CONFRONTING URBAN PLANNING CHALLENGES IN CHIPATA DISTRICT,

ZAMBIA: NOTES FROM THE FIELD

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Abstract

Since the public inauguration of the URP (Urban and Regional Planning) Bill in 2009, which is now law (The Urban and Regional Planning Act No. 3 of 2015), urban planning in Zambia has undergone changes. In partnership with the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) Federation, the Zambian parliament put into effect pilot urban planning assistance programs to assist districts around the country, including Chipata District in 2011, transition to a more decentralized, integrated and locally-defined approach to urban planning. However, the presence of discrimination, corruption, and negative attitudes towards urban planning engagement, social maladies prominently displayed in Zambian society, pose challenges to implementing the ideal goals of the 2009 URP Bill. The extreme, widespread poverty in Zambia merely exacerbates the propensity towards corrupt and discriminatory behavior, and influences poor attitudes toward urban planning engagement. This paper describes the projects undertaken by the VSO volunteer from the USA between 2011 and 2012 in the light of the specific urban problems facing Chipata District, and discusses the ways the social maladies play out in Zambian society to pose challenges to implementing the recommended changes to the planning system scribed in the 2009 URP Bill.

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1. Urban Planning in Zambia: A Background Summary

In the years following independence from Great Britain in 1964, the Republic of Zambia made several attempts to develop major cities around the country in order to promote industry, to make Zambia more competitive in world markets, and to modernize living conditions for the Zambian population. During the administration of Kenneth Kaunda (1964-1991), the Republic's first president, the Greek Planning firm, Doxiadis Associates, was commissioned to write master plans for at least 40 major cities across the country.[1] Many of these master plans were never put into effect during this fledgling presidency because, according to Siame, the nascent Republic had virtually no urban planners in Zambia who could assist with and oversee implementation (Siame, 2010, p. 16).

Equally debilitating for the future of the planning system in Zambia was the absence of local, urban planners armed with the postcolonial, postmodernist cognitive trainings in urban planning epistemology who could also develop the postcolonial narratives that would have laid the theoretical foundations for defining planning outcomes responsive to the particularities of Zambian geography, including its culture, landscapes, climate, and natural resources. What followed, as a result of this intellectual vacuum during the post-Independence period, was a series of legislative and educational reforms heavily borrowed from the traditions and models of Western urban planning systems and thought, from Great Britain, in particular. One such reform was the

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ratification of the Town and Country Planning Act in 1962, the legislation that provided a planning framework for Zambia. Following this, the Zambian parliament accepted a document of planning principles, entitled "Guide Notes on Urban Land Lease Procedures and Town and Country Planning (Republic of Zambia)," as *the* master guide to urban planning practices and procedures in Zambia. The regulatory contents of the Guide Notes should have reflected the planning framework rendered by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1962 and the Housing (Statutory) Improvement Areas Act of 1975, however, the document succeeded only in providing guidance for building construction and, in part, zoning.

Another reform initiative was the founding of the urban planning school, the School of the Built Environment, at the Copperbelt University (CBU) in 1989 as a means of fortifying the country with trained, and thus qualified, urban planners.[2] Other training institutions established for the same purpose were the Natural Resources Development College in 1964 and the Zambia Institute of Technology in the 1970s. Individuals were also sent to planning schools in England and in the United States for training (Cockhead, e-mail feedback, April 15, 2016). Despite such seeming progress, urban planning nevertheless appeared to be fizzling.

During the Presidential tenure of Frederick Chiluba (1991-2002), additional stringent government reforms, which also affected the state of planning in Zambia, were initiated (Siame, p. 15). One of the most prominent among these was the dissolution of the National Planning Commission (NPC), albeit was later incorporated into the Department of Town and Country Planning (of Zambia). The Department was also crippled by insufficient budgets and its operations plagued by weak parliamentary support, further crippling urban planning capabilities. The continued shortage of qualified, town/urban planning personnel and thin technical capacities only added to the shortcomings of the Department (Muwowo, e-mail communication, March 10, 2016).

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Consequently, urban planning in Zambia has remained in a fledgling state and has been faced with an uncertain future.

Under the Presidential leadership of Levy Mwanawasa (2002-2008), urban planning was revived. Although political and financial support from the government remained feeble, the Parliament nevertheless moved to improve the planning system in Zambia by calling for a new legislation. After several years of discussions with various stakeholders between 2001 and 2009, including extensive public consultation involving urban and rural residents across the country, the draft Urban and Regional Planning (URP) Bill was unveiled in 2009.[3] The draft version of this Bill proposed ways to raise urban planning standards in Zambia. It was also meant to be the basis for writing district- and provincial-level planning guidelines that fostered a more integrated, inclusive, and comprehensive approach to planning. (The recommendations contained therein were eventually incorporated into and passed into law as the 2015 Urban and Regional Planning Act No. 3, albeit included clauses that enforced stronger accountability against malfeasance and retained, for the most part, centralized decision-making of planning issues (Urban and Regional Planning Act of the Laws of Zambia, 2015, p. 70).

The transition to the proposed planning framework laid out in the draft 2009 URP Bill was preceded by town planning support programs in local authorities (municipal and district), which were initiated in partnership with the VSO (Volunteer Service Overseas) Federation[4] and bolstered by additional partner support from SIDA (Swedish International Aid Agency), JICA (Japanese International Cooperation Agency), and GTZ (*Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische*, formerly *Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*, or GIZ).[5] Each aid agency partner offered something unique. GTZ, for instance, provided ArcGIS and other technical (training) support, while SIDA provided the funds for hiring the consultants to draft the URP Bill between

2007 and 2009 (Cockhead, unpublished paper, March 1, 2016). The VSO Federation Town Planning Support Program, in particular, placed qualified and experienced urban planners, recruited from Federation member countries in North America and Europe, at MLGH (Ministry of Local Government and Housing) provincial offices, including at the Headquarters in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, and at local authorities (municipal and district councils) throughout Zambia.

The VSO Federation town planning support program (2007-2016) was inaugurated primarily to - in theory – enhance the urban planning capacities of Zambian planners through skills-building and knowledge-sharing, as well as to support the decentralization of urban planning operations (CUSO-VSO Predeparture Training, January 2011; Cockhead and Hemalatha, Conference paper, University of Mysore, November 21-23, 2014; Cockead, e-mail communication, April 15, 2016). The initial placements, between 2007 and 2009, were in Choma and Mazabuka. Thereafter, from 2009 to 2016, placements were opened at other local authorities in Petauke, Chipata, Kazangula, and Mambwe, and at MLGH offices in the Eastern, Southern, Central, Northern, North West, Luapula, and Copperbelt provinces, and at MLGH Headquarters in Lusaka (Cockhead, e-mail feedback, April 15, 2016). In 2011, one volunteer was placed at the University of Zambia (UNZA) in Lusaka. The VSO prompted the latter placements in 2010, but the specific roles of the volunteers were determined by the respective councils.[6] Since 2007, under this program, exactly 24 planning professionals have been matched with local authorities around the country. By March 2016, the professional town planners deployed to Zambia in support of the VSO Town Planner's Support Program had contributed more than 368 volunteer months (Cockhead, unpublished report, March 1, 2016).

In February 2011, the town planning support placement was formalized at the local authority in Chipata District. The VSO volunteer selected for this program was instructed by senior

planners to pursue the following, central objectives in alignment with the ideal goals of the draft 2009 URP Bill:

- Help local authority urban planners to address Chipata District's salient, critical problems of unplanned settlements and waste;

- With the cooperation of the planning staff, write the Chipata District Integrated Development Plan (CDIDP), a comprehensive planning document designed to facilitate physical planning and to make urban planning more integrative, inclusive, and comprehensive;

- Transportation upgrading was later reinforced as a priority after the VSO volunteer learned that monies had already been allocated for this project;

- Enhance the urban planning skills and knowledge of the planning staff.

Within the year, it was learned that the number of urban planning problems in Chipata District far exceeded the capacity of the planning staff to address them. Climate change, poverty, unplanned settlements, urban sprawl, and waste were only some of the problems threatening the livability of the district, problems that further reinforced the need to change the way urban planning had been done in Zambia. While any trained urban planner understands that change, that is to say the ability to respond to urban problems catalyzed by change, is the cornerstone of professional practice, in Zambia planning was relatively stagnant, characterized by a professional practice that was archaic and un-innovative, reactionary and fragmented rather than comprehensive and integrated, and myopic rather than futuristic. Consequently, planning ideas tended to be defined by a simplified, single variable approach, and generally disentangled from other variables that might affect a planning or planning-related project; were too often disoriented from negative impacts; and were more likely to be responsive to meeting immediate, present agendas, as opposed to long-term, sustainable ones. In his review of the VSO-Zambia Town Planning Support Program, Senior Volunteer, Peter Cockhead, credits Zambia's colonial heritage as being somewhat

responsible for the stagnancy of the country's planning practice. The 1962 T&C Planning Act, for instance, inherited the land use planning standards that informed British planning. Since gaining independence in 1964, "Zambia's planning legislation remained until very recently largely unchanged" (Cockhead, 2016, p. 2). To sum up, the cognitive bottlenecks affecting the scale, depth, and range of planning ideas have resulted in a professional practice unprepared to respond to specific changes that often times trigger critical problems in cities and, at the same time, is incapable of resolving complex, urban conundrums.

The draft 2009 URP Bill represented the future of planning in Zambia. However, the optimistic outlook that reverberated in the proposed improvements to Zambian planning, is overshadowed by the re-occurring, ever-present social maladies of Zambia. Identified as discrimination, corruption, and general attitudes towards planning engagement, these social maladies threaten to stymie any efforts to improve the urban planning system and, accordingly, present obstacles to realizing the desired changes called for in the draft 2009 URP Bill. The poverty and social inequalities exhibited by Zambia, drivers of such social maladies, exacerbate discrimination and corruption, and in fact, may even heighten the incentive among holders of power to use their influence and status as means of accruing wealth. Socio-income inequalities may, simultaneously, discourage urban planning professionals from performing diligently and ethically. As a result, urban planners may be dissuaded from engaging urban planning in the best interests of Zambian society.

Using the author's experience as Town Planning Advisor in Chipata District, the analysis in this monograph examines the challenges posed by social maladies to efforts to implement the proposed improvements to the planning system in Zambia. Specifically, the analysis sheds light on the ways in which discrimination, corruption, and attitudes towards planning engagement (a)

emerge in Zambian society and (b) threaten to retain the planning system of myopic, fragmented, exclusive, and reactionary planning at the Chipata District local authority in spite of the efforts to improve the urban planning system. The nexus between social maladies and their effects on professional planning practice and outcomes are drawn in Section 5 and are put in the context of: (1) the proposed improvements to the planning system in Zambia, in which comparisons are made between the draft 2009 URP Bill and its legislative predecessors, the 1962 Town and Country (T&C) Planning Act and the 1975 Housing Statutory and Improvement Areas (S&IA) Act (Section 2); and (2) the VSO town planning support program in relation to the urban conditions distressing urban life in Chipata District (Section 3) as well as the urban planning responses to the district's urban conditions (Section 4). Through this case study, based on the evidence manifested by the conduct and language of residents in Chipata District and local authority professionals, urban planning practitioners and scholars will better understand how social maladies could potentially hamper the implementation of the proposed recommendations delineated in the draft 2009 URP Bill, yet, optimistically, will stimulate ideas that could aid other local authorities to mediate/circumvent/overcome parallel challenges. This analysis is set against the background of extreme poverty characterizing social life in Chipata District.

Critics of the negative influences of western knowledge on non-western, developing country contexts add another layer of complexity to this analysis and, as such, cannot be entirely ignored. However, rather than allocating a lengthy discussion to the concerns issued by critics of western knowledge, the wrench introduced by the voices of such critics are treated in this analysis as exactly that: *an additional layer of complexity*. Nevertheless, the critical body of work produced by such scholars represent a value for planning practitioners and intellectuals along the lines of postcolonial perspectives, as such discussions formulate the intersectional platforms for future

reflections and intellectual pursuits, including for professional practice. Especially pertinent to the planning discipline's subsidiary field of international development planning is that these discussions create opportunities for re-thinking planning principles in relation to cultural context. This juncture, from where ruminations about cultural appropriateness of planning principles and applications should arise, equally represents opportunities for developing innovative postcolonial, international development planning theories for guiding professional practice that may assuage the proclivity towards the social maladies underscored in this monograph. This discussion is attended to in Section 6. The trepidations about the impacts of western knowledge on professional planning principles in non-western contexts are addressed in Section 1.1 as scope and conceptual limitations of this analysis.

In light of the more recent adoption of the URP Act in 2015, a comment needs to be made about the timeliness of the analysis in this monograph. Because the social maladies appear ingrained through habitual social practices, as it so often is with any society, ratification of the 2015 URP Act does not eliminate the challenges posed by these social maladies to implementing the urban planning improvements initially idealized in the draft 2009 URP Bill. Therefore, despite this change, the nexus drawn between social maladies and planning problems with respect to the change-objectives described in the Bill remain relevant.

