TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS: TRENDS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES USED IN STREET VENDING IN MASVINGO, ZIMBABWE

WITS
UNIVERSITY

MASTERS IN URBAN STUDIES IN THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

Luckymore Matenga (1519175)

A research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning in the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Masters in Urban Studies (MUS)

Declaration

I declare that this research is my original work and not duplicated from anyone. It has been submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the fulfillment of the Master's Degree in Urban Studies.

……..

Signature

Luckymore Matenga

Signed at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on ……2018

Abstract

The deepening economic crisis, coupled with increasing rates of poverty and unemployment, has led to the proliferation of street vending in Zimbabwe. Moreover, the dilemma of inconsistency in socio-economic policy has thrown the generality of the working class into vicious cycles of deprivation thereby compounding growth of informality. Clash of interests between the central and local government on the regulation of the informal sector has compounded the plight of street vendors; especially as the formulation of favourable policies remains an unaccomplished. Qualitative methodology was employed where a mini focus group discussion, observation method; key informants and unstructured interviews were used to solicit data while participants were purposively selected. This study unearths the survival strategies used by street vendors to sustain their livelihoods in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. The research was carried out in the City of Masvingo located in the Southern region of Zimbabwe. The research proposes an in-depth understanding of street vendors' perception on policies used to govern them and the challenges they face. It establishes that street vending has played an important role in employing many urbanites in Zimbabwe against the backdrop of massive crackdowns by city officials. It argues that the failure of the government to integrate street vending into the mainstream economy impinges on proper urban planning and the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Dedication

The strength to successful stories and to maneuver lies in the hands on the Lord. Amen! Further dedication goes to my mother Winnie Ndongeni who brought me to the earth to make such wonders. Not forgetting my daughter Tanaka Matenga whom I wish to follow this academic path.

Acknowledgments

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Aly Karam whose in-depth assistance, encouragement, support, and supervision was exceptionally cooperative.

Furthermore, the role played by Wits-TUB programme in funding the study was immense.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Professor Marie Huchzermeyer, Professor Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane, Professor Claire Benit-Gbaffou, Dr. Brian Boshoff, Ms. Taki Sithagu and Mr. Savemore Marapira whose contributions to this study are greatly appreciated. Your contribution, patience, teaching and inspiration tutoring was immense, and I desire to continue working with you academically.

I also wish to thank my Sister Eneress Matenga and my Aunty Emilia Matenga for gargantuan encouragement and support during the academic year, your assistance was immense and remain colossal. God bless you for the effort made.

Not forgetting field participants who provided information and/or data. Your contribution made the research successful hence appreciated.

Contents

CHAPTER ONE: SURVIVAL STRATEGIES FOR STREET VENDORS

1.1. Introduction

The deepening economic conundrum, coupled with increasing rates of poverty and unemployment, has exacerbated the uptake of street vending in Africa as a survival option (Marapira, 2013). Moreover, the dilemma of inconsistency in socio-economic policies, specifically on labour relations in which many employees in the private sector were wantonly dismissed from work on three months' notice in 2015 and indigenization whose 51:49% share ownership requirement between government and foreign companies is scaring investors, threw the generality of the working class into vicious cycles of deprivation thereby compounding the existence of street vending in Zimbabwe. Of note is the fact that, the rapid increase of street vending in Zimbabwe has also instigated radical response by municipalities in a bid to repress street vendors to keep the city clean. Given this background this, the research seeks to unearth the survival strategies used by street vendors to sustain their livelihoods in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. The research also examines mechanisms used by City councils in governing street vending and perceptions of street vendors on policies governing them in Zimbabwe, around the challenges encountered and the ways used to respond to them. The research uses the City of Masvingo which is in the Southern region of Zimbabwe as a Case Study.

1.2. Problem statement and Rational of the study

The informal sector is growing in Zimbabwe owing to deepening economic crisis catapulted by massive deindustrialization and untold job losses (Marapira, 2013). The economic meltdown has thrown citizens into cycles of outright poverty and socio-economic deterioration prompting scores of urbanites to turn to street vending as a coping strategy (Marapira, 2013; Njaya, 2014 and Rogerson, 2016). Climate variability has also brewed centrifugal tendencies in rural areas as urban space perceivably became lucrative for better livelihood options. The resultant urban population growth coupled with limited job opportunities creates fertile grounds for street vending (Marapira,

2013). Notwithstanding the fact that street vending is the livelihood option for most urban households; the municipalities treat street vending as a pathology with the latter falling victims to massive crackdowns by the former. The modernist urban planning tradition which views informality as a sign of underdevelopment and as a root cause of urban pollution informs the policy options of municipalities negating the livelihoods perspective which considers informality as a source of livelihood sustenance (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). The latter informs the policy options of the central government through the Ministry of

Small-to-Medium Enterprises and Corporative Development (MSMEs) which encourages street vending (Marapira, 2013).

The government through the Ministry of Small-to-Medium Enterprises and Co-operative Development for political reasons allows street vending in a bid to promote indigenisation which is defined by Matunhu (2012) as the practice of transferring privately owned economic entities or means of production into public ownership or the formerly marginalised groups in society and self- employment citing that chasing away vendors from the streets without engaging them for a permanent solution does not yield positive results, as they would flock back because vending has become part and parcel of their livelihoods (Tamukamoyo, 2009 and News Day, 28 February: 2017). Government policy is riddled with inconsistencies owing to the notable discord in government concerning the governance of street vending. Every government policy pertaining to the governance of street vending is characterized by dialectical connotations where there is a clash of interests between the local government and the central government. This is reflected in the implementation of 'Operation Murambatsvina' of 2005 where municipalities were opposed to the central government's tone on eviction of vendors from the streets prompting the latter to use Zimbabwe Republic Police to achieve the intended objective. In the same vein, the central government is in stark contrast to the recent evictions of vendors by municipalities with the former calling on the latter to create more vending sites before chasing vendors from the streets. The clash of interests between the central and the local government is militating against the formulation of favourable policies pertaining to informal dealers in general and street vendors.

While acknowledging the existence of voluminous literature on the subject matter of informal trade, the research contends that there is a paucity of research on the subject matter after the Zimbabwean Labour Act amendment of 2015 which sought to put to halt the wanton dismissal of

employees on three months' notice, a practice which was promoted by the judgement of a case between Zuva Petroleum and its former workers and led to the dismissal of countless employees. Such dismissal had a ripple effect on the growth of street vending and hence the period in question warrants academic research to consider the trends of street vending. The introduction of bond notes in 2016 following serious cash crisis also compounded the challenges faced by vendors and therefore calls for academic scrutiny of the subject matter of street vending. In the same vein, the introduction of a cashless economy following the shortage of cash also brought novel challenges for street vendors. Thus, this research seeks to cover the alluded knowledge gaps in the academic literature by shedding light on the trends of street vending on the backdrop of the aforementioned factors. Using the case of Masvingo City, the research explores survival strategies used in street vending in a bid to comprehend challenges faced by street vendors in their activities, ways used to overcome the challenges and the mechanisms used to govern street vending. This research is essential in informing political policy regarding governance of street vending in the town of Masvingo because it highlights the political discord in government which is militating against integration of street vending in the mainstream economy.

1.3. Research Questions

The research targeted street vendors who operate in streets, pavements, and open spaces of Masvingo Urban to gather information about their operations. The research sought to answer the following broad question;

- What are the coping strategies used to overcome the challenges that affect street vending operations?

To sufficiently answer the main question, the research also sought to answer the following specific and sub-questions;

- What are the challenges encountered by street vendors?
- How does the municipality intervene in everyday activities of street vending?
- To what extent does the intervention of the City council address street vendor's needs?

To have a comprehensive understanding of what is happening in street vending, more questions were formulated from the above main and sub-questions in the form of interviews and a Mini Focus Group Discussion questions. For instance, considering that municipalities provide designated areas to accommodate vendors, the research sought to establish why vendors prefer operating in non-designated places. The research further considers how and who represents street vendors and what street vendors expect to be addressed by the municipality.

1.4. Objectives of the study:

The specific objectives of the research are to examine the challenges encountered in street vending and the coping strategies used to surmount these challenges in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. Additionally, the research analyses mechanisms used in governing street vending by the city officials. This followed the realisation that an in-depth inquiry into the subject matter of street vending needs to explore the life worlds of street vendors themselves on pertinent issues affecting them which include challenges they face in sustaining their livelihoods using the livelihood option. It also stemmed from the fact that, following escalating poverty and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, street vending has become the most attractive sector for the economic sustainability of the poor. Many urbanites are left with no option following economic hardships and escalating unemployment rate in Zimbabwe hence adopting street vending as a livelihood strategy. The rapid increase of street vending in Zimbabwe has also instigated radical response by municipalities in a bid to repress to keep the city clean. However, the trajectory of street vending remained on the surge prompting the need to reveal the trends of the livelihood strategy.

Examining coping strategies to the challenges faced is essential in unearthing the ability of street vending to withstand shocks, and subsequently, assess the effectiveness of street vending in sustaining urbanites' livelihoods. Overall, it is worth to understand how municipalities govern street vending to reveal gaps in urban policy.

1.5. Literature review

This section highlights the structure of the literature review chapter. The chapter will discuss the literature review and present arguments from different scholars about origins, forms, concepts, and

meanings of street vending, while evaluating its sustainability and how street vending is governed elsewhere in the globe to shed light on the subject matter.

1.6. Research methodology

The study of the survival strategies used in street vending is qualitative in nature, therefore; qualitative research will be employed to have in-depth understanding of how street vendors survive. Qualitative methodology aids at generating words than numbers for analysis and evaluation of the challenges faced by street vendors. Instruments like unstructured interviews, mini focus group discussion, key informants and observation method will be used to solicit data. Respondents will be purposively selected.

1.7. Limitations

Considering the fact that the research is politically sensitive regarding the political environment of Zimbabwe and the relationship between the municipality and street vendors following decades of the carrying out of 'Operation Murambatsvina' in various forms including the recent evictions of vendors from the streets, some street vendors might fear to provide information on issues affecting them in street vending. This poses difficult situations for the research which is, however, crucial both academically and politically.

1.8. Outline of the report

Chapter two discusses the literature review and arguments from different scholars about origins, forms, concepts and meanings of street vending, while evaluating its sustainability and how street vending is governed elsewhere in the globe to shed light on the subject matter.

Chapter three discusses the context of street vending in Zimbabwe and Masvingo in particular. By-laws and regulations used to govern street vending in Masvingo are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter four will discuss and justify the methodology and instruments used, study population, sample size, sampling procedure, ethics and study limitations.

Chapter five comprises the presentation and the discussion of data gathered in the research. A thematic approach is used to present and discuss data under three broad themes, that is, challenges associated by street vendors in Masvingo, Zimbabwe; coping strategies employed by vendors to overcome challenges they face in street vending and measures employed by Municipality of Masvingo to govern street vending. Related literature offers analytical insights to the discussion of findings.

Chapter six concludes the research. The chapter also highlights the recommendations for urban policy implementation.

CHAPTER 2: AN OUTLINE OF STREET VENDING, SUSTAINABILITY AND GOVERNANCE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is a review of the literature discussing street vending. It seeks to unveil the views of other writers concerning street vending, causes, challenges, regulation and pervasiveness. It helps to find out ways of relating the research to similar researches that have been done by others elsewhere. It also seeks to introduce other significant research personalities who researched similar issues. It is also in the interest of the research to agree, criticize and also present new trends and emerging issues in street vending.

2.2. History and Origins of Street Vending

Street vending existed since the ancient epochs (NASVI, 2017). FLIP (2015) notes that street vending was quite popular back in the 79A.D in the ancient city of Pompeii in Italy. Furthermore, FLIP (2015) opines that mobile vending took prominence in the 1850s where people could purchase food on buses and trains. It is illustrated that the wide spread of street vending stretched until 1936 when Oscar Mayer began to use a Weiner mobile in America peddling his meats (ibid.). The rapid increase of street vending became prominent from 1930s until it spread to Cities of the Global South (FLIP, 2015). According to NASVI (2017) street vendors started with travelling merchants who sold their wares door to door that in the ancient epoch.

Possibly ancient and medieval evolutions were tolerant to these nomadic vendors and that is why they flourished (NASVI, 2017). FLIP (2015) notes that in New Amsterdam now New York City, regulations of street vending took place back in 1691. At the same time, the urban middle class started to complain about the blocking of pavements and creating congestion in Cities hence creating enemity between street vendors and city officials (NASVI, 2017). Skinner (2008) notes that African Cities are characterised by a vibrant array of traders selling a variety of products ranging from fruit and vegetables to clothes, traditional medicine, and furniture. In Zimbabwe, street vending became prominent in the 1990s after the implementation of economic policies that affected the lives of many urbanites, specifically Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

(ESAP) (Njaya 2014 and Rogerson, 2016). The general increase of street vending came as a result of the combined pressure of urban growth and increasing unemployment (Morange, 2015). This concurs with Lindell (2008: 1879) who argues that many urbanites do not have access to employment hence they create their own informal income activities and "established the necessary services and infrastructure, often through collective efforts." "This has resulted in an extensive informalisation of Cities, where many existing laws, policies and urban plans do not materialise" (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002 in Lindell, 2008: 1879-1880). Thus, it is deducible from this brief account that street vending is not a recent phenomenon, but a practice which almost coincided with the dawn of history.

2.3. Terminology and definitions of street vending

The research uses the term street vending since it is the most used language of informal traders in Zimbabwe. According to Graaff and Ha (2015: 2);

> "the practice of street vending goes by many different local names... depending on the respective region, Anglophone countries use terms like street peddlers, street hawkers, informal traders, or street vendors, whereas Latin American countries deploy notions like 'Ambulantes' and 'Comerciantes.'"

Informal traders are commonly labeled 'vendors' by the municipality and residents in Masvingo. According to Graaff and Ha (2015), street vending is the most used term in the academic context. Therefore, the research uses the term street vending which is synonymous with informal street trading, street hawking, and street peddling. In the context of Masvingo City Council Vendors By-laws of 2015, street vendors are 'unlicensed' or illegal vendors who trade without valid council vending licenses. Street vending is defined as an act of selling products at either public spheres or restricted areas, characterized by mobility and selling goods on pavements, open spaces or at robots and street corners where many customers are either located or frequent (Bhowmik 2005; Mramba, 2005; Msoka, 2010; Graaff and Ha, 2015). Additionally, informality and street vending, in particular is usually considered as forbidden by law, illegal, 'not taxed,' and 'not registered' (Durand- Lesserve, 2003 in Huchzermeyer, 2011:70 and Njaya, 2014:265). Street vending is in

most cases misconstrued as urban informality which refers to illegal and illicit activities (Huchzermeyer, 2011).

Scholars like Spalter-Roth (1988); Austin (1994); Stroux (2006); Swanson (2007); Munoz (2008); Estrada (2013) in Graaff and Ha (2015: 5) portray street vending as a precarious activity practiced by the marginalised and disadvantaged groups. However, Graaff and Ha (2015: 3) note that street vending is a type of informal labour which "can be best described as an informalised practice" which avoids the laws and state interference. Street vending is comprehensive for both traders and service providers, stationary as well as mobile vendors, and incorporates all other local/region specific terms used to describe them, such as hawker and sidewalk traders (Bhowmik 2010 in Graaff and Ha, 2015). In the research, street vending refers to the selling of wares at either public space or areas restricted by the city council.

2.4. Specificities and characteristics of street vending

Street vending encompasses activities which include selling vegetables, tomatoes, ornaments, "bicycle repair, cell phone unlocking and installation of internet and what's App on cell phones and mending" among a host others (Njaya, 2014:73). These activities are practiced in the streets and pavements and are all forms of street vending (ibid.). Bhowmik (2005) and Graaff and Ha (2015) argue that street vending is mobile in the sense that vendors are not permanently settled and they change their places from time to time. Street vendors trade at any free public and restricted places (Njaya, 2014). Street vending has mostly been adopted by unemployed people who have climbed onto the bandwagon of this unregistered phenomenon, with some vendors operating right on the doorstep of legitimate shops. Roy (2005) argues that informal trading connects different economies. Grant (2015) illustrates that most urbanites in developing countries are informally employed hence they do their businesses without banking their money in the banks.

In addition, street vending has been for a long time characterised by self-employment, workers without formal wage and those who do not affiliate to labour organizations (Cardoso, 2016). This concurs with Graaff and Ha (2015:3) who notes that "street vending is a type of an in- formalised labour." However, of late, there is the emergence of organizations that represent street vendors though their effectiveness in advocating for the cause of vendors is yet to be assessed with the

relationship between vendors and municipal authorities still characterized by violent repression (Cardoso, 2016). On one hand, street vending is a survival strategy that sustains the livelihoods of the poor people in Cities of the Global South (Chen and Skinner, 2014). On the other hand, street vending is labeled as an activity practiced by the southern African urban poor and a sign of poverty engaged simply to obtain something for survival (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Kamete and Lindell (2010: 893) argue that informal actors attack "urban space and fundamentally re- map the city." Cardoso (2016) adds that rapid encroachment of street vending jeopardizes formal shops. Contrastingly, there is growing consensus among academics, policymakers, politicians and other stakeholders that street vending complements the formal sector to achieve socio-economic growth in Cities of the South (Njaya, 2014). Therefore, the following section will review the sustainability of street vending, addressing the importance of street vending in economic sustainability.

2.2. Street Vending and Livelihood sustainability

This section interrogates the role of street vending in sustaining the livelihoods of many urbanites. Notwithstanding that the section acknowledges the negative impacts of street vending, emphasis shall be placed on the pros of street vending regarding economic sustainability. Chambers (1992) argues that sustainability is measured when a livelihood strategy can withstand stresses and shocks that affect those who utilise that livelihood strategy as a source of living. Street vending is credited with creating jobs and generating income for many households in Africa, where the levels of unemployment have reached alarming proportions (Ruzek, 2015). Marapira (2013) opines that legalisation and proper management of street vending can have a trickledown effect on the mainstream economy. This is enough testimony to the potential of the sector as far as livelihood sustenance is concerned.

Additionally, Benit-Gbaffou (2015) argues that street vending is a poverty alleviation strategy to many urban households. Therefore, employing repressive approaches militates against the role played by street vending in sustaining the livelihoods of the poor, and also constrains development in the formal economy (Graaff and Ha, 2015). It is further argued by Portes (1994) in Graaff and Ha, (2015:4) that informal economic activities like street vending are more attractive in situations where formal employment is increasingly constrained which is characteristic of modern economies. Hart (2010) in Huchzermeyer (2011) also reiterates that street vending is a poverty

eradication strategy in Cities where formal employment has been disrupted. In concurrence, Njaya (2014) argues that street vending is the most employing sector in Zimbabwe and Africa at large hence it must be credited with improving the livelihoods and standards of living of many urbanites. Street vending provides "an honourable and respectable means of livelihoods" (Njaya, 2014:98). Neuwirth (2011) in Ruzek (2015) argues that more than a billion people are employed in street vending across the globe. Street vending is playing a crucial role in sustaining the livelihoods of African urbanites and generating income particularly in Zimbabwe (Marapira, 2013).

Moreover, the informal sector can help add the needed shift in economic models, removing the focus of livelihoods sustainability from formal employment and promoting dual economic systems in which the formal and the informal co-exist, at the same time allowing a dynamic link and step toward a sustainable future (Ruzek, 2015:24). Street vending is regarded a "stepping stone to formal economy" (Ruzek, 2015: 25). This concurs with Neuwirth (2011) who opines that informality is considered a practice which is rousing towards formality and it is predicted to increase the global labour force by 2020.

Having presented these scholarly arguments, it is instrumental to note that street vending plays a crucial role in sustaining the livelihoods of many urbanites. It is a source of livelihood; it generates income for the poor, creates employment for many urbanites and acts as a "stepping stone to the formal economy" as argued by Ruzek (2015:25). Therefore, the following section discusses how street vending is regulated and governed in Cities of the South.

2.3. Governance and Regulation of Street Vending

Basing on experiences from the North, modernist planning theories conceptualize urban informality as an inheritance of the past, a sign of backwardness or underdevelopment, expected to disappear with modernization (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This concurs with the dualistic approach theory which argues that informality is a transitory sector which would disappear with development (Kumari, 2016). The modernist ideology and theory have been inherited by Cities of the global South in the management and control of Cities of the global South and the ideology does not consider the role of street vending in sustaining the livelihoods of the urban poor (Hart, 1973; Njaya, 2014 and Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). Njaya (2014) argues that street vending is targeted

with evictions and harassments due to congestion and environmental problems it poses in Cities and this has unfortunately resulted in the harassment of vendors by the city officials. Reviewing and interrogating the 'Operation Clean Sweep' which took place in South Africa in October 2013, Benit-Gbaffou (2014:3) argues that street vendors are "treated as human waste." Thus, street vendors operate in a very hostile environment since urban policies generally do not recognise them (Kumari, 2016).

