, the planners employ piecemeal planning practices. This phenomenon necessitates researching into the factors governing the adoption of piecemeal planning approaches by the planners in question.

Many countries in the global South use master planning to guide urban planning and management. As a modernist planning approach used globally, master planning has guided urban planning for decades (Njoh, 2007; Qian & Wong, 2012; Kasala, 2015). Although many criticisms have been levelled against master plans, they have assisted in providing long-term land use frameworks for urban development in areas where they have been applied (Siu & Huang, 2015). In most countries where master plans have been used they have been based on a two-tier system (Chigara et al., 2013). A two-tier system involves using a master plan to provide a comprehensive land use framework which is implemented by a series of layout plans where the layout plans must conform to the provisions of the comprehensive land use framework. Local authorities are responsible for ensuring that urban planning conforms to policy requirements. Thus, the effectiveness of urban planning is equated with strength of the

planning machinery (Lugoe, 2008; Muzzini & Lindeboom, 2008). Any shortfalls in planning undertakings cannot be dissociated from the institutional deficiencies of local planning authorities (Lugoe, 2008).

Against this background, some sub-Saharan African countries have adopted piecemeal planning practices (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). Piecemeal urban planning is considered to be short-term oriented, reactionary and ad hoc. The process is equated with disjointed incrementalism which is different from comprehensive planning. Therefore, piecemeal practices are regarded as unsustainable because they depart from the principles of urban planning which require the setting of future development goals on the basis of past and current situations (Keeble, 1964; Chigara et al., 2013; Ryser & Franchini, 2015). Certainly, piecemeal planning results from town planners' efforts to use various strategies to cope with uncertainties. Some of the notable factors underlying this practice are shortage of technical manpower to effectively implement urban development controls, poor planning of financing arrangements, cumbersome planning procedures and powerful political influences (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). These institutional challenges put town planners in dilemmas that make the adoption of piecemeal planning as a coping strategy unavoidable. In addition, piecemeal planning has many profound social, economic, spatial and environmental effects which manifest themselves in incompatible land uses, uncoordinated spatial development, urban sprawl and unfriendly environmental practices (Chigara et al., 2013). The implementation of piecemeal planning effects the well-being of urban dwellers.

Although master planning is central to urban planning and development policy in Tanzania, the town planners in the country's small towns have adopted piecemeal planning. This practice involves preparing layout plans in the absence of a general land use framework. Certainly, the sustainability challenges facing other parts of sub-Saharan Africa are also facing in Tanzania, where they are likely to undermine the contribution that small towns can make to the development of sustainable human settlements. In view of the significance of small towns in Tanzanian urban planning, their nature and role are examined below.

1.2 SMALL TOWNS IN CONTEXT

Across the globe, cities are confronted with the challenge of being developed as sustainable urban settlements in the twenty-first century, the era of rapid urbanisation. The sustainability

challenges facing them cannot be addressed effectively without involving small towns. This means that contemporary efforts to address urbanisation challenges should be directed towards both cities and small towns (Cottyn, 2018). Therefore, the role of urban planning in achieving sustainable urban development cannot be over emphasised (Duminy et al., 2014; United Nations, 2015a). The present urbanisation challenges are the prime reasons for the United Nations decision to formulate sustainable development goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015a). Specifically, goal number eleven sees the development of sustainable human settlements as being crucial to the global efforts for sustainable development. Equally significant are the recent urbanisation projections by UN-Habitat which projected that the world's urban population will reach 70% by 2050. The bulk of the global urban population increase will occur in developing countries whose combined increase is expected to reach 80% by 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2013; Berdegué & Soloaga, 2018). Apart from these global projections, scholars have also noted that a considerable portion of the world's urban population will be living in small towns and intermediate-sized urban centres with populations ranging between 5 000 and 100 000 inhabitants (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; Satterthwaite, 2016; Cottyn, 2018; Emran & Shilpi, 2018). This necessitates including small towns in the efforts to develop sustainable human settlements.

The area covered by small towns makes them part of the global urban landscape. According to Knox & Mayer (2013) small towns are identical urban places with unique economic, social and environmental conditions. Small towns have their own identities and the socio-economic ways of life of their populations have common features. In some regions small towns are places where significant proportions of the urban population live and their number is expected to increase (Knox & Mayer, 2013; UN-Habitat, 2013). Depending on their comparative advantages small towns have experienced the fastest growth rates over the past two decades in the United States of America (USA) (Knox & Mayer, 2013). Small towns play an important role in urban and regional local economic development (LED) (Donaldson et al., 2012; Emran & Shilpi, 2018). They serve as, among others, mining, agricultural production and marketing centres. Small towns also play an intermediary role in the exchange of commodities and goods between rural and urban households, and between enterprises and economies (Taylor & Williams, 1982; Pedersen, 1997; Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; Satterthwaite, 2016; Cottyn, 2018). Small town also serve as intermediary places for urban and rural settlements, thus helping to define functional relationships in human settlement hierarchies (Hsu, 2012;

Mulligan, Partridge & Carruthers, 2012; Cottyn, 2018). They also serve as trading and market centres for the surrounding hinterlands, potentially reducing rural to urban migration (Taylor et al., 2010; Satterthwaite, 2016; Berdegué & Soloaga, 2018).

In spite of their outstanding status, particularly in developing countries, small towns are under-researched. With the exception of South Africa and Zimbabwe where studies on small towns have recently been conducted (see for example: Kamete, 1998; Donaldson & Marais, 2012; Donaldson et al., 2012; Chigara et al., 2013; Donaldson, 2018), small towns in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa remain under-researched. The extant research concentrates on LED and planning research has been overlooked. The research on small towns in South Africa has attempted to understand the experiences of small town development experiences and to ascertain their growth potential (Donaldson & Marais, 2012; Donaldson et al., 2012). Other scholars have explored the effects of neo-liberal policies on urbanisation, the privatisation of municipal services and the identification of the drivers of economic growth in small towns (Reynolds & Antrobus, 2012; Spocter, 2017). A significant recent theme is the growth of tourism activities in South African small towns (Donaldson, 2018). Research on Zimbabwean small towns has sought to understand the contribution of small towns to rural livelihoods (Kamete, 1998) and to explore the effects of piecemeal urban planning practices in small towns (Chigara et al., 2013). Small towns have played a pivotal role in rural development and as centres of power in the Rwandan post-conflict reconstruction (Cottyn, 2018). Considering the diversities and the development potential of small towns these research efforts are valuable but insufficient. The paucity of research effort relating to small town is a clarion call for scholars to do more research in sub-Saharan African countries. Research should be geared towards understanding, among other things urban planning realities of small towns and their influences on urban planning practices. Small town research will not only fill the existing knowledge gaps but will also help the ongoing socio-economic development initiatives, which put small towns at the centre of national development agendas.

A few years ago, Tanzania has began to implement Green Revolution initiatives for boosting agricultural production. One of the initiatives is implemented through the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT). This is one of the initiatives intended to attract both local and foreign investments in agriculture. The SAGCOT regional plan show that some of the small towns in Tanzania will become agro-processing and marketing centres

(United Republic of Tanzania, 2014). In order for these small towns to attract foreign investments in agricultural production and processing, they must be planned accordingly and provided with appropriate infrastructure. Otherwise, they will be excluded from the world economic system (Rakodi, 2005). The implementation of the initiatives will of course subject the small towns to the effects of globalisation and neo-liberal policies. Therefore, urban planning stands a better chance of promoting development in the small towns. Strategic urban planning will help the small towns to deal with the social, economic and environmental challenges associated with foreign investments (Knox & Mayer, 2013). Thus, planned and managed small towns can lead to the development of orderly and serviced urban centres capable of reducing the rate of rural-urban migration.

Small towns are defined and categorised differently across various contexts. In some contexts it has always been difficult to clearly differentiate between small, intermediate and large urban centres (Satterthwaite, 2016). However, regardless of the context-based categorisations of small towns, population threshold, economic growth and the level of social service provision has been the main criterion used to classify human settlements (Pedersen, 1997; Kamete, 1998; Chigara et al., 2013; Scott & Storper, 2015). Generally, settlements with populations ranging from 2500 to 50 000 are classified as small towns, provided that they attain a certain level of urban service provision (Chigara et al., 2013). In some cases, small towns are designated as rural or urban. This research focuses on rural small towns in the context of developing countries.

Thus, the Tanzanian criteria for classifying human settlements are used to identify small towns in this study (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a). According to the criteria in question, any human settlement with a population size of 5 000 and 30 000 is a small town, provided it has the minimum required array of urban services and the potential to urbanise. Certainly, the planning of small towns is likely to reduce the development of unplanned settlements, help to designate land use for various uses and increase the towns' contribution to LED. The extent to which sustainable development[4] can be achieved in small towns depends on whether they are

[4] In an urban geographical study sustainable development entails the enhancing of equity and inclusive urban development while building the capacities for participatory and integrated human settlement planning and management. In this manner the planning outcome should promote broad social, economic and environmental benefits for all.

planned or not. Indeed, there is a justifiable need to pay attention to the planning of small towns. But paying attention to the planning of small towns requires a clear understanding of the planning process and of its potential contribution to small towns' sustainability. Therefore, this research project engages with a well-defined research problem concerning small town planning.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Piecemeal planning practices have become the order of the day in Tanzanian small towns. The factors for the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats in Tanzanian small towns are still not clearly understood. Small towns play an important role in promoting socio-economic development, which needs to be nurtured. The efforts made by sub-Saharan African countries, including Tanzania, to promote agricultural production, trade and industrilisation can take benefit from well-planned and positioned small towns (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; United Republic of Tanzania, 2014; Satterthwaite, 2016). Yet, many small towns in Tanzania have been planned using the piecemeal urban planning approach in spite of the existence of compelling evidence showing the practice's discreditable accomplishments as manifested in incompatible land uses, uncoordinated spatial organisation, urban sprawl and unfriendly environmental practices (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). Little is known about how local realities play a part in the adoption of piecemeal urban planning by bureaucrats at subnational levels of the developing world in general and of Tanzania in particular. Piecemeal planning is not only inconsistent with urban planning policy, but it also constrains sustainable urban development (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a; Chigara et al., 2013). This raises questions as to whether there are some structural issues, such as land tenure administration, which are unique to small towns or whether it is a result of a poorly coordinated model of national urban development planning or whether it is the inappropriateness of master planning or the revolt against modernist planning approaches that influence the adoption of piecemeal planning practices at different levels of spatial resolution. This means that there is a need to ascertain the extent to which contextual realities affect town planners' decision making, particularly decisions on the adoption of piecemeal planning. This study is guided by robust research objectives for guiding empirical investigation of the piecemeal planning practices in small towns.

1.4 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research was to investigate how local realities influence street-level bureaucrats' decision to adopt piecemeal planning in selected Tanzanian small towns. The empirical investigation sought to achieve this aim by pursuing the following specific objectives:

i. Trace the history of urban planning practices in Tanzania.
ii. Examine the urban planning process in Tanzania and its influence on the planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari small towns.
iii. Explore the reasons for the adoption of a piecemeal planning approach and assess its implications for the spatial organisation of small towns.
iv. Evaluate the spatial, social, economic and environmental implications of the piecemeal planning approach in Mlandizi and Sirari small towns.
v. Provide a set of policy recommendations for the improvement of planning processes in Tanzania.

These five specific objectives delimit the tropes of the study. Consequently, this study was conducted within three established scopes which are conceptual, spatial and temporal.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The execution of this research was done within three established scopes, namely: conceptual, spatial and temporal. The theoretical and empirical data were collected to understand the historical and contemporary urban planning challenges which manifested themselves in the realities encountered by town planners in small towns.

1.5.1 Conceptual scope

The conceptual scope of this research encompasses street-level bureaucracy theory (Lipsky, 1980). The theory provides a conceptual basis for appreciating the dilemmas of street-level bureaucrats and the way the dilemmas trigger the exercise of their discretionary powers in the planning process. The theory uses the terms street-level bureaucrats and street-level bureaucracies to mean public agencies and public service workers who interact directly with citizens during the delivery of public services. Lipsky (1980, 2010) has highlighted the dilemmas faced by public officers in the delivery of public services. The dilemmas arise from the realities in which public officers perform their duties. To cope with the challenges and the

daily encounters, street-level bureaucrats invent routines which eventually affect the delivery of services and the implementation of public policies. The result is that the routines they devise in order to strategically manoeuvre their daily job challenges effectively become the policy they implement and the services they deliver to the public. Thus, street-level bureaucrats are regarded as policy makers because they formulate policies which are appropriate to their working environments and challenges.

Therefore, street-level bureaucracy theory argues that public policies should not be understood as inventions of central governments, but by the way the policies are conceived and interpreted practically by the implementers at local or lower levels of organisational structure. This study uses these theoretical propositions to understand the nature of town planners' interactions with citizens, their exercise of discretion and the planning impact they make in small towns. Apart from street-level bureaucracy, the research also draws insights from the principle of subsidiarity and the concept of decentralisation to explain how the global urban planning system and organisational structure emerged. Using street-level bureaucracy, this study sought to gain a better understanding of the challenges encountered by town planners in local government authorities, their responses and the impact on the implementation of urban planning policy in small towns.

1.5.2 Spatial scope

The spatial scope of the research was delimited to two small towns in Tanzania, namely Mlandizi and Sirari. The empirical investigation of the adoption of piecemeal planning in the two towns was conducted using spatial mapping, direct observation, in-depth interviews, structured household interviews, focus group discussions and documentary reviews. These two towns were purposively selected out of 325 urban planning areas which were declared in 2001. Their selection was based on the following criteria: being classed as small towns; qualifying as declared urban planning areas; the presence of piecemeal planning practices in the small towns; clear demonstration of growth potential; representative of local political regimes; and contribution to local, national and regional economies.

1.5.3 Temporal scope

The temporal scope of the study covered the historical development of urban planning practices in Tanzania. It included pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial urban planning practices. The

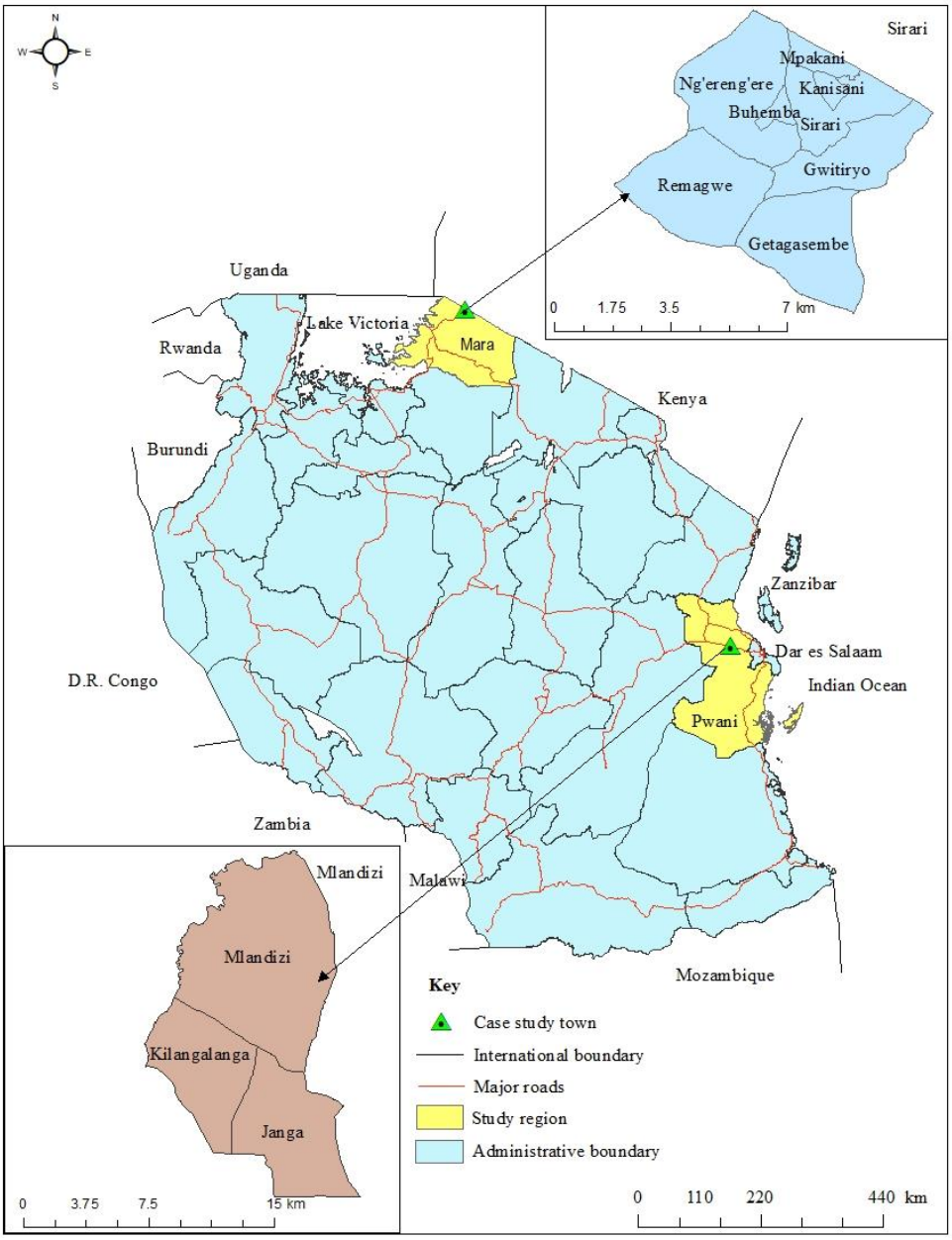
aim was to trace and underscore the consequences of historical practices on the contemporary urban planning practices in Tanzanian small towns.

1.6 STUDY AREA

This section provides a geographical overview of Tanzania and short descriptions of the small towns of Mlandizi and Sirari.

1.6.1 Geography of the United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania was formed by the union of Tanganyika (mainland) and Zanzibar (island) in 1964. The country is in the East African region where it shares boundaries with eight other countries and is skirted by the Indian Ocean in the east. The countries are Kenya and Uganda in the north, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique in the south as shown in Figure 1.1. Tanzania is a socially diverse country with approximately 125 ethnic groups. The country is divided into 31 administrative regions, 26 regions on the mainland and five in Zanzibar. The 26 mainland administrative regions are subdivided into 185 local governments, which include city councils, municipal councils, town councils and district councils (Table 1.1). The urban planning areas in Tanzania are dominated numerically by small towns (or townships) and minor settlements which together represent nine out of the ten urban planning areas in Tanzania.



Source: Prepared by the researcher on the basis of spatial data obtained from Tanzania's mapping division

Figure 1.1: Tanzania with inserts indicating study towns

Table 1.1: Categories of local governments and urban planning areas in Tanzania

Local government	**Number**	**%**	**Urban planning area**	**Number**	**%**
City Council	5	2.7	Cities	5	0.7
Municipal Council	21	11.4	Municipalities	21	2.9
Town Council	22	11.9	Towns	22	3.1
District Council	137	74.0	Townships	71	9.9
			Minor settlements	600	83.4
Total	**185**	**100**		**719**	**100**

Source: United Republic of Tanzania institutional statistics, 2017

The country comprises seven agro-ecological zones which support different economic production systems. Because Tanzania is a multi-party democracy, the local governments function under different local political regimes although most (approximately 90%) are under the ruling party. The urban population of Tanzania has been growing continuously from more than 12 million (5.7%) in 1967 to about 45 million (29.1%) in 2012 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013a). This means that the urban population in Tanzania has increased by 23.4% in the past forty-five years. The projections made by the United Nations (2015b) indicate that Tanzania's total population will reach 137 million in 2050, or even nearly 300 million by 2100. This population increases is likely to escalate the urban situation, which calls for planning attention to be paid to the cities and small towns.

1.6.2 Mlandizi

The small town of Mlandizi is located in eastern Tanzania, 65 kilometres west of the commercial city of Dar es Salaam (Figure 1.1). Administratively, Mlandizi is located in Kibaha District Council, Pwani region. According to the 2012 population census (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b), the town's total population stood at 38832[5] with the expectation of growth. The town has the comparative advantage of being close to Dar es Salaam and being located on the main transport corridor linking the port of Dar es Salaam to the rest of Tanzania and the neighbouring countries. Piecemeal urban planning practices have been adopted, thus making it possible for economic, social, spatial and environmental problems to arise in the town in future.

1.6.3 Sirari

Sirari is in the far northern part of Tanzania near the border with Kenya (Figure 1.1). Administratively, Sirari is located in Tarime District Council, Mara region. According to the 2012 population census (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b), the town's total population stood at15917 with the potential to grow, considering the fact that it is a border town. Despite the town's remote location, its functions have made individuals and institutions, both public and private, settle there, something that calls for the taking of planning initiatives to ensure the

[5] Although the population size of Mlandizi exceeds the Tanzanian criterion for classifying small towns, the town will continue to be classified as a small town until the institutional procedures for its declaration and re-categorisation to a higher rank are completed. An account of the declaration challenges facing Mlandizi is given in Chapter 6.

town's orderly development. The piecemeal planning adopted by the town's planners is likely to cause some social, economic, spatial and environmental challenges in future.

1.6.3 Similarities and differences between the case studies

Mlandizi and Sirari have some similarities and differences which are crucial in predicting the scenarios of piecemeal planning in the case studies. Both towns have been declared for urban planning, dependence on primary sector is influenced by their location in a rural setting, similar planning institutional frameworks and they are located along transportation corridors. The differences between the case studies are in terms of population size, spatial coverage of the urban area and different local political regimes ruling the councils. The similarities and differences between the two towns determine different scenarios of application of piecemeal planning and their associated impacts. Certainly, the similarities and differences form the local realities in each case study which ultimately shape the conditions in which planning is practised. Finally, the local realities are likely to trigger different town planners' responses, discretionary actions, and the adoption of piecemeal planning and its impact on the social, economic, spatial and environment condition.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organised in eight chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the research. It has also provided small town context and discussed the rationale for conducting the research. Chapter 2 examines the relationship between local realities and urban planning ideologies, and discusses the dominant ideologies, rationalities, theories and concepts informing urban planning practices and the choice of urban planning approaches. A literature review assesses the contributions of ideologies, rationalities and theories to dominant planning beliefs and actions. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework based on street-level bureaucracy theory. The foundational underpinnings are presented and the relationship between subsidiarity, decentralisation and street-level bureaucracies, all of which are ingredients of the conceptual framework, given in the same chapter. Chapter 4 explains the research design and the methodology adopted for this study. Chapter 5 gives a historical overview of the evolution of urban planning practices and assesses their influence on contemporary planning practices in small towns. Chapter 6 presents the manifestations of local realities and their interplay in Mlandizi and Sirari. Chapter 7 study piecemeal urban planning practices and their implications for sustainable urban development. Chapter 8 concludes the investigation with a comparison

of the main findings of each case study and argues for the formulation of an urban planning policy relevant to Tanzanian small towns.

CHAPTER 2
LOCAL REALITIES AND URBAN PLANNING PRACTICE: THE NEXUS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to uncover and review the relationships between local realities, ideologies and urban planning practices. The chapter starts with a discussion of the dominant ideologies, rationalities, theories and concepts that have informed urban planning practices and the choice of urban planning approaches. It then looks at an exposition of master planning, new urbanism and strategic urban planning as dominant approaches that have guided urban planning processes globally. An explanation is given as to why piecemeal planning is the focus of this research. The purpose of these reviews is to assess the contribution, and the influences of ideologies, rationalities and theories to urban planning beliefs and actions. The chapter concludes with an examination of the role of contextual realities in the adoption of piecemeal planning. This is done because despite the influence of ideologies and rationalities on setting urban planning agendas, local realities have inherent power that shape the practices so that they conform to the conditions in each specific planning context (Gallez et al., 2013). The interrelationships between the planning ideologies and the contextual condition forms encounters in the urban planning environment.

2.2 THE IDEOLOGICAL RATIONALITIES UNDERPINNING PLANNING THEORIES AND PRACTICES

Urban planning practices have always been guided by ideologies which determine rationalities and practices (Rukmana, 2010; Gunder, 2010). Historically, these arguments were grounded on earlier narratives that associated planning practices with rationality. Thus, planning practices have evolved with rationalities (Alexander, 2000; Watson, 2003, 2016). Rationality is the application of human reasoning to decision-making processes (Faludi, 1985; Alexander, 2000). In addition, while theories are generalised and scientifically tested, ideologies constitute sets of ideas from which society derives a way of thinking. By drawing on the concept of governmentality, planning rationalities and mentalities can be manifest themselves in the behaviour of bureaucrats as they guide planning processes (Dean, 2010). Therefore, planning practices and their outcomes are products of planning rationalities. Over time, urban planning has recorded changes in main ideologies and rationalities on which is based. Indeed, urban planning has been informed by many ideologies and rationalities, some of which are related

(Watson, 2016). This section examines the prominent ideologies of modernism, postmodernism, liberalism and neo-liberalism (Innes, 1998; Hirt, 2005; Watson, 2016). Shifts in ideological rationalities and practices need to be understood and their manifestations in current planning theories and practices must be assessed.

2.2.1 Modernist and postmodernist ideologies and rationalities

This section discusses theoretical shifts from the idea that treated planners as rational individuals to those viewing planners as professionals who learn by doing. These ideas place modernism and postmodernism at the centre of the global capitalist agenda and the place of cities in the global economy. Modernist and postmodernist ideologies and rationalities emerged sequentially. The two ontologies dominated urban planning in the periods spanning 1920 to 1960 and 1960 to 1980, respectively (Goodchild, 1990; Kerr, Robinson & Elliott, 2016). The development of modernist and postmodernist ideologies was a response to the socio-economic difficulties which existed during premodern and early modern societies (Hirt, 2009; Pacione, 2009). Overtime these rationalities and ideologies have not only established universal values but they have also transformed how urban planning is conceptualised and practised (Sauvé, 1999; Kerr et al., 2016). The gaining of a deeper understanding of the contribution of modernist and postmodernist ideology and the associated practices has been a goal and a source of insights in critical urban geographical research and studies (Pacione, 2009). The reviews in this section cover modernist and postmodernist ideologies and rationalities with regard to their contribution to urban planning theories and practices.

2.2.1.1 Modernist rationalities and urban planning practices

Modernist urban planning entails situating planning actions in the public domain with the aim of shaping areas systematically (Rukmana, 2010). Modernist urban planning ideology conceived the city as an object characterised by mass housing which necessitated land use zoning as its core idea. Modernist ideas have informed government rationalities which consider planning as a proper means for creating social harmony in the communities and creating a highly organised society (Siu & Huang, 2015). This involves a planning process being managed by planners who are regarded as experts and rational individuals who can apply rational scientific methods (Watson, 2016). Administratively, local governments serve as agents of the state, while development emphases are on low and functional density. Equally important according to this ideology is that control of urban growth through comprehensive planning was

introduced between 1940 and 1960 (Goodchild, 1990; UN-Habitat, 2014). Modernist planning process involved a sequence of activities with an emphasis on identifying the relationship between means and ends. In the planning process, means-end involves establishing an existing situation, setting development goals and objectives, and understanding development challenges and potential. Finally, appropriate strategies for addressing the problems are formulated using of the existing potential. This means to end relationship is therefore a technical rationality established by modernist planning (Goodchild, 1990; Rukmana, 2010; Siu & Huang, 2015). Nevertheless, means-end rationality is a strategy entrenched in a planning process so as to ensure the capitalist economic agenda is well set and achieved. The existing relationships between scientific rationality and private housing attest to the nexus between urbanisation and capitalism (Aalbers, 2015).

Modernist planning developed from dualist philosophies. Dualism is a doctrine based on reality which, in this case, is considered to have two basic opposing elements like good and evil (Rukmana, 2010). The idea of modernism developed as a cultural response to the process of modernisation and the rise of capitalism (Goodchild, 1990). Modernist urban planning drew some insights from dualism and rational decision-making which were perceived as foundations for bringing change. At the same time, comprehensive planning was adopted in the form of a master planning approach to controlling urban growth. This approach to urban planning involves selection of the best alternative means for achieving some predetermined ends in a manner that considers all spheres of human life (Rukmana, 2010). As a rational process, comprehensive planning starts with goal formulation and the developing alternative scenarios for providing comprehensive solutions to urbanisation problems (Keeble, 1964; Ryser & Franchini, 2015). Moreover, comprehensive planning has been found to take care of all important aspects of human life; it also has the potential to develop sustainable urban settlements (Jun & Conroy, 2013). Sandercock (1998) has argued that planning is deemed to be effective when it is comprehensive. As part of modernisation, planning has been regarded as a project directed by government ambitions of a future state of affairs. By drawing on liberal and neo-liberal ideologies, government ambitions can hardly be separated from capitalist economic ambitions. This helps to explain the wide adoption of the master planning approach and its overdependence on state financing.

Indeed, modernist planning practices result in the development of orderly urban settlements. According to Siu & Huang (2015), modernist planning makes the urban area neat and aesthetically pleasing compared with traditional living areas. Despite the noted benefits of modernist planning, the foundation of modernist rationality has been criticised because of its overreliance on science and neglect of human factors. Modernist urban planning and its associated architectural designs have failed to promote social interaction within communities. It has also impacted on planning education by making it too technical and characterised as a step-by-step practice (Faludi, 1985; Alexander, 2000; Siu & Huang, 2015; Kerr et al., 2016). As a result of these criticisms, postmodernist rationality has emerged. This emergence of postmodernist rationality brought in ideas that called for the consideration of multiple interests. The inclusion of postmodernist ideas in urban planning has caused planning to be regarded as a post-rational endeavour.

2.2.1.2 Postmodernist ideologies and urban planning practices

Postmodernism is regarded as a successor to modernism which emerged in response to the criticism of modernist rationalities (Dear & Flusty, 1998; Kerr et al., 2016). Postmodernist ideology resulted from globally generated effects that manifest locally. This ideology is also characterised by multiple and competing urban rationalities (Dear & Flusty, 1998; Rukmana, 2010). Postmodernism rejects dualist ideologies favoured by comprehensive planning and supports pluralism instead. Pluralism acknowledges social organisation in which racial, religious, ethnic and cultural group diversities are tolerated (Goodchild, 1990; Rukmana, 2010). Postmodernist ideas developed following the failure of the rational assumptions of modernism. Postmodernist ideology is associated with French post-structuralism, which holds that social actions cannot be detached from actors and the social environment in which the actors' motives and beliefs are constructed (Goodchild, 1990; Baker, 2011). Postmodernism has affected planning practices by the place-based economy and actors' involvement in planning processes.

The idea of place-based economy and stakeholders involvement in planning processes draw from the post-structuralist and postmodernist theorist Michel Foucault (Baker, 2011). The motives and beliefs of postmodernist actors are associated with the promotion of a capitalist

economic agenda.[6] However, postmodernist rationality intends to create a framework of citizens' rights a framework which protects both the individual against the state and minorities against discrimination. On the contrary, capitalist interests in the planning process have always supersede public interests, which result in the existence of classes in the postmodern era (Goodchild, 1990). This conforms with the practices in Tanzanian small towns where wealth creation is central to the planning efforts by private-sector actors.

Postmodernist ideologies and rationalities have shaped urban planning practices and urban conditions (Soja, 1989; Franco, 2017). Postmodernism has also been evident in human geography discourses, some of which consider of the effects of social construction on the production of space (Soja, 1989). This idea shaped the development of theories which consider the relationship between space, time and social beings (Soja, 1989). These ideas are related to neoliberal policies and public choice which form the basis for the emergence of communicative and collaborative planning. Human geography recognises planning as a socially constructed process in which norms and practices are produced (Watson, 2016). Postmodernist ideology conceptualised the city as a landscape of social diversity and decentralisation as its administrative arrangement. Planning in this vein emphasised local context, mixed land uses and flexible zoning. Postmodernist decision-making style has a piecemeal basis owing to its capacity to cope with local conditions. Postmodernism is therefore grounded in distrust of government and experts. Thus, it calls for the involvement of interest groups and the contribution of non-state sectors in urban planning (Innes, 1998). The adoption of postmodernism over modernism stems from various critiques of the interrelated rationalities, planning approach, way of knowing and dependence on the state.

These rationalities were deemed weak and disputed because they ignored social realities and cultural diversities. Consequently, they failed to solve social problems. Moreover, the concern of postmodernist rationalities shifted to meaning rather than to the cause-effect relationship; the adoption of community-based planning entailed reducing dependence on the state (Sandercock, 1998; Rukmana, 2010). This led to the adoption of postmodernist rationalities as

[6] The capitalist economic agenda relies on private ownership of the means of production. The agenda involves using capital to control political institutions and governance procedures so as to further capitalists' interests and to maintain the status quo (Smith, 1982).

they were seen to create platforms for negotiations and refocus planning from top-down to bottom-up.

Unlike modernist rational planning, postmodernism is based on communicative rationality. This has informed planning practices and the adoption of various approaches to planning, (for example strategic planning), in which wider groups of stakeholders are involved in the planning process. The role of a planner has also changed from being a rational decision-maker and a self-interested individual to being a coordinator of the choices of actors. These ideologies and their rationalities have been the basis of the theorisation and conceptualisation of urban planning (Watson, 2016). Modernist and postmodernist ideologies relate to liberal and neo-liberal rationalities. The next section considers how liberal and neo-liberal rationalities turned cities into centres of power and positioned in the global economy system.

2.2.2 Liberal and neo-liberal ideologies and rationalities

The development of liberal ideas was necessitated by the need to depart from orthodox ideologies (Ley, 1980). According to Smith (1982), liberal ideology resonates with the development of modern capitalism and industrial society in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Neo-liberalism succeeded liberal ideology and emerged in the1940s as the revered symbol of anti-socialism and a powerful voice of liberal hopes. During that time liberal ideologies began to stagnate, thus allowing collectivism to become the new intellectual ideology throughout the world (Turner, 2007; Jessop, 2008). However, after noting the spread of collectivist ideology, liberalists started a movement for strategising the development of an alternative ideology that would stop the spread of collectivist and socialist ideologies. Neo-liberal ideology was formulated by modifying liberal ideas. Since then these ideas have been the basis for the formulation of urban planning theories, practices and the current urban planning institutional framework.

2.2.2.1 Liberalism and the consolidation of economic and political power

Liberalism emerged through individuals who were accumulating capital from commerce and industry and who wanted to translate their growing economic power into political power (Smith, 1982). At the same time, philosophical argument arose and placed emphasis on the primacy of human reason. It was held that, human society, polity and economy should be governed by reasoning, rather than tradition, custom and non-rational means (Smith & Knight,

1982; Jessop, 2008). Therefore, capitalists developed liberal ideology by combining cultural movements for individualism and rationalism with their own economic interests. Liberal ideology entails mixing economic and political power in which political power is used to foster an economic agenda. This led to the emergence of new market-state relations as well as economic and political organisation in modern societies (Jessop, 2008). The main agenda was individual capital accumulation which limited emerging states' capacity to participate in the economic spheres. The measures included discouraging governments from participating in production, intervening in commerce and monopolies as well as restricting individuals from pursuing their economic interests. This limited the role of the state in maintaining order and defending individual rights to property. This entanglement of political and state affairs put capitalists as citizens and property owners in control of political processes.

Liberal ideology has been adopted to inform governance processes (Smith, 1982), social relations, the provision of social services (Smith & Knight, 1982) and urban development planning (Ley, 1980). The influence of capitalism, particularly private property, on urban planning practices cannot be overemphasised. Liberal ideas and modern rationality are related in the sense that they all rely on science, reasoning and rational decision-making (Jessop, 2008; Rukmana, 2010; Watson, 2016). They have also provided the basis on which urban planning practices are organised. They consider planners as rational individuals who guide the processes and institutional frameworks for managing urban planning. Subjecting planning to the public in a situation where political power is used to safeguard economic interests is a daunting task. This creates a situation of balancing economic, political and organisational forces which culminates in putting planning in the hands of those with economic muscles (Jessop, 2008). The result is that private property development determines the way planning is practised and changes the role of state agencies and professional planners (McGuirk, 2000; McGuirk & Maclaran, 2001; Smith, 2002).

Liberal ideology informs urban design and new urbanism practices as well as their dominance by private property development. Urban design and new urbanism draw on architectural and engineering principles. The laissez-faire character that dominated liberal ideologies was thought to be promoting freedom from state intervention. This trend became associated with sliding back to collectivism, which was considered by liberalists as going back to socialism and totalitarianism (Turner, 2007). Thus, neo-liberalism emerged out of the struggle to

construct an alternative ideology that would end laissez-faire policy and introduce the competition of individuals in the market economy (Jessop, 2008). The next subsection deals with the development of neo-liberal ideology and its contributions to the global economic agenda and the associated institutional frameworks.

2.2.2.2 Neo-liberalism and the development of institutional planning frameworks

Neo-liberalism developed as a successor to liberalism and it has subsequently shaped social, economic and political life (Turner, 2007; Hall & Lamont, 2013). Neo-liberalism developed out of the movement to stop the decline of liberalism and the growth of collectivism in the 1930s. The movement was motivated by the rise of socialism at the expense of liberalism on which West European civilisation had been grounded (Turner, 2007). Liberalists could not afford to see liberalism dying, a demise that could mean the end of Western civilisation.

Efforts to end the death of liberal ideology revolved around a conference which was held in Paris in 1938 from which an alternative ideology emanated, namely a neutral interpretation of liberalism which moved away from old-fashioned laissez-faire liberalism as well as taking up a challenge to existing collectivist ideas. The struggle to create a constructive alternative to the previous ideologies led to the coining by German economist Alexander Rustow of neoliberal' ideology (Turner, 2007). Basically, neo-liberal ideology developed out of pressure to modernise liberalism as an ideology appropriate to the economic and political demands of the time (Peters, 2007; Evans & Sawell, 2013). This argument gave rise to neo- being added, despite the fact that neo-liberalism had its roots in the tenets of liberalism (Turner, 2007). To these tenets of liberal ideology, neo-liberalism introduced elements of work competition with corresponding legal and institutional frameworks. At the same time, reintegrating society to freely cooperate as virtually satisfied human-kind as the only alternative to laissez-faire and totalitarianism. Thus, neo-liberalism is regarded as the rebirth of liberalism (Turner, 2007).

Neo-liberal ideology drew much from the tenets of liberalism as evidenced by its impact on urban planning. One of the neo-liberal ideas borrowed from liberalism is the use of political power as a means of fostering economic agendas. As a result, economic interests are central to both state planning and the market economy. Both liberal and neo-liberal ideologies have used planning as a means of achieving their desired economic ends. Neo-liberalism promotes market-centred policies as the basis for decision making in all spheres of life (Hall & Lamont,

2013; Spocter, 2017). Neo-liberal ideologies have informed socio-economic and urban physical planning policy frameworks in the global South (Spocter, 2017). The effects of ideology on planning can be explained by ideology, rationality, belief and action relationships (Smith, 1982; Turner, 2007). According to Gunder (2010), planning cannot be dissociated from the ideologies which constitute the chosen and dominant beliefs and value systems. These beliefs and value systems can be used to provide a formula for calculating the means of achieving the envisaged end (Campbell, 2006). Ideologies determine our choices about how we use land, thereby making urban and regional planning an ideology which determines the use of space (Gunder, 2010).

Neo-liberal capitalist ideology and its associated practices continuously transform urban settlements, including small towns (Spocter, 2017). Notable transformations are the privatisation of municipal land and the promotion of private sector accumulation of capital in urban areas. These processes are facilitated by the creation of appropriate legal and institutional frameworks which put the role of the private sector at the centre of local government services (Theodore & Peck, 2011; Evans & Sawell, 2013; Spocter, 2017). Neo-liberal policies therefore lay the foundation for contemporary urban governance strategies which have shifted planning responsibility from central government to local government authorities, as well as ensuring the involvement of private sector actors in local planning processes (Brand, 2007; Braathen et al., 2016). This causes governments to be increasingly replaced by non-state actors as well as turning cities into strategic nodes of power which play central roles in the global economy (Evans & Sawell, 2013; Braathen et al., 2016). The involvement of the private sector in urban governance is justified by the improvement of local government financial and technical planning capacities, although capitalist profit maximisation motives remain central to the private sector and local government relations. The promotion of privatisation of urban services by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) makes urban areas association with the global capitalist system even stronger (Spocter, 2017). As a result, neo-liberal ideology has continuously influenced local urban planning and development policies, and it has informed government rationalities in the global South (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Ferguson, 2009; Haughton et al., 2013). Indeed, the development of urban areas, their policies and the associated practices have been geared towards promoting private accumulation of capital.

The current urban practices and conditions attest to the influence of neo-liberal ideologies and rationalities on shaping the theories underpinning urban planning. For example, the neoliberal idea of working competition resulted in communicative rationality which forms the basis of collaborative planning theories. This has changed the orientation of planning from being a task handled only by rational individuals (Watson, 2016) to being a new planning approach which involves dialogue and debate among stakeholders (Healey, 1992, 2006; Todes et al., 2010). Also, with its tenet of using politics to further economic interests, neoliberal ideology has used planning as a mechanism for promoting private housing investments (Gunder, 2010). These private economic interests and agendas have continuously shaped how planning is being practised according to a set of concepts including smart city, new urbanism, gentrification and public-private partnerships (Smith, 2002; Miraftab, 2004a; Lees, 2014). Urban governance arrangements like public-private partnership, privatisation, community participation and empowerment serve capitalist interests rather than those of local governments and communities (Miraftab, 2004b,c). Thus, urban planning has always been used as a vehicle for achieving capitalist economic objectives. Since political power and economic power are interrelated, planning has always been in the hands of capitalists, as noted in modernist and postmodernist rationalities. The next section draws on ideologies, rationalities and practices relationships to provide insights into various debates that inform the choice of urban governance approaches.

2.3 DEBATES ON THE THEORIES AND CONCEPTS CONCERNING THE CHOICE OF URBAN PLANNING APPROACHES

This section is guided by John Friedmann's conception of the relationships between theory and practice. Friedmann (2003:8) has argued that "there is no planning practice without a theory about how it ought to be practiced." Behind every planning approach there are some guiding ideologies which inform its rationalities and shape how it is applied. Whether written, unwritten, known or unknown, these ideologies have existed in our conscious minds and have guided our conduct, including planning practices (Friedmann, 2003; Smith, 2007; Gunder, 2010). Equally, Taylor (1998) explains that various theories have shaped urban planning since 1945 and show how various planning paradigms like master planning, urban design and strategic planning together with their theoretical backgrounds.

Rationalities and the subsequent theories which inform urban planning practices originated in the global North; they were then borrowed and used in the global South (Watson, 2016;

Spocter, 2017). The globalisation of ideologies makes cities in the global South part and parcel of the world economic system. However, it is worth noting that theories are not static as they evolve with changes in social, economic and political dimensions in urban planning contexts. Smith (2002: 428) has noted that planning theory has been shaped by terms "four sets of events" in explaining how social, economic and political factors resulted in a shift in urban policies in New York City. Certainly, the current planning practices in Tanzanian small towns are also based on some assortment of ideologies. The ideological rationalities informing the adoption of piecemeal planning in Tanzanian small towns need to be examined.

Therefore, the next three subsections consider various theories and concepts which have shaped and informed urban planning practices and have eventually been vital in the selection of the approaches which have guided planning activities. Recall that Friedmann (2003) called for a new way of thinking about planning theory in order to emphasise the relationship between theory and practice. Certainly, the extent to which theory influences practice depends on governance arrangements (March, 2010). Urban governance is itself an outcome of theory and governance provides avenues through which practices operationalise theories. The relationship between the conceptualisation of theory and practices makes it essential to understand the theories and concepts which have informed the adoption of piecemeal planning. Otherwise, planning can be trapped into embracing practices without appreciating sources of the knowledge on which they are based (Friedmann, 2003). Piecemeal planning practices have doubtless drawn certain insights from many disparate theories. An understanding of the relationship between piecemeal planning and global panning practices is crucial to critical urbanism. The next three subsections review collaborative planning theory, new urbanism and systems theory.

2.3.1 Collaborative planning theory

Collaborative planning theory has its foundation in the communicative turn. The communicative turn was developed from an understanding of the importance of individuals as knowing subjects with rights and responsibilities against power (Healey, 2006). The evolution of the communicative turn can be traced back to ideas of George Herbert Mead (communication-theoretic) and Emile Durkheim (social solidarity theory) (Habermas, 1987). These ideas draw on different philosophical backgrounds grounded in pragmatic and communicative rationality. They do, however, have commonalities in providing what was later

termed “a guide for action to planners” (Fainstein, 2005: 454). Pragmatism formed urban planning by making planning a practical and rational process which draws on a range of human capacities (Healey, 2009). This resulted in the adoption of communicative rationality which emphasises the role played by town planners in mediating competing stakeholders’ interests in the planning processes. As reality-based planning, piecemeal practices portray elements of pragmatism. However, empirical evidence is needed to highlight the coherence of piecemeal planning and the norms informing urban planning.

Collaborative planning entails the creation a platform for dialogue and mutual learning between planners and stakeholders (Friedmann, 2003). According to Kasala (2013), collaborative planning is a process of sharing appreciations and tangible resources between two or more stakeholders so as to solve a set of problems that cannot be solved individually. Thus, collaborative planning theory seems to have its genesis in neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism encourages competition among stakeholders. Furthermore, collaborative planning theory calls for changing the town planner’s role from one of giving orders to one of building consensus among different conflicting stakeholders’ views and interests. The idea of changing the role of planners is evidently built on the earlier views of scholars like Healey (1997) and Friedmann (2003). These idea have been summarised by (Fainstein, 2005: 454) as:

> Leadership consists not in bringing stakeholders around to a particular planning content, but in getting people to agree and in ensuring that whatever the position of participants within the social economic hierarchy, no group’s interest will dominate.

Neo-liberal globalisation has turned cities into strategic drivers of the world economy. In maintaining collaborative rationality, cities are supposed to be “drivers, mediators and responders” (Braathen et al., 2016: 7). As such, cities are supposed to drive the world economy by including entrepreneurial aspects in their governance processes. City authorities must also mediate conflicts resulting from global, regional, national and local forces, while at the same time responding to the social demands of urbanites. Piecemeal planning practices in Tanzanian small towns involve public and non-public actors. However, the effects of neoliberal policy cause private interests to dominate. Even though the practice sounds like collaboration, the implications of neoliberal policies warrant scrutiny.

This research intends to contribute to our understanding of the contribution the private sector makes to the development of small towns. The nature of stakeholder participation in piecemeal planning processes will help illuminate collaborative planning theory. Collaborative planning supported the paradigm shifts which resulted in a planning approach championed by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS). The approach was intended to guide urban processes in many developed and developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2009a; Gunder, 2010; Kasala, 2015). Collaborative planning has been instrumental in spatial planning practices in terms of instituting, among others, the coordination of sustainable urban development. It also brings stakeholders together at municipal level for dialogue which is now central to urban planning practices. Various terms have been used in urban planning practices to express collaborative planning, namely partnerships, mediation, community-based planning, consensus building, shared decision-making, co-management, strategic urban development planning and strategic spatial planning (Healey, 1992; Innes & Booher, 1999; Kasala, 2013). All of these terms show the contribution that communicative rationality has made to the emergence of collaborative planning practices and their intertwined relationships.

Notwithstanding these roles, communicative action theory has been criticised for its assumptions which ignore the power relations among various groups of stakeholders and how consensus is reached. This is what Fainstein (2000) regards as the tendency to substitute moral exhortation for analysis. In addition to market forces, public participation in the planning process is used as a vehicle for legitimising capitalist motives (Gunder, 2010). Certainly, these criticisms are levelled against liberalism and neo-liberal ideologies which use political power to foster economic ambitions. Eventually, planning becomes a vehicle for achieving a predetermined end and participation is regarded as a strategy for legitimising decisions. Moreover, although Fainstein (2000) argued for changing the role of planners, she ignored the contextual realities around which planners play their role. The urban planning context is subjected to a multiplicity of forces, including the influences of market and the private sector in the planning process. Huxley & Yiftachel (2000) questioned collaborative literature for privileging dialogue at the expense of the wider socio-economic context in which planning is practised.

Besides, collaborative planning provides a platform for learning, which eventually transforms preconceived ideas and the understanding of urban development problems. These criticisms do

not ignore neo-liberal policies and their manifestation into collaborative planning processes. Indeed, neo-liberal policies are part of the realities that affect planning practices. This makes it important not only to consider how postmodernist and neoliberal policies lead to new urbanism, but also what their influence is on planning practices. The criticisms provide a lens thorough which piecemeal planning can be studied. Among the issues involved is interpreting the role of street-level bureaucrats in areas where planning services are delivered by the private sector. The new urbanism usefully enlightens the public-private sectors influences on planning practices.

2.3.2 New urbanism as a product of postmodernist and neoliberal ideologies

The new urbanism idea has been commended for its ability to produce liveable urban environments. Grant (2006) has asserted that new urbanism results into orderly, compact and physically beautiful neighbourhoods. However, new urbanism's beneficial outcomes cannot be easily dissociated from everyday life in modernist planning (Siu & Huang, 2015). The new urbanism ideas and practices draw insights from both postmodernist and neo-liberal rationalities which also entail developing orderly and safe communities which must be equally attractive to local governments and to home buyers (Sultana & Powell, 2009). These are the elements of modernist and neo-liberal planning practices which insist on developing safe and orderly neighbourhoods while at the same time promoting private property development.

The concept of new urbanism evolved in the USA during the 1970s and 1980s as a movement involving the era of thinking about urban form and development, including the modernisation of urban design patterns (Ellis, 2002; Grant, 2006). The assessment of new urbanism established that place- and design-based orientation and desired spatial structure be achieved through urban planning (Taylor, 1998; Hirt, 2009; Gunder, 2011). New urbanism promoted an ideological shift from car dependence to urban patterns that facilitate walking and strong urban identities (Grant, 2006). Gunder (2011) maintains that new urbanism is a new agenda for urban design practices. The foundation of new urbanism is rooted in neo-liberal and postmodernist rationalities. In this relationship, neo-liberalists employ urban design techniques to promote private property development. Piecemeal planning and new urbanism are based on urban design principles. The existing relationships between urban design, new urbanism and piecemeal planning need to be identified so as to facilitate urban planning theorising.

New urbanism stresses the importance of place, environment and sustainability in planning by introducing salient principles like compact city, smart growth, mixed use as well as walkable and self-contained communities (Fainstein, 2000; Grant, 2002, 2006). Using these principles, new urbanism ideas have been employed to guide urban design, estate development, gentrification, inner-city redevelopment and other related urban development projects. However, new urbanism is criticised for being inappropriate for city planning, since it offers numerous advantages at local and neighbourhood scales (Taylor, 1998; Ellis, 2002). As a concept for promoting local-scale development, new urbanism has also been challenged for promoting urban sprawl and the converting farmland to urban uses, as well as for bring insensitiveness to environmental protection, particularly in the urban fringes (Ellis, 2002; Grant, 2006). New urbanism is also regarded more as an architectural vision than as planning a theory (Sultana & Powell, 2009). As a result, new urbanism has been found to lack theoretical foundations; thus operates in a vacuum (Sternberg, 2000; Cuthbert, 2007). The concept premises need to be investigated as to how relates with piecemeal-planned areas. Such an investigation will provide a better appreciation of the appropriateness of piecemeal planning and its implications for small towns.

However, Ellis (2002) has claimed that the criticisms levelled at new urbanism are unconvincing. Grant (2006) avers that new urbanism has turned urban planners into victims of the system and players in a game, over whose rules they hardly have any control. Apart from the place and community identities-based orientation, new urbanism requires communities to be competitive in the process of attracting investments by improving the quality of their local places (Grant, 2006). Being competitive in attracting investment means creating a space in which capitalists can locate their capital, which is a tenet of neo-liberal and postmodernist ideologies.

In the light of the current trends of city competitiveness, new urbanism and its inherent urban design practices may be appropriate for cities to be marketed to attract private capital and investment (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990). Such a market-based orientation is considered to pose a challenge of externalities to communities. Fainstein (2000) has argued that market driven development of this model destroys the spatial basis for the community. This orientation may be related to the troubles noted in the involvement of the private sector in land delivery in Tanzania; of the troubles is the lack of common interest in planning (Kasala & Burra, 2016).

Urban planning and land delivery by private sector companies is inclined towards profit maximisation, which sometimes contravenes planning regulations and standards. Also, many of the private sector's local plans are prepared in a piecemeal manner. Certainly, the private sector's involvement in urban planning and land delivery is a significant reality in urban planning practices globally (McGuirk, 2000; McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001). It affects not only planning practices but also the role of planning institutions and professionals in the planning process. Systems theory is an important innovation for broadening the discussion and for comparing piecemeal practices with comprehensive ones. These are explored below.

2.3.3 Modernist rationalities and the emergence of systems theory

Systems theory came to the fore in the 1960s. Since then system theory have been viewed and applied differently in various disciplines, including ecology (Pickett et al., 2001), sociology (Kihlstrom, 2011) and urban planning (McLoughlin, 1969; Taylor, 1998; Talen, 2002; Kihlstrom, 2011). The theory evolved from the adoption various theory of system, control systems and societal systems. On the basis of the ideas taken from ecological relationships and social systems, the theory acknowledges the interactions and relationships that exist between society members (Pickett et al., 2001; Kihlstrom, 2011). These ideas were adopted for the purpose of creating a framework for guiding the actions of planners in their endeavours to plan human settlements. The framework included tools for analysing, evaluating and controlling the spatial elements of human life (McLoughlin, 1969). Systems theory draws insights from modernist and liberal rationalities which promote the application of science, comprehensive planning and the role of the state in planning processes.

Based on the ideas proposed by McLoughlin (1969), systems theory has become a central analytical framework in the field of urban planning. Subsequent contributions by various scholars have expanded the theory. Taylor (1998) introduced the idea of ordering things as a system by making cities and towns sets of connected parts. Kihlstrom (2011) added the aspect of maintaining social order by coordinating actions of components in the systems. A system has been described as: "…what is common to a set is what unifies it and at the same time distinguishes it from other sets, and what makes a system is not just as set of distinguished parts but the interconnection and interdependence among the parts" (Taylor, 1998: 61). Therefore, the structure of a system is determined by both the structure of the parts and by their

relationships. The functioning of the systems depends largely on the interconnections among the parts.

Systems theory can be applied to urban development because it considers an urban area as a system whose functionality and sustainability depend on the interrelationships and connectivity among the parts. An urban system has physical form and its parts must maintain constant connections and interactions. The parts of an urban system are represented by human activities and various land uses, such as residential, commercial, industrial and recreational uses. The adoption of the systems approach to planning was necessitated by the failure of physical design approaches to embrace economic and social concerns (McLoughlin, 1969). The systems approach to planning has been used to ensure that different parts of urban systems, ecological systems and the associated human activities are connected so that interactions can take place. The connections and interactions of the parts in a system are measured by flows, for example vehicles, messages, kilovolts and train passengers, and by flow densities like passenger car units per hour and a million gallons per day (McLoughlin, 1969; Pickett et al., 2001). The systems approach promotes planning approaches which consider cities to be systems and which aim to strengthen the interactions among its parts.

The use of systems theory in planning has provided a framework for identifying problems and opportunities. It has also helped to define the relationship between the components of an urban system and the rest of the world. Consequently, systems theory has been a basis for the adoption of a comprehensive planning approach to urban development (McLoughlin, 1969; Kihlstrom, 2011), and the adoption of a master planning approach to guide urban development. However, the selection of a planning approach depends on the objective of planning and the envisaged planning outcomes (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Despite its wide application in planning, systems theory has been faulted in relation to social relations and that order in society can be maintained by coordinating actions from outside (Kihlstrom, 2011). These criticisms apply more to sociology than to spatial planning. Certainly, while the components of a social system interact through communication, the interaction of components in urban systems is enhanced through supporting physical infrastructure. The physical infrastructure has the potential to connect different parts of an urban setting. However, an urban governance system is an essential element for achieving planning outcomes. Governance structures create a space for the implementation of government policies and the adoption of urban planning approaches. An

urban governance system is regulated by government rationalities and mentalities which determine planning outcomes. The next section focuses on the debates on urban governance and the implementation of government policies.

2.4 DEBATES ON URBAN GOVERNANCE AND POLICY PROCESSES

This section is devoted to debates on neo-liberal rationalities and the individualised and institutionalised routines they produce. The discussion is framed around the concepts of governmentality, decentralisation, entrepreneurship and democracy, around how they ensure the production of institutional structures of urban governance (Lemke, 2007; Haughton et al., 2013; Obeng-Odoom, 2013a) and around how the concepts impact on the adoption of urban planning practices by street-level bureaucrats. Attention is also given to how the complexities and practical mechanisms shaping the conduct of institutions can be understood by delineating the roles of the public and private actors (Lemke, 2007). Urban governance and planning cannot be separated as they evolve mutually (Harrison et al., 2008). The intention is to make it clear how neoliberal policies are experienced in urban governance structures and the extent to which they are part of individual and institutional mentalities and routines.

2.4.1 Neo-liberalism, governmentality and urban planning policies

The word governmentality was coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1982; Massey, 2013). The concept of governmentality was elaborated from an Anglo neo-Foucauldian perspective by scholars like Peter Miller, Nikolas Rose and Mitchell Dean. The Anglo neo-Foucauldian perspective involves analysing governments by delving into the details of the realities that influence the behaviour of individuals and institutions (Haughton et al., 2013). Governmentality can be understood in two ways: first, it is the way governments try to produce citizens best suited to fulfil government policies; and second, it involves organised practices (mentalities, rationalities and techniques) through which subjects are governed (Johnston et al., 2000; Dean, 2010). Dean (2010) defined governmentality as action by government to direct or guide according to self-direction appropriate to certain conditions. Massey (2013) has submitted that governmentality can even be found in social groups and local governments.

In the subsection, attention is given to neoliberal policies and the organised practices (mentalities, rationalities and techniques) so as to understand how they influence the

development of governance strategies. Neoliberal policies create governance relationships, whereas national plans create room for the implementation of global economic agendas (Haughton et al., 2013). Consequently, neoliberal policies have some effect on governmentality and state planning approaches which is subsequently experienced in local institutional structures. These structures include the relationship between state and non-state actors (Certomà & Notteboom, 2017). State planning approaches and the associated institutional structures can create complexities which can also shape the conduct of the subjects of the state (Lemke, 2007). The relationship between neoliberal policies and an urban governance system explains the role of non-state actors in urban planning. However, private-sector planning practices in small towns must be examined to expose the influence they have on the adoption of piecemeal planning.