1.1 Scope and Conceptual Limitations

The problematic applications and influences of Western planning thought, when disconnected from socio-cultural, enviro-topological place-context, has long been criticized by scholars from various disciplines, including urban planning. Patsy Healey (2013) and John Friedmann (1987) are merely 2 examples among those from the urban/town planning discipline

(see also Watson, 2006). Scholars from other disciplines have highlighted the problems of power differentials between local (*emic*) and outside experts (*etic*) in terms of the status of knowledge. Power differentials have resulted in the discrediting and subsequent loss of local knowledge due to the 'ethnocentrism' laced in outsiders' knowledge (e.g. Kabuga, 1977; Khirfan et al., 2013; Olaoluwawa Dada, 2016), to the lack of cultural awareness among outsiders (Bengoa and Kaufmann, 2013), and to the ahistorical nature of outsider knowledge, which too often fails to integrate the evolving changes inherent in local institutions and social relationships into contemporary planning frameworks (e.g. Harris and Moore, 2013).[7] Friedmann (*ibid*., see especially Chapter 2), in particular, points out the absence of the culture dimension in his comprehensive study of engineering, architectural, and social theorists, who have influenced planning theory. This absence was the catalyst behind many of the contemporary, critical discussions calling for the inclusion of local perspectives in planning practice.

While this monograph does not attempt to make light of the significance of the virtual absence of the postmodern, postcolonial perspective on the evolution of urban planning knowledge, at the same time, this monograph could not possibly engage in an in-depth and critical dialogue about either the seemingly westernized concepts of "best practices" implied in the draft 2009 URP Bill or the concept's applicability to the *habitus,* or the internal world (see Bourdieu, 1977, Chapter 4), of Zambian society. Engaging in an elaborate discussion about the critical theories that have highlighted the difficulties of applying planning knowledge and approaches to urban and regional problems associated with modernization and globalization in developing countries is an indulgence well beyond the scope of this monograph. Therefore, those who have invested their scholarly careers to deconstructing the impacts of modernization and globalization, not to mention the "correctness" of espoused urban planning solutions, might be disappointed in

this author's reliance on notions of "good institutional planning practices" that have been accepted as both conventional and appropriate in "western" urban planning epistemology.

On the other hand, as professionals who service the general public, planners must presume the necessity of an accepted set of standards common to both the laws and to the ethics of professional practice for public safety and social welfare reasons and for the purposes of collective and individual prosperity. Even the most diverse individuals find common ground in the belief that planning professionals and governing authorities need commit to principles of transparency and accountability in order to mitigate corruption, of fairness and equity so that improvements in quality of life and living conditions be distributed across all ethnic and class groups, and of positive work attitudes in order to foster institutional effectiveness. These values are universal and are not harbored by westerners, alone. That residents of non-western, developing countries *do* appreciate the value of sanitary and sustainable urban environments enhanced by safe streets and job opportunities to their lives is, likewise, a given. That residents be granted the space to enjoy quality of life at scales of their choosing are equally universal desires. To be sure, these standards have a universal significance when considered alongside the opinions about the impacts of social maladies on quality of life, as they were communicated to this author by the residents and professionals in Chipata District.

Furthermore, while it may appear as if western urban planning ideas were uncritically and actively promoted by the VSO volunteer as opposed to having been carefully weighed, it must be said that opportunities to deliberate planning decisions in collaboration with planning authorities were hardly forthcoming and, consequently, efforts to develop the planning projects in which local contexts and needs were the centerpiece did not come easily. On this note, it is important to point out that not all local knowledge is beneficial (Olaoluwawa Dada, p. 86; Khirfan et al., p. 2) to the

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planning system and, by the same token, western knowledge is not all bad or incompatible with, and *ipso facto* incoherent to, non-western and developing country contexts. It is equally important to underscore, to the frustration of urban planners engaged in applied research, that the trend in much of the literature criticizing the hegemony of western knowledge has largely concentrated on the critical breakdowns of such applications, but insufficiently on the possibilities for collaboration or on how to capitalize on such opportunities. As such, the criticisms have been largely unhelpful to scholars and practitioners of urban/town development planning with interests in both bridging the divide between theory and professional practice and appropriately orienting the outcomes generated from this bridge to developing countries, where the most challenging of places for undertaking town/urban planning are concentrated.

In contrast to this overly simplified lens through which many of the critical development literature have observed the dissonances between western knowledge and non-western contexts, a small handful of emergent research literature, namely Khirfan et al. (2013), Sanchez Bengoa and Kauffman (2013), and Olaoluwada Dada (2016), do the opposite. Accomplishing more than disapproving, these authors exhume the possibilities of inter- and cross-cultural collaboration between "local" and "outsider" stakeholders, from where insights about culturally compatible applications and synergies of western knowledge to/with local contexts could potentially arise. The attempts on the part of the above-cited scholars to push beyond the critical literature highlighting the hegemony of western knowledge and explore the possibilities for adapting western knowledge to non-western contexts are given some attention in this monograph. This author returns to their insights in Section 6, where their theoretical contributions will be discussed in relation to the integration of local perspectives into postcolonial approaches to planning complex, urban and regional systems.

1.2 Methodology

This monograph did not begin as an intended research study, but rather as a volunteer placement from which knowledge about the urban planning challenges facing Chipata District came to light. The methodology, PAR, which enabled the VSO volunteer to give structure to the analysis of the planning efforts of this placement, was thus recognized and not planned, and came to the fore at about the same time as the framework for this monograph began to take shape. Throughout the VSO volunteer's daily engagement with the local authority leaders and planners, she learned about the planning problems and the adverse influences of the social dynamics in Chipata District on planning procedures. These illuminations spoke volumes about the challenges of undertaking urban planning in a developing country, and begged analysis from which other planning scholars and practitioners could later learn. Because the framework of this monograph was problem-oriented, owing to the town planning support program's purpose, the tasks and procedures undertaken by the VSO volunteer in order to move forward shares with PAR its defining elements of collaboration, problem-identification, and solution-orientation. As the volunteer placement progressed across the various stages of preliminary planning and report-writing, the methodology naturally surfaced.

PAR is a means of understanding the social dynamics underlying community-based problems vis-à-vis direct involvement in the goings-on in peoples' lives, with the intention of identifying as a community the causal factors underlying the problems and, in terms of the town planning support program in Chipata District, vis-à-vis strategic action planning in support of Zambia's goal of improving the country's urban planning system (McTaggart, 1994; Fournier, et al., 2007; MacDonald, 2012; Morales, 2016). Research, involving the objective and subjective exploration of phenomena (McTaggart, p. 318) and the corresponding knowledge produced, serves

as both the foundation and the basis for actions. The knowledge acquired from the research is accompanied by new awareness that become the rationale – and often the impetus – for initiating individual and institutional change (McTaggart, 1994; Fournier, et al., 2007; MacDonald, 2012; Morales, 2016). The awareness arises from the reiterative cycle constituting PAR: learning, evaluation, reflection, planning, and action (MacDonald, 2012, p. 36; Morales, 2016, p. 159). Scholars, who have reflected on PAR, insist that it is not simply a process or a technique because the change that comes from action, one of the central features distinguishing PAR from other qualitative methodologies, requires all participants to commit to improving the situation (McTaggart, 1994, p. 317; Morales, p. 159).

Change from action interfaces with other core attributes differentiating PAR from more conventional qualitative research methodologies, such as ethnography and grounded theory. The learning, strategizing, and actions taken ". . . amongst individuals of differing power, status, and influence . . ." are, for instance, collaborative in nature (MacDonald, p. 38). This collaboration decentralizes research and learning from the hierarchies characterizing conventional qualitative research and, resultingly, liberates knowledge production from the well-established notion of "expert knows best" (McTaggart, 1994; Fournier, et al., 2007; MacDonald, 2012; Morales, 2016). In another instance, PAR is empowering, as it calls on local knowledge to initiate the personal and structural change required to improve situations (McTaggart, pp. 315, 317, 319; Fournier, et al., p. 2; MacDonald, p. 36). The culture of institutions thereupon also changes (McTaggart, 1994) and, we presume, leads to the adoption and adaptation of new rules or standards according to the worldview of local people and institutions. In this sense, as McTaggart puts it, PAR has both "an individual aspect in which (*sic.*) action researchers change themselves, and a collective aspect in

which (*sic.*) action researchers work with others to achieve change and to understand what it means to change" (*ibid.*, p. 317).

Another distinguishing quality of PAR is that the approach to research is descriptive rather than prescriptive, and collective rather than linear (MacDonald, p. 36). The researcher, being a direct participant, is thus embedded in the socio-cultural dynamics of the study area, giving profound context to the problem(s) being analyzed. Participation can often lead to the personal transformation of the researcher in the form of increased commitment to self-awareness and social change, as opposed to detachment and inaction, as is usually the case with conventional qualitative research (Fournier, et al., p. 11; MacDonald, pp. 35, 39; Morales, p. 158).

Though its disciplinary application has been varied, for example, to the fields of education, psychology, and social work, for the sake of simplicity McTaggart narrowly categorizes the individuals who have utilized PAR into, generally, practitioners and academics for the purpose of illustrating the problem identification and resolutions, activities that likely emerge from the dialectical exchanges between practitioners and researchers (McTaggart, p. 317). Such exchanges are highlighted as another distinguishing attribute of PAR in order to drive home the point that both groups (of individuals) engage in communicative learning, that neither reflects in isolation of the other, in order to pursue a common goal: theoreticians and workers "seeking (*sic*) the development of theoretically informed practice for all parties" *(ibid.*, p. 317) so that they may apply insights to the work in their respective institutions and "cultural contexts" (*ibid*). In this regard, the purpose of PAR is also to "change individuals and the culture of groups, institutions and societies to which they belong" (McTaggart, p. 318). Here, again, lies the significance of the reflection-and-action interaction that makes PAR distinct from conventional, qualitative methodologies.

Through this author's placement at the Chipata District local authority as a VSO volunteer, she was a direct participant in the planning system, giving her on-the-ground insights into the bureaucratic quagmires often characterizing the planning process in Zambia, as much as into the capacity gaps of government institutions and personnel at local and provincial authorities around the country.[8] Direct involvement, furthermore, enabled her to experience the raw, emotional frustrations provoked by some of the socio-cultural challenges of participating in planning practice in Chipata District, where the bureaucratic pace was naturally very slow and the average standards expected of professional industries were often times not observed or adhered to. Throughout her one-year placement, the author maintained a journal of her experience, taking notes of comments and perceptions obtained from both pointed and casual conversations with the urban planning staff about procedural problems regarding land legalization, urban planning, behavioral outcomes, and about the planning culture of the planning department. She utilized information and data acquired from written documents relevant to her responsibilities as advisor in the District's town planning department following a review of relevant literature, all of which enriched her understanding of the planning system and the planning culture of Chipata District. She relied heavily on field and participant observations to record the physical, environmental, and social problems evident throughout the township. She also maintained a blog about her experience, in which she provided some context to the poverty of Chipata District and to the daily lives of the residents. The contents of this blog served as reminders of key moments of that time. These data collection methods are commonplace of PAR (Fournier, et al., p. 2; MacDonald, p. 41).

1.3. Contribution to Research

Keyword searches utilizing Google, Google Scholar, and the library and online journal holdings and subscriptions at the University of Massachusetts generate a small number of research materials regarding urban planning in Zambia in the form of publications or reports. The concentration of academic literature about Zambia has been in the studies of its economy, the poverty conditions of the country, its gender politics, and in theoretical discussions about discrimination. And, certainly, books about the deleterious effects of corruption[9] on economic development and social well-being have been written. The scale at which much of the analysis in these research materials have been conducted have tended to be on a national scale or theoretical, which blur - and even make invisible - the city-level and practical details that can only be provided in a case study.

Comparatively, case studies depicting urban planning problems at the district-level, in general, or specifically in Chipata District, or at the very least in Zambia are lacking, as published studies on urban planning issues in Zambia are few. A very small number of informal, unpublished monographs have appeared on the internet highlighting the experiences of volunteers in Zambia. However, they tend to be descriptive rather than critical essays. Even fewer make correlations between social maladies and planning outcomes. This monograph, therefore, fills an obvious void in the urban planning academic literature.

The central thesis of this monograph - describing the ways the social maladies, embodied in the actions and verbal comments of local authority planners, the planning leadership, and some residents of Chipata District, may dangerously collide with the hopes invested in the planning system improvements proposed in the draft 2009 URP Bill - contributes to our understanding about the ways in which social practices and conventions can deeply entrench the country into social

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inequalities, planning stagnancy, and at worst non-actions that perpetuate cycles of stagnancy. The finer details about the interaction between the social maladies and planning improvements rendered in this monograph provide the grounded insight that can be accomplished only with case studies.

Though this author never makes the claim that Zambia should follow the same path of development planning, as history or the habits of past regimes from other nations might dictate, the deplorable urban conditions around the country reflected in Chipata District surely indicate that progress, in terms of improving both the planning system and professional practice, do indeed need to be made. The dilemmas that inevitably arise whenever change calls into question widely accepted social practices engender fertile discussions about cultural context and planning knowledge applicability, the intersections of which will certainly contribute to the evolving discourses on best practices in urban planning, as well as those regarding planning ethics and good governance. That these questions are prompted by a case study set in a developing country should likewise stimulate new urban planning frameworks into which the postcolonial perspective is integrated.

