

A Critical Analysis of the Urban Food System, Urban Governance and Household Food Security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

Urbanisation is occurring on a massive scale globally and even more so in the less developed regions of the Global South including sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Like other developing regions of the world, urbanisation in SSA is not occurring alongside a corresponding growth in urban economies. Resultantly, it is taking place in tandem with the rising scourge of urban poverty, including food insecurity. While urban food insecurity is a clear challenge in SSA, the challenge has however not been met with equal vigour in policy making and implementation circles and even in academia. Problematically, the urban food security literature often focuses on one element of the food system without giving due attention to other components of the system. Resultantly, broader systemic failures and the dynamics related to the different actors across the system-elements are missed. There has thus been recent calls to embrace urban governance in studying urban food systems, which this study does.

The thesis examines the urban food system in Bulawayo (in Zimbabwe) with specific reference to urban governance and household food security to understand sociologically the complex multi-dimensional processes, structures, systems, and practices underpinning the urban food system. As a result of the complex nature of food systems, an eclectic analytical framework is employed encompassing Obeng Odoom's DED framework, Clapp and Fuchs' framework of power, Gaventa's power cube and theories of everyday life derived from de Certeau and Lefebvre. Methodologically, the study is informed by a Critical Realism paradigm which accommodates the convergent mixed methods research design employed. The research strategy employed was that of a survey and case study.

Key findings reveal that the Bulawayo food system, from production to consumption, is complex and is nested within broader national and international food systems. Although without a direct and explicit mandate on food security, the local authority is at the centre of urban governance processes as it employs a plethora of strategies to influence the nature of the food system. However, the study reveals that the food system is as much a construction from below through the agential activities of the urban poor.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my late father, Cephas Maphosa, a devoted educationist and my mother, Thokozile Maphosa, who both inspired me to strive for excellence in education from a tender age. I also dedicate this thesis to my wife Tumelo and our children Mduduzi, Thandolwenkosi, Neeso, Nomandla and Inomusa. Let this be your springboard to reach for even greater heights. Love you all!

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	African Advisory Board
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFNs	Alternative Food Networks
AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
BCC	Bulawayo City Council
BPRA	Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BURA	Bulawayo Residents Association
BVTA	Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association
CAP	Command Agriculture Programme
CBD	Central Business District
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DED	Decentralisation Entrepreneurialism Democratisation
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FANTA	Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
Ft	Feet
Freq.	Frequency
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMAZ	Grain Marketing Association of Zimbabwe
GMB	Grain Marketing Board

GMOs	Genetically Modified Organisms
GNU	Government of National Unity
Ha	Hectare
HDDS	Household Dietary Diversity Score
HFIAP	Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence
HFIAS	Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
HH	Household
HLPE	High Level Panel of Experts
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
Kg	Kilogramme
MAHFP	Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NBAZ	National Bakers Association of Zimbabwe
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
No.	Number
NRZ	National Railways of Zimbabwe
N(UA)ARA	Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act
PDC	Provincial Development Coordinator
PF-ZAPU	Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union
R\$	Rhodesian Dollar
RTCP	Regional Town and Country Planning Act
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SI	Statutory Instrument
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
Std.	Standard
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
UA	Urban Agriculture
UN	United Nations
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZIMVAC	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
ZINARA	Zimbabwe National Road Administration
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority
ZPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZWL	Zimbabwe Dollar

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Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION

More than with any other of our biological needs, the choices we make around food affect the shape, style, pulse, smell, look, feel, health, economy, street life and infrastructure of the city. (Roberts, 2001, p.7).

1.1 Introduction

Roberts' assertion captured in the above epigraph aptly describes the central thinking espoused in this study. This thinking underscores the centrality of food as a prism of understanding urban life, or any society's life for that matter, given its importance in people's lives. To this end, this thesis examines the urban food system in Bulawayo (in Zimbabwe) with specific reference to urban governance and household food security in order to understand sociologically the complex multi-dimensional processes, structures, systems and practices underpinning the urban food system. The study takes counsel from Porter et al. (2007, p.116) who argue that "[w]e need to know more about how ... formal and informal regulatory systems operate if we are to improve access to markets and thus enhance urban food supplies." Bulawayo, which is Zimbabwe's second largest city, falls under municipal and metropolitan governance marked by vertically divided authority (Resnick, 2014) in that the city council is controlled by the opposition party and reports to a central government which intervenes intrusively in urban governance processes.

Urban food systems incorporate an array of agents and institutions (and their interlinked activities) related to the production, processing, distribution, preparation, and consumption of food. Urban governance processes are invariably embedded in these systems, and household food security is in part contingent on urban food system dynamics (Battersby & Watson, 2019; Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations [FAO], 2018; Ruben et al., 2018).

This chapter introduces the study by discussing the research problem in its appropriate context. In terms of organisation, after this introduction, the relevant research context is discussed leading to the statement of the research problem. Subsequently, the purpose statement is proffered where the general aim and specific objectives are discussed. The final part of the chapter outlines the contents of the entire thesis.

1.2 Research context

Urbanisation is occurring on a massive scale globally, such that at the time of the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, 54% of the global population lived in urban areas (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-Habitat], 2020). UN-Habitat

(2020) further predicts that by the end of its 20-year New Urban Agenda period in 2036, 62% of the world's population will be residing in urban areas. The importance of urbanisation as a process is underscored by the fact that the United Nations (UN) lists it amongst what it calls the five demographic megatrends that greatly impact social change and are critical in “defining the course of progress towards sustainable development” (UN, 2020, p. ii).

Of interest is that most of the urbanisation is occurring in the less developed regions of the Global South, including East Asia, South Asia and Africa (UN-Habitat, 2020; World Bank Group, 2021). For instance, Africa's urban growth rate is almost 11 times that of Europe (UN-Habitat, 2016, p.7), and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has the highest rate of urbanisation (Manjengwa et al., 2016, p.27). The World Bank Group (2021) attributes this fast rate of urbanisation to three factors, namely, high rate of natural population increase, rural to urban migration and historically low rates of urbanisation compared to other regions. For Southern Africa, Teye (2018) points out that historically the region has always had the highest proportion of the urban population starting at 37.7% in 1950 through to 53.8% in 2000, 61.6% in 2015 and a projected 74.3% in 2050. This is against projected figures of 55.9% for Africa and 54.8% for SSA by 2050. However, some scholars such as Potts (2012; 2018) question these trends and argue that the rapid urbanisation narrative is borne out of treating urbanisation as being synonymous to urban growth. Thus, she argues that while it is undeniable that countries have been experiencing urban growth, the much-touted rapid urbanisation narrative characterising SSA is misplaced as in fact some countries within the region are instead deurbanising (Potts, 2006; Potts, 2012).

In Zimbabwe, while the proportion of the urban population relative to the national population steadily rose from a low of 12.6% in 1960 to a peak of 34.6% in 2002 there has, however, been a reversal of this trajectory (World Bank Group, 2020). To this end, the urban population stood at 33% at the time of the last national census in 2012 (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency [ZIMSTAT], 2013a, p.13) and further went down to 32.2% in 2020 (World Bank Group, 2020). Some scholars, such as Mbiba (2017a, 2017b), attribute this trend to several factors. One of these factors has been the fixing of urban boundaries in spite of clear evidence of urban sprawl, most probably for “political expediency” (Mbiba, 2017a, p.12). Some other factors cited are regional and international migration, and macro-economic and political instability (Mbiba, 2017a). Nonetheless, urban growth, which is the growth of urban populations in absolute terms, is still happening in Zimbabwe with an average urban growth rate of 0.6% per annum realised during the period between the last two national censuses of 2002 and 2012 (Mbiba, 2017b, p.3).

Like other developing regions of the world, urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa is not occurring alongside a corresponding growth in urban economies (Blekking et al., 2017; Fox, 2012; Haysom, 2014). Resultantly, it is taking place in tandem with a rising scourge of urban poverty (AfDB et al., 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2017). Growing urban populations are a clear challenge to cities' resource bases, infrastructure and service provision, leading to the rise of informal settlements and slums (Pieterse & Parnell, 2014; Resnick, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2008, 2014) and to what are sometimes called 'pirate cities' (Simone, 2006) because low-income residents rely on illegal or pirated activities and services. There is also ongoing socio-economic differentiation in urban centres, or "two cities within one city" (UN-Habitat, 2006, p. v), including the prevalence in urban Zimbabwe of low-income, high-density and high-income, low-density areas.

1.3 Statement of the problem

One of the major problems confronting the burgeoning urban African landscape is food insecurity (Battersby, 2012; Davies et al., 2021). This is because amongst other things, "the demands placed on the urban system ... are unique to the region and may affect household-level attainment differently than in other parts of the world" (Blekking et al., 2017, p.2). In 2020, the sub-Saharan African region recorded a severe food insecurity rate of 29.5% against a world average of 11.9%, with southern Africa's rate pegged at 22.7% (FAO et al., 2021, p.17). FAO et al. (2017, p.17) further point out that in 2020 the prevalence of moderate or severe food insecurity stood at 66.2% against the world's 30.4% and southern Africa's 49.7%. While limited urban-specific figures exist for these regions with respect to food insecurity (Crush & Frayne, 2010), there are relevant case studies in the prevailing literature. For instance, in a survey conducted in 11 cities in 9 southern African countries, 76% of households in low-income urban areas were moderately or severely food insecure (Frayne et al., 2010, p.30). In Ghana's medium-sized towns of Techiman and Tamale, Ayerakwa (2017, p.224) found that just over 52% of households experienced varied levels of food insecurity. A Kenyan survey of 30,000 households in two slums revealed 85% were food insecure (Kimani-Murage et al., 2014, p.1102).

With reference to Zimbabwe, and notwithstanding that 76.9% of rural households live below the Total Consumption Poverty Line compared to only 30.4% of urban households (ZIMSTAT, 2017a, p.19), the inequality-measuring Gini Index in urban areas is 0.398 compared to 0.36 in rural areas (ZIMSTAT, 2017a, p.41). Thus, while there is a clear mismatch in terms of the burden of poverty and, by extension, food insecurity prevailing more in the

country's rural areas than urban areas, there is ample evidence that poverty and food insecurity levels have also been rising significantly in Zimbabwe in line with the general pattern observed in SSA (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013; Ndlovu et al., 2019). Furthermore, successive vulnerability assessment surveys, from 2003 to 2020, attest to ongoing urban food insecurity in the country. These assessments reveal that, nationally, urban food insecurity levels peaked in 2003 at 64.2%, with the lowest levels experienced in 2011 at 13%. As for Bulawayo, the city has always remained in the top quintile of the country's food insecure urban areas. Its peak food insecurity level was experienced in 2003 at 71% and the lowest level of 17% was recorded in 2011 (ZIMVAC, 2004; ZIMVAC, 2006; ZIMVAC, 2009; ZIMVAC, 2011; ZIMVAC, 2016; ZIMVAC, 2020). The fluctuations in urban food insecurity levels from 2003 and 2020 tend to mirror socio-economic and political developments in the country, including negative effects of structural adjustment from the mid-1990s and contraction of the agrarian and national economies in the post-2000 period (Moyo, 2022; Ndlovu et al., 2019; Tawodzera et al., 2016) alongside economic stabilisation under the Government of National Unity from 2009 to 2013.

While urban food insecurity is a clear challenge in SSA, the challenge has however not been met with equal vigour in policy making and implementation circles and even in academia. To this end, Battersby (2013, p.453) opines that, “[f]ood insecurity in urban areas has been neglected by researchers, development agencies and governments, as part of a long-standing anti-urban bias.” This explains why scholars such as Crush and Frayne (2010, p.7) have described it as ‘the invisible crisis’ in reference to “...the marginalisation and silencing of the voices and plight of the urban poor.”

Food security is a multi-faceted phenomenon which has been extensively debated in the literature (for example, Burchi and de Muro, 2012; Gonza'lez, 2010; Maxwell and Smith, n.d.). It is now predominantly understood to exist “...when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” (FAO et al., 2021, p.190). Based on this understanding, food security is not reducible to levels of food production, or supply for that matter. However, this narrow view exists in the literature, as some studies on urban food security grapple with food production-related solutions to urban food insecurity challenges (Ayerakwa, 2017; Niñez, 1985; Olivier & Heineken, 2017; Steenkaamp et al., 2021). But, as McMichael (2007, p.170) notes, in spite of the world producing abundant food, “its distribution is strikingly unequal” and this inhibits access to food. These distribution and access inequalities are exacerbated by the displacement of farmers by agro-industrial entities (for cash crops), agro-exporting and market-based commodification of food (McMichael,

2007). Urban food security studies must therefore consider access and not only availability issues (Battersby, 2011; Crush & Frayne, 2011), a point advanced by Sen (1981) in his seminal work on entitlements. Sen's work gave rise to a considerable body of literature on the Food Entitlement Decline approach that mainstreams issues of access (Battersby, 2011; Ruel et al., 1998). However, as Battersby (2012) observes, even these studies are sometimes problematic. This is because they have ventured into urban food security from a restricted perspective.

In this regard, many studies have tended to downplay the heterogeneous character of urban spaces (Frayne et al., 2010), the point being that heterogeneity calls for more nuanced studies aimed at the food (in) security of specific urban populations. An emerging body of literature focuses on the food security status of specific populations by considering 'food deserts', informal economy activities, super-marketisation and informal settlements amongst other issues (Battersby et al., 2016; Even-Zahav, 2016; Naicker et al., 2015). Furthermore, a few of these studies focus on urban food systems, about which there is a relative dearth of literature (Haysom, 2014; Smit, 2016; World Bank & FAO, 2017), particularly with reference to urban governance of food systems. Problematically, though, the urban food security literature often focuses on one element of the food system (typically, agricultural production or food retailing) without giving due attention to other components of the system: "The result is that the broader food system failings and challenges associated with the urban food system, and how these intersect with the multiple other modes of urban functioning, are either overlooked or disregarded" (Battersby and Haysom, 2019a, p.57). To address this limitation, Tendall et al. (2015, p.18) therefore call for a "holistic approach [which] would account for the whole system and its internal interactions between components." Further, the interrogation of food systems at city-level (such as Bulawayo) is particularly significant as food system research has concentrated at scales higher than the city level (World Bank & FAO, 2017).

The existing studies do nevertheless validate Ericksen's (2008) observation that urban food systems (from production to consumption) and food security are temporally and spatially diverse but are increasingly characterised by the "intensification of food production, the tremendous growth of processing and packaging of food products, corporate concentration in retailing and distribution, and the rising influence of large numbers of urban consumers" (Ericksen, 2008, p.235). These processes and entities have given rise to "industrial food systems" (Clapp & Scott, 2018; Vivero-Pol, 2017). The expansion of industrial food systems globally has been aided for instance by structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and "the globalisation of food cultures and supply systems" (Smith, 1998, p.208). However, the industrial food system has not completely destroyed local food systems. At times, it has

generated organised resistance in the form of food justice movements (Andrée et al., 2019a), while informal urban food economies have emerged (or been maintained) as everyday coping strategies (Peyton et al., 2015, p.36).

In Zimbabwe, literature shows that food insecurity is an intractable problem in urban areas (Ndlovu et al., 2019; Tawodzera, 2012; Tawodzera et al., 2016; Tawodzera et al., 2012). Zimbabwean scholars have grappled with the link between food production and food insecurity in urban areas, often by examining urban agriculture (Gororo & Kashangura, 2016; Moyo, 2013; Sithole et al., 2012), including the formation of agricultural co-operatives (Chihambakwe et al., 2019) and the illegal access of land for farming (Mudimu, 1996; Taru & Basure, 2013). This is part of a broader literature which interrogates the role of the informal economy in the livelihood strategies and food security initiatives of the urban poor (Ndlovu et al., 2019; Tawodzera et al., 2012; Tawodzera et al., 2016; Tawodzera, 2012), including rural-urban food transfers and social networks outside market channels. Other studies link food security outcomes to broader political and economic developments, such as structural adjustment, fast track land reform and Operation *Murambatsvina* (Potts, 2006; Tawodzera et al., 2016; Ndlovu et al., 2019). While some of these studies do reflect at times on urban governance issues, they do so merely in relation to bureaucratic laws and regulations impeding the practice of mainly urban agriculture (Mbiba, 1994; Mbiba, 1995; Moyo, 2013; Gororo & Kashangura, 2016). There is also a de-emphasis on the question of food access and the ways in which food insecurity is embedded in a wider urban food system. Up until the recent work by Chigumira et al. (2019) on food systems and their governance in Epworth (in Harare), there has been no focused study on urban food systems, urban governance and household food insecurity in Zimbabwe. There is thus limited knowledge on the interactions between urban food systems, urban governance and household food insecurity.