Neoliberal policies have shaped the redistribution of responsibilities between public and private actors. According to Lemke (2007), the distribution of responsibilities between state, market and civil society actors has produced the contemporary institutional arrangement of urban governance. The role of private sector in urban planning and development is evident in the small towns of the developing world. However, the extent to which the private sector shapes urban governance and the potential implications for urban development in small towns are not understood. Neo-liberal rationalities are part of individual and institutional routines. Similarly, guidance by government is manifested through bureaucratic behaviour and actions based on a set of standards and norms (Dean, 2010). Also, there is an inherent relationship between governmentality and neo-liberal and postmodernist ideologies and rationalities. Since political power is used by neo-liberalists to further economic ambitions, citizens' participation in planning promoted by postmodernism concur with some government efforts to produce citizens best suited to implementing its policies. Therefore, planning processes and participation are used as means of legitimising capitalist agendas.

Governmentality is adopted and applied differently by various scholars as they try to explain contemporary social and development situations, including social theory (Joseph, 2010), urban policies (Raco & Imrie, 2000; Lemke, 2002) and analysis of state theory, power and rules in modern societies (Lemke, 2002; Dean, 2010). The concept of governmentality is relevant to the study of urban policies and governance as it looks at institutions and procedures for administration, government policies and techniques of government. More importantly, it

focuses on the mentalities and rationalities of the government as demonstrated by the behaviour and conduct of its subjects. In this study, the subjects of government include government officials (henceforth street-level bureaucrats). Therefore, governmentality manifests itself in the behaviour and practices of subjects (Raco & Imrie, 2000). Governmentality forms the basis for political thought and actions, and its manifestations in a government's subject imply that it is a political rationality connected to programmes and actions of the government. This concurs with the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats at subnational levels. The practices of street-level bureaucrats call for an examination of the effects of institutional expediency on piecemeal planning. Equally important is the need to investigate how governments produce town planners who are best suited to implementing government policies accordingly to the current governance strategies.

Urban planning is an institutional responsibility guided by political rationalities, which can used to understand the actions of subjects of government (Foucault, 1982; Haughton et al., 2013). Thus, governmentality manifests itself in the contemporary trends and practices of implementation of urban development policies. Indeed, governmentality even changes urban policy practices and procedures (Raco & Imrie, 2000). The implementation of urban development policies at local level is always subject to sets of rules and procedures which bureaucrats have to abide by. As asserted by Raco & Imrie (2000), political rationalities are diffused in institutions and are manifested in the exercise of power. This power can be explicitly observed in the planning practices and actions of bureaucrats. The actions and practices of bureaucrats probably conform to the governing modes of thought. Lemke (2007) has shown the need to investigate the conformity of practices to global and government rationalities and the need to investigate the extent to which they guide contemporary practices. This calls for an appreciation of whether the adoption of piecemeal planning by bureaucrats at subnational levels is part of mentalities and rationalities of the government.

The concept of governmentality has been criticised for ignoring factors which determine rationalities, mentalities and techniques (Lemke, 2002, 2007; Joseph, 2010). This warrants an in-depth examination of the nature of societies, and their underlying social relations and structural limitations. To comprehend government's behaviour, one must go beyond assessing how institutions behave to analysing why they behave in such a way (Joseph, 2010). This can

be achieved when decentralisation, entrepreneurship and democratic governance practices at subnational levels are better understood.

2.4.2 Decentralisation, entrepreneurship and democracy (DED) framework and neo-liberal rationalities

Urban governance needs to adopt strategies for improving institutional capacities for delivery of development services. Local planning capacities can be improved through the application of the decentralisation, entrepreneurship and democracy framework which is grounded on these three pillars. The framework for analysing urban governance in sub-Saharan Africa was proposed by Franklin Obeng-Odoom in 2013 and it was specifically applied to the Ghanaian experience. The framework draws on postmodernist and neo-liberal rationalities, which consider urban governance as a multi-stakeholder process (Dear & Flusty, 1998; Hirt, 2005; Sager, 2011; Parker & Street, 2017). A multi-stakeholder process can effectively be achieved by building partnerships between various actors (Obeng-Odoom, 2013a; Fuseini, 2016). The DED framework resembles collaborative planning, except that an entrepreneurial element is added to it. However, the relationship between DED frameworks and postmodernist and neo-liberal rationalities attest to how deep the so-called 'global values' continue to be entrenched in the urban governance systems of the global South. The manifestations of these relationships are part of the challenges which urbanism of the global South must confront.

Decentralisation entails the transfer of decision making and planning power to local government authorities. Decentralisation draws from subsidiarity which advocates delivery of services by local institutions. As a result, local governments are created as state vehicles for delivering public services, including urban planning (Haughton et al., 2013). Urban planning professionals are supposed to facilitate the planning process in accordance with local needs and priorities. The DED framework also recognises positive results that can be achieved if local-level planning initiatives integrate entrepreneurial ideologies. The adoption of entrepreneurial ideology can be used as a tool for resource mobilisation. Entrepreneurial ideas are likely to help local planning authorities to raise the resources required for planning and implementing local development programmes. Therefore, the framework urges bureaucrats in local authorities to become business minded as a solution to the shortage of resources required for implementing urban development programmes (Obeng-Odoom, 2013a). Resource mobilisation by local councils can be achieved by integrating urban economic development

and the adoption of neoliberal market-orientated local development strategies (Obeng-Odoom, 2013a). The framework holds great promise as a tool for building the planning capacities of local councils in developing countries.

The building of local planning capacities requires that cooperation be established with local stakeholders through public-private partnerships. One such partnership intends to improve the resource base so that urban governance can help finance a local authority's development programmes. Kasala & Burra (2016) have noted that the private sector's involvement in land delivery in Tanzania provided crucial resource bases for local government authorities. This is the manifestation of neo-liberal practices in urban development by changing urban governance strategies from being managerial to being entrepreneurial (Harvey, 1989; Baeten, 2018). Such entrepreneurial ideas open the door for private-sector actors to control urban planning practices as well as the roles played by town planners in planning process. There is a need to examine the nature and contribution of private-sector planning and land delivery, as well as its potential to promote sustainability in Tanzanian small towns.

Equally important is another pillar of the framework, that is, democracy. Democracy, as a concept, has both postmodernist and neo-liberal elements which promote citizen and stakeholder participation in policy processes. Democracy involves decision making as well as the planning and implementation of local plans and priorities. Democratic rationalities resonate with the need to promote the participation of interest groups in urban development planning. In a democratic process, stakeholder opinions are highly likely to be considered in the planning and implementation of local priorities. Therefore, the DED framework argues for the creation of mechanisms for local stakeholder involvement in urban planning process through direct participation or by representation. Democracy, and its associated representation procedure are achieved through politics (Pacione, 2009). Democratic representation in local governments in turn creates political tensions and power relation struggles which can constrain the implementation of government policies (Birkland, 2015). Politics and power relations are among the realities around which the planning process is executed.

The relevance of the DED framework resides in the emphasis on governments at sub-national levels to create platforms for collective decision-making. This represents the potential to address local development challenges using the resources at local government's disposal.

Stakeholders should together adopt an entrepreneurial principle necessary for mobilising the resources required for planning and implementing local plans (Fuseini, 2016). Similarly, participation ensures that local authorities deliver socio-economic services in accordance with local interests and priorities. According to the framework, the delivery of services can be achieved by integrating the economic, social and political dimensions of urban governance (Obeng-Odoom, 2013a). The framework has been censured for its failure to propose an institutional framework for urban governance (Owusu, 2014). Urban governance institutional frameworks need to be contextualised according to their ability to reflect local actors' interests and priorities. Apart from discussing how the theories draw insights from ideologies, there is a need to explore how theories and ideologies unfold in planning practices. The next section looks at various urban planning approaches and practices.

2.5 URBAN PLANNING APPROACHES AND PRACTICES

This section is devoted to a discussion of four urban planning approaches and practices, namely master planning, urban design, strategic urban planning and piecemeal planning. Apart from drawing insights from the dominant global ideologies, these practices also relate national and local ideologies, rationalities and beliefs. The meaning of ideologies can be traced from the science of ideas mooted by Destutt de Tracy (1797) as an abstract or symbolic meaning used to explain social, economic and political realities (Marx & Engels, 1970; Gunder, 2010). According to this definition, ideology is said to have the power to predict or contain some aspects of the aspirations and realities of those involved in social processes. Throughout history, urban planning has been conditional on ideologies which determine planning outcomes and guide planning processes (Smith, 2007). Similarly, since planning involves making decisions and allocating land uses, it has always been based on some aspirations.

Existing ideological beliefs determine the allocation and use of space which are social practices (Gunder, 2010). Hence, planning practices must be discussed in relation to the ideologies from which they draw insights, that is modernist, postmodernist, liberal and neoliberal ideologies. Modernist and postmodernist rationalities have continuously shaped the practice of town planning. The ideological shift from modernist to postmodernist rationalities resulted in a practical shift from state-controlled to market-controlled planning (Goodchild, 1990; Franco, 2017). Articulation is required of the contribution of ideological shifts to the sustainability in small towns.

Liberal ideology, which changed planning from growth to the quality of life, resulted in the spread of liveable city ideas and concepts. Neo-liberal ideology promotes market involvement of the private sector in urban planning as opposed to state-controlled actions. Indeed, neo-liberal ideology led to the adoption of collaborative planning approaches (Ley, 1980; Gunder, 2010). Urban planning has always been based on ideologies, be they global, regional or local, they always relate to the social, economic and political transformation taking place in that planning domain. Campbell (2006) has noted that in the planning process planners are supposed to make rational decisions and choose between what is good and what is bad, between that is wrong and what is right. Planners are supposed to guide the planning process rationally, while at the same time considering the realities around which they perform their duties. It is therefore important to understand the ideologies and their associated planning approaches. Also, it is necessary to understand the extent to which planning approaches change given the contemporary contextual realities in which planning is practised.

Urban planning approaches are affected by ideas and beliefs which guide planning practices. Such ideas guide planning processes and practices so that certain goals are achieved. Urban planning approaches and practices evolve with shifts in the guiding ideologies and rationalities. Moreover, planning approaches shape institutional frameworks and the activities guiding the practices (Jansen-Verbeke, 1991; Limburg, 1998). For example, open space planning has been used as an approach for preserving cultural and natural resources (Maruani & Amit-Cohen, 2007). Planning approaches should be examined to identify the ideological rationalities on which they are based. Therefore, the next three subsections discuss the approaches that have guided planning, namely master planning; urban design and new urbanism; and strategic urban planning. Finally, an emerging practice in small towns, piecemeal planning, is discussed to explain the rationalities on which it is based.

2.5.1 Master planning as a modernist scientific rationality

Master planning is a modernist form of comprehensive planning (African Planning Association & UN-Habitat, 2013, 2014). Master planning, as an approach to urban planning and development, was initially practised in the USA in 1916 in the preparation of zoning regulations for New York City (Halla, 2007). Since the 1940s, master planning has been adopted and practised in other parts the world. In South Africa, for example, the adoption of modernist planning was accompanied by a transformation from agrarian production to a mining

and industrial economy (Harrison et al., 2008). Master planning's amplification was powered by the enactment of England's Town and Country Planning Act in 1947. Subsequently, the British system was adopted in many other countries, particularly in African countries through colonialism and imperialism (Halla, 2007; Njoh, 2007).

A master plan is generally a comprehensive land use scheme for depicting the desired future of an urban area for a period of 20 years (Johnson, 1970; Hameed & Nadeem, 2008). Furthermore, master planning is defined as,

> an approach to preparing and implementing an urban general planning scheme which leads to a coordinated-but-predetermined framework for city form and pattern in terms of a citywide rigid zoned land-use pattern comprising a series of general planning schemes of various-but-conforming environmental neighbourhoods (Halla, 2007: 133).

Master plans are different to urban designs due to their inherent comprehensive planning characteristics. According to Altshuler (1973) comprehensive planning is geared towards achieving public interests and welfare. As a modernist planning approach the preparation of master plans is based on a rational technical model (Watson, 2016). The master planning process relates to systems theory; thus, it strives to achieve long-term solutions to all urban development challenges (Briassoulis, 1989). The preparation of master plans involves analysing existing land use and socio-economic conditions, determining future trends and, finally, designing strategies and proposals for addressing development challenges, while at the same time promoting urban development (Herbert, 1982; Hameed & Nadeem, 2008). This makes master planning a choice-based process for determining appropriate future urban development models (Davidoff & Reiner, 1973; Kasala, 2015). A master plan ensures that sectoral plans enhance each other so as to promote public interests. It adopts a two-tier planning system whereby the comprehensive plan is normally implemented by a series of detailed plans. These detailed plans include town planning layouts plans and other associated sectoral plans.

In Tanzania the planning practices in the small towns are orientated differently. Layout plans are prepared in the absence of master plans, thus placing such plans at the centre of land use decisions. The absence of a general land-use framework on which layouts plans may be based is likely to have certain spatial implications. The factors which affect the piecemeal planning

of small towns are not known. Piecemeal planning is contrary to the urban planning policy of Tanzania. In the USA, for example, courts were once given legal power to review layout maps which had not complied with their respective city's master plans (Hills & Schleicher, 2015). This legal requirement attests to the way comprehensive planning proposals are effectively implemented through the preparation of strategic detailed plans (Herbert, 1982; United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a,b).

Master planning puts urban planning professionals at the centre of planning processes (Harrison et al., 2008). According to rational technical ideologies, town planners are regarded as rational individuals who can make rational decisions (Watson, 2016). The application of this technical and rational planning approach now requires the availability of skilled and experienced town planners. Recently, urban planning scholarship has witnessed the unavailability of appropriate skills and experiences among planners, particularly in developing countries (Watson & Agbola, 2013; Duminy et al., 2014; Oldfield & Parnell, 2014). The extent to which deficiencies in planning skills influence piecemeal planning in Tanzanian small towns is not known. Therefore, this critical study intends to engage with town planners working in local governments to assess their skills and planning experiences. Critical studies consider deficient skills and planning experiences as a contextual difference between developed and developing countries. Indeed, this explains how the ideologies and rationalities which guide planning practices can result in implementation problems in some contexts.

Despite the foregoing challenges, master plans have, where applied, resulted in orderly land use development, especially the coordination of city-wide infrastructure networks (Namangaya, 2013). However, master planning has some pitfalls. Indeed, the approach has been slated for being technocratic, undemocratic, overdependent on government resources, ignorant of non-spatial aspects, inefficient, ineffective, rigid and developer unfriendly (Halla, 2007; Kasala, 2013). Master plans have been ineffectively used to manage urban development, particularly in the global South (Kasala, 2013). Overdependence on government financing for implementing master plan proposals has left many plans unimplemented, particularly in developing countries. This might explain why bureaucrats in subnational levels do not consider master plans to be appropriate tools for guiding land use development in small towns. There is also a pressing need to examine planning financing strategies and the way they influence the adoption of planning approaches in small towns.

The challenges and problems discussed above were the reasons why scholar sought more appropriate planning approaches (Healey, 2006; Watson, 2009; Kasala, 2015). Inevitably, the application of master plans in guiding urban development was questionable. It was noted that contemporary urbanisation troubles could not be addressed by master plans (Kasala, 2015). These observations marked the beginning of the evolution of planning thought (starting in the 1950s); which resulted in the development of strategic planning approaches in the 1990s (UN-Habitat, 2009a; Kasala, 2015). The result was a strategic planning approach: urban design, an approach determined by postmodernist and neo-liberal ideologies which make private property a phenomenon of contemporary urban development.

2.5.2 Urban design and new urbanism: A co-production

Urban design and new urbanism are ideologically related and intertwined (Farr, 2008; Hirt, 2009; Carmona, 2014). Urban design involves the social production of space in its material and symbolic dimensions (Cuthbert, 2007). Urban design also shapes parts of settlements and provides for relationships between multiple built forms, building typologies, public space, streets and other kinds of infrastructure as well as their locations (Childs, 2010). Both definitions contain elements of production of space and the spatial organisation of the elements within that space. Urban design further provides the basis for new urbanism which aims at producing orderly, compact and physically beautiful neighbourhoods (Grant, 2006). Urban design as an approach to urban planning emerged in England in the nineteenth century, from the efforts to respond to critical development challenges which were the result of the Industrial Revolution (Cuthbert, 2007; Halla, 2007). Urban design began as an academic discipline following the establishment of a foundational course on civic design at Liverpool University in 1909 (Cuthbert, 2007). Urban design was later adopted by other European countries and transferred to African countries during colonialism (Njoh, 2007). In sub-Saharan Africa, urban design was adopted together with the British Urban and Regional Planning Act of 1947. Ideology and rationalities made urban design to be an exercise in physical planning and design.

As a planning activity, urban design has always been concerned with the creation of a liveable urban form, through concepts and ideas borrowed from architecture and civil engineering (Keeble, 1964; Taylor, 1998; Halla, 2007). As a result, urban design is sometimes referred to as “architecture on a large scale” (Taylor, 1998: 8). The infiltration of architectural ideas into the field of physical development planning is the result of the previous dominance of planning

by architects and engineers (Healey, 2006). Thus, urban design is regarded as extending architectural principles from a single building to the surrounding environment, street layout and aesthetic. Similarly, town planning was conceived as a physical planning exercise which put urban design and aesthetic considerations at the centre of the planning process. The approach was considered more appropriate for local area planning and it is criticised for the uncoordinated development of urban spatial structure (Halla, 2007).

The concept of new urbanism is based on urban design principles. This makes for a theory-practice relationship, though in this case it has taken a different course. In current practice new urbanism follows urban design, which is the opposite of theory-practice relationships. Urban design is still appropriate for the preparation of urban layout plans. New urbanism has been used to guide the planning of private property development and land delivery. The use of urban design for local-level planning has been criticised for promoting uncoordinated urban spatial structure. Due to this criticism it has been argued that the retention of urban design is feasible if the design is applied as a subset of a comprehensive plan (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a; Banerjee, 2011). The making of urban design a subset of a comprehensive plan allows adherence to the principles and practice of urban planning (Keeble, 1964).

The suggested practice provides the answer to the question of whether urban design should be practised in isolation of comprehensive plans (Banerjee, 2011; Gunder, 2011). Gunder (2011) suggested a solution to the noted shortcomings. He argued that urban design is beneficial and should be retained as a subset of urban planning. To some extent this argument answers the question of whether urban design is inherently insufficient to be an urban planning approach by itself. The debate emerged from two opposing schools of thought on the relationship between urban design and urban planning. Banerjee (2011) contends that urban design is slowly slipping away from urban planning. His argument is based on the trend in which practices and outcomes were found to be serving the interests of the private sector rather than the welfare of the public. Moreover, the nature of the practice made most urban design ideas and projects exclusionary by disregarding grassroots interests and involvement. Cuthbert (2005) has argued that the characteristic of urban designers is that they are inherently uncritical of anything beyond the design values embedded urban design, and thus they have an unreflective altitude to the consequences of their practices. Nevertheless, urban design has maintained its position as a process of place shaping (Carmona, 2014). Piecemeal planning in

small towns draws insights from urban design. However, the extent to which the criticisms of urban design feature in the piecemeal planning process need to be examined.

Certainly, the suggestion that urban design should be retained as a subset of urban planning resembles the practice of the master planning approach which is implemented in a two-tier system with a comprehensive plan implemented by a series of detailed layout plans (UN-Habitat, 2014; Kasala, 2015). This means that Gunder's (2011) proposal of retaining urban design as a subset of master plans is implemented seen that urban layout plans feature urban design characteristics. Urban layout plans are prepared according to the social order and the greening open space ideas of Ebenezer Howard, as well as the modernist and functional city ideas of Charles Le Corbusier (Childs, 2010). However, private sector interests and their inclination towards urban design projects must be examined to understand their conformity to the principles of urban planning. Certainly, the issues of master plans and urban designs can be resolved by adopting strategic urban development planning. Strategic urban planning has the potential to create collaborative platforms for addressing contemporary urbanisation problems in developing countries.

2.5.3 Strategic urban planning as a postmodernist collaborative rationality

Postmodernist collaborative rationality acknowledges planning as a tool for producing urban outcomes. In the planning process all actors are given an equal opportunity to pursue their agendas (Dear, 2000). The ideas behind strategic urban development planning came as a response to the weaknesses observed in the earlier modernist approaches to urban planning, including urban design and master planning. This ideological shift is considered to have deconstructed the old rational approaches in favour of participatory planning (Dear, 2000). The development of strategic urban planning mirrors the evolution of planning thoughts of the 1950s (Healey, 2006; Kasala, 2015). Strategic urban planning is an outcome of the evolution of planning thoughts and subsequently communicative planning and collaborative planning (Habermas, 1987; Healey, 1992, 2006; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000). Communicative planning theory is based on the understanding that planning is a social process influenced by the participants. Thus, it focuses on people and the facilitation of communication, dialogue and discussion among interested parties. The collaborative planning process provides interested parties with a platform for constructing their shared future (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; Healey, 2006).

Communicative planning theory became a dominant planning theory in the 1990s and resulted in the development of the strategic urban planning approach. The central theoretical and practical ideas of strategic planning are stakeholder participation and anticipated responsiveness to the challenges of sustainable development (Todes et al., 2010; Kasala, 2015). Apart from this, strategic planning takes physical, social and economic aspects of urban development on board and is thus considered robust (Taylor, 1998). Strategic urban planning is seen as "a framework for planning and not a plan", because of its inherent diversity of actors and the issues considered (Halla, 2007: 131).

The need for participatory planning is supported by the concern about the cognitive capacities of town planners to understand the details of all development aspects of a city (Hills & Schleicher, 2015). As a form of participatory planning, strategic planning was adopted and dominated urban planning, particularly after the Rio Conference in 1992. The spread of strategic urban planning to developing countries followed cerain recommendations by the Rio Conference and the subsequent influence of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS). Strategic urban planning was adopted in an attempt to reinvigorate urban planning. It was noted that urbanisation issues were beyond the competence of the conventional master planning approaches. The main challenge was to build stakeholder capacities to effectively plan and manage the urban environment (UNCHS, 1994; UN-Habitat, 2009a; Kasala, 2013). There is a real need to understand whether the noted inability of master plans has changed and to clarify why it is still considered appropriate for guiding urban development. Apart from stakeholder involvement in urban planning, the approach has also promoted private sector involvement in the delivery of some strategic urban services (Dear, 2000; Kasala, 2015). Planning privatisation has changed the process through which urban planning services are delivered, for it included among other things, it includes the packaging and marketing of planning services (Dear, 2000). As a result, the commodification of urban planning services has become a reality of contemporary planning practices.

Inspired by the UNCHS recommendations, the strategic urban planning approach has been adopted in several countries. In Tanzania it was used to prepare the Kahama strategic urban development framework (Halla, 2002) and the strategic urban development plan for Dar es Salaam (Kasala, 2013, 2015; Namangaya, 2013). It has also been used in South Africa, to prepare the spatial development plan for Ekurhuleni (Todes et al., 2010). Since strategic urban

planning is entrenched in postmodernist and neo-liberal rationalities, it is difficult to disassociate it from neo-liberal capitalist interests. Baeten (2018) argues that the democratisation of planning and stakeholder involvement is used as tools for rationalising neo-liberal policies.

Strategic urban planning has been criticised for its failure to transform strategies into land use plans. Also, strategic plans take very long to prepare while they continue to consume resources where stakeholders' capacity to implement the proposals is lacking (Kasala, 2015:4). These limitations of strategic planning have led to the production of a hybridised planning model. In South Africa and Tanzania for example, they have prepared general planning plans based on the hybridisation of elements of master plans and strategic planning (Todes et al., 2010; Kasala, 2015). Hybridisation involves preparing urban master plans by following a strategic planning process involving stakeholders. Apart from the dominant planning approaches discussed earlier, the emerging piecemeal planning practice is also added. This planning practice has emerged as a new postmodernist planning practice in Tanzanian small towns. It is discussed below with regard to its ideological and theoretical underpinnings, as well as its implications for sustainable urban development.

2.5.4 Piecemeal planning as a contemporary postmodernist urban planning practice

The term piecemeal planning is used in the literature to mean an ad hoc, step-by-step planning process which lacks a holistic view and which eventually results in disjointed incrementalism (Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). In this study the term piecemeal planning is used to mean the urban planning practice of preparing layout plans in the absence of a comprehensive plan[7] that guides the social, economic, environmental and land-use development of an entire city. The piecemeal planning practice is not well documented in any authoritative literature on Southern urbanism. Because piecemeal planning is the focus of this study, its emergence and application, not only in spatial planning but also in other disciplines and professions, are explored below.

[7] Comprehensive planning is used here to mean a planning practice that considers social, economic, political, spatial and environmental aspects of human life. The process tries to understand the past and existing development challenges and to formulate a holistic strategy for promoting socio-economic development in urban areas.

2.5.4.1 The adoption of piecemeal planning policies and practices

As a planning policy and practice, piecemeal planning has been used by various disciplines and professions including spatial planning (Goodchild, 1990; Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014), economics (Blackorby et al., 1991; Witt, 2003; Kocherlakota, 2010), information system planning (Lederer & Salmela, 1996; Peffers et al., 2003; Gauld, 2007) as well as environmental planning (Briassoulis, 1989; Berke & Conroy, 2000; Jabareen, 2013). These various piecemeal policies and practices are helpful in getting a penetrating understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of planning and how it is a relevant urban planning policy for small towns.

Piecemeal planning practices have been used in spatial decision making in urban planning since the early modern times (Goodchild, 1990). Piecemeal practices for urban planning and development have been adopted and practised in various forms the world over in both developed and developing countries. Piecemeal land control was adopted to control land use in the USA following the enactment of the small-scale rezoning ordinance in the 1960s (Rose, 1983). This act allowed for the making of piecemeal changes in local land-use regulations, eventually making small land-use adjustments an everyday practice of local land regulations. The adoption of piecemeal land control in the USA was determined by the need to promote individual property development (Rose, 1983).

In sub-Saharan Africa piecemeal planning and development practices have been observed in Zimbabwe and Nigeria (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). Their adoption was mainly caused by the lack of institutional planning capacities of the local planning authorities. Again, town planners adopted piecemeal planning in Plumtree as a strategy for coping with institutional forces which focused on increasing revenue at the expense of proper planning practices. Whereas piecemeal practices have been legalised in the USA the practices are contrary to the planning policies of many countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). Despite the differences in the legality of piecemeal planning practices observed in developed and developing countries, the practices have been regarded as unsustainable due to their short-term focus (Faludi, 1973; Veryard, 1985; Blackorby et al., 1991). In the USA, for example, piecemeal and small-scale rezoning was criticised due to the difficulties involved in controlling them (Rose, 1983). Likewise, in sub-Saharan Africa the practices have been found to promote urban sprawl, unfriendly environmental practices, incompatible land-uses and uncoordinated spatial development (Chigara et al., 2013; Sawyer, 2014). Therefore, piecemeal urban planning

practices can have negative social, economic, political and spatial effects. But, the socio-economic implications of piecemeal planning in spatial planning tend to take a long time to be become apparent, whereas it takes only a short time for the spatial implication to be felt by the inhabitants of an urban area. The observed weaknesses of piecemeal practices in spatial planning emanate from either lack of being comprehensive in nature.

Piecemeal planning practices have also been used in economic policy planning for both macroeconomic and microeconomic situations (Blackorby et al., 1991; Witt, 2003; Kocherlakota, 2010). Piecemeal policy making in economics is regarded as an adaptive policy-making process (Witt, 2003). The adoption of piecemeal policy results from some strategic mechanisms designed which are used to cope with the limitation of policy making, including computational limitations (Kocherlakota, 2010). As a result, some cases of economic modelling were done on specific variables. The piecemeal approach to economic modelling is also considered to be inappropriate for eliminating distortions in the economy (Blackorby et al., 1991). Certainly, the economic implications of piecemeal policy and planning practices can only be understood if the approach is used to understand multiple variables. When used for multiple aspects the piecemeal approach tends to eliminate some aspects, thus distorting them.

Blackorby et al. (1991) have argued that unless piecemeal policy satisfies certain conditions, it cannot be used to provide optimum economic solutions. For example, the use of the piecemeal approach to understand multiple-consumer preferences rendered some variables out of control making it suitable for understanding single-consumer preference (Blackorby et al., 1991). Thus, piecemeal policy can provide optimal results if used to analyse a single variable. Drawing on this economic principle, it is necessary to understand the extent to which piecemeal planning has optimised socio-economic development in small towns. As an adaptive planning policy, piecemeal planning needs to be assessed in relation to the extent to which it ignores some development aspects. Witt (2003) and Kocherlakota (2010) found that piecemeal planning ignores some economic variables which may result in computational limitations. Indeed, this renders piecemeal policy inappropriate for providing a broad-based and comprehensive understanding of economic conditions. A better understanding of the validity of piecemeal planning can be established by reviewing other fields like information systems. The next subsection looks at piecemeal planning in information systems and the considers merits and demerits of piecemeal planning.

2.5.4.2 Piecemeal planning and decision-making for information system

As a decision-making method, the piecemeal planning approach has also been used for information system planning (Peffers et al., 2003; Gauld, 2007). Piecemeal planning practices have been used to create information systems based on specific attributes, variables or institutions. Although technology allows for the aggregation of information systems developed in a piecemeal manner into one system, many of the piecemeal-planned information systems have failed particularly those in the public sector (Gauld, 2007). The use of the piecemeal planning approach to develop information systems in the public sector is attributed to financing limitations. The piecemeal planning approach to information systems building usually fails to account for the social, economic, organisational and political aspects around which a given information system is developed (Gauld, 2007). Lederer & Salmela (1996) have noted that in a situation of shifting priorities piecemeal planning may constrain the development of large-scale information systems and thus become inappropriate for building large-scale information systems. Instead, a comprehensive approach has been advocated because of its ability to produce a meaningful plan (Lederer & Salmela, 1996; Peffers et al., 2003). In the absence of a comprehensive vision, piecemeal-created information systems are equated with disjointed incrementalism because of inability to account for many variables, attributes or even institutions. Regarding spatial planning practices, it is important to review the way piecemeal planning works in environmental planning.

2.5.4.3 Piecemeal environmental planning

Environmental planning can be accomplished in a comprehensive or piecemeal manner (Briassoulis, 1989; Berke & Conroy, 2000; Jabareen, 2013). This subsection briefly compares the suitability of piecemeal and comprehensive planning approaches for environmental management. Notwithstanding the similarities between environmental planning and spatial planning, the consideration of environmental planning options provides another lens through which the suitability of a planning approach can be viewed. It enriches our understanding of the required conditions suitable for adopting the piecemeal planning approach. In the search for solutions to environmental problems, piecemeal planning approaches have been adopted, particularly for crisis management (Briassoulis, 1989). In such cases, piecemeal planning is done in a disjointed and uncoordinated fashion which concentrates on the crisis area, while at the same time ignoring other related areas (Jabareen, 2013). Thus, the tendency of ignoring

other related areas renders the piecemeal planning approach inappropriate for conducting an exhaustive analysis of the landscape.

2.5.4.4 Summary of the merit and demerit of piecemeal planning approaches

The piecemeal policy and planning approach has been shown to be inappropriate for providing the bigger picture of long-term planning. The weaknesses manifest themselves in the tendency of the approach to ignore variables and aspects essential to sustainable development. However, piecemeal plans have been found to advance some sustainability principles. Berke & Conroy (2000) have reported that piecemeal plans conform with some sustainability principles. They analysed the extent to which a piecemeal approach achieved harmony with nature, a liveable built environment, a place-based economy, equity, a polluter pays policy and responsible regionalism (Berke & Conroy, 2000). Piecemeal plans complied with two of these six sustainability principles, namely achieving equity and creating a liveable built environment. These principles are vital for promoting housing equity, housing affordability and neighbourhood revitalisation (Berke & Conroy, 2000). There is a need to examine piecemeal planning practices in small towns so as to assess their potential to promote sustainability.

Regarding the many problems facing the planning of small towns in developing countries, the enhanced sustainability inherent to piecemeal planning can provide a solution to them. Research-based evidence of the rationality of the practice is vital to explore the piecemeal planning practices of street-level bureaucrats in small towns, which will contribute to this end by broadening the scope for comparative urban analysis (Robinson, 2014a,b). Comparative urban studies also increase the awareness on the nature of small-town urbanisation in the global South. An understanding of the theoretical basis of piecemeal planning can help to enhance its sustainability outcomes and promote its adoption for planning small towns. It is important to start by examining the theoretical underpinnings of piecemeal urban planning practices.

2.5.4.5 Theoretical basis for piecemeal policies and practices

Piecemeal planning resonates with postmodern ideologies. As a method, the piecemeal approach represents a “revolt against the too-rigid conventions of existing methods and practices” (Dear, 2000: 36). Piecemeal planning practices act against the marginalisation of the independence of non-conforming urban design and new urbanism practices. As a result, piecemeal planning draws on the idea of urban design and new urbanism. Similarly, the

preparation of layout plans in piecemeal planning practices uses urban design principles drawn from architecture and civil engineering. However, while piecemeal planning practices are contrary to the urban planning policies of the countries which have adopted the master planning approach, layout plans are acceptable if they are prepared as subsets of a master plan (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a; Gunder, 2011). In fact, master planning reduces urban design from being a planning practice of its own. Piecemeal planning is discouraged from being used independently because it can result in uncoordinated urban spatial structures (Halla, 2007; Chigara et al., 2013).

Spatial organisation is determined by the set socio-economic objectives which are considered and observed during the planning process (Johnson, 1970). Whether perceived from location, distribution of activities or transportation and commuting perspectives, the spatial structure of urban areas has both social and economic implications. Urban spatial structure planning aims to enhance the relationship between various land uses and centres in a town by balancing economic, social and physical planning needs (Keeble, 1964). As argued by Taylor (1998) and Njoh (1999), the socio-economic life of a town is affected by spatial structure and layout. Urban spatial structure is a dynamic aspect which changes with demography, densities (concentration of services, activities) and infrastructure development (Clarke, 1992). Drawing from systems theory a need arises to understand the urban spatial structure which results from piecemeal planning as well as the interconnection of parts in the urban system. The location of and access to basic social services, land-use compatibility and the interconnection of linear infrastructure networks are all worth in investigating.

Apart from relying on postmodernist rationalities, piecemeal planning practices also draw insights from neoliberal and collaborative rationalities. The involvement of stakeholders in a postmodernist and neoliberal planning practices has created planning encounters with the complex politics of decision-making (Dear, 2000; Roo, 2010). Such encounters of professional town planners quite likely raise their consciousness of the contextual realities in which they perform their activities, thereby inspiring them to adopt more realistic and practical approaches to urban planning. These planning encounters relate to political, socio-cultural and economic factors (Dear, 2000). Some of the planning encounters of planners in the global South are with local politics (Pacione, 2009; Birkland, 2015), financial and professional capacities (UN-Habitat, 2009a; United Cities and Local Governments, 2010) and land administration

challenges (African Planning Association & UN-Habitat, 2013; Anaafo & Inkoom, 2016). Others are the rapid population growth and proliferation of informal settlements (Fernandes, 2011; Braathen et al., 2016; UN-Habitat, 2016) and the privatisation and commodification of urban planning services (African Planning Association & UN-Habitat, 2013; Kasala & Burra, 2016). In this neo-liberal and postmodernist era, these encounters can be explained by what Dear (2000) regards as a revolt against rigid methods and practices. This argument coincides with criticism of master plans for their rigidity they draw from modernist scientific rationality.

It is important to remember that urban planning approaches are not static they evolve with changes in the socio-economic dynamics of society. However, this discussion has raised important an issue which is worth exploring. The shift from master planning to strategic planning was necessitated by the observation that urbanisation problems could not be addressed using the master planning approach (Kasala, 2015). This means that scientific rationalities were not supposed to be the only ideology guiding planning practices. Notwithstanding this assertion, after more than two decades the master planning approach is still the dominant approach, especially in developing countries (Hameed & Nadeem, 2008; Qian & Wong, 2012; Kasala, 2015). Having discussed the relationships between the dominant ideologies and rationalities, and their associated planning practices, it is vital to examine the ideologies and rationalities that determine piecemeal planning practices. The essence of these ideologies and rationalities can best be elicited from the conscious minds of street-level bureaucrats themselves. It is imperative to understand the factors which influence the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats. Certainly, the entry point in assessing practices at subnational levels is street-level bureaucracy theory. This theory provides possible explanations of the realities and the practices invented to cope with them. Street-level bureaucracy theory is relevant to a discussion of the adoption of piecemeal planning in Tanzanian small towns. It is equally important to find out whether master plans are still regarded as appropriate tools for planning the urban development of small towns in Tanzania.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the relationships between urban planning ideologies, rationality, beliefs and practices. These relationships are evident in the existing linkages between ideological rationalities and their effects on planning theories and practices. Theories form the broad-based contexts within which the choice of planning approaches and governance

strategies can be appreciated. They highlight the assumptions and dimensions which have a part in the adoption of urban planning approaches and practices. Also, the shift from modernism to postmodernism entailed abandoning state-controlled comprehensive planning in favour of stakeholder involvement in planning process. Postmodernism also possesses the element of flexibility in planning and piecemeal decision making, and it is recognised for its consideration of the social realities existing in the planning context. Thus, it is crucial to assess the realities in which planners do their job and the way these influenced the adoption of piecemeal planning in small towns.

The shift from liberal to neo-liberal planning had significant implications for urban planning practices in terms of moving from state planning to market-based planning strategies and stakeholder involvement. Neoliberal planning introduced an element of competition into the delivery of urban services and the ideological shifts in introduced certain changes in planning practices. Eventually, changed urban planning approaches the roles of urban planning professionals changed. The change from comprehensive rational and state-controlled planning to participatory and market-based planning necessitated changes in the role of planning professionals from being rational decision makers to being coordinators of stakeholders' choices. Consequently, it is important to explore how professional planners learn by doing and how their practical knowledge has an effect on the adoption of piecemeal planning.

The dominant ideological rationalities have contributed to the evolution of planning theories and practices, namely collaborative planning, new urbanism and systems theory. Also, governmentality, decentralisation, entrepreneurial and democratisation ideas have informed urban governance. A noteworthy finding, however, is that these ideological rationalities and their associated theories and practices cannot be applied without considering context. Their application in some contexts in constrains the planning process, which has resulted in the invention of practices that suit context-specific conditions. Clearly, the adoption of piecemeal planning practices in Tanzanian small towns will be subjected to the influences of global ideologies and rationalities.

It is also clear that, the ideologies and rationalities which probably inform the adoption of piecemeal planning are relatively unknown. Piecemeal planning has been found to satisfy some sustainability principles which can be enhanced for adoption in small towns. The extent to

which the sustainability of piecemeal planning can be enhanced is not known either. In order to fill these knowledge gaps, the perceptions and experiences of town planners in the planning process must be explored. It is encouraging to know that street-level bureaucracy theory provides partial explanations of town planners' encounters with local conditions and their responses to the realities of small towns. The next chapter engages with street-level bureaucracy theory to discuss how theoretical propositions inform bureaucrats' encounters with local working conditions, their exercise of discretion and the potential impacts of their discretionary decisions.

CHAPTER 3
POLICY PROCESS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The foregoing discussions of the ideologies, theories and planning practices highlighted their interrelationships and the complexities they create. The complexities are multifaceted and can be revealed by studying the experiences of planning actors in local governments which are crucial for assessing piecemeal planning practices in small towns. Street-level bureaucracy theory provides an ideal framework for studying the adoption of piecemeal planning by town planners at subnational levels. This chapter explores the assumptions of street-level bureaucracy theory in relation to piecemeal planning practices in small towns. The discussion draws on the encounter of town planners and their exercise of discretion in the urban planning policy process. The foundational underpinnings and the relationships between subsidiarity, decentralisation and street-level bureaucracies are also examined. Lastly, the chapter discusses planning systems and accountability controversies, realities which influence the decisions and practices of street-level bureaucrats.

3.2 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework used to analyse the policy process is derived from street-level bureaucracy theory. The theory was propounded in 1969 by Michael Lipsky, professor of political science and public administration at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). It explains the dilemmas of front-office workers which result from work pressure and their subsequent influences on policy implementation. Lipsky used the term ‘street-level bureaucrats’ to mean public service workers who interact directly with citizens during the performance of their jobs and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work. He used the term ‘street-level bureaucracies’ to mean public service agencies that employ a significant proportion of street-level bureaucrats in their workforce (Lipsky, 2010). Fortunately, the theory’s propositions accord with the nature of service delivery by local governments in Tanzania. Local governments in Tanzania are vested with the responsibility of implementing public policies and delivering services, including urban planning. To perform their responsibilities, local governments employ a considerable number of public servants, including town planners.

According to Lipsky (1980) the roles played by street-level bureaucrats place them at the centre of the public policy process. He further asserts that:

> The decisions of the street-level bureaucrats and the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressure, effectively become the public policies they carry out (Lipsky, 2010: xiii).

The theory builds on Max Weber's earlier work on bureaucracies[8] (Parsons, 1947; Jain, 2004). In his works, Weber was interested in elaborating on organisational structures and on their source of legitimacy. He further posited that bureaucratic actions were aimed at solving societal problems and improving efficiency. Based on these organisational structures, bureaucrats are said to learn how to optimally perform their duties (Jain, 2004). In this regard, Lipsky provided a new direction in public administration based on Weber's conceptualisations. In this new direction, Lipsky's account encompasses elements of public policy and political science (Hudson, 1997; Brodkin, 2012), thereby providing the basis for assessing the influence of politics in the production of institutions and how institutional characteristics facilitate policy implementation.

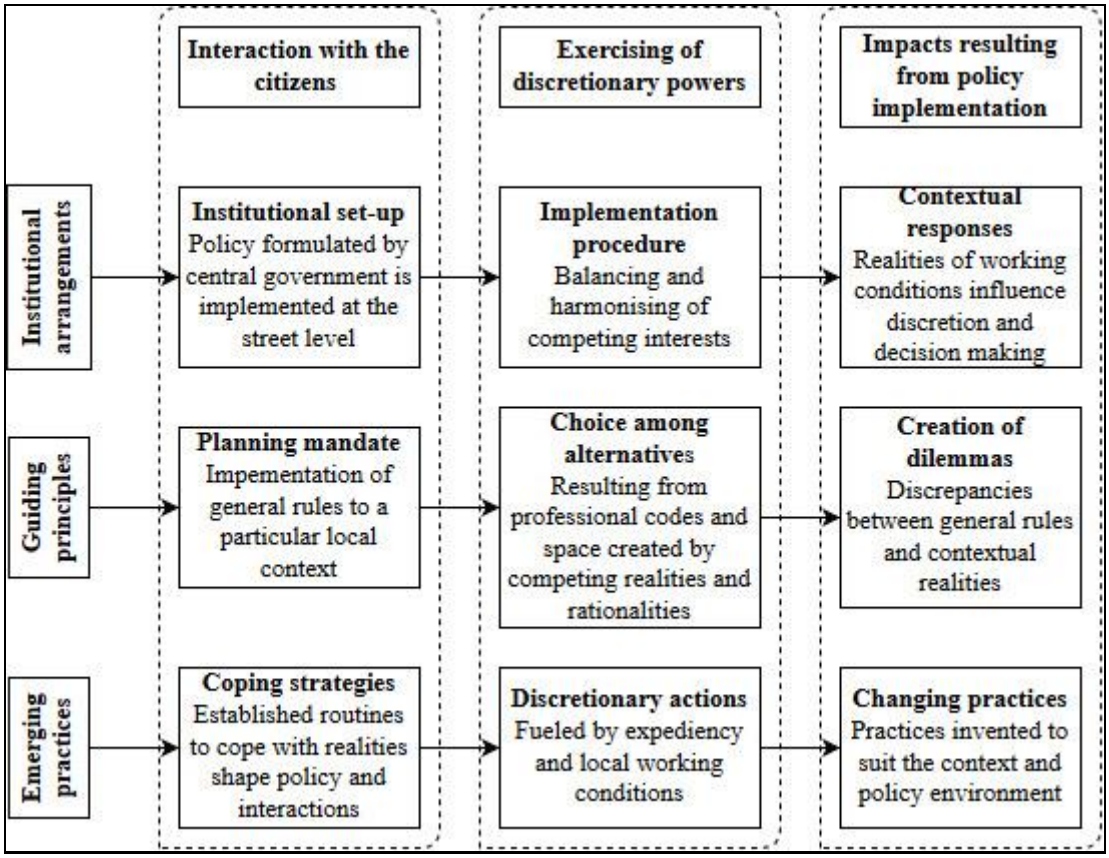
The conceptualisation of street-level bureaucracy theory is situated in the domain of critical public administration theories which involve studying social institutions and their spatio-temporal transformation (Marrow & Brown, 1994). The term 'critical' emanates from evaluative efforts to understand the realities that led to the formation of modern, liberal and democratic societies (Marrow & Brown, 1994; Marcuse, 2009; Mwathunga, 2014). The term involves questioning and attempting to understand social phenomena rather than accepting them as they are. Marcuse (2009) has asserted that being critical does not only mean providing negative criticism but also exposing the positives and possibilities of change.

Since this study is based on urban governance, an understanding of the word urban is crucial. The word urban refers to areas surrounding cities and towns which have attained a certain

[8] Max Weber (1864-1920) a German sociologist, and one of the famed scholars of his time, fashioned the understanding of bureaucracy as an organisational form. Weber associated bureaucracies in their new organisational forms with the rationality, logic and reasoning derived from their leaders (Jain, 2004). Consequently, Weber identified hierarchical structure, division of labour and observing rules in decision making as the main features of organisations.

population threshold and the majority of inhabitants engage in secondary economic activities (Pacione, 2009; Weinstock, 2014; King, 2014). In the Tanzanian context the word urban has the same meaning as the one seen above, except that the classification of urban areas is different. According to the Tanzanian classification of human settlements, many small towns are classified as rural towns depending on their population sizes and the structure of the local government in which they are found (United Republic of Tanzania, 1982a, 2013a). It is very important to understand the dynamics of urban planning and development, given the world's urban population growth rate (UN-Habitat, 2013; United Nations, 2015b). Particularly, rapid urbanisation rates are being recorded in small and intermediate-sized urban centres (Nel et al., 2011). Unless appropriate planning efforts are made, the projected urbanisation rates presage tragic conditions in urban settlements.

The critical analysis of street-level bureaucrats and the adoption of piecemeal planning practices can be done by examining local realities and bureaucrats' responses to planning practices. The conceptual framework makes a matrix of the theoretical assumptions against institutional structure to explain policy processes, challenges and potential outcomes. Policy outcomes result from the dilemmas at the interface of institutional procedures and the perceived realities of street-level bureaucracies. To be able to cope with uncertainties, street-level bureaucrats invent new routines for strategically manoeuvring while working under pressure. In this process street-level bureaucrats make policies which are experienced by citizens. These coping strategies sometimes modify the scope of their bureaucrats' authority by introducing practices that contravene policy and institutional norms (Lipsky, 1980, 2010). Street-level bureaucrats work in public agencies with hierarchical structures, division of labour and accountability procedures. The theoretical framework for this study is suitable if derived from subsidiarity and decentralisation discourses. This discussion integrates assumptions taken from street-level bureaucracy theory, the principle of subsidiarity and the concept of decentralisation to explain planning institutional set-ups and their effects on the exercise of discretionary powers. Figure 3.1 presents the conceptual framework.



Source: Modified from Namangaya[9] (2011: 47)

Figure 3.1: Conceptual framework for analysing the policy process

The conceptual framework is derived from the analysis of theories, institutional arrangements and practices. The propositions of street-level bureaucracy theory constitute the main pillars of the framework. They are then intersected in matrix format with the propositions of the principle of subsidiarity, the concept of decentralisation and the current planning system. The intersections of the propositions also result in the conceptual underpinnings of the policy process (Lipsky, 2010; Birkland, 2015). The conceptual intersections operate at three levels. The first level involves the intersection of the interaction between citizens and institutional arrangements, guiding principles and emerging practices. Being the first pillar of the framework, the interaction with citizens explains the institutional set-up whereby the policies formulated by central governments are implemented locally.

[9] Namangaya used the framework to explain the origin and management options of natural resource use conflicts. The framework is modified and adapted for this study in order to explain the origin of street-level bureaucrats' dilemmas in the policy process and the subsequent urban planning practices.

The second pillar which is the intersection between exercise of discretionary powers, is intersected with the choice of institutional arrangements, guiding principles and emerging practices. This second level results in the implementation procedures aimed at balancing competing interests. Professional codes and the space created by the realities and rationalities influence the choices from among the alternatives. The emergence of discretionary actions also influences these alternatives practices. The third pillar and level of the framework are formed at the intersection of the impacts resulting from policy implementation, institutional arrangements, guiding principles and emerging practices. The intersections at the third level result in contextual responses emanating from the working conditions and discretionary responses of street-level bureaucrats. Discrepancies in the general rules and local conditions cause dilemmas, whereas practices invented to cope with dilemmas lead the new planning practices experienced by the public. These relationships between theory propositions comprise the conceptual pillars of the framework on which the subsequent sections elaborate.

3.3 STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRACY THEORY

Street-level bureaucracy theory provided the pillar for the conceptual framework of this research. This section discusses theoretical assumptions about the role of town planners. Street-level bureaucracy theory is concerned with public agencies and the workers in agencies (Lipsky, 1980). In this study the agencies are referred to as street-level bureaucracies and workers as street-level bureaucrats. The theory was developed in the North American context when the USA was adjusting to civil rights and movements which advocated social and political rights. The fiscal crisis which existed after the Second World War added to the context. All these factors created uncertainties and placed work pressures on the lower-level public workers (Lipsky, 2010). Street-level bureaucracy theory first appeared in the academic realm in 1969 when a paper titled “Towards the theory of street-level bureaucracy”, was presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York (Lipsky, 1969; Hudson, 1997). The theory first appeared in published form in 1980 in the book *Dilemmas of individuals in the public service* (Lipsky, 1980). Since then street-level bureaucracy theory has attracted the attention of many scholars and has been published in organisational research which constantly features in the articles in the journal *Public Administration Review* (Kosar, 2011; Brodkin 2012). Street-level bureaucracy theory has been adapted for use in other fields of study and disciplines including urban geography and to a lesser extent (Campbell & Marshall, 1998; Proudfoot & McCann, 2008).

According to Lipsky (1980), the theory is based on three main assumptions: first, street-level bureaucrats directly interact with the public during the delivery of public services; second, street-level bureaucrats have substantial discretion in the execution of their work; and third, the way street-level bureaucrats deliver services have certain repercussions on urban planning. Indeed, the actions of street-level bureaucrats constitute the services delivered to the public. The decisions of street-level bureaucrats add up to and sensitively shape public policies because citizens meet the government through them. (Lipsky, 2010) regards street-level bureaucrats as policy makers. Street-level bureaucrats make policies through the routines they invent so as to cope with the uncertainties of their working environment (Lipsky, 2010). Street-level bureaucrats invest in routines as strategies for coping with uncertainties and dilemmas. The dilemmas that influence street-level bureaucrats' behaviour are related to internal and external factors. Table 3.1 shows the factors which influence street-level bureaucrats.

Table 3.1: Typology of factors which influence bureaucratic discretion

Internal factors	**External factors**
Availability of appropriate skills and experiences	Relationship with clients
Shortage of resources for planning	Multiple interests from various clients
Institutional goals and performance measures	Influence of the private sector and the challenges associated with Public-Private-Partnership arrangements
Local politics creates competition between professional and political judgements	Increasing demand for services
Sense of dissatisfaction with working conditions	Conflicting rationalities among actors
Conflict of interests created by council revenue targets and planning principles	

Source: Summarised from Lipsky (1980) and Campbell and Marshall (1998)

The internal and external factors that trigger street-level bureaucrats dictionary actions depend on context, the factors act in isolation or in a combination according to their interplays. Internal factors result from institutional characteristics while external factors stem from forces outside the organisation. Street-level bureaucracies are constantly under the pressure of the availability or not of enough skilled and experienced personnel, the level of staffing often affecting the quality of the services they deliver. The shortage of the resources necessary for delivering services as per institutional goals and targets intensifies these dilemmas. Regardless of the situation, street-level bureaucrats are subjected to performance measures based on the targets set by their organisations. Local politics intensify tensions between professional and political

judgements. Street-level bureaucrats are also subjected to conflicts of interest, especially when they are expected to balance institutional goals with planning standards. Often, by sticking to professional principles street-level bureaucrats miss institutional targets. The situations which cause dilemmas also cause dissatisfaction with working conditions.

Street-level bureaucrats also encounter forces from outside their organisations; for example, by maintaining relationships with clients they may compromise their adherence to professional codes and standards. They are also expected to balance the various interests of multiple stakeholders. This can cause commercial interests under the public-private partnership (PPP) arrangements to override professional standards. The PPP arrangement is a strategy for improving public institutions' capacity to cope with increasing demands from clients (Campbell & Marshall, 1998). PPPs and other factors have a tendency to cause conflicting rationalities, particularly regarding private sector motives for profit maximisation versus professional standards (Steele, 2009). The work pressures street-level bureaucrats are subjected to eventually influence their discretion in decision-making. In their efforts to cope with these working pressures, street-level bureaucrats invent new routines which ultimately become the policies they implement.

Lipsky (2010: 3) has pointed out that "typical street-level bureaucrats are teachers, police officers and other law enforcement personnel, social workers, judges, public lawyers and other court officers, health workers and many other public employees who grant access to government programs and provide services within them." In order to provide an urban geographical context to this research, town planners were added to the list of bureaucrats. Lipsky's account includes many other public employees who provide access to government programmes and in which they provide services. By virtue of the nature of their duties and responsibilities, town planners are always at the centre of the planning and implementation of land use and spatial development policies. Town planners normally work in subnational government institutions where they are the contacts for citizens in need of planning, land use and administration services and the government (Hoch, 1994; McCledon & Catanese, 1996; Rodriguez, 1996). Town planners are professionals who are equipped with analytical tools for analysing land use and spatial development patterns. The results of their analyses provide information on which they base the decision to improve socio-economic welfare.

The impacts planners' decisions about socio-economic development have in cities cannot be overemphasised (Wood & Becker, 2005; Sairinen & Kumpulainen, 2006). Planning impacts result from the planning process and its outcomes. For example, planning decisions about waterfront regeneration in Helsinki had many benefits like shaping the image of the city, better utilisation of the waterfront, the building of more residential units close to the city centre, the opening up of the waterfront to the general public and the balancing of social and private housing provision which contributed to controlling social stratification (Sairinen & Kumpulainen, 2006). The use of piecemeal plans to guide urban development in Plumtree (Zimbabwe) small town resulted in uncoordinated urban development, urban sprawl, ill environmental conditions and land subdivision became a revenue source on which the local authority depended (Chigara et al., 2013). The decisions planners make can have positive or negative implications depending on how urban planning and spatial development policies are implemented (Yin & Yates, 1975; Watson, 2003; 2009b). The roles and decisions of town planners coincide with the assumptions of street-level bureaucracy theory which include providing public benefits and keeping public order. Depending on the nature of the realities and local circumstances, street-level bureaucrats sometimes develop coping mechanisms which involve modifying the scope of their authority to make discretionary judgements.

Yamungu (2016) has observed that town planners in developing countries adopt piecemeal planning, which is inconsistent with planning policies. Such piecemeal planning results in incompatible land uses and uncoordinated urban structures which are unsustainable (Halla, 2007; Chigara et al., 2013). In spite of the profound negative implications of piecemeal planning, its adoption by town planners in local planning authorities is attributable to many factors. These include low staffing levels, unavailability of technical skills, shortage of financial resources, local politics, complex planning procedures and institutional goals and targets (Chigara et al., 2013). Accordingly, these factors present dilemmas for town planners and piecemeal planning is a coping strategy for dealing with them. This chapter has presented a framework for analysing the applicability of street-level bureaucracy theory which is based on the behaviours of town planners and their planning practices in the global South. The assumptions and the claims of street-level bureaucracy theory are thus discussed and assessed in the relation to the behaviour and practices of town planners in global South context. The theoretical assumptions are derived from Lipsky's (1980) assertion that, in the course of

delivering public services, street-level bureaucrats interact with citizens and clients, exercise wide discretionary powers in designing and implementing public policies.

3.3.1 Interaction with citizens in the delivery of public services

Street-level bureaucrats' interaction with citizens is central to the delivery of services. Street-level bureaucrats' interaction with citizens during the implementation of public policies is explained in Lipsky's definition of street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980, 2010). This interaction is a regular occurrence because policy implementation and service delivery are social interaction processes. The term 'street' is used to imply the distance from the centre where authority presumably resides. It represents lower-level public agencies that are in close contact with citizens in the delivery of social services (Yin & Yates, 1975; Lipsky, 2010). Therefore, being the public employees working in street-level bureaucracies, street-level bureaucrats are the links between the government and citizens. Citizens always meet the government through street-level bureaucrats, thus determining the nature of their interactions (Brodkin, 2012; Rowe, 2012). This assumption reflects the existence of town planners and public interactions in the planning processes of many planning contexts (Harrison et al. 2008; Proudfoot & McCann 2008; Mwathunga 2014; Fuseini & Kemp 2015; Yamungu, 2016).

The interactions can be influenced by the nature of the local conditions in the planning context. The role of town planners and the nature of their interaction with the public can be traced to ancient times and planners have always been leading planning processes (Smith, 2007). There were of course no professional planners during ancient times as today. Kings and builders assumed the planning role (Smith, 2007). Despite the absence of professional planning skills, the process always involved making decisions on land use. Those decisions involved interaction between stakeholders (Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017). Technology has provided new ways of interacting and of public participation in the planning process (Hanzl, 2007). These interactions lead to the making of decisions on land use. Street-level bureaucracy theory conceives interactions based on the work of the police, teachers, judges, health workers and social workers. These interactions are different to those town planners have with the public (Campbell, 2006; Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017).

The interactions mentioned in the theory relate to the delivery of social services, whereas planners are involved in development planning. To some degree planning affects the delivery

of social services. In the planning process town planners interact with citizens, developers and landowners in order to make informed decisions. Similarly, urban development stakeholders interact with the government through town planners (Ryser & Franchini, 2015). The interaction of town planners with citizens has been intensified in the decentralised urban governance and collaborative planning approaches (Healey, 1992; Ribot, 2002). For example, citizens and developers normally consult with town planners in their respective local authorities to discuss planning consents, land-use disputes and development control services. Even where some of the services can be delivered by private consulting planners, development consent must be obtained from the planners in the local authority. In collaborative planning, planners and stakeholders debate urban development proposals. Public hearings and stakeholder consultations provide the platforms for citizens to offer opinions and scrutinise planning proposals. In these contacts town planners assume a coordinating role by ensuring that all stakeholder opinions are considered in a manner that safeguards public interests, while at the same time ensuring adherence to public policies, regulations and planning standards.