2. Comparing the Draft 2009 URP Bill to the Town and Country Planning Act (1962) and the Housing Statutory and Improvement Areas Act (1975)

Under the joint, international, partnership agreement between SIDA and the Zambian parliament, the Swedish private firm, Hifab International AB, was commissioned to write a new planning framework for Zambia (VSO volunteer coordinator, e-mail communication, October 2, 2011). This planning framework proposed several principles that were to be applied to all lands (State and Customary) in Zambia. These principles, culminating in the 2009 draft URP Bill,

emphasized the following: decentralization of decision-making in planning; integration of the functions of various departments responsible for town planning activities through increased collaboration among, and coordination of the capacities of, local and regional institutions; promote inclusiveness by incorporating the physical and social needs of marginalized groups (e.g. women, the impoverished, disabled) into planning outcomes; promote comprehensive, sustainable, economic development planning by integrating the various, though often competing, elements into planning outcomes; strengthen accountability and oversight through enhanced record-keeping (Hifab International, 2009, pp. 3-6).

Come into force, the principles would capture urban planning approaches and procedures in a "best practices" framework. As such, the draft 2009 URP Bill deviated considerably from the T&C Planning Act of 1962 (Cap 283) in a number of ways. Firstly, the draft 2009 URP Bill would synchronize urban planning principles with the legalization of unplanned settlements, thus repealing and replacing the T&C Planning Act of 1962 and the Housing (S&IA) Act of 1975 (Cap 194) (Hifab International, 2009). Prior to the drafting of the 2009 URP Bill, urban planning had been governed by the 1962 T&C Planning Act, while the provisioning of housing in unplanned settlements through land legalization and titling was administered by the Housing (S&IA) Act of 1975. The problem was that the edicts guiding, specifically, land management and housing provisioning were not well-coordinated with the other, as the emergence of unplanned settlements had not been integrated into either a comprehensive land management agenda or as part of a comprehensive, future-oriented preparation for growth and impacts. The draft 2009 URP Bill proposed to do this.

Secondly, the Bill proposed to decentralize urban planning administratively and contextually by limiting the powers of the Minister of Planning, in effect, reducing the Minister's

role in planning decision-making to primarily guidance, advisement, enforcement of the planning law, and oversight. Rather, the draft 2009 Bill recommended that urban planning powers be delegated to *all* district and provincial councils and, correspondingly, expanded planning authority status to all. This administrative change was intended to promote planning outcomes that are more responsive to the contexts of local regions as well as to facilitate planning oversight. Previously, under the 1962 T&C Planning Act, such powers were limited to 8 locations: the cities of Lusaka, Kitwe, Ndola, the municipal councils of Chingola, Luanshya, and Mufulira, and the municipalities of Kabwe and Livingstone (Town and Country Planning Act, Cap 283, 1962).

Another change proposed in the draft 2009 URP Bill with respect to giving direction to planning outcomes was the recommendation that Planning Committees be formulated at all local authorities and be held with the responsibility of preparing and writing planning documents for the respective district. Prior, this responsibility lay with the Minister. The Bill recommended that 3 types of plans be written for each district, or when relevant, each province. These plans fell into 3 categories: (1) detailed, district-level, local area plans that, in ideal terms, would be responsive to the distinct needs and contexts of urban and regional districts; (2) sectoral plans to address the critical problems of urban sectors facing districts; and (3) an overarching, integrated development plan, which would integrate the multiple elements affecting urban functions and various marginalized groups into city plans. The writing of a national planning guidelines document was also required in order to both coordinate and navigate the planning of each district in Zambia towards the proposed planning framework.

As with the draft 2009 URP Bill, the writing of local plans under the 1962 T&C Planning Act was required. Regional plans, also a requirement under the latter, were eliminated under the former, and then reinstated in the now-ratified 2015 URP Act (Urban and Regional Planning Act,

2015, pp. 32, 45). The local authority planners tended to rely solely on the former town and country planning guide notes to inform urban development and, consequently, planning outcomes. Doing so resulted in local planning being reduced to simply site planning. The writing of sectoral plans was not at all a component of the 1962 T&C Planning Act.

Fourthly, the draft 2009 URP Bill *harmonized* land management and development with sustainability and socio-economic concerns (Hifab International, p. 5). This harmonization resulted in a stronger integration of the urban elements comprising lived spaces. Even transportation planning, considered to be a vital and central dimension of urban planning in other countries, was curiously absent in the 1962 T&C Planning Act.[10] The convention in Zambia was to delegate this dimension of urban planning to the Department of Engineering. Engineers were responsible for physical planning, such as constructing roads and extensions, but not always in cooperation with the physical planners. Increased harmonization of planning dimensions would likely position the issues of waste management, urban ecology, economic development, access, and transportation more strongly into a comprehensive planning framework for guiding the planning of the district, and subsequently would move the district towards enhanced urban sustainability and improved economic and infrastructural development.

In contrast, again, to the 1962 T&C Planning Act, the draft 2009 URP Bill drew attention to the importance of envisioning future goals for Zambia and its respective districts as one of the means of improving the planning system. A future-oriented approach to urban planning allows local authorities to better plan in the midst of environmental and fiscal constraints, whilst seeking opportunities for economic growth and development.

Finally, the draft 2009 URP Bill promoted inclusiveness by inviting marginalized groups (e.g. the poor, women, and the disabled) into planning procedures and, thereafter, incorporating

their specific concerns into planning documents (See Development and Planning Principles under the section, "Vision", Guide to the Draft Urban and Regional Planning Bill, 2009). In comparison, the 1962 T&C Planning Act failed to mention marginalized groups as special needs cases *as a principle* and did not mandate their participation in shaping planning outcomes. Such absences have resulted in the oversight of the special needs of vulnerable demographics. An example of such oversight is the absence of standards regarding building access and use for people with disabilities. An example of the integration of marginalized groups into the planning process is the *American Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, Title 142 ("The Public Health and Welfare"), Chapter 126 ("Equal Opportunity for Individuals with Disabilities")* in the United Sates. This legislation requires that all commercial and public buildings (e.g. government buildings, retail stores, stadiums, etc.) be installed with handicap amenities (e.g. wheel chair ramps, special handles) in bathrooms, elevators, and stairwells to facilitate the use of and to give physical access to buildings for those with disabilities. This scenario exemplifies that the inclusion of marginalized groups into the planning process and in planning documents imparts responsibility as a matter of necessity on local and provincial authorities to more consciously incorporate *people* into urban and regional planning. By recommending the inclusion of marginalized groups in planning procedures, the draft 2009 URP Bill promoted a planning system that better strove to meet the needs of all residents compared to its legislative predecessor, the 1962 T&C Planning Act.

A shortcoming of the draft 2009 URP Bill was its failure to address use and management of traditional lands, an oversight that could potentially introduce conflict between local authorities and the tribal societies of Zambia. Apart from acknowledging the importance of cooperating with traditional authorities,[11] not unlike the 1962 T&C Planning Act, the Bill did not recognize the importance of traditional lands to Zambia, having failed to even formally address customary land

governance, which defines the common-use and common-sharing relationship connecting land use activities of traditional lands residents to each other and, broadly, to the social well-being of these societies. Neither document specified distinct ways for coordinating land use planning regulations with the traditional systems of governance. As a result, the Bill failed to acknowledge the special needs of Zambia's tribal societies.

3.　The Urban Conditions of Chipata District

Zambia, located in Sub-Saharan Africa, has been designated by the World Bank as a middle-income country. Chipata District, one of 9 districts in and the capital of the Eastern Province (Central Statistical Office, Zambia, 2010), has a spatial area of 6,693 square kilometers (Chipata District State of Environment Outlook Report, 2008). Chipata Township is 20 kilometers from the Zambia-Malawi border and approximately 560 kilometers north of the nation's capital, Lusaka. Although Chipata, over the years, has become the center of commerce and government, a progression that would normatively generate new employment, the poverty conditions nevertheless remain severe, reflecting those of other administrative districts of Zambia. National data demonstrate that infant mortality and death rates in all of Zambia are high, as are the percentage of households (69% in 1991) who cannot meet basic needs (World Bank, 2011). About 36% of the national population living in extreme poverty reside in urban areas (Saasa and Carlsson, 2002). Rural poverty, a catalyst for urban migration, is also prevalent. The IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development website, no date given*;* IFAD, 2011, pp. 47-48) measured rural poverty at 78% in 2010, while the CSO (Central Statistical Office, Republic of Zambia, 2015, p. 104) measured it at 76.6% in 2015. In the Eastern Province, overall poverty (80% in 1998) and extreme poverty (66% in 1998) were more widespread than the national level (Table 2.5, Southern

Africa Regional Poverty Network, 2002, p. 16). As one local resident confirmed, most households eat only one meal a day. Overall, the IFAD classifies Zambia as an agriculture-dependent nation that is characterized by "high levels of hunger and is demonstrating slow progress in improving it" (IFAD, 2011, p. 51).

This poverty occurs in a country that has demonstrated a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 25.81 billion (representing 0.04% of the world economy) in 2017 (having averaged USD 6.66 billion between 1960 and 2017), compared to USD 19,390.60 billion for the US (constituting 31.28% of the world economy) and USD 2,622.43 billion for the UK (Trading Economics, 2019). When Zambia's GDP is coupled with the national debt, Zambia's depth of poverty is revealingly sober. Between 1990 and 2017, Zambia's Debt-to-GDP ratio averaged 125%, not so uncommon for developing countries with slow GDP growth rates. However, this value was only 55.60% in 2017 (*ibid.*), which was considerably lower than the Debt-to-GDP ratio of the US (105.40% in 2017) and the UK (84.7% in 2017-2018) for the same period (*ibid.*). This disparity could be attributed to the excessive borrowing of the US and UK governments in order to offset the fiscal effects of the economic recession that began in 2008.

In terms of each nation's balance-of-payment burden, not surprisingly, the weight is much greater for Zambia. The high Debt-to-GDP ratio displayed by Zambia has been exacerbated by decades-long, high levels of national borrowing in compliance with the foreign investment and industrialization directives issued by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and later the World Bank, to the Zambian government. These international financial institutions cooperate with national governments to finance infrastructure-heavy, large-scale capital development projects.

In 2011, Chipata District was slated for city status (Former director of Chipata Municipal Council, personal communication, March 2, 2011), but it was not officially conferred of this until

February 25, 2017 under sitting President, Edgar Lungu (Phiri, *Times of Zambia*, March 8, 2015).

This transition to city status is a forecast of enhanced economic development and, expectedly, will be colored by several implications to the quality of life in the district in terms of increased population density, urbanization, heightened congestion, and increased waste and other environmental problems. Each of these factors represents threats to urban livability, to urban aesthetics, and to urban ecology, threats that have already begun to take effect. By February of 2011, Chipata District was already showing signs of urbanization, pollution, and biodiversity loss, urban consequences generally associated with economic growth. New investors (e.g. SPAR Supermarket, Engen Gas Station) had joined existing financial institutions (e.g. the Dutch Rabobank, British Barclays, and South Africa's Stanbic Bank) that had already claimed some of the financial market. As new urban market frontiers are perceived, foreign and domestic entrepreneurs will continue to be attracted to investment opportunities in Chipata District, threatening to expand the urban boundary.

The District had also already demonstrated unfettered increases in population settlements, a pattern that had become more acute over the last several years. Between 2000 and 2010, the District population had augmented by 24%, from 367,443 to 455,783 (Central Statistics Office, Zambia, 2002, p. 2), a growth that had begun to result in increased congestion, urbanization, and pollution. This growth rate also explains the rise of unplanned settlements in terms of number and physical scale, additional indicators of increasing urbanization. In the wards surrounding the center of town, 5 unplanned settlements had emerged as a result of population increase: (1) Nabvutika, (2) Magazine, (3) Munga, (4) Mutiliasembe, and (5) Mchini (Chipata Municipal Council planners, personal communication, September, 15, 2011). Without curbing the rural-to-urban migration, unplanned settlements will continue to develop and will, predictably, proliferate to the point to

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which lands that would be sold to those capable of paying higher prices for land lots will be relinquished to those who cannot pay the land lease fee. Land losses (1) represent reciprocal losses in town revenue that would normally be appropriated to financing city operations, staff salaries, and administrative overheads, and (2) translate into declining land spaces for commercial development, investments that would bring revenue to Chipata District in the form of property taxes and land lot sales.

Declining urban vegetation is yet another impact of urbanization and population increase. Around Chipata District, acres of green spaces have been converted to infrastructural development, resulting in urban biodiversity loss. On the other hand, such ecological consequences are equally the result of poverty, a correlation evident in the declining tree cover around the District. The burning of trees by impoverished households, to be later sold as bags of coal pieces for income, is common. The detrimental effects of this livelihood activity on the District's urban tree cover are especially intense along the hillsides circumventing the district's urban settlements. As urban planners and others (e.g. Lopez-Zetina, et al., 2005; Roszak, et al., 1995; Niemäla, 1999) have long maintained, urban biodiversity is essential to curbing urban air pollution and climate change, as well as to fostering the physical[12] and psychological health of urban residents. Protecting the urban ecosystem, broken down further as protecting urban watersheds by promoting urban biodiversity, protecting urban forestry to moderate the climate, and securing green spaces within the urban boundary to promote recreation, are therefore all considered to be vital to fostering the quality of urban life (Niemäla, 1999).

Other salient problems factored into the abysmal urban conditions of the District. The absence of comprehensive planning had resulted in incompatible zoning, which was demonstrated in the placement of small industries (representing light industrial zones) contiguously to hotel

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accommodations (representing commercial zones). Negligent transportation planning was also evident throughout, indicating the failure to consider public safety into the economic development of the District. Sidewalks and cycling lanes, considered to be "best practices" safety measures standards, had not been integrated into the overall development of the transportation system and gave further evidence that non-vehicular users had not been accounted for. Adding to the poor state of the transportation system were the conditions of the roads, many of which were in various states of disrepair.