In South Africa, a modernist urban planning vision of creating clean Cities took place through the 'Operation Clean Sweep' of 2013 which demolished 7000 informal trading operations in Johannesburg (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). In Ghana, radical evictions of street vending have been experienced where municipality used cameras to trace vendors who operated in illegal sites (Steel, Ujoranyi and Owusu, 2014). In Zambia and Namibia, the same was evidenced in the 1980s (Skinner, 2008). Additionally, Anti-Street Vendors' laws and policies have been noticed in Zimbabwe, specifically "Operation Murambatsvina" (which means getting rid of the filth) of 2005 which targeted street vendors and those who lived in informal settlements (Rogerson, 2016:13). In Lesotho, street vendors were evicted in 1988 following the arrival of prominent figures like Pope John Paul II (Setsabi, 2006 in Skinner, 2008). In Nairobi, Kenya, the occupation of public space by street vendors remained a challenge hence the municipality continued to enforce relocations and evictions (Morange, 2015). In 2007, street vendors were displaced to a designated area called the 'Muthurwa market', located on the outskirts of the city center (Ibid. 2).

Sporadic evictions of street vendors have been noticed in Mozambique where regulation associated with continuous harassment of street vendors took prominence (Skinner, 2008). In Tanzania, the government forcibly removed street vendors operating in Dar-es-Salaam to rural areas in the 1970's (Nnkya, 2006). However, the Tanzanian government issued licenses to street vendors in the 1990's and allowed vendors to operate in the Central Business District and this was achieved through the Sustainable Dar-es-Salaam Project (SDP) introduced by the government to protect vendors (Ibid.). These examples show the authenticity of arguments raised by Potts (2007); Skinner (2008); Rogerson (2016) and Benit-Gbaffou, (2017) that show the extension of the modernist urban planning to the post-modernist era.

Modernist planning approaches do not sufficiently consider the challenges posed by mass poverty, chronic unemployment and large inequalities that mark the contemporary world and Cities of the

South in particular (Benjamin, 2004 and Kamete, 2013). Vending operations are brutally controlled in the Central District Business Centres of urban areas in Africa (Benit- Gbaffou, 2014). Restrictions have come into being due to several reasons (Ibid.). Huchzermeyer (2011) illustrates that informal traders in general and street vendors, in particular do not pay tax and avoid registration of their activities. On one hand, some vendors do not want to obtain vending licenses to operate at designated places because of lack of desirability to pay council levies and on the other, street vendors may be willing to operate on designated places, but municipalities fail to provide adequate facilities (Ibid.). Street vendors would like to get licenses and designated areas, but in areas that are conducive for trading hence they flock back to undesignated sites if there are no facilities like clean water and toilets in designated sites (Njaya, 2014). This has become the major reason why street vending has become a threat to city officials who expect to generate revenue from vending licenses. Street vendors continue to hide from municipal police, triggering confrontational approaches by the latter purporting to be implementing municipal by-laws (Ibid.).

In addition, Rogerson (2016: 235) also laments that "it is maintained that the local urban state in Africa usually serves the interests of the elites and middle classes protecting the interests of capital particularly during periods of 'normalcy' when the state is not under pressure." Street vending is condemned for causing disorder, dirt, congestion and health problems in the public realm of the city hence becoming a threat and the most targeted sector in the local government (Njaya, 2014). This explains why city authorities focus on what Benit-Gbaffou (2015: 11) named the "'don'ts', not on the 'do's'" meaning to say that city by-law prohibit street vending in the inner city, but not making meaningful efforts to legalize vending which offers livelihood options for many households in urban areas. Furthermore, the registered organisations (formal economy) have become the most enemies of street vending owing to fear of losing customers since street vendors sell the same goods sold by the formal economy at a cheaper price or even half of the price sold by formal organisations (Njaya, 2014).

It is essential to acknowledge that governing street vending is vital in bringing order in Cities of the South, but it has to take into consideration prevailing economic conditions and the livelihood options available to the poor (Marapira, 2013). Street vending has become one of the major challenges facing urban policymakers across Sub-Saharan Africa on whether to formalize it or to continue repressing it (Marapira, 2013 and Rogerson, 2016). The dualistic frame of informality,

one of crisis and the other of "heroism," (Roy, 2005:2) breeds different ways of governing street vending. This fluid "nature of urban informality gives rise to varied approaches of governance and urban planning to address informality" and the bureaucracy oscillates between offering partnership to the informality and hounding them off the streets (Hart, 2010).

2.4. Clash within the state in how to approach street vending

For the African setting, urban informality is a failure of the modern state's particular approach to urban planning and governance adopted during colonialism. The concern for public authorities in governing street vending is traceable prior to the post-colonial era because its invasion of public place is argued to be frustrating the formal planning of a contemporary vision (Pezzano, 2016). However, it has been noted that the modern state will never succeed in controlling urban informality (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Also, this can be as a result of the role played by street vending among the poor, the realm of politics of informality and policies of marginality (Pezzano, 2016). Aboul (2005) in Huchzermeyer (2011: 71) indicates that informality is 'an old age issue' which is difficult to manage and control.

Due to the sporadic unemployment rate and economic hardships, the poor adopted street vending which is referred to a pre-colonial form of order and given it a function in the contemporary African cities (Rogerson, 2016). The impulse over the 20th century has been to reject and bulldoze street vending (Ibid.). Repression or regularization of street vending has become the major concern in Cities of the global South and this has marked the relationship between street vendors and the local authorities (Potts, 2008). It has come to the realm that informal dealers are on the receiving end when it comes to urban space allocations. Designated areas are mostly located on the outskirts of urban centers and this has been used by many politicians at the national level to penetrate and mobilize to win the support of street vendors arguing against the local authorities. Different actors with confronting views are found influential in the governance of street vending.

According to Lindell (2010) in Pezzano (2016:499), informal trading is

> "A complex political field with many collective players who may articulate different visions, rationales, and interests. The way these different collective actors relate to each other is an important dimension of this politics, they may ally, compete or work against

> each other. These highly diverse actors may relate to relevant centers of power in very different ways. These centers include urban authorities and central state institutions, but also 'sovereignties' and loci of power located beyond the administrative reach or the territorial confines of the state. The analysis of contemporary politics of informality thus ... takes account of ... the various actors and governing powers that they may engage with any of the various scales of social struggles in which informal actors may participate."

In Cities of the global South, the state sets policies and uses the terms 'formal' to benefit the 'urban-based elite' by "excluding the majority and creating the marginalisation and criminalisation of informal actors" (Jenkins, 2004 in Pezzano, 2016:499). Pezzano (2016:499) further argues that the power exercised by the state is exercised in the "hybrid and interrelated Foucauldian dimensions of 'domination' and 'resistance' so that the state is entangled in governing society." According to Lindell (2008), various modes of the power of different actors can be exerted and contested in the governance of street vending at different scales. Pezzano (2016) opined that governance of informal trading is a multiple dimension layer with the state as the main center of power.

The local government particularly play a vital role in the governance of informal activities through the implementation of laws and policies that govern informal activities. The rampant increase of street vending caused rapid response from city officials through the implementation of policies and regulations that support and/or repress street vending, what King (1996) in Huchzermeyer (2011: 73) dubbed the "draconian practices such as raids, evictions, and restrictions." City authorities remove informal actors and street vendors in particular from urban centers and locate them in outskirts of towns to keep the city clean (Huchzmeyer, 2011). Hence street vending is associated with tensions between the officials and street vending activities since vendors will be fighting for operating in the Central Business District (Abdoul, 2005). The relationship between the state and street vendors must include historical perspectives since it cannot be universalised (Pezzano, 2016).

It is further argued that the historical perspective can shape the relationship between the state and the informal dealers that is the state can create alliances with street vendors and/or with organisations that representatives them and can evict them from urban centres (Ibid.). Informal alliances have been noticed in Zimbabwe were national politicians informally encourage street

vending as a source of employment and a livelihood strategy. (See figure 2.6). Constant friction between the local authorities and the national politicians in governing street vending materialise in Cities of the global South following the failure of central governments to create employment (Marapira, 2013).

2.5. Challenges of governing street vending

Although the allocation of designated areas located on the outskirts of the Central Business District Zone is a discriminatory practice of regulating street vending, it serves the interest of those who are formalized because there is no competition and customers rarely go to the outskirts of the urban centers (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This actually affects the growth of the informal economy hence resulting in absolute poverty (Gukurume, 2013). Bromley (2000) in Rogerson (2016) argues that, it is easier to remove street vendors from streets to designated areas but it is more difficult to move their customers to those designated areas. Thus it remains that if customers fail to follow in designated areas, street vendors then decide to remain in the street and/or in prohibited areas since it is where they can find customers and boost their profits (ibid.). Governance of street vending becomes difficult because of different perceptions between street vendors and city officials (Mitullah, 2013 and Rogerson, 2016). Purcell (2002) argues that everyone should have the right to the City regardless of poverty, race and ethnicity, but City authorities foster repressive measures to street vending hence manipulating vendor's rights. In concurrence, Benit-Gbaffou (2014:3) argues that, city authorities should employ "legal ways" in the management of street vending since restrictive measures are not sustainable and lead to "unmanageable streets..., breed violence and corruption between city officials and street vendors" (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015:10).

However, cities like Durban, South Africa incorporated street vending as an economic development initiative that improves the lives of the poor hence "having the best environment for street vendor operations" (Mitullah, 2003:10). However, the local government regularizes street vending even though street vendors are still chased away from streets (ibid.). In Nairobi, Kenya, designated areas have been set in the 1990's for vendors close to the city as a way of empowering grassroots economic activities (Mitullah, 2003 in Marapira, 2013). Contrastingly, Zimbabwe has employed policies and By-laws which operate at the local level but these laws still repress street vending operations. The government managed to develop designated areas though vendors avoid

the sites complaining that monthly fees for vending and hawkers licenses are exorbitant (Njaya, 2014).

2.6. Governance of street vending in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean government embarked on a far-reaching campaign "Operation Murambatsvina" (Operation Restore Order or Drive out rubbish) in May 2005 (Potts, 2006; Marapira, 2013 and Rogerson, 2016) which eradicated informal settlements and informal jobs. However, the campaign did not target street vendors as such but demolished infrastructure of most citizens involved in street vending operations. Potts (2006) notes that 'Operation Murambatsvina' was a national government campaign which was embarked on to enforce Cities' by-laws and stop all forms of urban informality. Operation Murambatsvina affected thousands of urban poor people (Ibid.). Despite the unpopularity of the operation and its condemnation by the international community, the national government did not make efforts to re-engage street vendors with a view to establish a common ground for working together for the sanity of Cities (Musoni, 2010). Rogerson (2016) argues that Operation Murambatsvina was a radical reaction employed by Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) as the ruling party for losing votes and control to Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in the urban areas in 2005. Thus, street vending, which is currently the major employing sector in Zimbabwe, is not attended to owing to its association with politics. It is argued that thousands of people lost their livelihoods which were linked to informal trading (Ibid.).

However, at both local and national scale, opposition political parties and civil society took the operation as an avenue to attack the government as they came to the mercy of vendors (Potts, 2006). According to Tibaijuka (2006), an estimation of 2.4 million people was affected during the campaign, this is why Potts (2006:275) labeling Operation Murambatsvina "a Tsunami of the urban poor." Operation Murambatsvina mostly impacted Harare as the capital City of Zimbabwe but however, it set precedence for the local authorities of other Cities to evict all informal activities in urban centers. The local authorities adopted it and evicted all informal activities including street vendors. The move was to force all unemployed people to relocate in rural areas (Potts, 2006). The campaign affected the livelihood of the urban poor since most of them lost their income following the evictions of informal food vendors and the distraction of informal markets (ibid.).

Most interestingly, on one hand, national politicians from the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front have observed that they have to regain the urban majority hence they started supporting street vending in a bid to buy votes and empower the locals through Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Social Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) (The Masvingo Mirror, 22 December 2014). On the other hand, the local government represses and controls street vending activities in urban areas (Njaya, 2014 and Rogerson, 2016) (See figure 2.6.2). The solution to street vending does not rest solely in the hands of the City authorities and street vendor's representatives. There is need to include the central government whose political leaders have difficult choices to make to achieve poverty reduction and economic sustainability (Mramba, 2015).

The modernist urban planning tradition informs the policy options of municipalities negating the livelihoods perspective which considers street vending as a source of livelihood sustenance (Marapira, 2013). The latter informs the policy options of the central government through the Ministry of Small-to-Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and Cooperative development which criticises evictions without proper solutions on accommodating street vending (News Day 28 February 2017). The central government promotes Small-to-Medium Enterprises which includes street vending in a bid to promote indigenisation and self-employment (ibid.) (see figure 2.6.1.) showing the MSMEs Sithembiso Nyoni addressing street vending against the move exercised by the city authorities to chase and repress vendors without proper solutions that benefit vendors.

Minister of Small to Medium Enterprises Cde Sithembiso Nyoni told News Day on the 28 February 2017 that;

> "Chasing away vendors from the streets without engaging them for a permanent solution would not work, as they would stream back because vending has become part and parcel of their livelihoods. This move of just chasing vendors away from the streets without dialoguing is wrong. We need to dialogue with the Small-Medium Enterprises and also to involve the ministry of Small-Medium Enterprises. The way it is being done is just giving our people a hard time. We need to talk to them and plan with them. A lot of these local authorities do not realise that these vendors are part of the Small-Medium Enterprises being coordinated by my ministry. Chasing the vendors away from the streets on its own is not the right way. It has never worked and it will not work because people will

come back again. Those Small-Medium Enterprises operating in the streets would really be glad to be formalised, to be given a workspace and to diversify, I would like to see a well-planned Small-Medium Enterprises park, where the local authority says we have developed that area there with all infrastructures like the toilets and running water and then we can see if people will refuse."

Source: News Day (28 February 2017)

Figure 2.6.1. Showing the Minister Sithembiso Nyoni addressing vendors in Harare, Zimbabwe

The minister concluded by saying that,

"Let us not forget that those vendors out there are as human as you are. Chasing the out without any visible place planned for them is inhuman. They are about 2, 9 million Zimbabweans that have started their own businesses and there are over three million Small-

Medium Enterprises, which means there are some Zimbabweans who have more than one enterprise" (News Day, 28 February 2017).

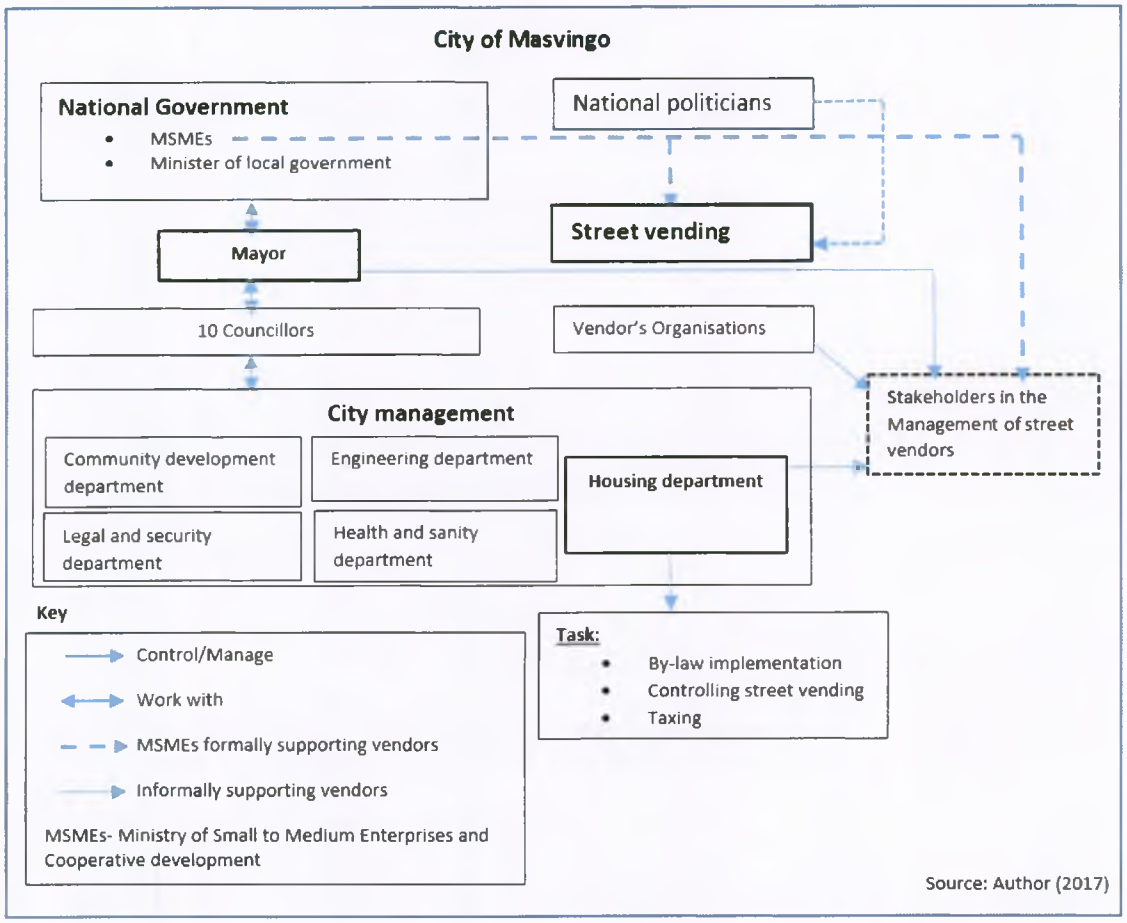


Figure 2.6.2. Showing a sketch map of stakeholders in street vending in the City of Masvingo

2.7. Copying strategies used in street vending

Bayat (2000); Duneier (2000); Stoller (2002); Lindell (2008); Graaff and Ha (2015) illustrated many survival strategies used in the operations of street vending. However, Njaya (2014: 98) argues that;

"Because of the problems of congestion, safety, health and environment which have unfortunately overshadowed the significant contribution of street vending to the economy,

street vendors have become targets of harassment and persecution by both the municipal and national police."

Following harassments and evictions of street vending operations, street vendors remain adamant and use different survival strategies to survive in the streets and illegal areas (Rogerson, 2016). "Although vendors are not usually equipped with conventional sources of power, they use location-specific tactics to circumvent restrictions and maintain their businesses (Duneier 2000; Stoller 2002 in Graaff and Ha: 2015: 6-7). Lindell (2008) also argues that street vendors use various responses to overcome shocks and stresses that affect them, on the one hand, offering no opposition and gradually returning to their selling sites and, on the other hand, collectively contesting those actions through their associations" (Amis, 2004; War on Want et al., 2006 in Lindell, 2008:1883).

Bayat (2000) and Lindell (2008) argue that informal dealers form associations that represent and defend street vendors from municipality harassments and evictions and they strive to secure a legal status for non-authorised sites. It is further argued that leaders of different associations in Maputo "have been able to devise concerted strategies and action... This has also allowed for solidarity to develop between vendors in different markets." (Lindell, 2008:1891). In addition, Lindell (2008:1891) in her research in Maputo found that threatened vendors by the municipality police join hands with associations and rally support from different markets and mobilize frontiers that "back up the interests of the threatened vendors"

Vendors associations in Maputo have become the active actors in urban and local politics (Lindell, 2008). Also, such associations fight for legalisation of street vending by encouraging vendors to pay a certain fee to the municipality while negotiating the respect of vendor's rights to operate in non-designated areas. However, Lindell (2008) argues that despite the role played by the associations in mobilisation of vendors, the Maputo City council is reluctant to accept the existence of these associations. The municipality continues to repress and harass vendors who operate from un-authorised areas. Lindell (2008) notes that leaders of associations in Maputo created clientelism and close relationships between their associations and the political elites of both the local and central structures of the ruling party to influence the practices of the local government. Politicians accommodate and maintain close relationships with leaders of the associations so that during elections they could receive votes from vendors. Certain promises are made by the local politicians

that if vendors vote for the ruling party, their needs would be fulfilled. Lindell (2008: 1892) argues that in Maputo, "the association leaders were prepared to conduct an electoral campaign in the markets in favour of this particular individual and his political party. Therefore, such political relationships, it can be argued that they are used to protect vendors from the municipality harassments and evictions (Lindell, 2008).