The adoption of neoliberal policies and the change from government to governance have significantly changed the role of street-level bureaucrats and their interactions with stakeholders (Durose, 2011; Ryser & Franchini, 2015). The introduction of contracting, outsourcing and the involvement of non-state actors in the delivery of public services are key to governance and market economies (Miraftab, 2004a; Baeten, 2018). Nevertheless, whether the service is delivered by the private sector or by state agencies, town planners in the local authority have always had a role to play.

Certainly, Lipsky's (1980) account on the interaction in question might have been influenced by the context of the period in which street-level bureaucracy theory was developed. However, in other contexts socio-economic struggles have shaped public policies and the interactions with bureaucrats. Lipsky (2010) has conceded that street-level bureaucracy theory was developed in a context and time marked by struggles for social equality which inevitably influenced the nature of the interactions. Consequently, equal access to social services by all races is reflected in the conceptualisation of the interactions. In the planning process, interaction is guided by the planning approaches which might be participatory or technocratic. The planning approach determines the level and extent of interaction between town planners and citizens. Sometimes stakeholder influences are part of the external pressure that plays on

town planners' decisions. Sometimes pressures cause town planners to use their discretion to the extent of changing the scope of their authority. This shows the need to explore whether planners' exercise of their discretion is legally granted. The next section examines the exercise of discretionary powers by street-level bureaucrats as a way of coping with situations related to their interactions with other parties.

3.3.2 The exercise of discretion in decision making

It is important to clearly understand the meaning and the history of discretion in the public service. In modern times, studies on the use of discretion can be traced 1962 in a canvasing of trial judges by Justice Clark's joint committee for the effective administration of justice in the USA. Justice Clark's committee pointed out that discretion was a relevant subject for judicial seminars. Thereafter, other studies on discretion appeared, including one on discretionary justice by Kenneth Davis (Rosenberg, 1971). The term discretion is used in law to mean the exercise of power in the administration of justice. Discretion suggests that the court is not bound to decide the question a way rather than another. On the basis of this conception, discretion is defined by the idea of choice (Rosenberg, 1971; Reitz, 1998).

Discretion was adapted for use in the social sciences, including public administration. Various scholars have since published widely on the topic and applied the term in different domains (see for example (Lipsky, 1969, 1980; Hupe & Hill, 2007; Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010; Evans, 2011; Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Apart from the diversities in the conceptualisation of discretion, there is a consensus among scholars that public sanctions and service delivery are guided by rules and structures involving public agencies and their employees. Furthermore, in the delivery of services, public bureaucrats enjoy discretionary powers, the use of which determines the nature of the public services provided and the relevant sanctions. Tummers & Bekkers (2014: 529) define discretion as: "…the perceived freedom of street-level bureaucrats in making choices concerning the sort, quantity and quality of sanction and reward when implementing public policy." Discretion is also defined as "…the sphere of autonomy within which one's decisions are in some degree a matter of personal judgement and assessment." (Galligan, 1990 cited in Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010: 3).

Moreover, discretion has multiple layers, including institutional and professional discretion (Harris, 2010). Institutional discretion is the enforcement of rules and sanctions, normally done

by local planning authorities when it is considered to be expedient. Expediency has the same conceptual meaning as discretion. The difference between them is that, while expediency is influenced by political factors, discretion is influenced by professional and personal judgements. Holland (2017) considers a bureaucrat's discretion to be a subset of institutional expediency. In planning practices institutional discretion became widespread on the basis of the British planning system of 1947 which gave planning authorities the power to determine planning actions (Booth, 1999; Harris, 2010). It is nevertheless important to note that street-level bureaucratic expediency is part of an organisation's characteristics and thus to some degree influences the use of discretion by street-level bureaucrats. This highlights the relationship between and the influence of expediency on the discretionary actions of street-level bureaucrats. Discretion resides with the frontline staff of public agencies responsible for delivering public services and sanctions. Discretion is thus central to decision-making by street-level bureaucrats, thereby influencing their decisions, behaviour and practices in the delivery of public services and sanctions. Lipsky (2010) maintains that street-level bureaucrats have considerable discretionary powers to determine the nature, amount and quality of the benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies.

The definition of discretion draw attention to the relativeness of the freedom enjoyed by street-level bureaucrats. Phrases like "perceived freedom" (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014: 529) and "decisions are in some degree" (Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010: 3) strongly suggest that street-level bureaucrats do not have absolute freedom to make any decision as they wish because they work in bureaucracies that are regulated by structures and rules. Even professionals' assessments and judgements are guided by rules of practice and codes of conduct. Discretion possesses elements of power, responsibility and accountability (Rosenberg, 1971; Hupe & Hill, 2007). Where town planners are considered as street-level bureaucrats, they remain professionals whose conduct is guided by planning policies, laws, regulations and guidelines. Town planners are equipped with analytical tools which enable them to make ethical decisions, while at the same time safeguarding public interests (Hoch, 1994; Bernhardt, 1996). These tools help them to enquire into problems, design appropriate solutions and implement relevant strategies.

The delivery of public sanctions by street-level bureaucrats is always done under institutional scrutiny and performance review and thus town planners can be held responsible cases of

misconduct. Therefore, organisational characteristics can be understood by examining the behaviours of street-level bureaucrats (Blau et al. 1966; Lipsky, 2010). Although performance reviews and accountability measures are put in place by their institutions, street-level bureaucrats still enjoy discretionary powers. But, it should never be taken for granted that the work and practices of street-level bureaucrats will always conform to what is expected of them. However, the discretionary powers enjoyed by them differ from those of professionals such as town planners and non-professional workers (Evans, 2011). Professionals have more technical powers for dealing with certain situations and are expected to produce results which have professional status. Through the application of the analytical tools at their disposal and given their mandate to deliver services, professionals make human judgements based on some degree of flexibility (Adler, 1990; Lipsky, 2010). The space created by competing realities provides room for flexibility which ultimately affects their discretionary practices.

Discretion is informed by rationality (Wood & Becker, 2005) and rationalities differ from one context to another. Rationalities are defined by the human judgement of the realities and forces around which the planning professionals works. In performing their duties town planners encounter various local conditions and circumstances which they must balance, consider and manage, while at the same time ensuring that public policies and sanctions are delivered as instructed and required. Neo-liberal planning practices subject town planners to dilemmas. Steele (2009) has noted that neo-liberal planning practices have resulted in hybrid roles and professional dilemmas among town planners in Australia. For example, “a consultant may now be employed to write a local government planning scheme, assess development proposals and provide training to public sector planners, while simultaneously representing and advocating the interests of private clients” (Steele, 2009: 190). In that case, a planning professional is expected to balance his own commercial motives against those of the client.

In a study done in the United Kingdom (UK) to explore town planners’ experiences, a planner in the local government admitted to have acted contrary to professional standards in order to accommodate political pressure from councillors (Campbell & Marshall, 1998). Similarly, shortages of resources and the pressure to meet institutional revenue targets forced town planners in Zimbabwe to adopt piecemeal planning practices (Chigara et al., 2013). The two examples illustrate the diversity of the realities which affect planning practices, both in the global North and global South. Hence, town planners define rationality on the basis of

contextual realities. Depending on the relevant context and circumstances, town planners use diverse strategies to cope with uncertainties. The strategies invented by town planners sometimes involve modifying the scope of their authority and services because they enjoy a certain degree of discretion (Lipsky 2010; Tummers & Bekkers 2014). The practices attest to the exercise of discretion by town planners.

Evidently, the exercise of discretion has been central to planning practices. Discretion is said to improve the validity and meaningfulness of policies to clients and bureaucrats' willingness to implement policy (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). If discretion is limited, the probability of these happening is reduced. The exercise of discretion by street-level bureaucrats is therefore the result of a sense of authority and the obligation to help clients. The level of autonomy and the bureaucrats' perception of reality can have a great impact on the behaviour of street-level bureaucrats, thereby guiding them regarding subsequent action or inaction. Considering the complexities and the ambiguous situation created by the pressures of work, it is important for town planners to have some flexibility so as to harmonise contextual challenges, while at the same time safeguarding professional and public interests (Evans, 2011; Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). The resultant patterns of practices can either limit demand or maximise the use of resources. The level of discretion enjoyed by street-level bureaucrats is also influenced by personal accountability in the agencies. Bureaucrats are accountable to their superiors and clients (Lipsky, 2010). With regard to the present study, the accountability of town planners must not only be evaluated by looking at the relationship between that which the agency seeks and what they do, but also by looking at their responsiveness to working conditions and local realities. More light can be shed on this by considering the potential impact of policy implementation.

3.3.3 Potential impact of policy implementation

Policy implementation is a crucial step in the policy process, the latter is defined by (Birkland, 2015: 25) as: "policy process suggests that there is some sort of system that translates policy ideas into actual policies that are implemented and have positive effects." Whether the analysis procedure is based on a top-down or a bottom-up approach, policy implementation always has policy outcomes (Elmore, 1979; Sabatier, 1986). Policy can either be implemented as formulated its objectives can be harmonised by street-level bureaucrats with the existing policy environment and the concerns of the communities in order to produce outcomes relevant to

local needs (Durose, 2011). Whatever the case, policy outcome and impact will always be determined by the final policy actions that are implemented. Street-level bureaucrats cause impact through the implementation of coping strategies (Lipsky, 1980). In their quest to adapt the policy environment, street-level bureaucrats modify policies (Lipsky, 2010; Birkland, 2015). The nature and level of the impact is determined by the way public sanctions and services are delivered. Street-level bureaucrats' decisions can impact positively or negatively on planning as a profession, but more specifically on the public.

Street-level bureaucrats' decisions and practices have been shown to have various social, economic, environmental and spatial impact (Chigara et al., 2013; Yamungu, 2016). These result from the way in which public policies are implemented and sanctions are delivered. The sanctions sometimes involve modifying the scope of street-level bureaucrats' authority (Lipsky, 1980; Kosar, 2011; Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). The adopted planning actions and practices result from the strategies used to cope with realities. Sometimes these coping strategies pose certain challenges to planning theories and policies, and can cause socio-economic problems like preparation of incompatible land uses, division of physical and social equity, urban sprawl, unfriendly environmental practices and weak urban economic performance (Graham & Healey, 1999; Gallent and Kim, 2001; Grant, 2002; Chigara et al., 2013). It would be important to find out whether planners ever consider the potential impacts of their decisions when exercising discretionary powers and professional autonomy.

The most distinctive impacts of street-level bureaucrats' practices are those on those policy. Through their actions and practices, street-level bureaucrats often apply policies differently from the way agencies do. The impact is crucial to our understanding of the urban planning policy process because, they do not only show immediate actions but also determine policy outcomes. The consequences will always depend on whether policy statements have been bent or simply ignored (Durose, 2011). In this sense, street-level bureaucrats are regarded as policy makers. Policy making by street-level bureaucrats is associated with their discretionary actions which not only become the policies they implement, but are also part of the agency behaviour experienced by citizens (Lipsky, 1980, 2010; Kosar, 2011; Brodkin, 2012; Rowe, 2012). However, the policy impacts resulting from the decisions of street-level bureaucrats should not be entirely condemned; instead, they should be critically assessed to unveil the underlying factors (Yamungu, 2016). Street-level bureaucrats might be questioning the use of planning

approaches borrowed from the global North to solve contemporary urban development problems in the global South.

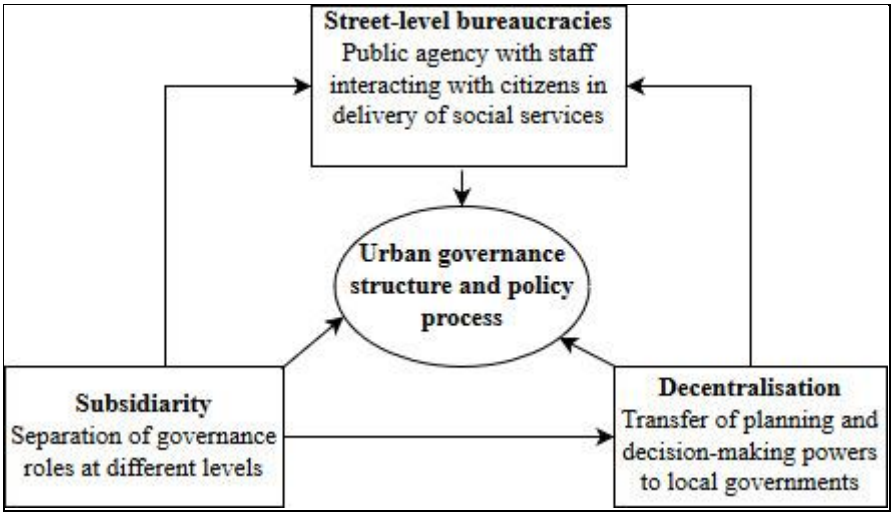
Street-level bureaucrats' practices contributes to the current Southern urbanism debates (Oldfield & Parnell 2014; Oldfield 2014) and the essence of learning from these practices (Watson 2002, 2014). The debate calls for a critical assessment of the relevance and applicability of the theories, concepts and planning approaches adopted from the global North to the contextual realities of the global South. The purpose must be to learn from town planners' experiences, practices and actions. An assessment of the outcomes and impacts of implementing urban development policies by town planners in Tanzanian small towns will contribute to the Southern urbanism debate. The impacts of policy implementation will bring out the extent to which the theories, concepts and approaches adopted from the global North provide appropriate explanations about the existing urbanisation problems in the global South (Hameed et al., 2008; Njoh 2007; Robinson 2006).

The use of discretion by town planners and the impact they have in the global South provide a starting point for responding to the call by scholars to develop appropriate theories, concepts and planning approaches relevant to the realities of the context in which they will be applied (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012; Oldfield & Parnell 2014; Roy 2014; Mabin 2014). Since planning outcomes manifest themselves in physical form (Tewdwr-Jones, 1995), the long-term impacts of planning decisions can be assessed from the resultant urban spatial structures (Booth, 1999). The impacts of planning policies take long to be seen. Urban physical form and spatial structure are long-term planning outcomes which have detrimental effects on the social, economic and environmental functioning of towns. It is important to consider the discourses on street-level bureaucracies so as to get a better understanding of their contribution to urban governance systems.

3.4. DISCOURSES ON STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRACIES

Current urban governance structures draw on two kind of intellectual discourses, namely discourse on subsidiarity and those on decentralisation. This section examines the overlap between street-level bureaucracy, subsidiarity and decentralisation discourses in relation to their contribution to the policy process. Figure 3.2 illustrates the theoretical and practical

relationships between subsidiarity, decentralisation and street-level bureaucracies and the way they have contributed to the formation of the current structure of local government.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 3.2: Discourses informing urban governance structure

The relationship between subsidiarity, decentralisation, street-level bureaucracy and their contribution to the contemporary urban governance structure and policy process is depicted in Figure 3.2. The next two sections discuss subsidiarity and decentralisation and their overlaps to the tenets of street-level bureaucracy.

3.4.1 The principle of subsidiarity

The principle of subsidiarity provides a framework for the separation of governance powers and administrative responsibilities at different levels of an organisation. It also guides policy processes from formulation to implementation (Endo, 1994; Leys, 1995). Historically, the principle of subsidiarity can be traced to the Catholic social doctrine and its use by the Roman Catholic Church to guide relationships between the central church, particular churches and individuals. It was initially formulated in *Quadragesimo anno* (1931) to provide a framework for guiding relationships between the central church and local churches (Kersbergen & Verbeek 1994; Leys 1995). The principle of subsidiarity maintains that: "tasks and responsibilities should be accomplished by the lowest and most basic elements of any social organisation, and it is an injustice to assign to a larger and higher association what the lesser and subordinate association can do" (Zahra, 2011: 535). This means that, larger and higher

ranking bodies should not perform functions which can effectively and efficiently be performed by smaller and lesser bodies (Mele, 2005; Zahra, 2011). It entails taking responsibilities closer to the people or beneficiaries by creating an institutional framework based on better attainment, effectiveness, efficiency, effect and necessity (Spicker, 1991; Endo, 1994).

The principle of subsidiarity has been adopted and used variously. The European Union, for example, has used the principle to provide a framework of relationships and responsibilities between the union and the member states (Kersbergen & Verbeek, 1994; Jordan & Jeppesen, 2000). Subsidiarity is also enshrined in the constitution of the USA, which addresses the natural right and the creation of institutions which are responsive to people's good and fulfilled lives (Calabresi & Bickford, 2014; Jackson, 2014). Subsidiarity has been universally adopted for demarcating and clarifying the relationship between central authorities and local authorities (King, 2014; Weinstock, 2014). Subsidiarity has provided the power and responsibilities that can effectively be performed by lower and smaller authorities and acknowledges the role that can be played by private sector enterprises and industry (Kersbergen & Verbeek, 1994).

Following the establishment of the British planning system, the principle of subsidiarity has also been used to inform the global urban governance system (Tewdwr-Jones, 1995, 2002; Booth, 1999). It provides a framework for use by authorities within a political order and for demarcating relationships between central and local authorities (Blau, et al. 1966; Follesdal, 2014). Urban planning is a responsibility vested in local authorities (Adler, 1990; Harris, 2010); thus, local authorities are regarded being strategically positioned to make decisions which maximise citizens' preferences when considering local conditions. The granting of responsibilities and authority to local governments can increase efficiency and responsiveness to local demands (Follesdal, 2014). It is worth examining whether street-level bureaucracies' actions increase efficiency and responsiveness to local requirements.

Local preferences and conditions are forces that influence the exercise of discretion by street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010; Kosar, 2011). The application of subsidiarity to politics means that planning decisions are assigned to the lowest planning organisation so that responsive planning practices can be developed. Furthermore, the bringing of political decisions closer to citizens at the institutional scale has always been the basis for decentralisation (King, 2014). Decentralisation is derived from the concept of subsidiarity. The ongoing efforts of devolving

planning and governance to local governments has resulted in improved policy implementation and improved delivery of social services.

3.4.2 The concept of decentralisation

Decentralisation was traditionally defined as the transfer of political authority and decision-making powers from central government to local governments (Goel et al., 2016). The change from government to governance has broadened this conceptualisation of decentralisation. It ow also includes ceding planning and decision making powers to lower-level organisations, both public and private (Goss, 2001; United Cities and Local Governments, 2009; Faguet, 2014). This new approach to decentralisation has created a network of actors, including public, private and voluntary agencies in the delivery of public services. The current local governance arrangements at the global scale attest to the fact that decentralisation is no longer a theory but a practice (Goss, 2001).

Decentralisation involves the transfer of functions from the centre to lower-level organisations which are closest to citizens. In whatever form, whether by deconcentration, delegation, devolution or privatisation, the aim of decentralisation is to improve the efficiency of public policies and service delivery (Bardhan, 2002; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1997). This agrees with the tenets of the principle of subsidiarity which entail giving more responsibilities to local institutions for improving efficiency and effectiveness. Subsidiarity ensures that the decisions made closest to those affected are likely to be legitimate and to create a sense of autonomy among the citizens. Because of being based on the principle of subsidiarity, decentralisation has been globally central to policy processes (Vischer, 2001; Ribot, 2002; Faguet, 2004; King, 2014; Goel et al., 2016; Reddy, 2016). Decentralisation brings political decisions to an institutional scale which is closer to the people and responsiveness to citizens' demands. However, over time local governments, particularly in developing countries, have experienced efficiency challenges which called for reforms.

Local government reform is meant to improve the effectiveness in service delivery and to increase accountability (Ribot, 2002; Nickson, 2006). Accountability should, in this case, be observed in public resource usage and improved service provision. Globally, the ongoing local government reform efforts which started in 1980 are guided by discourses focused on democratisation and human rights. The human rights approach seems to have been derived

from natural law, which recognises the "individual as a right bearer" (Calabresi & Bickford, 2014: 125). Taking decision-making closer to right bearers gives them more chance to participate, observe and question government officials in close proximity (Calabresi & Bickford, 2014). Accountability is central to ongoing local government reforms in developing countries because local governments have discretionary powers and autonomy (Ribot, 2002). Discretionary powers are sited in bureaucracies and in bureaucrats where they are referred to as expediency and discretion, respectively (Lipsky, 1980, 2010; Harris, 2010). The discretion of street-level bureaucrats is influential in the policy process, since they effectively determine policy actions and subsequent outcomes.

Local governments are composed of elected representatives and employed personnel. In essence, elected representatives are politicians and representatives of citizens, while employed personnel are technical experts in their fields of specialisation and professions such as town planners. Elected representatives of local people are supposed to work on voters' behalf and remain accountable to them. In countries that practise representative democracy, a representative can be voted in or out through legal procedures (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004). However, citizens' accountability powers over their representatives are realities which influence the behaviour of the employed personnel, who are referred to in this study as street-level bureaucrats. This is because street-level bureaucrats are responsible and answerable to the council, which is consists of elected personnel. In practice, the pressure exerted by citizens on their representatives can always affect bureaucratic decision-making owing to the nature of accountability. This can not only create a situation in which elements worsen the accountability framed by power relations but it also forms one of the lived realities in local government structures. According to Agrawal & Ribot (1999) cited in Ribot (2002: 29), this situation led to "the exercise of counter power to balance the arbitrary actions." Understanding local government reform will help to appreciate the extent to which the reform efforts have strengthened local government authorities and the subsequent improvement of policy implementation and service delivery.

Apart from providing an institutional framework, decentralisation has failed in developing countries by assuming that all levels of government have the same level of technical and administrative capacities (Bardhan, 2002). Technical capacities including bureaucrat's skills and experiences, are realities that influence policy implementation in local governments. Other

than reform initiatives, in Africa decentralisation is said to have not yielded the expected results. This failure is due to the conception of decentralisation which is in many countries, is conceived and implemented as an administrative technique (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004; Oviasuyi et al., 2010). The tendency of making decentralisation an administrative technique comes from the colonial legacy of power consolidation at the centre (Ribot, 2002; United Cities and Local Governments, 2009). Moreover, severe shortages of financial resources and skilled human resources as well as the uneven distribution of wealth and power eventually lead to the emergence of powerful informal political and economic structures of patronage (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004). These problems have made institutional reform efforts unable to improve policy implementation and service delivery at local levels (Yin & Yates, 1975; United Republic of Tanzania, 1996). Arguably, decentralisation has created institutional structures for bringing services closer to citizens through street-level bureaucrats.

In Tanzania the improvement of local government authorities' technical and financial capacities was among the objectives of the local government reform programme (United Republic of Tanzania, 1996). However, the local government reforms have not yielded the expected results due to some fundamental problems in developing countries (Devas, 2005; Okpala, 2009; Madanipour, 2010; Fuseini, 2016; Goel et al., 2016). In addition, the quest to build strong and autonomous local governments has not borne fruit in many developing countries (United Cities and Local Governments, 2010). Local governments, particularly those in the global South depend on central government finances, which are usually inadequate. For example, while local government budgets accounted for 25% of public expenditure in European Union countries, they were less than five per cent in developing countries (United Cities and Local Governments, 2010: 11). In the same vein, central government financial transfers contributed to over 65% of the local government expenditures in developing countries. These are some of the realities that affect not only planning professionalism but also service delivery. The next section discusses how local realities affect planning professionalism and accountability in local governments.

3.4 PLANNING, PROFESSIONALISM AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

This section provides a framework for understanding town planners' discretionary powers and decision-making responsibilities by considering professionalism and accountability. Town

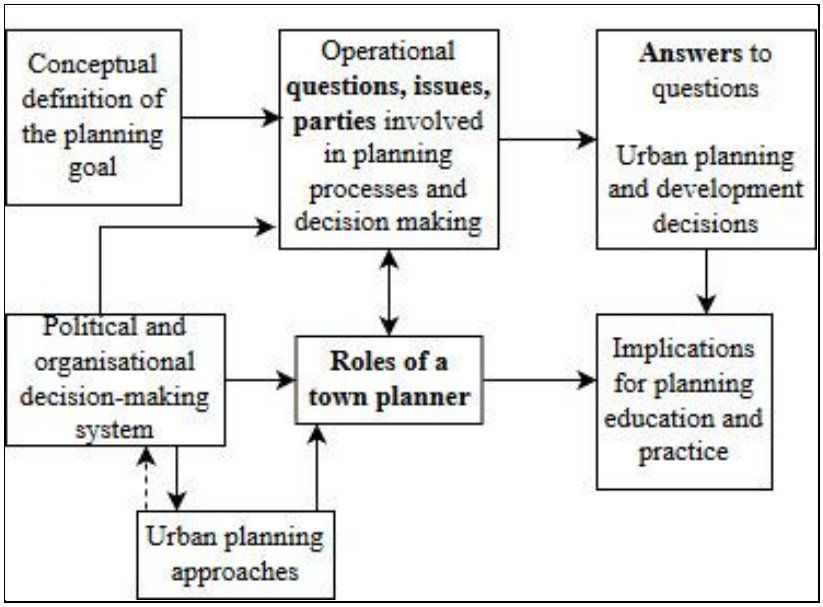
planners are professionals working in local government authorities; they are accountable to councils. Accountability is answerability, a situation of being obliged to answer questions regarding decisions and actions or inaction (Brinkerhoff, 2001; Ribot, 2002). The professionalism of town planners is examined in the light of its relationship to accountability and the influence on the exercise of discretion in local governments.

Urban planning is concerned with making predictions about future land use patterns and with shaping urban places (Booth, 1999; Campbell, 2006; Carmona, 2014). In the planning process, town planners are confronted with many different interests. The town planning profession developed as a mechanism for harmonising and defending public interests against those of individuals and the market (Faludi, 1973; Hoch, 1994; Sandercock, 2004; Winkler, 2012; Chigbu et al., 2017). The contemporary urban planning agenda aims to contribute to sustainable development and improvement of the quality of life in urban settlements. In order to achieve the results, urban planning is entrenched in governance systems. Notwithstanding the planning contributions made by various stakeholders, state agencies are responsible for defending public interests. The institutional arrangement for urban planning has changed over time and currently the role is vested in street-level governments[10] (Yin and Yates, 1975; McGill, 1998). Decentralisation is used as tool for implementing urban planning and development policies by local government authorities.

Participatory planning has led to the rise in the number of actors and stakeholders, which include the private sector and civil society organisations. The organisational structure and the policy implementation approaches have created micro-networks and multiple relations. These stakeholder networks and realities constitute the organisational realities confronting town planners. Town planners are required to take care of the interests and pressures of market forces, actors and ordinary citizens while dealing with institutional challenges. The structural problems result from ambiguous accountability arrangements. As employed council staff, town planners are accountable to the councils through the respective heads of department. They are obliged to respond to political pressures which also call for accountability to the councillors. On the basis of their political power and interests, councillors tend to override planners'

[10] According to Yin & Yates (1975), the term street government has the same meaning as the term local government.

decisions to meet their voters' interests. These realities create ambiguous situations for town planners, hence influencing their accountability, discretion and decision making (Hupe & Hill, 2007). Despite the local government reforms, building strong vertical accountability between councils and the citizens becomes problematic (Steffensen, 2006). This study aims to evaluate the urban planning institutional arrangements for small towns and the extent to which the arrangements support or constrain policy implementation. The current institutional arrangements put town planners at the centre of urban planning policy process. Town planners' roles are influenced by many interests and various kind of pressure. Figure 3.3 shows the position and role of town planners in the planning process.



Source: Modified from Briassoulis (1999: 890)

Figure 3.3: The role of a town planner in the planning process

A town planner plays a central role in the planning process, which involves conceptualising planning ideas, harmonising political and institutional aspirations as well as selecting an appropriate planning approach. Depending on the conceptualisation of the planning and the adopted planning approach, town planners' role can have an impact on planning education and practice.

Planning as a professional activity involves using individual determination and judgement, which are always subjected to "scrutiny and justification since it is never constant" (Tewdwr-Jones 1995: 164). Accountability procedures are created to ensure that the delivery of services

by town planners conforms to established standards. The current planning accountability procedure is based on the British planning system, which incorporates political and professional accountability (Tewdwr-Jones, 1995; Campbell & Marshall 1998). The system expects town planners to be politically accountable to councillors and professionally accountable to their professional boards. Compliance with planning principles and practices tends to jeopardise planners' relationships with councillors who think that they are undermined. In the same manner, if town planners bow to the political pressure from councillors, they ignore planning principles. The multiple accountability expected from town planners in the local government places them in lived dilemmas.

When the political pressure springs from citizens' needs, then horns of the dilemma planning principles and the needs of the citizens. Such political pressure can lead to what is referred to as "framing" (Tewdwr-Jones, 1995). Framing is the integration of facts, values, theories and interests in decision making. Framing also involves making personal judgement, which characterises discretion in planning decisions (Tewdwr-Jones, 1995; Campbell & Marshall, 1998; Yilmaz & Venugopal, 2008; Harris, 2010). Tummers & Bekkers (2014) have asserted that the exercise of discretion by street-level bureaucrats improves the validity and meaningfulness of policy to clients and increases the willingness of bureaucrats to implement the policy. In the current governance approach, it is difficult to define a client because of the various competing interests, all of which seek the planner's attention.

The adoption of the principle of subsidiarity, decentralisation and local government reforms is expected to have improved local government authorities' capacity to implement government policies and deliver sanctions. The preparation of urban planning layout plans by town planners in the absence of master plans is a sign of disconformity which perhaps results from the complexities and interplay of local conditions (Roo, 2010). Piecemeal planning practices may be routines developed by town planners for coping with planning problems and realities (Lipsky, 1980; Loyens & Maesschalck, 2010). The shift from government to governance seems to have created more structural challenges and intensified competition among actors. Thus, town planners are confronted with a multiplicity of accountability requirements for responding to the interests of multiple actors.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a conceptual framework based on street-level bureaucracy theory, the principle of subsidiarity and the concept of decentralisation (recall Figure 3.1). The framework borrows its structure from Namangaya (2011) to explain the origin of planning practices by street-level bureaucrats. The conceptual framework has been discussed according to contemporary urban planning institutional arrangements. Organisational characteristics are realities which influence the adoption of piecemeal urban planning practices. Among them is the accountability structure fuelled by local politics, all of which turn into realities which confront street-level bureaucrats. The propositions of street-level bureaucracy theory form the pillars by which institutional arrangements and procedures can be analysed. The discussion of the relationships of the variables in the conceptual framework focused on six issues. First, town planners play a crucial role in the implementation of planning policies. The role is crucial whether or not the policy is directly implemented by public agency or by the private sector. Second, apart from external forces, institutional expediency influences the exercise of discretion by street-level bureaucrats.

Third, the exercising of discretion results from planners' efforts to invent coping strategies. Discretion is central to the delivery of planning services by town planners. Fourth, the exercise of discretion involves the invention of strategies for coping with uncertainties in the planning environment. As a result, the strategies street-level bureaucrats invent become the actual policies which they implement and which are experienced by citizens. Fifth, the policy impact and outcome depend on the coping strategies invented by the street-level bureaucrats. Sixth, street-level bureaucracy theory is appropriate for explaining the conduct of town planners in local governments. The contributions made by subsidiarity and decentralisation coincide with the urban planning institutional arrangements in Tanzania. Therefore, the conceptual framework is appropriate for examining street-level bureaucrats' behaviour and adoption of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari. To collect the data needed for this empirical study of small towns, the researcher adopted appropriate methodologies and methods.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to investigate the dilemmas that street-level bureaucrats face and their responses to urban planning practices, an appropriate research strategy is needed. The strategy must capture the local realities, town planners' perceptions and their influences on piecemeal planning in small towns. This chapter documents the research design, the methodology and the methods employed in this research. The chapter starts by presenting the overall research design, the case study method and the criteria used to select the case studies. Then, it presents the sampling procedures for the qualitative and quantitative methods, and the data collection and data analysis methods. Attention is also given to the data interpretation techniques, units of analysis, research viability and reliability and ethical considerations.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is based on a mixture of methods involved in the organisation of a research project from beginning to end (Gorard, 2010). The overall design of this research started with the conceptualisation of the research idea followed by mixed methods and case study research designs. This section outlines the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings as well as the rationalities for the adoption of these designs.

4.2.1 Mixed methods research design

This research employed a mixed methods research design which integrated the strengths of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative and quantitative methods were mixed in such a way that they complemented each other in answering the research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Bergman, 2008; Cresswell, 2009, 2010). Philosophically, mixed methods research is grounded in realism (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010; Grbich, 2013). Scientific realism is based on the idea that "there is a real world with which we interact and to which our concepts and theories refer" (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010: 150). In this regard "realism retains an ontological realism while accepting a form of epistemological relativism or constructivism" (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010: 159). The argument of this philosophical stance favoured complementing ontological realism with epistemological relativism or

constructivism, which resulted in complementary qualitative and quantitative research methods.

The qualitative and quantitative methods were intended to provide sources of evidence in this research. The choice of the mixed methods research design was necessitated by the research questions and the nature of the data required (Bergman, 2008). Specifically, the research demanded the exploration of multiple and context-based realities to obtain both quantitative and qualitative evidences. Creswell et al., (2008) has noted important methodological issues which need to be considered when one is conducting a mixed methods research. They include potential methodological limitations which can limit the outcome. To avoid these limitations, one has to include triangulation in the design. Thus, qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed in parallel and then merged to obtain a more complete meaning. Contradicting findings from a mixed methods research can help to develop a new theory (Creswell et al., 2008). Considering the current wave of Southern urbanism,[11] this element was crucial in this study because it helps to indicate the conditions under which street-level bureaucracy theory can be used to explain the urban planning challenges in the global South. The nature of this research necessitated adopting the mixed methods approach because qualitative and quantitative methods could be combined at different stages of the research process. The mixed methods approach covered the formulation of the research questions, sampling procedures, and data analysis and interpretation (Bryman, 2008; Leeuw & Hox, 2008). According to Hammersley (2008), the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods and their data helps to avoid reaching false conclusions.

4.2.2 Case study research

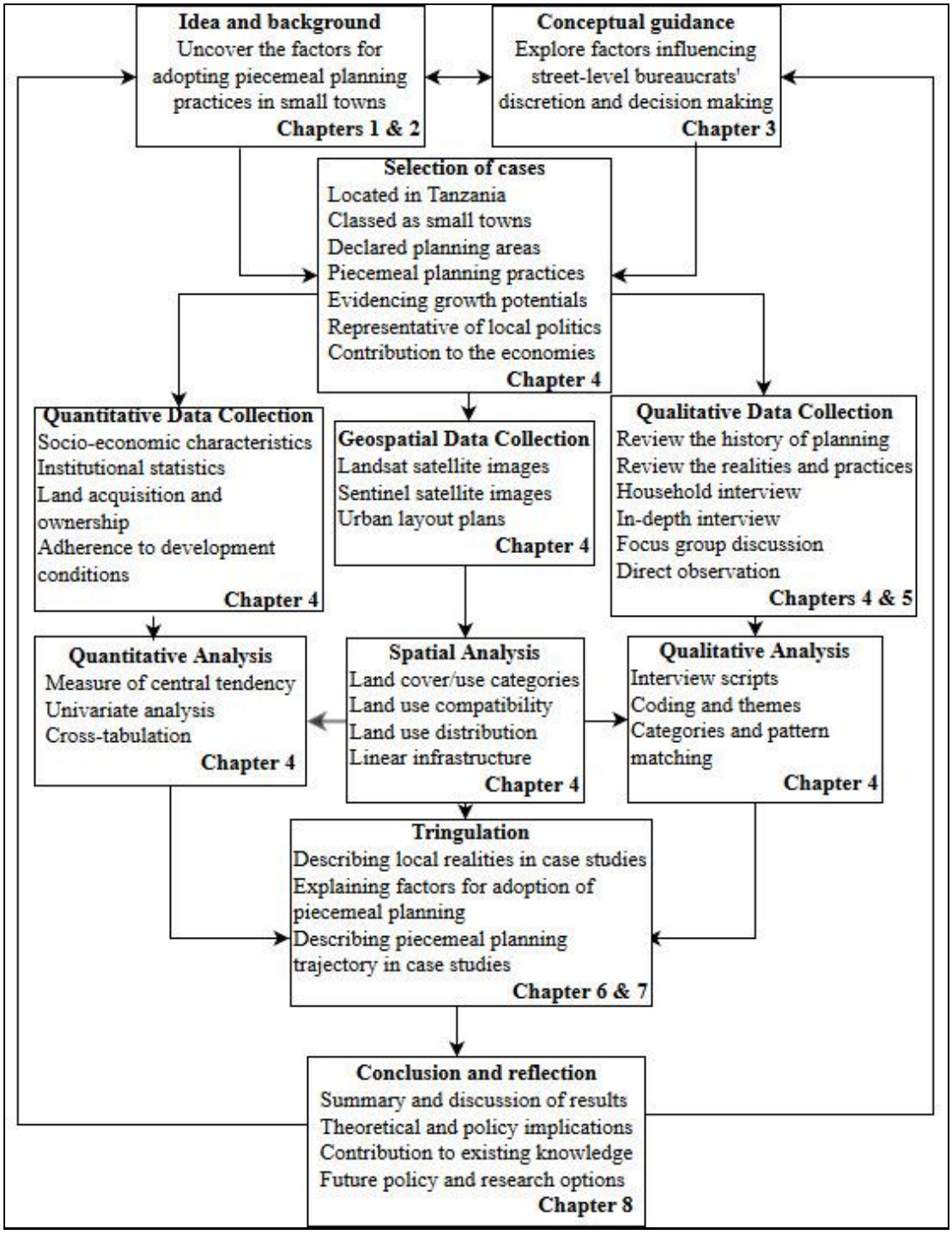
Case study research has a long history of application in investigating social processes and in providing a solid platform on which to base a comprehensive understanding of social phenomena (Widmer et al., 2008). According to Babbie & Mouton (2009), case studies involve intensive and critical investigations of a single or multiple cases through an examination of many variables. This research combined a mixed methods research and a case study research

[11] Southern urbanism advocates developing theories based on realities of the context in which they will be applied. It therefore acknowledges the existing contextual differences between the global North and the global South while at the same time challenging the dominance of the theories constructed on the basis of Northern realities in explaining the urbanisation challenges of the global South.

(Yin, 2014). Empirical data from case studies were used to specify different conditions under which street-level bureaucracy theory may or may not be used. Multiple cases studies were used to compare local realities, their manifestations and their influence on urban planning practices in selected towns.

The research was narrowed down to five researchable variables (Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2014; Jackson & Mazzei, 2018). The variables were derived from the structural, organisational and personal difficulties affecting town planning in developing countries. The five variables are: local politics; institutional capacities, land tenure arrangements, proliferation of informal settlements and private sector involvement in urban land delivery. This research investigated these variables and compared them as they manifested themselves in the two case studies to determine how appropriate the theory is based on case-specific knowledge. The research aimed to uncover the contemporary urban planning realities in real urban planning environments (Yin, 2014). The selection of the two case studies was based on seven criteria: being classed as small towns; qualifying as declared urban planning areas; the presence of piecemeal planning practices; clear demonstration of growth potentials; representative of local political regimes; and contribution to local, national and regional economies.

The researcher obtained the two towns from a list of urban planning areas which had been declared under Government Notice No. 217 (Appendix A) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001). The listed areas were subjected to the selection criteria and each potential case was assessed against the criteria. In the process, two small towns, Mlandizi and Sirari, were found to meet all the criteria. Mlandizi and Sirari were chosen in order to illuminate the local realities, town planners' perceptions and the reasons for adopting piecemeal planning (Yin, 2014; Jackson & Mazzei, 2018) The case study approach helped to make analytic generalisation of the results based on the propositions street-level bureaucracy theory. The research design is summarised in diagrammatic form in Figure 4.1.



Source: Modified from Babbie & Mouton (2009: 98)

Figure 4.1: Research design for case studies of piecemeal planning in two small towns in Tanzania

Figure 4.1 shows the diagrammatic relationship between the research design elements from the conceptualisation of the research idea and reflections of the results. The research design is elaborated on step-by-step in the subsequent sections, starting with the sampling process.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Because this is a mixed methods research, the data collection methods for eliciting qualitative and quantitative data were used. The selection of the methods was based on the substance of the research questions and the type of data required. Table 4.1 shows the process of selecting relevant to each research question. The methods listed in the right-hand column of the table were used to collect the required data giving evidence for the various indicators. The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Table 4.1: The research questions and the required data, indicators and tools for collecting the data

No.	Research question[12]	Detailed questions	Data or information required	Indicators	Data collection tool
1	How did urban planning practices emerge and what are their implications for Tanzanian small towns?	1.1 How do planning needs and ideas evolve?	History of the evolution of planning needs and ideas	Previous planning initiatives	Documentary review; in-depth interview
		1.2 Who are the key actors and what are their interests in planning?	History of the planning actors and roles	Planning actors during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras	Documentary review; in-depth interview
		1.3 How were planning ideas and needs actualised?	Background to the actualisation of plans	Implementing actors; level of implementation	In-depth interview; documentary review
		1.4 How can actualisation be traced?	Level of implementation	Physical verification, spatial analysis	Documentary review; in-depth interview
2	How has the urban planning process been undertaken in Tanzania and what has been its influence	2.1 What is a planning institutional framework?	Institutions involved in urban planning	List of institutions and their roles	In-depth interview; documentary review; focus group discussion
		2.2 How are the planning schemes consented to and approved?	Plan approval process	Planning report and approval minutes	Documentary review; in-depth interview

[12] Note: These research questions are derived from the five research objectives listed in section 1.4

No.	Research question[12]	Detailed questions	Data or information required	Indicators	Data collection tool
	on practices in Mlandizi and Sirari?	2.3 How are planning activities financed?	Planning financing arrangements	Available financing options	In-depth interview; documentary review
		2.4 How do practices in small towns relate to other place?	Relationships with practices in Mlandizi and Sirari	Current planning practices	Documentary review; in-depth interview; focus group discussion
3	What are the reasons for the adoption of a piecemeal planning approach and what are its implication for the spatial organisation of Mlandizi and Sirari?	3.1 How did piecemeal practices emerge and what are the influencing factors?	Factors which influence the adoption of piecemeal practices	List of factors and their influences	In-depth interview; documentary review; observation
		3.2 What are the land tenure arrangements?	Land administration procedures	Current land tenure arrangements and their influence on urban planning	Household interview; in-depth interview; documentary review
		3.3 Is the population growing and how is it distributed?	Previous and current population statistics	Population growth trends	Documentary review
		3.4 Where are social services located?	Location of central facilities and social services	Available and required social services	In-depth interview; observation; mapping and spatial analysis
		3.5 How are the services accessed by town dwellers?	Residents' perceptions of access to services	Opinions regarding access to services	Documentary review; in-depth interview; household interview
		3.6 What is the level of plan implementation	Plan implementation levels	Proposed and existing land uses	Mapping, spatial analysis and ground truthing
4	What are the spatial, social, economic and environmental implications of	4.1 How do current planning practices promote social development?	Access to services	Trends in social development	Household interview; in-depth interview; documentary review focus group discussion

No.	Research question[12]	Detailed questions	Data or information required	Indicators	Data collection tool
	piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari?	4.2 How are the linear infrastructures connected and how do they promote accessibility?	Perceptions of infrastructure and land use interconnectivity	Urban planning layouts and land use compatibility	Spatial analysis and mapping; observation; household interview; focus group discussion
		4.3 How does planning promote livelihoods in the small towns?	Local people perceptions of the role of planning in economic development	Economic development plans	Household interview; focus group discussion
		4.4 How do piecemeal planning practices promote environmental sustainability?	Perceptions of planning practices and environmental sustainability	Environmental challenges resulting from piecemeal planning	Household interview; focus group discussion; observation; in-depth interview
5	How can urban planning practices and processes be improved in Tanzanian small towns?	5.1 What are the major lessons learnt from the application of theories of the adoption of planning approaches?	Analysis of empirical evidence	Main findings	Reflection on main findings and theories
		5.2 What are recommended measures and planning approaches relevant to small towns?	Summarising lessons learnt	Reflection on main findings and theories	Interpreting lessons for possible policy options; link policy options with local realities and procedures

Source: Modified from Namangaya (2011: 49)

4.3.1 Documentary review

Secondary data were collected by documentary review. Documentary review covered government documents, working papers, internal reports and formal studies. According to Yin (2014) documentary review is extremely important, especially when used to augment evidence from other sources. The reviewed documents and literature related to the emergence of planning ideas and practices, institutional capacities, the management of rapid urbanisation, urban planning approaches in small and intermediate-sized urban settlements and spatial implications of various planning practices. Apart from scholarly works, government reports on population censuses, urban planning policies and legislation, local government strategic plans, budgets and management reports were also reviewed. Also, reviewed was information about the history of planning practices, actors, planning financing arrangements and population statistics. The documentary review produced qualitative and quantitative information.

4.3.2 Structured household interview

The survey involved 290 and 97 households in Mlandizi and Sirari respectively. In total 387 interviews were conducted in both towns. An interview schedule with closed and open-ended questions was administered to the heads of the households in face-to-face interviews (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). Household interviews were mainly concerned with demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study population. Moreover, information about issues around land ownership and acquisition, development conditions, access to services, a general understanding of the merits of urban planning, the role of town planners in the production of current planning practices and inhabitants' perceptions of the implications of the planning practices were collected. (Appendix B is a copy of the interview schedule). Two research assistants were engaged to conduct the household interviews. Before being engaged the research assistants were trained and equipped with data collection skills. They were also involved in a pilot study which helped to ascertain their ability to do the work and to fine-tune the interview schedule. The interviews were conducted between January 2017 and March 2017. Each research assistant conducted an average of six interviews per day; the interviews lasted for thirty minutes each. It therefore took them 32 man-days to conclude the household interview survey.

4.3.3 In-depth interviews

According to Yin (2014), in-depth interviews are the most important source of evidence in case study research. This method was used to obtain information first-hand from the town planners on their experiences and on the adoption of piecemeal planning practices in the two towns. The researcher conducted and recorded each interview. The interviews were conducted with purposively selected respondents. The respondents were government officials at different levels of administration, private sector representatives and politicians. The government officials who were interviewed were town planners (2), economic planning officers (2), a principal urban planning officer in the Ministry of Lands (1), a senior urban planning officer in the Ministry of Local Government (1) and a councillor each for Kibaha and Tarime District Councils (2). Members of two private sector companies which deal with urban planning and land delivery were also interviewed (2). The interviewees were selected on the basis of their role in the planning and approval process, local politics and decision-making regarding resource allocation. In total 10 in-depth interviews were conducted. The interviews were aimed at exploring the history of urban planning, the plan approval process, institutional frameworks, current planning practices and their underlying factors as well as the implications of piecemeal urban planning practices. The interviews lasted for an average of one hour. However, follow-up interviews were conducted with the town planners in local governments. (Appendix C is a copy of the interview schedule).

4.3.4 Focus group discussions

Two focus group discussions were conducted, one in each town in which eight and six local leaders participated from Mlandizi and Sirari. The researcher facilitated and recorded the discussions. The discussions were intended to gain an understanding of the local leaders' perceptions of the role of town planners and the adoption of piecemeal planning practices. The focus group discussions were also used to verify the information collected by the other methods (Berg, 2009). The discussions were directed at understanding public concerns about planning practices, bureaucrats' discretion and decision making and the emergence of current urban planning practices. Moreover, issues arising from the household survey, the in-depth interviews and the spatial analysis were discussed and resolved namely planning institutional arrangements, the role of town planners, the impacts of piecemeal planning, the development of informal settlements, the current planning practices and a general understanding of the obstacles to planning in small towns.

4.3.5 Observation

The researcher used observation so as to familiarised himself with the existing social, economic, spatial and environmental conditions. The existing social services, housing and settlement conditions, environmental conditions accessibility to social services were recorded and photographed. The pertinent issues identified from the spatial analysis and the other methods were land use compatibility, connectivity of the proposed linear infrastructure and the location of social services. The field notes and photographs taken during the fieldwork formed part of the data generated by this research.

4.3.6 Geodata and spatial mapping

This research examines local realities and the spatial implications of piecemeal urban planning practices. Spatial analysis was used to establish the extent of land use change and spatial coverage of urban areas in Mlandizi and Sirari. Land use change over the past 20 years was analysed from 10-metre resolution satellite images for 1995 and 2016 obtained from Landsat and Sentinel 2[13] respectively. An unsupervised classification[14]method was used to generate land cover types which were used to establish land use change and urban sprawl trends in each small town. The second part of the spatial analysis involved combining all the detailed planning layouts prepared in Mlandizi and Sirari. The layouts plans were collected and analysed using a geographical information system (ArcGIS 10.5). A total of 109 and 9 urban layouts plans were collected for Mlandizi and Sirari respectively. To facilitate the spatial analysis in the GIS environment, the researcher digitised layouts plans and converted them into digital maps. The spatial analysis involved combining all layout plans for each case study into a town-specific mosaic. Using the mosaics, the researcher conducted analyses of land use compatibility, the proposed location of various services and connectivity of the proposed linear infrastructure networks.

[13] Sentinel 2 is an earth observation mission developed by the European Space Agency (ESA) as part of the Copernicus Programme and for performing terrestrial observations in support of services such as forest monitoring, land cover change detection and natural disaster management. It provides free high-resolution images (10-metres), the highest compared to any other freely available images.

[14] Unsupervised classification is a computer-based land cover classification method which uses automatic groupings of pixels with common characteristics. The method is based on the software analysis of an image to group all pixels with the same characteristics into classes without the user having to provide sample classes.

4.4 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In this study certain sampling procedures were followed in the course of selecting a representative sample of the respondents for the in-depth and household interviews. Specific sampling techniques were used to select the respondents from whom qualitative and quantitative data were collected (Creswell et al., 2008). This section describes the quantitative sampling methods first and then the qualitative method.

4.4.1 Quantitative sampling

Quantitative research is based on observations that are converted to numerical units. These units were then compared with other units using statistical methods. Probability sampling was used to ensure that the selected sample is representative of the study population (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). Simple random sampling was also adopted to ensure that all the households in the study areas had equal chances of being selected and that, once selected, none of them could be reselected (Israel, 1992; Babbie & Mouton, 2009). According to the 2012 population census (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013b), Mlandizi had a total population of 38 832 comprising households. The total population and the number of the households (in brackets) in the three administrative wards are Mlandizi 17 313 (4123), Janga 10 926 (2736) and Kilangalanga 10 588 (2462). Sirari had a population of 15 917 comprising 3 387 households, all were in one administrative ward. The research used a population statistics formula to determine the sample size for each ward at 90% confidence level[15] (Israel, 1992). The formula is:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size

N = population size

e = confidence level

Source: Israel (1992: 4)

[15] The calculation was based on a 90% (0.01) confidence level because the research benefited from multiple sources of evidence.

Therefore, Mlandizi had a sample size of 290 households living in three administrative wards Mlandizi (98), Janga (96) and Kilangalanga (96); and Sirari had a sample size of 97 households. Thus, in total 387 units were drawn for the household interviews. The households were randomly drawn, particularly in the hamlets for which piecemeal-generated urban layouts plans had been prepared. The household interviews were conducted with the heads of the households from whom socio-economic, land ownership and urban development experiences were collected. The interviews were preceded by an analysis of the piecemeal-generated layout plans, on the basis of which the hamlets were identified.

4.4.2 Qualitative sampling

Qualitative research emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality. Thus, qualitative research seeks to critically analyse how social experiences are created and perceived (Bergman, 2008). Critical analysis is vital for this study, for it explores street-level bureaucrats' perception of the realities around which they practice urban planning. A non-probability sampling procedure was followed to obtain a sample of those who participated in the interviews and focus group discussions. Non-probability sampling is normally dictated by the researcher's knowledge of the study population and the nature of the research objectives (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). A purposive sampling technique was used to determine the sample size (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Considering the objectives of the research 24 participants were purposively sampled for qualitative method. The sample for the in-depth interviews included town planners (2), district planning officers (2), councillors (2), an officer from the ministries responsible for local governments (1), an officer from the ministry responsible for urban planning (1) and representatives of private sector companies (2). Apart from the interview sample, 14 people were selected as participants in the focus group discussions. Babbie & Mouton (2009) argue that the qualitative approach helps to study human actions from the perspective of actors. The sample for the in-depth interviews comprised the urban planning actors in Tanzania from whom information about local realities and their influence on the adoption of piecemeal planning practices was obtained.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Three types of data were collected for this research: quantitative, qualitative and geospatial. Each type of data was processed analysed separately; then the results were combined and compared.

4.5.1 Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data were generated from the household interviews, documentary review and geospatial mapping. Data from the interviews were cleaned, coded and entered in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (IBM SPSS Statistics 25) software for data analysis and management. The data were statistically analysed using measure of central tendency, univariate analyses and cross-tabulation as appropriate. The quantitative data elicited from the documents and produced by spatial analysis were organised in spread sheets and presented accordingly. The results were presented in graphs, tables, figures and maps.

4.5.2 Qualitative data analysis

The interview data were transcribed and data scripts were manually coded and analysed. Qualitative data coding involved creating themes which assigned summative attributes. After coding, the data were analysed using a mixture of techniques, depending on the source and nature of the data. The analytical techniques used were pattern matching, explanation building and logic models creation (Saldana, 2009; Grbich, 2013; Perakula & Ruusuvuori, 2018). Pattern matching involved identifying salient themes, meanings, ideas and patterns of beliefs based on the respondents' views and the research questions. Explanations were built by writing notes based on the established themes and patterns by making integrative interpretations of the messages learnt from the themes. Logic models were created by critically engaging with the data and searching for plausible explanations and linkages among them (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Jackson & Mazzei, 2018). All the phrases corresponding to the research questions were created and aggregated accordingly.

4.5.3 Quantitative and qualitative data interpretation

The results of the analyses of the quantitative and qualitative data were triangulated. Triangulation is helpful in checking validity and diversity of views, complementing information and opening an epistemological dialogue (Hammersley, 2008). The analyses produced results which were found to be related to the extent that it was difficult to demarcate any boundaries between them. Triangulation was also used to cross-check the answers as where qualitative and quantitative data were used to address the same topics. Apart from this, comparative analysis and cross-cases synthesis were conducted on the basis of the variables of local realities (Yin, 2014). Cross-cases synthesis was conducted to understand the real-world conditions in which street-level bureaucracy theory can be applied.

4.5.4 Unit of analysis

A unit of analysis is also referred to as a unit of observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). It refers to the elements examined for describing social phenomena. This research involved embedded multiple cases and thus multiple units of analysis (Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2014). The use of various units of analysis helped to get a comprehensive understanding of the problem, including the influence of external forces (Vaus, 2001). According to Widmer et al., (2008) case study research deals with cases as units of analysis. This research had three levels of units of analysis namely households, small towns and planning authorities. Multiple levels of units of analyses provided many levels of analysis, depending on the structure of urban planning as a social process. Embedded units of analysis helped to understand the research problem in its totality as various levels of the context were analysed (Yin, 2014). The nature of the realities in the small towns necessitated undertaking for multi-level units of analysis because some variables could only be analysed and understood well at a household or small town or planning authority level.

4.6 RESEARCH VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity and reliability in qualitative research show the basis for the trustworthiness and the dependability of the results and conclusions drawn about them. Validity and reliability provide the grounds on which views were constructed in relation to time and context (Golafshani, 2003; Grbich, 2013). In quantitative research validity and reliability depend on the research design and the adequacy of the survey data (DeNecker, 1987; Moeyaert et al., 2016), while qualitative research explores context-specific phenomena (Golafshani, 2003). Quantitative and qualitative methods were appropriate for this study. The methods helped to obtain facts of the local realities in their real-world context. The grounds for each aspect are reported next.

4.6.1 Validity

Internal and external validity were considered. Low understanding of the planning profession and the role of town planners by the inhabitants of Mlandizi and Sirari could have led to the provision of biased responses. In this study, the household interview schedule was written in English, but it was administered to many of the respondents in Kiswahili. Careful precautions were taken so that the interviewers and interviewees could not distort the meaning of the questions in the schedule. Internal validity was ensured by the research design which warranted the relevancy of the data to the research problem. Data requirement for each research question

and collection tools were derived from indicators (recall Table 4.1). This resulted in the preparation of an appropriate design which comprised qualitative and quantitative methods for collecting data relevant to the research questions. Consequently, the research design helped to obtain data for explaining the influence of the local realities (an independent variable) on the adoption of piecemeal planning (an dependent variable) by street-level bureaucrats. Hammersley (2008) and Widmer *et al.*, (2008) stress the role of triangulation and multiple cases in ensuring the validity of research findings. Triangulation helped to cross-check the data with at least one more source of a different type. Thus, bias was reduced, obtained multiple perception on a single reality and established valid explanations.

The multiple cases research design ensured external validity through its engagement with the theory. The findings of this study are both internally and externally valid. The findings are based on abundant pieces of evidence which were cross-checked in order to arrive at scientifically justifiable conclusions. The findings were generalised according to the propositions of street-level bureaucracy theory, thereby ensuring their external validity. Therefore, the results of the case studies can be generalised to other small towns with similar contextual realities. The use of probability sampling, particularly random sampling, to select the households from the list of the head of households in each hamlet and village strengthened the external validity of this research. These measures for ensuring internal and external validity helped the researcher to measure what was intended to be measured in the two towns.

4.6.2 Reliability

Reliability is concerned with the extent to which the same information is obtained repeatedly from different sources (Golafshani, 2003). It is argued that questions which can easily be understood by respondents improve reliability (DeNecker, 1987; Ihantola & Kihn, 2011). Research reliability is vital if the public are to have confidence in the findings and conclusions drawn from them. As argued by Babbie & Mouton (2009), reliability and research confidence can be increased by relying on many and various sources of evidence. The reliability of this research is grounded on the mixed methods research design which obtained evidence from many sources in the two case studies. The household interview schedule was used in a pilot study to ascertain the research assistant's ability to appropriately administer it and the respondents' ability to grasp the meaning which determined their responses. The inclusion of closed-ended and open-ended questions in the household interview schedule provided more

detailed information on each of the variables which were investigated. After being collected, the data were cleaned to scrutinise the respondent's responses and readiness to provide correct information in relation to the questions. In-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed to avoid distortion of the information which had been collected. In that way, the validity and reliability of the qualitative and quantitative data were ensured without compromising research ethics.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research ethics were considered to be important in this research because social research is an interactive process which need to protect the rights of participants Babbie & Mouton, 2009). In conjunction to balance the researchers' right to collect data with the rights of individual involved in the research was heeded. Many people and institutions were involved in this research, so ethical issues were taken into account to safeguard the interests of the participants without jeopardising the availability of data. This research complies with the research ethics and codes of conduct of Stellenbosch University (SU), the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the United Republic of Tanzania where the data were collected.