4.   Urban Planning Responses to Urban Conditions: Suggestions for Chipata District

The projects initiated by the VSO volunteer were managed according to a 12-month schedule. Though it was understood that another volunteer would eventually succeed her, it was unclear what the skills level and capacities of the successor would be. Furthermore, the individuals employed at the Chipata District local authority, who would have greatly contributed to the development of the projects earmarked as priorities, were frequently unavailable for incisive inputs; the insights of these individuals would have surely helped develop and move the earmarked planning projects in the right direction more expediently and clearly at the commencement of the VSO volunteer's year-long tenure. Due to these handicaps, the scope of the total efforts needed to begin transitioning urban planning in Chipata District towards meeting the ideal goals of the draft 2009 URP Bill were reduced to stages and approaches. As such were the constraints, each effort was oriented to stages of development with a vision towards the future, rather than being finalized. In this way, the local authority leadership and planning staff could, accordingly, make adjustments in the ensuing months.

4.1. Unplanned Settlements: Magazine Compound

Closer examinations of Magazine Compound and the areas throughout Chipata District magnified the textbook, urban problems of deplorable sanitation, abundant waste volumes, haphazard development, and bad roads conditions that commonly plague urban communities of developing countries. These problems, collectively, catalyzed projects and capacity building efforts designed to direct planning in Chipata District towards a practice that fostered comprehensiveness, inclusiveness, and integration. These identified projects also aimed to get the local authority leadership to begin adapting urban planning thinking in terms of the future. It must be kept in mind that these projects, rather than being complete, were merely pieces and phases of much broader adjustments that as yet need to be made and, therefore, represented only the initial steps towards improving the planning system.

Although Chipata District was faced with the proliferation of 5 unplanned settlements, because of the time constraint of the volunteer, the local authority chose to concentrate on one: The Magazine Compound. The high population rate and the massive area size of this unplanned settlement also made it a priority. Located along the edge of the center of Chipata District, this unplanned settlement acquired its name from its previous use as a magazine battery facility during WWII (Chipata Municipal Council, senior planners, personal communication, March 2011). Field assessments conducted in this settlement throughout the months of March, April, and May in 2011 uncovered the dustiness, large waste volumes, and cluttered appearance. In the absence of a strategic, upgrading local plan, the Compound had become a cesspool of unsanitary conditions that lacked aesthetics. Without a centralized collection system, urban waste was left to pile up near homes and around places of business. Human waste, stored in open pits or thrown along the

roadside, contributed to the unsanitary conditions. The haphazard development of this settlement further compromised the aesthetics of the Compound.

The greatest challenge to unplanned settlements are the unmitigated, inward-migration of people arriving from the District's hinterlands. Magazine Compound proved to be no different, and the end result was incremental, unplanned, and unscheduled constructions of houses by rural-to-urban migrants over the years with minimal coordinating assistance from the Chipata District local authority. According to the explanation of one senior planner, the Compound began as a planned residential area,[13] however, before the Chipata District local authority could formalize the plan, migrants began settling into the area, occupying land, and constructing homes through their own efforts, by hiring builders or buying houses from a developer, namely the RDC.[14] Adding to the confusion of the Compound's development, the residents and the local authority did not comply with the formal procedures for acquiring land lots. Unaware of national land laws, the rural-to-urban migrants continued to arrive and, consequently, illegal settlements continued over the years, which led to the migrants bearing the title "squatter." In Zambia, squatting carries the stigma of illegal settler, or not belonging to the community, as squatters do not own the plot of land on which their house is built. Under such a precarious land tenure situation, many of the Compound inhabitants were faced with the threat of eviction. Eviction equates to starting over, a reversion that can impose a financial burden hardly imaginable for more affluent households. As in-migrations continued over the years, the population in the Compound had exploded to more than 2,000 households (Chipata District Environment Outlook Report, 2008, p. 50). By the time the VSO volunteer had arrived in February 2011, the Chipata District local authority leadership still had not secured land titles for many of the Compound inhabitants.

Apart from the urban waste piled up in the common areas around the Compound, the field assessments also revealed health and sanitation concerns related to the practices of household waste disposable and to household potable water needs. The houses in Magazine Compound, very basic in design (oblong-shaped, enclosed structures), are all disconnected from both a centralized sewage system and a comprehensive, potable water infrastructure. Households relied on common-use pit latrines for disposing of human waste and communal water kiosks for obtaining potable water. Poverty is at the heart of the concerns about community health and sanitation, but it also incurs weak government response to requests for public services. As it was in other unplanned settlements in Chipata District, public services were not forthcoming in Magazine Compound. As a result, residents suffered from infrastructural improvement delays allegedly due to funding shortages.[15] Examples of such delays in providing public services could be found in the provisioning of potable water and the construction of pit latrines. As the population of Magazine Compound grew, its spatial size also grew northward and outward on Kanjala Hill, increasing the need and demand for water. In the context of weak government support due to poverty, in order to receive potable water services from the Chipata District local authority, Compound residents had to form a community-based coalition through which elected leaders were lobbied for public services. The advocacy of the residents culminated in the installation of 6 water kiosks at certain points around the Compound.[16] At the same time, the rapid population growth also meant that there remained a need-gap in the demand-provisioning ratio of potable water.

The same community resourcefulness and collective action was employed by Compound households in the case of meeting the needs for pit latrines. The residents either had to build the latrines themselves or pool their money through a cost-sharing system, which they had created. The downside to siting pit latrines without the guidance of Health Ministry authorities on the

standards related to distance from and location on slopes relative to potable water sources can –
and has - resulted in water contamination, representing a health hazard to the Compound
residents.[17] A water test of one of the privately-owned water pump revealed e-coli contamination,
a health threat commonly associated with non-piped water.

In yet another area, where delays in public services was evident, was in the processing of
the land deeds of Compound residents, who had already paid the processing and land lot fee. Such
administrative delays occurred even with the existence of the 1975 Housing (SI&A) Act, which
was somewhat surprising as this law called for the land legalization and titling of unplanned
settlements.

The problems highlighted in the Magazine Compound, mirroring those of the other
unplanned settlements in Chipata District, are extremely complex to resolve within a year or by
way of a single strategy. In light of the time and labor constraints faced by the VSO volunteer,
these priorities were approached by deconstructing the salient drivers of unplanned settlements
into variables underlying the socio-economic dynamics of rural areas, identifying the factors
behind the timid pace of land legalization, supporting household-level food security initiatives and
the economic activities of the Compound, and eventually tying the hoped-for waste-collection
program for the District to include Magazine Compound, and thereafter organizing reconciliation
ideas into 2 plans. The first, which was then as yet pieces of what was to become a holistic,
completed local area plan, included a land valuation initiative as a measure to begin mainstreaming
all squatter residents into legal ownership of land plots. All residents, therefore, should be issued
legitimate deed titles so that land be purchased and legally documented, as opposed to engaging
in discrete ("under-the-table") transactions that made the vulnerable to evictions.

A mapping project of Magazine Compound, which consisted of collecting geo-coordinates of its geographical boundaries and the physical (e.g. houses, market stalls, and water kiosks) features, was attached to the land valuation strategy so that a baseline visual representation of the area size and population density of the Compound, including its communal and natural resources and physical infrastructures, would be available. The final map would ultimately be a tool for identifying areas around the Compound deficient in water kiosks and pit latrines in case of future intentions to construct additional pit latrines or potable water sources.[18]

Another component of the pending local area plan was a household-level, urban garden, pilot project, the aim of which was to demonstrate to residents how to capitalize on the yard spaces surrounding the houses with food production and promote household food security. Included with this strategy was the tentative proposal that available open spaces around the Compound be land-banked for sale to potential land owners as well as for the preservation of community garden spaces. The mapping project would help Chipata District local authority planners with identifying the location of these available open spaces.

Included in the pending local area plan was the formalization of the Magazine Compound market place, where many of the residents bought food and other commodities. Preliminary renderings of the spatial dimensions of the marketplace for infrastructural upgrading and the design for canopied shelters intended to replace the wobbly market stalls, had commenced during the last half of the VSO volunteer's one-year contract. This upgrade was intended to replace the make-shift, unsteady wooden stalls, where vendors displayed and sold foods and wares.

The second plan was the first draft of the sectoral plan for addressing unplanned settlements (see Tuason Mata, 2011). It combined 2 approaches, one that aimed to curb the mass, rural-to-urban migrations, and the other that assessed the needs and conditions of unplanned settlements.

This latter part was to be used for designing a Compound upgrade project that improved the physical, environmental, and unsanitary conditions of Magazine Compound, and at the same time would meet the inhabitants' basic needs. This latter, needs-based strategy emphasized shelter and water, community aesthetics, and roads standards that, if put into effect, would reconcile the basic living needs of the inhabitants with improved place aesthetics, ease of mobility, and enhanced public services.

4.2. Waste Management

Another planning improvement priority was waste management, justified by the large waste piles visible around Chipata District. Proper handling procedures governing collection and disposal are necessary to ensure that waste is removed safely from city streets and households. The current waste management practices are not compliant with the national government standards of collection and disposal outlined in the "National Solid Waste Management Strategy for Zambia" (2004). This plan called for a more sustainable model of waste management. However, instead of conforming to the more sustainable standards, waste was disposed of in informal, surface landfills or burned in open incinerators (Director of Planning, personal communication, November 13, 2011).

Based on reviews of waste management reports prepared for cities in other parts of the world, it was anticipated that waste management would be expensive and complicated. As such, instead of delving into the preparation of a detailed, comprehensive waste management plan, the VSO volunteer chose to address the problem in multiple phases. Before determining how the program would be financed, the Chipata District local authority was presented with ideas for sustainable alternatives to incinerators and landfills for disposing of waste, inclusive of cost

estimates for implementation. These methods of waste disposal, recycling and Waste-to-Energy (WTE)[19] technologies, including the less-desirable options of incinerator and landfill, were presented to the Chipata District local authority in a cost-benefit format for cost and sustainability comparisons. A plan of action for a feasibility study was subsequently recommended.

In order to determine and define the scope and scale of the waste management program, the volunteer suggested tracking data gathered on the volumes of waste generated and collected throughout Chipata District. This data should inform local authority planners about the costs associated with comprehensively managing urban waste and, therefrom, establish the basis for researching possible financing streams. In the data collection phase, it was further suggested that the local authority incorporate data estimates for a recycling program, which would create jobs for residents in Chipata District and generate another taxable revenue stream for the city from recaptured waste materials be later re-sold to materials manufacturing companies. Previous studies of recycling industries in other countries have demonstrated that waste recycling can be lucrative; this industry contributes revenue to local economies through tipping fees and levies excised on recycling businesses and their corresponding properties.[20] The evidence from these studies demonstrates that recycling represents the potential for generating positive economic returns. A word of caution: the breadth and depth of poverty around Chipata District could preclude vast consumer participation, a variable considered to be necessary for gaining a sizable profit margin. Hence, the waste management program would likely require an innovative business model that accounts for poverty if it is to be sustained.

The Chipata District local authority was expected to have made a decision about the scope and scale of the waste management program, specifically decisions about how the waste would be disposed, whether waste management would be coupled with a recycling program (scope), and

whether Chipata District would partner with adjoining districts (scale) to share in the costs of providing a waste management service. It was expected that such decisions would eventually culminate in a waste management sectoral plan.

4.3.The Chipata District Integrated Development Plan (CDIDP)

The Chipata District IDP (CDIDP), written as a first draft in 2011,[21] brought together all of the elements influencing quality of life, urban aesthetics, and environmental quality, and suggested some guidelines for urban planners on approaches and procedures confronting development and impact in the planning of the District. Specifically, the CDIDP set its sight on future developments and established a series of agendas for improving the planning system of Chipata. The agendas responded to potential threats to the quality of life in Chipata District and prepared the district for further changes already exhibited by urban sprawl and population growth. Unlike the former town and country planning guide notes, the CDIDP strove for comprehensive, urban improvements by establishing standards for and approaches to collecting data (for mapping, demographic surveying, evaluating the transportation system, etc.), for urban management and professional planning ethics, environmental management, economic development, transportation planning, social planning and development, sustainable waste management, and improved intra-government communications through a district-wide internet service.[22]

Each of these elements, put forth as a set of planning principles rather than as a thematic model for managing and designing the District, was integrated into the more conventional guidelines regarding land management, land-leasing procedures, and building codes specified in the former town and country planning guide notes. However, it was done so with some reservations because the status of these afore-mentioned guidelines was at the time unknown, as it was not then

clear how the respective regulations would be affected once the draft 2009 URP Bill was ratified, the anticipated outcome. The reason for framing the CDIDP as a set of principles was so local planners would be granted the space to interpret local and sectoral plans according to the variations in socio-economic, spatial, ecological, and geographical features of Chipata District. It was expected that the CDIDP would go through numerous changes before the contents, in entirety, were accepted by the District Town Council and the Minister of Planning.