Municipality harassments and evictions increase the consciousness of street vendors and often defend their wares through quiet non-compliance without engaging in demonstrations (Bayat, 2008). Bayat (2008) termed such moves as quite-encroachments meaning silent individual survival strategies employed by street vendors to sustain their livelihoods. Around 1980s, street vendors among the Teheran, retain their gains through non-compliance without necessarily engaging in collective resistance (Ibid.). Bayat (2000:550) further argues that street vendors in Cairo "simple retreat into the back street once the municipality police arrives but immediately resume their work as soon as the police are gone." Therefore, struggles of vendors against the municipality police are not "about winning the gain but to defend and furthering the already won gains" (Ibid.). In Mumbai, India, Anjaria (2006:2146) observed that street vendors whom he termed "'illegally-operating hawkers' have cordial relations with police constables, who, like most other low-income city residents, depend on the cheap and convenient products and services provided by hawkers." Mobilisation of street vendors is not only the coping strategy that can be used by street vendors. Therefore, the research seeks to investigate the survival strategies used in the City of Masvingo. This has come into being following massive harassments and evictions of un-authorised vendors in Zimbabwe.

While acknowledging the existence of voluminous literature on the issue in question, the research contends that there is a paucity of research on the subject matter after the Zimbabwean Labour Act amendment of 2015. The amendment sought to put to halt the wanton dismissal of employees on three months' notice, a practice which was promoted by the judgement of a case between Zuva Petroleum and its former workers and led to the dismissal of countless employees as mentioned in chapter one. Such dismissal had a ripple effect on the growth of street vending and hence the period in question warrants academic research to look into the trends of street vending. The introduction of bond notes in 2016 following serious cash crisis also compounded the challenges faced by vendors and therefore calls for academic scrutiny of the subject matter of street vending. In the

same vein, the introduction of a cashless economy following the shortage of cash also brought novel challenges for street vendors.

Thus, this research seeks to cover the alluded knowledge gaps in academic literature by shedding light on the trends of street vending on the backdrop of the aforementioned factors. Using the case of Masvingo City, the research explores survival strategies used in street vending in a bid to comprehend challenges faced by street vendors in their activities, ways used to overcome the challenges and the mechanisms used to govern street vending. This research is essential in informing political policy regarding governance of street vending in the town of Masvingo because it highlights the political discord in government which is militating against integration of street vending in the mainstream economy.

2.8. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework links different concept derived from the literature regarding street vending. Issues to do with survival strategies as the main issue in the research is affected by politics, City by-laws, vendor's representative and personal attributes. Street vendors employ survival strategies to achieve economic sustainability. Street vending sustains the livelihoods of the poor by employing them and generating income as indicated in figure 2.8.

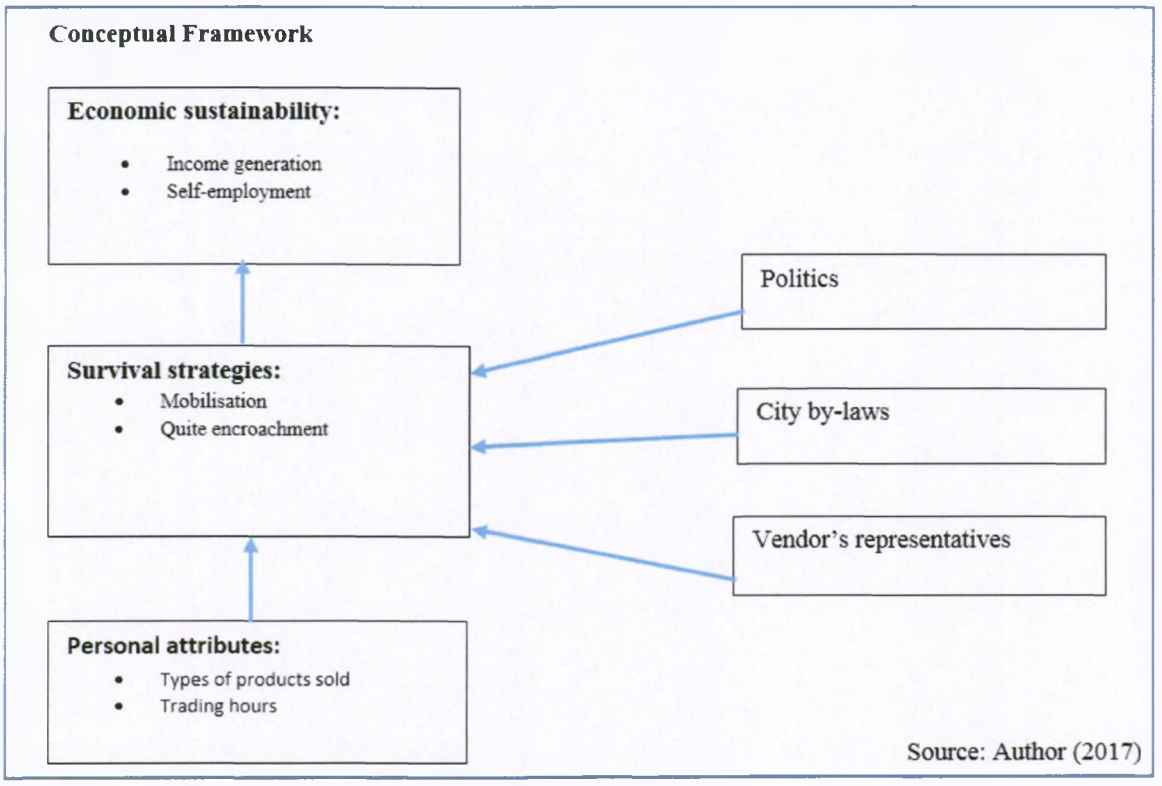


Figure 2.8. Showing the conceptual Framework

2.9. Conclusion

Street vending is reality and it is there to stay in Cities of the global South. The chapter discussed arguments and literature from different scholars in trying to unravel origins, definitions, concepts, and forms of street vending. Moreover, governance and regulation of street vending were discussed in the chapter. Governance of street vending in Africa in general and Zimbabwe, in particular, was analysed. Issues to do with livelihood sustainability, coping strategies were also discussed in the section depicting arguments from different scholars. The provision of the literature was to build and provides the foundation for the study relating and raising views and arguments provided on the topic of street vending. Literature review helps to find out ways of relating the research to similar researches that have been done by others elsewhere. It was also in the interest of the research to agree, criticize and also present new trends and emerging issues in street vending. Following the literature review, the chapter will present and illustrate the conceptual framework linking the main points and views from the literature which are important to the research. However,

the following chapter is going to discuss the context of the Zimbabwean situation of street vending and Masvingo in particular. Rules and regulations used to govern street vending in Masvingo shall be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING ZIMBABWE AND MASVINGO DRAWING FROM THE CAUSES OF STREET VENDING

3.1. Introduction

This chapter unveils the context and background of street vending in Zimbabwe in general and Masvingo. The section shall highlight the trajectory of street vending in Zimbabwe since 1980 to present putting specific emphasis on factors that contributed to the alarming increase of street vending. Spatial issues on the spread and distribution of street vending in Masvingo shall also be presented notwithstanding rules and regulations used by the City council to govern street vending in Masvingo.

3.2. Street vending in Zimbabwe

Street vending activities are not peculiar to the recent era in Zimbabwe urban space but are rather traceable through various epochs of the nation's history. Scholarly evidence indicates that the hype of street vending dates back to economic policies such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) of the mid 90's, the Land Reform Programme of 2000' and Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 (Njaya, 2014:265). In Zimbabwe, Economic Structural Adjustment Programme sounded the death knell of state subsidies, free healthcare as well as free basic education. Kanyenze et al. (2003) opine that the failure of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme to shift the economy onto a superior and sustainable growth path, and especially its underperformance in terms of economic development and employment creation left a legacy of poverty and marginalization in urban areas. Furthermore, the economic policy also boosted an imperfect record due to its emphasis on reduction of wage bill leading to retrenchments which had a direct consequence to the exponential growth of the informal sector as it forced thousands of the working class into street vending (Marapira, 2013).

In addition, the removal of white settlers from their farms through the 'Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP)' of 2000 affected agricultural activities and consequently impinged on industries that relied on agricultural raw materials, further exacerbating the plight of workers both in farms and factories (Njaya, 2014:265). Urbanites' woes were further aggravated by the

Indigenization and Economic Empowerment policy adopted by the government in 2007 which requires foreign mining companies to cede 51% of their shares to the government. The policy, which is still in existence, is highly unpopular because it scares away investors, hence fails to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which is the missing link in Zimbabwe's efforts to rejuvenate the economy and create formal employment. Poverty levels intensified in urban areas and this facilitated the mushrooming of street vending in Zimbabwe (Njaya, 2014). As Kanyenze et al. (2003) point out, what this implies is that economic downturns are associated with the growth of street vending. Furthermore, economic downfall pioneered the hyperinflationary environment which reached its zenith in 2008. Consequently, the nation endured notorious economic doldrums characterised by skyrocketing unemployment rates between 1998 and 2008, a period which has been referred to as 'the lost decade' (Marapira, 2013).

"As of the end of 2008, at the 'nadir' of a decade-long economic slide, the inflation rate has reached record-setting levels" (Jones, 2010: 285). Escalating inflation resulted in disintegrating the public services like education, health and enormous shortages of basic commodities on top of political chaos and ferocity (Ibid.). Jones (2010: 285) and Chabal and Daloz (1999) argue that widespread corruption and patrimonialism were characteristics of the poor economy and high inflation rate which meant "that people with connections to centers of power notably the various arms of government fare best." The situation in Zimbabwe, coupled with all the evils of poverty, turned even the educated into untold impoverishment at best and destitution at worst hence they could only rely on street vending for livelihood sustenance.

Furthermore, in 2013 the Zimbabwean government adopted as an economic policy the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET), which was a political manifesto of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) on the run up to the country's 2013 elections. The policy is hinged on indigenization and self- employment which are seen as the panacea for unemployment (Njaya, 2014). Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation aimed at creating 2 million jobs for the majority, but the government has not yet achieved the target with more employees have lost their jobs on three months' notice in 2015. Retrenchment of employees came into being following the Labour Act amendment of 17 July 2015 which was provoked by Supreme Court judgment on a long-standing case of Zuva Petroleum versus Kingstone Donga and Don Nyamande, the former managers of the

Petroleum Company and caused massive retrenchments of employees in Zimbabwe (Chagonda, 2015; The Worker, 22 July 2015). Retrenchment of employees compounded the growth of street vending in Zimbabwe since those who lost employment were left with no choice but to venture into street vending.

The government also introduced the Look East Policy following the imposition of sanctions by the western nations, in the form of Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) and the European Union (EU) owing to protracted disagreements over the land question. In the new policy, the government envisaged to find new economic fortunes in bilateral relations with China (Chun, 2014). However, it is disheartening to note that the new economic partner turned into a one-armed bandit by being involved in externalisation of huge sums of hard currency in the form of United State dollars, the currency adopted by the government in 2009, leading to a serious cash crisis in Zimbabwe in 2015 (Daily News, 25 January, 2017). The shortage of cash in the country as evidenced by long queues at some banks and automated teller machines (ATMs) (Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, 2016). The government responded to the catastrophes of deepening cash shortages by introducing bond notes in 2016 to improve the circulation of cash. However, the introduction of bond notes negatively impacted on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) owing to the uncertainty posed by the country's monetary policy. Consequently, a sizeable number of Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) were compelled by the un-conducive economic environment to shut down their operations and subsequently more workers who lost their jobs were absorbed by the informal sector into street vending (Rogerson, 2016).

On note is the fact that Zimbabwe at the moment does not have a national policy on street vending as the nation has not yet taken meaningful steps to integrate street vending into the mainstream economy, although the creation of the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National housing offered a major turning point in the regulation of street vending (Njaya, 2014). This, coupled with the promulgation of the Urban Councils Act and the introduction of municipal by-laws governing street vending, compounded the woes of street vendors as street vending is blamed for causing dirt in the nation's cities (Ibid.). In addition, these city by-laws play a big role in the management of cities (Rogerson, 2016). The establishment of the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) was a defining moment on the plight of vendors owing to the political orientation of the ministry. The ministry was born with an indigenization vision of self-

employment which encompasses a broad spectrum of income generating activities in which street vending occupies the first phase. However, the clash of interests between the said ministries remained a bone of contention as far as the plight of street vendors is concerned (Marapira, 2013). City authorities maintain their stance of keeping cities clean hence crackdowns on vendors remain the preferred option in the regulation of street vending while officials in the MSMEs urge vendors to slowly gravitate from small enterprises like vending to medium enterprises which include cooperatives.

Following the above factors, street vending rampantly increased and has become the most employing sector in Zimbabwe (Ghani and Kanbur, 2013; Njaya, 2014; Rogerson, 2016). Njaya (2014) further notes that street vending is the most targeted practice by the City officials due to congestion and environmental problems it poses in Cities and this has unfortunately resulted in the harassment of street vendors by the City officials. Despite being blamed for causing dirt, the sector is a panacea to poverty in Zimbabwe like it is in other Cities of the South (Hart, 2010 in Huchzermeyer, 2011). Most Central Business Districts (CBDs) in Zimbabwe are highly crowded with street vendors stationed at street corners, shop verandas, pavements and open spaces in Central Business District's (Njaya, 2014). Street vending threatens formal shops hence creating tensions between the vendors and the City officials who regulate and enforce the by-laws (Dube and Charisa, 2012). Dube (2012) further argue that the increase of vending activities contradict with the city by-laws which repress and force them to operate in designated areas. However, due to rapid increase of unemployment and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, such problems left citizens without any choice but to invade the streets for survival. Street vending has become the most employing sector in Zimbabwe as it helps in income generation for the urban poor (Rogerson, 2016).

The rapid increase of urban informality is conflated with pollution in Cities and is seen as a drawback to the development of Cities of Zimbabwe hence informal sector has become a concern that needs attention and regulation (Little, 1999; Skinner, 2008; Jones, 2010). Rogerson (2016: 230) argues that "responses to informality can be viewed along a continuum from violent repression and sustained evictions to inclusive and supportive policies." This has caused friction between street vendors and the city council hence the research will investigate the survival strategies used in street vending while interrogating mechanisms used to govern the operations of

street vending in Zimbabwe. The following section is going to highlight the context of street vending in Masvingo.

3.3. Street vending in Masvingo

Masvingo is a small town located in the Southern region of Zimbabwe and its population is approximately 87,886 (Census, 2012). Masvingo is located 292 kilometers (181 miles) south of Harare (see figure 3.2.1). It is divided into suburbs including Mucheke, Rujeko, Rhodene, Target Kopje and Eastvale among others. The suburbs are divided into high-density, middle-density, and low-density suburbs. Mucheke, the oldest township and Rujeko are the most populous high-density suburbs. The middle-density suburbs are Eastvale located close to Zimuto Police Camp and Target Kopje located in the southern part of town on a small hill close to Flamboyant Hotel. Rhodene, a low-density suburb on the northern part of the city centre, is the most affluent suburb in Masvingo. A new suburban development, Zimre Park, is also taking shape to the northeast of the town along Bulawayo Road. The town used to have large cattle ranches but the country's Land Reform Programme is sometimes blamed for decimating that industry. Small-scale farmers now make up the majority of suppliers of agricultural produce (Dube, 2003). There are a variety of tourist attractions within a thirty-mile (48-kilometre) radius of the town. Within 20 kilometres (12 miles) of Masvingo are the Great Zimbabwe National Monument and the Lake Mutirikwi Recreational Park and Kyle game resort with 12 different species, including the white rhino.

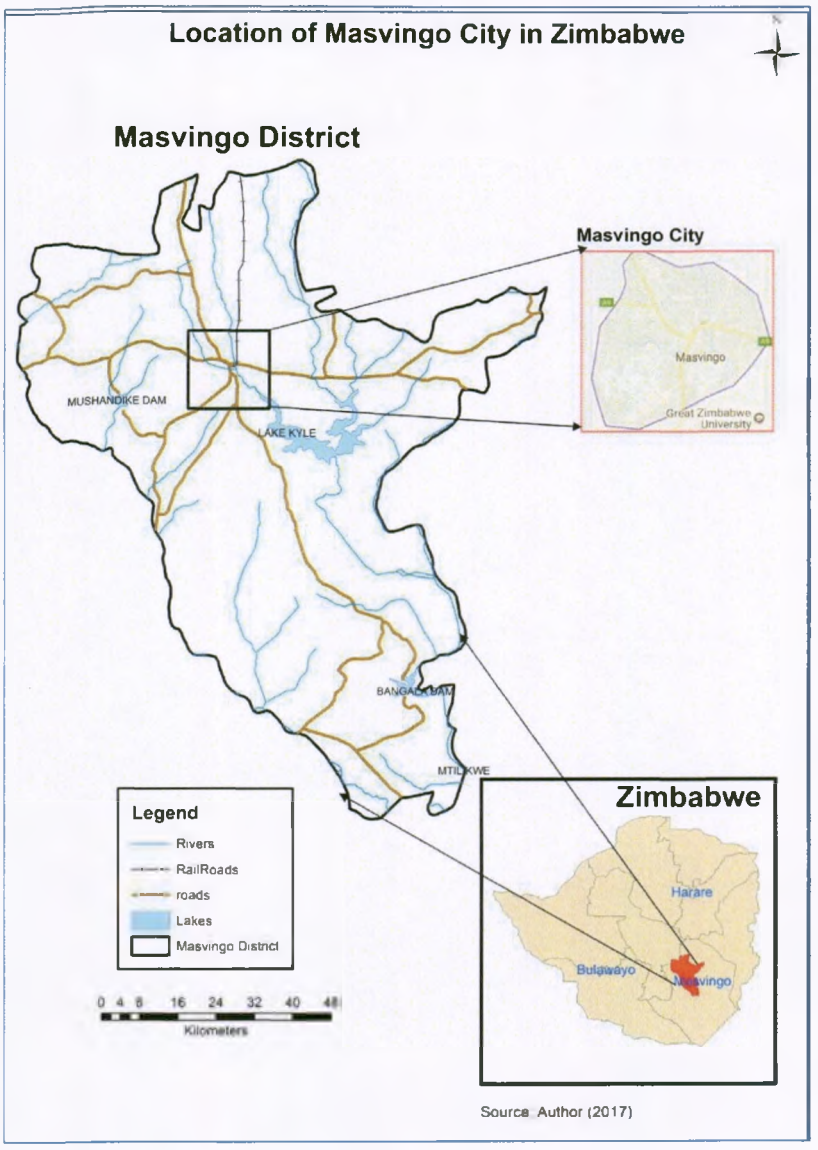


Figure 3.1.1: Showing the location of Masvingo City

Masvingo is a City which operates without industries and it is associated with the high unemployment rate. The economy is built on agriculture and tourism, Great Zimbabwe monuments attracts many people in to the country. Like any other Cities in Zimbabwe, the rapid increase of street vending in Masvingo dates back from the 1990s where there was rapid economic shifts and new policy implementations and retrenchments of employees as mentioned earlier. This has fueled the growth of street vending in Masvingo where street vending is mostly practiced in verandas, road corners, open spaces and pavements where vendors sell vegetables, tomatoes, ornaments, books, clothes among other products. Vending activities in Masvingo urban include bicycle repair,

cell phone unlocking and configuration of internet settings and Whats-App on cell phones and mending (Njaya, 2014). Advertisement through shouting and the use of loudspeakers have become the order of the day in Masvingo (Ibid.). Street vending is associated with noise since vendors use loudspeakers to advertise their products to attract customers (Njaya, 2014a). Pressure for municipal authorities to chase away vendors from the streets and pavements also comes from business entities which hide under the veil of vendors' nuisance when in actual fact they will be seeking protection from competition posed by street vendors whose merchandise comprise nearly every product sold in shops (Bromley, 2000 and Njaya, 2014).

However, the rapid increase of street vending in the city of Masvingo has caused City officials to radically respond to street vending activities through the use of city by-laws to repress and prohibit street vending in the streets and other prohibited areas (Rogerson, 2016). There are designated vending areas in Masvingo Urban which include Chitima Market center now Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre in town, fruit and vegetable marketplaces in Mucheke and Rujeko, among others. However, vendors prefer operating in the Central Business District since Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre is located on the outskirts of the town. Street vending is most concentrated along PnP, OK, SIMRAC supermarkets and an open space opposite SIMRAC. In high density suburbs, Mucheke has come under the spotlight for street vending with Chesvingo drive considered the busiest street in Masvingo owing to a hive of vending activities taking place from morning to midnight (Marapira; 2013). (See figure 3.2.2. which shows specified areas). Gukurume and Nyanga (2011) also documented cases of children who defy the odds of poverty by reconciling work and school in the same location. Street vending has become the most employing sector in Masvingo where most citizens rely on it for income generation and a source of livelihood. Therefore, following the rapid increase of street vending, the Masvingo city council implemented the following by-laws which are used to govern and control street vending in Masvingo.