In this context, there has been recent calls, elaborated below, to embrace urban governance in studying urban food systems (Battersby and Watson, 2019), as this thesis seeks to do. Conceptually, then, the thesis hinges broadly on the notion of an urban food system as a set of food-related activities (from production to consumption) incorporating manufacturers and retailers, and political authorities and ordinary citizens as well. An urban food system is “legitimised, enabled or regulated through laws, policies, institutions, stakeholder actions, practice, governance and external pressures” (Haysom, 2014, p.6). Urban food systems, as part of broader national (and global) food systems, entail diverse (often power-laden) economic, political and social processes consisting of a range of agents and institutions (or sub-systems), including urban governmental sub-systems and household-based food sub-systems (Chase &

Vern, 2014). Obeng-Odoom suggests that urban governance sub-systems – in this case in the context of urban food systems – “be examined as a cluster of meanings, in particular as decentralisation, entrepreneurialism, and democratisation” (2012, p.204). This approach guided the thesis process. It facilitates an analysis of decentralisation in Bulawayo, including the responsibilities and powers of the city authority vis-à-vis the central state in configuring the urban food system and food security outcomes, including in relation to infrastructural development. Entrepreneurialism, used broadly, considers agency and ingenuity within the Bulawayo food system, including at household and community levels. Democratisation focuses on practices and struggles within the city (including between the city authorities and households) pertaining to food access and security.

1.4 Goals of the research

The main goal of the thesis is to *understand and analyse the urban food system in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) with specific reference to urban governance and household food security*. The sub-goals are to:

- a) Map the Bulawayo food system in order to identify key food system activities and actors;
- b) Trace the Bulawayo food system historically and identify the factors which shape and reconfigure it;
- c) Analyse how the identified agents interact with and influence the food system in Bulawayo;
- d) Analyse how the current organisation of food production, processing, distribution and consumption contributes to food (in) security in Bulawayo;
- e) Investigate and assess how urban governance processes and structures in Bulawayo shape food availability, access, utilisation and stability at the household level; and
- f) Identify and analyse the agency of the urban poor in contributing to the urban food system in Bulawayo.

1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis is organised into ten chapters. This first chapter was introductory in nature as it presented the research problem in its appropriate context. The chapter has demonstrated that the existing body of knowledge on urban food security has largely taken a piece-meal approach, that is, focusing on isolated elements of the food system such as agricultural production. The

result is that critical aspects of the food system that affect household food security are missed as such studies tend not to interrogate the interaction of agents across the food system component boundaries.

After this introductory chapter, the second chapter situates the study within the wider conversations in literature on the broad central themes of urban food systems, urban governance and food security. The chapter illuminates the research problem by highlighting gaps in the existing body of knowledge on these stated central themes. The chapter theorises on urban food systems with the guidance of Ericksen's (2008) framework of conceptualising food systems. It also discusses the concept of governance mainly within the theoretical precincts of Obeng-Odoom's DED framework. In conceptualising governance, inevitably issues of power arise and the study interrogates the concept of power within the confines of mainly Clapp and Fuchs' framework of conceptualising power complemented by Gaventa's power cube. Furthermore, given that food systems operate in socially constructed spaces where urban governance structures and processes act to condition people's everyday practices and are in turn reconfigured by the same, the chapter interrogates theories on the production of space. To this end, Henri Lefebvre and Michael de Certeau provide the appropriate theoretical tools. The chapter ends by discussing the historical evolution of the concept of food security.

Two chapters, that is, chapters three and four, work together in pursuing one of the subsidiary objectives which seeks to trace the Bulawayo food system historically and identify the factors which shape and reconfigure it. Chapter three discusses the Zimbabwean food system more broadly given that the Bulawayo food system is situated within this broader system. For instance, there are certain national institutional structures and processes that affect the Bulawayo food system. The chapter provides the historical context surrounding the development of Zimbabwe's food system. It shows how key historical epochs have been redefining key elements of the food system. These key epochs include the colonial and post-independence epochs. The colonial epoch was characterised by amongst other things primitive accumulation and modernisation of food systems whereas the post-independence era is characterised by a myriad of attempts to redress the injustices of colonialism.

Building on this historical context, chapter four specifically discusses the historical context of the development of the Bulawayo food system. Similarly, the chapter demonstrates that the food system in Bulawayo specifically has undergone various transformations linked to broader socio-economic and political developments. Some of these developments in the colonial era relate to the institutional framework leading to the establishment of Bulawayo as a municipality and the visions thereof. The chapter shows that from the onset the city was

divided into what Mamdani (1996) calls “citizens and subjects” with white citizens on the one hand and black subjects on the other having differing experiential realities of urban life. Furthermore, following the DED framework, the chapter shows that there was effectively a centralisation of power, with entrepreneurship opportunities largely the preserve of ‘citizens’ to the detriment of ‘subjects’ and democracy lacking. Finally, the chapter relates post-independence developments which attempted to alter the food system environment created in the colonial era.

The methodological path followed in studying urban food systems, urban governance and household food security is comprehensively discussed in chapter five. Chapter five indicates that the study is informed by Critical realism which accepts the compatibility (of worldviews) thesis, or at least that each worldview provides insights into one dimension of social reality. Critical realism puts forward the argument that research can make use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to help make up for the weaknesses of each other. The chapter brings out the research design adopted, which is the convergent mixed methods. It also shows that the research strategy employed is that of a survey and case study. Chapter five describes in detail the methodological procedures followed in sampling, data collection, processing, analysis and presentation and the justification thereof. It further discusses the ethical procedures observed.

Chapter six is the first of the four empirical chapters. Being a largely descriptive and overarching chapter, it fulfils aspects of three of the thesis’ secondary objectives. Firstly, it maps the contemporary food system mainly following the flow of a five-item food list of maize, wheat, fresh produce (tomatoes and leafy vegetables), meat and beans. In doing so, the chapter brings out key food system activities and actors. Secondly, in mapping these flows, the chapter simultaneously addresses the study objective that analyses how the identified agents interact with and influence the food system in Bulawayo. Thirdly, the chapter examines how the current organisation of food production, processing, distribution and consumption broadly contribute to food (in) security in Bulawayo. Given that it is the first of the empirical chapters, chapter six also presents demographic summaries of study participants.

The seventh chapter examines how urban governance processes and structures affect household level food security. This is in fulfilment of the study’s subsidiary objective that seeks to investigate and assess how urban governance processes and structures in Bulawayo shape food availability, access, utilisation and stability at the household level. Thus, the chapter examines how urban governance processes and structures either facilitate or constrain the household and its activities in so far as food security is concerned. The chapter presents findings

relating to food security as discerned through a suite of food security proxy indicators that include the Household Food Insecurity Access Score (HFIAS), Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) and the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS). Furthermore, the discussion on food security is guided by its four pillars, which are availability, access, utilisation and stability.

Chapter eight subsequently examines the agential activities of the urban poor as they navigate their way within the food system. This is in fulfilment of the study's secondary objective which seeks to identify and analyse the agency of the urban poor in contributing to the urban food system in Bulawayo. As such, the chapter brings out an understanding of the agency of the urban poor in the food system. This includes exploring their participation in food production in order to highlight the challenges they face and the agential initiatives they take to overcome those challenges for better food security outcomes. As well, the chapter examines the participation of the poor in food processing, packaging and distribution. In addition, an exploration of the urban poor's participation in food retail is done. Finally, the chapter explores how households navigate negative food system outcomes in their households. In doing all this, the chapter gets theoretical guidance on issues of power from Clapp and Fuchs' (2009) framework of power and Gaventa's (2005) power cube, and from Lefebvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984, 1988, 1999) as key theorists on 'everyday' practices.

Chapter nine complements the preceding empirical chapters through presenting everyday narratives of four households. These narratives relate to the households' experiences with and within the Bulawayo food system. Thus, chapter nine illuminates key issues raised in the preceding three empirical chapters by bringing out concrete experiences of these select households.

Chapter ten brings the study to a close by revisiting the study objectives and summarising key findings related to each of the objectives. Furthermore, appropriate conclusions are drawn in relation to the study's main objective. This includes showing how the study of the Bulawayo food system relates to the analytical framework that guided the study on the one hand and how the study has contributed to the analytical framework. Finally, the limitations of the study are discussed and the chapter ends by proffering insights into potential areas requiring further academic attention.

Chapter 2 : THEORISING URBAN FOOD SYSTEMS, URBAN GOVERNANCE AND FOOD SECURITY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the current study within the broader debates in existing literature on mainly urban food systems, urban governance and household food security. It discusses the theoretical frameworks which anchor the study's understanding of the urban food system and urban governance. Because of the diverse nature of actors, activities and processes constituting food systems it follows that it may be difficult to fully appreciate them from one theoretical perspective. To this end, an eclectic approach has been taken in theoretically grounding the study. To conceptualise food systems, the study is mainly guided by Ericksen's (2008) framework with the support of other theorists who have grappled with the subject of conceptualising food systems. On the urban governance side, the study is anchored on Obeng-Odoom's (2012, 2017) DED (Decentralisation, Entrepreneurialism and Democratisation) analytical framework. Furthermore, in view of the fact that at the heart of urban governance processes lie power dynamics which mediate the interaction of different actors involved in urban governance and urban food systems, the chapter also discusses the concept of power. The discussion of power takes off from Clapp and Fuchs' (2009) conceptualisation of power as instrumental, discursive and structural. Finally, in view of the fact that people are at the heart of the urban food system, the chapter also explores the theorisation of space and everyday practices. To this end, the study is guided by Michel de Certeau theorisation on the practice of everyday life and Henri Lefebvre's conceptual triad of space.

In terms of organisation, after this introduction, the chapter conceptually frames food systems which is followed by a discussion on the framing of governance in general and urban governance in particular. The discussion reviews literature on cases of urban governance highlighting actors and objects of urban governance in the context of urban food systems especially within the African continent. The subsequent section interrogates the concept of power and the theorisation on space making. Finally, the chapter reviews literature on the concept of food security with a view to establishing its dimensions and the related approaches and indices used to measure it.

2.2 Understanding food systems

The concept of a food system has a long-standing tradition of academic inquiry albeit with varying levels of attention in different historical epochs (Marion, 1986). In the recent past it has (re-) gained traction in academia and policy making circles owing to a variety of concerns “ranging from environmental, equity, power, trade, to dietary and health issues” (Béné et al., 2019, p.117). In order to appropriately understand the concept of a food system, there is a need to discuss it in relation to associated concepts. To this end, this subsection discusses the concept of a food system in relation to other concepts which are closely related to it, or which help to illuminate its understanding. Amongst these are concepts such as food chain, food webs, food networks and food environment.

A food system has been variously understood. It has been understood as a “set of activities ranging from production through to consumption” (Ericksen, 2008, p.234). It has also been conceptualised as “a highly integrated system that includes everything from farm input suppliers to retail outlets, from farmers to consumers” (Kneen, 1995, p.11). These two definitions which are similar to many others in literature project the food system in a linear form which explains why it is sometimes described through statements such as ‘farm to fork’ or ‘land to mouth’ or ‘farm to table’ or ‘fish to dish’ in literature (Kneen, 1995; Parsons et al., 2019). Such an approach is valuable in so far as recognising that all activities and actors are interlinked and hence are a system. However, taking such a linear approach (popularly known as the food chain or value chain approach) is problematic because it masks the complex interactions amongst the various elements that constitute a particular food system. To this end, some scholars argue that such an approach is inward looking and thus in the process overlooks other intervening factors which are critical in influencing food system activities (Ruben et al., 2019; Sobal et al., 1998). They further aver that this food chain approach tends to focus on the sequential aspects of the system and “on limited parts of the chain with the omission of preceding or succeeding factors” (Sobal et al., 1998, p.855). Ericksen (2008) adds to the critique by noting that following the linear approach in the conceptualisation of the food system misses the essence of a food system which at its core encapsulates drivers and outcomes over and above the activities. It is in this vein that whilst the current study uses aspects of the food chain approach in assessing the levels of food (in-) security in Bulawayo, it nonetheless does so in a manner that recognises the import of the broader environment in shaping the food system, hence the mainstreaming of the urban governance element.

Another strand of literature projects food systems as food cycles where the object of attention is on “how objects and information link back across different stages or levels” (Sobal et al., 1998, p.855). As such, unlike the food chain model, which is linear in orientation, the food cycle model is cyclical in that it recognises the feedback loops amongst the different elements that constitute the food system. For instance, whereas in the food chain approach food disposal might be seen as the last element in the chain, in the food cycle model it instead reconnects with the initial stages of the cycle by for instance providing manure for supporting plant life. Whereas the food cycle model adds the feedback dimension to the linear food chain model it however still remains deficient in that it only gives “minimal consideration of influences that occur outside flows through the system” (Sobal et al., p.856). Resultantly, critical elements that influence the nature and outcomes of the food system such as the governance elements are not properly considered. This in spite the fact that such contextual elements somehow play a critical role in shaping the nature and outcomes of the food system. In this respect, Ericksen (2008, p.243) argues that “as food systems are coupled social and ecological systems, institutions play a key role in mediating between the social and ecological processes and resources.” It is in this respect that the current study goes beyond simply examining the interconnections amongst the different elements that constitute the urban food system but goes a step further by unpacking the institutional order mediating the interconnections.

Food systems are also presented as food webs in literature. The focus of this approach is on the networks created by different actors involved in the functioning and control of the food system. As such it highlights the relationships that obtain amongst different actors and how the relationships control and influence the form of the system (Sobal et al., 1998). The focus on relationships, notwithstanding how distant they are, is critical as it draws one to the issues of power and control within the system. However, the major limitation of this approach in the context of this study is the “de-emphasis of the environment within which food webs operate” (Sobal et al., 1998, p.856).

Finally, some literature on food systems project food systems as food contexts. In this approach the emphasis is on the relationships between the food system and its environments. The contexts specify both the physical and social environments. The food context approach’s strong point is the consideration of external influences and constraints. Nonetheless, its weakness is that it tends to overgeneralise about the structure of food system itself (Sobal et al., 1998).

To counteract the limitations highlighted in the different models of appreciating food systems highlighted in the foregoing, there are some scholars that have developed integrated conceptual models that take specific elements from each of the models highlighted in the foregoing to give a holistic framework. One such scholar is Ericksen (2008) who has proposed a broad framework to help bring clarity and a common tool in the understanding of food systems. Ericksen's framework incorporates the actors and activities involved in the food systems, includes feedback and interactions amongst drivers. As depicted in Figure 2.1 below components of the food system include food system activities which are those spanning the categories of production through processing and distribution terminating with consumption.

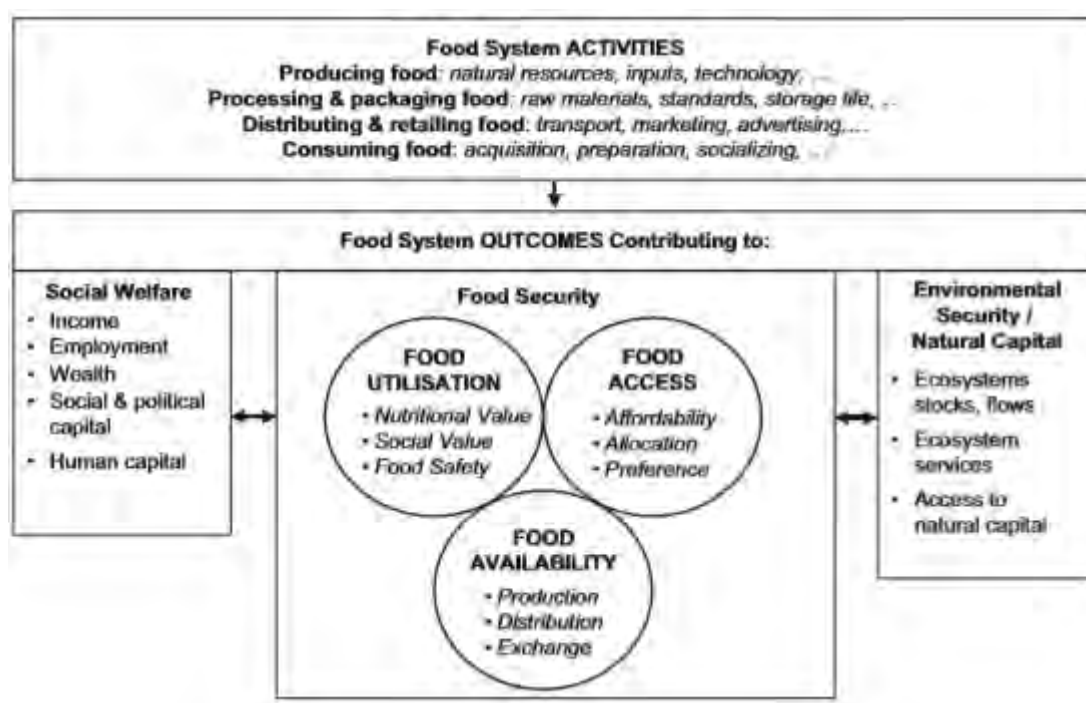


Figure 2.1: Components of food systems

Source: Ericksen, 2008, p.239.