Ethical clearance at SU involved obtaining ethical approval from the Research Ethical Committee (REC) Humanities. The proposed research design and data collection tools were scrutinised to ensure that the respondents' rights to informed consent, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality would be adhered to. Written consent and clearance were also obtained before interacting with the respondents, government institutions and other stakeholders. UDSM assisted in obtaining research clearance from the respective government ministries and departments, Kibaha and Tarime District Councils and the two private sector companies. Local government authorities helped the researcher to obtain clearance from local leaders and households (Appendix D). The researcher also considered the interests of non-participants (Gorard, 2010). This perspective made the researcher conscious of the process and the conclusions that were drawn. With this understanding, the researcher took utmost because the findings would be used in the public domain in advancing addition to being used to advance urban planning policies.

4.8 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Some problems were experienced during data collection. The initial plan was to conduct two focus group discussions with local leaders and private sector actors in each small town. However, the private sector was only involved in land delivery in Mlandizi. It was imposible to organise focus group discussion with people from the private sector who were involved in planning and urban land delivery in Mlandizi because most of them did not live in the town. Several attempts to hold such discussions were unsuccessful. Thus, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with two representatives from two private-sector companies who had consented to participate in the interviews. As a result, only two focus group discussions were conducted instead of four.

4.9 CONCLUSION

The chapter has presented the research design, methodology, methods and materials relating to data collection and analysis. The research design is based on mixed methods and case study. The research sought to obtain a variety of supporting evidence of the factors influencing the behaviour of street-level bureaucrats. Information about the adoption of piecemeal planning by bureaucrats at sub-national levels and about the two small towns was collected. Quantitative, qualitative and spatial data were collected from two towns using documentary review, tructured household interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, observation and spatial mapping. The data were then analysed using electronic and manual procedures. The quantitative data were analysed using SPSS and the spatial data were analysed using GIS (ArcGIS 10.5) software. The qualitative information was transcribed and manually analysed. The validity and reliability of the data were assessed. The findings of this research are presented and discussed in the subsequent chapters. The next chapter discusses the historical development of urban planning practices in Tanzania.

CHAPTER 5
URBAN PLANNING PRACTICES IN TANZANIA: AN OVERVIEW

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the history of urban planning practices in Tanzania by tracing the historical development of the practices from the precolonial through colonial to postcolonial periods. The various practices are investigated to understand their influences on the contemporary urban planning practices in Tanzanian small towns.

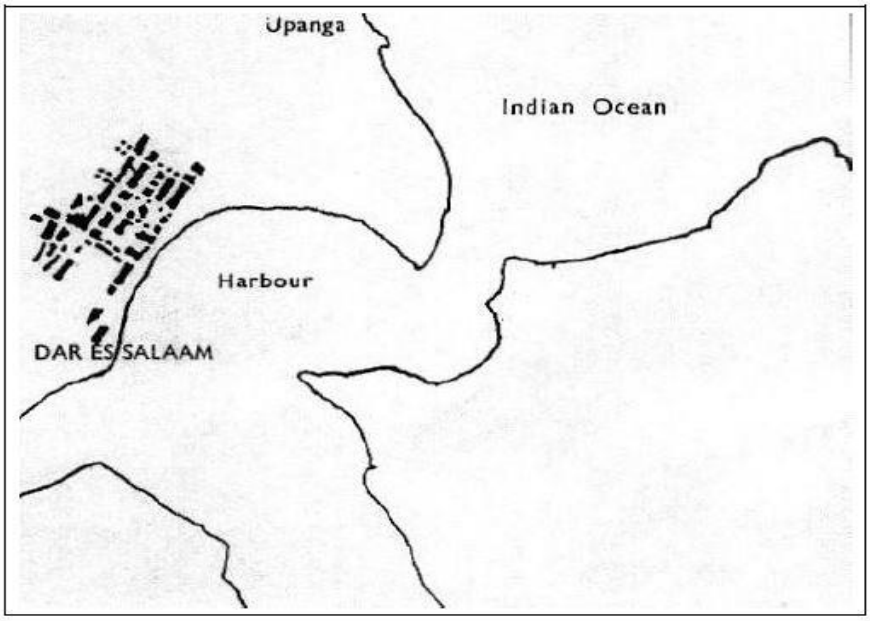
5.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING PRACTICES IN TANZANIA

The comprehension of the influences underlying urban planning practices in Tanzania cannot be disassociated from their histories, especially the colonial practices and their heritage (Lupala, 2002; Njoh, 2007; Myers & Muhajir, 2014). Accordingly, the next three subsections chart the urban planning histories of the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial epochs.

5.2.1 Urban planning practices in the precolonial era

As in many other African countries, in Tanzania the precolonial era was marked by a lack of formal urban planning, with the exception of Dar es Salaam. Small towns and traditional villages remained without any formal planning. They had traditional settlement patterns and land use was dictated by traditional land tenure and use systems (Okpala, 2009). Although, the settlements were unplanned, some of them had orderly and arranged physical structures and land uses like market places, religious sites, farms, communal assembly places, playgrounds and footpath patterns (Okpala, 2009). Precolonial urban planning in Dar es Salaam can be traced to the early 1860s. The urban planning of Dar es Salaam was influenced by commercial interests and the control of the East African coastal strip by Arab traders under the Sultan of Zanzibar Seyyid Majid (Kironde, 1994; Lupala, 2002). Sutton (1970: 4) has noted that Sultan Majid planned to build a new palace in Dar es Salaam make it the main caravan terminus, port and commercial centre for East Africa. The Sultan regarded Dar es Salaam as being strategically located and thus appropriate for extending his commercial interests to the interior of the mainland. In an effort to implement his vision, Sultan Seyyid Majid conceived a design for Dar es Salaam in 1862.

The design produced a layout plan which included today's Sokoine Drive and the streets behind it. Majid's plan for Dar es Salaam began to be actualised in 1865 when the construction of associated buildings started (Sutton, 1970). One of the buildings was the palace which later became the lighterage wharf (Lupala, 2002). Figure 5.1 shows the layout plan which was developed by Sultan Majid. Lighterage wharf no longer exists but some of the other buildings constructed by the Sultan do, for example the current Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) building and the Ilala Municipal Council (IMC) offices. The DCC uses the main building (Figure 5.2 A & B) and the IMC uses the extension (Figure 5.2 C & D). The buildings have been conserved in their original architecture but the interior of each of them has been renovated so that it is suitable for present-day use. Figure 5.2 gives different views of the buildings.



Source: Kironde (1994: 116)

Figure 5.1: The precolonial urban design of Dar es Salaam, 1890

The early Dar es Salaam design conceived by the Sultan did not include the old native settlements. Figure 5.1 illustrates the layout of an organised building pattern, as was captured in 1890 (Kironde, 1994). Following the death of Sultan Majid in 1870, his successor, Sultan Barghash, had no interest in Dar es Salaam and maintained his office in Zanzibar. The result was that the town plan and the buildings projects in Dar es Salaam were abandoned (Sutton, 1970). The precolonial plan for Dar es Salaam and the associated buildings were taken over by Germany some 20 years later in the beginning of the colonial era.

Source: www.google.com/search?biw

Figure 5.2: Buildings constructed by Sultan Majid in 1866, currently renovated for use

Figures 5.2 A, B, C and D illustrate the oldest buildings in Dar es Salaam constructed by Sultan Majid in 1866 in an effort to implement his layout plan. Figure 5.2A shows the frontage of the main building as viewed from Sokoine Drive. Figure 5.2B is a side view of the main building on Morogoro Road. Figure 5.2C and D show the extensions to the main building viewed from Sokoine Drive and Mission Street respectively. The sources available indicate that Sultan Majid's layout design for Dar es Salaam is evidence of the only precolonial urban planning attempts in Tanzania.

5.2.2 Urban planning practices during colonial era

The colonial era in Tanzania commenced after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. The conference partitioned Africa into territories to be ruled by the respective European countries. As a result, Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania) was awarded to the Germans. After Germany was defeated in the First World War, they lost her colonies; Tanganyika was placed under British rule. Thus, the colonial urban planning practices in Tanzania date from the German and British administration periods.

5.2.2.1 German urban planning practices, 1891-1918

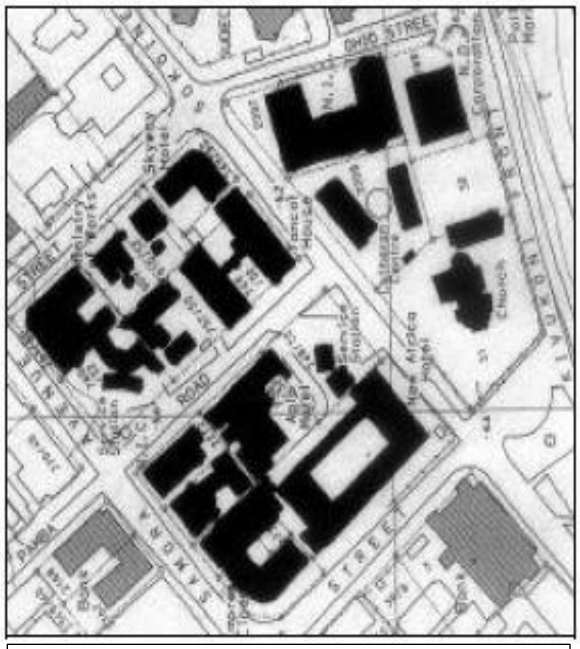
German colonial rule and administrative procedures in German East Africa started in 1889. At the time, the colonial administration was based in Bagamoyo coastal town, but it was moved to Dar es Salaam in 1891. Dar es Salaam was made the colonial capital, main port and commercial and communications centre for German East Africa (Sutton, 1970; Kironde, 1994; Lupala, 2002). The selection of Dar es Salaam as the colonial capital called for the institution of a spatial planning process to allow for the construction of new administrative buildings and residences for the colonial government staff. The Germans built new administrative buildings next to the area which had been designed by Sultan Majid (Lupala, 2002). This marked the beginning of the expansion of the urban area which had previously been built by the Arabs with a layout plan prepared for a new German administrative area. The administrative offices and the Governor's residence were built on the basis of that plan. Many of the buildings are still used as government offices and the Governor's house is Tanzanian's state house. Figure 5.3 shows the present front view of the state house building built by the Germans in the 1890s. Although the building has been renovated several times, its original architecture has been preserved.

Source: www.hungryng.com/africa-tanzania

Figure 5.3: Tanzanian's state house in Dar es Salaam

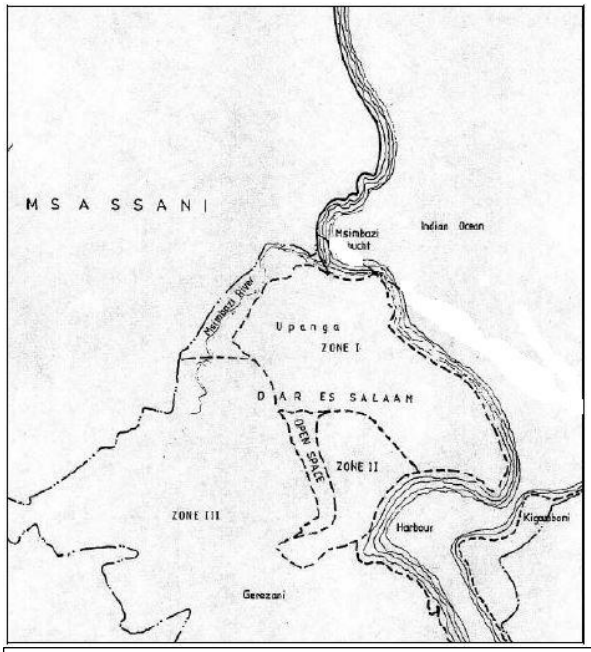
Following the construction of the office buildings, the German administration expanded the town areas by constructing other residential buildings for the German colonial officials. This expansion took place eastwards beyond the Governor's residence. Developments in this area

included the construction of a hospital for the Europeans (Ocean Road Hospital) and the botanical garden. Lupala (2002: 38) has asserted that "This area was planned with straight, wide boulevards, well lavished in verdure, large plots, with two storeyed buildings with a large proportion of land being left for experimental botanical gardens, some of the characteristic features of planned cities that were fashionable in Europe during that period." There is no evidence showing that a comprehensive urban design plan was prepared during the German colonial era. The town planning practices were a response to the office and residential expansionary needs. They were based on the urban design practices which dominated European urban planning during that time. This involved preparing layout plans indicting streets and circulation networks (Figure 5.4).



Source: Lupala (2002: 37)

Figure 5.5: Street layout of the German colonial administrative area in the 1890s



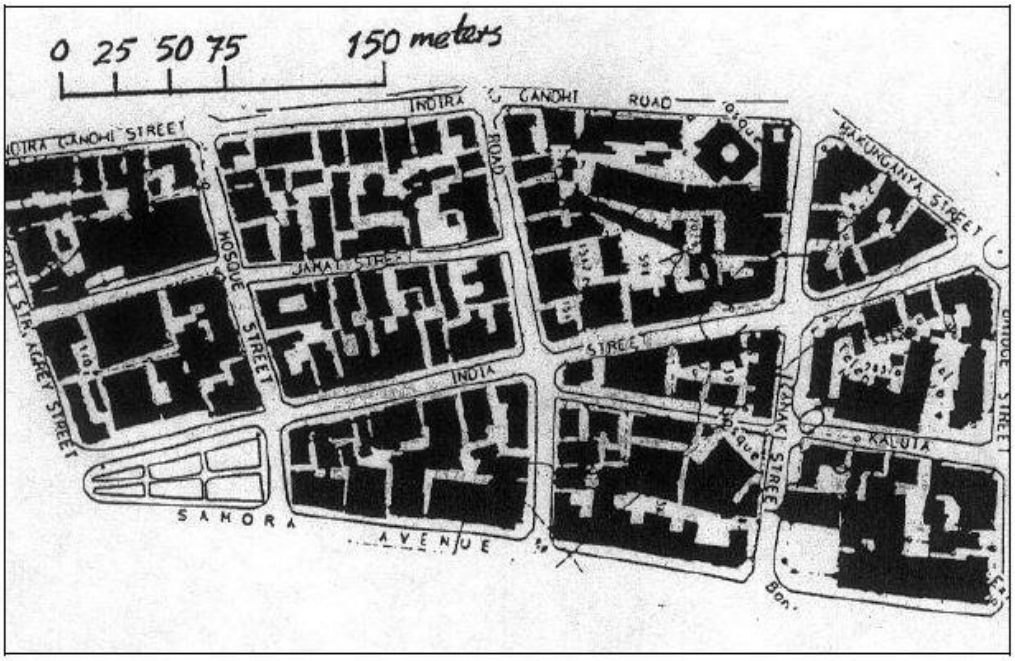
Source: Kironde (1994: 136)

Figure 5.4: Zoning plan for Dar es Salaam, 1914

Zoning and planning regulations were introduced towards the end of the German administration period, in 1914 to be exact. The German colonial administration zoned the town into three distinct areas. The zoning plan '*bauordinung*' was meant to separate racial groups, namely Europeans, Asians and Africans (Figure 5.5). The plan designated Zone I for European residential and administrative development; Zone II for Asian residential and trading buildings; and Zone III for 'native' quarters (Kironde, 1994; Lupala, 2002). Zones I and II were separated

from zone III by a buffer zone in the form of a long open space, famously known as the Mnazi Mmoja[16] open space which still exists in the city today.

Development in each zone was actualised through the preparation of layout plans used to guide spatial development. As part of the development, a layout plan was also prepared for the commercial area which was predominantly occupied by Asian traders, most of them of Indian descent (Figure 5.6). Furthermore, the Germans prepared another layout plan for Kariakoo, an area inhabited by native Africans. The Kariakoo urban layout plan was designed according to a gridiron pattern.



Source: Lupala (2002: 39)

Figure 5.6: Part of the Dar es Salaam commercial area layout plan in 1916

During German colonial rule, which ended in 1918, only one zoning plan, *Bauordinung*, was prepared in 1914. Urban planning during the German colonial era was dominated by the preparation of layout plans. To date, the urban layout plans based on urban design principles and neighbourhood concepts are still the dominant tools for guiding spatial development at local level. These layout plans are supposed to be subsets of master plans. After being defeated

[16] Mnazi Mmoja is the Swahili name for the open space designed by the Germans in 1914 as a buffer zone for separating European and Asian residential areas from the African residential area. The literal English translation of the name is 'one coconut tree'.

in the First World War Germans lost all her colonies. German East Africa was divided into two protectorates, Tanganyika was taken over by the Britain and 'Ruanda' and 'Urundi' by Belgium as the trusteeship territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

5.2.2.2 British urban planning practices, 1919-1961

The British started their colonial administration in Tanganyika by enacting a set of administrative rules. Among the rules were the Township Ordinance of 1920, the Land Ordinance of 1923 and later the Town (Development and Control) Ordinance of 1936. The Township Ordinance of 1920 empowered the Governor to declare any area a township and to set up the township management structures. As result, Dar es Salaam was declared a township in 1923 and a township authority was established for it. The township rules of 1932 gave the township authority the power to prepare town planning schemes, control land subdivision and laying out of streets (Kironde, 1994). Kironde (1994) has pointed out that the enactment of the Town (Development and Control) Ordinance in 1936 promoted the preparation of urban planning layouts plans in many towns too. However, the preparation of plans in these other towns where urban planning practices were instituted is not well documented. The lack of documentation indicates that, apart from the planning of Dar es Salaam, planning of other towns started after the enactment of the Town (Development and Control) Ordinance of 1936.

Another remarkable event during the British colonial era that promoted urban planning and the expansion of planning areas in Dar es Salaam was the construction of the Selander Bridge. The bridge was constructed in the 1920s and named after Tanganyika's first Director of Public Work, John Einar Selander (Sutton, 1970; Kironde, 1994). The construction of the bridge over the Msimbazi River facilitated the opening of the new residential neighbourhoods of Kinondoni, Regent Estates, Oysterbay and Msasani. These residential areas were incrementally developed and a separate layout plan was prepared for each area. The development of some of these areas was completed after the Second World War (Sutton, 1970; Lupala, 2002). These areas were developed and used as government quarters until 2001 when the postcolonial government sold many of the government houses to the public servants who inhabited them. The sale of the public houses attests to the influence of neoliberal policies and their impact on urban development and conditions. The reasons given by the government for selling the houses were lack of funds for maintaining the existing houses and for building others for all public servants. That way, the government promoted private housing for public servants, a decision

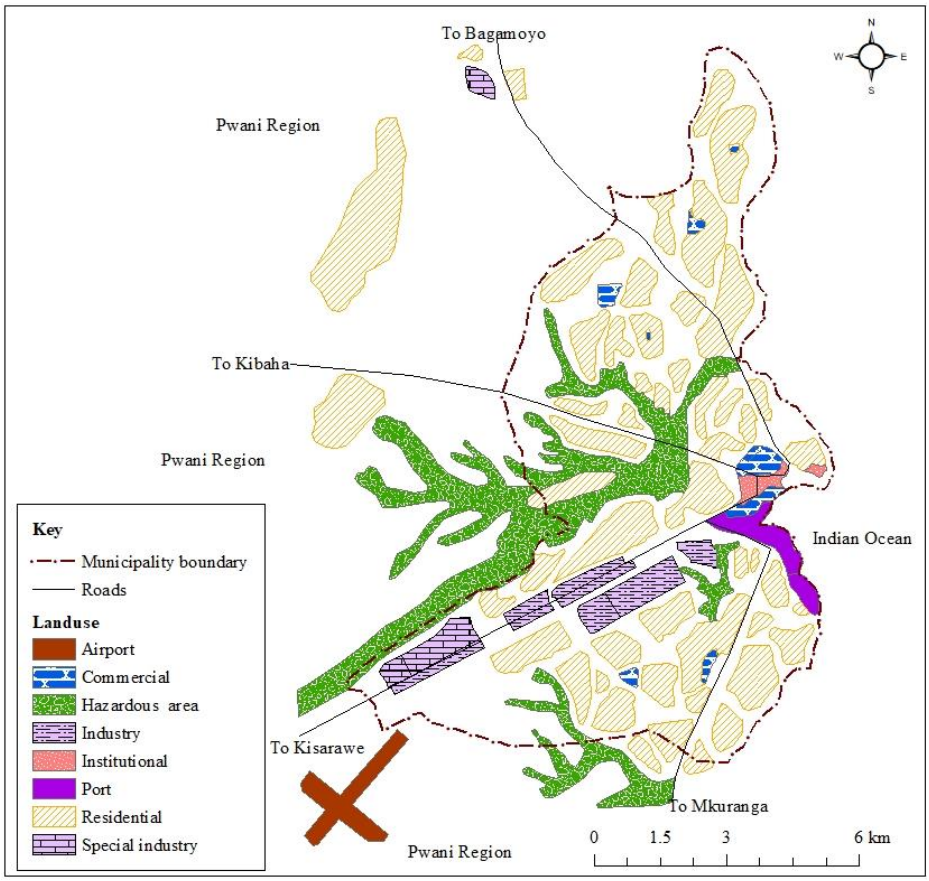
informed by neo-liberal policy. Consequently, many of the houses in these areas which were predominantly used for residential purposes have been redeveloped and the neighbourhoods have changed significantly from residential to commercial and institutional areas.

Apart from the German zoning plan, *Bauordinung*, which was prepared in 1914, the British colonial administration saw the need to prepare a comprehensive land-use plan for Dar es Salaam. This idea was backed by their government in Britain. This comprehensive planning was considered to be a futuristic approach to urban development which would have taken on board all the envisaged future investments in the colonies (Okpala, 2009). In the 1920s architect John Pashen was hired to prepare a comprehensive land use plan for Dar es Salaam. The plan was not implemented due to financial constraints. The Pashen plan was later found to be in conflict with many township establishments and was thus abandoned (Lupala, 2002). In 1940 the British colonial government prepared a new comprehensive plan for Dar es Salaam. A local government engineer Mr. Leadbeater, was engaged to advise the colonial government on matters related to town planning. He advised the government to prepare a comprehensive plan for Dar es Salaam with five zones conceived according to racial and functional considerations (Kironde, 1994). The comprehensive plan adopted all the local layout plans prepared for different areas in the city and proposed that the area along Pugu Road and Temeke be designated an industrial area. According to Lupala (2002) this master plan was not fully implemented because of financial the constraints resulting from the Second World War.

In spite of the previous non-implementation of master plans, the British colonial government prepared master plans in 1948 and 1949 for Mtwara and Dar es Salaam respectively (Armstrong, 1986). The process of preparing the Mtwara master plan is not as well documented as the process of preparing the Dar es Salaam master plan. The evidence available indicates that a British Consulting Company, Sir Alexander Gibbs and Partners, was hired to prepare the two master plans (Armstrong, 1986, 1987). By that time Dar es Salaam had a population of 60 000 and had achieved municipal status. It seems that the British administration was shocked by the rapid population growth in the city and the subsequent attainment of municipal status. These showed the immediate need to prepare a master plan and form of a town planning department (Armstrong, 1986). Apart from the master planning efforts in Mtwara and Dar es Salaam, all the other towns in the colony were planned according to the layout plans which

were introduced after the enactment of the Town (Development and Control) Ordinance of 1936.

The planning developments in Mtwara and Dar es Salaam were inevitable following the birth of modern urban planning practices and the subsequent enactment of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 in Britain. The planning practices which were adopted for implementation in the colonies were widely used in all Tanganyikan towns. However, under modernist master planning approaches, the 1948 and 1949 master plans for Mtwara and Dar es Salaam provided the basis for the preparation of layout plans and land acquisition for opening new areas planned for different uses, as Figure 5.7 shows. The colonial government in Tanzania also enacted a Town and Country Planning Ordinance in 1956 which was colloquially famously referred to as Cap 378. In all senses, this legal planning instrument was a duplicate of the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1947.



Source: Digitised from Armstrong (1986: 47)

Figure 5.7: The proposed land use plan of the Dar es Salaam master plan of 194

The law constituted the preparation of urban development plans based on a modernist rational master planning approach. The planning practice was adopted for both large and small towns. According to Kironde (1994), this planning law promoted the preparation of urban planning layouts for the Kigamboni minor settlement scheme and the Temeke and Magomeni African settlement schemes. This marked the end of colonial planning practices in Tanzania which attained her independence from Britain in 1961 before the master plans for Mtwara and Dar es Salaam could be implemented and saw the beginning of postcolonial urban planning practices.

5.2.3 Postcolonial urban planning practices

The new government in Tanzania continued to apply the colonial urban planning practices, but with slight modifications. The Government began their postcolonial urban planning efforts in 1961 by amending the Town and Country Planning Ordinance. The amendment transferred the powers given to the Governor during the colonial time to the postcolonial minister responsible for urban planning. One of these powers involved the declaration of urban planning areas (Kironde, 1994). In 1968, seven years after independence, the Tanzanian government prepared the first postcolonial master plan for Dar es Salaam. The preparation of this plan was directly influenced by the need to develop a national capital. The plan was devised to remedy colonial racial segregation that was evident in the spatial organisation of the city and to provide a tool for controlling the development of informal settlements (Armstrong, 1987; Lupala, 2002). This first postcolonial master plan for Dar es Salaam was opportunely one year after the Arusha Declaration.[17] The Declaration was a policy for building a socialist and self-reliant country (United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). To emphasise the influence of the Declaration on the preparation of the 1968 master plan, it was asserted that:

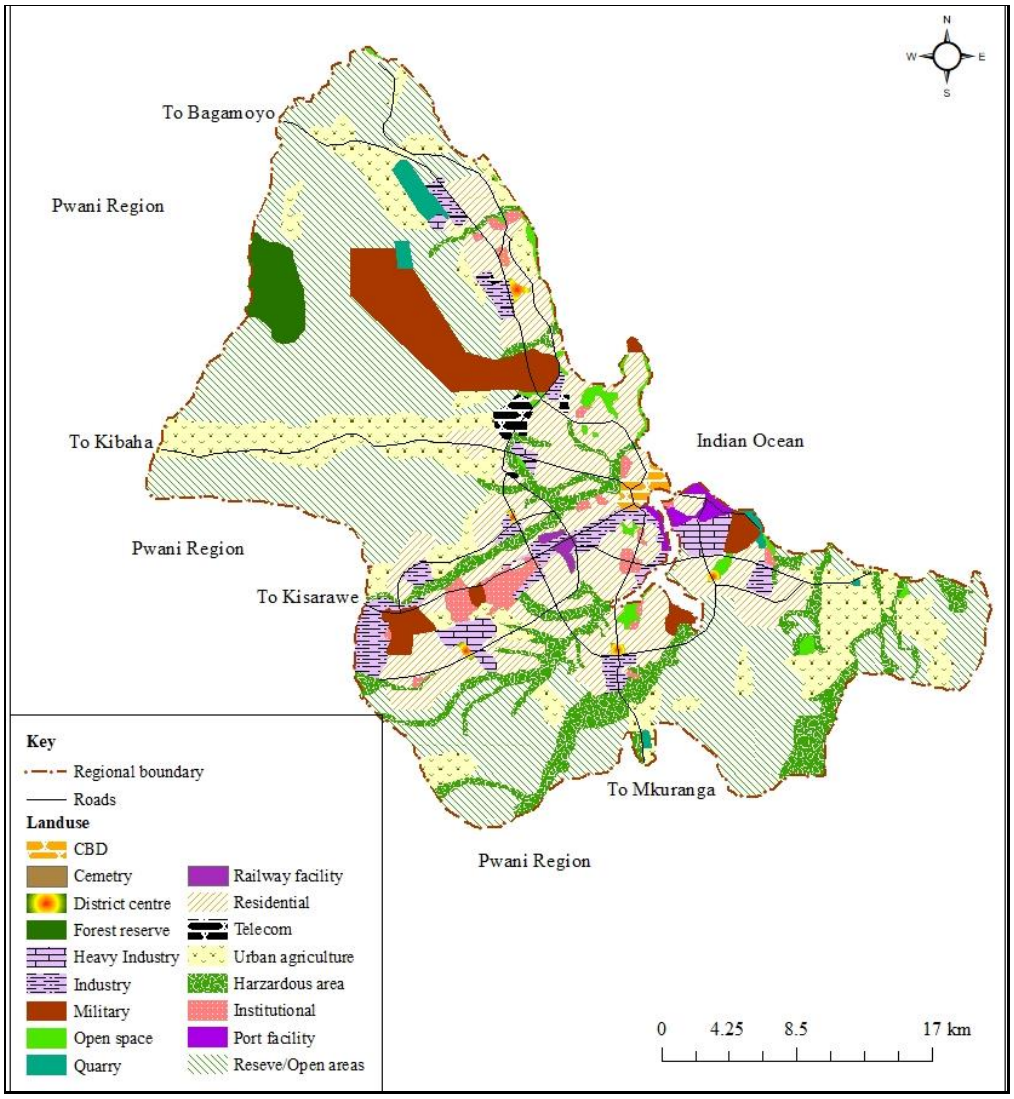
> The master plan is concerned with the how to house the populations adequately, provide civic and social services ranging from sewerage and water to schools and efficient communication and public transport systems, and with how to provide adequate employment as well as sensible locations for expanding industries, while making best use of natural and existing facilities of the city and district (Sutton, 1970: 18).

[17] The Arusha Declaration of 1967 was a revolutionary statement issued by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the ruling party which later (in 1977) changed its name to Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The aim of the statement was a commitment to build a socialist and self-reliant country. Based on African socialist ideology, the Arusha Declaration provided guidelines for the country's spatial planning processes with the aim of building a strong socialist economy. Among the guidelines were those for promoting industrial development and agricultural production.

The 1968 master plan provided for six development levels namely house level, neighbourhood level, community level, sub-city level, sub-metro level and the metropolis level (Lupala, 2002). Regarding the neighbourhood level, a dominant social group unit if it comprised 5 000 or more people. This formed the basis for the preparation of layout plans which made provision for residential land use and local-level central facilities. According to Armstrong (1986) the layout plans were prepared on the basis of the neighbourhood unit. The neighbourhood unit became known as a modernist planning concept in 1930 and it was used to restructure the suburbanisation of cities in the USA. The concept provides for residential accommodation for 5 000 people and central facilities, namely a neighbourhood park, two schools, two churches, a club, a cinema or hall and two shopping centres (Armstrong, 1986). To date, urban layout planning in Tanzania has maintained these standards with slight changes. However, the current planning policy requires urban layout plans to be prepared as subsets of comprehensive land use plans. Moreover, the 1968 master plan for Dar es Salaam proposed the redevelopment of Kariakoo and the resettlement of all informal settlements that existed at the time. Despite its radical approach, the plan was weak in its implementation strategies. As a result, most of its proposals were not implemented because of the government's inefficiency in financing infrastructure development projects and the general resistance from the informal settlement communities against the threat of resettlement threat (Lupala, 2002). Indeed, fiscal problems are still highlighted as major constraints on urban planning and the implementation of planning proposals.

Stimulated by the availability of foreign financial aid in the 1970s, the government of Tanzania embarked on the preparation of master plans for Dar es Salaam and other towns (Armstrong, 1986). The other towns were Morogoro (1974), Mbeya (1974), Moshi (1974), Tabora (1974), Tanga (1975) and Dodoma (1976). The government had to prepare a new master plan for Dar es Salaam ten years before the expiry of the planning horizon of the then existing plan. The Dar es Salaam master plan of 1979 is remarkable because of its premature birth which resulted from the difficulties experienced in the implementation of the1968 master plan. A new master plan was needed to address the changes that had taken place in the previous ten years, such as the failure of the resettlement policy. According to Lupala (2002) the conceptual approach to the 1979 Dar es Salaam master plan did not differ much from that of 1968 and it preserved much of the spatial structure (see Figure 5.8). The 1979 master plan was nevertheless considered to be less radical, since it introduced in situ informal settlement upgrading

compared to the resettlement and demolition proposed by the 1968 master plan. This radical change seems to have been induced by the global policy changes which happened in 1972 and which emphasised squatter upgrading and the introduction of site and services schemes.



Source: Digitised from Armstrong (1986: 60)

Figure 5.8: The Dar es Salaam master plan of 1979

In spite of these changes, the Dar es Salaam master plan of 1979 still kept layout plans as its implementation strategy at all scales. This planning approach is supposed to be used in the country's cities and small towns. In practice, however, the focus of master planning is on the major urban centres. The causal factors for abandoning master plans and adopting piecemeal planning in small towns need to be investigated. Regardless of the category of a given urban settlement, the master planning process is the same type. A critical analysis of the 1968 and

1979 master plans for Dar es Salaam attest to the problems facing master plan implementation which have existed in Tanzania since the colonial era (Armstrong, 1986; Namangaya, 2013). Unfortunately, master plans exhibit weaknesses such as their inability to catalyse the cities towards desired future physical forms (Namangaya, 2013). One needs to understand town planners' perceptions of trends in master plan implementation and its contribution to the current piecemeal practices. The question arises as to whether town planners consider master plans to be spatial development tools appropriate for small towns?

In spite of the implementation obstacles, master plans are still legally used to guide spatial development in the urban centres. Whether used in small or large towns, the planning process is the same. Despite the differences in scope between large and small towns, urban planning in Tanzania has been based on master planning. Past experiences of master plan implementation show that the lack of fiscal capacity to implement the proposals is the major obstacle to actualisation of plans. The shortage of financial resources for urban planning continue in Tanzania. This might have made town planners consider master plans as being irrelevant for managing urban development. Nevertheless, master plans, seen as comprehensive land-use plans for guiding urban development were normally implemented at local level using layout plans. This practice continued until 1992 when the planning approach changed to strategic planning.

5.2.3.1 Adoption of the strategic urban planning approach in the 1990s

The strategic urban planning approach was adopted to guide urban planning processes in Tanzania. Its adoption was meant to replace the modernist rational master planning approach which had guided urban development planning 1949. Before its replacement by the strategic urban planning in the 1990s the master planning approach had been used to guide urban planning processes in many towns in the country, particularly in large urban centres. Strategic urban planning was first used to prepare the Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP) for Dar es Salaam and was published in 1999. The Dar es Salaam SUDP was intended to address the challenges experienced by the 1949, 1968 and 1979 master plans (Armstrong, 1986; Kasala, 2013). It was noted that the urban development challenges of that time could not be addressed using conventional urban planning approaches (UN-Habitat, 2009a), for example the need to address informality, working with informal actors and the burden of public investment in trunk

infrastructure. All of these required a planning approach that would bring the stakeholders together to effectively plan and manage urban development (UN-Habitat, 2009a).

The adoption of strategic planning was a response to the postmodernist planning practices which had affected urban planning in the 1980s. Postmodernist planning ideologies stressed on the necessity of involving stakeholders at all levels during the planning process. Strategic urban planning was promoted for its potential to enhance local planning capacities (UN-Habitat, 2005a). This ideology promoted the adoption of collaborative planning practices which bring stakeholders together, including local people and the private sector in a complementary manner to address urbanisation challenges.

Despite the adoption of a new planning approach, the financing problems persisted. The preparation of the SUDP for Dar es Salaam was actualised through a donor-funded project. The project was initially financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through the then United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS).[18] The project was aimed at improving urban planning and management, as well as addressing the obstacles to urban development (UN-Habitat, 2005b; Kasala, 2013).The presence of these urbanisation challenges in many towns, particularly in Dar es Salaam, led the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHSD) in 1990 to request technical assistance from the UNDP to review the 1979 Dar es Salaam master plan. However, given their agenda to promote collaborative planning practices, the UNDP through the UNCHS responded to the MLHHSD request but laid down two conditions. First, the UNCHS was ready to provide technical support to the Tanzanian government only the strategic urban planning approach replaces the master planning approach. Second, the UNCHS said that the strategic planning process must be managed by the respective local government authorities and not by the MLHHSD (UN-Habitat, 2005c).

The UNCHS conditions resulted from the global agenda that shifted towards postmodernist and neoliberal ideologies and away from modernist and liberal ideologies. The latter promoted stakeholder and private sector involvement in planning processes. The shift called for the adoption of planning approaches which are responsive to the demands of communities and

[18] UNCHS has since changed its name to The United Nation Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat)

which integrate development and environment (UN-Habitat, 2005b; Kasala, 2013). Collaborative planning in the form of strategic urban planning was considered to be relevant if implementated by local-level institutions which are close to the people and which can promote democracy. The focus on local governments was in line with the global efforts to implement decentralisation which demanded that planning responsibilities to be mandated to local institutions which are closer to stakeholders.

The UNCHS demands were opposed by the MLHHSD which emhasised the preparation of a master plan. MLHHSD's argument was grounded in the argument that the adoption of strategic planning was against the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1956 as amended in 1961 (Kasala, 2013). As a result, the MLHHSD demanded that plan preparation must conform to the legal requirements stipulated in the Town and Country Planning Ordinance (Cap 378). MLHHSD's position indicated a degree of uncertainty on how the SUDP would be used to manage urbanisation challenges in the Dar es Salaam in the absence of a legally binding land use plan (Kasala, 2013). The disagreement led the MLHHSD to reject the project unless it conformed to the planning laws. Consequently, the UNCHS abandoned the MLHHSD and decided to implement the project through the Ministry for Regional Administration and Local Government, which had agreed to honour the United Nations' conditions for adopting strategic urban planning and for implementing the project through local government authorities (UN-Habitat, 2005a).

The technical support agreement between the UNCHS and the Ministry for Regional Administration and Local Government was finalised and signed in April 1991 (Kasala, 2013). The agreement marked the beginning of the implementation of the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) in Tanzania in 1992 (UN-Habitat, 2005a). Significantly, the implementation of the SCP through the Ministry for Regional Administration and Local Government created tension between the two government ministries. Moreover, it was an indication of the role of a multilateral organisation in spearheading planning practices which are consistent with global ideologies and the universal values of the time.

The signing of the technical support agreement between the United Nations and the government of Tanzania marked the beginning of strategic urban planning practices in the country. The signing of the agreement also marked the first shift of the urban planning approach in the

postcolonial era. As with previous urban planning practices, strategic urban planning in Tanzania was first introduced in Dar es Salaam. It is important to remember that the adoption of strategic urban planning was made through the SCP, which was specifically referred to as the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) in Dar es Salaam (UN-Habitat, 2005c). The programme was piloted in Dar es Salaam through the SDP with the aim of transforming the city into a demonstration project for a national programme of environmentally sustainable urban development (UN-Habitat, 2005b). By 1997 additional funding from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) had replicated the project in other municipalities, namely Iringa, Moshi, Mwanza, Tanga and Morogoro. The difference between strategic planning and master planning is the former's emphasis on inclusiveness, transparency, decentralisation, efficient service delivery and responsiveness to civil societies.

The adoption of strategic planning practices in Tanzania was accompanied by two internal transformations, that is a shift from a socialist state-controlled economy to a market economy that started in mid-1980 and the re-introduction of multiparty democracy[19] in 1992 (Tambila, 1995; UN-Habitat, 2005a). These political and economic reforms required making room for civic engagements, as well as the replacement of government service delivery by private sector actors. The process was further constrained by the tensions that arose between the two government ministries because the MLHHSD favoured master planning and the Ministry for Regional Administration and Local Government embraced strategic planning. The tensions were intensified by UNCHS's decision to abandon the MLHHSD and, instead implemented the SCP through the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government.

In spite of all these hurdles, the success of the SCP was marked in 1999 by the implementation of the SDP in which the SUDP for Dar es Salaam was completed. The strategic urban planning process under the SDP took six years to be completed and to produce a planning document. Apart from this, in the early 2000s strategic planning was adopted as the national urban planning approach. Although, the planning law that supported master planning had not been changed, strategic planning was used to guide urban planning throughout the country. The

[19] In 1962, one year after attaining independence, the Tanzanian government abolished multiparty democracy. According to Tambila (1995) there was no dictatorship. Instead, the one-party system identified with a nation as a whole was a government strategy to strengthen democracy in early postcolonial time instead of having many parties each representing a section of the community. Multiparty democracy was re-introduced in 1992.

adoption of strategic planning was also supported by the efforts of the planning school at Ardhi University,[20] which changed its curricula in favour of strategic planning. Thus, the training of town planners shifted from master planning to strategic urban development planning.

However, after a decade of strategic planning practices in Tanzania, various weaknesses became obvious such as the lack of legally binding power, the failure to translate its strategies into binding land-use proposals, the time-consuming nature of the strategic planning process and its consumption of a lot of resources (Halla, 2002; UN-Habitat, 2005a; Kasala, 2015). These weaknesses warranted a return to the master planning approach following the deliberations made at the MLHHSD annual general meeting held in 2007 (Kasala, 2015). In spite of the noted weaknesses, urban layout plans were the main form of detailed land-use plans used to guide spatial development. The MLHHSD meeting resolved to return to the master planning approach but in a hybridised model.[21] Even though the tensions between the MLHHSD and the Ministry Regional Administration and Local Government were not mentioned, the fact that no effort was made to address the weaknesses of strategic urban planning pointed to the possibility that had MLHHSD decided to return to master planning.

5.2.3.2 The return to the master planning approach in 2007

The return to the master planning approach in Tanzania happened in the second decade of practising strategic urban planning. Several reasons led to the abandonment of strategic urban planning including its inability to translate development proposals in each development zone into land-use proposals. As a result, it was difficult to pre-determine the desired future land use (Halla, 2002). Furthermore, the consultative processes took too long and cost too much to produce the required outputs. And finally, the approach was criticised for the stakeholders' inability to implement the proposals (Kasala, 2013, 2015). These contributed to the arguments made by the MLHHSD for a return to master planning as the official urban planning and management approach (Kasala, 2015).

[20] Ardhi University is the only University hosting a planning school in Tanzania. It came into being following the upgrading of the former Ardhi Institute and later University College of Lands and Architectural Studies (UCLAS). UCLAS was a university college under the University of Dar es Salaam from 1996 to 2007 when it became an independent university.

[21] Hybridisation in this case follows the proposal by the MLHHSD for the preparation of general planning schemes that draw from both master planning and strategic planning. This planning process is supported by Urban Planning Act No. 8 of 2007 as well as the guidelines for preparing general planning schemes.

However, the process of preparing master plan was supposed to be consultative. The resulting hybrid made the master planning approach embrace some strategic planning features. In the same year, Urban Planning Act No. 8 of 2007 was enacted and guidelines were drawn up to facilitate the process of preparing master plan and institutionalisation (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a,b). The enactment of the Urban Planning Act in 2007 gave Tanzania its first postcolonial urban planning law.

Kasala (2015) noted that the termination of strategic planning was as a premature death because the abandonment of the approach was caused by the "misconception of the theory of paradigm shifts" and they had abandoned strategic planning with master planning before it could be fully integrated into the national planning institutional framework. However, the sequence of the events associated with the return to master planning show that the MLHHSD was prepared and determined to make the return. Its determination eased the passing of the resolution and boosted the enactment of the urban planning law and the compiling of guidelines. The strategy for returning to master planning and the subsequent enactment of the legal instruments underlined the significance of the tensions that sprung from the implementation of the SCP. The MLHHSD succeeded in proving wrong the decision to adopt strategic planning which it had opposed from the outset (UN-Habitat, 2005a,b; Kasala, 2013).

Master planning has been the national urban planning approach of Tanzania since 2007. Its practice involves preparing a comprehensive city plan implemented through the preparation of layout plans, commonly known in Tanzania as town planning drawings. Despite this policy requirement, it has been especially noted in small towns that there has been a tendency to prepare urban layout plans in the absence of master plans. This practice calls attention to the need to understand the factors involved in the adoption of this practice by town planners in subnational levels. Moreover, it is important to get an understanding of the social, economic, spatial and environmental implications of this practice.

Equally important, is an examination of the issues that have become apparent regarding the practise of comprehensive planning in the country. Since the end of the colonial era master planning has faced certain implementation problems, which are mostly caused by the lack of financial resources. This poor implementation record has rendered various plans redundant and cause others to be re-prepared even before the expiry of their planning horizons. The

preparation of master plans in the colonial times was financed by the colonial country, whereas multilateral organisations have done so in the postcolonial era in Tanzania. Although the implementation of master plans was inadequate, layout plans continued to be prepared and implemented. These trends have made layout plans the dominant planning tool for guiding spatial development in the country.

5.2.3.3 The postcolonial planning institutional framework

Postcolonial urban planning in Tanzania adapted the colonial institutional framework. Yet the postcolonial urban planning law in Tanzania has kept in touch with the British town planning institutional structure based on the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1956. However, one of the postcolonial legal amendments made in the 1961 was the removal of racial segregation embodied in the colonial planning laws (Okpala, 2009). Although racial segregation was abolished, the 1961 amendment, and Urban Planning Act No. 8 of 2007 have many colonial legacies.

The current urban institutional framework is informed by local government and urban planning legislation which created a multilevel structure of urban planning based on the type of urban areas involved. The types of urban areas are cities, municipalities, towns and small towns; the latter are divided further into townships and minor settlements (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a). Small towns are also regarded as rural settlements Table 5.1 shows the minimum requirement criteria for urban areas. Notwithstanding the categorisation of urban areas, the same planning approaches are always used at all levels of urban settlement.

Table 5.1: The classification of urban areas in Tanzania

Class	Declaration criteria	Category	Planning Authority
Minor settlement (Trading centre)	Any rural areas which are strategically located and act as trading centres. It should have at least five retail shops and a market place, a primary school, a dispensary and a post office	Rural	District Council
Township	Population of 10 000; a health centre, a secondary school, 20 licensed shops and a market place, a primary court and it should either be a ward or a division headquarter.	Rural	District Council/ Township Authority
Town	Population of 30 000; it should be able to produce 50% of its annual budget and should have a hospital, a secondary school and at least 50 licensed shops and a police station.	Urban	Town Council
Municipality	Population of 100 000; at least 30% of employment should be in non-agricultural sectors and should have at least one manufacturing and several small-scale industries. It should be able to produce 70% of its annual budget services. It should be a centre for higher order of services, cultural, educational and health facilities which serve an area beyond the administrative region, including universities, a referral hospitals and international conference facilities. It should also be important for regional or national administration or be a centre of multinational organisation(s).	Urban	Municipal Council
City	Population of 500 000; at least 95% of its annual budget. It should have some symbolic importance in addition to the normal qualifications of a municipality. These shall include: (i) historical significance; (ii) outstanding cultural importance such as a major tourist centre; (iii) the seat of regional government; (iv) the seat of international activities; and (v) any other symbolic value.	Urban	City Council
Megacity	Population of 4 000 000 and it must surpass all the requirements of a city status.	Urban	City Council

Source: Extracted from United Republic of Tanzania (1982a,b, 2007a)

On the basis of this classification of urban areas, it may be noted that Tanzania had a total of 719 urban planning areas of different types in 2017 (recall Table 1.1). The majority of the urban planning areas are minor settlements (83.4%) or townships (9.9%). According to the 2012 population census, 71% of Tanzanians lived in rural areas and 29.1% in urban areas (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013a). The census also indicated steady population growth rates for the small towns (section 6.2.2). It is therefore not unlikely that the projected urbanisation trends in Tanzania will occur in both the large urban centre and the small towns. Depending on their comparative advantages, some of townships and minor settlements will become larger than

they are today. This will put pressure on and test the current planning practices and institutional arrangements.

Urban planning practices in Tanzania have always placed accent on layout plans for guiding land use decision-making in urban areas during the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. The institutional framework for urban planning in Tanzania has changed slightly since the colonial period. The previous planning practices and the current planning institutional framework provide the basis for the assessing their implications for the planning practices in Tanzanian small towns.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF PLANNING PROCESSES FOR PRACTICES IN SMALL TOWNS

In this section urban planning processes are analysed and related to the urban planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari. The analysis previous and current planning practices dating from precolonial and colonial to postcolonial urban planning. Layout plans have long dominated urban planning practices in Tanzania. Scrutiny of Table 5.2 reveals that spatial development in urban areas in Tanzania has always by layout plans. Even so, a variety of urban planning approaches such as urban design, land-use zoning, master planning and strategic planning were adopted in specific periods. Spatial development in all the planning approaches was implemented through the preparation of layout plans. Because many master plans were never implemented, many of the layout plans had to be implemented in a piecemeal manner.

The dominant use of layout planning as a strategy for spatial development has been observed in both small and large urban areas. There is no evidence that planning has been practiced differently in different urban settlements. Even where interim land use plans have been prepared in small towns, they were implemented using layout plans. The preparation of layout plans for Mlandizi and Sirari resembles urban design planning practices. During the precolonial and early colonial times layout plans were prepared piecemeal because comprehensive land-use plans available in urban areas. However, the reasons for this are different because in early modern times urban design was the only and dominant planning approach. Currently, the master planning approach considers layout plans to be a second tier, which must conform to comprehensive land use plans.

Table 5.2: Planning practices in Tanzania

Planning era	Planning approach	Planning outcome	Evidence
Precolonial	Urban design	Street and circulation layout	Sultan Seyyid Majid's plan for Dar es Salaam in the early 1860s.
Colonial	Urban design	Street and circulation layout	Layout plan for German administration and residential housing in 1891.
		Street and circulation layout	Layout plans prepared for Seaview, Upanga and Kariakoo in the1900s.
	Land use zoning	Divided the city into three zones based on race	Zoning regulations were introduced in 1914, but spatial development was actualised through the preparation of layout plans.
		Divided the city into three zones based on race	The British implemented the German zoning regulations by expanding layout preparation in each zone, starting in 1920.
	Comprehensive land use planning	The plan proposed developing Dar es Salaam into five zones based on racial and functional considerations	The plan was prepared by the British in 1940 and adopted all layout plans prepared for different areas and opened new industrial areas in Temeke and on Pugu Road.
	Master planning	Futuristic urban development considerations	Master plans for Mtwara and Dar es Salaam were prepared by the British in 1948 and 1949 respectively. Spatial development was actualised through layout planning.
Postcolonial	Master planning	Futuristic urban development and building of a socialist and self-reliant postcolonial nation	The first postcolonial master plan was implemented in 1968 to remedy colonial racial segregation and to control the development of informal settlements. Spatial development was based on layout plans.
		Futuristic urban development and promotion of industrial development	Preparation of master plans in many towns in the 1970s. Spatial development was actualised through layout plans at neighbourhood level.
	Strategic planning	Replaced modernist rational ideology with postmodernist ideology	Strategic planning was prepared in the 1990s and 2000s maintained layout plans as a tool for spatial development.
	Master planning	Master planning was reinstated based on what is said to be weaknesses of strategic planning.	Since the reinstatement of master plans in 2007, layout plans have continued to be used as a tool for guiding spatial development.
	Piecemeal planning	Current practice of involving preparation of layout plan in the absence of a comprehensive plan	Drawing from urban design principles, layout plans are prepared to guide spatial development, mainly in small towns where master plans are not prepared. The practice resembles planning of the early colonial times.

Source: Prepared by the researcher on the basis of the reviewed sources

The current piecemeal planning practice deviate from a legally required master planning. This deviation from the required urban planning norm is credited to several factors, as discussed in Chapter 6. The factors which are referred to in Chapter 6 as contextual realities are determined by the many aspects influencing the urban planning environment.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the history of urban planning practices in Tanzania. It has shown that, in Tanzania, urban planning has always been done according to different ideologies and influenced by various ambitions. While precolonial urban planning by Arabs was influenced by their ambitions of promoting trade, colonial urban planning by the German and British colonialists was influenced by the desire to establish and maintain their colonial administrations, while at the same time exploiting resources in the colony. The postcolonial planning efforts have been geared towards removing the colonial racial segregation legacies as well as promoting economic and social development. All these efforts have needed legal support, with the result that urban planning and land laws were enacted to suit the desired ambitions in each planning epoch. In spite of the different ambitions, each planning era inherited what had existed in the previous era. Hence, the urban planning efforts in each era started where the previous era ended. The current urban planning practices can therefore not be disassociated from their colonial roots. Apart from this, the urban planning laws have remained almost the same, except that the 1961 law amendments and the Urban Planning Act of 2007 have helped to remove the racial segregation, on which the colonial planning laws were grounded. Apart from removing racial segregation from the law, urban planning in Tanzania has maintained the colonial institutional framework as well as the approaches guiding the planning processes.

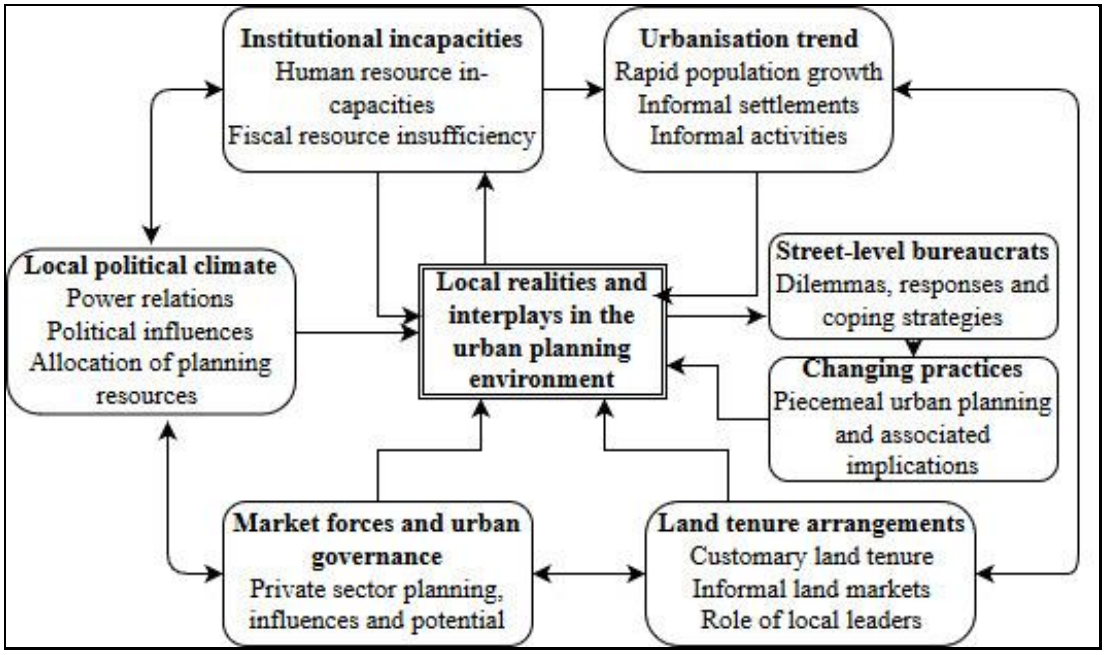
Clearly, the planning history in Tanzania is ‘titled’ towards Dar es Salaam. Beacuase the town emerged in the 1860s, it enjoyed the comparative and competitive advantages of being a colonial administration centre and a postcolonial national capital. In this regard, each urban planning practice adopted in Tanzania since the precolonial period has always been introduced first in Dar es Salaam and then replicated in other towns in the country. As country’s primate city, Dar es Salaam has always enjoyed the attention of both multilateral organisations and academic as well as research institutions. Again, is no published material on the planning histories of other Tanzanian towns. This explains the dominance of Dar es Salaam in the

planning history of Tanzania. It has also made Dar es Salaam a testing ground for all the planning approaches, namely urban design, master planning and strategic planning before they are applied in other urban areas and local governments in the country. Notwithstanding the changes in the urban planning approaches, urban planning in Tanzania has been dominated by urban layout plans throughout its planning history. During the early colonial times layout plans were prepared in a piecemeal manner in response to the administrative and residential needs of the time. The current practices in Mlandizi and Sirari are contrary to the urban planning policy and resemble planning in the early colonial times. The factors influencing piecemeal planning are many and intertwined. The next chapter discusses some of the factors influencing the adoption of piecemeal planning by bureaucrats at subnational levels.

CHAPTER 6
LOCAL REALITIES AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS IN MLANDIZI AND SIRARI

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the local realities of the two small towns, Mlandizi and Sirari. Local realities are not constant and they are not the same in all urban planning contexts because "the specificities of any urban governing context are produced by the confluence of a locality's institutional, political, socio-cultural and economic settings" (McGuirk, 2000: 654). Even though the principles governing urban planning are the same, local realities influence urban planning policies which, in turn, affect the planning practices (Leaf, 1998; Healey, 2003). Specifically, policy-makers imagination informs policy statements, but local conditions determine the nature of policy implementation. This helps to explain the effect of local realities on bureaucrats' discretion and decision-making in the policy process. The philosophies and ideologies or theories guiding the urban planning process (recall Chapter 2), only provide general views and guiding norms of urban planning. This is because the planning process has always been a contextual issue (Short, 2003; Scott & Storper, 2015; Storper & Scott, 2016). The manifestations of local realities and their interplay, as well as bureaucrats' responses and their effects on the urban planning policy process in Mlandizi and Sirari are shown in Figure 6.1.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 6.1: Local manifestations of realities and their interplays in small towns

By drawing on street-level bureaucracy theory as well as on the influence of local realities on bureaucrats' discretion and decision-making in the policy process, this section explores the interface between local realities and the adoption of piecemeal planning (Hudson, 1997; Lipsky, 2010). The discussion is guided by the framework provided in Figure 6.1. Mlandizi and Sirari are geographical containers and urban planning environments which are shaped by internal and external forces (Saunders, 1981; Scott & Storper, 2015). Regardless of their scale, urban environments have always been the centre of social, economic, political and structural processes around which planning is undertaken (Brenner, 2000; Watson, 2012). Consequently, realities cannot be generalised outside their social, economic and political contexts or the perceptions of the bureaucrats' derived from lived experiences. Local realities are the qualities which distinguish the two small towns from many other urban areas and which make them appropriate cases for this study (Scott & Storper, 2015; Jackson & Mazzei, 2018).

The urban environment is influenced by numerous factors, including rapid urbanisation, institutional planning characteristics, a local political climate, market forces and land-tenure arrangements. These factors affect the urban planning environment directly and indirectly. Indirect influence result from the interplay of the factors that create webs of intertwined elements. In their totality they form the conditions around which town planners' do their job. The pressures exerted by the realities create dilemmas for planning professionals. Planners' responses to dilemmas and the strategies they invent to cope with realities result in the differential implementation of urban planning policies. This is where piecemeal planning practices and their implications enter the picture. While piecemeal planning has become part of institutional planning practices, their implications add to the realities in the planning environment. In providing detailed accounts of the factors, this chapter starts with a discussion of urbanisation trends in Mlandizi and Sirari. This involves relating the history of the development of the two towns as well as the demographic and spatio-temporal growth trends of the towns. The discussion on local realities is narrowed to five variables namely (1) land-tenure administration, (2) proliferation of informal settlements, (3) institutional planning capacities, (4) local political climate and (5) the role of the private sector in planning and land delivery. The discussion uncovers the influence of each on the town planners' use of discretion and their decisions to adopt piecemeal planning practices.