4.4. Transportation System

The most immediately visible urban problem was the series of damaged roads that led into the unplanned settlements and the residential areas of Chipata District. The worst, though, were those in Kanjala Ward (including the neighborhood nicknamed "Little Bombay" due to the concentration of ethnic Indians of Zambian nationality residing there[23]) and in the Kapata Ward neighborhoods. The deep crevices along the main roads in these residential areas had been gutted by heavy rains, indicating that paving had not taken place for several months or, quite possibly, years. The lack of paving exposed the clay soil to natural elements, which had led to severe surface erosion that made driving extremely hazardous.

A progress report of transportation projects in Chipata District[24] indicated that the transportation system was targeted for upgrading in 2009 through the collaborative endeavor of the Department of Engineering Services (Chipata District local authority), 2 large funders (World Bank and the National Road Fund Agency), and 2 engineering and builder contractors (Director of Engineering Services Report, November 4, 2011). This same report had documented roads infilling and paving as having been completed. On the contrary, driving and walking tours through the unplanned settlements and the Kapata and Kanjala ward neighborhoods in March 2011

revealed the extensive damage of these roads, indicating that monies had not been invested into roads repairs. Because the roads had become driving hazards, and also because it was alleged that monies had already been invested into roads repairs, transportation upgrading was added as a targeted project for the Chipata District local authority. By April 2011, the first trucks and engineers were assessing road conditions leading into "Little Bombay" in Kanjala Ward. By July and September of the same year, many of the roads in both Kanajala and Kapata wards had been paved or, at a minimum, smoothed over. There remained other roads that required repairing, so much so that by February 2012, the year the VSO volunteer returned to the United States, the transportation upgrade project remained incomplete.

4.5.Trainings for Building Urban Planning Capacities

While the Chipata District local authority planners possessed the educational qualifications and the skills pertinent to each person's job responsibilities, as well as knowledge of the planning discipline, there remained obvious gaps in knowledge, especially in the more philosophical considerations of planning (planning ethics and morality, good planning governance, transparency, etc.), in the soft skill areas of planning, such as public engagement and sustainability (just to give 2 examples), as well as in the technical and scientific knowledge commonly used by planners around the world, such as Microsoft Suite, mapping, urban design software (declared by a senior planner to be a much desired skill), landscape architecture, and data analysis. Particular training needs emerged as the VSO Volunteer developed ideas for responding to the urban problems. Be that as it may, only trainings within the skills set of the volunteer could be provided. Teaching the fundamentals of, for instance, urban design software was beyond her capacity, as urban design was not her disciplinary specialty. In lieu of urban design, she instead developed trainings within her

knowledge and skills set, for example, a formal community surveying workshop after learning that the public engagement tool applied by the social planners was limited to outreach, involving only public presentations about health concerns for residents within and areas surrounding Chipata District. The community surveying workshop demonstrated for the social planners how to collect data about the community and the various ways the data could be useful for understanding critical and pertinent issues affecting residents beyond health issues. As part of this training, the VSO volunteer wrote a brief spreadsheet manual for learning the Microsoft Excel compatible Open Office spreadsheet software, which explained how to calculate basic equations, to format cells for data entry and organization, and to create charts. The format of the training manual was designed to be self-paced, enabling local authority planners to undertake the training at their convenience.

In addition to the other trainings, when she learned that provincial and local authority planners were not aware of the proposed changes to the planning system, the VSO volunteer gave a presentation orienting the planners on the stipulations of the draft 2009 URP Bill. The briefing highlighted the proposed planning framework and regulations, including the suggested changes to the responsibilities of local and provincial authority planners and leaders.

Finally, in order to familiarize the local authority planners with the concepts comprising comprehensive planning, the VSO volunteer wrote the first draft of a training manual designed specifically for expanding the planning knowledge of professional planners.[25] The manual acclimated training participants to the history of planning concepts, the various dimensions and the dualism (development/impact) of planning, the types of planning (e.g. site planning, environmental planning, etc.) involved in planning comprehensively, and planning ethics. Because this training was designed to be interactive, it included many interactive exercises comprising

different planning scenarios. Due again to time constraints, owing to the short length of the volunteer's contract, this training was not commenced.

5.   Social Maladies: Representing Challenges to Implementation

A general assumption made when evaluating the capacities of personnel in any developing country is that deficiencies in human resource skills and knowledge would hinder the implementation of new standards and goals. Surely, deplorable urban conditions indicate low skills capacities of the planning staff. Contrary to the assumption, such was not necessarily the case in the planning division at the Chipata District local authority. A skills-capacities survey conducted on the planning staff in the early months of the town planning support program in 2011 revealed that, unlike the professional encumbrances introduced by deficiencies in qualifications perhaps demonstrated by other district councils, the planners employed at the Chipata District local authority had either earned a degree – at the minimum, a diploma - in urban planning or in a related discipline or completed in-service trainings in their respective specialization. The planning staff also possessed particular capacities that were either complementary or overlapping. Such cross-sections of capabilities are highly desirable in planning teams, as planners may either transition across tasks or, as is conventional, support the task of another planner. While there were indeed gaps in the planning knowledge and technical skills of the urban planning staff, each possessed the thinking capacity to learn and to engage in a variety of planning tasks. The educational levels signified the planning staff's preparedness to adequately carry out the tasks of the profession as well as their ability to learn and adopt new knowledge and skills. If willing, together, they could improve urban planning in the District.

The challenges of putting into practice the proposed goals of the draft 2009 URP Bill would be more a problem of the planning culture tolerated at the Chipata District local authority refuting the assumption underlying capacity-deficiencies. While there may be some disagreements over how to define culture, scholars have nevertheless identified a common thread among the different interpretations of culture: socially-constructed and conditioned shared beliefs and customs that shape and give meaning to social existence. Some of the ways in which shared beliefs and customs are revealed are in ritualistic behaviors that cement interpersonal relationships (Malinowski, 1944, pp. 37-39). and formalize institutions, often through unspoken or "soft"[26] consent, and in attitudes and assumptions that guide social interactions (Tharp, White Paper, no date given). In terms of urban/town planning, Khirfan et al. define planning culture as "the collective ethos of professional planners" (2013, p. 2, citing Sanyal, 2005, p. 3).

The planning culture of the Chipata District local authority was frequently manifested in the conduct and attitudes of the planning staff in relation to meeting their professional responsibilities and obligations. The attitudes that drove the way these responsibilities and obligations were carried out or met, some would say, are indicative of the ideology of the planning staff regarding how they value the standards of the profession and, by extension, how planning should be done. The planning culture in the department neither promoted integrated, visionary planning nor encouraged the applications of new teachings. Although the planners were encouraged, and appeared interested, to learn new skills, there were no incentives to apply them to daily planning practice. Planning research and collaborative-problem solving, as mechanisms for identifying innovative approaches or generating novel solutions to urban problems, are commonplace in daily planning practice. The planning staff showed little interest in either activity. Rather, the planning staff appeared content to accept the lethargy and stagnancy that defined the

planning culture. At the same time, the author is also cognizant of the hierarchy that governs the interpersonal, professional relations of Zambian society (denoted in Section 5.2, "Corruption," of this monograph), wherein planning actions are not undertaken without approval by a senior-level official. This hierarchy may influence such lethargic attitudes.

Urban planners are ideally concerned with deciphering the intricate relationships between local and regional spaces. This entails a skillful balancing of infrastructural development against impacts, grounded in a holistic, comprehensive framework informed through theoretical teachings. Thus, when urban planners are considering erecting a commercial center, they must think about all the potential impacts (e.g. spatial, environment, financial costs, sprawl, population, jobs, etc.) engendered from doing so. This comprehensive and dualistic thinking is central to urban planning in order to avoid the 'wicked problems' often associated with thinking in a single frame and have become theoretical and practical conventions in North American and European planning. Comparatively, such philosophical ideals have not been incorporated into the normative, professional practices of the planning staff at the Chipata District local authority, where the approaches to planning practice have remained narrow, fragmented, and reactionary rather than being holistic and integrative across institutions, across elements of space, and across time (past, present, and future). Instead, the urban planning principles adopted by the local authority planners deferred to land sales and physical development, culminating in design principles that commonly gave way to emphasizing construction parameters over the abstract considerations of vertical and horizontal spatial outcomes, in which physical design is harmonized with ecology and human activities. In summary, approaches to urban planning had become characterized by the reiterative cycle of parceling land plots for selling and developing in lieu of, for example, balancing the

dualisms of urban development and impacts to the environment and to sanitation and health, or synchronizing the needs of, say, the poor with economic development.

A final point to make about the planning culture in Chipata is that visionary planning, in which developments and anticipated impacts are central to the *future* configurations of the built environment, are subjugated to the widely accepted view of planning to meet present needs (an approach that this author labels "reactionary planning"). Every trained urban planner knows that without a future vision to guide physical and economic development along the trajectory of sustainability and inclusiveness, urban problems will continue to be addressed *only as they arise*. Furthermore, impacts must be discerned in terms of the "bigger picture," a view that allows planners to understand how localized planning fits into the broader, more futuristic purview of development. Fragmented and reactionary urban planning, both of which had become commonplace in the planning department, fail to illuminate how both physical and economic development affect quality of life. In contrast, comprehensive planning enables planners to coordinate the various elements (e.g. the environment, the economy, spatial impacts, etc.) that enhance the quality of lived spaces, as well as to envision how urban planning decisions will affect residents and their communities. Both facets of comprehensive planning are a stronger reflection of the reality of balancing the multiple dimensions of urban life that preoccupies the mind of the urban planner than is the myopic, fragmented approach.

In the presence of deeply rooted social maladies, the problems underlying the planning culture are upheld, if not reinforced - more so when tolerated by Zambian society. During her tenure at the Chipata District local authority, the VSO volunteer observed and noted discrimination, corruption, and negative attitudes towards planning engagements as social maladies that potentially encumber the implementation of the objectives of the draft 2009 URP

Bill. The presence of discrimination in a social setting implies there is a concentrated feeling of indifference towards improving the lives of marginalized groups, although meeting the needs of such groups is underscored as one of the important goals of the draft 2009 URP Bill. Corruption can derail pivotal projects earmarked for financing. Negative attitudes toward planning engagements can discourage proactive, ethical participation among planners. The following sections discuss how these social maladies are manifested in Zambia and makes inferences about how they undermine implementation of the goals of inclusive and integrated planning for sustainable economic development to which the draft 2009 URP Bill aspired.

5.1. Discrimination

Discrimination is the act of maltreating and/or denying access to benefits or resources on the basis of one's physical ability, one's class status, and/or racial, ethnic, sexual, religious, and gender identity. Discrimination has also occurred due to more subtle differences, such as one's accent. Driven by the notion that certain groups are inferior to the dominant group, discrimination in effect stratifies. Arthur and Plotnicov (1970) define stratification as the biological ascription "of a feature that is theoretically and methodologically inferior" (pp. 3-4) to a low social status and results in the dehumanization of members of a group perceived to be inferior, or subordinate, to the dominant group. Dehumanization is further reinforced by the *declared* inferiority of a phenotypic characteristic as superficial as skin color, ethnicity, gender, or disability (*ibid*.). Discrimination intrinsically draws on power inequalities, in which the perceived "inferior" demographic groups are degraded and marginalized from fairly and equally participating in and accessing resources, which would otherwise be open to them, that enhance one's life (Jung, 2015; Johnson, 2006). Those who discriminate do so because they (personally or institutionally) benefit

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from such a system. Culture is often used as a rationale for discriminating against another (e.g. "it's the cultural psychology"; "discriminating against that tribe has been in our culture for many years"; "it is our culture"),[27] though its true purpose when used in the aforementioned situations is that of an excuse, which merely blurs the distinction separating cultural from abusive behaviors.

In Zambia, discrimination is widespread and, some have opined, is socially accepted (Chilambwe, 2011; Longwe, 1985; Milino, 2004). History elucidates the several attempts made by the Zambian parliament to eradicate inequalities between tribal groups and negative perceptions about the other that drive disparate treatments. In its patriotic campaign slogan, "One Zambia, One Nation," the Kaunda Administration proselytized the idea of a unified nation with the aim of bringing together the more than 73 recognized tribes (Veit, 2012, p. 5) in Zambia under one common, national identity. In support of this national campaign, laws have been passed to protect the disabled (*Persons with Disabilities Act, 1996, 2012*)[28] and, more recently, women (*Gender Equity and Equality Act, 2015*) from discrimination on the labor market and in terms of attitudes towards these groups. Despite such efforts, these demographics continue to be marginalized. Few amenities exist on buildings to aid the mobility of individuals with disabilities and, despite efforts to reduce barriers separating access to benefits and rights between genders (presumably because of the incentives rendered by funds allocations from international non-governmental organization (INGOs) gender groups, including those attached to the United Nations), there has been little improvement. Women remain subordinate to men and continue to fall behind men with respect to access to many areas of life that could emancipate them, namely education, employment, income levels, and landownership rights.[29] Gender abuse is commonplace in households, and women remain under-represented in powerful, leadership positions in both public and private sectors.