The food system as shown in both figure 2.1 and 2.2 is also constituted by outcomes which include food security or lack thereof. According to Ericksen (2008, p.234) “[t]he food security status of any group can be considered as the principal outcome of food systems....” Food security manifests in four dimensions, which are food utilisation, food access, food availability and stability. However, these will not be discussed in greater detail at this juncture but instead they will be discussed in the latter parts of the chapter. Suffice to point out at this stage that

conceptualising food security from a food systems approach recognises that “food security is the outcome of a complex interaction of multiple factors at multiple levels” (de Bruin, 2018, p.6).

The food system components highlighted in figure 2.1 do not reflect the holistic nature of food systems. To this end, Ericksen (2008) argues for the broadening of the concept to also include drivers which can be economic, social or environmental. Thus, as depicted in figure 2.2 below there are Global environmental change (GEC) drivers which cover a plethora of environmental changes. While these changes can be seen as drivers on the one hand, on the other hand they are themselves impacted by food system activities. Furthermore, the framework also takes into consideration the environment in its broad sense which includes economic, political, social and natural dimensions and the critical factors and processes that influence it.

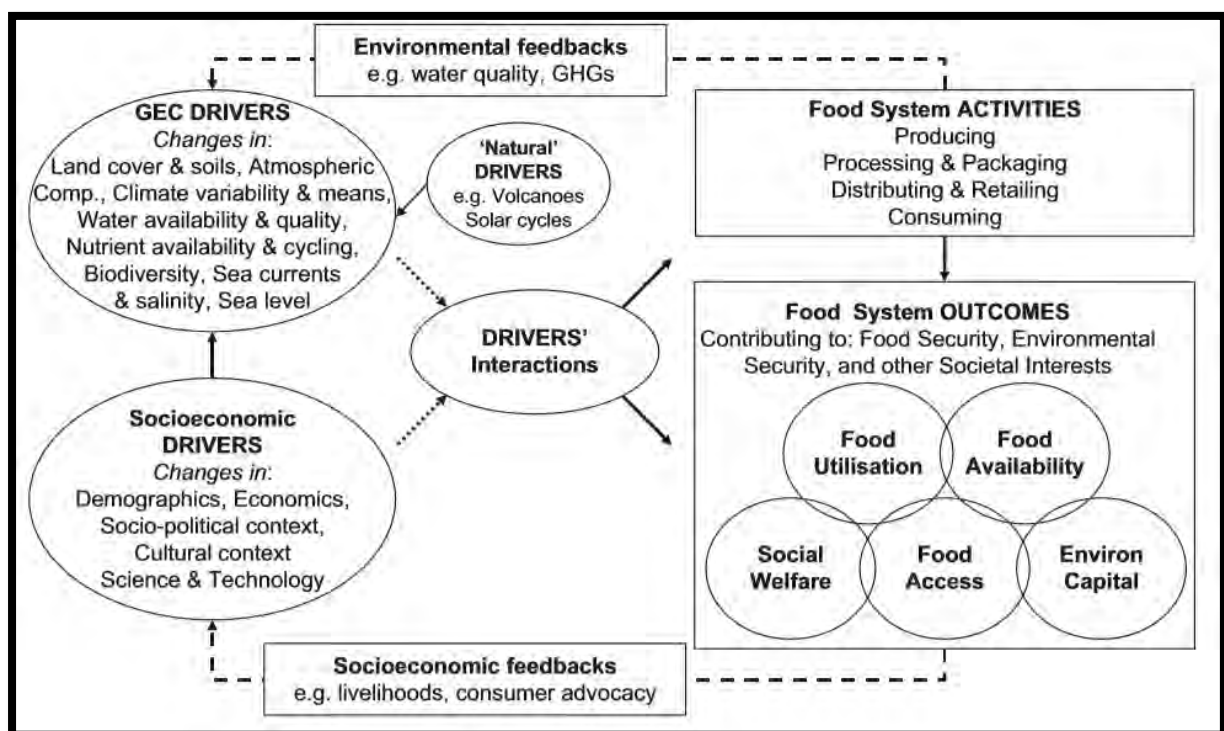


Figure 2.2: Food systems and their drivers

Source: Ericksen, 2008, p.239.

Thus, basing on Ericksen’s model above, for one to fully appreciate the food system, one needs to examine the various elements that constitute it and how they interact. For instance, the food system epitomises the economy through the reigning market systems through which all food related products and services are sold and procured. Politically, the food system encapsulates

policies and regulations that affect the entire gamut of activities and actors involved in one way or another in any food related endeavours. Furthermore, as the different actors interact there are power dynamics between different actors in the system. Thus, the political aspect of the food system “exposes the control that different groups exert over one another in various parts of the system” (de Bruin, 2018, p.4). Socially, food is a cultural expression as Parsons et al., (2019, p.3) argue that “culture, society and religion, the media and education all influence the beliefs and values which impact on what and how people eat. Food forms part of people’s identities and social aspirations.” Therefore, given that a food system is constituted by a plethora of activities, institutions and actors, this study adopts FAO’s comprehensive definition of a food system; a definition that captures all the essential elements of the food system discussed in the foregoing. FAO (2013, p.3) opines that food systems:

encompass[ing] the entire range of activities involved in the production, processing, marketing, consumption and disposal of goods that originate from agriculture, forestry or fisheries, including the inputs needed and the outputs generated at each of these steps. Food systems also involve the people and institutions that initiate or inhibit change in the system as well as the socio-political, economic and technological environment in which these activities take place.

Notwithstanding that the concept of a food system lends itself to a common understanding such as the one just provided from FAO, it is critical to note that it is usually qualified through terms such as ‘local’, ‘global’, ‘conventional’, ‘corporate’, ‘industrial’, ‘alternative’, ‘regional’ and ‘urban’ implying that all these have different attributes necessitating the need for a nuanced approach in understanding them. To this end, this particular study’s focus is on urban food systems. “Urban food systems refer to the different ways food that is eaten in cities is produced, processed, distributed and retailed (i.e. different modes of provisioning)” (Maye, 2019, p.20). However, the word ‘urban’ in urban food systems does not mean a food system that is self-contained within an urban set-up since food consumed in a city may be produced and processed elsewhere outside of the city boundaries (Steel, 2008). This means that the food system is “is not just shaped by the immediate conditions in the surrounding city-region - it is also shaped by dynamics at a national and international level” (Maye, 2019, p.20). The relationship between rural and urban areas in Africa typifies the situation where the urban food system transcends the geographical boundaries of an urban area with some urban residents maintaining close ties with their rural areas through circular migration. (Potts 2010). A case in point which is of particular interest in the current study is the issue of rural-urban linkages with respect to issues of food and how these affect food

security in an urban locale (see Crush and Caesar, 2017; Tawodzera, 2010). Furthermore, urban food systems are shaped by forces beyond the boundaries of the nation state. To this end, there is substantial body of literature that has grappled with the subject of how the phenomenon of globalisation has influenced the food system especially through the integration of markets and corporatisation of food throughout the globe largely as a result of the activities of transnational food oligopolies and supermarket chains (see das Nair 2018; Grain , 2018; Pall and Hanf, 2013; Peyton et al, 2015) What is however missing in this body of literature is how the governance arrangements in general and the urban governance arrangements in particular are impacted by this globalisation process. This study pursues this issue through interrogating how the urban governance arrangements, read as decentralisation, entrepreneurialism and democratisation have been influenced by aspects of the globalisation phenomenon, more specifically the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). It goes further to examine how these three in turn configure the food system in particular ways resulting in certain food security outcomes. This study thus interrogates this issue to further illuminate existing knowledge on urban food system dynamics in the country. Taking this approach dovetails this study's analytical framework as Obeng-Odoom argues that "the "urban" in "urban governance" is to be understood and explained as part of wider social change; not separate from it. So, urban change is but one aspect of social change and is connected to rural, metropolitan, regional, and international processes" (Obeng-Odoom, 2017, p.9).

There is general agreement in literature underscoring the fact that even though food systems might share certain traits, they are nonetheless not homogenous (FAO, 2013; World Bank & FAO, 2017) which necessitates nuanced studies such as this one, as focused studies are in a better position to adequately profile and characterise them (FAO, 2013). Given this line of thinking, the current study adds to existing knowledge on food systems as it profiles the urban food system using the case of Bulawayo and examines the attendant food security outcomes. Such an endeavour is likely to bring theoretical insights into how food systems function, what informs their nature and how they affect household food security dynamics.

A broad typology of food systems exists in literature albeit with disparities. These typologies seem to follow the tenets of the modernisation theory by suggesting that there is a hierarchical ordering of food systems starting from the 'inferior', less developed 'traditional' systems moving to the 'superior', highly advanced 'modern' systems. For instance, the World Bank and FAO (2017) suggest (as shown in figure 2.3) a typology of food systems found in most urban and peri-urban areas as falling under the broad categories of traditional, informal

and modern in that sequential order. Two of these categories, that is, traditional and modern feature in Maxwell and Slater's (2003) typology of food systems.

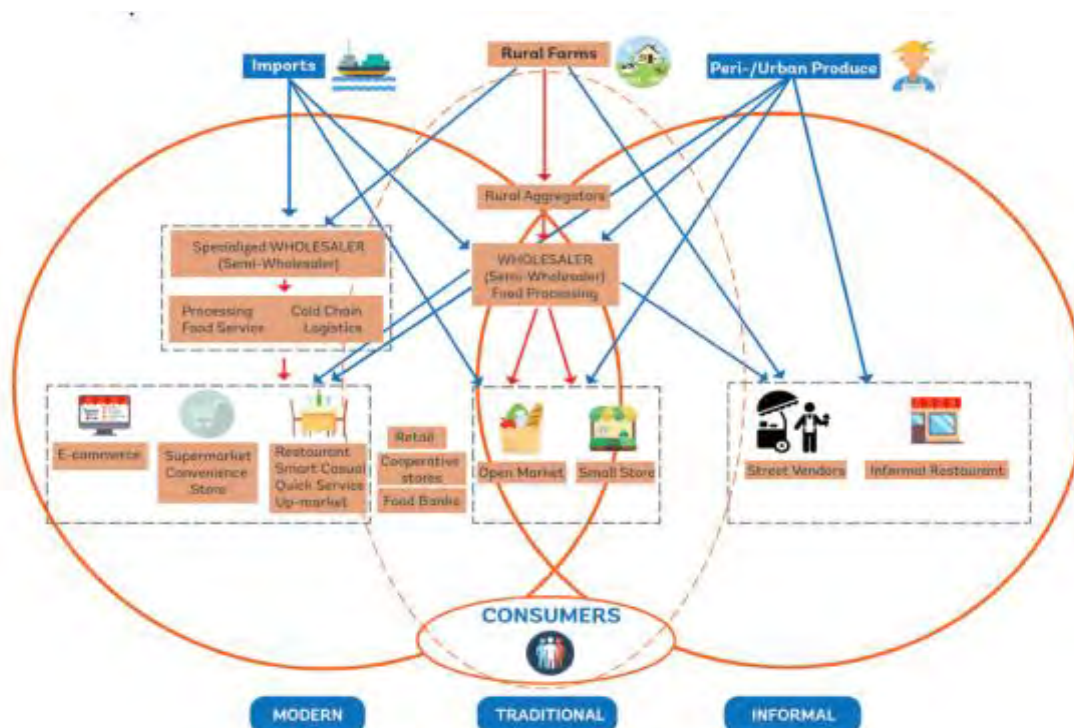


Figure 2.3: Evolving Food Systems: Modern, Traditional and Informal

Source: World Bank and FAO, 2017, p.24.

The High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) Report on Food security and nutrition (2017) also includes those two and go on to add the mixed food system which is an equivalent of the informal food system in the World Bank and FAO's typology. Traditional urban food systems are characterised by small independent food retailers which are mostly family run and offer “a wide variety of packaged products and a limited selection of fresh produce as well as providing a range of services that make them attractive to urban consumers...” (World Bank & FAO, 2017, p.30). The traditional urban food system also includes open or wet markets which service the urban community with fresh produce, wholesale markets which “provide the entry point for rural traders and smallholders” and a food processing sector “dominated by SMEs and microprocessors, complemented by some large, industrial-scale operations, many of which are foreign-owned” (World Bank & FAO, 2017, p.29). Modern food systems on the other hand are characterised by the HLPE (2017) as producing a wide array of foods from small to industrial sized farms which food is transported through modern roads and transport systems supported by complex storage facilities. The HLPE goes on to aver that with respect to processing and packaging, modern food systems are typified by food that is highly processed and easily

available in among other places “larger super and hypermarkets, fast casual food and fine dining restaurants” (HLPE, 2017, p.37). Finally, mixed food systems are a hybrid of modern and traditional food systems. In mixed food system production of food typically takes place in both small local farms and large distant farms; infrastructure for storage and distribution is well developed although accessibility issues arise with respect to the poor (HLPE, 2017). Food in mixed food systems is usually highly processed and accessible through amongst other places “...stores and markets” (HLPE, 2017, p.37). Furthermore, there is increased “access to meals eaten outside the home including street food and fast food” (HLPE, 2017, p.37).

The current study profiles the Bulawayo food system using the three types just highlighted which are traditional, modern and mixed or informal. The study examines whether the activities, processes, actors and outcomes of the Bulawayo food system lend it to these already established categories or it has its own peculiarities. Furthermore, profiling the food system allows the study to establish which food system type produces positive food security outcomes and the reasons thereof.

Whereas most studies of food systems focus on the technical aspects of the food system, this particular one puts people at the centre of a food system. This approach, according to Figueroa (2015, p.502)

...takes into account how space, power, and meaning are implicated within the system, engages with the particular struggles and histories of a community, and identifies the ways in which social transformations affect, and are affected by, the lived experience of food.

Such an approach is useful in a study of this kind whose focus is on sociologically understanding the Bulawayo food system. The approach redirects the study’s focus from food as a material good to a “relational conception in which food—as material content and lived experience—is perceived as an ensemble of relations, a kind of nexus in and through which social processes at varied spatial and temporal scales converge and interact” (Figueroa, 2015, p.502). A focus on the relational aspects of food helps in scrutinising the ‘whats’ and ‘hows’ of food production to consumption. Its added utility in a study of this kind is that it persuades researchers to focus “on the production of meaning through food practices, and their capacity to produce and reproduce social relations in general through the lived experience of obtaining, preparing, and consuming food” (Figueroa, 2015, p.502).

The foregoing discussion has conceptually framed urban food systems and has revealed that by their nature food systems necessarily involve many actors who interact in particular

spaces for the fulfilment of certain activities whose common attribute is food. It is apparent therefore that food systems embody a range of processes which are used by diverse actors to manage their common affairs. Such a recognition necessitates an exploration of the concept of governance.

2.3 What is governance?

Having conceptualised food systems, this particular section of the chapter interrogates the concept of governance in order to appropriately foreground the discussion on urban governance. The etymological origins of the English word ‘governance’ can be traced back to Latin and ancient Greek where it carried the sense of giving direction through guidance, controlling or manipulating amongst other ways (Keping, 2018). Keping goes on to argue that for a long time the word governance was almost synonymous to government with discernible differences between the two becoming apparent in the 1990s. The Commission on Global Governance argues that:

governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Commission on Global Governance, 1995, p.2).