6.2 URBANISATION TRENDS IN SMALL TOWNS

The demonstration of urbanisation potential was the criterion used to select the two towns. Even though there are many other factors and indicators for assessing the growth potential of small towns (Donaldson et al., 2012), population and spatial growth have always been used to determine the rate of urbanisation. Population is used because it is a determinant of human needs like housing and social services. In turn, the need for housing and services for growing populations determines spatial development. Population thresholds are drivers of urban development and the categorisation of human settlements (Cao et al., 2012; Benna, 2016). The following subsections trace the development histories and the demographic and spatial development trends of Mlandizi and Sirari to demonstrate their growth potential.

6.2.1 Historical development of Mlandizi and Sirari

Urban development characteristics cannot be detached from towns histories (Knox and Mayer, 2013). An understanding of the development histories of Mlandizi and Sirari helps to uncover the background and the forces behind their rapid urbanisation. The urban development histories of Mlandizi and Sirari began in the 1970s. Mlandizi developed from a rural settlement; its development was triggered by the construction of a tarmacked road connecting Dar es Salaam to other parts of the country in 1971. The construction activities made people from the hinterland to settle at Mlandizi and engage in retail businesses, petty trading and catering services, mainly to the passengers travelling along Morogoro Road (Kibaha District Council, 2007). Owing to the rapid population growth and the spatial expansion of the settlement, Mlandizi was declared an urban planning area in 2001 as per Government Notice (GN) No. 217 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001). In 2004 the town was declared a township authority by GN No. 352. The earlier notice empowered the local council to prepare a detailed urban planning layout, whereas the latter specified the town's position in the country's hierarchy of urban settlements.

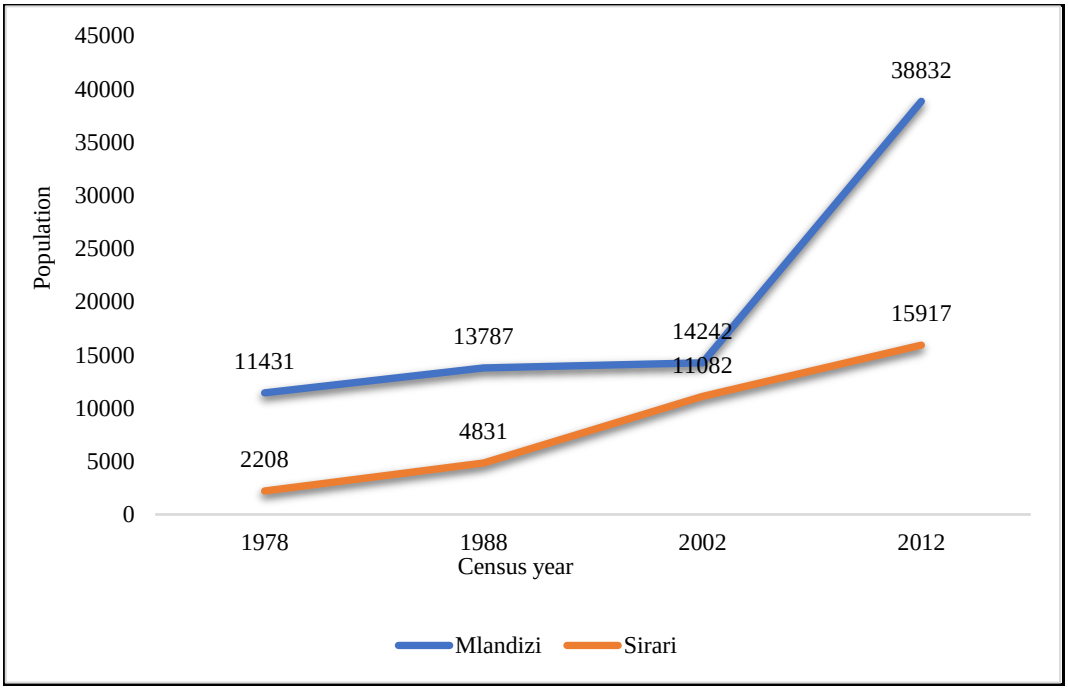
The urban development of Sirari can be traced to 1974 when it was established as an ujamaa village[22] during the villagisation policy in Tanzania. Sirari became a village and was declared

[22] Ujamaa villages were established by the Tanzanian government in the early 1970s under the villagisation policy (Nyerere, 2008). Based on African socialism, the policy established formal villages in which scattered populations were resettled so that social services could be provided to them more efficiently; communal production was organised and citizens political involvement was encouraged.

an urban planning area in 1996 through GN No. 176. The notice empowered the local council to prepare detailed urban planning layouts for the town. The population and the spatial extent of both towns have grown steadily over the years.

6.2.2 Population growth trends

The proportion of the world's urban population is projected to reach 70% by 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2013, 2016). According to African Planning Association and UN-Habitat (2013) urbanisation trends in Africa call for pragmatic and proactive initiatives by the urban planning professionals to adopt planning practices that will facilitate inclusive growth. The population growth rates for Mlandizi and Sirari confirm the global and regional urbanisation projections. A longitudinal analysis of census statistics show that the towns' populations grew steadily, as illustrated in Figure 6.2. Indeed, the towns populations have been growing steadily since 1978; Mlandizi's even doubled between 2002 and 2012. The two towns experienced an average annual population increases of 6.5% and 8.5% respectively from 1978 to 2012.



Source: Summarised from national census records for 1978, 1988, 2002 and 2012
Figure 6.2: Population growth trends of Mlandizi and Sirari

The observed population growth results from natural increase and immigration. The household surveys indicate that 63% and 49% of the surveyed households migrated to Mlandizi and Sirari. The higher rate of migration to Mlandizi than to Sirari may be attributed to the former town's

location along the central transport corridor and its proximity to Dar es Salaam and the latter town serving as border town. The high rate of migration to Mlandizi from 2002 onwards corresponds with the census-reported population growth trends. There were two main factors for the rapid population growth in Mlandizi between 2002 and 2012. The first is the enactment of Land Acts No. 4 and No.5 of 1999 and the associated land commercialisation approach (United Republic of Tanzania, 1999a,b). Before the enactment of these legal land administration instruments it was illegal to sell land in Tanzania. The legalisation of land commercialisation eased land transactions and promoted informal land markets due to the slow pace at which local authorities delivered land. As a result, many farms under customary ownership were subdivided, sold informally and mainly developed for residential purposes. Customary landownership and the informal market made many people settle in Mlandizi. This trend fuelled the development of informal settlements which posed new problems for planners. Again, the informal urbanisation trends in Mlandizi and Sirari explain the process of the expansion of informal settlements. The informal settlements did not emerge overnight, but rather they expanded over time due to rapid population growth, the low capacity of the local governments to provide affordable shelter and diversify sources of livelihoods, as well as emergence of informal land markets.

Second the declaration of Mlandizi a township in 2004 fuelled immigration (Kibaha District Council, 2007). The household survey revealed that the migrants came from the hinterland (18%) and other parts of the country (82%). The majority of the immigrants came from outside Kibaha district and Pwani region, which indicates the attractiveness of Mlandizi to people from other parts of the country. In addition, township declaration expanded the boundaries of Mlandizi to which two more administrative wards, namely Janga and Kilangalanga were added (Kibaha District Council, 2007). This led to the increase in the number of people in the area. Even though the two wards were predominantly rural and sparsely inhabited, their addition to Mlandizi led to the increase in the number noted in the 2012 population census. Rapid urbanisation and booming informal land markets promoted the development of informal settlements in the global South particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (Watson & Agbola, 2013).

Migration to Sirari has an international face the migrants came from the hinterland (44.6%), other parts of the country (44.6%) and other countries (10.8%). Its location in the border area explains the presence in Sirari of international migrants, mainly from Kenya. The town's rapid

population growth is one of the planning challenges encountered by the town planners. This is the factor that has led to the adoption of the piecemeal planning practices in the two small towns. During an interview in 2017 the town planner responsible for Mlandizi revealed that: "we have adopted piecemeal planning as a response to the demand for shelter by different sections of the urban population." Institutional incapacities have necessitated the private sector's involvement to fill the gap in land delivery. As a result, the layout plans prepared by the private sector were accepted by the council planners as a strategy for meeting the increasing demand for shelter.

The layout plans prepared piecemeal facilitate the conducting of cadastral surveys and have the potential to increase formal acquisition and ownership of land. However, the ad hoc and piecemeal solutions to urbanisation challenges create more problems than planning solutions (Berke & Conroy, 2000; Hills & Schleicher, 2015). Unless careful implementation of piecemeal practices is done, Mlandizi and Sirari are likely to fall into the trap of "urbanization without growth" (Rakodi, 2005: 50). In short, the evidence presented in this section attests to close relationship between population growth and the spatial development of these small towns. The next section shows how rapid population growth affected the spatial development of the towns.

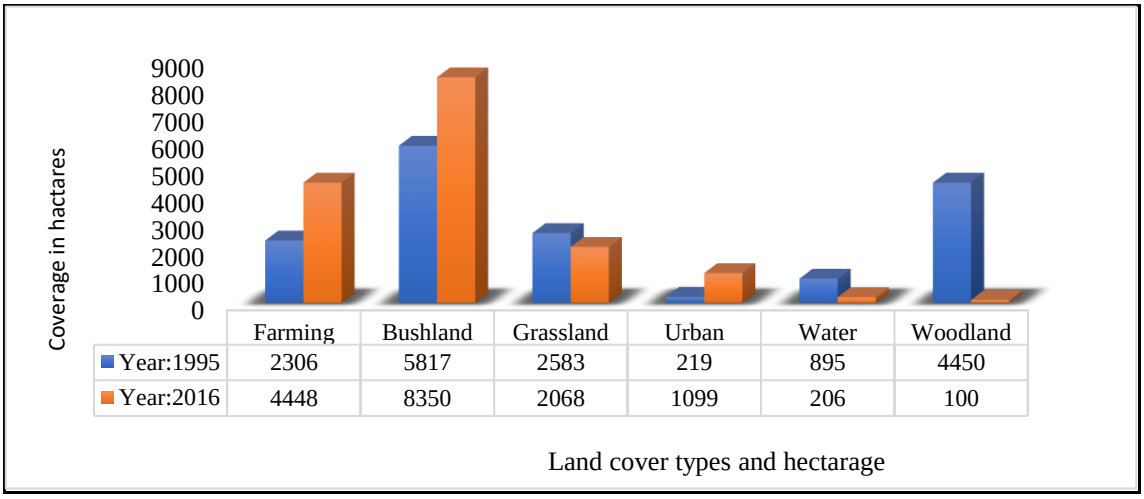
6.2.3 Spatial development trends

In this section aspects of the spatial development of Mlandizi and Sirari resulting from rapid population growth are discussed. The discussion helps to understand how population growth over time has translated into the demand for shelter and social services. This manifest itself in land-use change and spatial expansion of settlements. The spatial development trends were established from the time series analyses of satellite images of each town. The spatial development outcomes are related to the observed population growth trends.

6.2.3.1 Spatial expansion and sprawl of Mlandizi, 1995-2016

The spatial development trends in Mlandizi were derived from two spatial data sets. Satellite images for 1995 and 2016 were used to establish the spatial extent of urbanisation in Mlandizi over the two-decade period. During this period Mlandizi increased in size from 219 hectares in 1995 to 1099 hectares in 2016 (Figure 6.3). It has increased by 401.8% in the past two decades. Other forms of land cover and their respective percentage increases or decreases are farming

(93%), bushland (44%), grassland (-20%), water resources (-77%) and woodland (-98%). Urbanisation involved conversion of the areas which were initially covered by grassland, waterbodies or woodland. Considering the observed rates of population growth in Mlandizi, the Mlandizi is very likely to continue expanding. The current state of spatial development in Mlandizi calls for the adoption of appropriate planning solutions to the associated development problems.

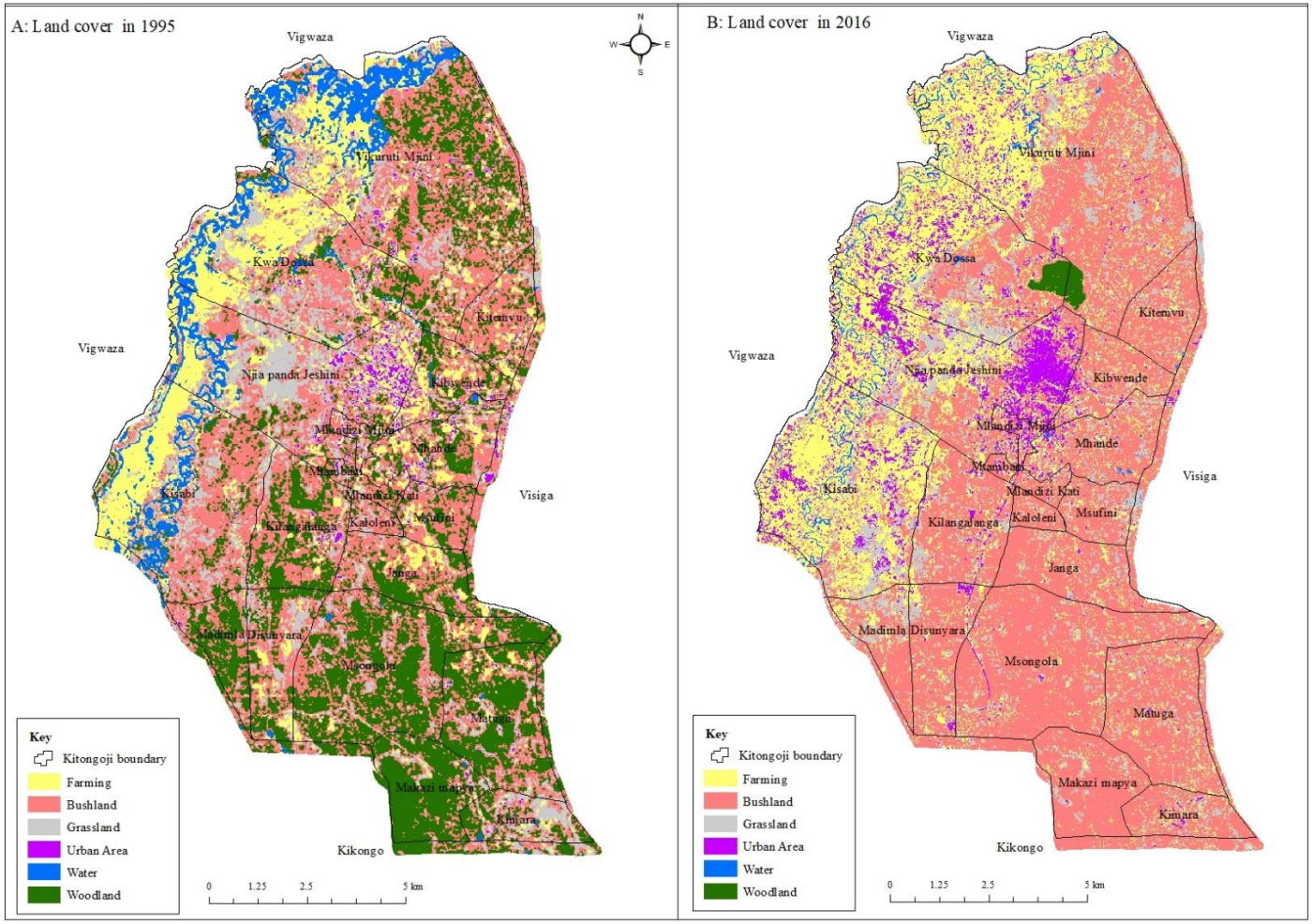


	Farming	Bushland	Grassland	Urban	Water	Woodland
Year:1995	2306	5817	2583	219	895	4450
Year:2016	4448	8350	2068	1099	206	100

Source: Spatial analysis of Landsat 1995 and Sentinel 2016 images

Figure 6.3: Area of land cover types in Mlandizi in 1995 and 2016

The spatial distribution of land cover types in Mlandizi in 1995 (A) and 2016 (B) is shown in Figure 6.4. In 1995 the areas covered by urban developments were small and scattered in Mlandizi mjini, Kibwende, Mihande, Njia panda ya jeshini and Kilangalanga hamlets. A marked increase in the size of the area from 1995 to 2016 mainly occurred in the central part of the township and in 2016 the spatial structure was more compact and denser. Apart from the changes that occurred in the central part of the township, settlement development and concentration can be seen in the Ruvu River basin in the western part of the town. The settlements in this area mainly attracted farming activities (shaded in yellow). The area, formerly predominantly agricultural, had changed to a mix of settlements and the associated urban land uses (shaded in purple). The development of the settlement in the river basin accounts for the 77% decrease of the water body area in the river basin. This decline was due to the intensification of farming and urban activities.



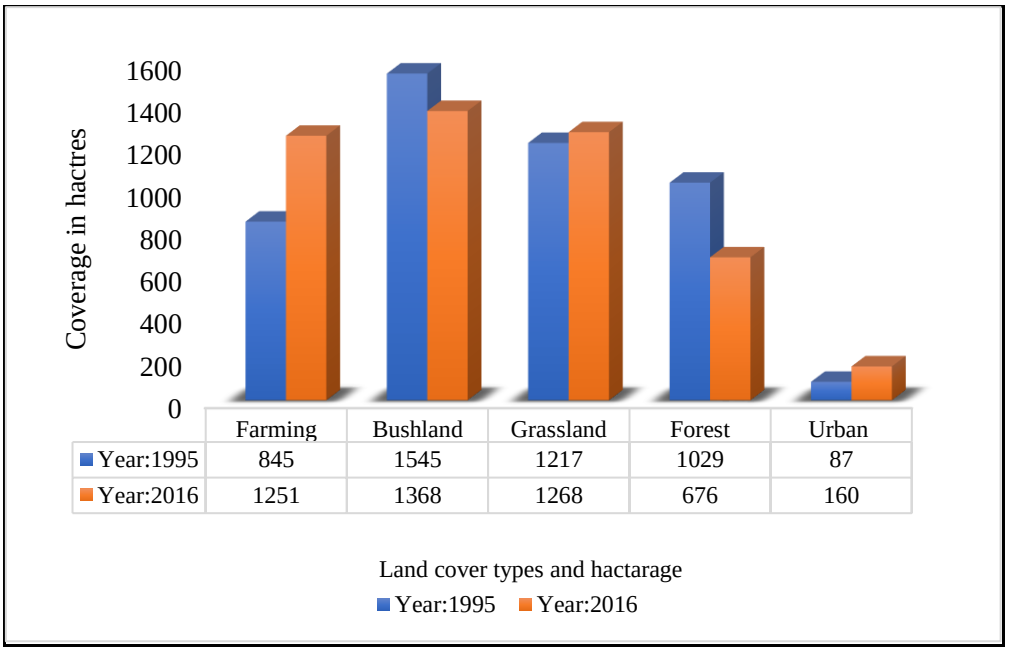
Source: Landsat (1995), Sentinel (2016)

Figure 6.4: The distribution of land cover types in Mlandizi in 1995 (A) and 2016 (B)

Figure 6.4 A and B shows a substantial change in land-cover distribution in Mlandizi between 1995 and 2016. The changing land cover cannot be stopped completely, but it requires comprehensive planning guidance in order to anticipate future trends. The urbanisation trends and planning practices in Mlandizi demand a more realistic planning approach for dealing with the urbanisation challenges.

6.2.3.2 Spatial expansion and sprawl of Sirari, 1995-2016

A Landsat satellite image for 1995 and a Sentinel image for 2016 were analysed to map land cover in Sirari for the respective years. The urban area of Sirari increased from 87 hectares in 1995 to 160 hectares in 2016 (Figure 6.5), an increase of 84% over two decades. For the other land-cover types the percentage increases or decreases were farming (48%), bushland (-11.5%), forest (-34%) and grassland (4.%). The urban area of Sirari has nearly doubled over the past 20 years and is likely to expand further considering the observed population growth rate.



	Farming	Bushland	Grassland	Forest	Urban
Year:1995	845	1545	1217	1029	87
Year:2016	1251	1368	1268	676	160

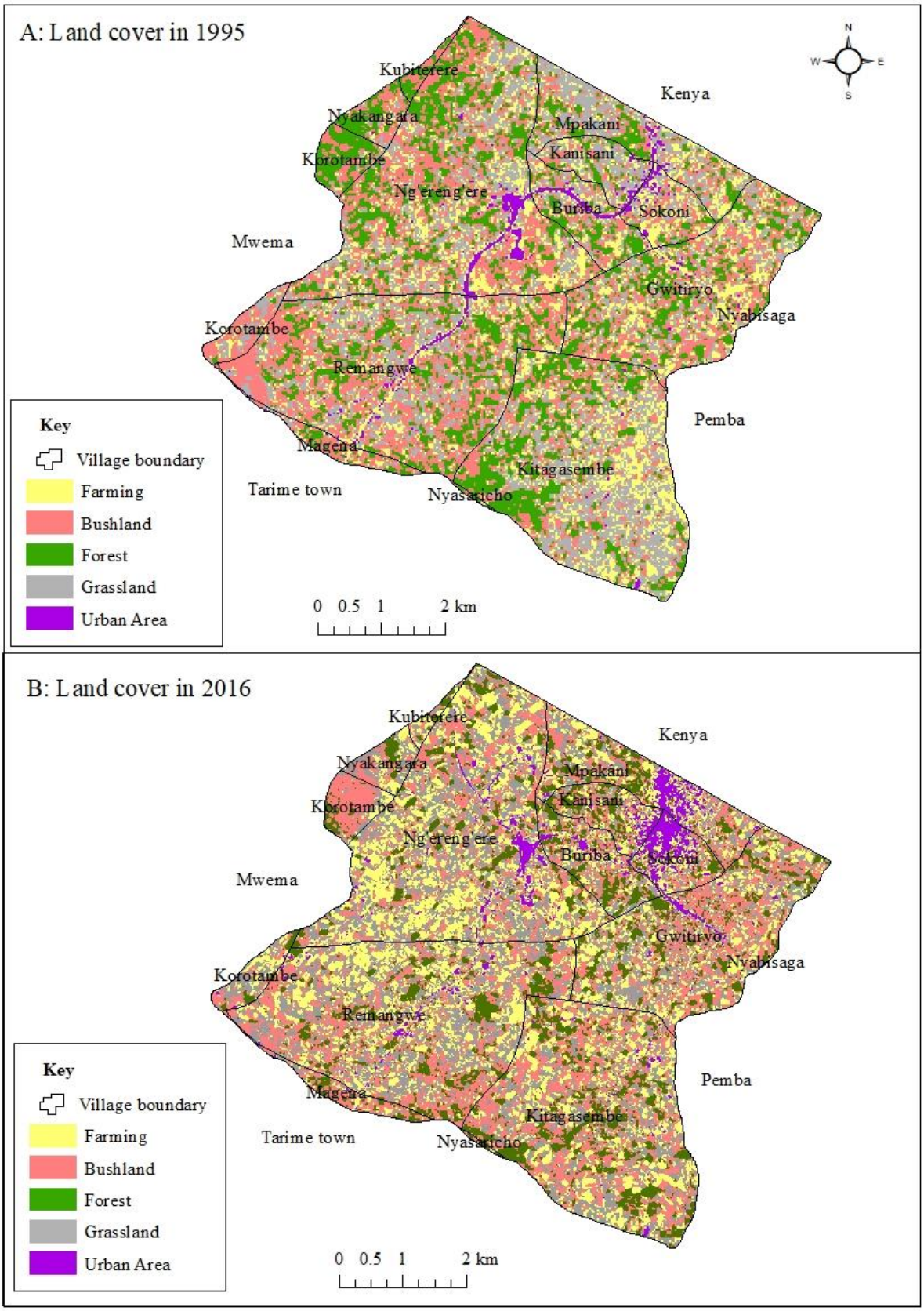
Source: Spatial analysis based on Landsat 1995 and Sentinel 2016

Figure 6.5: Area of land-cover types in Sirari in 1995 and 2016

Over the past 20 years the farming and urban areas have expanded into areas which, previously were covered by forests and bushes. The concurrent expansion of the farming and urban areas in Sirari attests to the nature of rural small towns and to their dependence on primary production. The spatial distribution of land cover types in 1995 and 2016 in Sirari was mapped as reproduced

in Figure 6.6A and B. In 1995 urban areas (shaded in purple) occurred were arranged linearly along the main road and in areas close to the border post (Figure 6.6A). By 2016 the size of the township had increased and become denser in Mpakani, Kanisani and Sokoni villages. The densely developed areas close to the border post constitute the central business district (CBD). Urban development grew rather rapidly along the road. If the population continues to grow at the current rate it is highly likely that other areas along the road will urbanise in the near future. Planning efforts should therefore be stepped up so that the services required are provided. Thus, planning of Ng'ereng'ere and Remagwe villages will be indispensable for linking with the CBD and distributing services to populations inhabiting the areas.

The observed urbanisation trends in both towns indicates spatial development responses to population growth. The spatial development in Mlandizi and Sirari has shown a steady growth of urban land cover over the past 20 years. The rapid urbanisation of rural areas confirms how Africa's population is transforming from a rural populations to an urban majority (Benna, 2016; Bah et al., 2018). This rate of growth requires meaningful planning solutions which are not offered by the current planning practices. The rapid population growth and the spatial development trends in Mlandizi and Sirari require a planning approach that foresees and controls the challenges associated with rapid urbanisation. Comprehensive planning is the approach that can deal with urban infrastructural, social servicing, housing, informal settlement and urban sprawl problems. Berke & Conroy (2000) have provided evidence that show that comprehensive plans produce broader development benefits than piecemeal plans. A strategy for enhancing the central place functions of small towns to their hinterlands will have to advocate an integrated planning approach in order to promote internal and external development. According to Hills & Schleicher (2015) the affordability of a city is determined by whether it is planned in a comprehensive or piecemeal manner. They argue for the promotion of comprehensive planning practices as a strategy for developing land-use policies in urban areas and for neighbourhoods' scale.



Source: Landsat (1995), Sentinel (2016)

Figure 6.6: The distribution of land cover types in Sirari in 1995 (A) and 2016 (B)

The observed features of the current urbanisation trends, namely informal settlements and activities cannot be well understood without focusing on related factors like land-tenure arrangements. The next section turns to a discussion of the customary land-tenure system and its contribution to the development of the informal land market and the informal settlements in Mlandizi and Sirari.

6.3 ADMINISTRATION OF LAND TENURE IN SMALL TOWNS

Land-tenure arrangements determine ownership and use rights for each parcel of land. Landownership and land-use rights also influence the nature of urban planning practices and outcomes (Nkya, 2008; Komu, 2014; Chigbu et al., 2017). This section discusses the relationships between land-tenure systems in Mlandizi and Sirari and the production of the piecemeal planning practices. It explores the interplay between customary land rights, the informal land market and the role of local leaders in facilitating land subdivision and the transfer of landownership rights among residents in small towns. Legally, in Tanzania land is divided into three types, namely village land, general land and reserved land. Administratively, the three types of land are placed under village councils, the commissioner for lands and the respective reserve institutions (United Republic of Tanzania, 1999a). Village land comprises traditional land in the rural areas which is owned under customary rights and managed through village councils. General land is all land in the areas which has been declared for urban planning, including surveyed land owned under the granted right of occupancy on which title deeds are issued and managed by the commissioner for lands. It also includes land in the urban areas even though ownership rights must be relinquished through a legal process. Reserved land is all the land reserved for various purposes like forest reserves, national parks and road reserves. Reserved land is managed by the respective reserve authorities.

All three categories of land can change from one type to another through legal procedures. For example, if a rural settlement is declared an urban planning area, then all the land in that area automatically ceases to be village land and instead becomes general land so that an urban planning process can take place. After the planning process, a granted right of occupancy is issued for each parcel of land. In spite of this change, customary rights continue until the land is planned, surveyed and title deeds are issued. Also, customary rights can be relinquished through compensation. If none of these two steps is taken, customary right swill continues even though the settlement has been declared an urban settlement. Although Mlandizi and Sirari are urban

areas, customary land tenure remains dominant in the two townships. The household survey indicated that the proportions of land with granted rights were (31.8% and 9.4%) and that those with customary rights were (68.2% and 90.6%) in Mlandizi and Sirari respectively. Presence of land under granted right of occupancy in the two townships is an evidence of the contribution of piecemeal planning to the transformation of land administration in small towns.

6.3.1 Customary rights and informal land markets in Mlandizi and Sirari

The customary right of occupancy is the dominant landownership right in Mlandizi and Sirari. This is a common situation in many sub-Saharan African countries (Anaafo & Inkoom, 2016; Cottyn, 2018). This section examines the contribution of customary land tenure rights to the emergence of the informal land markets in the two towns. It was found that many households in Mlandizi and Sirari acquired land through informal processes. Table 6.1 shows the land acquisition strategies of the surveyed households in the two towns.

Table 6.1 Land acquisition strategies in Mlandizi and Sirari

Means of land acquisition	**Mlandizi**		**Sirari**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Informal acquisition	108	37.2	25	25.8	133	34.4
Renting	43	14.8	38	39.2	81	20.9
Inheritance	52	18	27	27.8	79	20.4
Other	44	15.2	0	0.0	44	11.3
Given as gift	26	9	4	4.1	30	7.8
Squatting	12	4.1	2	2.1	14	3.6
Formal acquisition	5	1.7	1	1.0	6	1.6
Total	**290**	**100**	**97**	**100**	**387**	**100**

Source: Household survey, 2017

In aggregate, the informal land markets accounted for more than one third of the residential land acquisitions compared with less than two per cent of the land which was acquired through formal procedures. Land renting accounted for nearly 40% in Sirari but only about 15% in Mlandizi. The high rate of land renting in Sirari can be attributed to its location in the border area and the presence of international migrants who the law does not allow to own land in Tanzania. There are other differences in land acquisition strategies between Mlandizi and Sirari. In Mlandizi some 15% of the households surveyed acquired land through other means like rent free and care taking which are evidence of migration and urban transformation (Beijaard, 1995; Gough & Yankson,

2011; Andreasen et al., 2017). These strategies were absent in Sirari. Informal land acquisition impacts on the development of the informal settlements in the two towns because the process is not subjected to planning and development controls. Land acquisition and development process involve the subdivision of large chunks of land into small plots like planned residential plots. In these cases, plot sale agreements are normally administered by local leaders at village or sub-village levels.

6.3.2 The role of local leaders in facilitating informal land transactions

The postcolonial Tanzanian government abolished the traditional leadership act, thereby ending chiefdoms. A new local governance structure was created following the establishment of ujamaa villages in the early 1970s. Land administration responsibilities in the rural areas were given to the respective local authorities. Even though villages dominate the rural areas, urban areas also have a local leadership structure like that of the villages. These structures are named depending on the category into which an urban area falls in the hierarchy of urban settlements. In Mlandizi (a township) the lowest level of local administration is *Kitongoji* (hamlet) and the lowest level of local administration in Sirari, which is categorised as a trading centre, is village (United Republic of Tanzania, 1982b). The role of the local leaders in facilitating the informal land markets in Mlandizi and Sirari is discussed here on the basis of the experiences of *Kitongoji* and village leaders, respectively.

Local leaders in small towns play a major role in facilitating informal land transactions. After being consulted by either party to a transaction village or hamlet leaders ensure that the transaction is concluded smoothly. The leaders' roles are among others, conducting site verification which includes confirmation of ownership, boundaries, third-party interests, and the witnessing and stamping of sale agreements. The confirmation of third-party interests involves determining whether there are any claims on the land before concluding the sale agreement. This verification process can be undertaken by one local leader or can involve the committee responsible for land administration. Whatever the case, local leaders are normally paid 10% of the sale value as their administration fees. The fee is normally contributed to by the two parties to the sale. This means that the seller and the buyer equally contribute five per cent of the sale value. Moreover, the sale agreement which is signed and stamped by the local leader becomes the certificate of ownership. In most cases, the sale agreement are official document which can be used for different purposes, including confirmation of landownership. This was confirmed

through the household survey where 62% of the participants who had obtained land informally, mentioned that sale agreements are the only landownership documents through which land tenure is secured.

Informal land markets notable and problematic feature of urbanisation in the global South (Obeng-Odoom, 2013b; Anaafo & Inkoom, 2016). Informal land subdivisions and transactions are among the factors fuelling the development of informal settlements in Mlandizi and Sirari. The development of an informal land market in Tanzania is particularly attributed to the failure of urban governance. The failure of local planning authorities to meet the demand for planned and surveyed land has caused residents in the urban areas to acquire land through informal strategies (UN-Habitat, 2010; Kasala & Burra, 2016). The 10% administration fees are the main source of income for the village and hamlet leaders. Sometimes the fees end in the pockets of the leaders who witness the sale agreements, thus becoming agents of the practices. Customary land tenure makes piecemeal planning easier than for land which is under any other tenure arrangement.

6.3.3 Land tenure and piecemeal planning practices in small towns

The land-tenure arrangements in Mlandizi and Sirari facilitate the adoption of piecemeal planning practices. Urbanisation leads to the conversion of some land used for non-urban functions, mainly farms, into settlements and other urban functions. The current planning law allows landowners to consult the planning authority so that layout plans for developing their land can be prepared. This law has promoted the involvement of non-state actors in urban planning (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a). Landowners take advantage of this law to enter the formal land market by preparing layout plans for their parcels of land. In the process they determine and influence land-use provision by designating land uses which are economically beneficial to them. Landowners preferably seek planning advice from private planning firms by entering into in-kind payment agreements with them. After layout plan has been prepared it is submitted to the local planning authority for approval and adoption.

During an interview in February 2017, the planner for Mlandizi pointed out that:

> Many of the plans are prepared in partnerships comprising landowners and planning consulting firms. Basically, the planners in the local government are not involved in

> the negotiation and planning process until the plan is ready for approval. At this stage, the proposed layout plan is brought to us for scrutiny and submission to council meetings for approval. In the process, we normally present and table the proposed plan at the meetings as if it was prepared by use because private planners are not allowed to submit plans to council meetings. Even though master plans have not been prepared, we cannot stop the preparation of layout plans by private-sector actors because it is legally acceptable and because it helps to provide minimum planning solutions in areas where layout plans have been prepared.

According to this statement piecemeal planning in small towns results from institutional pressure. Because the preparation of layout plans by private sector actors is legally acceptable, the practice cannot be stopped. This draws our attention to some anomalies which could render piecemeal planning unacceptable. Despite this institutional pressure planners are subjected to condition which influence adoption piecemeal planning. On the other side piecemeal planning has contributed to the transformation of land administration in small towns and to the meeting of institutional targets. Town planners are required to ensure that a prescribed number of plots are surveyed. This is mainly done by private-sector actors. The town planners' tendency to own the plan during the approval process means the planners attribute plans to their own efforts soa as to meet institutional targets. How the private-sector actors undertake piecemeal planning is discussed in Section 6.7.

The contribution of customary land tenure to piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari is noteworthy. The layout planning process is considered to be easier and smoother on customary land than on land under a granted right of occupancy. Planning on the latter involves a long process which includes revoking a previous survey on which granted rights were issued as well as changing the existing land use to allow for a new plan and multiple uses to be introduced. The revoking of the survey and the land use change process are subjected to cumbersome and time-consuming bureaucratic procedures. Consequently, customary land is the best option for private sector actors.

No private-sector land delivery project has been implemented in Sirari. However, landowners have prepared layout plans to facilitate the undertaking of cadastral surveys which are necessary for processing title deeds. Title deeds are used as collateral for obtaining loans from financial institutions. As a result, land-tenure arrangements, legal provisions, institutional targets and pressures from private sector actors have caused certain problems for the town planners in

Mlandizi and Sirari. In response to the problems, piecemeal planning practices have been adopted to balance and harmonise the competing interests. This is one of the realities which determine the town planners' use of discretion in decision-making. The pressures intensifying the individual benefits of the town planners are added to the equation. It was mentioned during the interview with the representative of the private companies that they sometimes entered into private arrangements with town planners in local government to help them prepare layout plans. The interviewee didn't want to mention how much money they pay because the arrangements are negotiated secretly. The nature of the planning and approval process means that the council cannot easily know whether a plan preparation process benefits the town planners. Accordingly, in the process private-sector interests tend to override others, particularly regarding the designation of land uses of their own preferences. These are typical encounters of street-level bureaucrats as conceived by Michael Lipsky, except that in this case bureaucrats' personal benefits have unfolded. Apart from the small section of the two towns which is planned using piecemeal approaches, urban development in the two towns is predominantly informal.

6.4 INFORMAL URBANISATION OF SMALL TOWNS

The informal urbanisation of Mlandizi and Sirari manifests itself in the development of informal settlements and activities. This section examines the nature and extent of informal urbanisation and activities in the two towns as well as the obstacles to the provision of urban services.

6.4.1 Proliferation of informal settlements

The development of informal settlements characterises the urbanisation trends in the two towns. The state of informal settlement development is acknowledged by the town planners, local leaders and the towns' residents. The household survey indicated that 90% and 97% live in unplanned settlements in Mlandizi and Sirari respectively. These figures are considerably higher than the national and regional figures of 70% for urban residents in developing countries in general and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular (Kombe, 2005; UN-Habitat, 2009, 2016; Cockhead & Hemalatha, 2016). Given the urbanisation trends seen earlier, the number and size of informal settlements are likely to increase in Mlandizi and Sirari. Rapid population growth and its associated proliferation of unplanned settlements is a major reason for the adoption of piecemeal planning practices by the town planners.

During an interview in February 2017, Mlandizi's town planner acknowledged that the council supported the preparation of layout plans in a piecemeal manner as a strategy for controlling the development of unplanned settlements. Where layout plans had been prepared and implemented, they helped to control the development of informal settlements for example in the Kisabi, Vikuruti, Kilangalanga and Misufini areas. In view of the rate of the proliferation of informal settlements in Mlandizi, the town planner's statement shows how the pressure from informal settlements affects their willingness to embrace piecemeal planning as a strategy for dealing with informality in Mlandizi. This acknowledgement underscores the bureaucrats' justified concern over the proliferation of informal settlements in the area. Furthermore, the aspiration to implement comprehensive strategies for meeting the informality challenges is constrained by the local realities (Hudson, 1997; Lipsky, 2010). Certainly, rapid urbanisation, institutional incapacities and pressure from urban development stakeholders have made piecemeal planning an appropriate planning approach.

Indeed, the private sector profit maximisation motive might have constrained the town planners' efforts to reduce the development of informal settlements in the areas in a piecemeal manner. This can be appreciated by comparing the percentages of the planned areas with the number of the households living in such areas. While layout plans have been prepared for 31.8% and 9.4% of Mlandizi and Sirari, only 10.2% and three per cent of the people live in planned areas in the two towns. Clearly, large proportions of the population in the two towns lived in informal settlements. According to the interviews with the town planners and the residents in the informal settlements, this trend is attributed to unaffordable prices of the plots in the planned areas. It was noted that about 95% of piecemeal plans in both towns had been prepared, or the preparation costs had been paid by the private sector. As a result, the planning and surveying costs made the prices of the plots unaffordable to low-income groups. Conformance with planning standards makes land acquisition and development procedures cumbersome for low-income and even middle-income earners in some cases. This helps to explain the informal acquisition of land and the development of unplanned settlements in small towns.

During the same interview, the town planner emphasised that: "the minimum price of the plots surveyed by the private sector is 6000 Tanzanian shillings per square metre. According to the planning and space standards, the minimum size of a plot provided by the private sector is 400 square metres." This price makes plots unaffordable to the low-income group. In response, this

group opts for informal acquisition of land. The informal land market provides smaller plots than those required by planning standards, hence their lower prices. In a way the town planner's argument opposes piecemeal planning and land delivery by the private sector. Urban planning practices should be orientated towards improving socio-economic development for the largest possible proportion of its population. Of course, the problems posed by informal urbanisation cannot be ignored. Among them is increasing crime, which calls for holistic strategies by local governments (Msoka, 2014). In addition, the obstacles to the delivery of basic social services and infrastructures in informal settlements are worthy of consideration by any responsible town planner.

6.4.2 The provision of basic services in informal settlements

The majority of people living in informal settlements have difficulty in accessing basic services such as solid and liquid waste collection, water supply, health and education. The household survey found that 74% of the respondents in Mlandizi and Sirari walked an average of 5.9 km to reach the nearest dispensary or primary school and that only 26% of the respondents had access to the services within a two-kilometre radius. This means that the majority get their services far beyond the national planning standards for primary education (1.6 km) and health-care provision (5 km). While water supply was not a problem to many people in Mlandizi, it was a critical problem in Sirari. Mlandizi is located close to the upper Ruvu pumping station which supplies water to Dar es Salaam. In Mlandizi water is even supplied to some of the houses in informal settlements. This makes it easy for unserved households to get water from their neighbours' houses. This is a noticeable difference in the water supply services of Mlandizi and Sirari. Sirari has no water supply services, so its residents depend on deep and shallow wells, located at certain accessible or even at locations or houses. The use of these shallow wells in the unplanned settlements poses a health threat to the inhabitants of the town. In some of the shallow household wells are dug in narrow spaces between houses (Figure 6.7 A) or even along pathways (Figure 6.7 B).

Source: Author, 2017

Figure 6.7 Two shallow wells in unplanned settlements in Sirari

Such shallow wells are the main source of domestic water in the unplanned settlements of Sirari. Their being located close to or between the houses and along the pathways can be detrimental to the health of those who drink the water. These are the problems which are caused by the informal settlements and which the planners need to address. The various challenges might not be directly related to street-level bureaucrats and piecemeal planning, but they are elements of the interplay of the realities in the small towns. Indeed, they define the towns' urban planning environment.

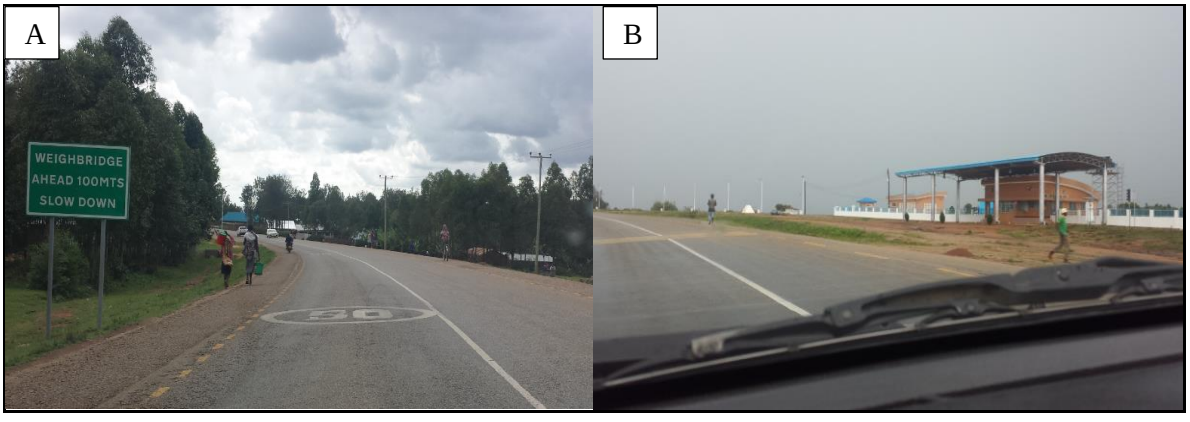
6.4.3 Informal economic activities

Notwithstanding the piecemeal planning efforts made in Mlandizi and Sirari, informal activities characterize the urbanisation of the two towns. They include petty trading, grazing, car washing, lorry parking and operation of bus stands. Unplanned urbanisation causes shortages or lack of areas designated for land uses necessary for socio-economic development. As a result, the activities are carried out on the road reserves, on vacant spaces between houses or on undeveloped pieces of land. Mlandizi has a high urbanisation rate and is located along the country's main transport corridor, yet it has no specific areas designated for bust stops. So, bus operators are forced to make temporary use of the road reserves as bus stops which are not only unsafe but also unsustainable (Figure 6.8).

Source: Author, 2017

Figure 6.8: Bus stand (A) and informal activities (B) on road reserve in Mlandizi

Informal activities like petty trading and food vending are common practices at the Mlandizi bus stop (Figure 6.8 B). There are slight differences between the two towns; for example, Sirari has a designated bus stop but Mlandizi does not have one. The bus stand in Sirari was designated in a piecemeal manner by a Layout Plan No. 15/TRM/12/062014 and is located behind the weighbridge site in Ng'ereng'ere village. Both the weighbridge and the bus stop have already been constructed (Figures 6.9 A and B). These are some of the contribution of piecemeal planning in small towns. However, the location of the bus stand in relation to other services and land uses cause some spatial organisation problem.



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 6.9: Road sign (A) and a weighbridge building (B) in Sirari

The presence of the weighbridge indicates the government's support of piecemeal planning for strategic investments, but neither town has designated areas for parking Lorries. Therefore,

Lorries are parked along the road where informal business activities are done. These are some of the realities of the urban planning environment in Mlandizi and Sirari. Unless proactive planning efforts are made, these realities will add to the existing problems associated with informality in sub-Saharan Africa towns (Lyons et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2015). It behoves town planners to devise appropriate planning strategies to ensure that the activities are conducted in an orderly and environment-friendly way. These are some of the informality challenges that planners are struggling to address in a piecemeal manner. Eventually, the success of any planning practices depends on the capacities of the local planning authorities.

6.5 INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES FOR URBAN PLANNING

Institutional capacity is the basis for successful planning initiatives (Cockhead & Hemalatha, 2016). It is worth assessing the capacities of the institutions responsible for delivering social services, including urban planning in small towns (Harris, 2010; Birkland, 2015). This section examines the institutional planning capacities of Kibaha District Council (KDC) and Tarime District Council (TDC), the urban planning authorities responsible for Mlandizi and Sirari respectively. The institutional capacities are examined in relation to the sufficiency of fiscal resources, the availability of appropriate skills and the experience of the town planning professionals. United Cities and Local Governments (2010) claim that the essential feature of the capacities of local authorities is to deliver the services they are expected to deliver. The possession or establishing of capacities is necessary if local authorities are to operate within their institutional frameworks. The principal components of capacity building are human resources and fiscal resources, as demonstrated in the next two subsections.

6.5.1 Human resources and planning capacities

The availability of skilled personnel is at the heart of institutional functioning. Urban planning is a multidisciplinary endeavour, which requires technical input from other professions. This research focuses on town planners working in local governments as street-level bureaucrats. Apart from the technical input from other professions, town planners have a duty to lead the planning process and monitor its implementation. Technical capacities are influenced by the availability of appropriate skills among town planners and the level of moral honesty important for observing professional codes of conduct (Innes, 1998; Dean, 2010). This section presents and discusses the technical proficiency of town planners in KDC and TDC. It assesses the availability of town planners and support staff in the two district councils. According to their own capacity

needs assessment, each council has reasonable number of town planners and support staff who can have meaningful planning impacts. Table 6.2 show some details of the assessments.

Table 6.2: Staffing and human resources capacities in the two local planning authorities

Profession	Kibaha District Council (KDC)			Tarime District Council (TDC)		
	Required	Available	Deficit	Required	Available	Deficit
Town planners	3	3	0	2	1	1
Other professions	9	5	4	8	7	1
Support staff	8	5	3	4	2	2
Total	20	13	7	14	10	4
Percentage	100	65	35	100	71.4	28.6

Source: Institutional records in KDC and TDC, 2017

The planning departments in Kibaha and Tarime District Councils each have about one third to nearly three quarters of their planning personnel the need. However, the incapacities are attributed to the lack of master planning skills and experience among the town planners in both councils. The town planners noted that the lack of appropriate master planning skills and experience were the reason for the inefficient delivery of planning services. In an interview in February 2017 Mlandizi's twon planner said:

> We have neither the requisite skills nor the experience for preparing master plans, but we can prepare one through knowledge transfer with experienced town planners from other councils within Pwani region. Formulating a master planning team of professionals with other councils in the region will not only solve planning experience challenges but also bring in the team other professions which our council does not have now.

This statement confirms that all three town planners in KDC were not technically equipped to lead the master planning process in Mlandizi. As a multidisciplinary process, master planning is always supervised by professional planners. The above statement indicates that, apart from the town planners' deficiencies, the council was also short of other professionals required in the planning team. However, it might be difficult, impracticable even, to implement local knowledge transfer in a manner suggested by the town planners of Mlandizi. The councils have their own programmes, whose implementation depends on the same professionals mentioned by the Mlandizi town planner. The proposed arrangement is likely to be affected by a lack of common interest in master planning among the council members so that some may not allow their staff to

join the proposed team. The appropriate strategy would be to identify a planner who is experienced and obtain technical input from him or her. By doing so, the planners will be able to establish professional networks for enhancing their performance (Siciliano, 2017). Technical and knowledge transfer can be sought from experienced town planners.

TDC has only one town planner but it needs two planners. The town planner has a bachelor's degree in urban and regional planning and four years' working experience. Apart from her town planning responsibilities for Sirari and three other small towns, she also serves as the head of department. In addition, she assisted with planning activities in the newly established Tarime Town Council which did not have a town planner. Like the planners in KDC, this town planner said she was not able to lead a master planning process. She said during the interview that she had neither master planning skills nor experience. Apart from her inadequacies, the number of the duties she shoulders as the head of department and in assisting with planning in Tarime Town Council overwhelm her. As head of department in the council she is required to orient her responsibilities more towards administration than towards professional activities.

The interviews attest to the debilitating effects of the absence of appropriate skills among urban planning professionals in developing countries (Watson & Agbola, 2013). In Tanzania the lack of master planning skills among the current generation of town planners was caused by the theoretical and paradigm shift from rational comprehensive planning to collaborative planning (Kasala, 2015; Watson, 2016). The emergence of strategic urban planning, which was promoted by the UNCHS in the early 1990s, led to changes in the town planning training curricula which in turn gave rise to a shift in focus of town planning training from master planning to strategic planning (Namangaya, 2013; Kasala, 2015). After two decades of implementing a strategic planning approach, in 2007 the Tanzanian government decided to return to the approach (Kasala, 2015). The return to this approach was justified on the grounds that strategic planning could not effectively guide land-use development (Namangaya, 2013).

The changes in planning approaches were associated with the redesign of the town planning curricula. The modifications by the planning school deprived students of some skills necessary for performing their duties. For example, the shifting in the training focus to strategic planning in the two decades of its adoption in the country, deprived students of master planning skills. The government's decision to return to master planning made many town planners who had been

trained during the two decades of strategic planning unable to cope with the policy changes. Owing to these circumstances, the lack of master planning skills should not be attributed to the planners' own shortcomings but to faults in their training. According to Duminy et al. (2014), this situation leads to education and research imperatives requiring immediate action. Planning schools must quickly respond to practical planning issues relating to planning practices and approaches (Kumar, 2016). The lack of master planning skills among the current generation of town planners makes it necessary for the planning schools and the planning professional board in Tanzania to act quickly. They should look into the fiscal capacities of the local councils, apart from addressing the professional-related problems. Amid the council staffs' shortage of master planning competencies, the expansion of fiscal capacity can help to bridge the gap by affording to employment of consultants.

6.5.2 Fiscal resources and capacities

Financial resources are important in facilitating planning process as they help to acquire facilities and equipment necessary for planning processes in small towns. The town planners in Mlandizi and Sirari confirmed that the shortage of financial resources constrained the preparation of master plans. Unlike the activities done by other departments, urban planning activities do not receive development funding from the central government. The local government capital development grants and block grants from the central government are channelled to priority sectors. In Tanzania the sectors include education, water supply, agriculture and livestock, as well as road construction and rehabilitation. Urban planning is not a priority and thus it does not receive any funding from the central government. Urban planning does not feature in the priorities for locally generated revenues either. The master planning costs that the town planners include in their respective council budgets are pushed into local revenue budgets (council's own sources). Proportionately, a very low percentage of the budget is released; so, the planned activities area not implemented because the funds are not sufficient. Tables 6.3 and 6.4[23] show the budget for planning for KDC and TDC, respectively.

[23] The budgeted amounts are given in TZS and USD so that those who are not familiar with the value of TZS can easily compare the amounts. The exchange rates used were obtained from the Bank of Tanzania on 21st September 2018 when 1 USD was equivalent to TZS 2265.

Table 6.3: Budget for planning purposes for Kibaha District Council

Financial year	Set budget (in TZS)	Set budget (in USD)	Released funds (in TZS)	Released funds (in USD)	Proportion of released funds (%)
2012-2013	319 397 901	141 015	8 710 000	3845	3
2013-2014	182 178 600	80 432	20 344 000	8982	11
2014-2015	306 400 890	135 276	0	0	0
2015-2016	199 948 305	88 277	2 500 000	1104	1
2016-2017	199 462 500	88 063	0	0	0
Total	**1 207 388 196**	**533 063**	**31 554 000**	**13 931**	**3**

Source: Summarised from Kibaha District Council budgets for the respective years

Table 6.3 gives five-year budget figures for the planning department. The values were summarised from the council's Medium-Term Expenditure Frameworks (MTEF), specifically sub-vote No. 512E, which present the budgets for town and rural land-use planning. The intention here is to compare the set budgets with the funds which were released. The results indicate variations over different years, but on aggregate only three per cent of the amount needed was released for carrying out the activities in the five years, that is from July 2012 to June 2017. The zero per cent seen in 2017 are comes from the data which were collected in February and March 2007, three months before the end of the financial year. By the, no fund had been released. It is highly likely that funds were not released in the fourth quarter which ended in June either.

These financing planning rates affect not only the planning of Mlandizi, but also that of other small towns in the district which have declared as urban planning areas, namely Soga, Vikuge, Boko Mnemela, Mpiji Station, Kwala and Magindu. The same goes for the release of the budgeted funds needed for planning Sirari. Table 6.4 presents the funds which were released and the five-year budget which had been set for Tarime District Council. The five years are not chronologically arranged due to the availability of institutional records in TDC.

Table 6.4: Budget for planning purposes for Tarime District Council

Financial year	Set budget (in TZS)	Set budget (in USD)	Released funds (in TZS)	Released funds (in USD)	Proportion of released funds (%)
2008-2009	41 674 000	18 399	15 420,000	6808	37
2012-2013	78 060 000	34 464	0	0	0
2014-2015	53 194 270	23 485	0	0	0
2015-2016	38 500 000	16 998	1 500 000	662	4
2016-2017	140 384 164	61 980	38 900 000	17 174	28
Total	**351 812 434**	**155 326**	**55 820 000**	**24 645**	**16**

Source: Summarised from Tarime District Council budgets for the respective years

On aggregate Tarime District Council released 16% of the funds for carrying out planning activities or 13% more than the funds released by KDC. The released funds were not enough for financing the urban planning activities in Mlandizi or Sirari and in the other small towns in the districts. Apart from Sirari, there are other three small towns in Tarime district which have been declared urban planning areas, namely Nyamongo, Nyamwaga and Komaswa. The shortages of urban planning resources face both councils, regardless of their different political affiliations. Although TDC released a larger proportion of funds than KDC, the funds were not enough for the council to prepare master plan for Sirari and to implement layout plans prepared in a piecemeal manner. The government only prepares layout plans for areas of strategic interest to it. The shortages of fiscal resources, coupled with the inadequate master planning skills of the town planners, weaken urban planning capacity of both councils. In this regard, the councils have neither the technical muscle to prepare master plans using their own staff, nor sufficient finances to employ consultants to do the job.

The release of funds has sometimes been politically influenced, particularly in the years when proportionately higher percentages of funds were released. During an interview in March 2017, the Tarime's town planner asserted:

> This time we have received thirty-eight million and nine hundred thousand shillings. However, the release of the funds has been politically motivated and directed the funds are for village land-use planning. There is an investor who has shown an interest in establishing a sugar plantation. As a prerequisite for land acquisition all the villages participating in the project must prepare land-use plans before they can allocate land for investment. Land-use plans will establish current and future land requirements and determine carrying capacities and land allocation for different uses.

> This project has received the attention of politicians both at local and national levels and is coordinated by the District Commissioner. As a result, for the first time our department has been given a larger amount of money than at any other time since I started working for this council.

This statement does not only show political influence on resource allocation but also shows that the planner is asking politicians to accord urban planning the same consideration as the consideration given to village land-use planning in the villages implementing the sugar plantation project. These findings attest to the tests facing developing countries regarding funding resource for planning (United Cities and Local Governments, 2010; African Planning Association and UN-Habitat, 2013). The financial problems of KDC and TDC were created by the lack of political will and a misconception of the usefulness of urban planning in promoting the socio-economic development of Mlandizi and Sirari. If there were political will and if the councillors understood the merits of urban planning, they would have facilitated financial allocation for the preparation of master plans in the two towns. Additionally, the central government's priority setting might have affected the perceptions of financing urban planning. Since urban planning is not a priority sector that is given the central government' grants, this makes it less valuable to the local politicians.

The exclusion of urban planning from central government financing in developing countries was guided by World Bank and IMF policies. The implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)[24] in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, was associated with conditions for reducing the financing of urban services. The SAPs were mainly aimed at promoting rural development, agricultural production and reduction of urban development bias (Aina, 1997; Otiso, 2003; Rakodi, 2005; Oldfield, 2014b). The contemporary manifestations of the SAPs' effects include discouragement of the financing of urban development and services. Over time urban planning has been excluded from the national development priorities which might have affected the priorities of local-level development.

The implementation of the SAPs and their associated urban development policies for developing countries is a manifestation of neoliberal policies. The global rationality guiding socio-economic

[24] The Structural adjustment programmes were desined by the IMF and the World Bank as a conditionality for giving loans to the countries which were experiencing economic crises.

development discourages the delivery of urban services by the government (Dear, 2000; Baeten, 2018). The policies promote the replacement of the state by non-state actors through public-private partnerships (PPPs). However, this universalisation of ideologies ignores the contextual differences between the global North and the global South. The implementation of PPPs is subject to the presence of strong non-state actors who can provide urban services beyond those that can be provided by the public sector. The limited availability of strong non-state actors is a serious problem for urban planning in the global South, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. This weakness of the private sector in developing countries creates a gap for professional urban planners, a gap that is filled by planning experts from developed countries. In many cases the presence of planning experts from developed countries in developing countries is branded as capacity building or knowledge transfer (Cockhead & Hemalatha, 2016).

Reliance on planning professionals from the global North cannot provide long-term planning solutions to the planning woes of the global South. The contextual conditions in which planners in the global North were trained and obtained working experience constrain their coping abilities in the global South (Kunzmann, 2005; Cockhead & Hemalatha, 2016). This leads to the urban planning in the global North being a blueprint for the global South, which eventually undermines what Southern urbanism stands for (Kunzmann, 2005; Oldfield, 2014a). Certainly, town planners' suggestion of local knowledge transfer is a viable option. Even though its implementation must be subjected to detailed scrutiny, it must be responsive to the local politics in each local planning authority. This is considered below.