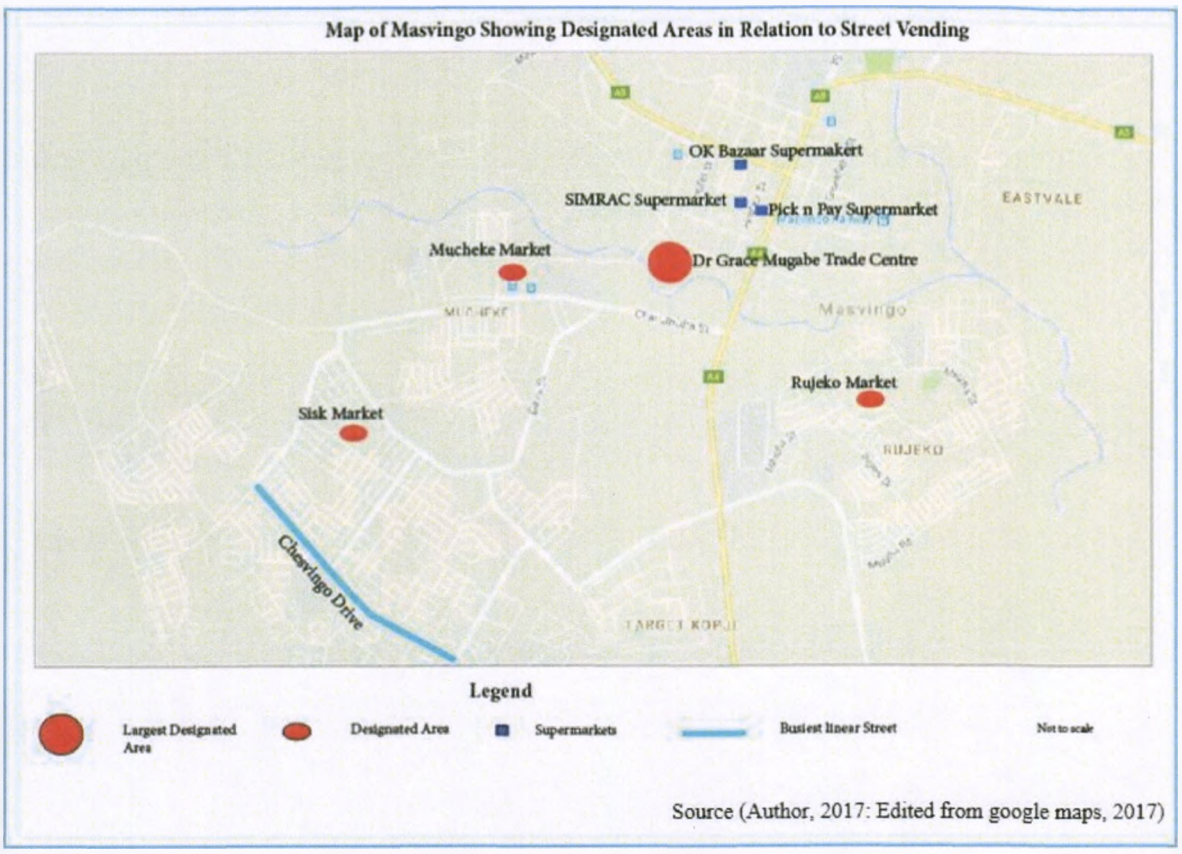


Figure 3.2.2. A map showing some of the designated areas in Masvingo City

3.4. Municipality by-Laws and Regulations used to govern street vendors in Masvingo

This section will present the rules and regulations used by the City of Masvingo in governing street vending. The City of Masvingo uses its by-laws in governing and managing street vending, despite that street vending remains on an upward trend. Thus, this section will present the city by-laws used to govern street vendors in Masvingo town in a bid to unpack complexities as well as gaps in the management of street vending.

Street vending in Masvingo is governed by the city by-laws under Statutory Instrument 141 of 2015 gazetted by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, approved in terms of section 229 of the Urban Council Act [Chapter 29:15]. In section 4 (1), of the Statutory Instrument, it is highlighted that "the council may set aside land or premises for the establishment of vending sites and may divide such land or premises into separate stands or stall

in a vending site." As earlier noted, the city council managed to provide designated vending areas including Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre in town, fruit and vegetable marketplaces in Mucheke and Rujeko, among others. The Statutory Instrument stipulates on section 5 (1) that, "any person wishing to use a stand in a vending site as a vendor shall make an application to the Director of Housing and Community Services ... (2) upon application;

(a) A permit or vending license may be issued or

(b) A lease agreement may be entered into between the applicant and the council.

(3) A vendor who is issued with a permit or enter into lease agreement may be entered into a lease agreement with the council shall pay a fee.

On section 5 subsection 7, it is noted that no holder of a permit or lease agreement which permits the sale of food shall contravene any condition imposed in therein in terms of subsection (6) which indicates that The Director of Housing and Community Service in consultation with the Chief Health Officer may impose any conditions in the permit or lease agreement he or she deems necessary or desirable in the interests of public health. Furthermore, it is presented in subsection 10(1) that a vendor who has issued a permit or vending license shall pay a fee on daily basis or monthly basis as the case may be fixed by resolution of the council from time to time. (2) A vendor who enters into a lease agreement with council shall pay a fee on a monthly basis as fixed by resolution of the council from time to time. However, on sub-section 11(1) the law indicates that, the Director of Housing and Community Services or any authorised person may, if, he or she has reasons to believe that a violation of these by- laws has been committed, seize or cause to be seized any goods so connected to the offence and remove or cause to be removed such seized goods to a secure compound and such goods shall be recorded in a records book and kept safely: Provided that seized perishable goods shall be disposed of or destroyed after obtaining written authority from the Director of Housing and Community Services. (2) Any seized imperishable goods from a designated vending site removed to secure compound shall be released to the owner after payment of:

The prescribed penalty outlined in the second schedule; and Storage set by resolution of the council from time to time.

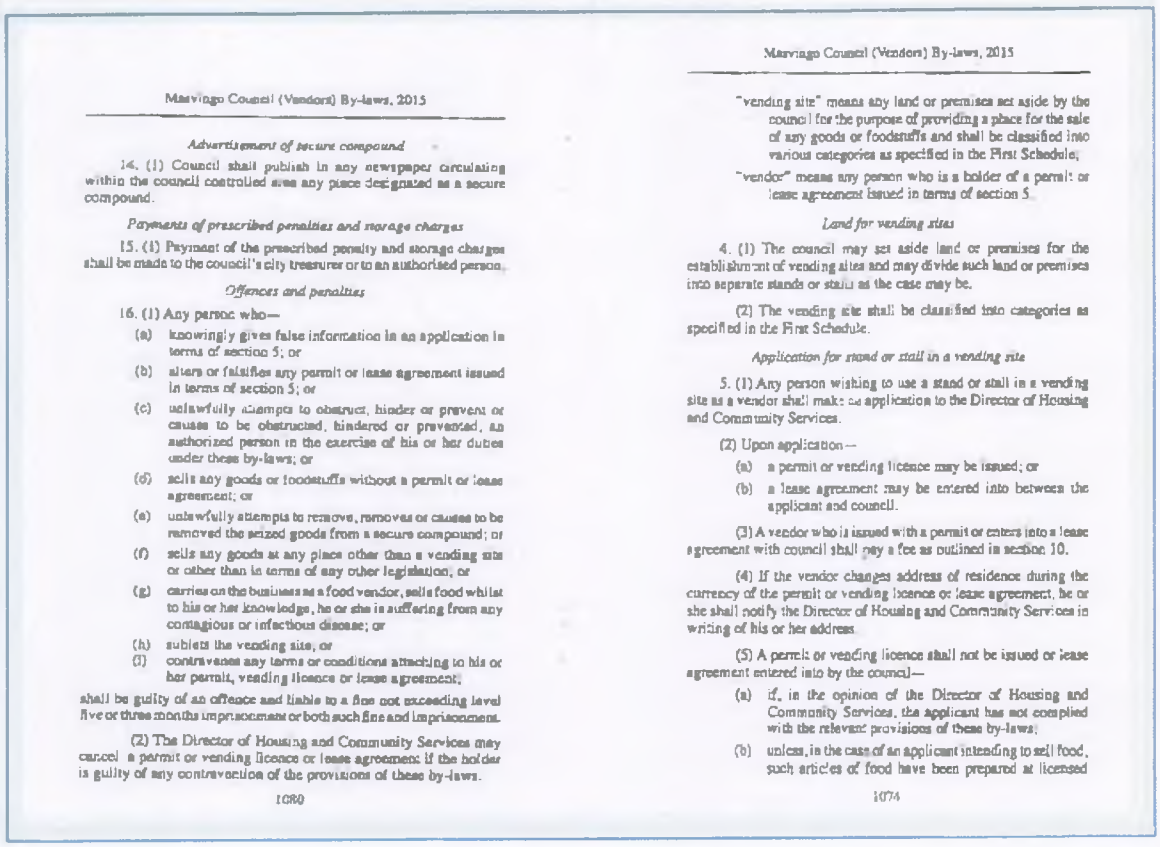
(3) Any seized goods from unlicensed vendors shall be forfeited to the council and disposed of by public action.

On disposal of unclaimed goods, it is indicated in subsection 12(1) that, the council shall publish in any newspaper of wide circulation within the council area a list of unclaimed goods and advise the owners to claim the goods within 30 days. (2) The Council shall sell by public auction any goods that remain unclaimed 30 days after the notice has been published…

Furthermore, subsection 16(1) presents the offenses and penalties in any person who:

…. (b) Alter or falsifies any permit or lease agreement issued in terms of section 5; or… (d) Sell any goods or food staffs without a permit or lease agreement; or… (f) sell any goods at any place other than a vending site or other than in terms of any other legislation or …(h) sublets the vending site…; shall be guilty of an offense and liable to a fine not attaching level five or three months imprisonment or both such fine and imprisonment.

Therefore, these are some of the by-laws used in governing street vendors in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. This research, therefore seeks to unpack issues of compliance to these by-laws and how those who are found on the wrong side of the law are treated. It shall be analysed reflecting on activities happening in street vending vis-à-vis the regulations imposed by the city of Masvingo. Figure 3.2.3 shows attached scripts of the by-laws used to repress street vendors and the provision of designated vending sites in Masvingo.



Masvingo Council (Vendors) By-laws, 2015

Advertisement of secure compound

14. (1) Council shall publish in any newspaper circulating within the council controlled area any place designated as a secure compound.

Payments of prescribed penalties and storage charges

15. (1) Payment of the prescribed penalty and storage charges shall be made to the council's city treasurer or to an authorised person.

Offences and penalties

16. (1) Any person who—

(a) knowingly gives false information in an application in terms of section 5; or

(b) alters or falsifies any permit or lease agreement issued in terms of section 5; or

(c) unlawfully attempts to obstruct, hinder or prevent or causes to be obstructed, hindered or prevented, an authorized person in the exercise of his or her duties under these by-laws; or

(d) sells any goods or foodstuffs without a permit or lease agreement; or

(e) unlawfully attempts to remove, removes or causes to be removed the seized goods from a secure compound; or

(f) sells any goods at any place other than a vending site or other than in terms of any other legislation; or

(g) carries on the business as a food vendor, sells food whilst to his or her knowledge, he or she is suffering from any contagious or infectious disease; or

(h) subleases the vending site; or

(i) contravenes any terms or conditions attaching to his or her permit, vending licence or lease agreement;

shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level five or three months imprisonment or both such fine and imprisonment.

(2) The Director of Housing and Community Services may cancel a permit or vending licence or lease agreement if the holder is guilty of any contravention of the provisions of these by-laws.

1080

Masvingo Council (Vendors) By-laws, 2015

"vending site" means any land or premises set aside by the council for the purpose of providing a place for the sale of any goods or foodstuffs and shall be classified into various categories as specified in the First Schedule;

"vendor" means any person who is a holder of a permit or lease agreement issued in terms of section 5.

Land for vending sites

4. (1) The council may set aside land or premises for the establishment of vending sites and may divide such land or premises into separate stands or stalls as the case may be.

(2) The vending site shall be classified into categories as specified in the First Schedule.

Application for stand or stall in a vending site

5. (1) Any person wishing to use a stand or stall in a vending site as a vendor shall make an application to the Director of Housing and Community Services.

(2) Upon application—

(a) a permit or vending licence may be issued; or

(b) a lease agreement may be entered into between the applicant and council.

(3) A vendor who is issued with a permit or enters into a lease agreement with council shall pay a fee as outlined in section 10.

(4) If the vendor changes address of residence during the currency of the permit or vending licence or lease agreement, he or she shall notify the Director of Housing and Community Services in writing of his or her address.

(5) A permit or vending licence shall not be issued or lease agreement entered into by the council—

(a) if, in the opinion of the Director of Housing and Community Services, the applicant has not complied with the relevant provisions of these by-laws;

(b) unless, in the case of an applicant intending to sell food, such articles of food have been prepared at licensed

1074

Figure 3.2.3. Showing some of Masvingo City council by-laws

Note that sub-section 16(1), d and f indicate that operating without permits or selling any goods or foodstuffs at any place other than a vending site or than in terms of any other legislation is illegal and a person operating against the law is guilty of an offense and liable to a fine. It is clear that the by-laws do not allow vendors to operate in any other place other than designated areas meaning to say that anyone operating in pavements, open spaces and streets will be going against the city by-laws. And the by-laws are very clear that the city council provides vending sites where street vendors should operate.

3.5. Conclusion

Contextualisation of street vending in Zimbabwe and Masvingo was done in this chapter trying to factor out the causes that pioneered the rise of street vending in Masvingo and Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is affected by high unemployment rate which was triggered by economic policies which

affected foreign direct investors. Economic meltdown and deindustrialisation left the majority with no option but to invade the streets. Therefore, street vending has become the most employing sector in Zimbabwe. The sporadic increase of street vending posed serious reactions by the city official thereby implementing policies that repress and restrict street vending. The chapter also discussed some of the important by-laws and regulations used to govern street vendors in Masvingo. This was done to have an insight into the operation of street vending in Masvingo.

However, the following chapter discusses the methodology used to obtain data during data collection. Qualitative methodology was used to gather information about street vending therefore, it is justified emphasising more on unstructured interviews, mini focus group discussion, observation method and key informants since they were instruments used to solicit data.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCHING FOR SURVIVAL STRATEGIES IN MASVINGO

4.1. Introduction

The research was carried out in Masvingo located in the Southern region of Zimbabwe as indicated in Chapter three. The research employed qualitative methodology where unstructured interviews, mini focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and observation were utilised for soliciting data. The research did not interview key informants from the municipality since the researcher had the by-laws and the policies which the municipality use. Therefore, the researcher only interviewed street vendors and their representatives since the research wanted to understand the survival strategies from the local level. However, the research found it difficult to access the site due to the political climate that permeates the sector at present, vendors feared to expose the information since they thought that the researcher was linked to city officials. It became difficult to gather information since at the same time vendors' representatives suggested a focus group discussion. The researcher was left with no choice but to do what participant opted. Therefore, following these circumstances, the research employed a purposive sampling method were a small group of street vendors and their representatives who are well conversant with street vending were used as a sample to gain rich and illuminative insights on problems that affect street vendors and the coping strategies that are used to circumvent the problems. The research targeted twenty respondents comprising four key informants and sixteen street vendors.

4.2. Case Study

According to Yin (1984:23) in Zainal (2007), a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context... in which multiple sources of evidence are used." A case study allows the researcher to closely scrutinise the information within a particular context (Zainal, 2007). Moreover, "a case study selects a small geographical area" (Zainal, 2007:1). The case study explores and probes modern realistic-life "phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships" (Ibid.1-2). Masvingo town is located in Masvingo province. The province consists of different cities like Chiredzi, Chipinge and Masvingo town and it also consists of different growth points

including Jerera, Nemanwa, Chivi and Mupandawana among others. Most of the local population comprises of the 'Karanga' Shona ethnic group referred to as "wezhira wezheve." The research focused on Masvingo town in trying to understand the challenges and survival strategies used in street vending, notwithstanding the ways used to govern street vending.

The research adopted a single case study since the programme was supposed to be completed in a single year and it was running concurrently with coursework, therefore, there was little time to conduct a multiple case study. The evaluative case study was used to understand the survival strategies used by street vendors. Zainal (2007:3) argues that "in evaluation case studies the researcher goes further by adding their judgment to the phenomena found in the data." Therefore, arguments were raised in each and every regulations used by the city council, challenge and the survival strategy used by street vendors to sustain their livelihood. According to Yin (1984), the use of a case study is important since the examination of the data was conducted within the situation in which the activity takes place. The method allowed the researcher to observe issues happening in street vending on a daily and weekly basis. The notion of observing within a chosen case study provides authenticity pertaining issues happening on the ground. Also, a case study allows for qualitative data analysis (Zainal, 2007) therefore it was easier to categorise responses from the street vendors.

4.3. Qualitative method

The study of the survival strategies used in street vending is qualitative in nature, therefore; qualitative research was employed to have an in-depth understanding of how street vendors survive and the challenges that affect their operation. Bhattacherjee (2012) in Esch and Esch (2013) opines that qualitative method is the analysis of data gathered in the field, a method which does not predict data, and/or a method which does not deal with statistics like what the quantitative method does. Qualitative research aims to achieve 'depth' rather than 'breadth' (Blaxter et al., (1996:31) in Nasser Eddine: undated). Therefore, qualitative methodology as employed in the research will assist in generating words than numbers for analysis and evaluation of the challenges faced in street vending.

Furthermore, the qualitative method considers that the individual perception produces the community authenticity (Burns, 2000 in Nasser Eddine: undated). This methodology allowed the involvement of street vendors in the research to generate narratives on their daily experiences in a bid to comprehend the challenges that affect street vending and the coping strategies used to ameliorate them. In addition, carrying out a field-work and establishing a good rapport with participants, helps in discovering new issues that might not be identified through desktop or quantitative research (Burns, 2000). Thus, qualitative methodology enhanced the exploration of street vendors' accounts on their day to day life experiences which are unquantifiable. The aim of using the qualitative methodology in this research was to generate authenticity through employing in-depth and key informant interviews.

4.4. In-depth/unstructured interviews

Zhang and Wildemuth (2005) illustrate that in-depth interviews were developed in social sciences to produce societal authenticities. Furthermore, such interviews are one-to-one interviews associated with non-standardized questions which allow flexibility in research (Minichiello et al., 1990). They further conceptualised unstructured interviews as a method that allows in-depth understanding of reality and human behaviour under study without imposing any fear to individuals which might limit them to give exact issues on the ground (ibid.). Although qualitative methodology requires much time, unstructured interviews made it easier to understand how street vending is managed and challenges associated with it. Twelve (12) participants were interviewed using this data gathering technique. Participants were purposively sampled targeting those vendors at pavements of OK, PnP N Richards, SIMRAC supermarkets and BW open space. Targeted vendors were those with well conversant with the operation of street vending. To identify the well conversant street vendors, the researcher was assisted with a couple of friends who are in the operation of street vending. The way questions were structured was flexible and open which helped in gathering all the required information about the survival strategies used in street vending (see appendix).

4.5. Mini Focus Group Discussions (MFGDs)

As mentioned earlier, a mini focus group was suggested by vendor's representatives hence the researcher was left with no choice than to organize a mini focus group discussion which became successful in gathering information about issues affecting street vending. For Nueman (2000), Focus Group Discussions include a facilitator who chairs chosen candidates or a group of participants. According to Morgan (1996:10) "group discussions provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants' opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching such conclusions from post hoc analyses of separate statements from each interviewee." The researcher conducted a mini focus group discussion as since participants refused to be interviewed individually. According to Kueger and Casey (2002), mini focus groups are commonly used in generating information and such groups consist of four (4) to six (6) participants. Therefore, one mini focus group discussion of four (4) vendor's representatives was conducted to solicit data about how street vendors are represented and operate. The group included three men and one woman hence it helped to gather gender balanced information.

The research wanted to understand how street vendors operate and represented thus the researcher chose to interview representatives of vendors from one of the organisations that represents vendors. The researcher controlled the discussion by asking questions regarding street vending activities and issues to do with representations. A mini focus group discussion gave representatives a chance to generate information about the challenges affecting street vendors together with the governance of street vendors. The group discussion was found useful since it opened up every aspect of the operation of street vending. Also, group engagement helped the researcher to identify other gaps which need to be covered in academics. Therefore, a small group discussion conducted was found useful in the research since the voluminous information was extracted during the discussion.

4.6. Observation

Observation method was used to have a first-hand experience of the pervasive nature of street vending in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. Observation is close surveillance of people or community to

collect information about what is happening on the ground (Schaefer, 2010). Observation helps in generating detailed information about groups studied and provides a deeper understanding of things happening on the ground (Bernard, 2006). Therefore the researcher used a simple observation method which assisted the researcher to have a close view and understanding about the issues happening in street vending; some of the challenges and survival strategies were observed using this method. Simple observation method assisted in revealing what street vendors do in their everyday operations. Issues to do with the coverage of urban spatial spaces and the spread of street vending operations were observed during the research process. The researcher took ten days observing the activities in street vending to shed light on how the municipality repress vendors and how street vendors have occupied Masvingo town. Simple observation requires a lot of time to be done properly, as the observer has to be available to observe in the field for hours every day to get a better picture of what happens throughout the day and throughout the week.