In contrast to the efforts exerted in reducing stigmas against women and hostilities between tribal societies, the national government has not exerted the same vigor to reducing barriers between people of different sexual orientations, between rich and poor, or between Zambians and people of other nationalities. Tribal differences continue to separate Zambians from each other; homosexuality remains illegal in Zambia, though this law continues to be challenged by human rights advocates and others (Couvaras, unpublished dissertation, 2013; Fabeni, et al., 2007; Donnelly, 1999); the needs of the poor remain neglected despite espoused commitments to the opposite; and stereotypical perceptions about the Chinese over their treatment of Zambian workers are prevalent. Comments from Black Zambians have openly declared a dislike of the Chinese, who have been criticized for not employing Zambians in managerial positions. The Chinese have also been berated for paying Zambian mining workers, employed by Chinese-owned mining companies, less than the monthly minimum wage of ZMK 419,000.[30] On the other hand, contradictory reports inform that such Zambian workers are in fact paid higher than the national minimum wage, though it is in fact true that this wage floor set by the Zambian parliament is lower than that paid by other international mining firms (Human Rights Watch, 2011).[31] The highly publicized shooting and wounding of Zambian miners by Chinese supervisors merely reinforces negative perceptions, if not heightens adverse opinions, about the Chinese (Okeowo, New York Times, October 9, 2013).

Obviously, these sentiments were reactions to the injustices felt by black Zambians from Chinese employers. Such negative views, though, tend to incite anti-Chinese reactions. For example, anti-Chinese jokes were famously woven into the repertoire of Bob Nkosha, a nationally renowned comedian, who had casually inserted the comment, "*me, I don't like the Chinese,*"

during one of his performances. This comment reinforced to a wide audience the bias against the

Chinese in Zambia.

Anecdotes from Zambians similarly illuminate their views about the Chinese:

Zambians don't like the Chinese because they don't hire
Zambians as managers (VSO Program Officer, 20 February, 2011).[32]

I think it's true; ask Zambians, and they will say that they
don't like the Chinese (Chipata Motel Guest, personal conversation, April 2011).

Other Asians, namely the Gujarati-speaking Indians, although having been a part of

Zambian society since the colonial period, have not been fully integrated into Zambian society.

The Indian, even those born in Zambia, remains segregated as the "Other" population in the eyes

of the mainstream Black Zambians. This "Other-ness" is palpable in the way mainstream

Zambians refer to the South Asian population, referring to them still as "Indian," while Black

Zambians are generally referred to as "Zambian." The designation of "Other" to the Indian

population also subjects them to criticisms about low wages, even though the reality might be

inconsistent with the perception. One clerk at SPAR supermarket presumed that Zambians working

for Indians receive a monthly wage lower than the national minimum wage, but verification of this

assumption against the statement of a Zambian clerk employed by an Indian merchant revealed

that his pay is more than ZMK 200,000 *above* the minimum wage. Evidently, while unification

and integration of races and cultures might have been the norm during the Kaunda administration,

in recent years Zambia has regressed towards nativism (Chileshi, featured speaker, In-country

training induction workshop, February 23, 2011).

Discriminatory perceptions and feelings signify that the goal of making urban planning

more inclusive, as recommended in the draft 2009 URP Bill, might not be taken seriously by

authority figures who make planning decisions and may result in hindering the integration of marginalized demographics into urban planning outcomes.

5.2. Corruption

Transparency International (TI), an international non-governmental organization (NGO) that monitors government misconduct, defines corruption as the misappropriation and/or misuse of public funds for personal gain or gratification (Moyo, 2009; Mukanga, Zambian Economist, 2011). Corruption in Zambia is institutionalized and widespread because it is tolerated by and usually exercised in the upper echelons of government by powerful people who are simultaneously responsible for curbing it (Djokotoe and Chama, 2007). The pervasiveness of corruption is helped in part by inadequate record-keeping and negligent, if not absent, oversight of illegal expenditures (*ibid.*, p. 23),[33] making misappropriations difficult to track in entirety, and in part by loopholes created to rationalize the thefts that characterize corruption. Misrepresentation of the government's true position on corruption can also perpetuate the practice, as vocal critics of it are pacified into believing that corruption is being eradicated. The manipulation of perception was exemplified by former President, Frederick Chiluba (1991-2002), who was discovered to have embezzled US $80 million after Zambia had received US $1.5 billion in direct aid from the World Bank (Moyo, p. 53).[34]

In a different review of government expenditures from 1984 to 2004, it was discovered that public money in the amount of ZMK 887,252 million have gone missing. Allegedly, the Ministry of Finance was responsible for much of the theft (Djokotoe and Chama, 2007, p. 50). Aid money intended for financing social welfare programs have also been stolen. An example of this was when a former Health Permanent Secretary stole money intended for medical treatments for

citizens with HIV/AIDS. He had "allegedly misappropriated ZMK 3 billion worth of public money meant for immune boosters for people living with HIV" (*ibid.*, p. xii).

The pervasiveness of corruption in national government offices implies the widespread acceptance of it in government, in turn indicating that corruption is deeply embedded in the social psychology of Zambian society. The following quote from a 2002 National Integrity System (NIS) study is representative of the acculturation of corruption in the governance of Zambia:

> *The economic and political liberalization process following the 1991 transition also introduced a "new culture" in Zambia that encouraged political leaders to accumulate private wealth irrespective of the method employed . . . the NIS report concludes that the majority of cases of grand/political corruption are from the Chiluba Period (1991-2001).*[35]

Urban planning offices are certainly not immune from the impacts of corruption; the corrupt ideologies upheld in Zambian society frequently filter down to and often are emulated in the conduct of local authorities. In the Chipata District local authority, there are hints of corruption and, like discrimination, tends to emerge discreetly through a variety of transactions. Transparency is selectively enacted and, consequently, the practice of exercising transparency is not uniformly applied across all government transactions. In the land surveyor's office, citizens would come to raise concerns about illegal transactions regarding the sale of land plots and the non-issuance of receipts upon payments of land application fees. Land sales are supposed to be recorded in the ledger, but payments can be easily hidden. If the intention is to steal money from a citizen, payments not accompanied by a receipt would not be documented. In the absence of legitimate evidence of payments, there is no proof that the applicant has accordingly paid the required fees. Without the receipt, citizens cannot make a legal claim against the Chipata District local authority.

The lack of transparency has also led to unethical and careless applications of planning procedures that are most evident in the sale of land. Land cannot be developed without it first being

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parceled out, its availability made public, and the application for land parcels approved by the Ministry of Land (Sichone, 2011). In the case of lands held under owners, land sales must be legitimized through deed transfers. Instead, "land grabbing" has occurred, whereby some local and provincial authority figures made claims to lands in unplanned settlements (including Magazine Compound) and illegally sold them to households without registering either the land purchase or ownership to the local authority in Chipata District (Lungu, e-mail feedback, August 6, 2016). Because the correct procedures for purchasing land are not explained to the public, residents unknowingly and unwittingly gave their consent and played a complicit role in illegal development.

Corruption is further hinted at the Chipata District local authority when allowances in outrageous amounts are given to high-level officials without questioning the validity, or verifying the legitimacy, of such financial requests against policy regulations. For a business trip to Cameroon in West Africa with 2 high-level colleagues, one local authority official,[36] who headed the District Council had allegedly requested ZMK 41 million (equivalent to about €3,036,673.26 based on the exchange rate from April 6, 2019) from the Director of Finance who had, again allegedly, complied without resistance. The transmittal of such a large sum of money was surprising in the light of the fact that low-level, local authority workers were periodically not paid wages on time. Although these local authority workers unkindly gossiped about the issuance of a large amount, no one dared confront the official and his companions about it. When one of the persons on the trip was asked why the official was simply handed the money, she answered "that is the system" (Human resource worker, Chipata Municipal Council, personal conversation, December 12, 2011).[37]

Corruption is systematically tolerated because people in power make allowances for it. Those employed under these authorities accept it because of the nature of the social hierarchy. Powerful authorities are rarely challenged or contradicted. Like the *sempai* (senior) - *kohai* (junior) relationship in Japan, the "*sempai*" in Zambia can issue orders; junior workers are expected to merely comply. Low-level workers may be caught in the crossfire, as in the time when a worker in the land deeds office of the Chipata District local authority was embroiled in a disciplinary hearing and put on probation for being part of an illegal land sale before being transferred to a different administrative position. Whether or not a third party was involved in navigating the illegal land sale was unclear. (Third party navigations are the invisible hand indicative of the true beneficiary of transactions).

Corruption has also materialized at the Chipata District local authority in the form of bribes. Mukanga describes bribery, exemplified by offers of money or by the social custom of quid-pro-quo, as the grease that facilitates illegal transactions (Mukanga, 2011). In simpler terms, money or favors are used to inspire one to approve or to undertake the transaction. Worst-case scenarios of bribery might involve bumping a land applicant from the top of the list in lieu of another with social or political connections or manipulating data on land ownership plots so that the person doing the bribing gets the choicer land, and then eliminating any physical evidence of the exchange by destroying records. Random discussions with Chipata residents have disclosed the frequency at which bribes are given in order to accomplish anything at the local authority. One resident claimed that "you have to pay [someone] to get something done."[38] Mukanga concurs with this observation, giving the opinion that the "*Sangwapo*" culture had become rooted in Zambian society, especially in the last twenty years under the MMD (Movement for Multi-Party Democracy) ever since Zambia shifted to market liberalization (*ibid*., p. 1).

These reports demonstrate that monies allocated for improvements to urban conditions, in a corruption-rich environment,[39] are misappropriated to personal expenses, and can delay the completion or initiation of earmarked projects. No one feels the impact of corruption more than the citizens, especially the blue-collar workers occupying less powerful positions along the social ladder. The poor are especially vulnerable because they are relatively marginalized from the political process and, as so, lack the political and financial leverage to influence urban planning outcomes. The impacts are most obvious in unfinished urban projects intended to benefit poor communities and to remedy inadequate or incomplete urban, public services direly needed by poor households. Not unlike the legal and medical professions, urban planners are required to fulfill a commitment to professional ethics and integrity, more so after the passage of the Urban and Regional Planners Act in 2011, a law establishing urban planning as a profession and the standards by which the professional conduct of urban planners are to be governed.[40] Without such professional standards, urban planning professionals can be unwittingly pulled into the undertow of corruption afflicting Zambian society to the detriment of ethical urban planning. In the absence of accountability, urban planning professionals have little choice but to uphold the status quo.

5.3. General Attitudes toward Planning Practice: Affecting Work Standards

Theorists who have studied and written extensively about the psychology of attitude define it as a positive or negative judgment about something that influences behavior (Maio and Haddock, 2010; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). This relationship between attitude and behavior can be classified under 2 categories. One is the unconditioned stimulus (UCS), in which an external stimulus elicits a biological, behavioral reaction not based on prior learning, such as a child who salivates or

creates suckling noises when given a baby's bottle, or the shocked response induced by a firecracker.

The other category is the conditioned stimulus (CS), in which behavior is influenced through consistent learning or conditioning. Consistency, defined as the reiteration of a taught value or belief, is instrumental to "training" an individual to react to a given stimulus (Fishbein and Ajzen, p. 12). The line distinguishing CS from UCS reactions becomes fuzzy when the reaction has become so embedded in the individual's belief or value system that it is "normal," i.e. no longer questioned as problematic. In this situation, the CS reaction is said to have become UCS, otherwise understood as a conditioning of a higher order or, as characterized by those in the social sciences, become "institutionalized" as socio-cultural norm (*ibid*, see especially pp. 21-26).

Work attitude is an example of a CS response that, arguably, becomes UCS. One's approach to the job reflects work attitude, which correspondingly influences the standards by which one handles the tasks and responsibilities associated with that job. Work attitude often reflects one's values. Hence, managing work flow, responding to public needs, observing and adhering to policy might all be evidence of how one values the roles and responsibilities of the profession. Taking pride in one's work is an example of a personal value, which in turn influences work attitude as well as the way one views his/her responsibility to the public. When negative attitudes towards work responsibilities become the norm, mediocrity becomes internalized and automated, and reflections about the appropriateness or rightness of one's professional conduct are no longer entertained.

In the planning department at the Chipata District local authority, the attitude towards planning responsibilities and the integrity of the profession conforms to the theory describing conditioned responses. Observations of recurring behaviors displayed by planning personnel

during the VSO volunteer's tenure indicated ineffective work attitude. An example of such is disorganization and disorderliness, especially with respect to documents considered to be vital to efficient and effective planning. Because no formal filing system was maintained, maps and other renderings were haphazardly thrown into the drawers of map filing cabinets, making orientation and efficient and timely retrieval difficult. As such, if block or site renderings were needed for verification, retrieving them might take hours. Land deed documents sometimes could not be accounted for in a timely manner or, at times, not at all because they were either not in the proper place in the filing cabinet or were all together lost. Of course, when renderings are missing, the planning staff cannot rely on these resources to aid with future planning goals.

Through other observed behaviors, it had become increasingly evident that the physical planning division did not have a well-coordinated system of managing appointments with land surveyors, making the coordination of land surveyors' schedules with land applicants' appointments difficult. Although the Chipata District local authority employed a general office manager, she simply directed visitors to the land survey office instead of taking appointments. As a result, meetings between planner and land applicant at times did not take place, resulting in frequent delays in the completion of land survey tasks. For land applicants traveling long distances to Chipata District from the outer districts, scheduling conflicts resulted in additional costs that some land applicants might not have the financial luxury of paying.

A conditioned response to such work conditions would be to allow for the disorganization and disorderliness to continue rather than improving management despite the cognizance that such manifestations lead to inefficiencies and inaccuracies in work performance. This was often the case at the Chipata District local authority. The planning staff displayed little motivation to developing a filing system for the maps. They appeared to have even less desire to develop an

efficient procedure for assisting residents with urban planning concerns. Residents seeking planning services at the Chipata District local authority have complained about unreturned calls regarding their request for plotting of a personal land lot after purchasing it, resulting in construction delays for the land applicant. Residents were also mindful of not receiving instructions on the required, essential steps before building on personal land plots, preventing them from advancing forward with the building project.