Thus, from the above definition one can extrapolate that at the centre of governance are different actors who can be acting in their individual capacities or in unison with others within private and public entities in managing issues of common interest. Furthermore, because of the involvement of diverse actors, there is a likelihood of diverse interests which might even be conflicting at times. To mediate the conduct of a diverse range of actors and their different interests there are a set of institutions which can either be formal or informal. As a result of all these characteristics of governance it means governance does not lend itself to generalised applications. Governance processes are exercised on different entities and through different institutional configurations thus giving rise to subtle differences amongst forms of governance. To this end, Hufty (2009) avers that because of the fluid nature of the concept of governance there are as many definitions of it as there are definers. It is in this vein that the present study’s focus is only on urban governance especially in so far as it interacts with and configures the food system which in turn also reconfigures the governance arrangements in place.

2.4 Conceptualising urban governance

As implied in the name, urban governance's focus is on the collective management of urban affairs. "Urban governance refers to partnership in urban development between urban local governments and other stakeholders, such as business leaders and landowners" (Obeng-Odoom, 2012, p.206). The UN Habitat (2002, p.14) offers a much more comprehensive definition by describing urban governance as:

the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.

All these definitions of urban governance encapsulate the notion that urban governance marks a shift in policy and praxis from a statist hierarchical urban management approach to a more pluralistic and collaborative form of handling of urban affairs (McCarney et al., 1995; Smit, 2018a, 2018b). Furthermore, in literature, scholars identify different models of urban governance. For instance, on one hand, Digaetano and Strom (2003) taking an eclectic approach which fuses structural, rational and rational actor-oriented approaches came up with five urban governance models. These five are managerial, corporatist, pluralist, populist and clientelist. Pierre (1999) on the other hand, identified four models of urban governance which are corporatist, welfare governance, managerial and pro-growth. In recognition of the diverse views on the conceptualisation of governance as acknowledged by scholars (Hufty, 2009; Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Obeng-Odoom, 2017), this study adopts Obeng-Odoom's eclectic approach to the understanding of urban governance. This approach is aptly dubbed DED.

2.4.1 Understanding urban governance as DED

Obeng-Odoom's DED framework for understanding urban governance was informed by the need to bring together various themes that permeate literature on urban governance (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Obeng-Odoom (2012, p.204) argues that "urban governance can be examined as a cluster of meanings, in particular as decentralisation, entrepreneurialism, and democratisation (DED)." The DED framework seems to be in sync with Jessop's (1998) proposition that ideally three mechanisms that can be used to regulate society are the hierarchical (statist), economic (using the market) and heterarchical (through self-organised networks). Thus, according to this analytical framework, instead of approaching urban

governance as one or two of the three elements, it is much more helpful to look at them as interlinked with the interactions amongst the three determining the nature and outcomes of urban governance. These three aspects of urban governance are elaborated below.

2.4.1.1 Urban governance as decentralisation

As highlighted in the foregoing discussion, the statist mode of governing urban affairs implied a vertical relationship between the central and/or local government and urban residents. In essence this meant in this kind of set-up, the citizen or resident had little or no role to play save ‘obeying’ or conforming to the dictates of the state in their various forms. Decentralisation in the Global South was largely advanced from the late 1980s to 1990s due to the failures of state-centred approaches to urban management which amongst some of its ills included unaccountable and corrupt governance practices leading to deficiencies in service delivery (Brosio, 2000; Lekorwe, 1998). Notwithstanding this move towards decentralisation, there has however been limited realisation of the same (Olowu 2003). Hitherto, centralisation was the dominant form of governance in most newly independent and developing countries largely on the back of the need to preserve national cohesion in fragile, conflict prone nations due to ethnic, regional and religious related fissures (Brosio, 2000; Cameron, 2014; Lekorwe, 1998; Rashid, 2004) as democratic local governments were viewed as ‘irritants at best, if not obstacles to their ambition to build powerful economic states (Olowu, 2001, p.7).

Walker (2002, p.1) defines decentralisation as “the transfer of political power, decision making capacity and resources from central to sub-national levels of government.” Decentralisation comes in different forms which amongst others include political, fiscal and administrative ones which can be realised through deconcentration, delegation and devolution (see Diep et al., 2016; Resnick, 2014). It is not the aim of this study to delve deeper into the concept of decentralisation, suffice to say using the analytical lens of DED one gets to understand that not all forms of decentralisation epitomise urban governance. Instead, urban governance transcends the mere transfer of power, authority and resources to sub-national units that superintend over a designated urban area. Urban governance mainstreams partnership and collaboration amongst the different actors in an urban locality over and above the urban government (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). It is thus “an arrangement in which state power has become dispersed and decentred” (Newman, 2004, p.217), and urban governments enter into co-governance arrangements with other actors which may be drawn from the social, economic and political sectors (Haus & Klausen 2011). Obeng-Odoom (2017) opines that approaching

urban governance just as decentralisation is too narrow and thus calls for the inclusion of entrepreneurship as a vital element of urban governance.

2.4.1.2 Urban governance as entrepreneurship

Decentralisation initiatives in most African countries led to cuts in central government spending in sub-national entities mainly under the auspices of SAPs. Some of the traditional roles played by the state and its agencies were sub-contracted to the private sector (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Under SAPs, the state's role became that of an enforcer of the neoliberalisation project (Carmody and Owusu, 2016; Madureira, 2014 Obeng-Odoom, 2012) by amongst other things promoting a business-like approach in executing its mandate. Such an approach gave rise to entrepreneurial urban governance, an approach to urban governance which neoliberalises urban policy making by for instance “branding, marketing, speculation and risk-taking, to urban policy-making” (Madureira, 2014, p.2370). It is not the intention of this study to wade into the general debates pertaining to neoliberalism and its developmental impact in Africa since literature is abound with such attempts (see for instance Carmody and Owusu, 2016; Harrison, 2019; Konings, 2011). Instead, the focus of the current study is to examine how the neoliberalisation of the economy and governance altered and continues to alter the food system in Bulawayo and the attendant reactions from different actor groups. An endeavour of such a nature is critical given that some scholars argue that neoliberalism has had adverse effects on the conditions of existence of ordinary citizens since it prioritises “production and economic efficiency rather than redistribution and fairness” (Sager 2011, p.180). Furthermore, Carmody and Owusu (2016, p.65) argue that, “...urban planners across Africa seem[s] to have shifted from making the city a decent place to live for its residents to a place of elite consumption and production, the benefits of which are meant to trickle down.” Thus, entrepreneurial urban governance promotes pro-growth through local economic development. Given this nature of entrepreneurial urban governance it begs the question, what becomes of the poor? Devas (2001, p.981) answers this question by noting that “it is what the poor do for themselves that determines their survival and livelihoods.” However, he goes on to acknowledge that the poor's initiatives are positively or negatively impacted at a structural level by what the institutions of city governance do. It is in this vein that the current study probes on the agential initiatives of the urban poor in navigating their way through the food system.

The discussion on urban governance as entrepreneurialism indicates that as much as the approach is mainly centred on the economy it nonetheless is also political in orientation in that

for the market economy to take root there has to be a shift from emphasis on urban government to urban governance. By implication this means the involvement of a multiplicity of actors in the governance of a city. This view leads us to the appreciation of urban governance as democratisation.

2.4.1.3 Urban governance as democratisation

Urban governance as democratisation acknowledges the role of a wide set of actors beyond the urban government in the governance of an urban area. “The focus is on questions of democratic representation, power, and decision-making” (Raco, 2009, p.622). Whereas decentralisation increases responsibilities on local governments, democratisation seeks to promote participation and accountability amongst different actors involved in urban governance. One key avenue for participation in urban governance in representative democracies is through local government elections. These elections enable urban residents to have a voice in how the city is governed. Thus the fundamental question that needs to be asked is “[a]re urban citizens using elections to keep the actors in urban governance in check?” (Goldsmith 1995, 229). DED’s utility value in this context is in unravelling what citizens do when they are confronted with challenges in the governance of their urban areas. Do they leave for other places? Do they exercise their voice? If they do exercise their voices which spaces do they use? These are the questions that the current study grapples with in relation to the food system with a view of establishing how these governance dynamics are affecting household food security. Furthermore, the study investigates which steps have been taken towards democratisation at a local level and how these efforts have affected the nature of the food system in Bulawayo.

To further add robustness, Obeng-Odoom (2012, p.210) suggested a set of five questions to help evaluate the outcomes of urban governance. However, in this study only the first three of those questions were selected primarily for their relevance. These include, (1) “How is urban governance lived;” (2) “Does urban governance lead to job creation. If so, for whom;” (3) Does urban governance lead to improved urban services, such as effective water provision and sanitation services, effective urban transport services, affordable housing for all, and effective land use management? Thus, these questions guide the study as urban governance dynamics are interrogated in so far as they affect the Bulawayo food system.

To conclude this section on the DED framework, it is clear that this framework which anchors the present study provides a broad conceptualisation of urban governance which recognises that there are multiple dimensions of urban governance which include the economic, social and political ones. Furthermore, DED gives primacy to the intersectionality of its

constituent elements (decentralisation, entrepreneurialism and democratisation) more than their individual attributes. In addition, DED's emphasis on the ends of urban governance rather than its means sets it apart from competing perspectives. It is in this respect that the present study's focus is on a specific outcome of urban governance, which is household food security.

2.5 Key issues in urban governance

This part of the chapter briefly explores key issues surrounding urban governance. It thus explores actors in urban governance and objects of urban governance.

2.5.1 Actors in urban governance

Using the governance analytical lens is a tacit acknowledgement that the management of city affairs is not a preserve of a select group or entity exercising vertical authority on the broader urban community but is instead a recognition that there are "wide range of actors involved in governance, with very different interests and agendas" (Smit, 2018a, p.5). To this end, in discussing food systems from a governance perspective there is need to establish the actors interacting within the system, their interests, their modes of interactions as well as the environmental influences that govern the relationships. Such an approach is further informed by the fact that a food systems approach also takes a particular interest on the activities of an array of actors in either enabling or disabling certain activities and processes within the food system.

Notwithstanding the widespread decentralisation initiatives in many parts of the world, central governments continue to play a central role in the governance of urban areas. For instance, line ministries usually have presence in the urban centres and so too are state owned enterprises. It thus becomes of interest to interrogate how these central government proxies affect the urban food system. The state can potentially affect the food system in innumerable ways. For instance, it can set policies that affect agricultural production (e.g. what can and cannot be produced and manner of production), processing of agricultural produce, retailing of food, setting standards for food safety. Nowhere are these roles of the state typified better than in the subject involving Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). Two broad schools of thought exist pertaining to how the governments have responded to GMOs. One of these, which is typified by the United States "regulates genetically modified organisms for food safety and environmental safety using the laws that were already in place to govern non-GM foods and crops" (Paalberg, 2013, p.207) whereas the European approach exercises extreme caution and is highly regulatory. Most African countries have gone with the European model. This

approach has worked for Europe because the continent “itself has little need for this new technology. Whereas European farmers are already highly productive without it, and European consumers are already well fed” (Paalberg, 2013, p.216) the situation in Africa is quite different. “In Africa, ... farmers are not yet productive and ... many consumers are not yet well fed, the potential gains that GM crops can provide are more costly to do without” (Paalberg, 2013, p.216). Thus, the GMO situation facing Africa is one policy dilemma within various food systems in Africa and it is the purview of the central government to give direction and hence affect the food system in a particular way.

One of the key actors in urban governance is the urban government/city government sometimes called the local authority. Urban governance theory stresses that the main role of city governments is to coordinate agency across the local territory towards collective goals (see for example, Carmody & Owusu, 2016). With different forms and extents of decentralisation, different city governments have assumed varied levels of responsibilities related to the urban food system. Some countries such as Brazil with its flagship Belo Horizonte initiative have given a high degree of responsibility to city governments in terms of shaping their respective food systems. Belo Horizonte developed an integrated food policy for enhanced food security for its residents (Rocha & Lessa, 2009). The main initiatives under the Belo Horizonte initiatives include subsidised food sales, schools feeding programme, food and nutrition assistance, supply and regulation of food markets, support to urban agriculture, and education for food consumption amongst others (Rocha & Lessa, 2009). However, to demonstrate the import of higher levels of governments, Belo Horizonte’s food policy initiatives were informed by the “‘Fome Zero’ (Zero Hunger) Strategy” advanced by the Workers Party in 2002 (Rocha & Lessa, 2009, p.395). Furthermore, the case of Belo Horizonte food policy programme was and continues to be a collaborative initiative through a specially created department that centrally supervises all programmes. This department called the Municipal Secretariat for Food and Nutrition Security “works cross-departmentally with all city authorities and important civil society organisations and initiatives” (World future Council, 2013, p.6). It also includes the private sector, CSOs, provincial and national governments (World Bank, 2017). This institutional approach typifies urban governance as conceptualised in the foregoing where the governance of an urban locality is not the preserve of city governments but necessarily includes other actors such as civil society organisations (CSOs), central government and private sector players.

Other than Belo Horizonte, other cities that are well renowned for their innovative food system governance approaches include Singapore, Baltimore in the United States of America,

Toronto and Vancouver in Canada (Morgan, 2009). In Africa, the role of city governments in food systems has largely been limited and uncoordinated (Morgan, 2009; Haysom et al., 2017). For instance, in South Africa all cities lack food governance mandates. This “means that no institution is tasked with the monitoring of the food system. The food system is largely in the hands of the private sector” (Haysom et al., 2017, p.27). However, the City of Cape Town’s 2007 urban agriculture policy points to a trajectory where the city level policies are being developed and used in an effort to tame urban food insecurity. Notwithstanding this positive move, what is disturbing is that the city’s food policy is anchored on urban agriculture itself a productionist approach to dealing with the problem of food insecurity. A host of studies point to the limited positive impact of urban agriculture on household food security largely on account of the fact that food insecurity in urban areas is largely an access more than a supply and/or a production issue (Battersby, 2012).

A key issue that has potentially significant impacts on the food system is the relationship that obtains between local and central governments. This is much pertinent in this era where because of moves towards both decentralisation and democratisation a significant number of urban localities are experiencing what Resnick (2014) calls ‘vertically divided authority.’ This is a situation whereby the political party or authority running an urban centre is different from the one running the central government. Vertically divided authorities have been seen to negatively affect service delivery within local authorities as the tussle for power takes centre stage (Kamete, 2003; Kamete, 2009; Muchadenyika & Williams, 2020; Resnick, 2014).

Private entities are also key actors in any given food systems. These entities include agricultural produce concerns, food processors, transporters and retailers amongst others. These private sector players can be multinational, transnational or local private sector players. They can enter into partnerships with the government and other players or act alone. The activities of the private sector are many and varied. Furthermore, they impact urban food systems in diverse ways. For instance, Devas (2001b) argues that at times large corporations have negative impacts on the food system by for instance forcing people off their land and closing out the operating space for informal businesses. Because of their financial standing, some of the big corporates influence both the national and sub-national authorities to act in ways that promote their business interests which at times might be infringing on the interests of other groups.

The activities of the private sector are central in shaping the nature of urban food systems as “food is generally accessed through the market” (Haysom et al., 2017, p.9) in this

system that McMichael (2005) calls the ‘corporate food regime.’ The market, through both the informal and formal retail channels plays a key role in urban food systems. Indeed, Warshawsky (2018, p.2) augments this view by stating that “...these centres are in the cash economy, with formal food vendors, such as supermarkets and food retailers, as well as street vendors, spazas, small shops, and more informal markets key to food access.” However, notwithstanding this centrality of the market in urban food systems its utility value for the urban poor is increasingly being questioned (Haysom et al., 2017).