4.7. Key Informants Interviews (KIIs)

According to Carter and Beaulieu (1992), key informant interviews are interviews that target representatives of certain individuals and such interviews aim at gathering information from a wide range of representatives who have first-hand information about the community. Moreover, "key informants are unquestionably important in community-based research, providing information about the community and helping the researcher make additional contacts" (McKenna and Main, 2001:116). KIIs were employed targeting organizations that represent street vendors. The street vendors' representatives helped in generating understanding on the trajectory of street vending, challenges confronting the livelihood strategy and the evolution of coping strategies to circumvent novel constraints emerging in street vending activities. Two (2) committee members were interviewed from the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Association (ZICIEA) and the other two (2) were interviewed from the Fruit and Vegetables Association (FVA). In total four committee members were interviewed during the research process.

4.8. Ethical considerations

Ethics are professional conducts used to overcome threats in carrying out research. These include informed consent, entering the field through gatekeepers, avoiding harmful studies, protection of participants, native language and privacy.

Informed consent is important when caring out research. This principle entails that prospective research participants must be given as much information as needed to make informed decision to participate in the research. Participants were informed about the research so that they knowingly and willingly provide information on street vending. Access was gained through gatekeepers; specifically, associations that represent street vendors. Friends who are involved in street vending operations contributed immensely since they trusted the researcher; the same friends assisted in connecting the researcher to other vendors hence gathering information became easier.

Furthermore, privacy and confidentiality were also assured. The Identity of participants interviewed was protected through the use of pseudonyms and anonymity was guaranteed to avoid harming participants.

During the research, language was a barrier during data collection. This was overcome by interviewing participants in their native language (Shona) which they understood more. Thus, these were the methods used to unearth data about the challenges and the strategies used to surmount constraints encountered in street vending.

4.9. Limitations

Because the research was politically sensitive regarding the political environment of Zimbabwe and the relationship between the municipality and street vendors, some street vendors feared to provide information on issues which affect them in their operations. Some vendors provided biased information anticipating that the research will be used to source some donations to assist the urban poor. Some also anticipate receiving money after participating in the research. These limitations were overcome by purposively selecting participants and informing them that the research was carried out solely for academic purposes. Participants' security was also guaranteed by assuring

privacy and confidentiality by telling them that their names will not be revealed as pseudonyms were used wherever a name was used in the research.

Additionally, the time required to meet deadlines was another major constraint. Considering that street vendors are usually busy during the day, some were not committed to participate in the research at particular times of the day. It followed that the research required considerable time in the field which was not available pursuant to the requirement of meeting academic deadlines. As such, purposive sampling was used and aided in the identification of vendors who were committed their time to the research.

4.10. Conclusion

Instruments used during the research were discussed and justified in this chapter. The qualitative method was used to solicit data about the operation of street vending. Challenges and survival strategies used in street vending were gathered using the unstructured interviews, mini focus group discussion and interviewing the key informants. The observation method was also employed to observe the trends and activities happening in the operation of street vending. Participants were purposively sampled targeting at vendors who operate on supermarkets pavements. The following chapter focuses on presentation and discussion of information gathered during research, it presents three broad themes, that is, challenges associated with street vending in Masvingo, Zimbabwe; coping strategies employed to overcome challenges faced in street vending and measures employed by the municipality of Masvingo to govern street vending. An analysis of the current situation and the politics in the governance of street vending is discussed as well in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: CHALLENGES, SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AND GOVERNANCE OF STREET VENDING

5.1. Introduction

The chapter presents and discusses findings obtained in the field. A thematic approach is used to present and discuss data under three broad themes, that is, challenges associated with street vending in Masvingo, Zimbabwe; coping strategies employed by vendors to overcome challenges they face in street vending and measures employed by Municipality of Masvingo to govern street vending. Related literature offered analytical insights to the discussion of findings.

5.2. Challenges associated with Street Vending in Masvingo, Zimbabwe

The research unearthed many challenges encountered by vendors in their day to day activities in Masvingo urban. It emerged from the research that raids by municipal police are the main challenge bedevilling the welfare of vendors in Masvingo municipal area. Vendors are considered a menace in the tiny city which is devoid of a functional industrial base as earlier noted. Most vendors who participated in th research reiterated that it is a common practice for vendors to spend all day long in running battles with municipal police as the interests of urban cleanliness and livelihood sustenance confront each other. As indicated in figure 5.1, it was also disclosed that once vendors lose their goods to council officials, they can only claim them back at a premium as stipulated in the municipal by-laws. Again, problems like injury and even death are reportedly associated with the raids. One member of a vendors' representative organisation reported that street vending has become the most targeted informal activity in Masvingo, with city council raiding vendors' goods every day. The vendor bemoaned that;

> *"They come with their truck full of municipal police to take our goods. If our goods are taken, we cannot claim them back because we do not afford the required fine. Such activities done by the council are inhuman, 'havatiwone sevanhu' (they do not treat us like humans)."*

Figure 5.1. Showing a Street Vendor who lost her wares to the City Council

The above narratives indicate that street vendors are considered shoddy dealers who must face the same treatment as thieves in Masvingo urban. This is in concurrence with Marapira's (2013) findings in the same city which highlight that municipal police and the Zimbabwe Republic Police teamed up in dramatic fashion to descend on street vendors whom they rounded up and subjected to similar harassment given to thieves, robbers and sex workers. Rogerson (2016) also shares similar sentiments that street vending is violently repressed in Zimbabwe whose cities like Harare are commonplace for crackdowns on street vendors. It is the contention that Masvingo urban space has been turned into an arena of notorious contestations between council and vendors as geographical space and its sanity take precedence over human welfare and livelihoods. Apart from

impinging on the livelihood strategy of street vending, crackdowns on street vendors also put human health and life at stake, which has also been confirmed by Burton (2009). With the majority of participants indicating that they have no other livelihood option since job opportunities are limited, it is worrisome to note that Masvingo City Council regards vendors with contempt, pursuant to the implementation of municipal by-laws. The same situation has been noticed in South Africa, Johannesburg where the municipality uses its by-laws to manage street vendors (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017).

The research further revealed that people living with disabilities are the worst affected by municipal raids. The notoriety of municipal police was expressed when one vendors' representative intimated that municipal authorities claim that selective application of the law is discouraged hence people living with disabilities especially the blind and the physically impaired are subjected to the same treatment as the able-bodied. Considering the need for swift responses in relocating and hiding goods during council raids, these people are said to be vulnerable as also observed by Peters and Chimedza (2000); Ndlovu (2008); Rugoho and Siziba (2014) cited in Maphosa (2015) among other scholars. The argument of municipal police in raiding all vendors without consideration of disabilities is that people living with disabilities are usually employed by the able-bodied anticipating escaping raiding and dispossession of goods. Thus, the city council has become cancer bedevilling the operations of vendors in Masvingo.

Another major challenge facing informal vendors is cash crisis owing to limited availability of hard currency in circulation in Zimbabwe. During data collection, plastic money was a buzz word in Masvingo as most transactions were processed through plastic money facilities like Point of Sale (POS) machines and mobile money platforms like Eco-cash, One- wallet, Tele-cash, among others. Nyoni and Garikai (2017) regard cashless transacting economy a necessary evil for development arguing that the use of plastic money is important in Zimbabwe. However, vendors in Masvingo expressed the use of plastic money as a huge challenge in their operations citing that they do not have Point Of Sale machines hence they are at the receiving end of the deepening and seemingly unrelenting cash crisis persistently hitting the Southern African nation.

One vendor lamented that;

> *"The cash crisis seriously affects us as street vendors because we don't have swiping machines."*

Despite acknowledging that they have access to mobile money platforms, vendors expressed a dislike in such platforms arguing against unavailability of cash for cash out transactions. It was highlighted that most vendors smuggle goods from nearby countries like South Africa, Mozambique and Zambia hence they need hard cash to process their transactions since they cannot use plastic money across nations. More so, it was learned that there is a three-tier pricing system used by local suppliers, that is, different prices for transactions processed in plastic money, bond notes, and US dollars, with plastic money being the most expensive. This further militates against uptake of plastic money facilities by vendors and farmers. Having said this, it is deducible that the prevailing cash crisis, reaching alarming proportions as depicted by people sleeping in long and winding queues overnight, is unambiguously inimical to the trajectory of informal vending into the bedrock of sustainable livelihoods in Masvingo City.

Processing of vending transactions using cash which is in short supply reduces the potential income of vendors as one vendor vehemently stated that;

> *"Nekushaikwa kwemari uku hazvicha shamisi kudzokera kumba wakabata maoko (with this shortage of cash, it is now common to return home empty-handed)."*

Thus, while acknowledging that street vending is still the livelihood of many urbanites as noted by Dube (2011); Gukurume and Nyanga (2011); Marapira (2013); Njaya (2014) and Rogerson (2016) among other scholars, the research noted that the livelihood activity is no longer as sustainable in raising the economic fortunes of urbanites owing to cash crisis. This concurs with Njaya (2014) and Rogerson (2016) who argue that the economic crises in Zimbabwe lead to cash crises and this has affected the livelihood of many urbanites including street vendors.

Apart from cash crises, street vendors do not have collateral security, which is also a major constraint affecting street vending in Zimbabwe as a whole. This was also argued by Jones (2010) who found that lack of collateral security affects the majority of Zimbabwe which include street vendors because they cannot access bank loans to boost their businesses. Due to such problems, capital has become the most challenging issue in vending operations as noted by one participant who had this to say;

> *"Mabizinesi edu haakuri, tinongoramba tiri panzvimbo imwe chete nekuti mabhanga haadi kutipa zvikwereti achiti hatina zvibatiso (our businesses cannot grow, but remain at*

the same level because banks are not willing to provide us with loans citing our lack of collateral)."

In the absence of loans, recapitalisation of vending businesses for vendors to evolve from small into medium enterprises as advocated by the Ministry of Small-Medium Enterprises and Cooperative development remains a myth. Some participants revealed that vendors sometimes engage in rotating savings and lending's schemes, but cited that most of the schemes fail to be successful because some of the members do not contribute in time or even completely fail to honour their payback obligations. With this in mind, it is apparent that street vending in Zimbabwe is confronted by scores of challenges as also noted by Jones (2010). The failure of vendor initiatives like savings and lending's schemes further compounds the plight of street vendors in the city of Masvingo.

Conflict and competition for space were also highlighted as a major challenge being faced by vendors in the city of Masvingo. Though vendors have the habit of fighting amongst themselves over space, the main source of conflict usually comes from registered and licensed entities especially supermarkets like PnP and OK together with other business operators who chase vendors from pavements and verandas accusing them of snatching their customers and closing shop entrances. This concurs with Rogerson (2016) who observed that vendors are at loggerheads with registered business enterprises who accuse them of stealing their customers. In concurrence, Kamete and Lindell (2010: 893) argue that urban informality affects and disorderly re-shapes Cities of the South leading to friction not only with regulating authorities with formally established business entities. In the same vein, Cardoso (2016) adds that rapid encroachment of street vending jeopardizes formal shops. It was further discovered that upon failure to chase away vendors, licensed business operators find mercy from municipal police who usually respond violently to reports made by such operators.

The research, therefore, shares similar arguments with Rogerson (2016) who notes that big business entities usually find protection from municipalities who protect the interests of capital accumulation. It is noteworthy that the city of Masvingo resembles and depicts a city where the rich are protected from the poor with the latter being seen as threats to the enterprises of the former. This research fully recognizes the role of the Municipality of Masvingo in creating a business-friendly environment for business entities but at the same time questions and interrogates council's

inclination towards the concerns of the rich without due regard of the livelihoods of the poor. Thus, modern urban planning widens the gap between the poor and the rich in the sense that it does not take street vending into consideration as argued by (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015) thereby placing the poor on the margins of the City. Widening the gap between the poor and the rich came as a result of inheriting the modernist urban planning ideology which was viewed by Benit-Gbaffou (2017) as ignorant to the needs of the poor. Placing the poor in the margins of the city was evidenced both in Zimbabwe and South Africa through the Operation Restore Order (Operation Murambatsvina) which took place in 2005 in Zimbabwe see Potts (2005) and the Operation Clean Sweep which took place in 2013 in Johannesburg (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). All these operations cleared all informal activities in the Central Business Districts blaming informality for causing dirt and disorder in cities. Following such practices, it is, therefore, the contention of the research that while obliged to deliver its mandate in ensuring that every business endeavour is conducted at a proper place without jeopardising the ability of other business endeavours to freely pursue their businesses, municipal authorities in Masvingo should integrate street vending into the mainstream economy. This, if done with the political will to properly regulate vending activities, will not only benefit street vendors but will also widen revenue streams of the municipality.

The research also unearthed that street vendor faces another major constraint of the low customer base as their goods are perceivably regarded as fake. Some customers also believe that buying merchandise like clothing material or electrical gadgets from the streets is a sign of poverty and they show their flamboyance by purchasing goods from formal shops. It emerged from the research that places at which second-hand clothes are sold are now nicknamed 'Kotamai boutique' meaning a place where one chooses clothes while bending down. People from a higher class shy away from being seen in these places which are said to be associated which dirt and poor quality clothing. Other places are also referred to as 'kumaoresa or kumaravhusa' which mean places where torn and worn out clothing are sold. Such conceptions by urbanites have a negative impact on the sales by vendors. While the street offers affordable products equivalent to the living conditions of the majority of the urbanites, this research contends that this is specially confined to food products and cheap quality second-hand clothing called 'mabhero.' Those who sell good quality imported products face a double tragedy of losing out customers as well as being chased away from the streets. Most vendors who participated in the research disclosed that because of the 'street' tag imposed on their products, customers always want to bargain and due to desperation, vendors end

up selling their products at less than half their price. In light of this, it is notable that the aspect of quality is compromising the livelihoods of street vendors in the city of Masvingo.

With regards to the above sentiments, a street vendor illustrated that,

> *"Customers label our products 'zhing zhong' referring to fake products made from China and customers believe that Chinese products are not durable."*

It was revealed that such labelling of vendor's products affects street vending since customers end up having a biased perception of products sold in the streets. For instance, fruits and vegetables from vendors are said to be prone to bad weather like high temperatures and dust hence affecting the quality of products sold in the street.

More so, street vendors do not have refrigerators and they operate in open spaces which are not conducive to perishable products. Street vendors cannot provide themselves with refrigerators since they do not have permanent places and at the same time, they are illicit and illegitimately placed in open spaces as also noted by Huchzermeyer (2011). Vendors complained that the cooler boxes which the user cannot endure extreme temperatures like the ones which prevailed during the time of research. Therefore, such problems and bad labelling affect profits and sales of street vendors. As such, customers prefer to buy from formalised shops like OK and PnP supermarkets where they get fresh products like fruit and vegetables.

Hence this reflects that competition as indicated by Njaya (2014) seriously affects the operation of street vendors in Zimbabwe. This is further compounded by the incessant surge of the informal sector which makes street vendors compete amongst themselves stampeding for customers in a scenario described by Marapira (2013) as one in which the population of vendors seemingly exceeds that of potential buyers.

5.2. Risks associated with Street Vending

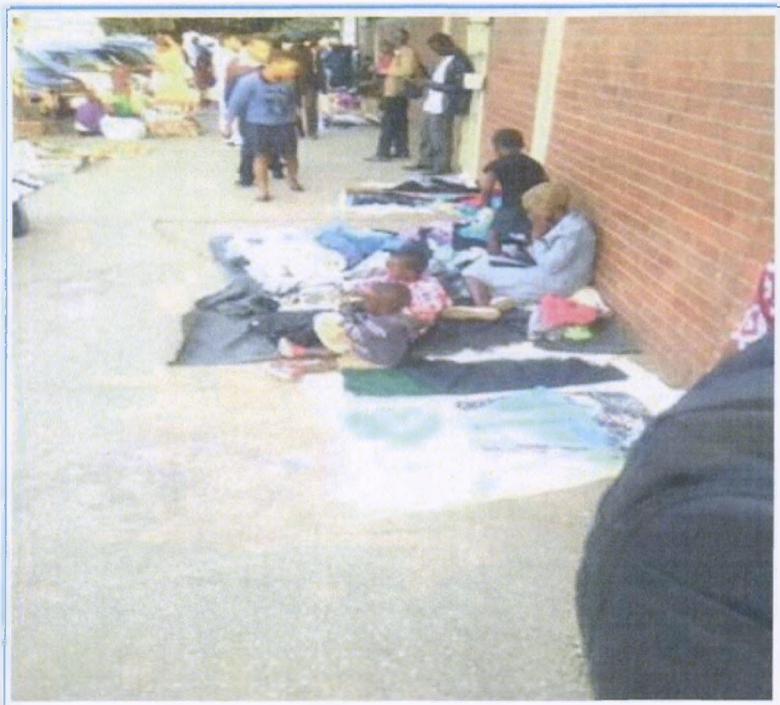
The research revealed that street vendors are prone to risk that affects their wellbeing in their operations. The researcher observed that most street vendors are women and some of them go to the vending sites with their children since they cannot afford to employ child minders who could be left home rearing children (see figure 5.2) and they do not have money to send their kids to

crèche at an earlier age. It was observed that operating with children, puts them to problems and high risks like injuries and death during municipality raids. Accidents were reported during municipality raids hence exposing children to accidents and injuries since their parents will be concentrating on protecting their wares. Speaking on condition of anonymity, one participant has this to say,

> *"Raids are not good at all, they worsen our lives. People, especially children, get injured or even die during the raids. A child was crushed to death by a municipality truck during raids at Mucheke bus terminus in 2016 when they were chasing away street vendors."*

Another vendor reiterated by saying that,

> *"We trade with our children since we do not afford to employ housemaids. With these raids, our children are at very high risk of being injured as people stampede running away from municipal police and the Zimbabwe Republic Police."*



Source: Author (2017)

Figure 5.2. Showing participation of women and children in Street vending along PnP supermarket pavements

Following the above narrative, the Sunday News (28 June, 2015) had the same argument reporting that, female vendors have to contend with rearing their children especially the babies and toddlers on the streets and because most of them cannot afford the services of a child minder or day care center which will charge them a lot to look after the children while they sell their wares on the streets of most Cities and towns. Therefore, vendors are forced to bring their children to their vending sites and these children play on pavements and even sleep on the same pavements. Therefore, this sad reality of children growing up on the streets can have far-reaching social consequences as the children are vulnerable to bad weather, disease, malnutrition and even such heinous occurrences as rape and physical molestation by other older children and delinquent adults (ibid.). Gukurume and Nyanga (2011) also evidenced participation of children in street vending trying to improve livelihood sustainability. Therefore, it is the contention of the research to argue that the involvement of children in street vending does not only expose them into risks but also affect their socialisation since they may lack access to education, which results in social isolation and lack of future opportunity. Lack of proper socialization also affects the behaviour of children since they will be exposed to all bad which happens on the streets hence negatively affecting children deviance.

Through interviews, it came into anxiety that the municipality was blam for failing to provide proper service delivery which included water and toilets. In support of this, Njaya (2014) opines that street vending sites lack proper water facilities and waste disposal sites. The researcher also observed that the city of Masvingo is prone to waste disposal in all corners and in outskirts of the town. The researcher further observed that, the city of Masvingo has only two (2) toilets found the Central Business District that is one being located at Civic Centre while another one is located at Crocco Motors which street vendors find it difficult to use regarding their distance from their vending sites. Therefore, the shortage of toilets force people to fist everywhere around the city since they will be left with no choice.

The research also unearths that street vending is exposed to health hazard and lack of hygiene. It was observed that street corners and pavements have become a disgusting sight, as vendors dump garbage in every open space. Furthermore, street vendors reiterated that the municipality is reluctant in the provision of enough bins and adequate dumping sites. Even if the city authorities provide dust bins and adequate dumping sites, refuse is not collected on time as expected (Njaya,

2014). However, vendors indicated that they try by all means to keep their vending sites clean by creating their own bins to make sure that their sites are clean and conducive to attracting customers. Also, vendors blame customers for failing to deposit litter in the few bins available in the city after buying their commodities. The Sunday News (28 June 2015) reported that the question outside of blaming the vendors for littering the city is whether the cities have enough dustbins for litter to be deposited into. It was observed that vendors clean their sites on a daily basis but the city council fails to provide enough bins to make sure that the City is clean. Additionally, the blames of dirt remains in the hands of the City council because some time litre and garbage are not collected in time.

Therefore, following the failure of the City council to provide enough bins and to collect garbage as expected, the garbage exposes the public to diseases like cholera and typhoid and the outbreak of cholera as evidenced in other cities like Chegutu. In the following section, the research present and confer the coping strategies used to surmount these challenges faced by street vendors are presented.