A negative attitude (e.g. lacking the desire) towards learning new knowledge and skills is another example of a conditioned stimulus. In order to stay on top of the profession, the planner must be aware of new planning knowledge as they are made available through written case studies and through the experiences of other planners. The critical application of problem identification to urban conditions also generates novel, sometimes innovative, ideas. Engaging in research elicits planning insights; pilot studies enable planners to test the viability of proposed solutions. Subjecting urban problems to rigorous research, firstly, and, secondly, to planning scenarios that lead to pilot studies is a professional methodological standard widely accepted in more affluent countries. Such techniques have not yet been adopted in Zambia. At the Chipata District local authority, the planning staff does not engage in research to support decision-making, a deficiency in the planning culture that the draft 2009 URP Bill proposed to change. Although the Bill now exposits the practicality and efficacy of urban research and pilot studies as a means of resolving urban problems, in Zambia, they have not been a convention in the professional practice. This absence fostered stagnancy in the knowledge milieu of the planning staff. Consequently, they did not possess a wide theoretical and conceptual framework from which to draw, cognitive skills that would normally aid in identifying new opportunities for bringing about effective and successful planning outcomes. For instance, the Chipata District planning staff have pointed out that

unplanned settlements and urban waste are significant obstacles to developing aesthetically and sustainably in Chipata District, but they were not aware of strategies that might best resolve these problems or even know how to begin addressing them.

Another planning convention is problem-solving through brainstorming, often in collaboration with, different stakeholders. Brainstorming catalyzes ideas and appropriate principles derived from planning models adopted elsewhere. New ideas tend to produce alternative, perhaps more elevated, approaches to resolving atavistic urban problems. However, such planning routines were not evident in the work habits of the planning staff at the Chipata District local authority.

6. Opportunities for Postcolonial Planning Approaches

Section 1.1 puts forth the conceptual limitations and limited scope of the planning analysis of this monograph. Such limitations are introduced by the critics of knowledge transfer from western contexts who, in theoretical and case study papers, have raised concerns about the assumptions underlying approaches to addressing development, including urban/town planning, problems in developing country contexts. The presence of deeply entrenched social maladies, which make the planned improvements to the planning system in Zambia appear unattainable, heavily looms over a long-standing discussion that has seemed to lose traction. However, the insights of Bengoa and Kaufmann (2013), Olaoluwa Dada (2016), and Khirfan et al. (2013), representing postcolonial frameworks within which development planning approaches are positioned, illuminate an otherwise dim tunnel that sheds some light on opportunities for cooperation between outside and local planning actors. Such cooperation could serve as a catalyst for rethinking planning principles in light of the social maladies.

A definition of the postcolonial perspective must first be explained in order to appreciate the opportunities the above-cited authors present to international development planning knowledge. Postcolonial theory is a body of scholarly writings, which expose the impacts of western knowledge on developing countries. In his journal article, "The Origins and Ends of Postcolonial Studies," Shankar (1999) neatly summarizes the origins of postcolonial theory. He traces our contemporary understandings about the effects of western knowledge (e.g. on global perceptions about non-western regions) to the critical reflections of Edward Said, whose pivotal book on postcolonial theory, *Orientalism* (1979), first drew the relationship between western knowledge and colonial histories. Said's reflections on the ways in which western knowledge shaped global and local perceptions about Asia opened a new arena of theoretical and literary enquiry. The theoretical foundation laid down by Said provoked deeper critical reflections about power inequalities between western powers and colonized nations (Gayatri C. Spivak), exposing the subjugation of colonized nations *in relation to* the economic, political, and military influences that western nations wielded over developing countries, and further stoked fecund interrogations of orientalism in other regions, such as Africa (Homi K. Bhaba). The seeds of postcolonial concepts are discernible in later post-development explorations (Arturo Escobar), ideas which inform that western perceptions of developing countries, as much as developing country self-perceptions, are shaped by the inculcations of western teachings.

The influences of postcolonial theory resonate throughout the critical writings of Bengoa and Kaufmann (2013), Olaoluwa Dada (2016), and Khirfan et al. (2013), and establish the basis for identifying new, plausible methods of interaction between western and local actors. In their criticisms of the interaction of western knowledge with non-western contexts, the authors illuminate 2 salient flaws with knowledge transfer in their respective study: (1) acultural or,

sardonically, anti-cultural applications of western knowledge; and (2) the hegemonic power of western knowledge. In the manifestation of knowledge transfer to non-western contexts, these flaws are often intertwined, a correlation highlighted in the authors' analyses.

The first flaw – acultural applications - is best appreciated by understanding the significance of knowledge transfer and its definition. Borrowing from the thoughts of Davenport and Prusak (1998), Bengoa and Kaufmann explain that knowledge transfer is a 'fluid mix of framed experiences, expert insight, and intuition that provides an environment and framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information" (p. 12). They go on to say that in order for new, outside knowledge to be effectively adopted by the receiving actors and adapted to the socio-cultural context, it has to be "institutionalized (sic) within the organization's fabric" (*ibid.*) Here, Bengoa and Kaufmann argue here that knowledge transfer is subjected, too, to the culture of institutions. The fundamental argument is that acquired knowledge has to make sense to local actors and find reason and purpose in the minds of the recipients. In the face of transfer between different cultural backgrounds, as it is usually the case when transcending geographical boundaries, the adoption and management of knowledge becomes increasingly complex and would involve deep cultural awareness.

In parallel, Khirfan et al. note that knowledge transfer is a social process. It involves the careful search for contextual compatibility and cultural reflexivity, allowing for the transfer of hard policies and technical knowledge (p. 13), the exchange of ideas, and the creation of opportunities for adaptability and adoptability. The point at which outside perspectives and knowledge are adjusted to the socio-cultural context "depends on the interactions of . . . the senders and receivers who facilitate the processes of knowledge transfer and acquisition" (*ibid.*, p. 2). Defining what precisely the roles of local actors are within this milieu of knowledge transfer is significant to

supporting adaptation and ensuring socio-cultural appropriateness. Ordinarily, in the knowledge transfer process, local perspectives and knowledge are marginalized or, at worst, displaced from the conversations regarding adaptation and socio-cultural applicability, giving western knowledge monopoly over the techniques and knowledge in non-western contexts (*ibid.*). This marginal role of local knowledge in defining and determining pathways into culturally appropriate, let us say, planning outcomes characterizes the second flaw – the power disparity – in the knowledge transfer process.

Although Olaoluwa Dada's analysis does not focus on knowledge transfer, much of his complaints about the role of western knowledge echo the criticisms of Khirfan et al. and Bengoa and Kaufmann. Put in the context of third world development, Olaoluwa Dada's analysis articulates the socio-cultural nature of the development process, complicated by power disparities in knowledge statuses. Strategies at improving infrastructural and other life conditions are generally relinquished to western principles of development and overall efforts have been dominated by prescriptive strategies better suited to the context of higher-income countries. Tradition, couched in local, what Olaoluwa Dada calls "indigenous knowledge" (p. 77), gets lost within the hegemony of western narratives, muting rather than giving voice to local actors and experts. Postcolonial scholars have widely acknowledged that the nexus between power and western knowledge stems from the colonial systems that underpin development, a history that needs to be countered by centrally positioning local narratives amidst the knowledge transfer processes involving development principles, if not be endowed with the power of (re)framing and (re)writing development (*ibid.*, p. 76). Khirfan et al. concur with Olaoluwa Dada's observation and make the point that "In . . . non-western contexts, western experts who are highly esteemed in their field are accorded greater authority" (Khirfan et al., p. 3). This is not to say, however, that

local knowledge should be accepted without question, but rather that local traditions and systems need to be given legitimacy and included in the discussions regarding development strategies (Olaoluwa Dada, p. 88; Khirfan et al., p. 2).

In summary, the 3 authors posit that notions about "best practices" principles are strongly influenced by the west. Alternatively, the authors suggest employing some methods when undertaking knowledge transfer that create platforms from which local socio-cultural, environmental, and economic systems are included to the extent that cultural appropriateness, compatibility, and adaptability are fostered. The methods may be encapsulated as collaboration and building cross-cultural capabilities of local and non-western actors. Neither is mutually exclusive, as they overlap in many respects; both address much of the cultural blindness and ineptitude of western actors, and the power disparity issues found in the knowledge transfer process.

True collaboration, which brings forth opportunities for reciprocal and cooperative learning, may address language gaps in both speech and gestures that contribute to western cultural blindness and ineptitude. Collaboration may also promote grounded applications of knowledge as opposed to abstractions. The latter (abstractions) is often fostered by communication unmindful of local contexts, leaving much room for misinterpretation, and leads to knowledge disassociation from the cultural particularities that makes adaptability that much more challenging. Collaboration may bridge and, fortuitously, close any gaps in cultural knowledge and in cross-cultural communications (Bengoa and Kaufmann, pp. 16-20).

Collaboration may also mediate the power differentials between local and western actors. Under a collaborative work environment, the expertise of both is legitimized and the urban planning experiences of places – that is, the planning knowledge phenomenology – is "challenged

by presumed (sic) notions of contextual compatibility," thus making way "for non-prescriptive ways for the development of context-specific knowledge that forms the universal concepts of the local ones" (Khirfan et al., p. 6). Such collaborative principles may be employed in any non-western context. Such positive and proactive engagement of knowledge transfer was exemplified in the case study of mutual learning among Canadian and Jordanian experts in the planning of Amman (*ibid*., pp. 5-7).

Like many other professional disciplines, and as was so aptly exemplified by Khirfan et al. in their case study of knowledge transfer in a planning situation, knowledge is a pillar for planning practitioners and researchers: researchers utilize knowledge to analyze complex patterns; practitioners draw on knowledge to decipher and to break ground on pathways out of urban and regional problems. As knowledge transcends geographical boundaries, seeking out new adaptations and partnerships, knowledge mutates and evolves, and is refined to render new insights that compel new ideas and understandings in lieu of old ones. Knowledge is thus central to shaping planning activities and outcomes. The perspectives rendered by these 3 authors are particularly insightful for dissecting the difficulties encountered in knowledge transfer and enlightening all actors on the ways in which interactions between etic and emic knowledge could "form and forge (sic) new knowledge" (Khirfan et al., p. 7). Their analysis points out that the knowledge synthesis that inevitably germinates from the direct involvement of local actors integrates, not imposes, western knowledge into the socio-cultural traditions and lived spaces of local, non-western communities (*ibid*., p. 2), fostering mutual understandings of local cultures and traditions in ways that inform appropriateness and adaptability.

7. Conclusion

Chipata District's urban problems can clearly be traced to the deficiencies in the planning system in Zambia. The inadequacies of short-range, exclusive, and unsustainable planning strategies were best evinced in the former town and country planning guide notes for guiding local authorities and the Ministry of Planning on town planning approaches that served only to exacerbate the problems of the planning system around the country. Along with the need to strengthen the urban planning capacities of professional planners in Zambia, these deficiencies rendered the motivation behind the introduction of the town planning support programs at select local, ministerial, and provincial authorities in Zambia, under the partnership agreement between the VSO Federation and the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. However, in spite of the changes proposed in the draft 2009 URP Bill to make the planning system more integrative, comprehensive, inclusive, and accountable, any progress towards the aspirations laid out in the draft 2009 Bill remain encumbered by the following social maladies: (1) acts of corruption; (2) discriminatory viewpoints that relegate vulnerable demographic groups to the margins of society, threatening to foster continued marginalization of such persons from the planning process and from consideration in project plans; and (3) the general reluctance to improve urban planning procedures and methods by lethargic, if not ambivalent, attitudes towards enhanced learning, better management and organization of the planning office and its materials, and increased collaboration. These encumbrances threaten to both stymie and undermine the anticipated planning system improvements. The poverty prevalent throughout Chipata District and Zambia simply imposes another barrier to overcoming the challenges posed by the social maladies.

The social maladies permeate throughout and have become so deeply rooted in Zambian society that questions regarding the future of the planning system remain raised. On many

occasions, these social maladies have played on the other to further entrench such practices in interpersonal relations, adding complexity to planning practice. The encumbrances posed by the social maladies are especially acute when put in the context of the widespread and profound poverty afflicting local residents and the national economy. The influence of poverty on the emergence and perpetuation of these social maladies should not be minimized, as the consequence of stalled and incomplete projects are real. Whether or not the proposed changes to the planning system in the draft 2009 URP Bill will overcome the challenges presented by the social maladies to implementing the proposed improvements remains to be seen.

Since February 11, 2012, the date on which the VSO volunteer departed from her post in Chipata District, some important developments with respect to the planning system in Zambia had occurred. Before the VSO-Zambia town planning support partnership officially ended in 2016, additional districts were opened up for participation, during which time 14 additional town planning volunteers were placed to ministerial, provincial, and local authorities throughout Zambia, and one at UNZA (Cockhead, e-mail communication, November 18, 2016). The draft 2009 URP Bill had been enacted into law (URP Act No. 3, 2015) with much of the proposed changes to improving the planning system for Zambia intact, albeit included more encompassing accountability measures in the form of penalties for violations of planning regulations and retained the hierarchy of planning decision-making, the bulk of which resting on the Ministry of Planning.[41] In 2013, as part of the effort to improve the planning system in Zambia, a Master of Science in Spatial Planning was added to the degree programs offered at the University of Zambia (UNZA) after much discussion. This graduate program is intended to "revitalize planning education" (Cockhead and Hemalatha, 2014, p. 11) through more rigorous theoretical and practical training

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to local citizens, and homes in on the practical skills and ethics of the profession that will improve the ethos as well as theoretical and skills capacities of graduating planners.