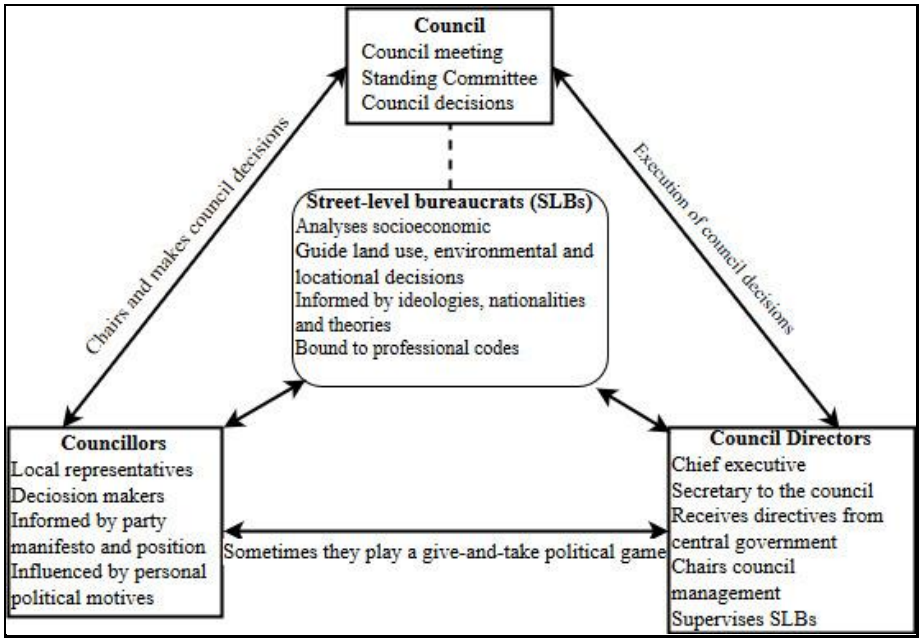
6.6 LOCAL POLITICAL CLIMATE

Politics is a multifaceted phenomenon that affects national and local planning processes. Moreover, local politics cannot be disassociated from national political processes. This section discusses local politics and its manifestations in local planning authorities and processes. The conceptualisation of politics is based on its ability to create mechanisms through which society agrees on who gets what, when they get it and how they get it (Lasswell, 1950; Birkland, 2015). Politics also defines and operationalises the current urban planning institutional framework. The urban planning institutional arrangements place planning responsibilities on the respective local governments. As a result, politics is one of the social conditions forming the planning practices of Mlandizi and Sirari. This section also underscores on the production of power relations in the local governments, political influences on the process of urban planning area declaration and the

allocation of resources. All of these impacts directly on the exercise of discretion and the making of planning decisions by the town planners.

6.6.1 Power relations in the local councils

Tensions in the power relations between councillors and employed council staff are created by politics. Urban planning decisions involve two opposing sides, bureaucrats and councillors. The decision-making process in urban planning is deeply rooted at the centre of the political environment, thus making it a game of power (Roo, 2010). The political system and the administrative structure adopted by Kibaha and Tarime District Councils give decision-making powers to councillors because they are representatives of the people. This structure regards street-level bureaucrats as advisors to the council through the council director (Figure 6.10). The relationship between council decisions and politics puts street-level bureaucrats at the centre of the local political environment.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 6.10: The political environment and power relations in local councils

Institutional arrangements require that the street-level bureaucrats' opinions and proposals to council be channelled through the council directors who are the chief executive and secretary, to the council. The proposals are important for helping the council to make rational and informed decisions. The extent to which the proposals are considered depends on the political rationality

of the councillors and the chief executive. The conflict of the rationalities is very intense in Tarime where the council is controlled by the opposition party (Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo),[25] while the council directors are appointed by the President. As presidential appointees, the directors are considered by the opposition councillors to be submitting proposals favouring the ruling party's (Chama Cha Mapinduzi)[26] interests. Street-level bureaucrats, who are the executors and implementers of public policies, are therefore situated at the centre of the political environment. Their opinions and proposals can be accepted or rejected without interfering the with council's decisions. The rationality of this system is based on the belief that councillors will make rational decisions which are beneficial to their voters. However, sometimes their decisions are influenced by personal motives and the politicians use their voter to achieve their political ambitions, including standing a better chance of winning the next elections. The town planner responsible for Mlandizi asserted during an interview in February 2017 that:

> Sometimes technical proposals we submitted to the council meetings for endorsement, but they are rejected on political grounds. For example, I once prepared a layout plan in which, among others land uses designated an area for a local market. The proposed plan was resisted by the councillor on the grounds that he had received complaints from the residents in the area. The councillor used the electorate to defend his own personal interests because we realised later that he was defending his own political interests in the name of defending the landowners' interests. The councillor was supported by his fellow councillors and the plan was only approved when the area designated for the local market had been changed to a residential area.

Even though the town planner didn't clearly mention the reason for the landowner's resistance, have sometimes been blamed for allocating land uses with personal motives. This probably explains why 98.6% of the household respondents have a low opinion of the role played by the town planners in Mlandizi. Whatever the case, this is just one example of the connections between politics and power relations in the local councils.

The fact that councillors draw their legitimacy from being democratically elected does not mean all their actions and decisions are always legitimate (Haworth, 2012). Sometimes the will of

[25] Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) is the main opposition party in Tanzania. The party has a considerable number of members of Parliament and controls some local councils, including Tarime District Council.

[26] Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has been the ruling party since Tanzania attained her independence from the British.

those a councillor represents does not feature in his or her decisions; his or her political ambitions quite likely take precedence over their will. As a result, bureaucrats consider this to be a marginalisation and discrediting of their professional expertise on which their proposals are based. Sometimes councillors make decisions which are contrary to the technical advice and professional opinions of the bureaucrats. Street-level bureaucrats are therefore subjected to internal and external political pressure, which sometimes results from the councillors' and the chief executive's give-and-take political games. Frustrations resulting from multiple influences often cause the town planners to execute plans differently. Regarding piecemeal planning, it is true that its adoption is acknowledged by the council. If the practices were regarded as breaches of planning procedures, the plans would not have been approved as happened to the layout plan mentioned by the town planner in the previous quotation. The next section considers the adoption of piecemeal planning to have been brought about by resource allocation and the declaration of urban planning areas.

6.6.2 Political influences on the declaration of urban planning areas

The effects of politics on urban planning activities and on the delivery of urban services in Mlandizi and Sirari are far reaching. The planning stage that experiences political influences is the declaration of urban planning areas. This section draws on the experiences involved with the establishment of Mlandizi town council and Sirari township authority to highlight the effects of local politics on urban planning. According to their population thresholds and the other criteria stipulated by urban planning regulations, Mlandizi and Sirari qualify to be upgraded to town council and township authority, respectively (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007a). However, because the declaration process is handled politically, it takes longer than it is supposed to. Great uncertainty exists about when the declaration process will be completed.

6.6.2.1 Declaration of the Mlandizi town council

The town planner responsible for Mlandizi pointed out that he initiated the declaration process after noting that the town qualified to be a town council. The criteria for establishing a town council are an area having a population threshold of 30000; being self-sustainable by at least 50% of its annual budget; being a division's headquarters; and the presence of a hospital, a secondary school, 50 licensed shops and a police station in the area (recall Table 5.1). The declaration process involved writing the declaration proposal for discussion and approval by the council management team (CMT) and the district council. The proposal for establishing the

Mlandizi town council was accepted and approved by the CMT, but it was rejected by Kibaha District Council. The rejection of the proposal by the KDC was based on the argument that approximately 75% of the council's locally generated revenue came or comes from Mlandizi. Approval of the proposal meant the establishment of an independent local government authority responsible for Mlandizi. This implies that the existing council was likely to lose three quarters of its local revenue base.

Certainly, the establishment of the Mlandizi town council would have created more opportunities for planning resources for the town. By becoming a town council it would have ceased to be a rural settlement and become an urban settlement instead (recall Table 5.1). This would have made Mlandizi eligible for support funding for urban development and financial resources from the central government and multilateral agencies. Also, the delay in declaring Mlandizi a town council created tension between Mlandizi Township Authority and KDC. The establishment of the Mlandizi town council is supported by the members of Mlandizi Township Authority. It was asserted during a focus group discussion with the local leaders in Mlandizi, many of whom were township council members, that:

> The current administrative structure of placing township authorities under respective district councils is very challenging. Everything we do, including our budget, must be approved by the council. As a result, we don't know our budget and revenue, let alone project implementation progress. We don't receive feedback on time and sometimes even the township authority meetings are not held due to lack of funds of which we are supposed to get 20% of the revenue collected in Mlandizi to cover the township authority's administrative costs. This level of influence by the district council also prevents the proposal for upgrading Mlandizi to town council. Kibaha District Council is afraid to let go of its main revenue source. There is now a counter-proposal for expanding the town's proposed boundary so that it covers the entire district area as a strategy for maintaining the revenue base.

Apart from anything else the argument of the local leaders in Mlandizi is driven by their autonomy-seeking ambitions. If Mlandizi is declared a town council, it will become an autonomous body and the members of the township authority are likely to acquire councillorship status. The proposal to make the entire district part of the Mlandizi town council is impracticable and has consequently not been approved. The Mlandizi town council declaration process is being delayed at the cost of a growing population which is aggravating informality in the town. According to the provisions of the Local Government Act (district authorities), Mlandizi

Township Authority will automatically become a town council after having the new status conferred on it (United Republic of Tanzania, 1982b). To maintain the status quo the KDC is opposing the proposal to declare Mlandizi a town council for fear of losing the resource base, on which it depends.

Yet, the resources that the council is defending are not used for planning in Mlandizi, where the larger share comes from. Certainly, the lack of financial resources for planning creates certain problems for the town planners, problems which result in the adoption of piecemeal planning. Although the household survey did not pose a specific question to the interviewee regarding the declaration of Mlandizi a town council, their perceptions of planning indicated a lack of interest in urban planning. Some 82% of the respondents had a poor perception of the role of urban planning in promoting socio-economic development. Evidently, they have lost interest in urban planning. A similar turmoil of urban area declaration has been experienced in the establishment of the Sirari township authority.

6.6.2.2 Declaration of the Sirari township authority

According to the criteria for establishing local governments and urban areas, Sirari qualifies to be a township authority. The criteria are an area having a population threshold of 10 000; being a ward's or division's headquarters; and the presence of at least one health centre, a secondary school, 20 licensed shops and a primary court in the area (recall Table 5.1). According to the classification of human settlements, a township is a transitional status necessary for a rural settlement to be categorised as an urban settlement. Small towns, most of which are rural settlements, must go through a reclassification process in order for them to become urban settlements (United Republic of Tanzania, 1982b, 2007a). When the declaration process for establishing the Sirari township authority was initiated, it involved the expansion of its boundary from the old delineation, which included only Sirari ward. The objective was to add two more wards to Sirari so that it could comprise Sirari, Gwitiryo and Legicheri wards. All the legal requirements were met, including the holding of public hearing meetings in all the wards so as to notify of and discuss with the residents the council's intention to establish a township authority. After all the requirements had been fulfilled, the proposal was approved by the CMT and the district council. After this stage, the proposal was supposed to go through the District Consultative Council (DCC) and the Regional Consultative Council (RCC) for wider consultation with the stakeholders before being sent to the ministry responsible for local

government for final approval and declaration. It is at the DDC stage that the process is being delayed since it has never been on the agenda for DCC meetings in the past three years. During an interview in March 2017 Tarime's town planner asserted:

> The Sirari township authority declaration process is frustrated. In my follow-up efforts I was told by the District Administrative Secretary, who is secretary to the District Consultative Council, that the process had been deliberately stopped. He said the government was not willing to establish another local authority until all unsettled claims resulting from the establishment of Tarime Town Council[27] had been resolved. The tension around the establishment of Tarime Town Council resulted from what is considered as unequal distribution of staff, assets and liabilities between the two councils. Because Tarime Town Council was established from Tarime District Council, the two councils were supposed to equally divide the staff, assets and liabilities between them. These challenges still exist and are being used by the district and regional offices as reasons for stopping Sirari township declaration process.

This is one of the examples of the manifestation of political influence on urban planning. However, the planner's statement illustrates high-level interference from outside the council, most of which is channelled through the council director. The reason for stopping this declaration process was disputed by the councillor for Sirari in an interview held in March 2017.

> They don't want to declare Sirari a township for political reasons. Because currently the two local councils are under the main opposition party, Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo, they think that declaring Sirari a township will be a political credit to the opposition.

In addition, the opposition party leaders in Tarime maintain that the issues surrounding the establishment of the Sirari township authority are the government's actions aimed at frustrating any development initiatives the opposition starts. The government's reluctance springs from the fact that the two parliamentary constituencies and the two local councils in Tarime district are controlled by the main opposition party (CHADEMA). The establishment of any other authority in the district means an increase in the number of authorities under the opposition's control. This claim by the opposition party leaders has been refuted by the district government that claims that there is no political motive behind the delay in declaring Sirari a township authority. The central

[27] Tarime Town Council (TTC) was established in 2012 by upgrading the then Tarime Township Authority (TTA), which resorted under Tarime District Council (TDC). The establishment of TTC required an equal division of the assets and liabilities of TDC between the two councils.

government maintains that, since the two local governments (TDC and TTC) are both controlled by one opposition party (CHADEMA), they should first collaborate to resolve the long-standing issue of dividing the assets and liabilities before establishing any other local authority.

When compared, the declaration processes for Mlandizi and Sirari are different. While the Mlandizi process is aimed at establishing an independent council, the Sirari one is aimed at establishing an interim township, pending the graduation process to its becoming a town. In this regard, the establishment of a township authority does not require an equal division of staff, assets and liabilities as it does for establishing the TTC. Furthermore, under the current local government structure, township authorities are managed by the respective district councils and the appointed Township Executive Officer (TEO) becomes a member of the Council Management Team (CMT). Indeed, the TEO has the same status as any other head of a council department.

More importantly, the declaration processes for Mlandizi and Sirari attest to the relationship between politics and planning institutions (Pierre, 1999; Tang, 2011). Urban planning institutions have been turned into products of the political processes. As a result, politics has been one of the conditions influencing planning; and power is a basic element of politics which controls societal organisation and actor relations (Watson, 2012; Birkland, 2015). The power relations between actors affect the nature of decision-making, which defines urban governance outcomes. This tendency creates uncertainty and difficult choices for street-level bureaucrats. The competition between the two opposing political wings, particularly in TDC, discourages street-level bureaucrats. Apart from the differences in the local political regimes under which the two towns are governed, politics play a decisive role in and put certain constrains on urban planning. Apart from the interventions in the declaration processes for Mlandizi and Sirari, political interference was also experienced in resource allocation.

6.6.3 Planning resource allocation

Decisions on resource allocation are made at council meetings where bureaucrats' proposals are either accepted or rejected by councillors. Bureaucrats and councillors consider shortages of financial resources as the main reason for not preparing master plans for Mlandizi and Sirari. Problems exist in the councils in relation to the allocation of locally generated revenue. The two district councils have resources which can be used to carry out socio-economic development

activities. TDC receives an average of 1.2 billion Tanzanian shillings per year (equivalent to USD 550 000) in service levies from North Mara Gold Mine. These financial resources are normally allocated for delivering social services to the communities. KDC, on the other hand, receives a 10% fee charged on each plot of land it sells in partnership with private-sector companies. Though the actual size of the fee was not disclosed, the volume of private-sector planning and land delivery in Mlandizi attests to this being the main source of local revenue for the council. Considering that master plans are prepared at an interval of 20 years, part of the resources available in the council would have been used to prepare a master plan. The master plan would have been the basis for annual investment in social service delivery.

Political factors have been at the centre of resource allocation. Councillors prioritise projects through which they consider will win voters' support. The projects involve education, health care, water and road rehabilitation. Thus, planning activities are not considered and prioritised for funding. The undermining of planning activities in the councils' priorities can be attributed to a shallow understanding of the merits of urban planning and of its contribution to socio-economic development. According to Haworth (2012), the prioritisation of projects for funding is determined by the utility and happiness derived from a given service. The town planners in Mlandizi and Sirari have decried the lack of understanding and maintain that the resource problem emanates from the councils' priority setting and resource allocation decisions. If the preparation of a master plan was regarded as a public utility and to foster happiness among the electorate, it would be a priority for resource allocation.

Moreover, the councillors' rationalities are informed by their ambitions to win the next elections; thus, they favour projects which will help them get some votes from the people. This explains the shortage of financial resources, which eventually undermines the councils' urban planning capacities. This means urban planning is not a government priority, a rationality which informs local resource allocation decisions. However, in the neo-liberal era public-sector incapacities open opportunities for the private sector. The next section discusses the role of the private sector in urban planning and land delivery in small towns.

6.7 THE ROLE OF THE MARKET IN URBAN GOVERNANCE

Neo-liberal policies and their associated market practices are evident in the postmodernist planning practices in the Tanzanian urban landscapes, including small towns (Dear, 2000; Kasala

& Burra, 2016; Baeten, 2018). This section presents some manifestations of neo-liberal policies, including the involvement of non-state actors in urban governance. It also critically examines the potential and challenges associated with the involvement of non-state actors in urban planning and service delivery in small towns. The private sector in Tanzania is playing an increasingly important role in urban planning and land delivery in the country's cities and small towns.

6.7.1 The private sector's contribution to planning and urban land delivery

As part of the implementation of neo-liberal policies, the involvement of the private sector in planning and urban land delivery in Tanzania was promoted through the enactment of Land Act No. 4 of 1999 and Urban Planning Act No. 8 of 2007 (United Republic of Tanzania, 1999a, 2007a). These laws provided the legal basis for the commercialisation of land and private-sector involvement in planning and land delivery in the country. In addition, the private sector responded to the shortages in the delivery of surveyed land by local governments. Given their entrepreneurial ambitions, the private sector turned the shortage of land delivery by the local governments into a business opportunity. The private sector is increasingly contributing to planning and urban land delivery in the cities and small towns. But the role and magnitude of private-sector involvement in planning and urban land delivery differ from one town to another. The involvement of the private sector in the activity is associated with the government's inclination towards piecemeal planning practices. Mlandizi and Sirari are instructive cases of the private sector's role in piecemeal planning practices in small towns. The next two subsections consider these roles in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively.

6.7.1.1 Private sector planning and land delivery in Mlandizi

Private-sector companies and landowners are the leading actors that impact on piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi. Land-delivery ambitions necessitate the preparation of layout plans for facilitating cadastral surveys. This research found that 104 layout plans (95%) in Mlandizi were either prepared, or the preparation process was financed, by the private sector and the local government authority prepared only five layout plans (5%). Private-sector actors fill the land delivery gap that exists in many local governments in the country. Local government delivered only 10% of the land applications in Tanzania (Kasala & Burra, 2016). Land delivery by the private sector was a response to the increasing demand for housing in Mlandizi following its becoming a township in 2004. However, much of the land continued to be acquired informally

until the 2007 Urban Planning Act was enacted and its regulations which allowed for private-sector involvement in planning and urban land delivery were prepared.

Notwithstanding the private sector's contribution to planning and land delivery in Mlandizi, nearly 90% of the population live in informal settlements. This makes the private sector's contribution less meaningful, given the rapid proliferation of informal settlements in the town. There are two factors for this situation. First, it is the unaffordability of plots. The prices have an exclusionary effect, particularly among some households in low- and middle-income groups. Second, there is a noticeable slow pace of development in the areas planned piecemeal, which is perhaps caused by speculative motives. The slow pace of development of such areas is evidenced by the less than two per cent of the views of the respondents who were involved in the household survey in Mlandizi and who had acquired land through formal procedures (Table 6.1). This slow development undermines the impacts of piecemeal planning which can improve conditions in small towns.

Furthermore, private-sector planning and land delivery in Mlandizi are done through public-private partnerships (PPP). Depending on the circumstances, a PPP arrangement can comprise two or three parties. While a two-party partnership involves the local council and a private-sector company, a tripartite partnership involves the local council, a private-sector company and a landowner. Each party to the partnership has a role to play and a specific responsibility in a multilevel contractual arrangement. In tripartite partnerships the first agreement is normally signed between a landowner and a private-sector company. In most cases, the private-sector companies are registered urban planning firms or even real estate companies which have a registered town planner on their staff. Apart from having their own planners, private-sector companies sometimes engage council planners in private arrangements (recall section 6.3.3). A landowner's responsibility in this kind of partnership is to make land available for planning purposes. The landowner must ensure that the land is free of any encumbrances from third-party interests. The private sector's role in this kind of arrangement includes preparing layout plan(s), executing cadastral surveys, providing basic infrastructure and advertising the plots through various media outlets. The local council is responsible for dispositing the land, collecting the payments and issuing title deeds to buyers.

The revenue accruing from the sale of plots is shared among the parties at agreed proportions. In many such agreements the local council receives 10% of the money, while the remaining 90% is shared between the landowner and the private-sector company. The private-sector respondents were not willing to disclose the actual percentage they get from this business. It was learnt from the council that, depending on the level of infrastructure investment made by the private sector (Figure 6.11), landowners and the private sector share the money at the ratio of 6:4 or 7:3, respectively, after the council has deducted 10% from it. This makes urban planning and land delivery a lucrative business for private-sector planners and real-estate firms in Tanzania. Despite the secrecy about the amount of the private sector gets from this business, land prices (TZS 5000-6000 per square metre) show the amount of revenue that can be obtained from land delivery.

Source: Google Earth image for November 2017

Figure 6.11: Private sector planning and infrastructure provision in Mlandizi

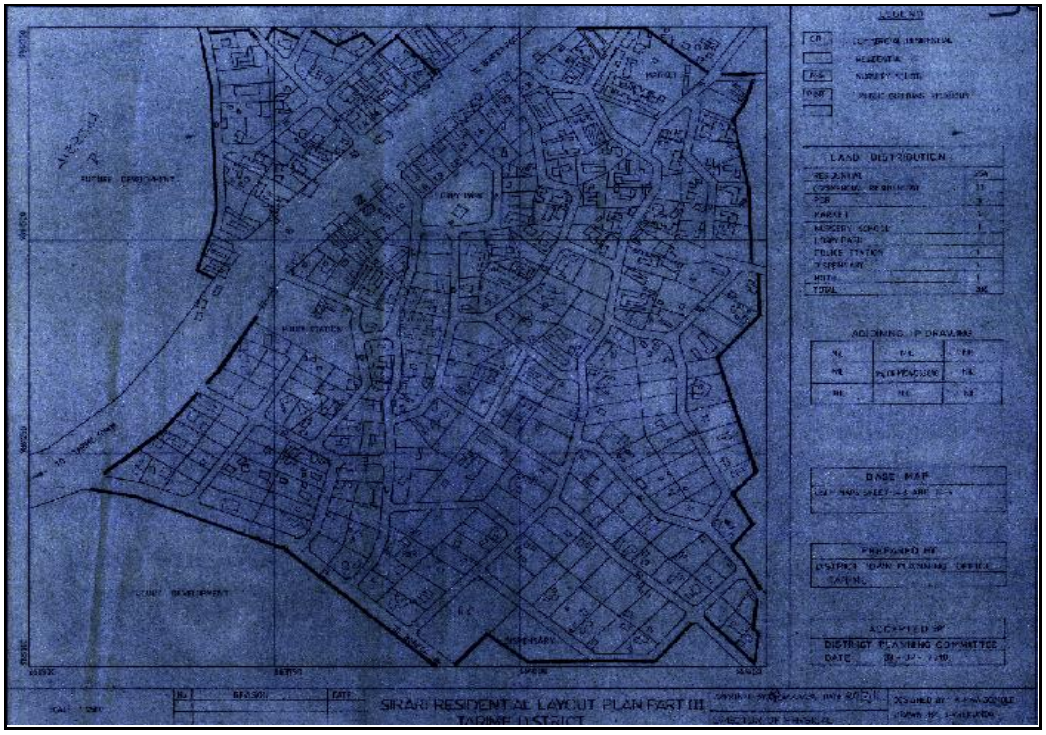
Figure 6.11 is an extra from a satellite image showing a planning and land-delivery project site in Mlandizi. The Block G Vikuruti project is one of the many similar planning services provided by the private sector in Mlandizi. This project concerned the construction of access roads on the site. As a result, all 380 plots were made accessible. This kind of investment determines the revenue-sharing proportions between landowners and private-sector companies. Land delivery

by the private sector in Mlandizi takes advantage of the shortage of housing amid rapid population growth in the town. The private sector also played a major planning role in Sirari.

6.7.1.2 Private sector urban planning and land delivery in Sirari

The motives for the private sector's involvement in urban planning in Sirari differ from those in Mlandizi. Not a single land-delivery project has been implemented by the private sector in Sirari. The private-sector involvement in planning in this small town relates to landowners who have had cadastral surveys done for them in fulfilment of the requirement for title deed processing. They needed title deeds which would be used as collateral when applying for business loans from financial institutions. The landowners engage council town planners to prepare layout plans which area requirement for executing a cadastral survey. To meet the standards required for the preparation of a layout plan, town planners normally extend the area covered by the plans beyond a given landowner's land. This extension accommodates other developed and undeveloped land. But during cadastral surveys they only survey the plots of the paying landowners, leaving all other parts of the layout plan unsurveyed.

For example, it is estimated that only 20 plots out of 286 plots shown in layout plan with registration number 15/TRM/04/032010 were surveyed (Figure 6.12). This means that only seven per cent of the plan was implemented. Later, the unsurveyed part of the layout plan was developed informally. There were informal settlements even in the planned areas in Sirari. This may be attributed to the slow pace of plan implementation and development control by the local council. This approach is different to that of Mlandizi, where a large number of layout plans are prepared for land delivery, thereby making cadastral survey mandatory. The practice in Sirari attests to the effects of neo-liberal policies and the associated organisational challenges.



Source: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, 2017
Figure 6.12: Sirari residential layout plan

Figure 6.12 presents just one such layout plan which was prepared for the purpose of facilitating business motives. In these cases, the business elites use urban planning as a tool for achieving their business agendas. The none surveying of the larger parts of the layout plans in Sirari attests to the obstacles involved in implementing neo-liberal policies in an area where the institutional capacities are low (Baeten, 2018). As a result, Tarime District Council failed to capitalise on the layout plan which had been prepared by the developers. Institutional capacities would have made it possible for planners to make layout plans appropriate tools for controlling the development of informal settlements in small towns. Also, the delivery of planned land would increase government revenue from land rents and property taxes.

In spite of the differences in motive and approach, neo-liberal policies feature in the private sector's planning role in both Mlandizi and Sirari. At the end of the day, urban planning and land development is used to create wealth. On the other hand, the involvement of town planners in local government so as to facilitate private-sector interests in land perpetuates the adoption of piecemeal planning. A director of a planning firm involved in planning and land delivery said during an interview in April 2017 that:

> As a strategy for securing the cooperation of the local council and for strengthening our planning expertise, we sometimes hire the town planners from the local councils. This approach helps us to avoid bureaucratic interference from them and smoothen planning and plan approval processes. This strategy helps fast-track the planning process as it saves the time that would be wasted if the process is subjected to cumbersome institutional procedures. But, honestly, hiring the local council's planners can result in challenges like land-use and boundary conflicts. This is because the town planners sometimes ignore the guidelines for preparing layout plans. For example, the guidelines require planning professionals to engage with the local community and other stakeholders in the area to be planned in a consultative process to get their opinions. Even though we have not experienced any problems, overlooking the local community can result in conflicts which can impact negatively on our projects.

Apart from mentioning that they sometimes hire the services of the town planners, the respondent also expressed his views on the shortcomings of the strategy. It was difficult to establish whether the town planners ignore planning guidelines when preparing the layout plans financed by local government. However, a town planner's explanation about the process (recall Section 6.3.3) contradicts the respondent's argument. Planner denied his involvement in private-sector planning processes until the plans are complete for approval. At the approval stage a plan is submitted to them for scrutiny by the council. Planner might not have mentioned their engagement in some planning processes because if known they could be punished by the council. However, according to the private-sector actors the strategy is sometimes adopted, which means that the planner was referring to the general procedure. Whatever the case, the planner acknowledged that plans are submitted to them for approval purposes. This is one of the ways the council planners give assistance to the private sector.

Moreover, town planners ignore stakeholders in private-sector engagements as a cover-up strategy because they do not want to be openly associated with private-sector companies. Their being hired by the private sector can cause them to lose their institutional power and mandate. Thus, they further private-sector interests and conveniently forget their institutional mandate to ensure that urban planning policies, regulations and standards are observed. Economic reforms have created new planning encounters which influence the conduct of town planners (Roo, 2010). The urban planners' dilemmas is to serve the planning interests of the private sector but to observe their institutional obligations (Kasala & Burra, 2016). This can cause some layout plans to exclude some land uses and standards and concentrate on land uses which have some commercial value instead.

6.7.2 Private sector potential for urban planning in small towns

The planning role played by the private sector in Mlandizi and Sirari has the potential to further support urban planning in small towns. The private sector sometimes depends on town planners in local councils to actualise their planning and land delivery objectives. However, town planners and their respective local councils have as yet not used this potential to make appropriate plans in small towns. This is evident in Sirari where less than five per cent of the plots in a layout plan prepared by the private sector were surveyed. In addition, private-sector actors are not satisfied with the extent to which local councils fulfil their contractual obligations as agreed in PPP agreements. The interview with the private-sector actors revealed that some PPP projects for planning and land delivery in Mlandizi failed to achieve their objectives because the local council did not fulfil their responsibilities as agreed. If this behaviour continues it is likely to discourage private planning firms from entering into these kinds of partnership with local governments.

The failure by local governments to deliver agreed services is failure to take advantage of the potential of private-sector actors. If local governments were delivering services as agreed it would have been easy for them to persuade the private sector to contribute to or even participate in the preparation of master plans in small towns. The private-sector actors in Mlandizi were, for example, ready to collaborate with the council to prepare a master plan for Mlandizi. But the local government does not see this as a source of funds that can help to solve its technical and fiscal problems. Moreover, the number of the surveyed plots compared with the number of the plots proposed in the existing layout plans for Sirari provides evidence of deficiencies in the local governments. It was found that out of the 3850 plots proposed by layout plans in Sirari only 145 (3.8%) plots were surveyed. Clearly, the local government is unable to tap into the urban planning source of non-state actors in small towns. Tarime District Council failed to take advantage of the layout plans prepared by the non-state actors which would have ensured that all the plots would have been surveyed and the layout plans would have been implemented. In spite of the spatial development problems resulting from piecemeal planning, the layout plans would have helped to reduce the growth of informal settlements in Sirari had the plots been surveyed.

6.8 CONCLUSION

There are many and intertwined local realities governing the adoption of piecemeal urban planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari. This chapter has described the effects of local realities

and their interrelationships in the urban environment. The diversity of the contextual realities limited the range and depth of the discussion so that the issues considered to be less significant and less related to the crux of this study were given cursory attention. However, the issues that were given more attention show the complexities of the realities pertaining to the urban planning environments of Mlandizi and Sirari. As depicted in Figure 6.1 the realities have turned the small towns into urban planning environments influenced by many factors. This study has investigated five variables, namely customary land administration, informal urbanisation, institutional capacities, local politics and the role of the private sector in planning as examples of these realities in small towns.

The evidence reported in this chapter confirms that the administration of local land tenure, the proliferation of informal settlements, the institutional incapacities for urban planning, the local political climate and the influence of market forces are significant factors in the adoption of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari. These realities are typical of those obtaining in most African urban centres. Although they are not the only realities that explain the adoption of piecemeal planning, they appear to be the most relevant and pronounced. The factors were found to have both direct and indirect influences. They influence one another and exhibit the interplay of relationships (Figure 6.1). This makes the adoption of piecemeal planning by the town planners in the local government an exercise for dealing with diversity. This multifaceted nature of the local realities in Mlandizi and Sirari creates dilemmas to which the planners are subjected. Piecemeal planning practices started as a strategy invented by town planners to manoeuvre institutional goals and uncertainties. This makes it crucial to understand piecemeal planning practices, their outcomes as well as their implications for sustainable urban development. Chapter 7 examines the nature of piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari, and the associated challenges to urban planners.

CHAPTER 7
PIECEMEAL PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN MLANDIZI AND SIRARI

7.1 INTRODUCTION

When interviewed in February 2017 a principal town planning officer in the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements Development said: "Piecemeal planning has no theoretical basis but it has a practical basis." This comment means that the officer acknowledges the realities and the challenges encountered by the town planners working in the local governments in Tanzania. Certainly, piecemeal planning became apparent from the routines invented by the town planners in the local governments to cope with the multifaceted challenges they encounter in their respective urban planning environments. In view of the above statement, this chapter discusses the practicability of piecemeal planning in the small towns of Mlandizi and Sirari. On the basis of the nature and outcomes of the practice, the case is argued for sustainable urban development. The chapter also uncovers the associated social, economic, spatial and environmental implications of planning piecemeal. Finally, on the basis of sustainability indicators, the practices and the associated challenges are assessed in relation to their potential to promote sustainable urban development in small towns.

7.2 PIECEMEAL PLANNING PRACTICES

This section presents the nature of piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari. It also examines the planning processes and their outcomes, besides considering the roles played by various planning actors in small towns.

7.2.1 Piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi

Since being declared an urban planning area in 2001, Mlandizi has been planned piecemeal. Unlike master planning, piecemeal planning is reactionary and involves the preparation of a town planning layout in the absence of a comprehensive land-use framework. By 2017 when the fieldwork was done, 120 planning layouts had been prepared for different parts of Mlandizi. Only 109 of these layout plans were obtained for analysis, so that the results reported in this chapter are based on 91% of Mlandizi's layout plans; the remaining nine per cent were missing (Appendix E). In 2017 the layout plans covered 5135 hectares (31.6%) of the township's area (16271 ha) and the remaining 11 136 hectares (68.4%) were still unplanned (Table 7.1). Most of the unplanned areas, particularly in the CBD, have been developed informally. According to the

available layout plans, piecemeal urban planning practices started in Mlandizi in 2009, that is, eight years after the township had been declared an urban planning area and five years after it became a township authority in 2004. The delay in starting planning probably indicates a lack of interest on the part of the government in planning in small towns. This is contrary to the 2001 declaration notice (Appendix A). The 109 available layout plans were prepared between 2009 and 2017. Although the number of the proposed plots in some of the layout plans was not countable, a total of 35214 plots were derived for different uses. Some of the plots have been surveyed and developed but many have not been developed yet. Some details of the layout plans are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Town layouts plans for Mlandizi, 2009-2017

Year	Layout plans	Total number of plots	Average number of plots per plan	Total area (ha) of plans	Average area (ha) of plans
2009	2	1236	618	176	88.0
2010	7	2506	358	428	85.6
2011	24	7378	321	819	68.3
2012	13	5363	413	514	54.1
2013	13	4269	388	348	43.5
2014	13	6168	474	924	71.1
2015	10	3138	314	392	43.6
2016	24	4485	236	1303	76.6
2017	3	671	224	231	77.0
Total	**109**	**35 214**	**323**	**5135**	**47.0**

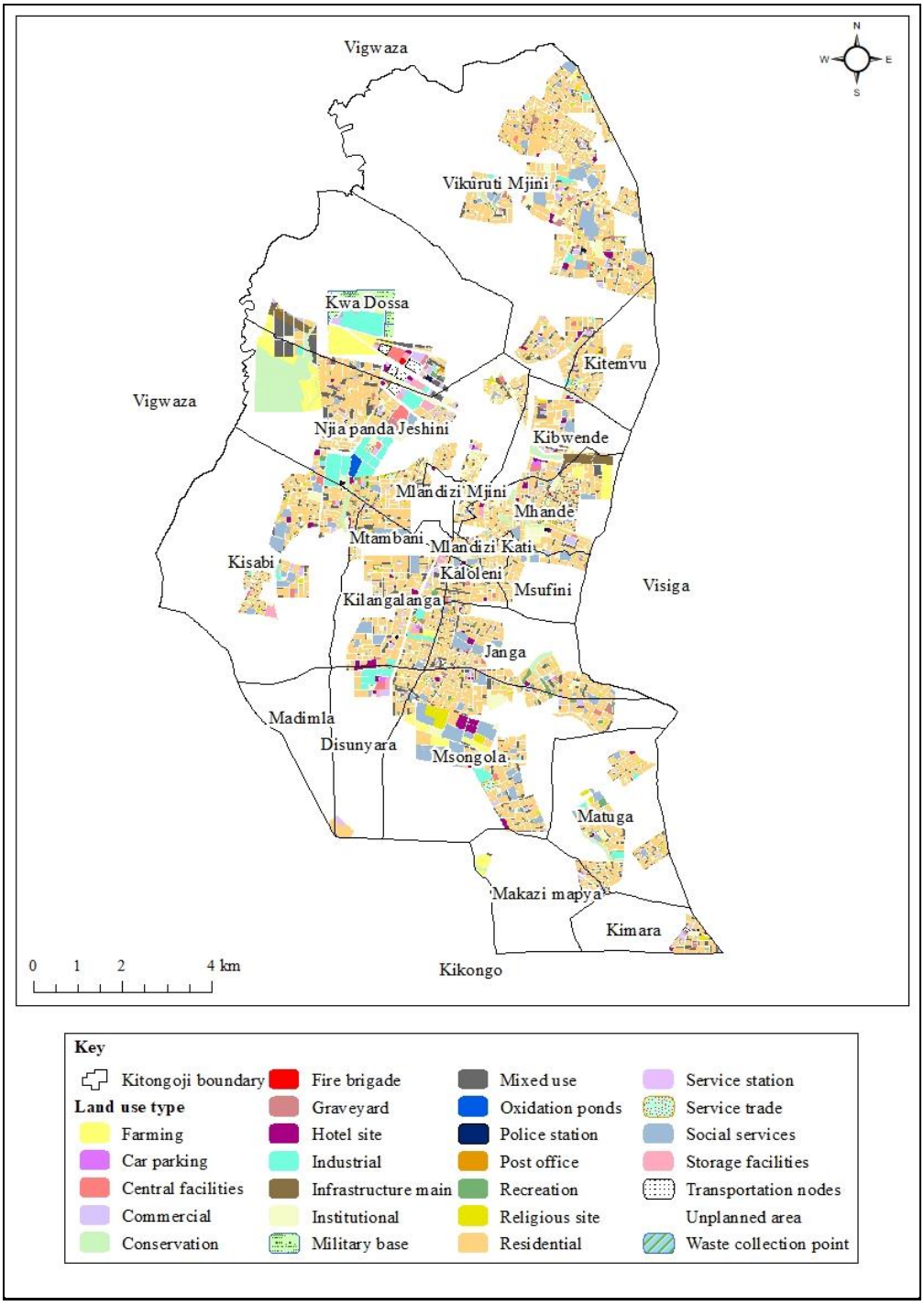
Source: Author's summary of an analysis of the layout plans

The annual number of the layout plans prepared for Mlandizi and the average area covered by the plans vary over the nine-year period: 2009 to 2017. For 2017, only the layout plans which were prepared from January until March were obtained; this explains the significant variation. Over this period the annual average area planned piecemeal was 570.6 hectares. At this rate, it will take 19 years to prepare layout plans for the remaining part of the township. But considering the current urbanisation rate of Mlandizi, this pace of piecemeal planning is likely to be overtaken by the demand for housing and social services. Unless a more effective planning strategy for improving the practices is found, piecemeal planning will encourage informal urbanisation of many small towns in the country. If this happens it is likely that the proportion of informal settlements in Mlandizi will increase beyond the current (2017) 90%. In order to reduce the

growth of informal settlements in the town, the planning strategy must also focus on making plots affordable to low-income inhabitants. This will promote formal land acquisition and the development of the plots in the private sector-led piecemeal planned areas.

The layout plans have been prepared for different parts of Mlandizi. Generally, many of them are uncoordinated (Figure 7.1). The planning practice has caused layout plans to occur in patches with unplanned spaces between them. The unplanned spaces between the piecemeal-planned areas were continuously filled with informal settlements. These unstructured patterns block the connectivity of the proposed linear infrastructure and land uses. Consequently, most of the proposed land uses in the adjoining layout plans are not compatible with each other. This is mainly attributed to the ad hoc, reactive and demand-driven nature of the practice (95%) by private-sector actors. These demand-driven planning practices make piecemeal plans reactionary in the way they respond to the immediate needs of non-state actors. In the process the private-sector actors designate land uses according to their preferences, which inevitably favour land uses with some commercial value.

It was found that the preparation of layout plans in Mlandizi was not integrated with the government's plans for service delivery. As a result, some of the layout plans prepared for the remote suburbs of Vikuruti mjini, Mkazi mapya, Matuga, Kisabi and Kimara lack basic social services. Neither the private sector nor the local government has provided basic social services in the planned areas. The plans remain undeveloped because the places are considered to be inconvenient for the urban dwellers. Also, there have been speculative moves in the piecemeal-planned areas; many plots have not been developed for more than three years, the period prescribed by regulation. Apart from the lack of basic social services, land speculation explains the presence of undeveloped plots in the planned areas. The planning and the land-delivery role of the private-sector actors show the contribution of neo-liberal policies to shaping urban landscapes (Sager, 2011; Carmona, 2014). In the process the role of street-level bureaucrats in bringing harmony and amenities is undermined by commercial motives (Campbell & Marshall, 1998; Proudfoot & McCann, 2008). Apart from the influence of the local realities, the town planners are also compromised by being hired by the private sector. Their capability of appropriately advising the private-sector actors who intend to invest in remote areas is thus undermined. As a result, the areas planned piecemeal remain undeveloped and the potential role of piecemeal planning in dealing with the urbanisation challenges in Mlandizi is reduced.



Source: Author's compilation based on an analysis of layout plans

Figure 7.1: Distribution of layouts plans in Mlandizi

One hundred and nine layout plans were prepared for Mlandizi from 2009 to March 2017 (Figure 7.1). The proposed land uses are presented in different colours and the spaces in between them, which are shaded in white, are unplanned areas. The unplanned areas block the connectivity of proposed linear infrastructure and compatibility of land uses. The next subsection provides a

detailed account of the land-use planning practices in Sirari, from which cross-case comparison is made.

7.2.2 Piecemeal planning practices in Sirari

Since being declared an urban planning area in 1996 and again in 2001, Sirari has also been planned piecemeal. The discussion here focuses on the 2001 declaration of the township as an urban planning area (Appendix A). From 2010 to 2017 only nine layout plans were prepared (Appendix F). Piecemeal planning started in Sirari in 2010, some nine years after being declared an urban planning area in 2001. The layout plans cover different parts of the township but are concentrated in the CBD, which is close to the border post. The other plans are concentrated at Ng'ereng'ere and Remagwe (Figure 7.2). By 2017 piecemeal planning had covered 461 hectares (9.6%) of the township's total area (4788 ha) and the remaining 4327 hectares (90.4%) were still unplanned. The details of the layout plans prepared in Sirari are given in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Town layouts plans for Sirari

Year	Layout plans	Total number of plots	Average number of plots per plan	Total area (ha) of plans	Average area (ha) of plans
2010	1	122	122	28	28.0
2011	1	286	286	30	30.0
2012	0	0	0	0	0.0
2013	0	0	0	0	0.0
2014	5	2833	567	344	68.8
2015	2	609	305	59	29.5
2016	0	0	0	0	0.0
2017	0	0	0	0	0.0
Total	**9**	**3850**	**428**	**461**	**51.2**

Source: Author's summary of the analysis of layout plans

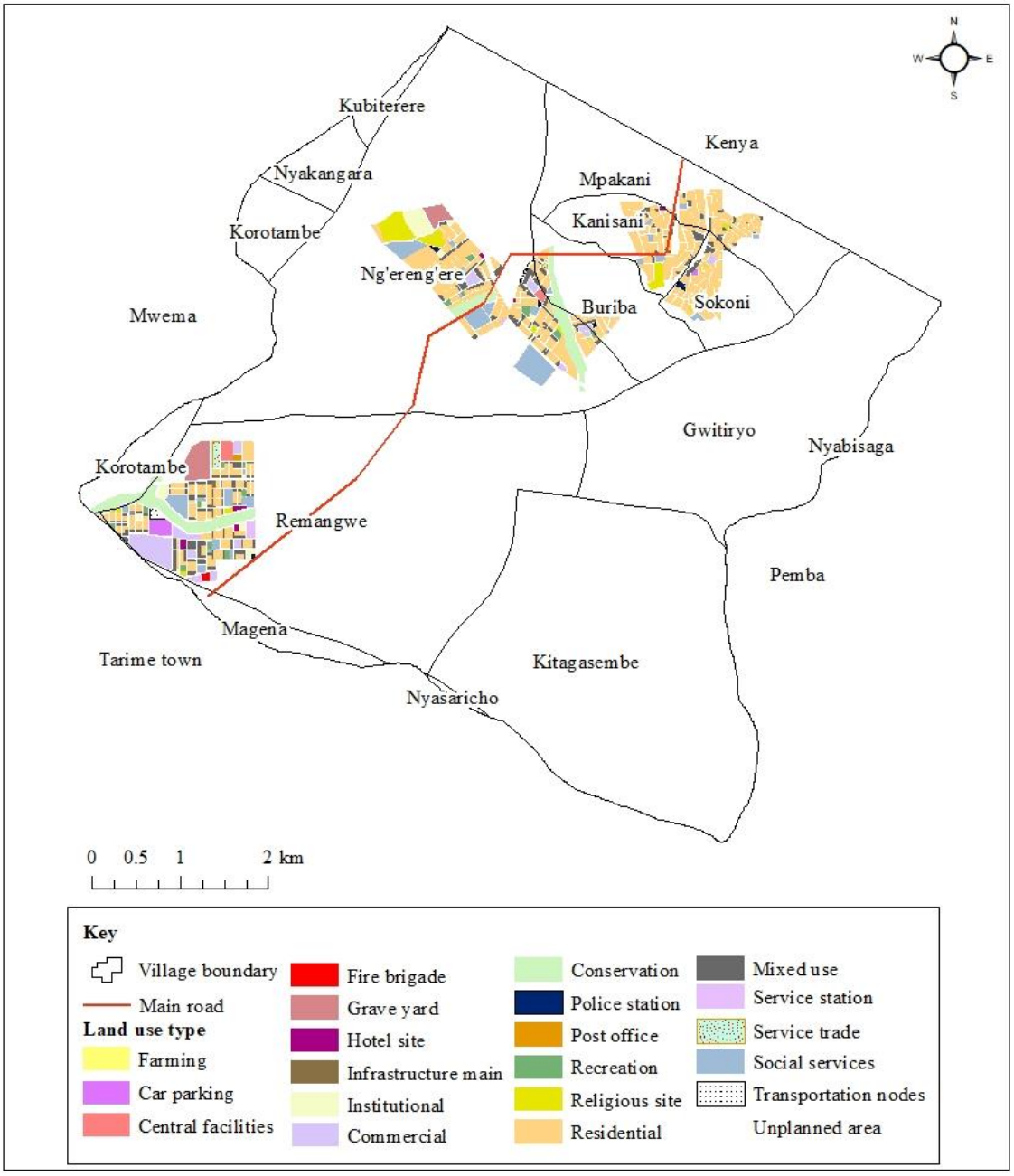
Compared to Mlandizi's rate (12 plans per year), Sirari's rate (1 plan per year) of piecemeal planning is very low. At the time of the fieldwork in 2017 only nine layout plans had been prepared. The annual average area planned piecemeal is 57.6 hectares. At this rate of planning, it will take 66 years to plan the remaining part of the township. As is the case with Mlandizi, unless a more productive planning strategy is implemented in Sirari, the urbanisation rate will exceed that of the planning efforts. If this continues, it will encourage the development of

informal settlements in the township. Appropriate planning for Sirari should increase land delivery and development for all sections of the town's residents. This will help to control informal urbanisation of Sirari.

Like Mlandizi's layout plans, many of Sirari's layout plans, which had already been prepared or were being prepared, were financed by private-sector actors. This is in line with the neo-liberal policies for improving urban service delivery in small towns. Commercial motives have always been behind private-sector planning and land delivery. Out of Sirari's nine layout plans, only one was prepared with government financing, namely the plan for Ng'ereng'ere because the government wanted to designate certain parts of Ng'ereng'ere for the construction of a weighbridge and a bus stop (Figure 6.9 A and B). Some 90% and 10% of the layout plans were prepared by the private sector and the government, respectively. This attests to the influence of neo-liberal policies urban planning and the extent of private-sector involvement in urban planning and land delivery in small towns. It is worth noting that piecemeal planning and land delivery in Mlandizi was implemented through PPP and that the process was entirely financed by the private sector in Sirari. The private-sector actors' motive was to formalise their properties and acquire title deeds which would be used as collateral for loans from financial institutions. The practice is cloaked in individual wealth creation which is the tenet of neo-liberal policies. The experiences in Sirari also attest to the role of neo-liberal policies in shaping the urban landscapes of small towns.

The current distribution of layout plans in Sirari has produced three uncoordinated urban centres, that is, the Sirari CBD, which includes Mpakani, Kanisani and Sokoni villages. The other subcentres are Ng'ereng'ere and Remagwe, which are located some distance away from the CBD (Figure 7.2). These subcentres offer different facilities and services which are not coordinated. A feature common to all three subcentres is that they are all located along the main road which connects Tanzania with Kenya. The urban social services in the three emerging urban centres in Sirari are neither related nor connected. According to Camagni & Salone (1993), spatial interaction between urban centres is enhanced by economic activities and people. Without these, urban centres cannot act as central places where socio-economic growth is supposed to occur. Because urban centres are vitally important for urban development, they need to be planned with a diversity of land uses such as retailing, housing, entertainment and civic, administrative and professional services (Balsas, 2004). The growth of towns goes hand in hand with the demand for central services. Planning approaches should therefore anticipate and provide land uses that

will carter for future service needs. The urban planning practices hitherto applied in Sirari fall short of the town's ability to improve its viability or maintain its vitality.



Source: Author's compilation based on the analysis of layout plans

Figure 7.2: Distribution of layout plans in Sirari

Apart from the main road linking the three urban centres in Sirari, the proposed land uses are neither diverse nor related. If this problem is not addressed, piecemeal planning and the development of subcentres in Sirari can result in spatial organisational problems. The adoption

of piecemeal planning by the street-level bureaucrats in Mlandizi and Sirari is regulated to many various and interlinked factors which are referred to in this study as local realities (recall Figure 6.1). The complexities of these realities reflect the truth of the principal town planner's observation, which was presented at the beginning of the chapter, that piecemeal planning is more practical than theoretical. However, drawing conclusions on this should be deferred until detailed attention has been given to the planning process and the role of street-level bureaucrats in urban planning.

7.2.3 Piecemeal planning process

The current urban governance structure in Tanzania entrusts the responsibility of urban planning to the respective local governments. Local governments depending category have boundaries defining their areas of jurisdiction, as shown in Table 1.1. However, the local government planning processes and outputs are always subject to approval by the central government through the MLHHSD. The plan approval process defines the central-local government relationships in which the policies formulated by central government are implemented by the local governments. Apart from the MLHSSD, the local governments also report to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government. This Ministry is responsible for establishing local government authorities. Once established, Local Government Authorities (LGAs) become responsible for urban planning and management. In addition, Urban Planning Act No. 8 of 2007 considers each LGA to be a planning authority (PA) for all the areas under its jurisdiction which have been declared urban planning areas. The urban planning policies formulated by the central government are implemented locally by the LGAs which, according to the urban planning laws, are the PAs. Therefore, the LGAs are responsible for planning and managing urban development at the local level. To discharge this function, the LGAs employ various professionals on their teams of street-level bureaucrats. The town planners in the LGAs are therefore focal persons who are charged with planning responsibilities. Indeed, the success of urban planning by a local authority depends on the work of its street-level bureaucrats. In the planning process, the town planners interact with the citizens and the private sector's planning actors.

The planning process discussed here is based on the piecemeal planning and street-level bureaucrats' experiences in Mlandizi and Sirari. The shift from government to governance resulted in two different planning routes for implementing piecemeal planning. Planning can be done either by a PA or by private-sector actors. The planning needs of the LGAs can originate

from within them or from other government departments which require planning in order to facilitate the implementation of their sectoral plans. The town planner for Tarime said during an interview in March 2017 that:

> As a council we have prepared one layout plan in Sirari, the planning need originated from the Tanzania National Roads Agency (TANROADS) which intended to construct a weighbridge at Ng'ereng'ere. So, we had to prepare a plan and designate an area for its construction.

Apart from clarifying the genesis of the planning needs and the ideas of the local government, the planner's statement also shows the role TANROADS played in determining the planning site. Certainly, the town planner had no alternative but to prepare the layout plan for the area which had been chosen by TANROADS (Figure 6.9 B). Normally, a request like this is channelled through the council director who, in turn, notifies the council and then instructs the street-level bureaucrats to act accordingly, as shown in Figure 6.10. In a situation like this the street-level bureaucrats have no option but to honour the council's directive. Thus, the institutional arrangement opened the door for the street-level bureaucrats to use their discretion to balance professional requirements and the realities and rationalities of the working environment.

In Mlandizi and Sirari planning needs also originated from the private sector. The private-sector ambitions explain the differences in the planning processes in the two towns (Section 6.7.1). In spite of the different planning processes, the layout plans were eventually approved by the respective councils. After plans have been prepared by private-sector actors, they are submitted to the respective councils through the planning departments for approval. The plans are submitted to the respective council meetings by the street-level bureaucrats. After being scrutinised and approved by the council, the plans are forwarded to the MLHHSD for final approval. A copy of the approved layout plan is returned to the council for implementation and the original copy is kept by the MLHHSD. The process of approving layout plans has always been coordinated by street-level bureaucrats. Whether the plan is prepared by a council or a private-sector actor, the town planners' role condones the adoption of piecemeal planning. Indeed, on considering the two planning processes, it becomes evident that piecemeal planning is adopted by town planners and their use of discretion is legitimised by the councils.

Given the manifold planning realities, piecemeal planning is considered to be a practical and appropriate tool for planning amid the contextual realities and policy environments in small towns. Piecemeal planning has therefore emerged as a routine established for coping with planning realities and it has shaped urban planning policy, as well as the interaction between street-level bureaucrats and citizens. Piecemeal planning practices attest to the contradiction between planning policy and contextual realities in small towns. The realities and their interrelationships form street-level bureaucrats' encounters and the elements of the urban planning environments (Figure 6.1). Legitimisation of piecemeal plans by local councils confirms the role of institutional expediency in influencing discretionary actions by street-level bureaucrats. As a result, planning policy is implemented differently by making layout plans the main frameworks for guiding land-use decisions in Mlandizi and Sirari. Thus, MLHHSD principal planner's argument that piecemeal planning is practical holds water to some extent. Moreover, there is a need to assess the impacts of piecemeal planning urban development. In doing this assessment the next subsection starts by discussing how piecemeal planning practices relate to the respective LGAs' broader policies.

7.2.4 Assessment of piecemeal planning in relation to council policies

The broader council policies for Kibaha and Tarime are stipulated in the councils' strategic plans (Kibaha District Council, 2011; Tarime District Council, 2015). The two strategic planning documents guide what KDC and TDC can do in five and six years, respectively. These documents were assessed because they were guiding the councils' endeavours at the time of the fieldwork in early 2017. By then the KDC strategic plan had expired and the process of preparing a new strategic plan was still in progress. In spite of its expiry, the KDC strategic plan was useful owing to its planning horizon, which coincided with the booming piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi (Table 7.1). When compared, some relevancies and contradictions between the piecemeal planning practices and the aspiration of the two councils in their strategic plans were noted. For example, KDC's vision statement reads: "A world-class, vibrant, socio-economic affordable and progressive council where people feel safe to live, visit, enjoy their locality and access wealth" (Kibaha District Council, 2011:32). To achieve its vision, KDC intended "to provide the highest quality council services in an efficient courteous manner through planning and visionary leadership" (Kibaha District Council, 2011:32).

KDC's vision and mission statements are contradicted by the planning practices in Mlandizi. Urban planning does not seem to be the council's priority and the situation in Mlandizi does not show that high-quality council services are provided. Even if the council has failed to prepare a master plan, one would expect a proportion of the layout plans prepared by the council and the private sector to have been done at the proportion. In relation to the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges (SWOC) of KDC's strategic plan, it may be noted that the availability of qualified staff is one of the council's strengths and that the shortage of financial resources is a challenge that constrains the delivery of the council's services (Kibaha District Council, 2011). Regarding urban planning, the SWOC analysis result coincides with the staff need assessment result (Table 6.2) and the financial resource inadequacy results (Table 6.3). Indeed, the few qualified staff available in the planning department have no master planning skills or experience. These two reasons explain the adoption of piecemeal planning by the street-level bureaucrats in Mlandizi. In addition, the relevance of KDC's strategic plan to piecemeal planning practices is noted in the council's strategic options. In its strategies for urban planning, the plan suggests the taking of action to control the proliferation of informal settlements and the promotion of PPP in urban planning and development activities.

The PPP strategy involves Mlandizi's planners entering into partnerships with the private sector for planning and land delivery. Although PPP seems to be aimed at controlling informal urbanisation, 90% of the residents of Mlandizi live in informal settlements and the high rate of informal urbanisation of Mlandizi makes the strategic plan's impact look insignificant. Yet, the PPP strategy has been at the centre of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi. The fact that 95% of the layout plans were prepared by the private sector indicates a significant degree of success. Of the layout plans prepared by the private sector in Mlandizi, 89% were prepared in the said strategic planning horizon. The informal urbanisation rate and the exclusionary nature of piecemeal planning by the private sector in Mlandizi hinder the achievement of the council's vision. The piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi are influenced by the council's strategies enforcing partnerships with the private sector. In response, the street-level bureaucrats use their discretion to respond to the institutional expediencies.

TDC's vision statement reads: "To have a peaceful and poverty free community by 2025" (Tarime District Council, 2015). To achieve this, TDC intends "to provide high-quality services to its community through good governance, effective and efficient use of available resources for

sustainable development." But KDC's strategic plan suffers contradictions with the TDC strategic plan's vision, mission and piecemeal planning practices. There is contradictory evident in the development of informal settlements and the lack of basic services in Sirari. KDC has not effectively or efficiently used the available resources as promised in its mission statement. For example, the service levy (USD 550 000 per year) from the mining sector from North Mara Gold Mine is the council's main source of revenue (Section 6.6.3). Yet, TDC has failed to use part of these resources for planning and land-delivery purposes in Sirari. The role of politics in determining resource allocation is a decisive factor. The shortage of resources for planning (Table 6.4) is evidence of the internal contradictions between council plans and practices. The problem pertaining to resource allocation clearly highlights the encounters and complexities street-level bureaucrats experience in their planning profession.