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) are identified in literature as one sector that plays a central role in urban food systems especially where market mechanisms fail to meet the food needs of the urban poor (Andrée et al., 2019a). CSOs include social movements, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and are distinguished through “function form and mission” (Warshawsky, 2018, p.7). According to Andrée et al., (2019b, p.1) CSOs have in the past two decades challenged the existing dominant order in the food system “by experimenting with a variety of alternative ways of producing, harvesting, foraging, processing, distributing, consuming and, ultimately, governing food.” For instance, in South Africa amongst the NGOs there are those that promote urban agriculture, whereas some promote large food parcels schemes and some seek to fight hunger (Warshawsky, 2018). Warshawsky (2018) goes on to highlight that CBOs in South Africa typically include soup kitchen meals, food schemes and food parcel deliveries. Social movements on the other hand, confront the structures upon which inequalities in the food system are founded upon and as such will focus on issues such as land ownership, food prices, and people’s incomes (Warshawsky, 2018). Additionally, they focus on perceived negatives emanating from the food system, for instance negative environmental outcomes such as climate change, diet-related diseases and commodification of food amongst others (Andrée et al., 2019a). Whilst the roles of these different CSO actors are clear in literature, in the Zimbabwean case in general and Bulawayo in particular there have been limited studies that have grappled with issues of how CSOs have played a role in urban governance (e.g. Bandaiko, 2015; Sivalo, 2017). In addition, the limited literature that has interrogated the CSO-urban governance interface has not linked the activities of CSOs to household food security. This study fills this lacuna by examining the roles of CSOs within the food system and in the process highlighting opportunities, challenges and implications of these in the context of household food security. Furthermore, it is critical to examine the agency of the urban poor, especially under the umbrella of civil society, in navigating the food system environment.

Urban residents play a central role in urban governance as Obeng-Odoom (2013, p.210) points out that “[b]y their ‘participation’ [voters] and voting, they can control the different actors in urban governance, so that urban services can benefit everybody in the city”.

Having briefly outlined the key actors involved in urban food systems it is also critical to reflect on what is actually ‘governed’ or the ‘stakes’ which are the objects of urban governance. Thus, the next section reflects on key objects of urban governance.

2.5.2 Objects of urban governance in the context of food systems

In order to fully contextualise the importance of urban governance vis-à-vis food systems it is critical to discuss the objects of urban governance. To this end, this section discusses objects of urban governance in the context of food systems. These objects of urban governance include the provision of land and its management, governance of retail, provision and management of basic services and infrastructure.

2.5.2.1 The provision of land and its management

Given that land anchors most of the food system activities, the provision of land thus becomes a key object of urban governance. This fact is much more critical in a world in general that is experiencing unprecedented levels of urbanisation (Förster and Ammann, 2018; Haysom, 2016; Haysom et al., 2017) and particularly the developing world which is experiencing a greater pace of urbanisation. Other than a greater pace of urbanisation, the developing world in general and Africa in particular is facing a different kind of urban transition. Haysom et al., (2017, p. 4) argue that “...urban transition is a global phenomenon but the nature of the transition in the developing world differs” mainly because of the magnitude of urbanisation and the economic environment obtaining in the developing world. As such “concerns are growing about the build-up of urban poverty” (Smith, 1998, p.208). Resultantly, there is “the problematic urban form (spatial structure) of many African cities....” (Pieterse, 2018, p.36) epitomised by the growth of ‘slums’ (Smit, 2018b). For instance, the number of Sub-Saharan households living in slums has more than doubled from approximately 111 million in 1995 to nearly 238 million in 2018 (UN-Habitat, 2016, p.58; UN-Habitat, 2020, p.26). This fact is further amplified by Kombe (2005, p.113) who notes that “African cities are often characterised by unregulated peri-urban land development.”

Notwithstanding that the access dimension of food security is critical for urban food systems, there is however evidence of significant efforts towards supporting food production activities especially through urban agriculture (Kanosvamhira, 2019). Pushing the urban agriculture agenda necessarily raises the land availability question in an urban set-up. This

conundrum also becomes a key issue that urban governance becomes seized with. The governance of land resources within the urban sphere thus affects the food availability dimension of food security.

2.5.2.2 Governance of retail

As highlighted in the foregoing discussion, the current food regime is dominated by corporates and hence its name the ‘corporate food regime’ (Haysom et al., 2017). Furthermore, for urbanites whose main source of food is the market in its varied forms, the retail sector assumes a central role in the broader food system. According to Smit (2018b, p.66) the governance of retail is “essentially about who can sell what where (and when).” It thus becomes imperative to interrogate how urban governance influences dynamics and processes in the retail sector. This is even more critical in the Global South where “...municipalities are, with few exceptions, financially and institutionally weaker than their counterparts in the Global North, they often cannot plan and order urban space as urban administrations would do elsewhere” (Förster and Ammann, 2018, p.15). Notwithstanding these limitations, urban governance does control the activities of the retail sector. For instance, given that “the retail sector in most African cities can be classified as being at the ‘informal’ end of the formality/informality continuum” (Smit, 2018b, p.66), urban governance potentially impacts informal traders through mechanisms of allocating trading spaces, determining what can or cannot be traded, providing requisite infrastructure and services (Smith, 2018b). Thus, urban governance has a key role of affecting the access and availability dimension of food security which will be explored in great detail in the later sections of the chapter. For instance, a survey in the City of Cape Town revealed that supermarkets were a major food access point for the middle- and upper-income groups whereas the poor largely relied on the informal markets (Haysom, 2016). Given these variations, it becomes of interest to interrogate how urban governance processes and structures accommodate difference in the city. Do the governance processes thwart or enable especially the urban poor to access food and by extension be food insecure or secure respectively?

2.5.2.3 Provision and management of basic services and Infrastructure

Food system activities are enabled or disabled by the provision or lack thereof of basic services and infrastructure. As will be discussed in the latter parts of this chapter, food utilisation is one of the key pillars of food security. The food utilisation pillar is one of the food security pillars that is sensitive to the provision of basic services and infrastructure. For instance, with respect to food preparation and consumption water is a necessity. Furthermore, for the preparation of

food there is usual need for some form of energy which can be for instance in the form of electricity. Thus, a poor supply of such services might negatively affect individuals' food security outcomes. This argument is corroborated by Sola et al., (2016, p.635) who note that “[a]chieving food security, economic development and poverty reduction remain elusive goals without energy access....”

Access to food especially in urban areas is amongst other things contingent upon a functional food distribution system. Food distribution itself is reliant on the nature of the transport system. Smit (2019, p.97) identifies the key elements of the transport system as the “provision and maintenance of roads, managing traffic, ensuring roadworthiness of vehicles....” amongst others. Smit (2019) goes on to argue that the state of urban transport in most urban centres in Africa fails to live up to expectations. More specific to the food systems, Smit (2019) avers that because of the poor transport infrastructure in sub-Saharan Africa, the production and distribution of food has at times been negatively affected. The impact of this, Smit (2019) argues, has been an increase in the cost of transportation which also translates to higher food prices for the urbanites. To this end, the World Bank (2012) citing unspecified studies argues that West Africa can realise a 50% cost reduction in the transportation of staples within a time period of ten years if there are reforms that results in competition amongst transport service providers.

Given the insights raised in this sub-section, this study investigates how the provision of services in Bulawayo is affected by urban governance and how service provision in turn impacts household food security.

This whole section on the objects of urban governance has contextualised the key objects of urban governance which include land allocation and management, food retail, basic service and infrastructure provision. What has not been explored thus far is that these objects of urban governance and the actors in urban governance are affected by power dynamics which necessitates a brief exploration of the concept of power.

2.6 Understanding the concept of power within the context of food systems

One of the critical issues highlighted in the governance discourse is that the shift from governing to governance also means a shift from a hierarchies to networks which necessarily implies the involvement of a multiplicity of actors who work together to run the affairs of particular entities, in our case cities (Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Smit, 2018a; Smit, 2018b; Smit, 2019). Governance, understood this way becomes a perfect theoretical fit with Foucault's

(1983, p.224) “capillary” notion of power. Foucault (1983) opined that in analysing power, focus should not be on legitimate and regulated forms of power at the centre, that is, the macro attributes such as the state or economic structure. Instead, he argued, the focus of power analysis should be rather on “...power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions.” Nonetheless, the current study derives value in analysing power at the centre and at the extremities. Thus, at the core of the governance approach is understanding who the actors in governance are and how they interact. This is the added value that using the governance theoretical lens brings to the existing knowledge on food systems and food security in Bulawayo.

As has been highlighted in the preceding sections and introductory chapter, most studies have focused on isolated elements of the food system. They have thus lost the added value of interrogating how the interaction of the different sub-systems and actors lead to certain food security outcomes both at the macro (city) and micro (household) levels. Furthermore, it is through the governance approach that we get to understand how “...power and control are exercised and decisions are made” (Andrée et al., 2019b, p.5). Power analysis with a governance lens thus enables one to discern how “heterogeneous different forms of force relations” (Covaeski et al., 1998, p.299) “are superimposed,...cross, ...impose their own limits, sometimes cancel[ing] one another out, sometimes reinforce[ing] one another (Foucault, 1983, p.223).

According to Obeng-Odoom (2012) proponents of urban governance are under no illusion that the different actors in the urban governance matrix wield the same amount of power and that the power wielded by the different actors is a given or a constant. Given this fact, it is critical for this study to theoretically frame the concept of power in order to gain deeper understanding of how power affects urban governance processes in general and urban food systems in particular. To gain these deeper insights into the concept of power the study employs Clapp and Fuchs’ (2009) framework of conceptualising power together with Gaventa’s (2005) power cube.

On one hand, Clapp and Fuchs’ conceptualisation of power distinguishes between three forms of power, that is, instrumental, structural and discursive power. Instrumental power is one form of power that can be possessed and used by different actors. It is an overt form of power which is “direct influence over another actor's behaviour” (Renckens, 2019, p.659). Instrumental power is enabled using resources such as financial, technical or even information amongst others (Andrée et al., 2019). The notion of instrumental power can further be

illuminated through highlighting how some of the actors in urban governance and urban food systems may deploy it to advance their interests. For instance, urban local authorities can use a plethora of legal instruments such as by-laws, regulations, fines etc. in an effort to exert their authority in the area that they superintend. The central government can deploy its instrumental power through for instance instituting a policy regime such as one that promotes recentralisation which can alter the nature and processes of urban governance. Residents too can deploy instrumental power by for instance withholding payment that is due to the local authority as a way of putting across a point to them. With respect to issues of food, residents as consumers can boycott certain food products or corporates in an effort to advance a particular interest.

Structural power is another dimension of power that the different actors in urban governance can also leverage to advance their interests. One such group of actors is that of the business sector. In this regard, the earliest understanding of structural power can be traced to scholars such as Block (1977) of ‘the ruling class does not rule’ proposition and Lindblom (1977) who generally advanced the argument that private sector interests in market economies occupy a privileged position. Lindblom argued that the structural power of business resulted in limited policy options for the state (Bell, 2012). Hacker and Pierson (2002, p.281) aver that,

[t]his power is structural because the pressure to protect business interests is generated automatically and apolitically. It results from private, individual investment decisions taken by thousands of enterprises, rather than from any organi[s]ed effort to influence policymaker.

Haggard et al., (2018, p.38) gave further impetus to this view that the business sector uses structural power to bear on other actors by pointing out that “capital votes twice: once through the organi[s]ed pressure it can bring to bear on the political process, again through its investment decisions.”

The discursive dimension of power completes the three dimensions of power as put forward by Clapps and Fuchs. According to Reed (2013, p.203):

Discursive power refers to the degree to which the categories of thought, symboli[s]ations and linguistic conventions, and meaningful models of and for the world determine the ability of some actors to control the actions of others, or to obtain new capacities.

Thus, an entity or individual deploys discursive power to shape other actors' worldview. According to Fuchs (2005) the business sector usually deploys this dimension of power in three areas which are: (1) the framing of policy issues, (2) the framing of actors including business themselves, and (3) the influence of broader political and societal norms.

One such use of discursive power as argued by Holt-Giménez (2019) is the advancement of the 'scarcity narrative.' The 'scarcity narrative' is basically founded on Malthus' thinking which with respect to food systems implies that food production levels have to be ramped up as a result of population increase. Holt-Giménez (2019, p.5) further argues that:

[t]he scarcity narrative is such a powerful narrative because scarcity is an integral part of capitalism. Why? Because it brings up prices and generates more profit. Scarcity must be created even if it isn't there. And if you create it in people's minds, that's even better. (And by the way, who is going to produce all this new food? Modern industry, industrial agriculture, new capitalist technologies. . .)

For Holt-Giménez (2019) and other scholars, the genesis of food crises that are experienced periodically such as the 2008 global food crisis is not underproduction but that of overproduction. Overproduction itself is a product of concentration of power on a few corporates.

The activities of the counter movements to the dominant food actors just highlighted in the foregoing also show how discursive power is deployed within the food system. For instance, these counter-movements advance the notion of food sovereignty which "... is about radically restructuring the streams of power that control and distribute resources... (Carney, 2012, p.72). Some of the strategies deployed by the actors within the counter-movements include for instance promoting organic farming and food, buy local campaigns, fair trade, 'slow food' etc. Andrée et al., (2019c, p.21) buttress this argument by noting that:

[w]hat these diverse AFNs [Alternative Food Networks] have in common is that they are established as alternatives to conventional supply chains by their turn away from standardi[s]ed and industrial systems of food provisioning towards an emphasis on particular types of quality, locality, or production practices.

Whilst Clapp and Fuchs' conceptualisation of power is useful in understanding power, complementing it with Gaventa's (2006) power cube (see figure 2.4 below) "...adds further depth to our understanding of power in relation to governance (Andrée et al., 2019c, p.27)."

Gaventa uses a power cube to show the intersectionalities between places in which power is

applied (global, national and local), different spaces where power is acquired and used (closed, invited, claimed/created) and the different forms of power applied at the different places and spaces (visible, hidden, invisible).

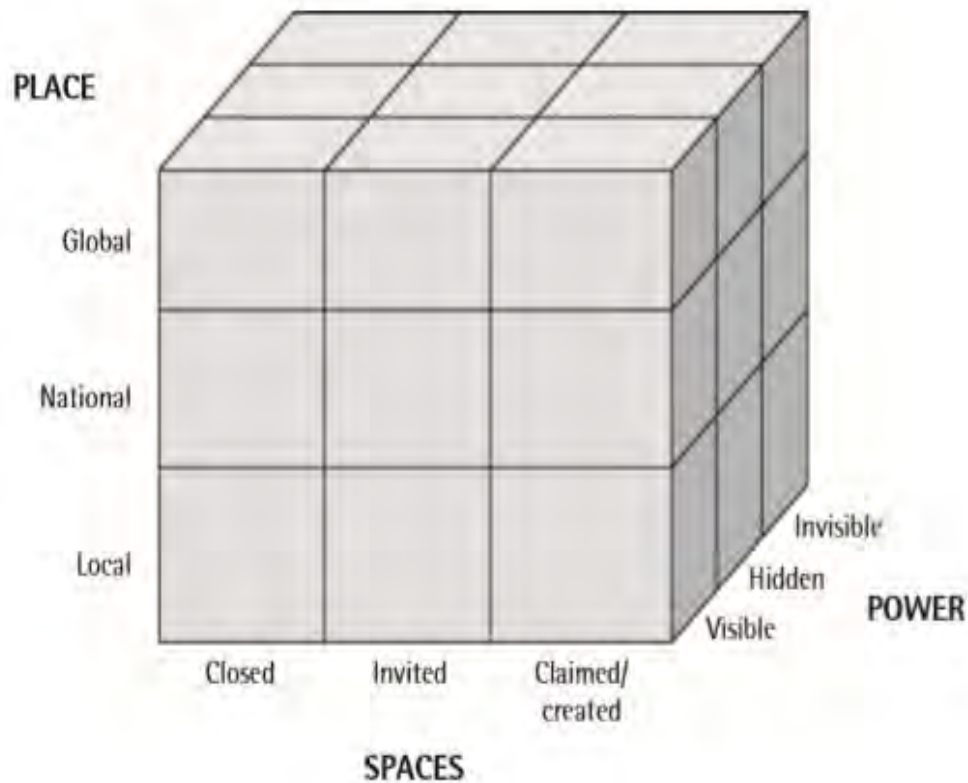


Figure 2.4: The ‘Power Cube’: Power In Spaces and Places of Participation

Source: Gaventa, 2005, p.11.

Andrée et al., (2019c) opine that Gaventa’s power cube adds depth to Clapp and Fuchs’ framework through three main channels. Firstly, it brings to the fore nuances related to the instrumental, discursive and structural power by highlighting that all these can be visible, hidden or invisible. For instance, where a legal instrument is used to support food safety initiatives, through the power cube we are reminded that such initiatives can be affected by for instance acts of bribery which are hidden from public glare.