5.3. Coping strategies employed by vendors to overcome challenges they face in street vending

The research unearthed many coping strategies used to overcome the challenges encountered by vendors in the city of Masvingo. Therefore, this section presents and discusses in detail the coping strategies used to circumvent challenges confronted in street vending. These include the establishment of secret hiding places, bribes, operating during the evening when municipal police have clocked off from work, engaging in running battles all day long and mobilisation among many others as highlighted in this section.

It emerged from the research that during municipal raids, street vendors hide goods in secret places. As vendors illegally operate in the streets and are accused of causing dirt and pollution by the municipality, they operate vigilantly fearing that their goods can be raided anytime since sometimes the municipal police come secretly, wearing civilian clothes. Nonetheless, vendors reiterated that they do not display all their wares in the streets, but instead hide valuable goods in secret places to make it easier to escape during the arrival of the municipal police. The use of secret

places concurs with the argument by Njaya (2014) and Rogerson (2016) who argued that street vendors use safe places like formal shops where they pay a certain fee to store their valued wares. The use of secret places to hide some goods is considered useful in ensuring that in the event that one succumbs to municipality raids, one has some stock set aside to start from. A vendor argued that;

> *"We protect valuable goods by hiding them in secret places in case the municipal police arrive."*

In the same vein, another vendor expressed that,

> *"Tinenzvimbo dzatinoviga ngwanda redu kuitira kana mapurisa ekanzuru awuya kutiza kusatinetsa (We have places where we hide our goods so that when municipality police arrive, it will be easier for us to escape from them)."*

The above narrative indicates that vendors employ different coping strategies to overcome stress and shocks in street vending as argued by Chamber (1992) who postulated that every livelihood strategy has a way of withstanding shocks which it confronts. In addition, Rogerson (2016) also concurs and argues that street vendors are violently repressed by the municipality police, therefore; they employ different strategies that make them survive in their operations.

Apart from secret places; it was revealed that bribes have become a protuberant strategy in street vending operations. Corruption has become a common practice in Zimbabwe following poverty and economic hardships; therefore, bribery of municipal police by street vendors has become the order of the day in Masvingo. It was revealed that street vendors usually use money bribing the municipal police to protect their goods from raids. It was also disclosed that municipal policemen sometimes receive groceries from street vendors as tip-off for notifying vendors to remove their products if a raiding operation is about to be mounted. The practice of paying bribes to avoid being raided or to be given back one's products after a raid is termed 'kutonyora' or 'kudusa' in vending circles. This was also established by Marapira (2013) in a research carried out in the same city who revealed that bribing municipal police is one of the strategies used by street vendors to ameliorate the challenge of perpetual raids. Kumari (2016) also established that in the Indian cities, 20% to 30% of the vendors earing is taken by the municipality police. It is further argued that the

municipality police throw "boiling oil when vendors refuse to pay bribes" (Ibid.7). During an interview, a vendor expressed that;

> *"Money saves us from raids because municipality officials prioritise money than chasing away vendor hence we bribe them for us to survive in our vending activities."*

Thus, in line with Chambers' (1992) arguments that every livelihood strategy has the potential to overcome stresses and shocks, bribery has been used as a financial asset and has become the most powerful weapon used in street vending to overcome raids in Masvingo.

The above sentiments show that vendors strive to create social networks which Marapira (2013) termed social capital because the networks are useful in coping with the challenges encountered in street vending. By bribing municipal authorities, street vendors establish a network base for the long lasting sustenance of their activities. Financial asset has become useful in connecting street vendors and the municipality police in Masvingo. The networks created are kept firm and well serviced to ensure that municipal police officers and Zimbabwe Republic Police officers end up viewing relations with certain vendors as mutual partnerships hence they will have a social obligation to protect them. Thus, Giddens (1984) and Chambers (1992) regarded social networking as one of the tools used to overcome shocks and stress that affect vulnerable groups in their quest to sustain their livelihoods. This concurs with Bourdieu (1977) who argues that social capital forms the base of social life like what is done in street vending operations in Masvingo. A vendor revealed that;

> *"We use connections to survive in the City since we are connected to officials."*

Another vendor revealed that;

> *"Connections improved my profits and sales since I will be left behind while other vendors are chased away. This is useful since I will be free from competitors."*

Therefore, networks form the base for survival in street vending in Masvingo since many vendors are managing to survive in streets. In Mumbai, India, Anjaria (2006:2146) observed that street vendors whom he termed

> *"'Illegally-operating hawkers' have cordial relations with police constables, who, like most other low-income city residents, depend on the cheap and convenient products and services provided by hawkers."*

Thus, street vendors utilize these networks to survive in their operations.

Apart from assets used by street vendors to survive in illegal vending sites, relocation to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre is another survival strategy used in street vending operations in Masvingo. Vendors argued that they relocate to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre to hide from the municipality raids. It was expressed that street vendors have trading sites at Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre (DGMTC) where they operate when raids are extreme in the Central Business District. They purported that, they have permanent and registered sites at Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre but however, when the municipality has relaxed chasing vendors from the Central Business District, they go back in the Central Business District were they are many customers. This concurs with Bayat (2000) who argues that street vendors among the Teheran, retain their gains through non-compliance without necessarily engaging in collective resistance. Bayat (2000:550) further argues that street vendors in Cairo engage in "simple retreat into the back street once the municipality police arrive but immediately resume their work as soon as the police are gone." The same strategy is used by vendors in Masvingo who choose to trade in the Central Business District where customers are plenty since customers hardly come at Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre. When the municipality resumes the raids, vendors once again relocate to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre.

Vendors revealed that Municipality harassments and evictions increase the consciousness of street vendors and often defend their wares through quiet non-compliance that is without engaging in demonstrations. Bayat (2008) termed such strategies as quiet encroachments meaning silent individual survival strategies employed by street vendors to sustain their livelihoods. Furthermore, vendors revealed that they do not operate during rampant municipality raids. They indicated that they rather stay home and do other domestic work to avoid maltreatments and repression from the municipal police. It was discovered that Thursday is the most serious raiding day by the municipal police, municipality police come in their numbers undertaking severe forays. Therefore, due to such grave raids, vendors decide to stay in their homes and meet other responsibilities. Through observations, the research evidenced the absence of street vendors in the Central Business District on Thursdays. Njaya (2014) argued that street vendors use different survival strategies including

staying home to avoid confrontations.Therefore, struggles of vendors against the municipality police are not "about winning the gain but to defend and furthering the already won gains" (Bayat, 2008: 550).

Another strategy used by street vendors to overcome the challenge of municipality raids is to operate during weekends and changing their timetable adapting to a schedule where the municipality policemen have dismissed from work. Vendors revealed that municipality police do not work during weekends thus street vendors flock the Central Business District in their numbers during weekends. In addition, observations revealed that fruit and vegetable vendors operate in the evening beginning around 1600 hours until late. It was argued that operating in the evening help vendors to evade police harassment since raids are done during the day. This concurs with Marapira (2013) who documented that nocturnal vending is a strategy employed by vendors in Masvingo urban to escape police raids by operating when the predator (police) has gone to sleep. Therefore, change of timetable has become the most used coping strategy, especially by fruit and vegetable vendors. It also gives them time to rest and do other activities during the day. Additionally, expressions show that the working class diversified into street vending and they operate during the evening to widen their income. Another vendor was quoted saying that;

> *"I am permanently employed as a merchandiser and the little that I get is not enough for my upkeep, I then decided to diversify and venture into street vending to spin my income. I have no difficulties since I operate during the night."*

Additionally, vendors conveyed that they use codes and certain signals upon the arrival of the municipality police. It was indicated that such strategies alert vendors about the arrival of the municipal police officers for them to flee for safety. A respondent was quoted saying that,

> *"We use certain language like the 'cat' has arrived (meaning the arrival of the municipality police."*

This concurs with Marapira (2013) who found out that vendors use coded language like 'jira' to alert each other of the arrival of officers who are not in uniform. The researcher, through observation, witnessed vendors fleeing in different directions upon delivery of a verbal signal. After probing about the effectiveness of coded language, one respondent said that;

"Kwega kana uchishanda nenzeve ndopaungabatwa kana paitwa nyevero (it is only when you have the habit of not paying attention that you get caught after a signal has been given). Imi hamuna kuzviona here kuti padaidziwa munhu aita aziva kwake senge nhiyo dzaona gondo (did you not realise that when the alert signal was given, people fled like chicks which have seen an eagle)."

This means that the copying strategy alerting one another is very useful in escaping police raids among vendors in Masvingo.

Vendors also revealed the use of what's App groups to alert each other during the arrival of the police or informing each other about the areas where the police are undertaking raids. Such survival strategies show levels of unity and intimacy amongst vendors since they join hands by informing each other about the arrival of the municipality police. Through warning, each other, goods and products are protected throughout raids. Hence, social media promote camaraderie among street vendors. Social Anthropologists like Radcliff-Brown (1952) and Malinowski (1954) viewed 'social institutions' which in this case include social media as functional in bringing unity and togetherness in societies. Social media has become one of the useful weapons used in street vending hence it prolongs the survival of vendors in the Central Busines District.

To surmount cash and financial crisis in the operation of street vending, vendors engage in rotational savings. It was revealed that street vendors partake in rotational savings by rotating cash amongst them. They form groups to raise money and rotate it amongst members of the group. It was mentioned that groups are formed depending on vendor's familiarity, trust and associations and these rotational savings help street vendors raise huge amounts of money to make bulk orders. Some revealed that they engage in rotational savings with different groups at the same time to raise more money to boost their orders. One of the street vendors confirmed that,

"Tinotenderedza mari muzvikwata zvedu kuitira kuti tisimudzirane mubizinesi redu. (We rotate money in our groups to boost our business)."

Even though many street vendors bemoaned cash crisis, some revealed that they use mobile banking to surmount cash crisis. As discussed in chapter two, the government introduced the Look East policy and in that policy, the government envisaged to find new economic fortunes in bilateral relations with China (Chun, 2014). However, it is overwhelming to note that the new economic

partner turned into a one-armed bandit by being involved in externalisation of huge sums of hard currency in the form of US dollars, the currency adopted by the government in 2009, leading to a serious cash crisis in Zimbabwe in 2015. The shortage of cash in the country as evidenced by long queues at some banks and Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) (Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, 2016). Cash crisis affected citizens in Zimbabwe and mostly street vendors since they operate with hard cash. However, following the cash crises in Masvingo, it was expressed and observed that street vendors use mobile banking such as eco-cash as they allow customers to pay using eco-cash. A street vendor eluded that,

> *"Regarding cash crisis in Zimbabwe, I decided to use eco-cash as a payment method... I even accept bank transfers since I have a bank account."*

Additionally, it was indicated that, during orders, street vendors come together and send one person to make orders. They further mentioned that sending one person to make orders helps them in saving money especially transport cost. It was also indicated that sending one person also helps vendors build social networks and relationships amongst themselves since they trust and work together. And such networks also assist them in creating rotational savings groups and even borrowing each other money. Regarding this strategy, one respondent has this to say;

> *"Tino sevha mari dzemabhazi kupfurikidz nekutuma munhu mumwe chete kunonotenga zvinhu zveboka revanhu (We save money for bus fare by sending one person to make orders on behalf of a group of people)."*

Thus, by sending one person to make orders, vendors have established a cost-cutting measure which can enhance the accumulation of more profits. The strategy is also hailed by vendors since there is no time lapsing without one going to the vending sites while out to make new orders because those who remain behind will be also selling goods on behalf of the one who has gone to make purchases.

It has been noted in the research that vendors are confronted with a challenge of the shrinkage of customer base owing to the exponential growth of the informal sector, inadequate storage facilities, negative customer perceptions on products sold in the street, among other reasons. The research established that some vendors have invented a strategy of giving customers products on credit then they pay at the end of the month. Vendors who specialise with clothing and kitchenware are the

majority of those who have established this coping strategy, preferably giving to civil servants and other trusted colleagues. Some have further developed the strategy to a lay-bye concept where they allow their customers to pay for purchased goods in two months. In this case, participants revealed that a customer pays a deposit which is equal to the order price so that the vendor can restock to keep the business thriving. This is a novel way which keeps vendors' businesses afloat in a competitive environment which Marapira (2013) described as a situation where the population of vendors seemingly exceeds that of potential buyers.

To overcome the challenge of extreme weather which impinges on the freshness of products as noted earlier, vendors devised a strategy of operating from verandas of formal shops where there is shade. Those operating in open spaces build temporal sheds which accommodate them during rains and high temperatures. A vendor was quoted saying that,

> *"We accommodate ourselves in verandas of formal shops or build temporary sheds that protect us from rains and high temperatures."*

This strategy is essential in safeguarding the quality and freshness of vendors' productsespecially perishables.

5.4. The significant of informal politics and mobilization in the survival of street vendors

Informal politics and campaigns from the national level has become the order of the day in the survival of street vendors in Zimbabwe. It emerged that, street vendors turn to political elites from the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) if municipal harassments persist. The political elite at the national level of the ruling party help vendors survive in the street by influencing the governance of street vending. It was reported that reciprocity and/or clientelism is created between street vendors and politicians from the ruling party, where politicians defend vendors from municipality raids as a vote-buying gimmick. Certain promises are informally made by the national politicians from the ruling party that if vendors vote for the ruling party, their needs would be fulfilled. This concurs with Lindell (2008) who notes that leaders of associations in Maputo created clientelism and close relationships between their associations and the politician of both the local and central structures of the ruling party to influence the

practices of the local government. Therefore, such political relationships are used to protect vendors from the municipality harassments and evictions (Lindell, 2008).

Vendor's representatives exposed that, when the municipal police seriously harass vendors, they join hands with resident's associations like Masvingo United Residents Rate-payers Association (MURRA) and Masvingo Residents Trust (MRT) to mobilise vendors for peaceful demonstrations against evictions and harassments by the municipality. Representatives engage and mobilize vendors in any activities from the municipality that negatively affect their operations. It was further reported that demonstrations calm down harassments from the municipality. As reported during the research, mobilisation and demonstrations allow vendors to participate in the decision-making processes at the municipal level. Following such engagements, it is clear that street vendors participate through what Cornwall (2008) termed the invented spaces of participation. According to Miraftab (2006) invented spaces reflects to participation by the community, who invents forms and platform in order to be heard by power holder and these includes various forms of protests such as march, 'toyi-toyi', sit-in, riot and boycotts. Invented spaces of participation were found significant in Masvingo urban since they influenced in the changing of the laws that govern street vendors at Chitima Market.

Demonstrations by vendors and residents associations were reported useful and successful in March 2015, protest and demonstrations forced the former Masvingo Minister of State for Provisional Affairs Cde Shuvai Mahofa to intervene against high charges at Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre (Chitima Market). TELLZIM (2015) stated that, following demonstrations by Masvingo Residents Trust (MRT) over high vending fees which were being charged, Mahofa took the opportunity and joined the campaign to lower the charges from $2 to $1. However, her campaign met stiff resistance from councilors who claimed that they were not able to cut the fees over-night. It was highlighted that Mahofa lost the battle but she later engaged the former Minister of Local Government, Public Works, and Urban Development, Ignatius Chombo over the issue. Chombo swiftly moved in and gave a directive that they reduce the charges to a dollar with immediate effect. Therefore, vendors use mobilisation as a survival strategy in their everyday vending operations. This concurs with Lindell's (2008) findings in her research in Maputo, Mozambique who found that vendors join hands with associations and mobilise support from

different markets and frontiers that support vendors. Furthermore, vendors' associations have become the active actors in urban and local politics (Ibid.).

As discussed in this section, street vendors employ multiple survival strategies to surmount challenges that affect their everyday operations. Mobilization and the use of informal politics from the national level was found interesting in the research. Politicians from the national level support street vending for political interest that is to gain support during elections and this assists street vendors to survive in their operations. Also, following municipality raids, street vendors revealed the use of bribes, secret hiding places, relocation to designated areas, operating during the evening, as other survival strategies. Street vendors have employed these strategies in trying to survive when operating in prohibited areas. Apart from the survival strategies, the following section shall look on the governance of street vending in Masvingo and arguments shall be drawn from different scholars.

5.5. Governance of street vending

Masvingo city council adopted the Hawkers and Street Vendors By-Laws of 1984 which were repealed to produce designated areas for street vending. As mentioned in chapter three (5.3.) Masvingo city council provided designated vending areas including Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre in town, fruit, and vegetable marketplaces in Mucheke and Rujeko, among others. This was adopted in a bid to control and govern street vending in Masvingo. However, it was established in the research that vendors have become a major concern for the municipality in Masvingo since they prefer operating in the Central Business District citing that designated vending sites like Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre are located in the outskirts of the city where the generality of customers hardly visits. This revelation suggests that moving vendors to legal vending sites is a mammoth task for Masvingo municipality because vendors lament that customers rarely visit those designated areas. This concurs with Bromley (2000) who argued that it is easier to remove street vendors from the streets to designated areas but it is more difficult to move their customers to those areas. While council remains adamant that if vendors are confined to designated places customers will get used, vendors are not optimistic of strictly operating in designated sites citing that spending even a day without getting the required income from vending negatively affects their livelihoods.

In addition, participants who took part in the research intimated that most vendors are associated with hand-to-mouth habits where the next meal will be purchased from proceeds accumulated that same day. Having noted this, it becomes apparent that confining vendors to designated vending sites is cumbersome. Therefore, vendors suggested that, council should allow them to operate in unauthorized places during weekends like what is done by the Bulawayo municipality. And if the municipality remain adamant, it follows that the battle between City sanity and livelihoods remains perpetual posing major problems in urban planning and policing since street vendors will continue resisting fighting for their livelihood.

Moreover, such findings reveal that local government excludes street vendors in decision making and fails to address vendor's needs and requirements. The research revealed that the municipality's budget consultation processes do not reach to vendors on their own. Instead, vendors are consulted as residents thereby militating against proper discussion of issues pertaining to vendors. To make matters worse, the council has a habit of simply rubber- stamping issues hence it was accused by participants for implementing what has not been proposed by residents in the consultation meetings. This is enough evidence to suggest that the municipality implements and adopts its own policies and systems of urban planning without consulting the vendors. However, Pretty (1995) in Cornwall (2008) argues that empowering citizens is crucial as a way of depending democracy and citizens power; residents' power gained over their environment and/or building citizenship and democracy. This cannot be achieved when residents are excluded from decisions that affect their environment. Therefore, exclusion of vendors in decision makings created fertile grounds for the adoption of rushed and half backed approaches in vending regulation like the creation of Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre without putting all the required social amenities like safe drinking water and ablution facilities. Consequently, following observations, the place is characterised by a pungent smell which militates against the desirability of customers not only to buy at the place but also to visit the place. It follows that vendor's protest by leaving the designated site which is avoided by customers and invading the streets. Thus, exclusion of the poor in decision making leaves them with no choice but to move against municipal by-laws.

Street vendors argued that what they want is to be heard and included in decision making. A representative eluded that;

"Vending in prohibited areas is a movement against the exclusion of vendors in decision making and a failure to provide proper service delivery. As street vendor's representatives; we expect to be part of decision makers and city council to address people's needs in those designated areas."

Thus, exclusion of citizens in decision making marks the emergence of social protests in which the rights and inclusion of the vendors are advocated. This concurs with Von Holdt et al. (2011) and Alexander (2010) who argue that community protest challenges lack of rights and lack of the voice of the poor, and therefore, the poor protest by claiming rights to be heard and included in decision makings.

According to Statutory Instrument 141 (2015: 1074), "the council shall set aside vending sites and shall divide it into separate stands… Any person wishing to use a stand-in vending sites shall make an application to the Housing Director and Community Service. Upon application, a permit shall be issued and those issued the permits and lease agreement shall pay a fee as outlined in section 10." Relating to this by-law, street vendors argued that the city council charge them high amounts of money hence vendors avoid operating in designated areas and operate in illegal areas where they do not pay fees. This concurs with Njaya (2014) who argues that street vendors avoid the designated areas complaining that monthly fees for vending and hawkers licenses are exorbitant. Furthermore, even though street vendors sacrifice to pay the trading fee, the city council fails to combat the looming health hazard at Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre. Therefore, following the failure of the city council to combat health hazards like toilets and provision of bins, Fruit and Vegetable Market representative was interviewed by Voice of the People Radio (2015) lamenting that;

"$2 collected from more than a thousand vendors on a daily basis is giving the council a minimum of US$2 000 per day but they still remain mum about our needs. These include toilets which have seen so many people defecating in the open. The council has also continuously denied reducing the fees we pay to a reasonable amount per day to suit the services they give us."

Also, during an interview by Voice of the People Radio (2015) a vendor expressed her worry saying the money they are made to pay is not justified considering that council is not making improvements. She was quoted arguing that;

"We feel robbed because we do not see any development as we expect from the revenue we pay on a daily basis. It is even worrying that now they have closed the market because we demanded to be heard by the responsible authorities. All we want is for the council to improve service delivery at our market and also reduce the daily revenue we pay."