It would be worth it to remark that no amount of ethical training would likely reduce the periodic outbreaks of social maladies without the professional planners, the planning leadership, and planning officials undergoing a personal transformation, in which the implications of the social maladies to the improvement of quality of life in Zambia are reflected upon. Only in so doing would local and provincial local authorities, and the Ministries responsible for implementing the planning framework and standards, achieve the milestones initially proposed in the 2009 draft URP Bill. Exactly how to go about doing this, or even how to embark on this journey of personal transformation on the part of parliamentary and other leaders, who have a stake in seeing the planning system improve in Zambia, presents another challenge for both urban planning scholars and practitioners.

It must be also said that outside experts would be advised to subject their respective knowledge to a postcolonial framing, thus allowing for negotiations with local knowledge, traditions, and cultures to transpire, and potentially result in the production of novel, hybrid knowledge. Rather than feeling weighed down by what appears to be an intractable effort, this juncture should alternatively be regarded as a fertile opportunity to explore the intersections within postcolonial narratives, cultural rationalism, planning methodology, urban governance, and professional ethics in relation to improving planning systems in resource-deficient (defined in a number of ways) developing countries. What is discovered from such an exploration, if at all attempted, would shed light on new pathways that may well lead to vast improvements in the planning system of Chipata District and of Zambia, resulting in planning outcomes perhaps not yet imagined. Equally, and more pertinent to the issue of social maladies presented in this analysis,

such intersectional explorations would frame corruption, discrimination, and work ethics within the socio-cultural fabric of Zambia as a vehicle for discovering culturally appropriate incentives that may reduce the tendencies towards regressive behaviors, which perpetuate corruption and discrimination and reinforce negative work attitudes, among the professional staff involved in urban/town planning.

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ENDNOTES

[1] According to a senior-level VSO volunteer, the firm ended up writing only 2 – for Lusaka and Kafue – but this individual's assertion could not be confirmed and, furthermore, contradicted the statements made by the Zambian urban planning consultant, Simeo Siame (Cockhead, e-mail communication, April 15, 2016).

[2] The School of the Built Environment began in 1981 as the School of Environmental Studies at the University of Zambia in the Zambia Institute of Technology. In 1989, when the Zambia Institute of Technology merged with the Copperbelt University, the School of the Built Environment began offering degree courses in various majors related to the built environment, including urban and regional planning, in addition to the traditional diploma courses (Copperbelt University website, "Built Environment: History of the School").

[3] The basis for the draft 2009 URP Bill was the outcome of extensive discussions, which commenced in the Department of Physical Planning and Housing at the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) in 2001. In 2006, the involved parties released an official document that laid out the need for a new planning system. It obtained the support of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and led to the commissioning of Hifab International AB, a Stockholm-based company, to provide the technical writing and graphics assistance for Zambian and international technical advisors (F. Muwowo, e-mail communication, March 10, 2016).

[4] The Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) is an international federation of country member organizations, located in countries in North America and Europe, which partner with governments and non-profit organizations to share knowledge and foster capacity-building in developing countries.

[5] As of 2016, of the government aid agencies, only GTZ continues to be actively providing urban planning support to Zambia, albeit only in the training of local planners in ESRI ArcGIS (Cockhead, Peter, "VSO Support to Town Planning in Zambia: A Review and Evaluation," unpublished document, March 1, 2016).

[6] In his feedback, Senior VSO Volunteer, Peter Cockhead, admits that the decision to allow the host local authority determine the role of the volunteer "was perhaps a weakness of the (VSO town planning support) program," as the role of the volunteer turned out to be a means of "gap-filling" the planning skills shortages of planning departments at the councils rather than fulfilling the original aims of building urban planning capacity and supporting the decentralization operations of the local authority (P. Cockhead, e-mail feedback, April 15, 2016).

[7] The authors' discussion does not target knowledge transfer to developing countries, alone, but applies this understanding to countries of Oceania.

[8] Other planners had shared with the Chipata District VSO volunteer their experiences, either in conversation or in writing. She learned that the planning issues she was confronting at the Chipata District local authority were similar to those of the other volunteers in their placements.

[9] The book, *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working* (St. Martin's Griffin, 2006), written by a former World Bank official from Canada, was especially insightful for its first-person account of the ways in which corruption

is skillfully woven into development aid funding. Though at times humorous, the irony of the double-edged sword of development aid does not allow one to forget the seriousness of corruption's effect on the poorest people of Africa.

[10] Rather, the laws guiding transportation planning were laid out in a separate legislation, the National Land Transport Transition Act (2000), and not incorporated into the Town and Country Planning Act (1962).

[11] The draft 2009 URP Bill merely states that once the Bill became law, it recommended "providing (sic) for cooperation with traditional authorities" (Guide to the Draft Urban and Regional Planning Bill, June 2009, p. 6).

[12] For examples of how urban planners are using green spaces to encourage physical activity, see the Center for Disease Control "Healthy Communities Initiative" website <www.cdc.gov/healthyplaces/> and the Ontario Professional Planners Institute "Planning by Design: A Healthy Communities Handbook (2009).

[13] Lungu contests that only a small part of the Compound (near Kalongwezi) was formally planned, and that the surrounding villages were informally annexed into the Compound over time, expanding its boundaries, as Chipata District grew in area size. She also highlights the land grabbing that occurred in the Compound in the 1980s and 1990s as the result of the liberal allocations of land plots by prominent officials for either themselves or close associates (Lungu, e-mail feedback comments, August 6, 2015).

[14] The RDC is controversial because no one seems to know what its legal status is. Requests for information from planning staff and the former Director of Planning about whether the RDC has the authority to develop on lands that have not been approved by the Ministry of Lands have either been deflected or responded to with the response, "I don't know."

[15] Lack of funds was a common response given by leaders of the Chipata District local authority to explain the reasons for not following through on promises made regarding constructions, urban services, etc.

[16] Squatter residents also actively participate in Ward Development Committees (WDC), albeit which are not backed by legislation that would give legal legitimacy to the committees. Therefore, WDCs have no political teeth (Chipata District Director of Planning, personal communication, November 17, 2011). However, as an organized entity made up of voters, they can influence their elected councilors to get what they need for the wards.

[17] Regulations for constructing pit latrines and water wells are enforced by the Public Health Act of 1930 (Cap 295), which legislates distances in meters between pit latrines and water bodies, the locations of pit latrines construction in relation to elevation, and piping, in order to protect residents from health epidemics. The preferred models for retrieving potable water are water kiosks or piped water reticulation systems (Ministry of Health Personnel, personal communication, April 2011). The government prohibits private individuals from constructing their own pit latrines and water wells because they might not know the legal regulations; doing so without the oversight of knowledgeable government workers could result in sanitation problems.

[18] At the completion of the VSO Volunteer's year-long contract, the data collection of geo-coordinates had not been completed. The intention was to collect the coordinate points of houses, as well, but this aspect of the mapping project had barely begun.

[19] The Waste-to-Energy facility reduces all municipal solid waste into an energy form. Waste experts find it to be more sustainable than incinerators and landfills, but it also costs more, a fact that poses a financing obstacle for the Chipata District local authority.

[20] The study by the consulting firm, R.W. Beck, highlights the annual payroll, employment opportunities, and revenues generated by recycling industries in the United States (see "U.S. Recycling Information Study: Final Report," prepared for the National Recycling Coalition, July 2011).

[21] The draft CDIDP, "Chipata District Integrated Development Plan," was finished by December 31, 2011 and had become open for informal discussions and amendments on January 6, 2012.

[22] The obstacle to policy implementation, arising from slow or non-existent communications between government agencies, makes policy decisions formulated in Lusaka appear intangible to district councils. With a comprehensive internet system in place, communication of policy initiatives was to be expedited.

[23] Lungu pointed to rumors that this neighborhood was limited to Indians only, and that Black Zambians were informally prevented from purchasing houses there. However, this comment could not be verified against the supportive or opposing perspectives of government officials (Lungu, e-mail feedback comments, August 6, 2015).

[24] The records of the progress of the upgrading of roads were listed in a progress report prepared for the Chipata District local authority. The report revealed the contractors responsible for upgrading and the roads slated for improvement (see Director of Engineering Report in Cited References).

[25] This training manual, "Comprehensive Planning Training Manual," was written as a draft with the expectation that it would be enhanced as a publishable training manual applicable to any developing country.

[26] By "soft," the author means consent is given, albeit with the stipulation that other factors later brought to the foreground would require a re-thinking of the decision.   73

[27] These comments were anecdotes casually offered as reasons, learned from Ngoni guests and others of different ethnic groups accommodating at the Chipata Motel at different times during 2011 and 2012.

[28] In the effort to implement the equal access provision of The Persons with Disabilities Act (1996, 2012), the draft 2009 URP Bill included "special needs groups" as one of the target populations in its series of planning principles (*ibid.*, p. 5).

[29] There are matrilineal societies in Zambia, such as the Cewa, that preside over customary lands. In these matrilineal societies, land is inherited through the female line and in some matrilineal kingdoms, women control the land. Customary lands are generally not owned, but rather held in the custody and care of individuals. Customary lands tend to fall under the tribal chiefs (Veit, 2012).

[30] The minimum wage in Zambia differs across categories of workers. In 2012, the government passed a law that raised the minimum wage for all worker categories (Lusaka Times, "Government announces revised minimum wage," July 11, 2012. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from https://www.lusakatimes.com/2012/07/11/government-announces-revised-minimum-wage/.

[31] This report revealed other forms of abuse, such as working overtime without adequate pay, lack of enforcement of good health and safety standards, and weak civil rights policies adopted by Chinese mining companies. Human Rights Watch, "Zambia: Workers Detail Abuse in Chinese-Owned Mines," November 3, 2011. Retrieved August 7, 2015, from https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/11/03/zambia-workers-detail-abuse-chinese-owned-mines.

[32] This comment was announced during a field trip through Lusaka at the beginning of the In-Country Induction Training held from 19th February to 25th February, 2011 for in-coming VSO volunteers in Lusaka. The comment was in relation to an explanation regarding the number of foreign investors in Lusaka.

[33] Djokotoe and Chama (2007) cite a 2004 report produced by the Global Fund for Aids, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (GFATM) that exposed the failure of the Ministry of Health to follow standard procedures by informing how money is spent and used.

[34] Moyo's research found strong correlations between foreign aid and corruption in Zambia.

[35] When former President of Zambia, Michael Sata, was elected in 2011, there was growing evidence of stronger monitoring, but only time will tell. Former Zambian president Levy Mwanawasa also voiced intolerance against corruption, albeit was later discovered to have succumbed to it (Djokotoe and Chama 2007, p. x).

[36] This official was known to have built a retail establishment in the Chipata town center. The Chipata District local authority staff questioned where he got the money to pay for construction.

[37] This revelation was in connection to the controversy about monies being made available to the Council leaders for a business trip when local authority staff had not been paid.

[38] Random conversations with Little Bombay neighborhood residents in December 2011.

[39] In terms of corruption, Transparency International gave Zambia a score of 38 out of 100 in 2015 on its Global Perceptions Index (GPI) and is globally ranked in the bottom third (33rd percentile) of countries controlling corruption. The GPI ranks countries on the degree of perceived corruption of countries around the globe. In comparison, the UK scored 81 out of 100, and is ranked in the 90th percentile (upper 10th) for controlling corruption. The United States scored 76 out of 100 and is ranked in the 86th percentile (upper 25th) for corruption control. The governments of both the UK and the US actively enforce their anti-corruption laws; they are classified as High- Income Countries.

[40] The Zambia Institute of Planners, the professional body of planners, grew out of this legislation, of which Mr. Francis Muwowo was named President at ratification (P. Cockhead, e-mail feedback, April 15, 2016.

[41] Not all recommendations were accepted into the 2015 URP Act, namely the decentralization of planning by reducing the powers of the Minister of Planning to monitoring and guidance, as proposed in the draft 2009 URP Bill. Alternatively, the 2015 URP Act retained the approval and implementation powers prescribed in the 1962 T&C Planning Act (see URP Act 2015, Part II "Planning Management and Administration," Section 6(2), 7(b)). The 2015 URP Act also included stronger language regarding accountability in violations of planning regulations and standards with respect to public participation, transparency, and development of lands. The role that traditional Kingdoms play under this adopted 2015 URP Act, and how traditional lands are integrated into land management and use is, like the draft 2009 URP Bill and the 1962 T&C Planning Act, are neither explicitly stated nor acknowledged, although it does contain a legal provision for coordination and cooperation of land management between Chiefs and local authorities (see Section 25 in this Act). Rather when customary land is mentioned in the adopted 2015 URP Act, it is appropriated to regulating protocols of planning agreements and improvement areas instead of establishing the role and value of customary lands as one of the principles and standards in the planning framework (see URP Act 2015, p. 33 for clarification). Finally, improvement areas are explicitly incorporated into the adopted 2015 URP Act (see pp. 55-57).