TDC intends to actualise its mission by improving the living conditions in its small towns; making progress with legal ownership of land in all areas declared for urban planning; refining urban planning and design practices; reducing development of informal settlements, establishing one township authority by 2020; and increasing the number of surveyed plots (Tarime District Council, 2015). Many of the strategic options are at variance with the present planning practices and the state of service delivery in Sirari. A look at the state of planning in Sirari reveals that the council has failed to deliver on its promises. For example, the council has failed to capitalise on piecemeal planning to control the development of informal settlements and improve the living conditions of residents of Sirari (Tarime District Council, 2015). Ninety-six per cent of the plots in the layout plans prepared by the private sector in Sirari are not surveyed. This situation encourages the growth of the informal land market (recall Section 6.7.2) in the township. The only worthwhile strategic option is to declare Sirari a township authority. The council started this process, but it was later frustrated by some higher authorities (Subsection 6.6.2.2). However, considering the complexities of the realities, the establishment of the township authority does not assure any improvement in the planning practices or living conditions in Sirari.

This discussion has paid attention to the planning processes followed and the underlying forces impinging on street-level bureaucrats' efforts to do their job. Indeed, institutional forces and expediencies are instrumental in the exercise of discretion by the street-level bureaucrats. As a result, the urban planning routines and practices in Mlandizi and Sirari shape the policy experienced by the citizens (Lipsky, 1980; Kosar, 2011; Brodkin, 2012). Significantly, urban

planning policy is implemented and experienced differently in Mlandizi and Sirari. Changing urban planning practices corroborate the assertion that "public policy is not understood as made in legislature or top-floor suites of high-ranking administration, but by the decisions made by street-level bureaucrats" (Lipsky, 2010: xiii). The realities and the complexities of town planners' encounters are said to shape their responses to societal challenges in small towns. However, the town planners' behaviour and responses to societal problems are perceived negatively by the communities in the two towns. The household survey found that 99%and 84% of the respondents have negative perceptions of the functions of the town planners and local governments. Clearly, the respondents in Mlandizi and Sirari were unable to indicate the boundary between the town planners' functions and those of the councils. The citizens experienced the councils' delivery of the urban planning service through the actions of the town planners. This means that the street-level bureaucrats' practices have added to the citizens' perceptions of the councils. Their perceptions coincide with the claims of street-level bureaucracy theory (Lipsky, 1980). Indeed, the street-level level bureaucrats have invented the urban planning policy experienced by the residents of Mlandizi and Sirari. However, these policy inventions have profound implications to socio-economic development in small towns.

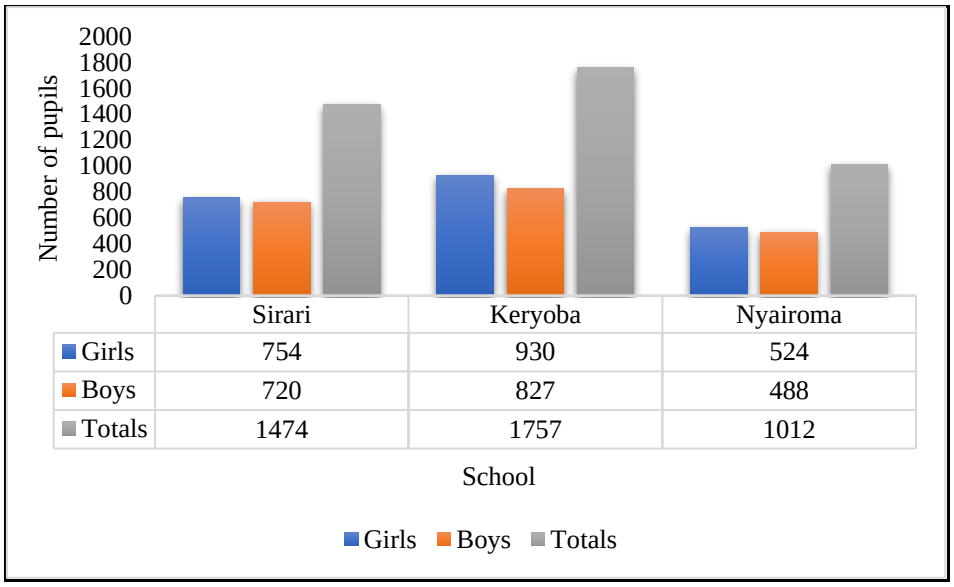
7.3 IMPLICATIONS OF PIECEMEAL URBAN PLANNING

This section discusses the implications of the piecemeal urban planning practices observed in Mlandizi and Sirari. The implications are related to the characteristics of successful planning, namely the promotion of accessibility, employment, economic growth, aesthetics and beauty, and the separation of incompatible land uses (Keeble, 1964). Four categories of the implications are treated here: social, economic, spatial and environmental implications.

7.3.1 The social development implications of piecemeal planning

The piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari inhibit the social development of their inhabitants. This is manifested in their failure to deliver social services and in the unavailability of green spaces and central services in the towns. The designation of land use for social service delivery does not consider the catchment areas and the projected number of people who are to be served by each service. It is more likely that a master planning process would have provided services based on a comprehensive assessment of the two towns. Unless the current piecemeal practices are improved, the future of social service delivery and the social amenities is in serious jeopardy. Albeit that social services are manifold, this section draws on the provision of

educational services in Sirari. All three public primary schools in Sirari ward are located in an area which was previously designated for the establishment of only one primary school. The three primary schools, namely Sirari, Keryoba and Nyairoma, share 5.5 hectares and the total pupil enrolment stands at 4243 (Figure 7.3). The figure below provides the number of both male and female pupils; their number is the basis for service requirements. If the designated area were to be divided among the three schools, each school would get only 1.8 hectares and each pupil would get 13 square metres gross. Neither figure meets the space standards prescribed by the government.

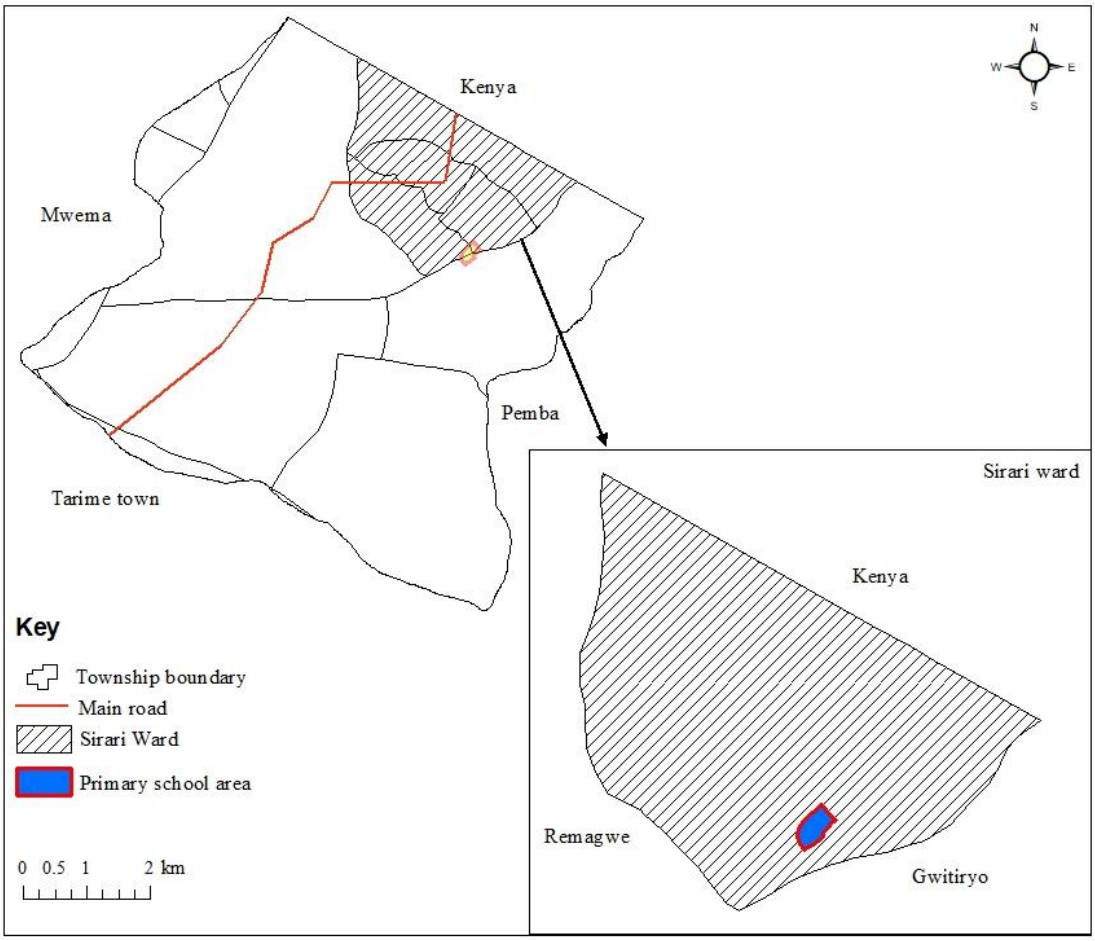


Source: Tarime District Council institutional statistics, 2017

Figure 7.3: Pupil population of three primary schools in Sirari ward

Considering the number of the pupils enrolled in the three primary schools, this area is three times smaller than the size prescribed by the government. According to the urban planning and space standards for educational facilities, each pupil is required to be allocated 40 square metres gross area (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). The total pupil enrolment at the three schools requires 16.9 hectares of land in total or 5.6 hectares per school. The space provided in 2017 represents 27 square metres gross area per pupil. Stated otherwise, the three primary schools in Sirari ward share an area which is suitable for one primary school. Consequently, the schools are congested and lack essential facilities like playgrounds. According to Hanushek et al. (2008), congestion in schools creates difficult learning environments which compromise the quality of teaching and learning. All of these contribute to pupils dropping out of school.

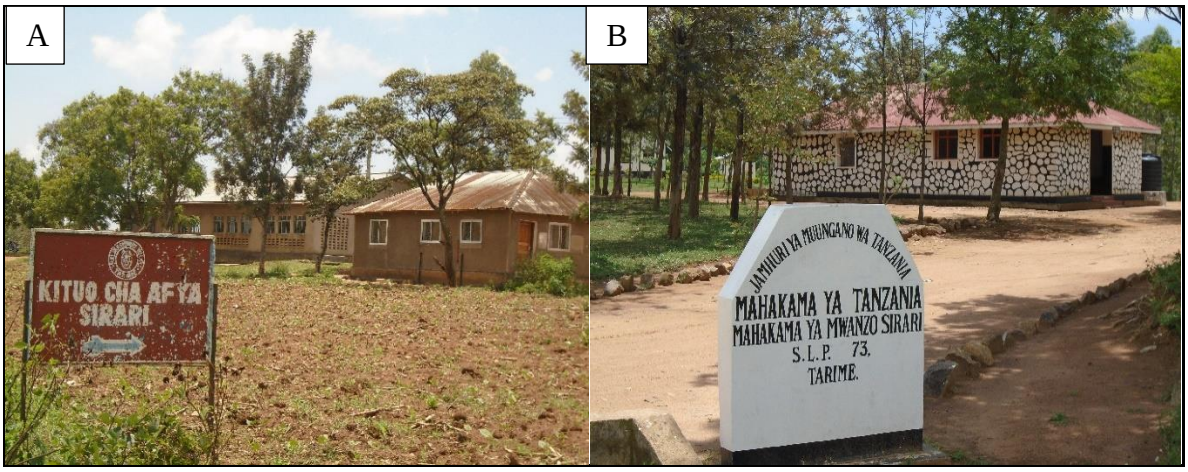
Apart from the inadequate area allocated to the three primary schools, the schools are inconveniently located. They are located in the social services cluster designated when Sirari was a village (Figure 7.4). They are in the south-eastern part of Sirari ward, which means disproportionately long-walking distances for the pupils living in the various villages.



Source: Author's preparation based on Tanzania ward map of 2014 and fieldwork in 2017
Figure 7.4: Location of public primary schools in Sirari

Considering the schools' location shown in Figure 7.4, the pupils who live near the Sirari border post walk 5 kilometres every day to and from school. This distance far exceeds the recommended walking distance for primary school pupils. According to the urban planning standards, the recommended walking distance to a primary school is 2 to 3 kilometres for a round trip. Long walking distances may result in irregular school attendance, which may eventually lead to school dropouts (Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2009). In addition, the congestion in the school area cannot be solved through in-situ expansion. The school area is surrounded by other public services and

institutions like a health centre (Figure 7.5 A), an agricultural training centre and a primary court (Figure 7.5 B). This means that, even if the location of the schools were not a problem, the area is congested and there is little room in it for expansion. As the population continues to increase and the spatial coverage of the town continues to expand, so will be the number of the pupils and walking distances to and from the schools.



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 7.5 A and B: Social services and public institutions abutting a primary school in Sirari

Apart from the inappropriate location of the primary schools in Sirari, piecemeal planning has resulted in a lack of central recreation facilities in Mlandizi. They include parks, playing fields and open space. Although some layout plans have designated certain areas as open spaces, there are no central facilities for use by people living in different parts of the township. Central recreation facilities play a crucial role in enhancing social cohesion in an urban area and provide places for social gatherings, relaxation and play, all of which are necessary for promoting the quality of life and good health (Chiesura, 2004; Peters et al., 2010). Moreover, central recreation facilities, when viewed from a man-environmental perspective, provide opportunities for social fulfilment (Coeterier, 1994; Birch-Thomsen et al., 2001). The availability of recreation facilities and green spaces creates a link between human needs and the satisfaction drawn from the external environment (Birch-Thomsen et al., 2001; De Hollander & Staatsen, 2003; Theodoropoulou et al., 2017). In this regard, liveliness in the city centre is determined by its external environment and recreation facilities and green spaces.

Also, Frank & Engelke (2001) note that urban planning is a good vehicle for creating health-promoting environments which are necessary for improved quality of life, safety and health in

urban areas. For its current population size, Mlandizi is supposed to have 20 hectares of central recreation facilities as required by the urban planning and space standards for recreation facilities (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). Comprehensive planning stands a better chance of considering these city-wide central areas. Since there are no central-place facilities in Mlandizi, the communities should be encouraged to make use of the green and open spaces available in the piecemeal-planned areas. If this is not done, the quality of the life, safety and health of the town's inhabitants will be continuously compromised. Piecemeal urban planning has certain economic implications which are discussed below.

7.3.2 Economic development implications of piecemeal planning

Cities and urban areas have always been regarded as the engines of economic growth (Duranton, 2009; Yusuf, 2011). This is usually achieved where economic development is given attention and integrated into spatial planning. Comprehensive planning helps to coordinate sectoral plans for promoting production, transportation, marketing and trade (West, 2010). Apart from being strategically located, Mlandizi and Sirari also have the potential to grow socially and economically. A look at the population growth rates and the spatial expansion trend shows that the two towns have many comparative advantages which should be used to promote economic development in them. However, the piecemeal planning practices do not provide an integrated solution to their economic development. It was noted earlier that despite Mlandizi's strategic location, the piecemeal plans have designated only 4.4% of the planned areas for industrial development purposes. There is no area designated for industrial development or even storage facilities in Sirari. The lack of a storage facility in Sirari undermines the town's potential as a border town. The areas designated for industrial development in Mlandizi are uncoordinated and their spatial distribution hinders investment in infrastructure.

Given the fact that Mlandizi is located close to Dar es Salaam and Sirari to the border between Tanzania and Kenya, one would expect that efforts would be made to designate areas for heavy and light industries, and for storage facilities. If other factors remained constant, comprehensive planning would have created other competitive advantages like infrastructure and related services. Planning alone cannot promote economic development, but a well-thought plan which is prepared in an integrated manner has the potential to unlock LED in urban areas (Waddell, 2002; Rodríguez-Pose & Tijmstra, 2007). Unless a more inventive approach is introduced or

piecemeal planning is improved, the present planning practices will continue to undermine the roles of small towns in regional economic development.

During an interview in March 2017, the town planner for Mlandizi stated: “I once received investors who wanted land for industrial development purposes, but when they realised that Mlandizi township does not have a master plan they were afraid land tenure insecurity.” This statement suggests that the absence of a master plan in Mlandizi scares away potential investors. They feel the insecurity is related to the spatial planning practices for industrialisation which are different to those for housing development. Investors consider economies of scale, infrastructure and services, among others. In emerging economies agro-processing and other value-adding industries can promote the economies of small towns by enhancing agricultural production in the hinterland. The promotion of industrial development would in turn have such trickle-down effects as employment, per-capita income rises and people’s higher purchasing power.

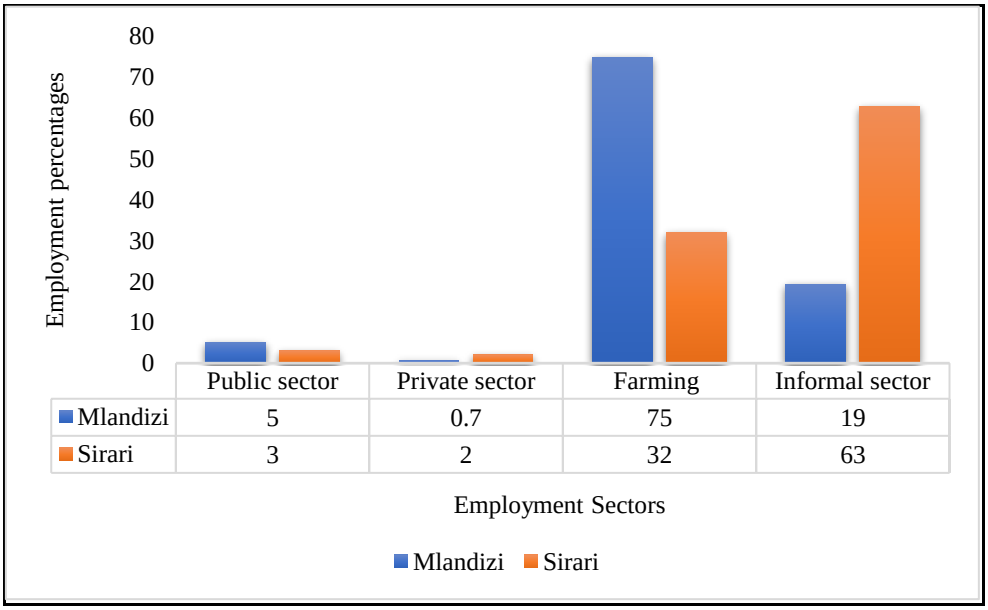
The information elicited through the household survey indicates that the monthly incomes of 87% and 94% of the households in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively, range from 50 000 to 150 000 Tanzanian shillings (Table 7.3). According to the current (2018) exchange rate, this income level means the majority of the households are living on USD 2.2 per day. Given an average household size of five, the residents in the two towns live on USD 0.44 per person per day. This amount is below the poverty line of USD 1 set by the World Bank (Ravallion et al., 2009). By comparison, the poverty levels in Mlandizi and Sirari are higher than the national levels. The 2013 report by the National Bureau of Statistics indicates that 28% of Tanzanians live below the poverty line (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013c). Another report shows that one in five Tanzanians lived below the poverty line in 2015 (Lusambo, 2016). The two figures indicate an overall decline in poverty levels in the country between 2013 and 2015. Certainly, the differences in the poverty levels in the two towns and the nation as a whole might have been influenced by the composition of the samples. The two towns’ inhabitants are predominantly subsistence farmers, as shown by land cover (Figures 6.3 and 6.5), but the national samples included both rural and urban inhabitants.

Table 7.3: Monthly household income for Mlandizi and Sirari

Household monthly income (TZS)	Mlandizi		Sirari	
	Households	Percentage	Households	Percentage
‹50 000	98	33.8	42	43.3
50 000-100 000	125	43.1	32	33.0
100 001-150 000	28	9.7	17	17.5
150 000-200 000	4	1.4	0	0.0
200 000-250 000	14	4.8	1	1.0
250 000-300 000	5	1.7	0	0.0
›300 001	15	5.2	5	5.2
N/A	1	0.3	0	0.0
Total	**290**	**100**	**97**	**100**

Source: Household survey, 2017

Furthermore, the towns are experiencing enormous employment challenges as 89% of their economically active inhabitants engage in subsistence farming or petty trading. The employment percentage by sector is presented by Figure 7.6.



Source: Household survey, 2007

Figure 7.6: Employment sectors in Mlandizi and Sirari

Farming and the informal sector are not stable sources of income because they are influenced by a myriad of factors. Considering the rapid population growth rates in Mlandizi and Sirari, it is likely that income levels will decline and thus poverty will increase. This will happen if

legitimate actions and strategies are not taken. Appropriate planning strategies are needed to promote economic growth in the two towns. In theory, comprehensive plans are likely to address development problems and can help devise strategies for reducing overdependence on natural resources (Berke & Conroy, 2000; Knox & Mayer, 2013). The plans could use spatial development and land-use solutions to promote LED in the towns. In this regard, the role of spatial planning in socio-economic development cannot be ignored (Fuseini & Kemp, 2015; Korah et al., 2016). Master plans should be used as tools for developing integrated strategic proposals for tapping into the available development potential like labour, land and the towns' proximity to main transport corridors to promote LED in the two towns. The demand for socio-economic development in Mlandizi and Sirari are largely attributable to the piecemeal planning practices. Certainly, the spatial structures prepared through piecemeal planning can be detrimental to the socio-economic development of the towns. The spatial implications of piecemeal planning for Mlandizi and Sirari are examined next.

7.3.3 Spatial implications of piecemeal planning

The piecemeal urban planning practices have affected the spatial organisation land uses in Mlandizi and Sirari. The reactionary nature of piecemeal planning practices has often been in response to private-sector actors' needs in Mlandizi and Sirari, thus causing an imbalanced distribution of land uses (Table 7.4). The planning practices have concentrated on the provision of shelter, while at the same time ignoring other land-use types necessary for socio-economic development. There are only about 48% and 47.5% of layout plans for the areas planned for residential development in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively. Less than five per cent of land was set aside for industrialisation in Mlandizi and no land was designated for industrial development in Sirari between 2009 and 2017.

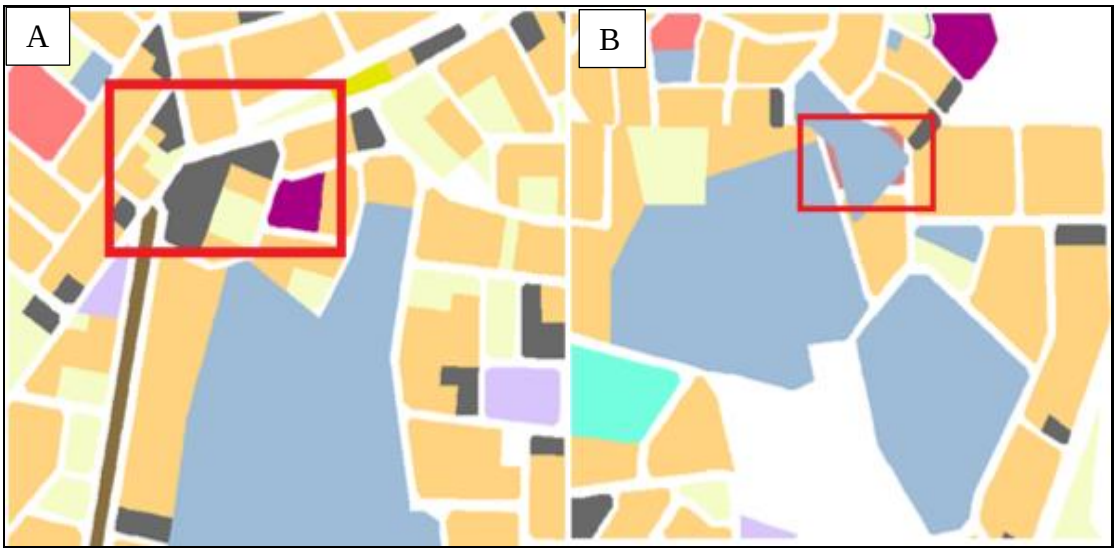
Table 7.4: Distribution of proposed piecemeal land uses in Mlandizi and Sirari

Land use	Mlandizi		Sirari	
	Area (ha)	%	Area (ha)	%
Residential	2481	48.3	219	47.5
Social services	441	8.6	41	8.9
Mixed use	401	7.8	43	9.3
Institutional	299	5.8	13	2.8
Conservation	246	4.8	48.9	10.6
Industrial	227	4.4	0	0
Farming	221	4.3	0	0
Commercial	126	2.5	23	5.0
Hotel site	93	1.8	6	1.3
Religious services	90	1.8	20	4.3
Central facilities	78	1.5	4	0.9
Military base	79	1.5	0	0
Service trade	73	1.4	3	0.7
Infrastructure	50	1.0	0	0
Graveyard	48	0.9	16	3.5
Recreation	42	0.8	9	2.0
Storage facilities	39	0.8	0	0
Transport nodes	28	0.5	2	0.4
Service station	23	0.4	4	0.9
Oxidation ponds	15	0.3	0	0
Car parking	14	0.3	5	1.1
Police station	8	0.2	2	0.4
Waste collection point	8	0.2	0	0
Fire brigade	4	0.1	1	0.2
Post office	1	0.0	1	0.2
Total	**5135**	**100**	**461**	**100**

Source: Generated by Author from the analysis of layout plans

Apart from this imbalanced distribution of land uses, piecemeal planning has resulted in overlapping land uses between the adjoining layout plans (Figure 7.6 A and B). This means that, in areas where layout plans overlap, each plan has proposed a different land use. If the plans are implemented unchanged, land-use conflicts and disputes will surely arise. A pertinent incongruity is the presence of connecting roads with different sizes proposed by the adjoining layout plans for Mlandizi. A comprehensive plan could have solved this problem by proposing a townwide road network and an infrastructure plan which could be observed in the layout planning process. The harmonisation of the road network and sizes is not possible. However,

where the plan has already been implemented, demolition orders should be sought to expand the road reserves to the required standards. This will be an inefficient and expensive exercise because the government will have to use funds which could be allocated to other socio-economic development investments to compensate affected developers.



Source: Generated by Author based on the analysis of layout plans

Figure 7.7: Disjointed roads (A) and land use overlaps (B) in Mlandizi

The practice also results in unplanned pockets of land surrounded by planned areas. Where the plans have been implemented, some pockets of land have been informally marketed and developed into informal settlements. Moreover, incompatible land uses like residential areas abut industrial and urban agricultural areas, each of which is provided by an adjoining layout plan. Figure 7.6 A is a window of intersecting roads of different sizes. The window in Figure 7.6 B shows land-use overlaps in which one layout plan shows that a certain area is a graveyard and another shows that it is for the provision of social services. In addition, some layout plans for Kimara and Makazi Mapya in Mlandizi and Remagwe in Sirari extend beyond the towns' boundaries. In these cases, urban planning was extended to areas which had not been declared planning areas. These practices, apart from illegally converting village land to general land, also disregard urban planning regulations. Piecemeal planning on the margins of a township's boundaries results in areas of urban sprawl where it is expensive to provide infrastructure and basic services. Goetz (2013) reminds us that urban sprawl has both short- and long-term costs to a planning authority and urban residents. The costs include high costs of supplying energy to an

area, traffic congestion and the need for additional infrastructure and social services. Evidently, piecemeal urban planning results in uncoordinated urban structures.

The urban planning practices and growth trajectories of Mlandizi and Sirari will soon put them beyond their optimal growth limits. In addition, these layout concentrations cannot qualify to be urban centres because of the imbalanced land-use distribution and the absence of central facilities in them. The emerging urban structures need to be critically assessed with regard to their prominent land uses and the resulting commuting behaviour (Naess, 2006). Unless appropriate integrated solutions are sought, the two towns are likely to grow beyond the optimal limits for service delivery (Song & Zheng, 2002). The urban structures of the two towns will be detrimental to their socio-economic development. In the same vein, environmental concerns cannot be overlooked.

7.3.4 Environmental implications of piecemeal planning

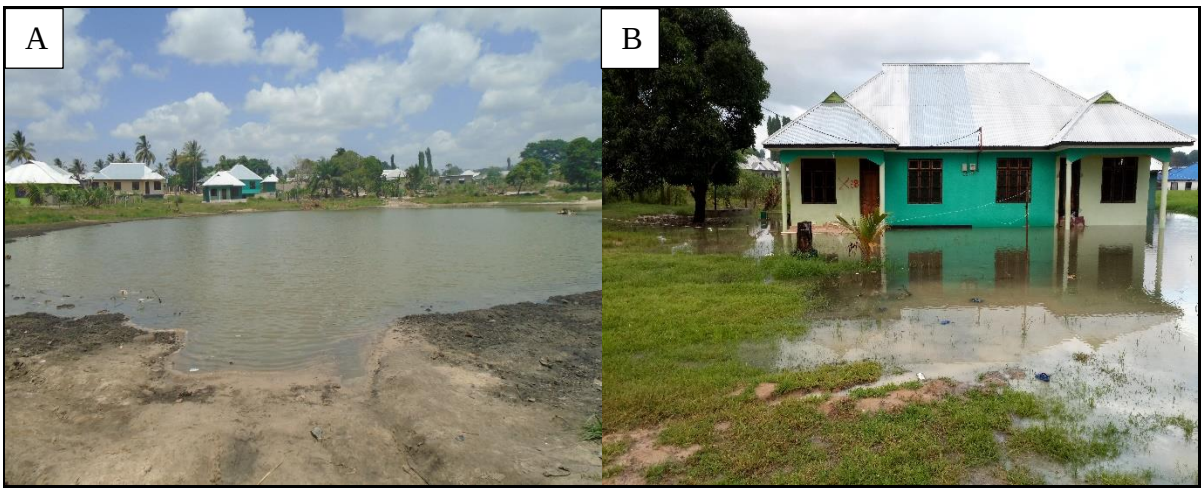
Piecemeal planning severely impacts on the environment in Mlandizi and Sirari. By the nature of their growth trajectories small towns are characterised by declining natural landscapes owing to their replacement by agriculture, residential settlements and infrastructure development. Given the spatial growth rates of Mlandizi and Sirari, comprehensive planning in the form of master plans could provide guidelines necessary for environmental management. The urbanisation rates experienced in Mlandizi and Sirari have resulted in drastic changes in land uses. For example, over the past two decades significant increases in agricultural and urban land uses have occurred, while forests, grassland, woodland and water resources have declined markedly (Figures 6.3 and 6.5). These changes are detrimental to natural landscapes, some of which are ecologically sensitive and are in danger of forfeiting their benefits.

The piecemeal planning practices have failed to provide broad environmental management guidelines for the changing natural landscapes. This is likely to affect the health conditions, economy and livelihoods of the residents of the two towns (Knox & Mayer, 2013). The ad hoc, piecemeal plans have proposed residential development within or in an area which is close to natural water streams, swamps and ponds (Figure 7.7 A and B). Owing to the impact of climate change and increasing rainfall, the area floods during the rainy season. Figure 7.7 A shows houses built in a pond although the Tanzanian environmental management regulations require

that houses be built not less than 30 metres away from water bodies. However, in February 2017 the town planner for Mlandizi explained that:

> When the layout plan for the area was prepared in 2009 the pond was very small. It was like a natural spring or a shallow well from which residents used to fetch water for domestic uses like gardening. The residents would drive just close to the well. However, nine years later what was a small natural spring has become a large pond, thereby creating vulnerable environmental conditions for the residents.

The town planner's statement shows that it is important to make an integrated investigation and consideration of multiple factors while making plans for urban development. Flooding not only has certain environmental impacts but it also creates economic problems for inhabitants. Some of the residents have even decided to vacate their houses. The local authority has also said that certain houses (marked in red) will be demolished (Figure 7.7 B). This is a prime example of a planned settlement which is in a wetland area which should have been set aside for conservation as a natural ecosystem. The flooding of the area substantiates the environmental costs of urban sprawl (Goetz, 2013). In the absence of a master plan, conservation practices such as corridors of conserved green spaces were not being planned for. Apart from providing ecosystem services, green spaces and natural environments promote the public health of the residents of urban areas and foster environmental justice (Wolch et al., 2014). In light of these circumstances the rates of urbanisation of Mlandizi and Sirari demand the introduction of comprehensive environmental management strategies in the two towns.



Source: Author, 2017

Figure 7.8 A and B: A natural pond encroached upon by settlements in Mlandizi

Apart from the development of settlements in swampy areas, there are layout plans which have been prepared for the Ruvu River flood plain in Mlandizi, which is an extremely sensitive area (Figure 6.4 A and B). There have been certain changes in land use from farming to residential use in the Ruvu River flood plain. This has affected parts of Kisabi, Njiapanda ya Jeshini and Kwa Dosa hamlets. These settlements are vulnerable to flooding. Residential development in the Ruvu River flood plain may be the result of the government's decision to locate a military camp in the area. There is a tendency for soldiers to build their own houses close the camps where they are based. This may have encouraged more planned and unplanned residential development there by civilians. Apart from the proliferation of informal settlements, formal land delivery and settlement development have occurred in the area. These trends unalterably change the suitability of the land for farming and jeopardise the long-term food security of Mlandizi. Poor environmental conditions were also observed in the informal settlements in Sirari. There was poor management of solid waste, which is attributed to lack of areas designated for solid-waste collection. The development trends in the two towns need a comprehensive mechanism for harmonising the increasing tensions between socio-economic development and environmental conservation (Campbell, 1996). Also, strategic mechanisms must be devised to reduce the impacts of land-use change in the Ruvu River flood plain.

Equally important is the designation of a refuse dump site in Mlandizi. The site's size, which exceeds the standard requirement, its location, accessibility and management are problematic. The area which has been designated as a dump site is 12.7 hectares and is in an unplanned part of the township. Given the informal settlements in the township, sitting a refuse dump site close to the settlements is likely to worsen environmental conditions in the area. Since the site-selection process was made through ad hoc procedures, the important criteria for selecting a dump site were not considered such as the direction of wind to control air pollution, altitude and the level of ground water table to manage water pollution (Nas et al., 2010; Babalola & Busu, 2011; Ebistu & Minale, 2013). The selection of sensitive land uses in urban areas needs comprehensive and integrated approaches for anticipating potential environmental problems. These are examples of environmental challenges resulting from piecemeal planning practices. The observed and anticipated environmental challenges in Mlandizi and Sirari cannot be addressed in isolation from the social, economic and spatial problems which need solutions as well.

Since the issues constraining comprehensive planning in small towns cannot be resolved overnight, piecemeal planning needs to adopt some holistic development planning elements in small towns (Allen, 2003). Unless the planning of urban development adopts a comprehensive approach and unless piecemeal planning is enhanced, the United Nations' objective of developing sustainable urban settlements will remain a dream (United Nations, 2015a). The problems caused by piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari call for an assessment of its potential for sustainable urban development.

7.4 PIECEMEAL PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE URBANISATION

Urban planning practices have the potential to achieve sustainable outcomes in urban areas. The emergence of sustainability provides an important planning concept which integrates socio-economic development and environmental protection (Hiremath et al., 2013). The need to achieve sustainable urbanisation has brought the concept to the centre of urban planning (Berke & Conroy, 2000; United Nations, 2015a). Berke and Conroy (2000) have found that, whereas comprehensive plans scored highly in achieving sustainability principles, piecemeal plans scored lowly. Building on the relationship between planning and sustainability, this section enquires into piecemeal planning and sustainable urbanisation in Mlandizi and Sirari. Sustainable development is an outcome of many interdependent social, economic, political and ecological factors and the spatial distribution of environmental resources. Thus, urban areas need to maintain an internal balance between socio-economic activities and their impacts on the environment, while at the same time ensuring equity in income generation, employment, access to social services, shelter and transport services (West, 2010; Hiremath et al., 2013). Since sustainability is very broad and encompasses myriad factors, this discussion is narrowed to a few indicators related to the piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari.

The assessment of urban sustainability is based on sustainability principles and sustainable development indicators (SDI). Sustainability principles involve harmony with nature, liveable built environments, place-based economy, equity, polluter pays and responsible regionalism (Berke & Conroy, 2000). Apart from these, there is no single set of indicators which is specifically applicable to the small towns in developing countries. These indicators were carefully selected from different sources and authorities to ensure that they cohered with sustainability principles and relevant to developing countries (Berke & Conroy, 2000; Tanguay et al., 2010). The indicators were drawn from a list of indicators of sustainable cities (European

Union, 2015) and from urban indicator guidelines (UN-Habitat, 2009b). These indicators were supplemented with studies by Tanguayet al. (2010), Hiremath et al. (2013) and Knox & Mayer (2013). The indicators are multidisciplinary in nature and relate to all the pillars of sustainability, namely social, economic, spatial and environmental development. The indicators were assessed and applied to the social, economic, spatial and environmental features of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari.

7.4.1 Social development indicators

The assessment of social development involved two indicators, namely the availability of green spaces[28] in the urban areas and access to social services.

7.4.1.1 Availability of green space in urban area

Sustainable development encourages improved access to and use of green spaces in urban areas. Sustainability was assessed in relation to the percentage of land in a town that is designated for parks, open spaces, nature conservation and green corridors. The quality of the open spaces and their frequency of use by the urban dwellers were also evaluated. These two factors are social concerns because the availability and quality of and access to green spaces in urban areas contribute to the health and psychological well-being of urbanites. Apart from providing health benefits, access to open spaces and parks has been found to improve social cohesion and social capital (Chiesura, 2004; Peters et al., 2010; Wolch et al., 2014). The provision of green spaces by the piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari is minimal. The spatial analysis of the layout plans found that only 4.8% and 0.84% of land had been designated as nature conservation and open spaces in Mlandizi (Table 7.4). Only 11% of land had been designated as nature conservation in Sirari and no areas had been designated as open spaces.

Conservation in urban areas improved harmony with nature through the provision of ecosystem services. If all green and conservation areas are combined, then it may be argued that enough green spaces have been set aside in the two towns. Although nature conservation has certain ecological benefits, it is unprofitable if the nature of conservation is accessed by the resident. The nature conservation areas in the towns are privately owned, which limits their accessibility. Consequently, only 0.84% of the land which has been designated as open spaces in Mlandizi is

[28] Green spaces include open spaces, parks, nature conservation areas and green corridors.

accessible to the public. Apart from the open spaces designated by the layout plans, there are no central recreation facilities in Mlandizi. Since green spaces are not evenly distributed in Mlandizi and is not provided in Sirari, accessibility and use cannot be appraised. Unless changes are made to the planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari urban sustainability has little chance of being achieved.

7.4.1.2 Access to social services

The improvement of access to social services is crucial to achieving sustainable urban development in Mlandizi and Sirari. This indicator requires that such social services as health and education be located near the inhabitants of each neighbourhood. As an indicator of sustainability, access to educational services in Sirari was assessed. The location of the primary schools in Sirari and the five-kilometre walking distance do not favour accessibility. The long walking distance makes it difficult for pupils to access the learning environment and probably contribute to school dropouts (Hanushek et al., 2008; Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2009). The poor provision of social services is detrimental to the development of liveable environments and to the sustainable development goals which intend to ensure lifelong learning opportunities for all (Berke & Conroy, 2000; United Nations, 2015a). The high urbanisation and population growth rates and the spatial extent of the towns are bound to increase. If no schools are provided in the other neighbourhoods in Sirari, it is likely that the walking distance will also increase. Apart from the walking distance, congestion and lack of important support services like playgrounds can be resolved by opening more schools in the township. Unless other schools are established in Sirari the provision of primary educational services in the township will not be sustainable.

7.4.2 Economic development indicators

The economic sustainability of Mlandizi and Sirari was gauged according to the employment and income stability potential and the proportion of jobs dependent on the primary sector.

7.4.2.1 Employment and income stability

Employment and income stability are often used to assess the performance of an urban economy. They help to show the extent to which the available human resources available in an area are engaged in economic activities which, in turn, have trickle-down effects on per capita income, purchasing power, poverty levels and the standard of living. Many of the residents in of Mlandizi and Sirari are engage in subsistence farming, and retailing and petty trading, while only five and

three per cents and less than one and two per cents are in formal employment by in the public and private sectors in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively (recall Figure 7.6). According to the United Nations (2017), industrialisation needs is vital to urban transformation in Africa as it will promote employment and provide markets for the raw materials produced in rural areas. The available formal employment opportunities contravene the achievement of a place-based economy (Berke & Conroy, 2000). Comprehensive spatial planning has the potential to promote industrialisation, employment and poverty reduction in urban areas. Appropriate planning practices such as master planning or strategic urban planning are necessary for promoting the use of natural and human resources for to achieving sustainability in Mlandizi and Sirari.

7.4.2.2 The number of jobs dependent on the primary sector

Urban areas have always been regarded as engines of economic development and centres of innovation (Yusuf, 2011). However, the industrialisation and innovation approaches to development have not worked well for developing countries in general and for sub-Saharan Africa in particular (Duranton, 2009). Some 75% of the residents of Mlandizi depend on subsistence farming. Although details of Mlandizi residents' dependence on other natural resources could not be obtained, a greater proportion of the dwellers of the two towns depend on the primary sector for their livelihoods. Over the past two decades settlement and farming activities have grown steadily in the two towns. While the urban land cover area grew by 401.8% and 84%, the farming land cover increased by 93% and 48% in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively. Such growth trends are typical of the small towns in developing countries which have rural characteristics (Satterthwaite, 2016). Strategic mechanisms for increasing secondary-sector activities and employment in Mlandizi and Sirari are need. The towns could process the existing natural resources to create place-based economies. The preparation of comprehensive spatial development plans is an appropriate starting point. According to Berke & Conroy (2000) and Hills & Schleicher (2015), comprehensive plans have the potential to provide integrated strategic options for promoting economic growth.

7.4.3 Spatial development indicators

The spatial development indicators considered in the evaluation were the spatial structures of the two townships and the rate of the provision of planned settlements.

7.4.3.1 Urban spatial structure

Spatial structure is crucial to the social, economic and environmental development of urban settlements. Spatial structure determines the location of interrelated land uses, commuting patterns and opportunities for place making in small towns (Naess, 2006; Csurgo & Megyesi, 2016). The piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari have produced disjointed urban structures and incompatible land uses. They have also resulted in uncoordinated urban centres and promoted urban sprawl (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). As urban growth poles, the urban centres in the towns need multiple and mixed land uses as well as land uses that attract investments in the secondary sector of the economy. Indeed, the present disjointed urban spatial structures are detrimental to socio-economic development and environmental sustainability. Jun & Conroy (2013) explain that comprehensive planning can integrate all aspects of human life. Such a systematically coordinated urban spatial structure will stimulate sustainable development. Without this, the spatial structure produced by the piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari will continue to constrain sustainable development in these towns.

7.4.3.2 Provision of planned settlements

The provision of planned settlements in urban settings is important for building sustainable towns. Much has been published on the social, economic and environmental problems associated with informal urbanisation. Among these, especially in informal settlements, are lack of the security of tenure, poor accessibility, poor housing conditions and lack of access to basic social services (Shatkin, 2004; Richards et al., 2007; Mutisya & Yarime, 2011). Although layout plans have been prepared for about 32% and about 10% of Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively, only nine per cent and one per cent of the population in Mlandizi and Sirari live in planned areas. The rest lives in informal settlements. This no doubt reflects the low rate of implementing piecemeal plans and the prevalence of land speculation in the planned areas. However, where plans have been implemented piecemeal some level of equality in planned housing provision has been achieved. Berke & Conroy (2000) found that piecemeal planning advances the equity principle of housing provision and neighbourhood revitalisation. However, a strategic solution for promoting affordable plots and development in the piecemeal-planned areas of Mlandizi and Sirari must be sought so as to improve the situation in the two townships. In spite of the few achievements, the failure to resolve the issue, sustainable urban development can hardly be achieved in the two townships, given their urbanisation trends.

7.4.4 Environmental sustainability indicators

The sustainability indicators used to determine the environmental sustainability of the urban planning practices are the presence of disaster mitigation strategies and the availability of environmental protection measures in both towns.

7.4.4.1 Disaster mitigation strategies

A feature of urban development in Mlandizi has been the development of planned and informal settlements in the Ruvu River flood plain and near other natural water bodies (Figure 7.7). These developments have inevitably increased the inhabitants' vulnerability to floods and piecemeal planning does not provide any precautionary strategies against the disasters. The urbanisation rate of Mlandizi is likely to make the rapidly growing population expand the settlements into the flood plain. Such settlement development and human activities in the flood plain demand the devising of certain precautionary measures. Apart from the danger of floods, the expanding settlements will reduce the size of the land used for farming. This land, which is suitably located in the level area close to the river, should be retained for farming so that food security is not compromised. Therefore, the piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi contravene the principle of responsible regionalism sustainability (Berke & Conroy, 2000; Talen, 2002). If the piecemeal practices are not improved, the target of developing safe, resilient and sustainable settlements in Mlandizi and Sirari will not be realised (United Nations, 2015a). The implementation of comprehensive urban development strategies which will help to ensure that urbanisation takes place in a manner that maintains long-term socio-economic benefits, while being sensitive to the threat of natural disasters at the same time.

7.4.4.2 Established environmental protection measures

Mlandizi and Sirari are urbanising rapidly with sustained population growth over the past four decades (Figure 6.2). Simultaneously, the spatial extent of the urban areas has tripled in Mlandizi and doubled in Sirari over the past two decades (Figures 6.3 and 6.5). This urbanisation has occasioned massive conversion of natural landscapes into man-made urban scapes. The environmental health of the two small towns is inescapably threatened. Knox & Mayer (2013) argue that the conservation of environmental resources for future generations is necessary for attaining the sustainability of small towns. The rapid conversion of the natural landscape INTO WHAT? is at variance with nature and reduces the ability of small towns to develop place-based

economies (Berke & Conroy, 2000). Piecemeal planning practices do not offer any environmental-protection measures for conserving sensitive natural landscapes.

On the basis of the foregoing assessments, the sustainability achievements of comprehensive planning are contrasted with those of piecemeal planning in Figure 7.9.

Table 7.5: Sustainability achievements of two planning approaches

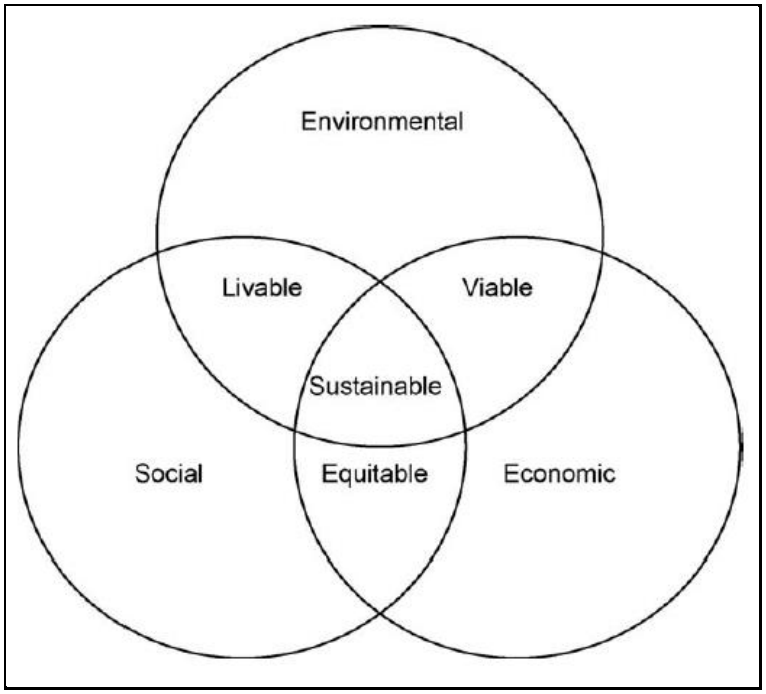
Comprehensive planning	**Piecemeal planning**
Liveable built environment through improving access to service	Creates harmony with nature through conservation of urban green space and some ecosystem services
Place-based economy through control of deforestation, unemployment, production of integrated urban structure	Achieves place-based economy through dependence on private-sector planning and conservation
Harmony with nature through taking disaster precaution measures, responsible regionalism and consideration of hinterland	Achieves equity principle through provision of planned housing and control proliferation of informal settlements

Source: Author's summary of sustainability assessment

Although sustainability levels can be reached through comprehensive planning, piecemeal planning also has the potential to attain some level of sustainability if carefully made and implemented. This finding accords with those of Berke & Conroy (2000), who show that piecemeal planning improves equity through housing provision, housing affordability and neighbourhood revitalisation. The foregoing sustainability assessments confirm that the planning practices invented by street-level bureaucrats can bring about some favourable planning outcomes. If the planning practices are enhanced, they can counter the adverse effects of the current policies. The next section summarises the sustainability outcomes and argues briefly for small town sustainability.

7.5 SMALL TOWN SUSTAINABILITY OUTCOMES

Conceptually, sustainability stands on three pillars, namely society, economy and environment. Sustainable development is derived from the interactions and overlaps between the pillars. Depending on local conditions, the interactions of the pillars may result in the design of viable, equitable and liveable urban settlements, as shown in Figure 7.9. This diagram summarises the sustainability outcomes which were used in this study to derive the sustainability achievements.



Source: Adopted from Tanguay et al. (2010: 408)

Figure 7.9: Classic dimensions of sustainable development

The assessment of the urban planning outcomes in Mlandizi and Sirari is based on the characteristics of successful planning outlined in the principles and practices of urban planning (Keeble, 1964; Ryser & Franchini, 2015). The principles establish the features, on the basis of which successful planning practices can be assessed. Successful urban planning must promote accessibility and the use of resources available in an urban area as economically as possible. In addition, successful planning should separate incompatible land uses and ensure that all development activities promote aesthetic.

The sustainability achievements and outcomes of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari counter the achievement sustainability. Indeed, piecemeal planning has failed to offer any characteristic of successful planning. Nevertheless, on the basis of its potential to achieve some sustainability outcomes, piecemeal planning should be improved to reduce its negative implications. If enhanced and effectively implemented, piecemeal planning can enrich the economic viability, social equitability and environmental liveability of Mlandizi and Sirari. These can be achieved by providing open spaces and parks and improving access to social services as standards for urban space demand. Piecemeal planning must also be reinvigorated so that it can produce coordinated and unfragmented urban spatial structures. Coordination would provide linkage to all important land uses, which will likely unlock the two towns' economic

potential and promote employment opportunities. As Knox & Mayer(2013) argue, planning practices that integrate the social, economic and environmental spheres of life are crucial to developing sustainable urban areas.

To achieve equity, the planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari must control the rate at which informal settlements are growing in the townships. This can be achieved if piecemeal plans are effectively implemented and strategies are devised to make the plots surveyed in the piecemeal-planned areas more affordable. Efforts must be made to control the rapid conversion of natural landscapes into other uses and to regulate the development of settlements in hazardous and environmentally sensitive areas. To make Mlandizi and Sirari sustainable, local environmental quality must be at the centre of planning efforts. The realities which influence the adoption of piecemeal planning are multifaceted and cannot be addressed in the short term. They involve institutional arrangements and characteristics which call for institutional reforms in urban planning if the planning of Tanzanian small towns is to be improved.

If what is suggested above is not done, the achievement of sustainability in Tanzanian small towns will remain a formidable challenge. If planning in the small towns continues with its laissez-faire business under the current urbanisation rates, the ill conditions produced by piecemeal planning are likely to increase (West, 2010). A strategy for promoting inclusive growth should result from mechanisms aimed at responding quickly to demographic trends and the associated urbanisation challenges (Bah et al., 2018). As practices now, piecemeal planning has a small chance of delivering sustainable futures for Mlandizi and Sirari. However, piecemeal planning can be improved and thus increase the sustainability achievements. Unless piecemeal planning is enhanced and effectively implemented, inclusive growth will not be achieved. Failure to invigorate piecemeal planning makes comprehensive planning unavoidable in small towns.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the piecemeal planning practices in Mlandizi and Sirari. The discussion has elaborated on piecemeal planning, the factors influencing its adoption, actors and outcomes. The chapter has also discussed the social, economic, spatial and environmental implications of piecemeal planning and evaluated their impact on sustainable urban development. The findings show that, in Mlandizi and Sirari, piecemeal planning practices result from the town planners' response to the uncertainties created by the local realities. The realities

manifest themselves in various ways, which informs the complexities of the urban planning environment. However, the influences of the local realities encircle the adoption of neo-liberal planning policies in a context of low institutional capacities and ineffective planning systems.

Moreover, the piecemeal planning trajectories in Mlandizi and Sirari have resulted in the development of uncoordinated urban structures and urban sprawl. The urban centres result from the concentration of layout plans in areas where there are private-sector interests. However, apart from being interconnected by main roads, the emerging urban centres lack a spatial interaction of economic activities. A larger proportion of layout plans are being prepared by non-state actors, which is evidence of the role of neo-liberal policies in shaping urban governance. Apart from that, piecemeal urban planning has certain short-, medium- and long-term implications. It impacts on the social, economic, spatial and environmental spheres of urban development. Because of the severity of the impacts, some of its effects cannot be observed now, but as the towns grow and expand the situation will become worse and might become out of control. In this regard, the discussion has been partly speculative; it has tried to show what might happen in future if piecemeal planning is not enhanced.

The proportion of the land planned in a piecemeal manner is different in the two towns. Piecemeal planning practices were found to be more pronounced in Mlandizi, where nearly 40% of the township's area had been covered, than in Sirari, where only 10% of its area had been planned. This also means that the implications of piecemeal planning practices are more experienced in Mlandizi than in Sirari. The social, economic, spatial and environmental impacts of piecemeal planning were then evaluated on the basis of the sustainability indicators. Furthermore, it was found that piecemeal planning achieved a low level of sustainability, which can potentially be improved. Unless, piecemeal planning is enhanced for the purpose of reducing its implications, Mlandizi and Sirari cannot achieve sustainable development. In short, piecemeal planning has some sustainability potential which needs to be capitalised on. However, since the realities influencing the adoption of piecemeal planning include institutional issues and politics, which cannot be easily overhauled, piecemeal planning is unavoidable in the two towns. For piecemeal planning to provide planning support for achieving sustainability in the two towns, it must be improved upon.

Again, piecemeal plans can be used as a stepping stone in the preparation of comprehensive plans. To achieve this, one needs to collect and create a mosaic of all the piecemeal-prepared layout plans found in the respective towns. This mosaic of layout plans can provide the basis for mapping the existing land use, particularly in the areas where the layout plans have been fully implemented. Considering the projections of land requirements for different proposed uses by a comprehensive plan, the area covered by the existing layout plans can accordingly be designated for land-use types which correspond to those proposed by the comprehensive plan. Consequently, the comprehensive plan will not only benefit from the existing piecemeal plans but also assist in correcting the mistakes resulting from the existing planning practices.

CHAPTER 8
SYNTHESIS AND REFLECTIONS ON STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRACY THEORY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

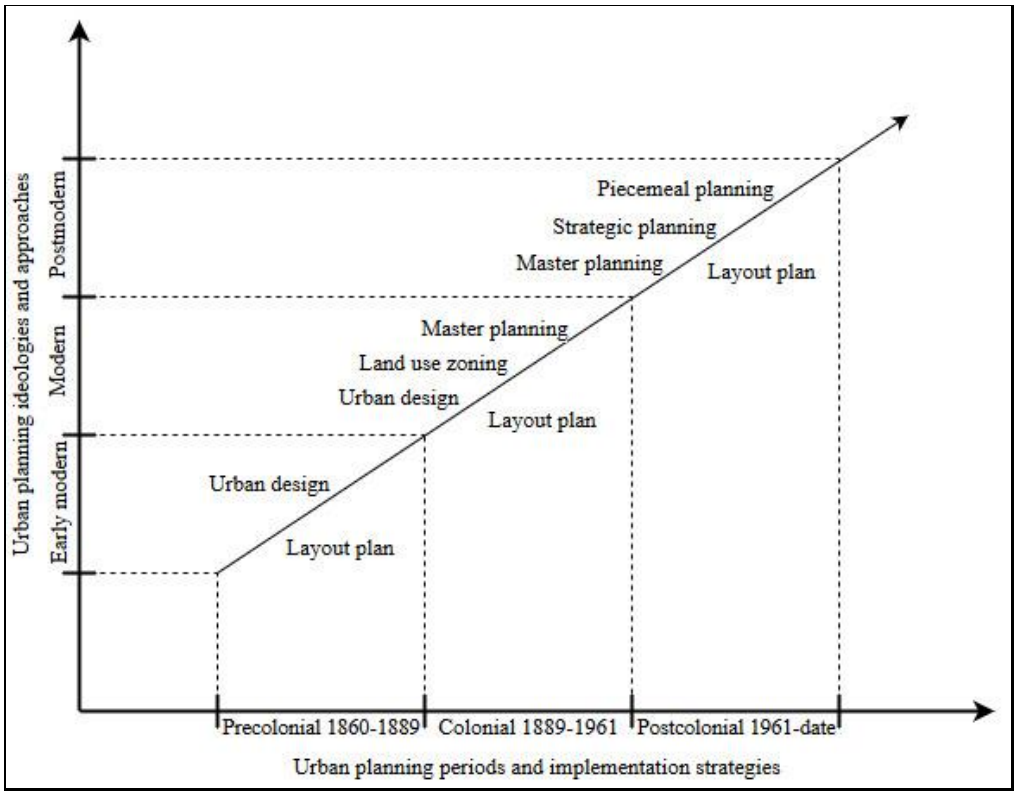
This chapter rehearses the salient findings of the study by revisiting the five objectives. It also argues for the future direction of urban planning policy in small towns. The first objective was to trace the genesis of urban planning practices in Tanzania and the second one was to examine urban planning processes in Tanzania and their influence on planning practices in the two towns of Mlandizi and Sirari. The third objective aimed to explore the factors that influence the adoption of piecemeal planning and assess the implications of piecemeal planning for the spatial organisation of small towns. The fourth objective was to evaluate the spatial, social, economic and environmental implications of piecemeal planning for Mlandizi and Sirari and the fifth one was to provide a set of policy recommendations for improving the planning processes in Tanzanian small towns. The presentation of the main findings is followed by the making of some theoretical generalisations, which is, in turn, followed by the presentation of the study's contribution to policy. Finally, suggestions for further research are made.

8.2 THE MAIN FINDINGS

This study has highlighted the factors involved and the process through which street-level bureaucrats have formulated urban planning policy in the two towns of Mlandizi and Sirari. The inclusion of planning in the sustainable development effort makes sustainability an important concept which guides urban development. As a global development agenda, sustainability is entrenched in urban planning. Considering the global urbanisation trends, the sustainability of urban areas should not exclude emerging urban centres. The research has found that rapid urbanisation in the two towns has manifested itself in population growth and spatial expansion of the towns which need to be guided by appropriate planning practices. Consequently, it is essential to determine the extent to which the piecemeal planning practices in the two small towns can achieve sustainability. Practices by the street-level bureaucrats provided a lens through which the nature of piecemeal planning was examined. This kind of critical analysis should not only end with an understanding of the practices but also why the planning actors behaved way they did.