Therefore, following the above arguments, street vendors feel unsatisfied regarding that they pay huge amounts of money to the city council. It was indicated that the failure of the municipality to provide toilets and bins at the market manipulate vendors rights regarding that they pay fees hence they decide to relocate and invade illegal areas. Governing street vendors is difficult owing to the failure of the municipality to provide expected needs in designated areas. This is in tandem with Mitullah (2013) who opines that street vending is difficult to control and manage.

Additionally, the research observed a rapid increase of street vending on open spaces, verandas and pavements at OK, PnP, SIMRAC and N Richards supermarkets areas. The rapid increase of street vending indicates that it has become a trend in Masvingo and it is re-shaping the city by occupying pavements, open spaces and adding congestion in the city. The rapid increase of street vending in illegal areas delineates the failure of the municipality to govern and manage street vending. Thus, Mitullah (2013) regard street vending as difficult to manage and control. However, governance of street vending should be incorporated in the municipality by-laws since it is the most employing sector in Zimbabwe. The Statutory Instrument 141 of (2015) indicates that council should provide designated areas but the rapid increase of street vending in illegal areas reflects the failure of the city council to accommodate street vendors and provide enough designated areas especially in the Central Business District.

5.6. Politics on regulating street vending

It has been already noted earlier in the research that there is a clash of interests between the central and local government in the regulation of street vending in Masvingo. The conflict of interests, which is referred to as politics of regulating street vending in the research, is expressing itself in an ugly fashion. The research unearthed that the central government is controlled by Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) while the local government only has a Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front minister at the helm while municipal

policymakers in Masvingo are Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T) councilors. It follows that conflicts from the political battlefield are cascaded down to the management of street vendors who are key to the body politic of the nation. The objective will be to tarnish each other in a blame game intended to win the support of street vendors. However, street vending has become a punching bag in the ensuing drama between central and the local government as each part tries to score better than the other. This is the context in which the latest call for orderliness in the streets by Robert Mugabe when he was still President of the Republic of Zimbabwe is found.

During a Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front youth league National Assembly meeting of 08 October 2017, the former President, Mugabe ordered the removal of vendors from the streets of Harare lamenting that the manner in which street vending was being conducted was chaotic and dirt. He argued that street vendors have literally converted all open spaces into markets, thereby making the streets almost impassable (Daily Maverick, 09 October 2017). He thus ordered the municipality of Harare and other municipalities to ensure that street vending is conducted in an organized and orderly manner. Mugabe dobbed the practice of street vending a "Nigerian style" arguing that he will not accept such 'dirt' in the capital city (Daily News, 8 October 2017) and directed that the City council should clear and provide proper and organised vending sites. This was not meant to disrupt street vending but it was an order to put the municipalities to task in providing properly designated areas as argued by Minister of State for Manicaland province Cde Mandi Chimene who later clarified the President's directives following some episodes of brutality on street vendors imposed by municipalities including the municipality of Masvingo soon after the President's utterances as shown below.

The municipality of Masvingo used the Mugabe's order as a scapegoat to chase away vendors from the streets, but not complying with the task of providing properly designated areas given by the President so that street vending would be done in an orderly and organised manner to keep cities clean. According to TellZim (19 October 2017), street vendors were given an hour's notice to vacate off the streets and pavements failure of which would warrant unspecified actions. Therefore, the municipality police, supported by a combination of riot descended on the vendors and cleared all street vendors including those operating at Belmont Press, a designated area for selling newspapers. The crackdown was synonymous with the 'Operation Murambatsvina' which

took place in 2005 according to the Daily Maverick of 09 October 2017. In their efforts to justify the crackdowns, municipal authorities argued that they were merely working on the former Presidential orders and purported to sympathise with street vendors although they expressed that they could do nothing except following the directive. Street vendor's representatives made futile efforts to stop the evictions arguing that vending is there for a reason that everyone knows, adding that the economy is not performing and the promises of two million jobs did not materialise (TELLZIM, 19 October 2017). However, such appeals fell on deaf ears as the municipality remained adamant that the former Presidential directive ought to be followed.

The episodes of antagonism between municipalities and vendors which were also prevalent in Mutare, Manicaland province, provoked the attention of Minister Chimene who intervened by clarifying the former President's directive and urging municipalities elsewhere to respect street vendors by desisting from wanton harassment of vendors. She set the record straight by asking the municipalities to implement what the former President Mugabe directed properly (The Herald, 20 October 2017). The minister argued that municipalities misquoted His former Excellence's order which was meant to keep the city clean through the provision of proper and orderly vending sites. The Minister demonstrated this by instructing Mutare city council and police to allow vendors to sell their wares from the edges of the pavements in the evening (The Herald, 20 October 2017). The Minister indicated that the move was temporary and meant to allow the vendors to continue getting an income since the majority depends on vending for a living (Ibid.). She also assured vendors that her office will engage with the council and explore ways to establish proper markets stalls for organised business in Mutare.

In this vein, it is apparent that the clash of interests between local and central government, which brews blame games, is a debilitating factor in the formulation of policies which will ensure that street vending is done orderly to promote both sanity and livelihood sustenance. The above scenario depicts politics at play as Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai blamed each other for the evictions, with nothing at policy level save for political statements coming out of that. Part of the accusations is the notion of Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai that explosion of street vending is a sign of an ailing economy owing to mismanagement in the central government. Contrastingly, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front argues that chaotic environment characterising street

vending is a sign of mismanagement by municipalities who cannot provide proper facilities for street vendors. It is the contention of the research that the central and local government should engage each other and establish a common cause for the regulation of street vending and the promotion of Sustainable Livelihoods. That street vending has become a menace in Masvingo is undeniable as this research shares similar sentiments with Marapira (2013) that the population of street vendors in Masvingo nearly exceeds that of potential buyers. However, the research also reflects sentiments of the same authority that street vending is arguably the best employer in the tiny city of Masvingo devoid of a functional industrial base. It then follows that establishment of a common purpose between central and local government is essential in effectively dealing with street vending which is both a threat to the orderliness of the city and a source of survival for the urban poor.

5.7. Conclusion

There were three broad themes used to discuss and analyse data about street vending. A thematic approach was used to present and discuss data gathered during the research. The major challenge affecting street vending in Masvingo are municipality raids. The city council is too skeptical of vendors operating in pavements and open spaces in the Central Business District. Challenges like cash crisis and bad weather were also discussed. It was also disclosed that once vendors lose their goods to council officials, they can only claim them back at a premium as stipulated in the municipal by-laws. Again, problems like injury and even death are reportedly associated with the raids. Street vendors are not happy with the way municipality repress and evict them. Additionally, survival strategies like bribes, secret hiding places, changing timetables, among others were also presented and discussed with supporting literature. Furthermore, governance and politics in regulating street vending was also presented and discussed. However, the following chapter sums up the research focusing much on the conclusions and recommendations to Masvingo City council.

CHAPTER 6: SPATIAL SPACE, POLITICS OF STREET VENDORS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. Introduction

This chapter is responding to research questions which sort to understand the coping strategy used by street vendors as a response to challenges they face and how the municipality intervene in everyday activities of street vending. Moreover, the chapter exposes the significance of the Actor Orientation Approach by Norman Long and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework in sustaining vendor's livelihood. However, it should be noted that this research was written when things are in transition in Zimbabwe so the situation is changing as the research is written. Following findings from the study, the research proposes recommendations to the city of Masvingo on the improvement of policies to suit the current situation affecting Zimbabwe.

The study shows that street vending is sustaining the livelihoods of many urbanites; however, street vendors are still in quandary in Masvingo town as they are regarded as shoddy dealers by city officials. Among other, raids were reported as the main challenge affecting street vending in Zimbabwe. Therefore, daily life in the streets of Masvingo is characterized by perpetual running battles between municipal police and vendors as the geographical City takes precedence over livelihood sustenance as shown in figure 6.1. Apart from the prevailing turmoil posed by antagonism between municipality and vendors, the latter are also presented with cash crisis, shrinking customer base, and conflict with formal shops among others.

In spite of the constraints, vendors have so far remained resilient as symbolized by their survival and coping strategies which have helped them to remain afloat in the quest for sustaining livelihoods in the face of life-threatening crises posed by the prevailing economic situation. And these coping strategies included mobilization of street vendors by their representatives and/or among themselves, quiet-encroachment, hiding wares in secrete places, bribes, only to mention a few. Following these weapons used by the poor as argued by Scott (1985), street vending has become uncontrollable following the role it plays among the unemployed people and every day forms of resistance employed by street vendors. Therefore, the question come back to the city council if it is going to succeed in ending street vending? If yes, in what form that would not affect

the livelihood strategy employed by the unemployed? The municipality should rather include street vending in the economic mainstream since it is the only source of income for the urban population. Evictions and chasing away street vendors impinges their economic base since they rely on it.

Figure 6.1. Showing areas invaded by street vendors in Masvingo

6.2. Political dimension of street vending

However, the city of Masvingo sticks to its by-laws repressing and evicting unauthorized vendors. But it should be noted that, there is no political will on the part of the municipality to positively engage vendors with a view to establish common ground for creating sanity in the city at the same time creating a favourable environment for the establishment of sustainable livelihoods. Tensions between vendors and the city council are deepening because they hold different perceptions. These tensions has also come into being following the exclusion of street vendors in decisions that affect their lives. Ruzek (2015) opines that diminution of regulations and levies can be significant to making street vending flourish. Also, participation of street vendors is required at local level to

ensure that decisions made suit everyone and communication should be effective between these players. Deepening struggles of street vendors also came as a result of lack of alignment of the governance of street vendors between the central and the local government. It was found that politicians from the central government were informally encouraging and misleading street vendors to operate from the streets to sustain their livelihoods while the local government does the opposite. Thus there should be some alignment in the governance of street vending between the central and the local government and the position of the central government should be clear to achieve good governance of street vending. It also come in to the contention of the research that, if street vendors are involved in decision making, it will be easier to govern and manage street vending since it was realized that the city council is failing to achieve governance of street vending because it excludes vendors in decision making. Exclusion of vendors in decision-making forces vendors to form invented spaces of participation as identified in the research. Street vending was expressed as a protest against the failure of council to provide proper services like toilets and water in designated areas.

6.3. The significant of theories in street vending

Following the political dynamics in street vending, the research alludes the significance of the Actor Oriented Approach Theory by Norman Long (1999), which gives a clear understanding of why street vendors are rationally calculative and strategic actors responding to the constrains following municipality repressiveness and the macro-economic environment in Zimbabwe. Street Vendors therefore are not passive actors but have capacity agency to take actions to develop their conditions as indicated by the Actor Oriented Approach. This has been evidenced in the research where street vendors devised coping strategies with street vending even extreme radical responses from the local government. In the same vein, street vending is a rational way used to resuscitate the strained livelihoods. For Long (1999) structures do not mean anything, it take people to use them effectively for results to be seen. Hence governance of street vending should have socio-economic meanings developed within the life worlds of citizens livelihoods involved in the economic mainstream and development process.

Moreover, street vending should be evaluated as an economic development employed at grassroots level due to the failure of the government to create employment for its people and a battlefield

where different actors position themselves in line with the likely benefits or challenges that emanate from informal economy. Long (1999) illustrated that an interface analysis is a point at which different actors are involved in development initiatives. Drawing from Long's interface analysis, the central and the local government and street vendors are actors that can coproduce and help to reconcile conflicting interests towards the formalization of of street vending in Zimbabwe. Street vendors resist due to the failure of the government to engage them in the governance that affects their livelihoods Moreover, this has been observed by Scott (1985) who argues that people engage in everyday forms of resistance due to different challenges to show their dissatisfaction with their governance. Thus interface analysis approach will obviously lead to the sustainability of street vending enterprise since all the actors involved are likely to benefit from all developments odds that takes place. They will also come to a point where they identify with the projects leading to sustainable development.

The study also makes significant contribution to the board of knowledge on street vending. This is because in previous studies on street vending which has been viewed as a pathology that needs to be treated (Rogerson, 2016). The Masvingo experience clearly shows that street vending is a necessary component of economic sustainability in a depressed economy hence the need to formalise it. Based on agency, as reflected in chapter five on survival strategies section, street vendors are falling back on various livelihoods assets as proposed by the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, these assets include social capital, human capital and economic capital. Thus, given this contention, it becomes theoretically and practically unsound for the state and the city authority to see street vending as a threat in the Central District Business. Considering these approaches, the state is likely to benefit from regulating and formalising street vending through taxes and employment creation while the populace sustain their livelihoods. Therefore, following this conclusion, the research suggests some recommendations.

6.3. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research, there are several recommendations that can be adopted for improving the policies used by the city of Masvingo in governing street vendors, accommodating street vendors and to make the city of Masvingo clean and organised.

The municipality of Masvingo should allow vendors to operate in the Central Business District during weekends by closing certain roads which will the used by vendors after payment of a certain fee. This has proved effective in some cities like Gweru and Bulawayo and City of Harare is also in the process of adopting the same practice. This will go a long way in empowering street vendors and at the same time, the municipality will raise more revenue from the sector considering the surge in numbers of street vendors in Masvingo.

The municipality also needs to scale up its efforts to spruce up the image of designated vending sites the likes of Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre and put ablution facilities, bins, clean water, and other necessities. This will ensure that vendors and their customers like the place thereby going some miles in addressing the challenge of vendors who flock the streets citing inadequate facilities which scare customers at designated sites. Furthermore, the vision of the local authority to create sanity in the city will only be complete when open demarcation is deterred at vending sites. If the practice goes unabated, designated vending sites will remain to tick time bombs from which health hazards like cholera and typhoid can start.

The municipality should also take an inclusive approach by involving vendors in the decision making processes of issues pertaining to street vendors. This can be done through engagement of vendors' representatives for policy discussions. Council's budget consultation processes should reach out to vendors as a special category whose views must be considered. This will ensure that vendors are actively involved in the policy formulation process to give them an obligation to comply with council policies. More so, vendors' representatives are instrumental in influencing vendors to comply as seen in other cities like Harare. The onus is therefore on the council to remove the wedge placed between vendors' representatives with a view to create a platform for working together for the good of the city.

There is also pertinent need to align municipal by-laws to the prevailing economic situation in Zimbabwe. The by-laws, apart from creating a platform for a clean city, must also create an environment which fosters economic development both at individual and institutional level. This can only be done when the by-laws, to some extent, fulfil the aspirations of all the categories of people whom they are meant to serve. So far the by-laws benefit formal business corporations the most hence the accusation raised by participants that the laws are meant to protect the interests of capital accumulation. Continued harassment of street vendors without formulation of favourable

policies towards integration of the informal sector into the main economy is highly unlikely to yield any positive results.

Considering economic crisis and poverty in Zimbabwe, street vending is sustaining the livelihoods of many urbanites in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the local government should provide new designated areas in the Central Business District and/or either legalise or regularise street vending like what Gweru and Bulawayo municipality did. Also, considering the alarming numbers of street vendors, there is a need for new sites to ensure that vendors do not use unavailability of designated vending areas as a scapegoat. Ruzek (2015:26) argues that "the proper management and organization of cities must include the informal sector, embracing the qualities of the informal sector that can drastically help create jobs and livelihoods where there are none." This also helps the city council through receiving fees and payments of vending licenses from street vendors.

6.4. Conclusion

The research contends that there is still paucity of the knowledge void since people are not street vendors by choice, they had to in order to sustain their livelihoods. Also, the practices of the state in the governance of street vending is deepening following the transition that took place in November 2017 and the introduction of Operation Restore Legacy which exacerbated challenges on street vendors through state coproduction towards repression and eviction of street vending. Therefore, the research leaves academics with certain areas which should be researched in the future.

REFERENCES

Abdoul, M. 2005. *Urban development and urban informalities*: Pikine, Senegal.

Bayat A.2000. "From Dangerous Classes to Quiet Rebels. Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South", *International Sociology,* 15(3), pp. 533-57.

Bernard, H. R.2006. *Research methods in anthropology (chap. 13).* Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Benit-Gbaffou, C.2017. Governing street trading in contemporary cities anatomy of the policy instruments used by the city of Johannesburg in the post-apartheid era, *Urban Research and Practice,* DOI: 10.1080/17535069.2017.1374447

Benit-Gbaffou, C.2015. *In quest of sustainable models of street trading management. Lessons for Johannesburg after Operation Clean Sweep. Johannesburg. CUBES, University of the Witwatersrand.*

Benjamin, S. 2004. Urban land transformation for pro-poor economies. *Geoforum*.35. 177-187.

Bhattacherjee, A.2012. *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods and Practices*, USF Tampa Bay Open Access Textbooks Collection.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. and Tight, M. 1996. *How to Research*. Buchingham: Open University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice. Trans. Richard Nice*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

Bridger, P.; House, M.; et al.1973. *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*. College Press.448.

Bromley R., 2000. Street Vending and Public Policy: a Global Review. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*. 20 (1/2), 1 – 29.

Burns, R. 2000. *Introduction to Research Methods*. London: Sage.

Cardoso, A.2016. 'Informality and public policies to overcome It.', the case of Brazil, 6(2), pp. 322-349.

Carter, K., A. and Beaulieu, L.J.1992. *Conducting A Community Needs Assessment: Primary Data Collection Techniques. Gainesville,* FL: University of Florida Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences.

Chambers, R.1992. *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century.*

Brighton: IDS, Brighton.

Cornwall, A. 2008. Unpacking participation: models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal,* 43(3), pp. 269-283.

Chun.Z.2014. China-Zimbabwe Relations: A Model of China-Africa Relations? Global Powers and Africa Programme. *South African Institute of International Affairs.* African perspectives. Global insights.

Crossa, V.2009. Resisting the entrepreneurial city: Street vendors" struggle in Mexico city"s historic centre. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 33(1): 43-63. [Accessed 4 April 2014]. DOI 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00823.x.

Daily Maverick (09 October 2017). *Mugabe orders Harare Clean-up.*

Daily News (8 October 2017). *Government move to ban street vending.*

Dube, E.2003. *"Analysing water use patterns for demand management: the case of the city of Masvingo, Zimbabwe".* Physics and Chemistry of the Earth, Parts A/B/C. 28.20–27: 805.

Dunieier, M. 1999. *Sidewalk.* Douglas and Mclatyre Ltd.

Food Liability Insurance Program (FLIP).2015. We have come a long way: A Brief History of Street and Mobile food vending. *Journal of Business Theory and Practice.* ISSN 2329-2644, 1, 2, www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/jbtp 214.

Flodman-Becker, K.2004. *The informal economy.* SIDA.

Giddens, A.1984. *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structural.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Graaff, K and Ha, N. 2015. *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City.* A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalized Economy. Berghahn Press.

Hart, K., 1973. Informal Income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 11(1): 61-89.

Gukurume, S and Nyanga, T.2011. Reconciling Work and School: A Case Study of Working Children in Mucheke Surburbs IN Masvingo. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa.* 20 (3).

Huchzermeyer, M. 2011. The urban informal economy: enhanced knowledge, appropriate policies and effective organization, in S. Parnell and S. Oldfield (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South,* Routledge, New York. (pp. 219-235).

(ISTPM).2008. *Informal and Street Trading Policy and Management Framework.* Ekurhuleni metropolitan municipality.

Jones, J.L.2010. 'Nothing is straight in Zimbabwe': The Rise of the Kukiya-kiya Economy 2000-2008. *Journal of Southern African Studies.*36 (2). 285-299.

Kanyenze, G., T. Chitiyo., T. Mahere., T. Makwavarara., P. Mbire and E. Moyo.2003. Giving *Voice to the Unprotected Workers in the Informal Economy in Africa: The case of Zimbabwe: Paper Prepared for the ILO/SRO.*

Kumari, P.2016. *Issues and Challenges for Street Vendors in Delhi.* University of Delhi

Kueger, R. A and Casey, A. M. 2000. *Focus groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research. 3rd Edition.* London: Sage Publications, Inc.

Lefebvre, H. (1977). *Writings on cities (E. Kofman& E. Lebas, Trans.).* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1967. *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté.* Paris, Mouton.

Lindell, I.2008.The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City Urban.

Studies Journal Foundation. 45(9) 1879-1901.

Lyons, M, and Msoka, C.2007. *Micro-trading in urban mainland Tanzania:The way forward.*

Development Consulting Services. Dares Salaam: Development Consulting Services.

Malinowski, B. 1948. *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays.* Glencoe, Ill. provides his conception of religion and magic as means for making the world acceptable, manageable and right

Marapira, S. 2013. Social Capital and the Informal Vendor Economy in the Dollarized Zimbabwe. *International Open and Distance Learning Journal*, 1 (2.)

Maphosa, E.2015. Disability and Social Justice: *A Case of Disabled Vendors in Urban Bulawayo.*

Matunhu, J. (2012). The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policy in Zimbabwe: Opportunities and Challenges for Rural Development. In: Southern Peace Review Journal Vol. 1.2 Sep 2012.