The second addition that the power cube brings to Clapp and Fuchs’ framework is that it spotlights that “...governance spaces are not neutral” (2019c, p.28). As such there are some spaces that are closed, others are invited and yet others are those where actors can potentially create/claim as shown in figure 2.4. Space is defined as, “a social product ...a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, or power...” (Lefebvre, 1991,

p. 26). Closed spaces, which are also called provided spaces “...in the sense that elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to ‘the people’, without the need for broader consultation or involvement (Gaventa, 2005, p.12). Invited spaces are those where ‘the people’ can be invited to participate on clearly defined terms of engagement. Finally, it is also possible for the dominated to pry open some closed spaces by creating or claiming their spaces (Gaventa, 2005; Gaventa; 2007).

It is largely because of power that the determination of who can participate in certain spaces is determined. This analytical frame adds value in a study of food systems as it helps frame the understanding of how different actors wielding presumably different levels and forms of power interact. This is especially critical in a setting like that of sub-Saharan Africa where the urbanisation trajectory exhibits different traits from those obtaining in the Global North. One such trait is the enduring feature of ‘informality’ in the economic processes. Given such a trait it is interesting to investigate whether or not African regulatory authorities do take heed of Föörster and Ammann’s (2018, p.3) counsel to “...be cautious not to build its interventions on concepts inherited from Western history, such as the formal/informal dichotomy.” Given this view, the present study engages with the Bulawayo food system to see how the different actors navigate the spaces within the food system and interrogates whether such a dichotomy holds within the system. A typical case in point is the issue of food production which invites questions with respect to the availability of land to produce food.

Using Gaventa’s power cube one gets to investigate whether the spaces are closed, invited or claimed. The same can be said of traders in the food system. Are there spaces for them to trade or the spaces are closed through various means such as for instance by-laws. Föörster and Ammann (2018, p.3) argue “...that African cities are more appropriately regarded as urban grey zones that only take shape and become colourful through the actors’ agency and practice.” Thus, in this case it becomes of interest to investigate how the urban poor navigate the closed spaces and with what outcomes. Are new hybrid institutional forms being developed when the conventional ones fail (Föörster and Ammann, 2018)? Khene et al., (2021, p.618) opine that, “spaces tend to be dynamic in their existence and in their relationships to one another; continually opening and closing through transformation, cooperation, resistance, and legitimacy.” In view of this reality, this study reflects on historical developments that have affected different elements of the food system in order to bring out this dynamism referred to.

The third contribution that Gaventa’s power cube brings to Clapp and Fuchs’ framework is that it acknowledges that power and governance are multi-level concepts. Thus, using the power cube in this study helps guide the study with respect to the level of application

of governance mechanisms and processes since “power relations of all forms are involved in the creation and implementation of governance mechanisms” (Andrée et al., 2019c, p.20). In other words, the power cube appreciates the fact that governance is a multi-level process involving the local, national and global. With respect to urban food systems, as has already been discussed in the foregoing, there are forces acting and influencing it from beyond the purview of the urban boundaries. For instance, global trading rules can have an impact on the availability and pricing of food at a local level. Furthermore, national level policies can impact an urban food system by for instance guiding the state to embark on land and agrarian reforms which will have an impact on food availability and access even in urban centres. Such an endeavour typifies a visible form of power.

Given these elements of power, this study makes attempts to locate food system actors’ activities in urban governance in a typology of power. Furthermore, the adoption of the capillary notion of power highlighted above necessitates that there be theoretical guidance on interrogating everyday practices. This is because the capillary notion of power leads one to partly focus on “micro practices” which are the social practices that constitute everyday life in modern societies” (Fraser, 1983, p. 272). In this respect the next sub-section discusses two theorists of the everyday.

2.6.1 Theorising the ‘everyday’ in food systems

This sub-section discusses two theorists of the everyday, that is, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau. Theoretical guidance on the ‘everyday’ will help in unpacking the agency of the poor as they participate in the food system.

2.6.1.1 Using the theory of Production of Space to understand the food system

Henri Lefebvre’s conceptual spatial triad in the production of space is anchored on the proposition that the urban space is socially produced through a set of three related elements. These are representations of space (mental spaces/conceived), spatial practices (material/perceived spaces) and representational space (symbolised/lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991). Social space according to Lefebvre, is a product of social agents’ interaction with their cultural, political and economic structures. Thus, the three aspects of space and their interrelationships lead to particular spatial outcomes.

Lefebvre (1991, p.38) defines spatial practice as:

[t]he spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters

and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.

Thus, according to Lefebvre (1991) spatial practices relate to the physical or material form of space encompassing the built environment which includes building, access route and leisure areas amongst others, the flow of people and goods (Mercanoğlu; Zielenic, 2002). He further points out that these are empirically observable elements of space. In the context of a food system, it is of interest to gain an understanding of how spatial practices in Bulawayo lead to particular food system configurations and ultimately household food security outcomes. This is why the study grapples with the objects of urban governance to interrogate urban governance outcomes with respect to those objects. Furthermore, it is through interrogating spatial practices that one gets to map the different elements of the food system and how these are affected by these spatial practices. Lefebvre (1991, p.38) goes on to define representation of space as “conceptuali[s]ed space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent- all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.”

Conceived space is thus that space configured in closed spaces by bureaucrats and technocrats. It reflects the dominant ideology, political and economic power and thus represents the ideal vision of how a certain space should be like from the perspective of the dominant order in society (Lefebvre, 1991; Mercanoğlu; Zielenic, 2002). Of interest is that, “[t]hose who control how space is represented, it may be argued, control how it is produced, organised, and used” (Zielenic, 2002, p.24). Thus, when focussing on this element of the spatial triad in the context of food systems, one gets to understand how the food system has been configured by the existing and past legal and planning approaches. Conceived space offers a window to see the constraints (at least for some actors) placed on food system actors and activities and the resultant food security implications.

Lastly, Lefebvre (1991, p.39) defines representational space as “...as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'....” Thus, spaces of representation are the spaces of everyday life, “...the concrete space of the daily actions of the users” (Lefebvre 1991, p.362). Therefore, the lived spaces are subjective depending on one’s experiences necessitating drawing from a multiplicity of actors for one to get a representative picture on the lived space of a particular society. Analysing the food system through representational spaces is also useful as actors do not necessarily follow the established order (as dictated by the conceived space). As such, the tensions between lived and conceived

spaces will be apparent as one analyses different food system actors and their activities. These tensions sometimes lead to alterity which itself can lead to the re-imagining of conceived spaces (Zielenic, 2002) which is analogous to the claimed spaces in Gaventa's power cube.

Whereas Lefebvre offers a good conceptual tool to understand spaces embodying and shaping the food system in the form of the spatial triad, it however falls short as an analytical tool for understanding urban food systems. This is because it does not proffer specific conceptual tools to guide the analysis of the activities of the dominated as they operate within urban food system. This limitation is informed by the fact that Lefebvre views the capitalist order as an overbearing system that has an overbearing influence over the subordinate groups to the extent that their footprint is hardly detectable, if at all (Helliker et al., 2021). It is thus opportune to introduce another theorist of the 'everyday', Michel de Certeau.

2.6.1.2 Michel de Certeau and everyday practices within the food system

To complement Lefebvre's work on the production of space, the study also makes use of de Certeau's theorisation of the 'every day'. De Certeau's central thesis is that a city is a social construct whose making and continuous re-making is contingent on the activities of those who carry out their activities (symbolised by walking in 'walking through the city') within it (de Certeau 1999). Walking is thus symbolic of any other activities, it is a "rhetoric of walking" (de Certeau, 1999, p.131) that people engage in and in the process configuring, altering and redefining the city. From a food system perspective, the "rhetoric of walking" then is analogous to engaging in urban farming, food processing, transportation, retail, consumption and waste disposal. Interestingly, de Certeau's conceptualisation of a city brings out from the onset the tension between the activities of the ordinary person and the visions of the dominant in society. This is because the very conception of a city is synonymous with formulation of constraints on the dominated's ability to 'walk' through it (de Certeau, 1988). Thus unlike Lefebvre, de Certeau presents the prospect of "...reconstituting the regulated 'plan' of the city through everyday practices, such as walking, that create new trajectories and routes...(Zielenic, 2002, p.37). It is not within the purview of this study to engage in a lengthy discussion on de Certeau's theoretical propositions. As such, a pragmatic approach is taken by only eliciting those aspects of de Certeau's theorisation that will aid the analysis of food system actors, particularly those who are poor and dominated. To this end, in unpacking de Certeau's theorisation in his book 'The Practice of everyday life' brings out two theoretical tenets of importance in understanding everyday practices within a food system. These are strategies and tactics.

On strategy, de Certeau (1984, p.36) opined:

I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as a base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats ... can be managed.

De Certeau's conception of strategies links well with Clapp and Fuchs' framework of understanding power discussed in the foregoing section. As can be seen from the above quotation, different forms of power can be deployed by different segments of the dominant group. This means by deploying instrumental, structural and discursive power, the dominant groups in society will be using strategies in an attempt to control or constrain the 'walking' of the ordinary people. Furthermore, following Lefebvre's conceptual triad, strategies are mainly used to formulate conceived spaces and to 'police' lived spaces. It is in this respect that this study (particularly, chapters 6 and 7) examines how current urban governance arrangements (structures and processes) affect the food system.

The second critical building block to de Certeau's theorisation of the 'everyday' relates to what the dominated do in a 'closed' or restricted environment created by the strategies of the powerful. This leads to a discussion on the 'everyday life' as quotidian and as tactics. Helliker et al., (2021, p.2) propound that, "...the notion of 'everyday lives' is linked to the quotidian, including the taken-for-granted, the banal, the convivial, the familiar, the mundane, the known, the ordinary (and even the trivial)." Whilst conceptualising the everyday as the quotidian seems to imply accepting lack of rigour in academia given that the primary focus is on 'known' or barely recognisable (because of their familiarity) issues, Sztompka (2008) however argues that this is the essence of paradigmatic shift brought by this perspective. It is a perspective that priorities hitherto taken for granted issues such as love, shoes or pop music as central in understanding society. In addition, Helliker et al., (2021, p.3) argue that employing this perspective is not without merit as they point out that, "...while everyday life as the quotidian highlights mundanity and routineness, it is cognisant of the micro-politics and localised regimes of power (including patriarchy) which structure everyday life." Thus, everyday life provides a rich corpus to understand the operation of the different elements of the food system with a focus on the relational aspects encompassing inter and intra food system elements.

Perhaps of much significance is that the relational aspects of everyday life tends to highlight the tactics of the dominated as they operate in spaces created and controlled by the

dominant groups. De Certeau (1984, p.37) points out that, “[t]he space of the tactic is the space of the other.” (1984, p. 37). This is succinctly put by Helliker et al., (2021, p.5) who opine that:

[g]iven that capitalist society is not a totalising system, subordinate groups ‘consume’ what is ‘produced’ (laws, regulations, institutions, commodities, etc.) in ways which are often unintended by dominant groups (what de Certeau refers to as appropriation or poaching).

Thus, tactics as de Certeau argued, are an art of the weak which they use to exploit the cracks in the dominant system. In the present case, focusing on the tactics thus helps to bring out the agential initiatives of the poor within a food system dominated by corporates.

This section has discussed how power has been conceptualised from the perspective of Clapp and Fuchs’ framework and Gaventa’s power cube. This conceptual framework serves as the basis for profiling power dynamics within the food system. Furthermore, this understanding of power helps in examining how power dynamics in the food system impact food security outcomes at the household level.

2.7 Food security: evolution of the concept

As indicated in the section on food systems above, food security is one of the outcomes of food systems. It is for this reason that it is of central importance in this study as the performance of the food systems is assessed through food security at the household level. To this end, this particular section frames the study’s understanding of food security as a concept.

The interest of policymakers and academics on the concept of food security can be traced as far back as the 1940s (Napoli, 2011), although the widely cited landmark in terms of concerted international effort towards food security was the launching of the first World Food Conference in Rome in 1974. “One of the key assumptions of these policies was that increased productivity, or enhanced supply of crops, would lead to improvements in economic livelihoods” (Carney 2012, p.73). Furthermore, this school of thought was Malthusian in nature as it advanced the argument that a growing population was at the centre of inadequate food supply. As a result of this understanding, food security was then defined as:

...availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic foodstuffs, particularly so as to avoid acute food shortages in the event of widespread crop failure, natural or other disasters, to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption in countries with low levels of per capita intake and to offset fluctuations in production and prices. (UN, 1975, p. 14).

Informed by this understanding of food security, most initiatives aimed at ensuring food security focused on increasing productivity as the assumption was that food insecurity was a function of lack of adequate food supplies. To achieve food security more efforts were thus directed towards Green Revolution initiatives which sought to increase the supply of food using advanced and modern farming methods.

In the 1980s the school of thought that advanced the notion that food security was a function of deficiencies in supply came under sustained attack after Sen's (1981) seminal work on Poverty and Famines challenged conventional thinking on food security by pointing out that there were instances where people went hungry, yet food supplies were adequate. For Sen, the free-market policies that were championed under the Green revolution narrative were the causes rather than remedies of food insecurity. Consequently, in 1983 the definition of food security was broadened by FAO to accommodate this new discourse. FAO (1983, para 3) argued that: "...the ultimate objective of world food security should be to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need." It goes further to stipulate that food security should have three specific aims, namely, ensuring adequate production of food, stabilisation of supplies and ensuring access to food by those who need it.

FAO's definition acknowledges the economic dimension of food security. Whereas the 1970s definition focused on physical availability of food stocks, this particular one recognises that economic access matters. To this end, Regmi and Paudel (2016, p.146) add that, "food insecurity is related to poverty. Increased food production does not guarantee food security if households cannot afford to purchase food." This particular understanding of food security is illuminating in terms of explaining the current global food security dynamics where per capita food production has been increasing and as such more than enough food is produced globally yet over 1 billion people are food insecure (Holt-Giménez, 2019; Pawlak & Kołodziejczak, 2020). This, because "we are in the era of a corporate-led food regime" (Greenberg, 2017, p.467). This food regime which is underpinned by the neoliberal ideology is characterised by amongst other things, corporate concentration, mass global consumption of industrial food, decimation of small peasant farms and local retail, unregulated markets and monopolies (Holt-Giménez, 2019).

Food security encompasses four dimensions, which are food availability, access of food, food utilisation and stability of food supply, availability and utilisation (FAO, 2012; El Bilali et al., 2018). These dimensions are captured in the widely used definition of food security proffered by FAO et al., (2021, p.190) which says it is a state "...when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets

their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” The physical aspect of food captures the availability dimension whether in the markets or through own production. The access dimension relates to the availability of resources to obtain appropriate food. These resources could be amongst others include capital, labour and knowledge (Weingärtner, 2004). Access to food is mediated by the social, physical and policy environments (Weingärtner, 2004). El Bilali et al., (2018, p.4) aver that “[a]ccessibility relates to economic access (i.e., food purchasing power), physical access (i.e., transport and infrastructure), as well as sociocultural access and preferences.” The third dimension of food security is utilisation which focuses on the proper usage of food especially with due regards to its preparation, safety how food is used and social significance. The utilisation of food is affected by the dietary diversity, intra-household food distribution dynamics, food preparation and feeding practices amongst other factors (El Bilali, 2018).

Given these conceptual boundaries just established with respect to the concept of food security, this study examines how urban governance dynamics affect the urban food system in Bulawayo and by extension the food security status of households. This is done using indices that are discussed later in the methodology chapter (chapter 5).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has theoretically grounded the study by first examining the intricacies of the concept of food systems. The examination pointed out that food systems by their nature are complex entities involving several closely interrelated elements. One of those key elements is that of the actors who interact in particular spaces for the fulfilment of certain activities whose common attribute is food. As a result of this element, it was also pointed out that whereas most studies of food systems focus on the technical aspects of the food system, this particular one puts people at the centre of a food system. Furthermore, food systems embody a range of processes which are used by diverse actors to manage their common affairs. To manage the affairs of urban areas in the context of diverse actors and interests, governance becomes key. To mediate the conduct of a diverse range of actors and their different interests there are a set of institutions which can either be formal or informal. The discussion noted that because governance is characterised by many elements and is context specific it does not lend itself to generalised applications, hence this study’s focus on the peculiarities of urban governance within the confines of the food system.