8.2.1 The history of urban planning practices in Tanzania

With regard to the first objective, it was found that layout plans have been part of urban planning practices in Tanzania since the precolonial times. A layout plan was initially prepared by Arabs for Dar es Salaam in the early 1860s. The Arab-prepared plan for Dar es Salaam was abandoned and later taken over by the Germans in 1891 and the British in 1919 during the colonial era. Colonial planning was reactionary in its response to the need to expand office space and staff housing. A number of layout plans were therefore prepared for different parts of Dar es Salaam, which was the colonial administrative centre. During the colonial era various planning approaches were adopted, including urban design, land-use zoning and master planning. Yet layout plans remained the dominant strategy which guided the making of land-use decisions. Apart from the land-use zoning plan prepared by the Germans in 1914, master plans were prepared by the British in 1940 and 1948. But these plans were never implemented due financial constraints. However, colonial planning in Tanzania marked the beginning of the modernist planning approaches that have dominated the country's planning policies ever since. The evolution of planning practices in Tanzania is depicted in Figure 8.1.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 8.1: The continuum of planning practices in Tanzania

Despite the problems relating to the implementation of master plans in the colonial period, layout plans have remained in existence and continue to be used in making land-use decisions. The challenges pertaining to the implementation of master plans prompted a shift in the planning approach from master planning to postmodernist planning. Collaborative planning in the form of strategic urban planning was adopted to bridge the institutional capacity gap which affected the implementation of master planning. However, after a decade and a half of practising strategic planning, the postcolonial government adopted master planning. The research found that, throughout the history of Tanzania, the planning practices have evolved with global ideologies. The adoption of master planning in the postmodern period contradicts the global values and rationalities. Thus, the return to master planning has been seen as a premature death of strategic planning.

Master planning is still an official planning strategy in Tanzania. The research found that the problems of master planning have persisted, with the result that piecemeal planning is increasingly being adopted, especially in the small towns it covered. The financial woes of the colonial period still exist. It was established that the shortage of planning resources is a reality that influences the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats. A review of the literature provided evidence which indicates that, in spite of the challenges, where they have been implemented, master plans have proved to be effective in coordinating city-wide infrastructure and that piecemeal planning in small towns has resulted in uncoordinated urban forms. Piecemeal planning has been affected by previous planning practices. Layout plans have been at the centre of urban planning and implementation strategies throughout the planning history of Tanzania. Their use from the early modern period to the postmodern period explains their prominence in planning practices. The practice of piecemeal planning in the two towns is discussed below.

8.2.2 Piecemeal planning process in small towns

The local government and urban planning laws entrust urban planning responsibilities to the local government authorities (LGAs) in the country. The responsibilities involve implementing urban planning policy. The urban planning process and its output are subject to scrutiny by the central government. The research found that planning needs originated from government institutions by five per cent and private-sector companies by 95%. Piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari resulted from the street-level bureaucrats' responses to internal and external

forces. The respective government departments adopted piecemeal planning to facilitate the implementation of sector specific plans, while the private-sector actors were motivated by desire to create wealth. Piecemeal planning was used as a vehicle for attaining some predetermined ambitions. The street-level bureaucrats responded to these realities by allowing the preparation of layout plans for the sites which had been selected by those from whom the planning idea had come from. Earmarking of the site was influenced by the specific requirement of the plan seekers and the planners' role was to facilitate planning and plan approval processes. As a result, the town planners were deprived of their power to determine planning sites. The practice resulted in the adoption of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari.

The research found that the town planners' roles and the approval of layout plans by the LGAs and the central government mean consenting to the piecemeal planning practices. By allowing piecemeal planning to be practised, the LGAs and the central government contravened broader planning policies. The LGAs' broader policies were included in the respective councils' strategic plans. Currently, the planning policy requires the preparation of master plans in order to provide comprehensive land use and spatial development strategies. Certainly, piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari was contrary to the councils' visions and missions and the national planning policy. Piecemeal planning has changed by making the second tier a principal tool for making land use decisions. This is contrary to master planning, which has a two-tier system. The first level is the comprehensive plan which provides overall vision and the spatial development framework implemented by the second tier of local layout plans. But layout plans have been prepared in the absence of comprehensive land-use frameworks. Consequently, piecemeal planning is ad hoc and lacks a future vision. Piecemeal planning is influenced by the interplay of contextual realities which have occurred differently in Mlandizi and Sirari. Because urban areas are geographical containers with various realities, local realities cannot be generalised beyond the relevant contexts.

8.2.3 Factors for the adoption of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari

Apart from the nature of the previous urban planning practices that used layout plans as their implementation tool, there are many other factors for the adoption of piecemeal planning. The research established that initial declaration of planning areas in small towns empowers local planning authorities to prepare detailed schemes. For example, the declaration notice allowed for the preparation of layout plans in Mlandizi and Sirari regardless of whether master plans had

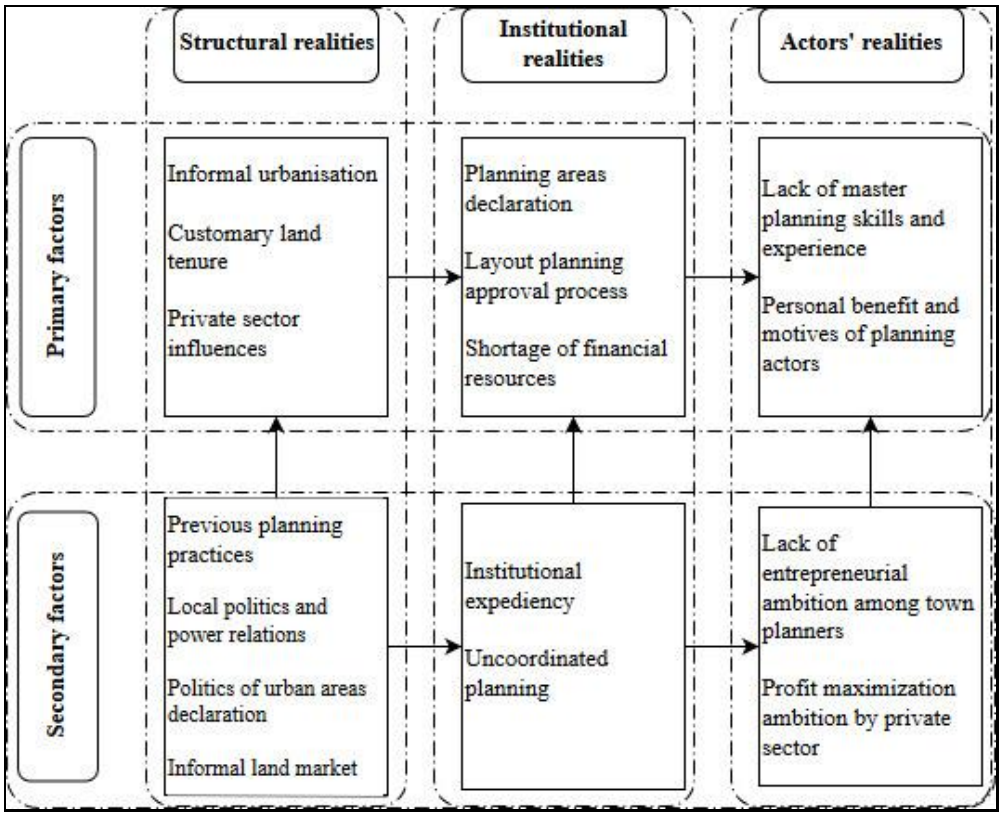
been prepared or not. The initiation of the planning process in Mlandizi and Sirari started in the wrong way with the approval of piecemeal plans by the minister responsible for urban planning. Certainly, the rapid urbanisation of the two towns necessitated the introduction of oversight in the planning policy. The urbanisation of Mlandizi and Sirari, coupled with informality, necessitates the taking of strategic planning initiatives. However, despite the declaration to prepare layout plans, eight years and nine years passed before Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively, started preparing layout plans. The street-level bureaucrats'quest to control informal urbanisation in Mlandizi and Sirari led to the adoption of piecemeal planning.

In the two towns piecemeal planning occurred concomitantly with the development of informal settlements there. Customary land administration contributed to the growth trajectories of Mlandizi and Sirari. Customary land tenure and the high price of plots planned and delivered by the private sector is unaffordable to large proportions of low-income earners and thus excludes them from developing settlements in piecemeal-planned areas. Consequently, many of the plots in the piecemeal-planned areas remained undeveloped. This undermines the contribution piecemeal planning can make to the efforts to control the development of informal settlements in the two townships. This research found that nearly 90% and 97% of the respondents lived in informal settlements in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively. Also, there is high urbanisation rate at 6.5% and 8.5% in Mlandizi and Sirari, respectively. This urbanisation rate can more likely influence the development of informal settlements in the two towns. Considering the informal urbanisation of Mlandizi and Sirari, the street-level bureaucrats adopted piecemeal planning as a strategy for controlling the growth of informal settlements in the two townships.

The search for planning strategies by the street-level bureaucrats is also influenced by a lack of appropriate master planning skills and experiences, which is worsened by the financial constraints facing the Kibaha and Tarime District Councils. It was found that, on average, Kibaha and Tarime released only three per cent and 16% of the funds which should have been provided for five years' planning, respectively. The financing of planning was different to that of the other sectoral departments in the local councils. Resource allocation to the councils' departments and development activities is influenced by politics; thus, the resources are channelled into areas that are politically determined by councillors. Apart from resource allocation, politics also creates power relations that interfere with the exercise of professionalism by the street-level bureaucrats.

Although bad power relations existed in Tarime, which is controlled by the opposition party, it was better than Kibaha in terms of releasing funds for planning purposes.

The existing institutional incapacities have created planning and land-delivery gaps which are filled by private-sector actors. The involvement of the private sector in planning and land delivery is a manifestation of neo-liberal policies in small towns. Despite its contribution to small-town planning, the private sector influences the adoption of piecemeal planning in various ways. The private sector needs a planning strategy that supports the conducting of cadastral surveys and land delivery. The prominence of layout plans made piecemeal planning an appropriate option. The complexities were intensified by the street-level bureaucrats' personal desire to be hired privately by the private sector. As a result, the private sector had the upper hand in making decisions about land use. The nature of the uncoordinated planning system and the approval of plans further influenced the adoption of piecemeal planning by the street-level bureaucrats. Thus, the local realities of Mlandizi and Sirari are diverse and multifaceted. The interplay of these realities in the towns is shown in Figure 8.2.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 8.2: The interplays of local realities in small towns

Clearly the interplay of the local realities in small towns creates a multifaceted web of interrelated factors which directly or indirectly influences the planning practices. The complexities of the local realities cause some uncertainties in the working environments of street-level bureaucrats, uncertainties which affect the exercise of discretion and their decision-making skills. Therefore, piecemeal planning manifests itself in the realities and coping strategies invented by street-level bureaucrats in small towns. Even though the practice contravenes the national planning policy, its approval by councils and the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHSD) confirms its acceptance by the government at all levels. Indeed, that is how the government responds to new planning policy formulated by street-level bureaucrats. The government's response to piecemeal planning endorses piecemeal planning as a practical planning option for small towns.

8.2.4 Implications of piecemeal planning

Piecemeal planning had social, economic, spatial and environmental implications in the two towns. This research found that piecemeal planning is the dominant practice in Mlandizi and Sirari, where it covers about one third and 10% of the townships' areas, respectively. Furthermore, 95% of the piecemeal plans in Mlandizi and Sirari were prepared by private-sector actors. This resulted in certain deficiencies in the provision of social services. In Sirari the provision of primary school facilities is constrained by the location and size of the land where the schools are found. All three primary schools in Sirari ward are built on a plot which was initially designated for the construction of only one school. Apart from congestion, the schools are located very far from where the pupils live. An economic implication of piecemeal planning was that some land uses which have some economic development potential are ignored. The absence of a comprehensive land-use planning framework discouraged people from investing in Mlandizi. Ultimately, there is a need for appropriate planning strategies which will boost economic production and raise the incomes of the inhabitants of Mlandizi and Sirari.

Piecemeal planning has produced dysfunctional spatial organisation in the towns. The research found that piecemeal planning produced uncoordinated urban centres, disproportional distribution of land uses and disjointed road networks. Piecemeal plans concentrated on some land-use types at the expense of others. As a result, piecemeal planning led to about 50% of the land in the two towns being set aside for residential use. This concentration on the provision of residential land is ascribed to the private sector's planning and delivery of land for the purpose

of breaking even in the land-delivery business. Piecemeal plans also occur in pockets with unplanned areas around them which in some areas are filled in with informal developments. Equally significant are the overlaps of land uses proposed by two different layout plans for the same area. These require immediate attention. Implementation of the layout plans as they are can lead to land-use conflicts. Thus, the contextual realities in Mlandizi and Sirari and the implications of piecemeal planning are typical of the planning conditions in many other small towns in Tanzania.

Piecemeal planning in small towns produces a growth trajectory which is inclined towards an uncontrolled decline of natural landscapes. In fact, the conversion of natural landscapes to other land uses cannot be avoided. However, it is supposed to occur in a manner that does not interfere with the sustainability of ecological systems. Natural landscapes play an important role in maintaining health conditions, the economy and the livelihoods of the populations in small towns. This argument is based on the nature of small towns, especially the nature of the small towns in Africa, which are characterised by rural features. In Mlandizi, layout plans are prepared for the flood plains areas without considering the areas' vulnerability to floods. The nature of piecemeal planning in small towns goes against sustainability. Apart from the open spaces and conserved piecemeal-planned areas, the two towns lack town-wide central facilities which are crucial in improving social cohesion and the health of the inhabitants. The economies of Mlandizi and Sirari depend on the primary sector. Furthermore, the uncoordinated urban structures, the development of informal settlements and the lack of disaster precautionary measures were found to exist in Mlandizi and Sirari. These jeopardise the towns' sustainability. These case-study results are only applicable to small towns with similar features and realities. The theoretical generalisation is crucial to underlining the conditions influencing street-level bureaucrats' use of discretion and decision-making for planning in small towns.

8.3 THEORETICAL GENERALISATION

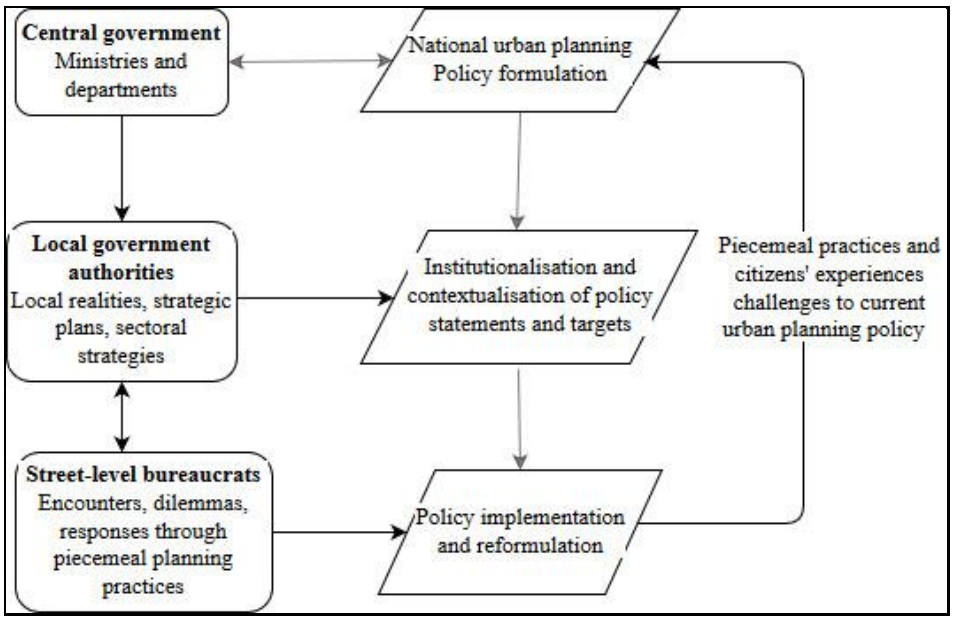
In many decentralised governance systems the implementation of government policies is a responsibility of local governments. These structures resonate with a subsidiarity that entails giving responsibilities to the lower levels of administration. In Tanzania, urban planning is delegated to the respective local government authorities (LGAs) that act as central government agents for implementing the national planning policy. The relationship between the central government and the local government 'adopts' a principal-agent model. Thus, a principal can

approve the inconsistent practices of the agent. The central and local government relationships are established by the local government and urban planning laws. The research found that, in delivering services to the public, the LGAs employed many street-level bureaucrats, including town planners. These are the public servants from whom this study elicited information in order to explore the realities about and encounters with the planning policy process.

The planning activities of the town planners are subjected to both technical and administrative accountability measures. While technical accountability involved the approval of plans by the councils and the MLHHSD, administrative accountability involved disciplinary measures for violations of professional codes of conduct, regulations and guidelines. Certainly, if street-level bureaucrats are not taken to task for breaching professional codes of conduct and regulations serious accountability issues may arise. Because the town planners were not taken to task for adopting piecemeal planning, the practice has been tacitly accepted. Moreover, by approving the plans prepared piecemeal, the principal accepted the agents' practices. Approval of the piecemeal plans by the authorities to which street-level bureaucrats are accountable constitutes institutional expediency. In such cases street-level bureaucrats use their discretion to respond to institutional expediency. There are of course many other realities that influence the adoption of piecemeal planning by street-level bureaucrats, as illustrated in Figure 8.2.

The process of policy implementation by street-level bureaucrats involves interaction with the towns' residents. However, it was found that the urban planning interactions in Mlandizi and Sirari differed from the interactions postulated by street-level bureaucracy theory. Lipsky (1980) conceived these interactions as being based on the end-users of the services. This research found that the scope of interactions was broad and encompassed private-sector actors. Although they are citizens, the private-sector actors are co-producers of the services delivered to the public. The private sector entered into public-private partnership (PPP) agreements with the LGAs for planning, surveying and delivering land to the public. This created layers of interaction which are different to service delivery. This interaction produced realities which influenced the adoption of piecemeal planning to the extent that 95% of the layout plans were prepared by the private sector. Indeed, apart from their role in delivering services to the public, the street-level bureaucrats facilitated private-sector activities. In the towns private-sector planning was aimed at filling land-delivery gaps. This practice has contributed to the realities and complexities that

affect the town planners' exercise of discretion and decision-making. An indication of the complexities and realities of the urban planning policy can be seen in Figure 8.3.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 8.3: The urban planning policy process

The above diagram shows the changing practices which challenge the urban planning policy. The practices of the street-level bureaucrats provide a strategic starting point for opposing the established approaches and calling for policy reformulation. This research found discomfort between the councils' strategic plans and spatial planning. Spatial planning is supposed to be strategically aligned with the mission of achieving a given vision. Piecemeal planning disrupts integrative planning and results in the councils' visions hardly being achieved. This is another example of how the institutional contexts in which the councils act leads them to actions which are contrary to their own strategic plans.

Furthermore, the research found street-level bureaucrats exercising discretionary powers. During an interview a planner mentioned that they had decided to adopt piecemeal in order to control informal urbanisation. Even though this was not the only factor influencing this practice, it shows the presence of the freedom to choose the planning approach which is deemed appropriate in their context. Certainly, urban planning codes require professionals to make decisions within the framework of acceptable practices. However, the realities in the small towns influenced the street-level bureaucrats to adopt piecemeal planning. Piecemeal planning is therefore a practice

invented by the street-level bureaucrats in order to cope with the complexities of the planning environment.

The practices of street-level bureaucrats formed the planning policy and the image of the LGAs' experienced by the citizens. The citizens' experiences support Lipsky's (1980) contention that public policy is not experienced as made by higher ranks of the government, but through the decisions made by street-level bureaucrats. However, the implications of the piecemeal planning experienced by citizens shape the way they perceive the profession. Almost all (98.7%) of the respondents rated the role of town planners poorly and nearly 84% rated LGA poorly. This means that the inhabitants of the two towns had no confidence in the planning system and the town planners. This perception was probably influenced by their poor understanding of town planning. Low ratings of street-level bureaucrats do not bode well for the future of urban planning in Tanzanian small towns as it can discourage compliance with planning regulations.

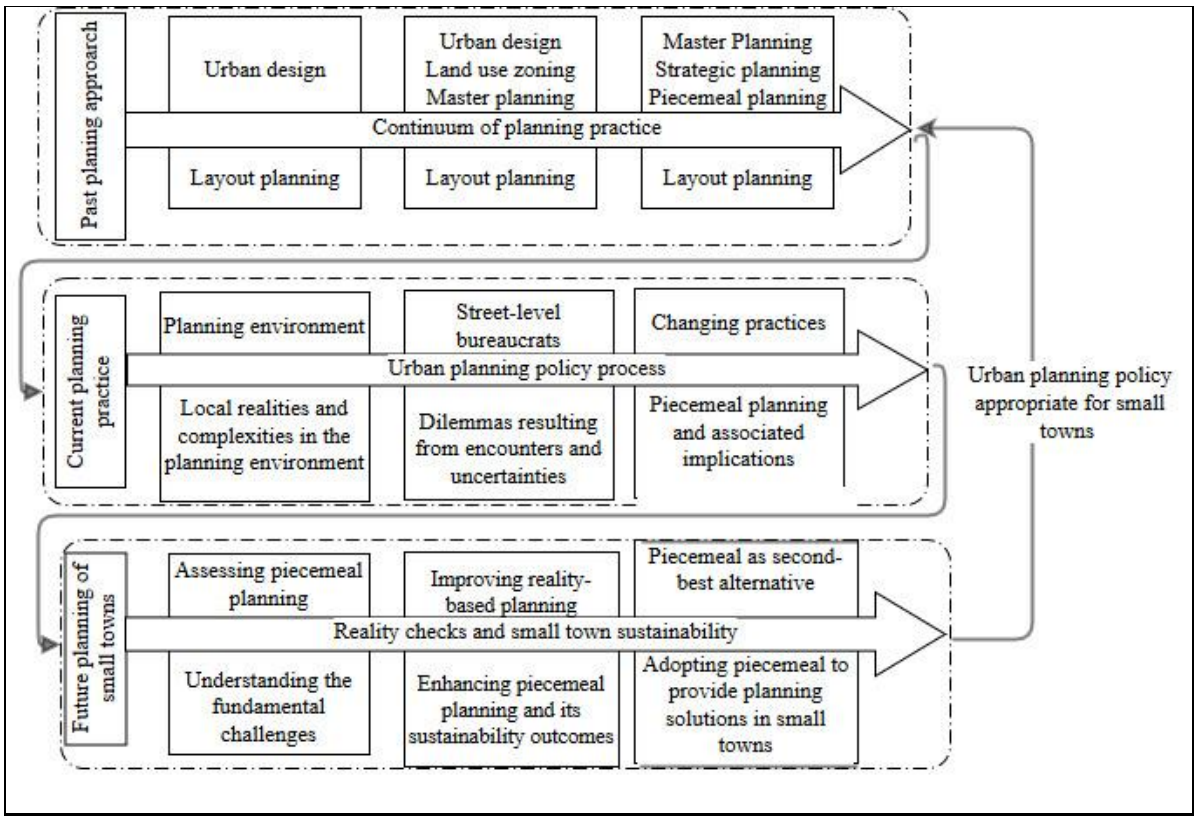
The street-level bureaucrats in Mlandizi and Sirari interacted with the public, exercised discretionary powers in determining the nature of the planning practices and caused certain impacts because of the way they practised urban planning. In spite of the contextual differences between the global North and the global South, the assumptions of street-level bureaucracy theory coincided with the behaviour of the town planners in the Kibaha and Tarime LGAs. If the theory is applied in contexts of a similar nature, it is likely to produce the same results. Although the contextual realities in Mlandizi and Sirari may be different the street-level bureaucrats' dilemmas endure. This makes street-level bureaucracy theory appropriate for understanding the conditions that influence the practices of town planners in other planning contexts.

8.4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMENFATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The research found that piecemeal planning achieved success on the sustainability indicators, namely harmony with nature, place-based economy and promotion of planned settlements. The potential of piecemeal planning to promote sustainability, as found in this study, provides a convenient starting point for enhancing the approach in order to reduce the number of its associated negative effects. Comprehensive planning has been said to have the potential to achieve sustainability in urban areas. Considering that realities in small towns cannot be addressed in the short term, enhancing sustainability outcomes of piecemeal is a viable option. If piecemeal planning is successfully enhanced and applied in small towns, it can then be

regarded as a postmodernist planning practice which originated in the global South. This will represent a response by planning calls for learning from planning practice. Learning from street-level bureaucrats' coping strategies is important for reformulating planning theory and practice in the small towns of the global South.

There is clearly a need to remedy the impact of piecemeal planning in small towns. This can be achieved if research is used to understand the practices, impacts and design of appropriate measures for controlling the sustainability effects of piecemeal planning. The research findings provide an entry point, since it unveils the role of street-level bureaucrats IN WHAT? and delineates the conditions under which street-level bureaucracy theory may be applied. The negative effects of piecemeal planning must be reduced, if sustainability is to be achieved. The enhancement of piecemeal planning should begin by improving its contribution to achieving harmony with nature, a place-based economy and equity through planned housing provision. The findings of this study, which relate to the future of planning in small towns, are summarised in Figure 8.4.



Source: Author's construction

Figure 8.4: Adaptive small-town planning

The adaptive planning approach presented in Figure 8.4 takes advantage of previous strategies, while at the same time trying to manoeuvre around the realities of small towns. The results of this research suggest making piecemeal the second-best planning alternative for small towns. Piecemeal planning should be adopted in a manner that provides planning solutions, while at the same time enhancing sustainability outcomes. The outcomes will inform planning policy for Tanzanian small towns of a similar nature and realities. In so doing this research makes both practical and theoretical contributions.

8.5 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EXISTING BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

The research contributes to different domains of the existing body of knowledge on small town planning such as the future of research on small towns, urban planning policy and theoretical domains. Urban development research has been orientated towards cities with small towns always on the periphery of the urban research agenda, especially in developing countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, research efforts on small towns have been minimal and most of them have been made in South Africa (Donaldson & Marais, 2012; Spocter, 2017). Yet, urbanisation realities and their influences on urban planning practices occur in the small towns of most African countries. The realities of Mlandizi and Sirari are diverse and play out differently in the two towns. The conceptual framework of the research draws on street-level bureaucracy theory, which is borrowed from public administration theories. Street-level bureaucracy theory provides a novel lens through which the factors that influence the adoption of urban planning approaches can be observed. Similarly, the emergence of urban planning practices can be better comprehended through investigations of the structural issues in planning environments and the responses of planning professionals. Thus, this research contributes to the ongoing research efforts by revising the urban research agenda. This research has gone a step further and explored urban planning practices and has examined the factors that influence them.

The research contributes to the debate on critical urbanism. The research builds on the ongoing Southern urbanism debate. In particular, the dissertation draws inspiration from Jennifer Robinson's book on Ordinary Cities and her subsequent argument for the comparative gesture in urban studies. Comparative urbanism provided a clear genesis of this ontological tradition for understanding Southern cities. Again, the dissertation contributes to the discussion in Parnell and Oldfield's recent book; it feeds into this discourse and aims to contribute to its development. The research contributes to different aspects of the extant body of knowledge on small-town planning,

which is critical in understanding its contribution. The positioning of his argument is within a discourse that is overwhelmed in ideas about "big cities" in the South. However, the research presents something different, something that uses similar ontological concerns but in the context of small towns. It is in bridging this gap, or as Robinson would argue, "[in] the stretching of concepts" that the dissertation makes a unique contribution to the body of knowledge. The findings of this study underscore the distinctive urban realities of the small towns of the global South. These realities contribute to critical urbanism by highlighting the diversities of the urban realities of the global South (Oldfield, 2014a; Oldfield & Parnell, 2014). This research contributes to the Southern urbanism debate that had over time focused on cities in the global South. The research has emphasised the realities of rapid urbanisation of two small towns of the global South. Southern urbanism is charged to refocus its attention to Southern cities to also include small towns. A deeper understanding of the realities of small towns will contribute to an appreciation of the broad contextual conditions characterising urban development in the global South.

Furthermore, this study found piecemeal planning to be consistent with some sustainability indicators which can be enhanced in order to formulate appropriate planning policy for small towns. The observed urbanisation trends in the two towns require further academic, research and professional attention if the development of sustainable human settlements is to be accomplished. The responses of planning professionals to the realities in their planning environments have turned them into agents for worsening the realities. Town planners in small towns exercise considerable discretionary powers in selecting appropriate planning practices. However, their choices were influenced by personal motives and the benefits accruing from their co-operation with the private sector. As such, piecemeal planning resulted from multifaceted realities to which street-level bureaucrats are subjected. This makes street-level bureaucracy theory appropriate to explaining the urbanisation complexities of the global South. Again, the influence private-sector actors exert on piecemeal planning was found to be very strong. The private-sector's role showed the problems of adopting neo-liberal policies in the context of weak institutional capacities which eventually lead to the emergence of amorphous postmodernist urban planning practices. This research illuminated the local realities and their potential impact which requires attention in various domains of development endeavours. The highlighted urbanisation challenges of small towns call for deliberation on planning so that it includes reduction of the concentration of urban research on and interventions in cities (Batty, 2008; Watson, 2009b; Bah et al., 2018). It is

incumbent on all the relevant urban development stakeholders, including academics, researchers, planning professionals, planning institutions, the private sector and civil society, to take note of the realities and their impacts in small towns, and to respond appropriately to the towns' unique needs.

8.6 SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The policy options recommended by this study invite further research. Ways of improving piecemeal planning in small towns should be studied. The studies should focus on how the enhancement process should involve reality checking to improve small towns' sustainability. This reality-based approach calls for further research on designing models for adopting piecemeal planning in ways that promote sustainability. This study enquired into town planners in local government who are the focal persons in planning activities, but there is a need to conduct a detailed study of the perceptions of planning professionals in the private sector, research institutions and academia to grasp their perceptions of collaboration with street-level bureaucrats. The partnerships and various urban planning stakeholders can open avenues for collaborative efforts necessary for addressing the planning challenges of Tanzanian small towns.

The observed discrepancies and discomforts in the council planning practices are worth exploring. The issue of planning coordination in local governments should also be explored. There is a need to investigate the overall planning system in order to find out why the LGAs acted contrary to their strategic visions. A profitable line of inquiry could be aimed at understanding why planning started in the two towns nine years after they been declared urban planning areas by the respective councils. In this regard, it is also important to examine the level of preparedness and the forces impacting on the declaration of urban planning areas in small towns. Again, the observed rate of informal settlement development in the two small towns is bigger than that of informal settlement development in cities. However, since the proportion of the people living in cities' informal settlements is bigger than that of those living in small towns, this study suggests that the challenges of planning in cities with big proportions of informal settlements be explored. This will not only provide lessons for planners in small towns but also help to make comparisons and suggest possible strategies for controlling informal urbanisation of the cities of the global South.

This research emerged out of a puzzle over the adoption of piecemeal planning in Mlandizi and Sirari. The uncertainty on whether piecemeal planning resulted from street-level bureaucrats' revolt against rigid the conventional master-planning approaches or local realities has been addressed. The findings of this study indicate that piecemeal planning drew various planning practices from urban planning policy. Piecemeal planning deviates from master planning. The deviation resembles the revolt against conventional planning practices. Certainly, the revolt against such practices in small towns is not caused by their rigidity but by its discomfort with the realities and complexities of the urban planning environment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Planning areas declaration order

COLUMN I	Suppliers	Authorized trades
7. EXPLOSIVES	Any Supplier	Mzinga Corporation; twiga Chemical Industries Ltd.; Malarex Agencies (T) Ltd.; J. N. Mining Co. Ltd.; Bulk Mining Co. Ltd.; African Explosives (T) Ltd.; Nitro Chemicals Ltd.; P. L. Sanga Co. Ltd. and Nitro Explosives (T) Ltd.

(b) by renumbering items 7,8,9, and 10 as items 8,9,10 and 11 respectively.

GN. No 197 of 2000

GN. No 455 of 2000

3. The Regulation of Trade (Control of Sale of Specified Goods) (Amendment) Order, 2000 and The Rectification of Printing Errors the Regulation of Trade (Control of Sale of Specified Goods) Order, 2000 are hereby revoked.

Dar es Salaam,
26th July, 2001

IDDI SIMBA,
Minister for Industries and Commerce

GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. 217 published on 7/9/2001

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING ORDINANCE

(CAP. 378)

ORDER

Made under section 13

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING (PLANNING AREAS) ORDER, 2001

1. This Order may be cited as the Town and country Planning (Planning Areas) Order, 2001.

1702

2. The areas described in the schedule hereto are declared to be planning areas for the purpose of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance.

3. Detailed schemes for the scheduled areas shall be prepared and deposited with the Director of Human Settlements Development and Regional Administrative Secretaries of Mainland Regions.

SCHEDULE

S/N	*Region*	*District*	*Planning Area*
1.	ARUSHA	Babati	Singe, Bashnet, Dareda, Gallapo, Minjingu.
		Ngorongoro	Endulen, Digodigo, Malambo, Ngarasero, Samunge, Olbalbal
		Simanjiro	Komoto, Shambarai, Lendanai, Nyumba ya Mungu, Terrat, Msitu wa Tembo, Ngorika, Magadini.
		Kiteto	Matui, Dongo, Kijingu, Olboloti Njoro Engasero, Dosidosi, Senya, Magungu Lengatei.
2.	DODOMA	Kondoa	Kalema, Balai, Kisese, Sauna, Pahi, Mondo Mrijo Juu, Kikore, Churuku, Jangalo, Kisese Disa, Kondoa, Kwa Mtoro, Masange, Soya, Farkwa, Uwailanje Busi, Kolo, Goima, Tandala, Mpendo, Bereko, Masawi, Lelema Maziwani.
		Dodoma Rural	Mundemu, Kigwe, Bahi, Hanet, Mvumi Misheni, Mvumi Makulu, Handali.
		Kongwa	Kongwa, Songambele, Mbande, Hogero, Mlali, Hembahemba, Pandambili, Mkoka.

G.N. No. 216 (contd.)

S/N	*Region*	*District*	*Planning area*
		Mpwapwa	Mpwapwa, Kibakwe, Rudi, Chipogoro.
3.	IRINGA	Iringa Rural	Kalenga, Ifunda, Tanangozi, Ruaha, Mbuyuni.
		Ludewa	Lugarawa, Manda, Mawengi.
		Makete	Tandala/Ikanda, Bulongwa, Lupalillo, Lupila.
		Mufindi	Nyororo.
		Njombe	Makoga, Kifanya, Mtwango.
		Iringa Municipality	Igumbilo, Kitwiru, Mlolo, Mawelewele, Isakalilo, Tagamenda, Ilembula, Kihesa, Kilolo, Mtwivila.
		Mufindi	Mafinga, Nyololo, Malangali, Mgololo, Mufindi, Kibao, Igowole.
4.	KAGERA	Bukoba	Mineiro, Kemondo, Mutukula, Katoro, Kyaka.
		Muleba	Muleba, Kamachumu, Nshamba, Izigo, Kishanda, Kasharunga, Bugauguzo, Mubunda.
5.	KIGOMA	Kigoma Rural	Nguruka, Kidahwe, Bitale, Kalya, Kalinzi, Kagunga, Ilogalo, Buhingu, Kazuramba, Mwandiga, Kalenga.
6.	LINDI	Ruagwa	Mbekenyera, Nandagala.
		Nachingwea	Naipanga, Lionje, Mnero, Ngongo, Matekwe.
		Lindi	Wireless, Mitwero, Kineng'ena, Mlandege.
7.	MWANZA	Kwimba	Hungumalwa, Sumve, Nyambiti, Shilima, Mwamashimba.
8.	MOROGORO	Morogoro Municipality	Kilimanjaro, Lukobe, Kwa chambo, Bigwa

S/N	*Region*	*District*	*Planning Area*
		Kilombero	Ifakara, Mang'ula, Mkamba, Mugeta, Chila, Mlimba.
		Morogoro Rural	Madizini, Dutumi, Mikese, Doma, Mlela, Kidugalo.
		Kilosa	Gairo, Kimamba, Mikumi, Dumila, Ruaha, Magole, Kidodi.
9.	MARA	Tarime	Sirari, Shirati, Utegi, Kinesi, Kinesi, Nyamongo, Nyamwaga, Itiryo, Kogaja, Mika, Komaswa, Borega.
10.	MBEYA	Mbozi	Halungi, Kamsamba.
		Mbarali	Rejewa, Mbaruku, Igurusi, Chimala, Ruiwa, Utengule, Usangu, Madibira.
		Chunya	Kanga, Chalangwa, Mbuyuni, Makangolosi, Mkwajuni.
11.	MTWARA	Mtwara Rural	Msimbati, Kilambo, Mpapura, Mayanga, Kitaya, Nanyamba.
12.	PWANI	Kibaha	Mailimoja, Mwanalugati, Sofa, Picha ya Ndege, Msanga, Kongowe, Mwendapole, Kwa mfipa, Kidenge, Uyaoni, Pangani, Lulanzi, Ungindoni, Visiga, Bungo, Miembe Saba, Bokotimiza, Mkuza, Mlandizi.
		Bagamoyo	Msata, Miono, Logoba, Kevenge, Mdaula, Saadani.
		Mafia	Kirongwe, Utende
		Mkuranga	Vikindu, Kongowe/Mwandege, Kisemvule, Kimanzichana/Nyamato, Kisiju, Mkamba.
13.	RUKWA	Sumbawanga Rural	Milanzi, Pito, Mollo, Senga, Ntendo.
14.	RUVUMA	Songea Rural	Mkongo, Gulioni, Namabengo, Hanga, Kitanda, Mlilayoyo, Magagura, Mpitimbi, Nahoro.

S/N	*Region*	*District*	*Planning Area*
		Tunduru	Tunduru, Mbesa, Matemanga, Nalasi, Nakapanya, Mchoteka.
15.	SHINYANGA	Meatu	Itinje, Imalaseko, Mwandaga, Mwabuza, Bulyashi, Bukindi, Mwanjoro, Mwambilti, Mwamishali, Ng'oboko, Tindabuligi.
		Bariadi	Luguru/Inalo, Mwamapala, Ngulyati, Nkololo, Nyakabindi, Dutwa, Sapiwi, Gasuma, Laini, Kilalo.
16.	SINGIDA	Singida	Kititimo, Misuma, Unjiaga, Unyakumi, Unyankehe, Mangu-anjuki, Mtipa, Mangua/Mitogho, Unayambwa, Munuguna, Mwankoko.
		Manyoni	Manyoni, Itigi, Kilimatinde, Kintinku, Chikola, Chikuyu, Saranda, Rungwa, Sanza, Heka, Azimio, Mitunduruni.
17.	TABORA	Tabora Rural	Goweko, Igagula, Ilolangulu, Mabama, Magiri, Kigwe, Ufuluma, Bukumbi, (Ishihimula), Kigwa.
		Igunga	Ziba, Choma, Nkinga, Ndembezi, Igurubi, Simbo, Iborogero, Mwisi, Nanga.
18.	TANGA	Tanga Municipality	Pongwe, Amboni, Mabokweni.
		Handeni	Kabuku, Michungwani, Songe, Kwediboma, Mkata, Kiberashi.
		Muheza	Maramba, Kigombe, Lusanga, Duga, Maforoni (Horohoro).

Dar es Salaam,
1st June, 2001

G. A. CHEYO,
Minister for Lands and Human Settlements Development

Appendix B: Structured household schedule

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Structured Household Interview Schedule

I am **Nestory E. Yamungu** from Stellenbosch University, pursuing a PhD in Geography and Environmental Studies. I'm undertaking a research titled ***Street-level bureaucrats and piecemeal planning approaches in the Tanzanian small towns of Mlandizi and Sirari.*** I kindly request you to respond to the questions honestly; your responses will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study.

Respondent identification				
Consent sought from respondent?	Yes		Date of interview	
	No		Town	
			Ward	
			District	

SECTION A: RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS							
Qn. No.	Item		Code	**Qn. No.**	Item		Code
1	Sex	Male	1	**4**	Household age groups	1-10	
		Female	2			11-20	
2	Age	20-29	1			21-30	
		30-39	2			31-40	

		40-49	3			41-50	
		50-59	4			51-60	
		60+	6			61+	
3	Marital status	Single	1				
		Married	2				
		Divorced	3				
		Widowed	4				

SECTION B: HOUSEHOLD SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS							
Qn. No.	Item		Code	**Qn. No.**	Item		Code
5	Education level of the head of household	Non-educated	1	**7**	What is your place of birth?		
		Primary	2	**8**	When did you move to this place?		
		Secondary (O-Level)	3	**9**	How long have you lived here?		
		Secondary (A-Level)	4	**10**	What is your occupation?		
		Certificate	5	**10**	Why did you choose this job?		
		Diploma	6	**12**	Income from other family members	<20,000	1
		Degree	7			20,001-50,000	2
6	How much do you earn per month?	<50,000	1			50,001-100,000	3
		50,001-100,000	2			100,001-150,000	4
		100,001-150,000	3			150,001-200,000	5
		150,001-200,000	4			200,001-300,000	6
		200,001-250,000	5			>300,001	7
		250,001-300,000	6				
		>300,001	7				

SECTION C: PROPERTY/LAND OWNERSHIP AND USE				
Qn. No.	Item	Code	**Qn. No.**	Item	Code

13	Do you own this house?	Yes	1	**19**	Do you own another l property?	Yes	1
		No	2			No	2
14	If yes, mention how you acquired it	Self-built	1	**20**	Where is, it located?	Within the town	1
		Bought	2			In a different town	2
		Inherited	3	**21**	What is the use of the land/property? ……... ……...		
		Government-allocated	4				
		Given (gift)	5				
15	If not, what is the occupancy arrangement	Rented	1	**22**	What is the size of the land?		
		Other (specify)…….	2	**23**	How did you get the land	Bought	1
16	What is the size of the plot?					Inherited	2
17	Do you have any ownership certificates for this property	Yes	1			Government-allocated	3
		No	2			Given (gift)	4
18	If yes, mention them or it ……... …….					Invaded	5

SECTION D: PERCEPTION OF LAND TENURE ARRANGEMENT AND SECURITY	
24	Have you ever experienced any conflict over this land? Yes……1 No……2
25	If yes, what was the source of the conflict? (Please *explain*)…… …… …… …… ……
29	Who was involved in the conflict? …… …… …… ……
30	How was the conflict resolved? (*Please explain*) …… …… …… …… ……
31	Do you think you have secure land ownership and use? (*Please explain*) …… …… …… …… ……

SECTION E: ACCESSIBILITY AND LOCATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES	
32	Do you face any accessibility problems in your area? Yes……1 No…… 2
33	If yes, (*Please explain*) …… …… …… ……
34	How long do you normally walk in search basic services? ……
35	Are the social services accessible? Yes……1

	No…….. 2
36	If not, why? (please explain) …… …… …… ……

SECTION E: URBAN PLANNING AND LAND USE REGULATION	
37	What is your understanding of urban planning and how can you relate with nature of development in this town?(*Pleaseexplain)*…… …… …… …
38	Is this house located in a planned and land use regulated areas? Yes……1 No……..2
39	If yes, did you apply for a building permit? Yes……1 No……...2
	If yes, how do you perceive the role of the town planner in processing building permit application? …… …… ……
40	If not, (*Please explain the reasons for building the house in an unplanned area/not applying for a building permit*) …….. …….. …… …….. ……
41	If yes, what is your perception of the building permit application process? *(Please explain*) …… …… …… ……
42	What is your perception of the development of unplanned settlements and informal activities in this town? …… …… ……

43	Do you think there is any relationship between land-tenure arrangements and the development of informal settlements? Yes……1 No……..2
44	If yes, (*Please explain*) …… …… …… ……
45	How do you perceive the performance of the town planning machinery? (*Please explain*) …… …… …… ……
46	If not, what do you think are the reasons influencing the poor performance of the planning professionals? …… …… …… ……

47. Do you have any additional comments on the role of town planners?

……...
.....
.....
.....
……..

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Appendix C: In-depth interview schedule for urban planning professionals

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Interview guide for planning professionals

I am **Nestory E. Yamungu** from Stellenbosch University, pursuing a PhD in Geography and Environmental Studies. I'm undertaking a research titled ***Street-level bureaucrats and piecemeal planning approaches in the Tanzanian small towns of Mlandizi and Sirari.*** I kindly request you to respond to the questions honestly; your responses will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study.

Guiding questions

1. Can you please give a brief history of the town?
-Identify appropriate documents.
-Identify local leader(s) who can provide appropriate details of this.

2. Can you please give the background to the urbanisation of the town?
-When was the town first declared an urban planning area? -evidence
-In which status in the hierarchy of urban settlement does it follow? -evidence

3. I know the town does not have a general planning scheme. Are you planning to prepare one?
-Explain and provide evidence.

4. Explain the urban planning process and the way in which it has influenced practices in this town?

5. Why have you adopted piecemeal planning which involves preparing detailed layout plans in the absence of a general planning scheme?
-What are the factors influencing this practice?

6. What do you think are the social, economic, environmental and spatial impacts of piecemeal planning?
-How do you think as the remedy of negative effects?
-Obtain a list with all planning layout plans and dates.

7. What are the sources of planning needs in this town?

8. What are the main sources of resources for planning and implementation in this town?
-Provide evidence of the budget allocation vs released funds for the past 10 years.
-Obtain council strategic plans.

9. On the basis of the current situation, what can you say regarding informal urbanisation?
-Provide proportion of the planned vs unplanned area of the town
-What are the reason behind informal urbanization

10. Do you think your institution (planning authority) is technically capable of preparing a general planning scheme?
-Explain in detail how capacity issues relate to other planning challenges/successes.
-Obtain the number of staff in the planning department vs the number required.

11. Apart from this town, how many other towns are there in this local government authority?
-Provide the number, category, urbanisation rate and planning status.

12. Have you ever experienced any political influence in your working environment?
-How is the situation, and how did it influence the nature of your performance?
-Explain the power relations between elected and employed council staff and their influence on planning in this town?

13. What do you think of the land-tenure arrangements and the prevalence of informal land subdivision and delivery in the town?
-The extent to which land-tenure arrangements have both positively and negatively influenced planning in the town.

14. ave you had any Public-Private-Partnerships on planning and land delivery in this town?
-Who have been the main actors? Explain the initiation OF WHAT? and the modus operand.
-What factors have influenced the adoption of PPP?
-What are the successes and challenges of the PPP arrangements?
-Have you ever outsourced any planning work to a private consultant? -why, the extent, level of delivery

15. What is your understanding of sustainable urbanisation?
-How do the current practices impact on the sustainability of this town?
-What are the challenges and successes of sustainable urbanisation in this town?

16. What do you think is the most appropriate planning approach for small towns?
-Please explain in detail and provide examples (if any).

17. Is there any civil society organisation in this town?
-Mention its name, location and activities.
-How are the activities linked/mainstreamed to urban planning practices?

18. With regard to our conversation, what else would you like to say?

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Appendix D: Research clearance in the local governments

KIBAHA DISTRICT COUNCIL

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA KIBAHA

Tel. No. [redacted]
Fax No. [redacted]
E-mail: [redacted]

P. O. Box 30153,
KIBAHA

Ref. No. KDC/C.60/2/89

12th December, 2016

University Of Dar es Salaam,
Office of The Vice Chancellor,
P. O. BOX 35091,
DAR ES SALAAM.

RE: **REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PLACEMENT FOR MR. NESTORY YAMUNGU.**

Reference is made to your letter dated 26th October, 2016 on matter captioned above.

I am pleased to inform you that the request has been considered and permission granted for **Mr. Nestory Yamungu** to undertake his research attachment in our Organization.

[redacted]

For: DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
KIBAHA.

K.n.y. MKURUGENZI MTENDAJI (W)
KIBAHA

Cc: **Mr. Nestory Yamungu.**

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

MARA REGION
Telephone No. "Admin"
Telephone Office No: 028-2690045

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
P.O.BOX 1,
TARIME.

Ref. No. AB.229/271/01/216

Date: 28/02/2017

District Executive Director,
Tarime District Council,
P.O.BOX 16
TARIME.

RE: RESEARCH PERMISSION FOR MR. NESTORY YAMUNGU.

Reference is made to the above Subject.

The above name is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar-es-Salaam and a PHD student at the Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you that permission has been granted to him to conduct his research in Tarime District.

The title of the research is "***PIECEMEN URBAN PLANNING: AN ANALYSISY OF LOCAL REALITIES AND STREET – LEVEL BUREAUCRATS' ADOPTION OF PLANNING APPROACHES IN TANZANIAN SMALL TOWNS OF MLANDIZI AND SIRARI, CASE STUDY TARIME DISTRICT".***

Please, give any help that may facilitate him to achieve his research objectives.

Sincerely yours,

For: DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
TARIME.

Copy to;
Mr. Nestory Yamungu and Vice - Chancellor.

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA TARIME

(Barua zote zipelekwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji)

[redacted](HWT)
Simu Na.: +[redacted]
Nukushi: +[redacted]
Barua pepe [redacted]
Tovuti: www.tarimecouncil.com

Ofisi ya Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W),
S.L.P 16,
TARIME.

Kumb.Na.HWT/T1/1PART V/170 28.02.2017

[redacted]

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA BW. NESTORY YAMUNGU

Tafadhali husika na mada tajwa hapo juu.

Namtambulisha mtajwa hapo juu kwamba ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam (University of Dar es Salaam) ili aweze kufanya utafiti wake wa kimasomo katika kata yako.

Aidha, nakujulisha kwamba ataanza utafiti huo kuanzia tarehe 28.02.2017 hadi tarehe 07.03.2017. Hivyo, unapaswa kumpa ushirikiano wa kutosha ili aweze kufanikisha utafiti wake.

Nakutakia kazi njema,

[redacted]

Kny: MKURUGENZI MTENDAJI (W),
TARIME.

Nakala: Bw. [redacted]
DAR ES SALAAM.

Appendix E: Layout plans detail for Mlandizi

No.	Location	Layout Reg. Number	Year	No. of Plots	Area (ha)	Remark
1	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/02/092009	2009	450	75	Approved
2	Janga	19/MLZ/03/112009	2009	786	101	Approved
3	Msufini	19/MLZ/04/022010	2010	636		Approved
4	Ruvu industrial	19/MLZ/05/032010	2010	12	196	Approved
5	Mihande	19/MLZ/06/032010	2010	271	24	Approved
6	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/07/082010	2010	212		Approved
7	Msufini	19/MLZ/08/082010	2010	367	56	Approved
8	Kisabi	19/MLZ/09/092010	2010	325	51	Approved
9	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/10/092010	2010	683	101	Approved
10	Disunyara	19/MLZ/11/032011	2011	222	35	Approved
11	Msufini	19/MLZ/12/032011	2011	251	20	Approved
12	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/13/032011	2011	316	27	Approved
13	Matuga	19/MLZ/14/032011	2011	511	33	Approved
14	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/15/032011	2011	289	35	Approved
15	Janga	19/MLZ/16/032011	2011	214	12	Approved
16	Frelimo	19/MLZ/17/032011	2011	499	54	Approved
17	Kisabi (I)	19/MLZ/18/032011	2011	383	70	Approved
18	Kisabi (II)	19/MLZ/19/032011	2011	192	22	Approved
19	Kisabi (III)	19/MLZ/20/032011	2011	432	167	Approved
20	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/21/032011	2011	332	12	Approved
21	Janga	19/MLZ/22/042011	2011	363	9	Approved
22	Disunyara (I)	19/MLZ/23/042011	2011	417	10	Approved
23	Msongolo-kimara	19/MLZ/24/082011	2011	333	53	Approved
24	Mihande (I)	19/MLZ/25/082011	2011	381	18	Approved
25	Disunyara	19/MLZ/26/092011	2011	171	23	Approved
26	Mihande (II)	19/MLZ/27/092011	2011	339	11	Approved
27	Disunyara	19/MLZ/28/092011	2011	345	55	Approved
28	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/29/092011	2011	309	16	Approved
29	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/30/082011	2011	264	29	Approved
30	Disunyara	19/MLZ/31/092011	2011	373		Approved
31	Disunyara	19/MLZ/32/092011	2011	236	40	Approved
32	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/33/082011	2011	206	68	Approved
33	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/34/112011	2011	Not available		Approved
34	Mihande	19/MLZ/35/022012	2012	323	50	Approved
35	Disunyara	19/MLZ/36/022012	2012	238	26	Approved
36	Msongola	19/MLZ/37/022012	2012	718	81	Approved
37	Ngeta	19/MLZ/38/032012	2012	123	96	Approved

No.	Location	Layout Reg. Number	Year	No. of Plots	Area (ha)	Remark
38	Madimula	19/MLZ/39/042012	2012	429		Approved
39	Msufini	19/MLZ/40/022012	2012	273	55	Approved
40	Matuga	19/MLZ/41/092012	2012	432		Approved
41	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/42/072012	2012	650		Approved
42	Msongola (I)	19/MLZ/43/072012	2012	722	79	Approved
43	Msongola (II)	19/MLZ/44/092012	2012	395	71	Approved
44	Matuga (II)	19/MLZ/45/092012	2012	190	39	Approved
45	Msongolo	19/MLZ/46/112012	2012	258		Approved
46	Disunyara	19/MLZ/47/112012	2012	612	44	Approved
47	Galagaza	19/KBH/322/102013	2013	585		Approved
48	Disunyara	19/MLZ/48/112012	2013	612		Approved
49	Mihande	19/MLZ/49/122012	2013	338	42	Approved
50	Msufini	19/MLZ/50/122012	2013	Not available		Approved
51	Janga	19/MLZ/51/032013	2013	231	21	Approved
52	Disuranya	19/MLZ/52/052013	2013	909	69	Approved
53	Kaloleni	19/MLZ/54/052013	2013	134		Approved
54	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/55/052013	2013	237	29	Approved
55	Disunyara	19/MLZ/56/052013	2013	325	32	Approved
56	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/57/082013	2013	Not available		Approved
57	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/58/082013	2013	260	74	Approved
58	Kibwende	19/MLZ/59/092013	2013	402	61	Approved
59	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/60/122013	2013	236	20	Approved
60	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/61/022014	2014	493	87	Approved
61	Disunyara industrial	19/MLZ/62/022014	2014	25	47	Approved
62	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/63/032014	2014	264	65	Approved
63	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/64/062014	2014	202	64	Approved
64	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/65/052014	2014	977	60	Approved
65	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/66/052014	2014	901	64	Approved
66	Msufini	19/MLZ/67/052014	2014	179	35	Approved
67	Ruvu kwa Dosa	19/MLZ/68/082014	2014	400	86	Approved
68	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/69/092014	2014	504	86	Approved
69	Kisabi	19/MLZ/70/092014	2014	195	107	Approved
70	Kisabi	19/MLZ/71/092014	2014	55	77	Approved
71	Kisabi	19/MLZ/72/092014	2014	1005	83	Approved
72	Kisabi	19/MLZ/73/092014	2014	968	63	Approved
73	Disunyara	19/MLZ/74/122015	2015	341	47	Approved
74	Mihande	19/MLZ/75/122015	2015	196	22	Approved
75	Disunyara	19/MLZ/76/022015	2015	298	19	Approved
76	Kilangalanga	19/MLZ/77/032015	2015	300	35	Approved

No.	Location	Layout Reg. Number	Year	No. of Plots	Area (ha)	Remark
77	Msongola	19/MLZ/78/052015	2015	325	29	Approved
78	Msongola	19/MLZ/79/052015	2015	465	100	Approved
79	Kisabi	19/MLZ/80/052015	2015	177	19	Approved
80	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/81/062015	2015	219	14	Approved
81	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/82/092015	2015	327		Approved
82	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/83/092015	2015	490	107	Approved
83	Ngeta	19/MLZ/84/012016	2016	551	49	Approved
84	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/85/012016	2016	341	40	Approved
85	Ngeta	19/MLZ/86/012016	2016	430		Approved
86	Lupunga	19/MLZ/87/012016	2016	Not available		Approved
87	Kikongo	19/MLZ/88/052016	2016	137	79	Approved
88	Kikongo	19/MLZ/89/052016	2016	190	120	Approved
89	Kikongo	19/MLZ/90/052016	2016	656	74	Approved
90	Kikongo	19/MLZ/91/052016	2016	55	80	Approved
91	Kikongo	19/MLZ/92/052016	2016	16	71	Approved
92	Kikongo	19/MLZ/93/052016	2016	6	51	Approved
93	Kikongo	19/MLZ/94/052016	2016	23	111	Approved
94	Kikongo	19/MLZ/95/052016	2016	24	109	Approved
95	Kikongo	19/MLZ/96/052016	2016	15	92	Approved
96	Kikongo	19/MLZ/97/052016	2016	20	129	Approved
97	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/98/092016	2016	446	84	Approved
98	Makazi mapya	19/MLZ/99/092016	2016	262	27	Approved
99	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/100/032016	2016	Not available		Approved
100	Disunyara/Msongola	19/MLZ/101/092016	2016	420	45	Approved
101	Mwanabwito	19/MLZ/102/052016	2016	Not available		Approved
102	Msongola	19/MLZ/103/052016	2016	Not available		Approved
103	Kitemvu	19/MLZ/104/082016	2016	273	19	Approved
104	Lupunga A	19/MLZ/105/092016	2016	39	123	Approved
105	Ngeta	19/MLZ/106/092016	2016	581		Approved
106	Vikuruti	19/MLZ/107/092016	2016	Not available		Approved
107	Madimla	19/MLZ/108/032017	2017	480	41	Approved
108	Msongola/Kikongo	19/MLZ/109/032017	2017	96	54	Approved
109	Msongola/Kikongo	19/MLZ/110/032017	2017	95	136	Approved
	Total			**35214**	**5135**	

Appendix F: layout plans detail for Sirari

No.	Location	Plan Number	Year	No. of Plots	Area (ha)	Remark
1	Buriba	15/TRM/15/062014	2015	301	27	Approved
2	Kanisani	15/TRM/14/062014	2015	308	32	Approved
3	Ngerengere	15/TRM/11/062014	2014	831	97	Approved
4	Ngerengere	15/TRM/12/062014	2014	394	79	Approved
5	Remagwe	15/TRM/02/032014	2014	678	63	Approved
6	Remagwe	15/TRM/01/032014	2014	741	95	Approved
7	Sirari	15/TRM/09/062014	2014	189	10	Approved
8	Sirari	15/TRM/04/032010	2011	286	30	Approved
9	Sirari	15/TRM/03/032010	2010	122	28	Approved
Total				**3850**	**461**	