McKenna, A. S.1996. The role and influence of key informants in community-engaged research: A critical perspective University of Colorado Denver, USA Deborah S Main University of Colorado Denver, USA. *Action Research* 11(2) 113–124

Morange, M.2015. Street trade, neo-liberalisation and the control of space: Nairobi's Central Business District in the era of entrepreneurial urbanism. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Taylor and Francis (Routledge), 2015, 9 (2).247 - 269.

Mitullah, W. 2003. *Street Vending in African Cities: A synthesis of empirical findings from Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa.* Background Paper for the 2005 World Development Report.

Miraftab, F.2006. "Feminist Praxis, Citizenship and Informal Politics: Reflections on South Africa's Anti-Eviction Campaign*", International Feminist Journal of Politics* vol. 8.

Morgan, D.L.1996. Focus Groups as Qualitative Research. *Portland State University Qualitative Research Methods Series* Volume 16 Second Edition.

Mramba, R.N.2015. The Conception of Street Vending Business (SVB) in Income Poverty Reduction in Tanzania International Business Research; *Canadian Centre of Science and Education.*8 (5).

Musoni, F. 2010. Operation Murambatsvina and the politics of street vendors in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(2), 301–317.

Neuwirth, R.2011. *Street Markets and Shantytowns Forge the World's Urban Future.* Scientific American.1-5.

News Day 28 February 2017. *SMEs minister defends vendors*

Njaya, T. 2014a. Coping with informality and illegality: The case of street entrepreneurs of Harare Metropolitan, Zimbabwe. *Asian Journal of Economic Modelling*. 2(2), 93-102

Nnkya, T.2006. *An Enabling Framework? Governance and Street Trading in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.* In Brown, A. (Ed.) Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities. Warwickshire, Intermediate Technology Publications

Nyoni, T and Garikai, B.W.2017. Cashless Transacting Economy: A Necessary Evil for Development! A Zimbabwean Scenario! Research Gate. *Dynamic Research Journals (DRJ) Journal of Economics and Finance* (DRJ-JEF) 2(4) 01-10

Pezzano, A.2016. 'Integration' or 'Selective Incorporation'? The Modes of Governance in Informal Trading Policy in the Inner City of Johannesburg. *The Journal of Development Studies.* 52:4,1743-9140.

Potts, D.2006. 'Restoring Order'? Operation Murambatsvina and the Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32(2). 273-291

Potts, D.2007. *City Life in Zimbabwe at a Time of Fear and Loathing: Urban Planning, Urban Poverty and Operation Murambatsvina.* In Myers, G. and Murray, M. (Eds.) Cities in Contemporary Africa. New York, Palgrave Macmillan

Portes, A. 1994. *"The Informal Economy and Its Paradoxes."* In The Handbook of Economic Sociology, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg. New York and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Purcell, M.2002. Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the Inhabitant. *Geo Journal* 58: 99–108

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London: Cohen and West. The exemplary work of structural-functionalist theory

Rogerson, C.M. 2016. *Responding to Informality in Urban Africa: Street Trading in Harare, Zimbabwe.* Springer Science. Business Media Dordrecht.

Ruzek, W.2015. *The Informal Economy as a Catalyst for Sustainability.* Department of Geography, Florida State University

Setsabi, S.2006. *Contest and Conflict: Governance and Street Livelihoods in Maseru, Lesotho.* In Brown, A. (Ed.) Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space, and Livelihoods in Developing Cities. Warwickshire, Intermediate Technology Publications.

Sharit K. B. and Debdulal, S.2017. *Report on Street Vending in Ten Cities in India.* National Association of Street Vendors of India Overview of Street Vendors. A Little History.

Steel, F.W, Ujoranyi, T.D and Owusu, G.2014. Why Evictions Do Not Deter Street Traders: Case Study in Accra, Ghana *Social Science Journal* 11 (2), 52-76

Street Trade in Africa. 2008. *A Review Caroline Skinner School of Development Studies Working* Paper. 51. ISBN 978-1-86840-662-3.

Stoller, F.L.2002. *Content-BasedInstruction: A Shell for Language Teaching or a Framework for Strategic Language and Content Learning?*

Tamukamoyo.2009.*Survival in a Collapsing Economy*: A Case Study of Informal Trading at a Zimbabwean Flea Market.

TellZim (19 October 2017). *Vendors chased from Harare CBD by Police Riot.*

The Herald (20 October 2017). *Crackdown on vendors begins.*

The Masvingo Mirror, 22 December. 2014.

Tibaijuka.2006. *Report of the Fact Finding to Zimbabwe.*

The Worker 22 July. 2015. *Economy*

Van Esch1, P. and Van Esch, L. J.2015. *Original Paper Justification of a Qualitative Methodology to Investigate the Emerging Concept: The Dimensions of Religion as Underpinning Constructs for Mass Media Social Marketing Campaigns Southern Cross Business School,* Southern Cross University, Queensland, Australia Western Australian School of Mines. Curtin University, Perth.

Von holdt k, Langa M. Molapo, S. Mogapi N. Ngubeni, K. Dlamini J. Kirsten, A. The smoke that calls. Insurgent citizenship, collective violence and the struggle for a place in the new South Africa. Johannesburg, Wits University.

Voice of the People Radio. 16/03/2015 16:42:00.Chaos as Masvingo Municipal Police Lock Out Market Vendors.

Zainal, Z.2007. *Case study as a research method*. Jurnal Kemanusiaan. bil.9.

Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development.2016. *www.newzimbabwevision.com*

Annexure A: Ethics clearance

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP046/06/2017

PROJECT TITLE:	Towards sustainable livelihoods: Trends and survival strategies used in street vending in Masvingo, Zimbabwe
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Luckymore Matenga (Student no #1519175)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Master of Urban Studies (MUS)
DATE CONSIDERED:	11 August 2017
EXPIRY DATE:	11 August 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	APPROVED

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 14-08-2017

cc: Supervisor/s: Aly Karam

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 18/08/2017

Annexure B: Masvingo city council by-laws

Statutory Instrument 141 of 2015.

[CAP. 29:15

Masvingo Council (Vendors) By-laws, 2015

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

PART I

PRELIMINARY

Section

IT is hereby notified that the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing has, in terms of section 229 of the Urban Councils Act *[Chapter 29:15]*, approved the following by-laws made by Masvingo City Council:—

Title

1. These regulations may be cited as the Masvingo Council (Vendors) By-laws, 2015.

1071

Application

2. These by-laws shall apply to the municipal area under the jurisdiction of the City Council of Masvingo.

Interpretation

3. In these by-laws—

"animal" in addition to its ordinary meaning, includes any bird or reptile;

"applicant" means any person who makes an application to the Director of Housing and Community Services for a vending licence or permit or lease agreement;

"authorised person" means the Zimbabwe Republic Police, Municipal Police or any person employed or delegated by council to carry out functions prescribed in these by-laws;

"Chief Health Officer" means a person employed by council to hold office as the Head of Department for Health Services and includes a person authorised to act in that capacity;

"contagious and infectious disease" means—

(a) any disease as defined in section 17 of the Public Health Act [*Chapter 19:15*];

(b) any sexually transmitted disease or contagious skin disease;

"council" means Council of the City of Masvingo;

"Director of Housing and Community Services" means a person employed by council to hold office as the Head of Department for Housing and Community Services and includes a person authorised to act in that capacity;

"food" means anything other than drugs or water which is ordinarily used or intended to be used for human consumption, whatever its form, state or stage of preparation;

"goods" means wares, merchandise, produce and in general corporeal, movable things of any description;

"lease agreement" means a document signed between a vendor and council setting out the terms and conditions governing their relationship;

"licensed premises" means approved premises in terms of the Masvingo (Licensed Premises) By-laws, 1955, as amended;

"medical examination certificate" means a certificate issued in terms of the Public Health (Medical Examination) food handlers) Order, 1994;

"nuisance" means a condition which interferes with, or is likely to interfere with, the ordinary peace and comfort of the public or any section of the public;

"permit or vending licence" means a permit or vending licence issued on behalf of the council by the Director of Housing and Community Services in terms of section 5;

"public place" means any bridge, enclosure, footpath, garden, open space, pavement, road, sanitary lane, side walk, square, subway or street of the nature of a throughfare vested in or controlled by the council, and to which the public or any section of the public has access;

"secure compound" means any area designated by council for the purpose of safekeeping of the goods removed under these by-laws;

"sell" in addition to its ordinary meaning, means barter or exchange or offer or expose or prepare for sale;

"stall" means any table, surface constructed above ground level or similar structure, whether or not it is situated within a building or under a roof or other structure;

"stand" means any area designated as a stand, whether or not it is situated within a building or under a roof or other structure and whether or not it is situated on a paved or unpaved surface;

"unlicensed or illegal vendor" means a person who is found trading without a valid council vending licence.

"vending site" means any land or premises set aside by the council for the purpose of providing a place for the sale of any goods or foodstuffs and shall be classified into various categories as specified in the First Schedule;

"vendor" means any person who is a holder of a permit or lease agreement issued in terms of section 5.

Land for vending sites

4. (1) The council may set aside land or premises for the establishment of vending sites and may divide such land or premises into separate stands or stalls as the case may be.

(2) The vending site shall be classified into categories as specified in the First Schedule.

Application for stand or stall in a vending site

5. (1) Any person wishing to use a stand or stall in a vending site as a vendor shall make an application to the Director of Housing and Community Services.

(2) Upon application—

(a) a permit or vending licence may be issued; or

(b) a lease agreement may be entered into between the applicant and council.

(3) A vendor who is issued with a permit or enters into a lease agreement with council shall pay a fee as outlined in section 10.

(4) If the vendor changes address of residence during the currency of the permit or vending licence or lease agreement, he or she shall notify the Director of Housing and Community Services in writing of his or her address.

(5) A permit or vending licence shall not be issued or lease agreement entered into by the council—

(a) if, in the opinion of the Director of Housing and Community Services, the applicant has not complied with the relevant provisions of these by-laws;

(b) unless, in the case of an applicant intending to sell food, such articles of food have been prepared at licensed

premises or other sources approved by resolution of council from time to time; and

(c) if, in its opinion, there are sufficient vendors dealing in the goods in respect of which the permit is required in the area or on site, as the case maybe, in respect of which the permit is required.

(6) The Director of Housing and Community Services in consultation with the Chief Health Officer may impose any conditions in the permit or lease agreement he or she deems necessary or desirable in the interests of public health.

(7) No holder of a permit or vending licence or lease agreement which permits the sale of food shall contravene any condition imposed therein in terms of subsection (6).

(8) Every permit referred to in section 5(2)(a) shall—

(a) bear the month of the permit and the inscription "licensed vendor"; and

(b) clearly define the area of the stand or stall and state the name of the applicant and the period for which the permit is valid; and

(c) be renewed on a daily or monthly basis as the case maybe; and

(d) not be transferred from the person to whom it was issued to any other person.

(9) Every lease agreement referred to in subsection 5(2)(b) shall—

(a) clearly define the area of the stand or stall and state the name of the applicant and the period for which the lease agreement is valid for; and

(b) be valid until 31st December of the year in which it was entered into or any other date as determined by the Director of Housing and Community Services; and

(c) not be transferred from the person to whom it was issued to any other person; and

(d) set out the terms and conditions which govern the relationship between the applicant and council.

Cleanliness of the stand or stall in a vending site

6. (1) A vendor who has been allocated a stand or stall shall keep such stand or stall and its immediate vicinity in a clean and hygienic state.

(2) No person shall permanently affix, paint or deface to any stand or stall any sign or any other thing, whatsoever:

Provided that with the consent of council a temporary sign or any other thing may be erected if it can be removed readily and its erection and removal does not damage or deface the stand or stall on which it is erected.

Health

7. (1) A vendor of foodstuffs in a vending site shall—

(a) cause every container, storeroom, preparation room or trade equipment used in connection with his or her business to be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition and in good repair; and

(b) take adequate precautions to safeguard the food from dirt, dust, pests, vermin or other contamination; and

(c) ensure that he or she is clean and dressed in clean clothing at all times.

(2) No person carrying on the business as a food vendor shall cause the selling of food whilst to his or her knowledge he or she is suffering from any contagious or infectious disease.

(3) Every vendor shall ensure that he or she is in good health at all times and holds a valid medical examination certificate.

(4) A person suffering from any contagious or infectious disease shall cease immediately to carry on the business of a food vendor.

(5) No person shall—

(a) spit;

(b) urinate or defecate;

(c) drop or discard litter or any other waste matter;

at any time in or within the immediate vicinity of the vending site.

(6) No person shall bring or permit any animal to be brought into or onto a vending site.

(7) Any container, storeroom, preparation room or trade equipment used for transporting, preparing food by a vendor shall—

(a) be constructed in such a way as to protect it from the risk of contamination of any food to be carried or stored therein; and

(b) be used solely for transporting, preparing or storing food; and

(c) bear the name and address of the permit or lease agreement holder visibly and legibly displayed in letters not less than twenty-five millimetres in height.

Goods that may be sold

8. (1) The council may in respect of any vending site by resolution from time to time permit or declare what goods or foodstuffs may be sold in different parts of the same vending site depending on the category of the vending site as outlined in the First Schedule.

(2) Council shall erect on or in the immediate vicinity of the vending site a sign setting out the goods or foodstuffs that may be sold in such site or any part of such site.

Authorised persons

9. (1) The council may appoint authorised persons to be in charge of the vending sites and such persons shall ensure the efficient, orderly, clean and hygienic operation of the vending sites.

(2) Without derogation from the provisions of subsection (1) the council may give the authorised person power to do all or the following things—

(a) require any person who—

(i) contravenes any provisions of section 6 of these by-laws;

(ii) is under the influence of alcohol or drugs;

(iii) causes disturbance, nuisance, or otherwise behaves in an offensive manner;

to leave the vending site and its immediate vicinity;

(b) require the stand holder or stall holder to—

(i) clean, tidy or otherwise restore to a fit state any stand or stall in respect of which he or she holds a permit or lease agreement and its immediate vicinity; and

(ii) clean tidy or otherwise restore to a fit state any container, preparation room, storeroom or trade equipment used in connection with his or her business; and

(iii) take adequate precautions to safeguard the food from dirt, dust, pests, vermin or other contamination; and

(iv) produce at the request of the authorised person his or her permit or lease agreement for any stand or stall he or she is occupying; and

(v) vacate any stand or stall if he or she is not in the possession of a permit or vending licence or lease agreement in respect of such stand or stall or if he or she is in that vending site or that part of that vending site as the case maybe.

Fees payable

10. (1) A vendor who is issued with a permit or vending licence shall pay a fee on a daily or monthly basis as the case maybe as fixed by resolution of council from time to time.

(2) A vendor who enters into a lease agreement with council shall pay a fee on a monthly basis as fixed by resolution of council from time to time.

Seizure of goods

11. (1) The Director of Housing and Community Services or any authorised person may, if, he or she has reason to believe that a violation of these by-laws has been committed, seize or cause to be seized any goods so connected to the offence and remove or cause to be removed such seized goods to a secure compound and such goods shall be recorded in a records book and kept safely:

Provided that seized perishable goods shall be disposed of or destroyed after obtaining written authority from the Director of Housing and Community Services.

(2) Any seized imperishable goods from a designated vending site removed to a secure compound shall be released to the owner after payment of—

(a) the prescribed penalty outlined in the Second Schedule; and

(b) storage charges set by resolution of council from time to time.

(3) Any seized goods from unlicenced vendors shall be forfeited to the council and disposed of by public auction.

Disposal of unclaimed goods

12. (1) Council shall publish in any newspaper of wide circulation within the council area a list of unclaimed goods and advise the owners to claim the goods within 30 days.

(2) Council shall sell by public auction any goods that remain unclaimed 30 days after the notice has been published.

(3) Council shall deduct the charges specified in the Second Schedule from the proceeds of the sale of unclaimed goods and the balance (if any) shall be paid to the owner within 30 days from the date on which the owner submits to council a written request for such payment.

(4) Council shall operate a special account into which money realised from the sale of seized or unclaimed goods shall be deposited.

(5) Any money not claimed within (30) days after the sale of unclaimed goods shall be forfeited to council.

Disposal of forfeited goods

13. (1) Council shall publish a notice of its intention to sell by public auction any goods forfeited by council in any newspaper of wide circulation within the council area.

(2) The public auction shall take place 30 days after the last publication of the notice referred to in subsection (1) above.

Advertisement of secure compound

14. (1) Council shall publish in any newspaper circulating within the council controlled area any place designated as a secure compound.

Payments of prescribed penalties and storage charges

15. (1) Payment of the prescribed penalty and storage charges shall be made to the council's city treasurer or to an authorised person.

Offences and penalties

16. (1) Any person who—

(a) knowingly gives false information in an application in terms of section 5; or

(b) alters or falsifies any permit or lease agreement issued in terms of section 5; or

(c) unlawfully attempts to obstruct, hinder or prevent or causes to be obstructed, hindered or prevented, an authorized person in the exercise of his or her duties under these by-laws; or

(d) sells any goods or foodstuffs without a permit or lease agreement; or

(e) unlawfully attempts to remove, removes or causes to be removed the seized goods from a secure compound; or

(f) sells any goods at any place other than a vending site or other than in terms of any other legislation; or

(g) carries on the business as a food vendor, sells food whilst to his or her knowledge, he or she is suffering from any contagious or infectious disease; or

(h) sublets the vending site; or

(i) contravenes any terms or conditions attaching to his or her permit, vending licence or lease agreement;

shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level five or three months imprisonment or both such fine and imprisonment.

(2) The Director of Housing and Community Services may cancel a permit or vending licence or lease agreement if the holder is guilty of any contravention of the provisions of these by-laws.

THIRD SCHEDULE (*sections 11 and 12*)

PERISHABLES SEIZED OR ITEMS SEIZED FORM

CITY OF MASVINGO

I, ... Director of Housing and Community Services duly authorised in terms of section 11 of the Masvingo Council (Vendors) By-laws, 2015, do hereby destroy the seized items described below, found at .....

Item	Quantity	Reason for destruction

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Full name: .....

Assisting Officer/Authorised Person

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Full name: .....

Director of Housing and Community Services

Witness

Full name: .....

Signature: .....

Date: .....

Supplement to the Zimbabwean Government Gazette dated the 25th December, 2015.
Printed by the Government Printer, Harare.

(3) Any permit or vending licence or lease agreement cancelled in terms of subsection (2) shall not be renewed until a period of one year has lapsed from the date of cancellation.

(4) Where the permit or vending licence or lease agreement is cancelled in terms of subsection (3) above the holder shall return the permit or lease agreement to the Director of Housing and Community Services within one week of being given notice of such cancellation.

(5) Any person who fails to comply with provisions of subsection (4) shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level five or three months imprisonment or to both such fine and imprisonment.

Repeal

17. The Masvingo (Hawkers and Street Vendors) (Adoption) By-laws, 1984, are hereby repealed.

FIRST SCHEDULE (*sections 6 and 8*)

Categories of vending sites

(a) *Category A*—Flea Market Sites and Sites designated for the sale of any publications, newspapers, magazines, cell phone recharge cards, phone recharge cards and any other related items as council may be resolution declare from time to time.

(b) *Categories B*—sites designated for the sale of farm products and any other related items as council may by resolution declare from time to time.

(c) *Category C*—sites designated for the sale of any other goods or foodstuffs not specified in categories (a) and (b) above which may be sold in the vending site or in different parts of the same vending site and approved by resolution of Council from time to time.

Provided that sites undesignated by council are strictly prohibited from vending.

SECOND SCHEDULE (*section 11*)

Penalties

1. Prescribed penalty of up to level 3.
2. Storage charges US$2 per day or any amount prescribed by resolution of council from time to time.

Annexure C: Research Questions

Research questions for mini focus group discussions

1. How does the city council engage you as representatives of street vendors?
2. To what extent does the interventions by the city council address street vendor's needs?
3. How does the intervention of the city council affect your operations?
4. What do you expect to be done by the city authority with regards to street vending?
5. Are they any NGOs that support street vending and how do they provide?
6. What do you expect to be done by the city authority towards your every-day operations?
7. How does the city authority address the needs and expectations of street vendors?
8. Why is street vending growing so faster?
9. How sustainable is street vending operation?

Research questions for Interviewees

1. What are the challenges encountered during street vending operations?
2. What strategies do you employ to overcome the challenges that affect street vending?
3. Why do you prefer operating from the streets instead of operating in designated areas?
4. What is your relationship with the city authority?
5. How does the municipality intervene in your everyday activities?
6. How are you managing during the raids by the municipality police?
7. How and who represents you as street vendors?
8. What are the out comes from street vending and how sustainable is street vending?
9. What do you expect to be addressed by the city council?