The understanding of urban governance in this study is etched within the DED framework. The chapter pointed out that the DED framework provides a broad

conceptualisation of urban governance which recognises that there are multiple dimensions of urban governance which include the economic, social and political ones. Furthermore, DED gives primacy to the intersectionality of its constituent elements (decentralisation, entrepreneurialism and democratisation) more than their individual attributes. In addition, DED was chosen because of its emphasis on the ends of urban governance rather than its means. It is in this respect that the present study's focus is on a specific outcome of urban governance, which is household food security.

The chapter also put into perspective the different actors involved in urban governance and the objects of urban governance. It pointed out that amongst others, some of the key actors are central government, local government, the civil society organisations and the residents. With respect to the objects of urban governance, the chapter highlighted that amongst these are the distribution and management of land, governance of retail and governance of transport services.

A key issue in the chapter was the discussion conceptualising power, itself a key dynamic in urban governance as different actors with diverse interests interact within the food system. To this end, the study's understanding of power revolves around Gaventa's power cube and Fuchs and Clapp's framework which presents power as a three-dimensional phenomenon encompassing instrumental, structural and discursive elements. Furthermore, the chapter also grappled with the theorisation of 'the everyday' as guided by Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau.

Finally, the chapter discussed the evolution of the concept of food security showing how the unrelenting phenomenon of food insecurity has been partly responsible for the changes that the conceptualisation of the phenomenon has undergone. The current conceptualisation mainstreams availability, access, utilisation and stability of food supplies. It is these four that the study assesses as it interrogates household food security levels in Bulawayo.

Having laid the study's theoretical underpinnings, the next chapter contextualises the food system at a national level. Such an approach will aid in creating a better understanding of the Bulawayo food system since as pointed out in this chapter, urban food systems are not only a product of the immediate environment but are affected by both the national and global environments.

Chapter 3 : TRACING THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S FOOD SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLVING URBAN GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an historical overview of the development of Zimbabwe's food system in the context of concomitant developments in urban governance. Whilst the primary focus of the study is the city food system, no fuller understanding of such a system can be deciphered without putting it in its national context. To this end, the chapter provides broad historical brush strokes of how the Zimbabwean urban food system was originally created, how it has changed over time and who and what has been shaping the country's food system over time. Given that the roots of the modern Zimbabwean state as is currently configured is traced to its colonisation by Britain in 1890, it follows that attempts to understand the food system have to begin in that historical epoch. Thus, this chapter ensues by discussing key colonial factors responsible for configuring the contemporary Zimbabwean food system. This part of the chapter will reflect on how primitive accumulation of capital by the colonial establishment created and shaped the Rhodesian food system, itself an antecedent of the current Zimbabwean food system. A major pre-occupation of the section is unravelling institutional developments in the colonial era especially as they relate to two fundamental issues of concern in this study, that is, urban governance and the handling of land issues especially in the rural areas as a fundamental element of the urban food system. The discussion proceeds through a reflection on the post-independence era where the focus is on how the post-colonial government attempted to reverse some of the initiatives and institutional factors that shaped the colonial food system. Given that the study's central focus is on the city food system, the chapter discusses how for instance some of these initiatives impacted urbanisation and urban growth.

3.2 The colonial food system and its legacy

Although the focus of this part of the chapter is on the colonial food system, it is critical to briefly highlight how pre-colonial African societies' food systems functioned. To this end, this chapter sub-section ensues by briefly discussing the pre-colonial food system of the present-day Zimbabwe. The subsection then proceeds to interrogate how a modern food system was created through primitive accumulation of capital. Given that the study's primary focus is on

urban governance and food systems, the subsection discusses colonial urban governance in Southern Rhodesia as it related to food systems.

3.2.1 Pre-colonial food systems in Zimbabwe

The space between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers (Hannaford, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014), that has been configured to constitute present day Zimbabwe has always been inhabited by a multiplicity of ethnic groups. However, for the purposes of illustrating how pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies structured their food systems, the study will refer to the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups. Reference to these two groups is by no means a tacit endorsement of their superior status over other ethnic groups, rather they are taken as broad representations of Zimbabwean pre-colonial societies. Therefore, whilst there might be nuances related to specific ethnic groups where food systems are concerned, the food systems of Ndebele and Shona societies are illustrative enough of the key elements of the generality of Zimbabwe's pre-colonial food systems. It should also be stated that the deployment of the term ethnicity with reference to the Ndebele and Shona is not in the strict sense as this label is contested in literature where these social groups are concerned. Thus, the concept of ethnic groups is deployed with full awareness of the contestations behind the same where the Shona and Ndebele are concerned (Mupfuvi, 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). It is not the intention of the current study to get into an excursus on the issue of the deployment of the concept of ethnicity with reference to the Ndebele and Shona people. Furthermore, the historical account given here is not meant to be a comprehensive appreciation of the pre-colonial food system, rather it is meant to provide sufficient background knowledge to illuminate how the colonial establishment altered the same.

In both Ndebele and Shona pre-colonial societies, food production through agriculture was the main livelihood activity. This was supplemented by animal husbandry, hunting and gathering (Beach 1977; Hannaford, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014; Phimister 1974). Kinship centred ownership of land and its attendant resources was at the heart of the pre-colonial food system (Hannaford, 2015, Mseba, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014; Murombedzi, 1991).

Post Stone Age, where hitherto the dominant form of livelihood was hunting and gathering by the Khoisan, the Shona settled in most parts of present-day Zimbabwe with Great Zimbabwe as the earliest known settlement (Nothling, 1989). The demise of the Great Zimbabwe Empire subsequently led to the establishment of other Shona states which included the Mutapa, Torwa and the Rozvi in that order (Malinga, 2018). However, it should be noted that projecting the life of the Shona exclusively through the lens of centralized authority would

be a misnomer given that “for most of their history, most of the Shona had lived in relatively small and usually independent units.” (Beach, 1994, p.xvi). Under the Great Zimbabwe Empire, agricultural activities were the mainstay of the economy.

According to historians, agricultural activities in pre-colonial Shona societies centred on crop cultivation and animal husbandry with hunting and gathering playing a complementary role in terms of food production (Hannaford, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014). Crop production included the growing of finger and bulrush millet (Mseba, 2015); rapoko and sorghum (Malinga, 2018, Punt, 1979) amongst others. According to Hannaford (2015), sorghum and millet were the mainstay of agricultural production for the greater part of the pre-colonial period as they were key in the preparation of the staple food known as *sadza* (a form of thick porridge). Hannaford (2015, p.33) goes on to state that “most other vegetables, nuts, salt and other grains were used for relish.” This status quo was maintained in different successor states of the Great Zimbabwe state until the 16th Century when the Shona people began to interact with the Portuguese in significant ways. The major impact of this encounter on the Shona food system was on the broadening of the crop repertoire cultivated by the Shona and changes in farming systems (Hannaford, 2015; Malinga, 2018; Tavuyanago et al., 2010; Wilding, 2004). The enduring legacy of the Portuguese encounter with the Shona in the Zimbabwean food system is the widespread cultivation of the maize crop. Maize was introduced to the pre-colonial Shona communities by the Portuguese in the 16th Century (Malinga, 2018; Tavuyanago et al., 2010) and so were new breeds of cattle (Malinga, 2018). The introduction of maize crop was a critical development because maize later on assumed the status of a staple crop in the Zimbabwean food system.

The Ndebele, another group of interest in this discussion established themselves in South-western part of Zimbabwe in the early 19th Century having migrated from Zululand in present day South Africa. Cobbing (1976) highlights that contrary to widespread claims that the Ndebele people survived through raiding for cattle and grain amongst other things, they were actually competent farmers and hunters to the extent that raiding was not a key element of production in the Ndebele state. However, that strategic raiding was part of the process of state formation is not in dispute (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). This is a fact supported by Mupfuvi (2014) who argues that the Ndebele raided the Shona for grain, cattle and people amongst other things as part of their nation-building efforts. Mupfuvi (2014) points out that contrary to the widely acclaimed view that the Ndebele diet was centred on beef and hence cattle production was the mainstay of the agricultural system of the Ndebele, instead grain anchored the Ndebele diet. Mupfuvi (2015) indicates that most of this grain included maize, millet, groundnuts and

sorghum with millet being the staple food. However, acknowledging the centrality of crop production in the food system of the Ndebele is not to diminish the importance of cattle production in the food system of the Ndebele people. Historians acknowledge the importance that the Ndebele people placed on cattle production for food and other socio-economic considerations (Mupfuvi, 2015; Punt, 1979; Malinga, 2018). As food, cattle were important for their meat, milk and fats. Thus, in both the Ndebele and Shona pre-colonial societies animal husbandry in general and cattle production in particular were critical elements of the food system as “...animals reduced food system dependence on agriculture alone...” (Hannaford, 2015, p.34).

Both the Shona and Ndebele food systems like other pre-colonial African food systems were centred on semi-permanent (shifting) cultivation as the main mode of crop production with the use of simple tools such as hand-held hoes (Government of Rhodesia, 1955; Mupfuvi, 2014; Punt, 1979; Tempelhoff, 2008). Punt (1979) avers that this system of agricultural production was characterised by the continuous tillage (with minimal soil invasion) for approximately four continuous years prior to leaving that land fallow for approximately 15 years before its next usage. The relatively small populations and availability of land and concomitant resources allowed for this system of crop production (Mupfuvi, 2014). Furthermore, labour shortages constrained the cultivation of bigger land plots (Green, 2015; Hannaford, 2015). However, it should be highlighted at this stage that the abundance of land claim did not apply in the later stages of the pre-colonial period as evidenced by the fact that the fall of the Great Zimbabwe Empire is partly attributed to population pressure and shortage of land to pasture cattle (Mupfuvi, 2014). Furthermore, clashes between the Ndebele and other groups were also partly centred on land (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). In terms of the full repertoire of crops grown by the Ndebele and Shona prior to colonisation Palmer (1977) lists crops such as rice, bulrush millet, marrow, sorghum, maize, yams, groundnuts, lemons, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cow peas, pumpkins, cucumber, finger millet, tomatoes, melons, cassava, cane, pineapple, squash, paw-paws amongst others. According to Hannaford (2015) harvesting activities commenced after the rainy season and these were generally followed by drying and threshing.

To keep the food system functional, some of the produce was stored for future consumption to last the communities till the next harvest whereas some of it was set aside to serve as seed for the following farming season (Hannaford, 2015). Thus, the food system then promoted food sovereignty as the communities were self-reliant in all the elements of the food system. In terms of storage, both the Ndebele and Shona people like the generality of

communities in Southern Africa had sophisticated ways of storing food for future consumption (Mabgwe and Manyanga, 2017; Shenjere-Nyabezi, 2017). For instance, according to Palmer (1977) the Ndebele had big storage facilities which could store grain for up to ten years. However, in terms of the timeframe in which some of the crops could be stored, there is no consensus as Hannaford (2015) indicates that a few crops could be stored for more than three years whereas Mudenge (1988) put the range at between three to five years.

Worth noting is that the pre-colonial food system in Zimbabwe was largely localised with all agricultural production related activities such as preparing the land for farming, planting, weeding, harvesting, processing (which usually involved threshing and drying) and storage of agricultural produce all taking place within the confines of the community that was meant to consume the food (Hannaford, 2015). Hannaford (2015) avers that the family was the smallest social unit of the food system consisting of the man, wives and children. This was followed by the village which was headed by the most senior member of the family. At this level of the food system, there was a lot of cooperation for the purposes of agricultural production through for instance communal work parties (Hannaford, 2015; Mseba, 2015; Mudenge, 1988). The significance of these communal work parties increased during times of scarcity (Mudenge, 1988). However, most of the responsibilities for food production lay on the shoulders of the household members. The localised nature of the pre-colonial food system means that there was at worst minimal and at best no ‘metabolic rift’ as theorised by Karl Marx (1976, 1981) then, as humanity was in a symbiotic relationship with nature. In other words, these societies’ food systems were entirely dependent on nature and the food systems in turn did not significantly alter the ecological system. The Shona and Ndebele communities then epitomised typical peasantry as described by Shanin (1971, p.240) who notes that, “[The peasantry] consists of small agricultural producers who, with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfilment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power.” The obligations to the political and economic authorities referred to in this quote with respect to precolonial societies relate to tribute and other social obligations. With respect to tribute, for instance in the Great Zimbabwe Empire, Malinga (2018, p.74) avers that during its era “...surplus produce would also be used to pay tribute to the King”. The Shona people also had to contend with paying tribute to the *prazo* holders (Mupfuvi, 2015) Furthermore, at the peak of the Ndebele Empire some of the Shona communities paid tribute to the Ndebele, some of which was in the form of grain and cattle (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). For the communities that paid tribute, this was “...a token of

submission and acknowledgement of Ndebele power...” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003, p.149) which bought them peaceful coexistence with the Ndebele.

Another form of tribute which also served as a social protection mechanism within the food system was the *Isiphala seNkosi/Zunde raMambo* (King/Chief’s granary) practice (Machingura, 2012; Mararike, 1999). This was a practice where in the pre-colonial Ndebele and Shona communities, community members either participated in agricultural production in the community fields held in trust by either the King, Chief or Sub-chief. Those who could not participate in the King or Chief’s fields would instead contribute some of their harvests to the King or Chief. These food contributions and the produce derived from the community fields were kept in trust by the King, Chief or sub-chief depending on whose jurisdiction it was. The produce was kept in a central granary, usually at the King or Chief’s homestead hence the name *Isiphala seNkosi/Zunde raMambo*. The food stored in these granaries was meant to be used to support the whole community in times of scarcity and the vulnerable such as widows, orphans, disabled and the aged under normal circumstances (Mararike, 1999; Ringson, 2017; Ruparanganda et al., 2018). Since cattle production was also an integral part of the system, it is important to state that there was also a social protection system linked to this aspect of the food system. This social protection system involved the loaning of cattle on a usufruct basis by those who had many of them to those who did not own any (Mupfuvi, 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003; Ruparanganda et al., 2018). It can be discerned from this short discussion that while the pre-colonial Shona and Ndebele food systems were centred on family fields which produced food for subsistence there was a provision for the vulnerable to benefit from the food systems through the pooling of community resources.

The other defining feature of pre-colonial Ndebele and Shona societies which had implications on their food systems is that of land ownership. In both societies land was held in trust by a king or chief on behalf of the community (Mupfuva, 2014, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). Thus, community members enjoyed usufruct rights over the land and its associated resources such as wild animals and fruits, trees amongst others. Mupfuva, (2014, p.39) argues that “[h]aving acquired the piece of land, the community protected the individual’s rights to the use of land as long as he continued to use it.”

Finally, as can be deduced from the foregoing discussion, pre-colonial food systems in Zimbabwe were subsistence-centred implying that food was not treated as a commodity and activities within the food system were not commercialised. However, Mupfuvi (2014) notes that during droughts, barter trading became rife in an attempt to offset food shortages. She goes on to highlight that droughts in the 1880s “stimulated trade between the Shona and the Ndebele,

during these times cattle, goats and beads were sold to the Shona in return for grain and also to white missionaries and traders” (Mupfuvi, 2014, p.48). In addition, Malinga (2018) notes that in times of surplus, communities barter traded surplus produce. Notwithstanding these isolated cases of commodification of food, the norm then was that food was mainly for subsistence purposes. In support of this view, Kraemer (2003, p.21) avers that “African participation in exchange during the pre-colonial phase, unlike the colonial period, was relatively small scale and thus did not interfere with pre-colonial agricultural practice.” Furthermore, Barber (1961) opines that at the very initial stages of the development of African wage labour force, the economy will be subsistence oriented, of a small scale (in terms of production and wages) and is typified by modest tastes.

To conclude this section, it can be surmised that pre-colonial Zimbabwean communities as epitomised by the Ndebele and Shona had simple food systems that nonetheless largely achieved their goal, which was to keep those respective communities fed. These food systems were anchored on both crop and animal production which took place on communally owned land which was generally available. Family labour was instrumental in the activities straddling the different elements of the food system with occasional cooperation of other community members in elaborate cooperative labour arrangements. The crops grown were mainly the drought resistant small grains with minimal cultivation of maize due to contact with the Portuguese. The production of these grains was complemented by a variety of other crops which completed the dietary systems of pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies. Finally, a key feature of the pre-colonial food systems in Zimbabwe is that the food then was largely not regarded as a commodity save in few instances where food was traded. Given the foregoing discussion it becomes imperative to proceed to the colonial era in order to examine how the colonial encounter altered the food system just described.

3.2.2 The making of a ‘modern’ food system through primitive accumulation

Notwithstanding the limited impact of the Portuguese on the pre-colonial Zimbabwean food system highlighted in the foregoing, it remains a fact that the greatest impact on these food systems came through the British colonial encounter. The far-reaching changes were informed by pre-conceived ideas and/or biases that the colonisers had of the pre-colonial food systems. These preconceptions and/or biases are succinctly captured by Mupfuvi (2014, p.43) who points out that:

...colonialists criticised native farming. They pointed to the inefficient and wasteful methods of traditional cultivation: breaking up and ‘scratching’ of the soil, broadcasting

seed over an extensive area without the use of fertilisers, and lack of crop rotation or conservation contours. The cultivation of small and scattered patches of land required excessive labour to keep cattle out of crops. It also meant that while pasture around cultivated fields went to waste, areas set aside for grazing were denuded

Driven by these views, which were themselves informed by the Modernisation theory, the British through their proxies set out to change most aspects of the food system in ways which henceforth will be discussed in detail. However, one must hasten to state that this discussion is not a comprehensive appreciation of history but simply highlights key events that affected the food system.

The British colonial expedition in the area now known as Zimbabwe was spearheaded by Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) which sent the Pioneer Column to search for the 'Second Rand' (Mupfuvu, 2014; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). Mashonaland and Matabeleland were colonised in 1890 and 1893 respectively. However, whilst the primary interest of the BSAC-led expedition was on gold resources, it should be stated that land was also of interest especially given that each pioneer had been promised approximately 3 175 acres of farmland (Mushimbo, 2005). Furthermore, having realised that there was no 'Second Rand' in Mashonaland by 1892, the BSAC turned to Matabeleland in 1893. Of interest is that each member of the group that was to launch a military offensive against the Ndebele was promised 6 350 acres of farmland in Matabeleland as part of the compensation package (Mushimbo, 2005). It is important to state that the land given to the pioneers in Mashonaland and to members of the military expedition in Matabeleland was not land that was lying idle, instead it "...marked the beginning of loss of land ownership rights by many African farmers" (Nyandoro, 2012, p.305). Several other scholars identify the arrival of the Pioneer Column and its associated land related activities as the turning point in terms of land ownership in colonial Zimbabwe as black Africans started to experience land shortages as a result of the colonially inspired dispossessions (Mupfuvu, 2014; Mushimbo, 2005; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017).

When the search of the 'Second Rand' proved elusive in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland and the attendant poor performance of the BSAC, the company turned to land and cattle. Machingaidze (1979, p.2-3) argues that "[t]he burial of the 'Second Rand' myth thus gave settler agriculture a tremendous boost as the Company began to focus its attention on agricultural development and the reali[s]ation of 'its' land asset." Prior to the initiation of this primitive accumulation process, European settlers virtually depended on Africans for food and seed, a situation which created competition for their farming enterprises (Mushimbo, 2005).

To counteract this competition, Europeans devised a number of strategies some of which are captured in Rodney's (1972, p.165) assertion that:

[w]hen the colonial government seized native lands in Zimbabwe they achieved two things simultaneously. They satisfied their own citizens who wanted mining concessions and farming land and they created conditions whereby landless natives had to work not just to pay taxes but also to survive.

The latter benefits of land expropriation were realised through the promulgation of various pieces of legislation which will be discussed shortly. Furthermore, the Europeans used raiding parties to forcibly dispossess the black communities of their land and forced labour which played a major part in stoking the subsequent resistance of these communities through the Ndebele uprising and the Shona First Chimurenga (Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). Mupfuvi (2014) estimates that between 100 000 to 200 000 cattle were stolen from Matabeleland by the BSAC and its proxies. This looting inspired the resistance combined with the fact that towards the end of the 19th Century approximately a sixth of Zimbabwe's land had been parcelled out to whites, both present and absentee ones, mostly in the country's prime fertile areas of the Highveld (Mupfuvi 2014).

This process of primitive accumulation had profound implications on the existing food systems. Firstly, to accommodate some of the then landless people as a result of dispossession, two reserves were created in Gwayi and Shangani, places which were deemed unproductive and largely unfit for human habitation (Mupfuvi, 2014; Mushimbo 2005; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). Resultantly, those communities which were resettled in the reserves started to face challenges such as limited grazing areas and overcrowding (Steele, 1981). Secondly, at this stage most people were not immediately evicted but they instead remained on the expropriated land as tenants which resulted in a sharecropping arrangement (Mushimbo, 2005).

The process of primitive accumulation was accentuated by the institution of a variety of taxes whose main objective was to force black communities to either seek for wage employment in European owned mines, farms and factories or to relocate to the reserves (Mupfuvi, 2014; Mushimbo, 2005; Nyandoro, 2012; Phimister and Pilisof, 2017). Some of the taxes levied against the black communities included dog, hut, poll, dipping and grazing fees amongst others. These taxes had profound impacts on the food system as Mushimbo (2005, p.24) argues that "[t]axation was an effective method by which Africans were removed from their traditional agricultural practices and placed in the position of wage labo[u]r." This development is very important with respect to its impact on the food system as "[t]his began

the process of proletarianisation as some peasants left farming and became permanent wage earners” (Mupfuvi, 2014, p.140). In addition to the use of taxation as a mechanism to increase the supply of wage labour, the European settlers also resorted to forced labour where Africans were forcibly taken to mines and farms at the behest of the traditional leaders who risked facing punishment if they failed to supply their quota of labourers (Mushimbo, 2005).

The proletarianisation of African communities is of profound interest in a study of food systems because it marked the beginning of a metabolic rift in the food systems. For instance, as was discussed in the foregoing, precolonial societies mainly produced food for subsistence. However, the advent of proletarianisation meant that there was a certain segment of the population that had to eat but was not in a position to produce its own food. This segment was constituted by wage labourers mainly in the mines and urban centres. This is a phenomenon that was theorised by Marx (1981, p.949) who noted that “[l]arge landed property reduces the agricultural population to an ever decreasing minimum and confronts it with an ever-growing industrial population crammed together in large towns....” To illustrate this point, Hove (2015) points out that most of the milk that was produced by the Africans was fermented and sold as sour milk to mining capital who in turn allocated it to labourers as part of food rations.

Another example is given by Yoshikuni (2001) who avers that many Ndebele men left their rural homes to work as wage earners in mines and urban areas. Most of them worked in Bulawayo which was a Rhodesian urban centre established in 1894. Yoshikuni (2001) highlights that the Ndebele urbanised at a faster rate than the Shona because the Highveld of the South-western part of the country which they occupied because of its great agricultural potential was also of interest for European ranchers and miners. He argues that resultantly Ndebele men faced the prospect of either subsisting in the reserves or working in some European enterprise. A number of Ndebele men chose the latter as Yoshikuni (2001, p.165) indicates that “[i]n 1903 no less than 1,800 tax-paying indigenous males were living in Bulawayo town itself.” It is however not the intention of the present discussion to delve into the intricacies of the historical development of Bulawayo as this is part of the subject of the next chapter. However, at this stage it suffices to point out that the nascent urbanisation process had profound implications on the food systems.

The urbanisation process like the proletarianisation one just described in the foregoing also altered the food systems by promoting a metabolic rift. The Africans who were in urban centres could not produce their own food as was the case in the pre-colonial era for reasons yet to be explored later on in the chapter in a discussion on colonial urban governance. To this end, Steele (1981) illustrates how for instance African dairy producers in Plumtree and Shabani

were able to provide milk to their respective urban centres on a commercial basis in the 1920s. Phimister (1974) also demonstrates how vegetable production was stimulated by the demand for the same in the mining areas after the promulgation of dietary regulations for mines in 1907. Punt (1979) also waded in by demonstrating how the tastes of the urbanites influenced the food system at its production end. He pointed out that it proved difficult to persuade African farmers to practise crop rotation where the maize crop was not mainstreamed. The resistance was informed by market forces as Punt (1979) avers that maize compared to other crops had a ready market in the form of Africans employed in urban areas.

In spite of the odds that were heavily stacked against black African peasants mainly due to land alienation, African peasant agriculture thrived between the years 1896 and 1908 due mainly to market availability (Hove, 2015; Mushimbo, 2005; Nyambara, 2005; Phimister, 1975; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). According to Hove (2015), the increased agricultural activities by African farmers was in response to increased demands from the centres of commerce such as mines and urban areas. In addition to the improved market conditions, the colonial encounter led to the use of advanced farming technologies. For instance, where pre-colonial African societies used to rely on the hoe, some changed to make use of ox-drawn ploughs. Steele (1981) points out that in 1938 the number of Africans owning ox-drawn ploughs increased to 93, 938 from 4 280 in 1913. However, the success of African peasant agriculture invited more restrictive measures from the colonial administrators. It is these restrictions that led Arrighi (1970, p.209) to argue that the:

...‘take off’ of settler agriculture after 1904 was only bought about by non-market mechanisms. Primitive accumulation turned on the ruthless extraction of absolute surplus value; that is, long working hours for extremely low wages even by the exacting standards of the local mining industry. Semi-feudal relations of production persisted in the countryside until large enough supplies of quasi-slave, *chibaro labo[u]r* had been mobilized to undercut Ndebele and Shona peasant producers.

The genesis of the uneven playing field can be traced back to the establishment of the Native Affairs Department (NAD) instigated by the British purportedly to administer all aspects of African lives (Hove, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014; Mushumbo, 2005, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). One of the key instructions encapsulated in the Natives Reserves Order in Council of 1898 was for the NAD to allocate ‘sufficient’ land to Africans for them to subsist from it (Floyd, 1962, Hove, 2015, Mupfuvi, 2014). This move led to the establishment of more Native Reserves, 108 in total, a feat which birthed the dual agricultural system in Zimbabwe, that is,

privately owned commercial farms for Europeans and communally owned land for the Africans (Floyd, 1962; Hove, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014). However, initially in some areas, Native reserves and European land were interspersed, a development which raised complaints from the European settlers. These complaints inspired the constitution of a number of commissions meant to provide redress, with the Morris Carter Commission being the most significant owing to its findings and recommendations which had an enduring legacy in the country's land ownership structure and patterns (Floyd, 1962, Mupfuvi, 2014). Through this Commission, land outside the confines of Reserves was racially divided into Native, European, Forest Areas, undetermined and unassigned categories (Mupfuvi, 2014; Mushimbo, 2005; Nyambara, 2005).

One of the most critical offshoots of the Morris Carter Commission was the Land Apportionment Bill which gave rise to the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930, an Act which rescinded the ownership of land by Africans anywhere else except in the Native Reserves or Native Purchase Areas (Mushimbo, 2005; Nyandoro, 2012). Resultantly, 30% of the land was reserved for the Africans (22.3% for the Native Reserves and 7.7% for the Native Purchase Areas) and crucially 50.8% of the land was reserved for Europeans (Mushimbo, 2005; Nyandoro, 2012). The salient point here with respect to food systems is that the most critical aspect of their food system, which is landholding, had been disturbed in a major way. In addition, the LAA is critical in a study of urban governance and urban food systems such as this one since it played a significant role in the distribution of land in Rhodesia. The significance of land distribution in urban food systems of Zimbabwe lies in the fact that it "...was a major factor that influenced the transformation of agrarian systems in Rhodesia into an urban-industrial economy" (Mupfuvi, 2014, p.111). For instance, the running of thriving animal husbandry activities which were shown to be significant elements of the pre-colonial food systems of Zimbabwe was negatively impacted by the LAA as it resulted in shortages for land to pasture livestock, especially cattle and cut off the African farmers from the markets due to the remoteness of Reserves (Punt, 1979). However, to provide a balanced perspective it is critical to point out that towards the end of the 1920s the African focussed arm of colonial administration initiated the provision of agricultural extension services to the Africans, a move which improved African agronomic and animal husbandry practices (Punt, 1979). However, this kind of support paled in comparison to that offered to the white community, giving credence to Phimister and Pilosof's (2017) claim that settler agriculture's 'take-off' was supported by the state. To this end, Punt (1979) posits that an Estates department was set up in 1908 to process land applications and support white settlement. Punt goes on to highlight that the colonial administration simultaneously introduced a raft of support measures to white

farmers only; these measures included offering extension services and facilities and opening a Land bank which processed loans of up £2 000 which were offered to purchase farms. Arrighi (1970, p. 210) aptly captures the range and extent of support extended to settler agriculture by the colonial establishment:

...the technical work carried out by the Department of Agriculture greatly expanded: it distributed various kinds of improved seeds and plants; it advised on the cultivation of new crops; it carried out various experiments in collaboration with individual growers; it opened an experimental farm at Gwebi; it assisted in water boring works by providing equipment and expert advice at cost price.

The net result of all these efforts was an increase in maize, cotton and tobacco production output during the period 1950-1980 (Eicher et al., 2006). Eicher et al., (2006) also point to the establishment of Harare research station in 1932 which led to the development of a hybrid maize variety named SR52 that increased maize yields by up to 40% in the fields without the use of fertilizer. It is also critical to point out that the production of the SR52 maize seed was a result of collaborative efforts between the government and commercial farmers under the auspices of the Seed Maize Association that produced certified seed marketed under Seed Co in Zimbabwe (Eicher et al., 2006). Of interest from a governance perspective is that Seed Co as a company was formed through joint efforts of the public and private sectors. Therefore, it is clear that the colonial establishment was on an aggressive drive to modernise agriculture, a process underpinned by huge financial investments. Thus, the commercialisation of agricultural production, itself a key component of the food system at its primary stages influenced all the other elements of the system leading to the overall net effect of food commodification.

Further legislative and regulatory interventions that supported white farmers to the detriment of African farmers included the Maize Control Act and the Cattle Levy Act of 1931 and 1934 respectively whose import was to “subsidise European farmers through a 10% levy imposed on African produce, and instituted a two-price system” (Mushimbo, 2005, p.31). Steele (1981) also highlights the Dairy Act of 1937 which he argues took away African milk-producers’ commercial market in all areas except the Reserves. As for the Maize Control Act, amongst its enduring impacts in the Zimbabwean food system was the establishment of the Maize Control Board which was later renamed the Grain Marketing Board in 1951 because of an expanded mandate (Matsive, 2012). This was the foundation of one of the key pillars of Zimbabwe’s food system as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 6. Suffice to point out

that its institution highlights the central role that the state played in the system. Similarly, in the beef industry, the Cold Storage Commission (CSC) was established through the Cold Storage Act no. 37 of 1937 (Samusuwo, 2003, p.492). Amongst its functions, the CSC was expected to guarantee a market and 'viable' prices for white beef producers, "...setting up abattoirs and refrigeration facilities throughout the colony for chilling and storage of beef meant for local consumption and exports" (Samusuwo, 2003, p.492). It is clear that the colonial era marked the modernisation of the food system in order to amongst other things to re-orient it to serve markets which were far removed from where food was produced. It is also noteworthy that the beef industry in colonial Zimbabwe having faced viability challenges in its nascent stages finally stabilised as a result of the growing market created by the increasing numbers of Africans in mines and urban centres (Samusuwo, 2003).

During the time of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence and the resultant sanction regime, the government of Ian Smith entrenched support for white farmers at the expense of African peasant farmers. The subsidy programme instituted in that period epitomises the biases in terms of support extended to farmers by the government as white farmers were on average supported by R\$8000 per year compared to black peasants 60 Rhodesian cents (Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). Resultantly, Muir-Leresche and Muchopa (2006) argue that at independence marketed output from communal areas was under 5%.

The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 worsened the conditions of African farmers by limiting landholding sizes and the number of stock each household could own and controlled other farming practices too (Hove, 2015; Mushimbo, 2005; Nyambara, 2005; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). However, it is also important to highlight that de-stocking measures carried out under the auspices of this Act took effect at the same time as the African cattle improvement programmes which sought to improve the quality of indigenous African breeds (Hove, 2015). One of the major implications of the Land Husbandry Act in combination with the other legal and non-legal strategies highlighted in the foregoing was increased overcrowding in Reserves thus promoting urbanisation and proletarianisation of the African peasantry (Mushimbo 2005; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017), issues which are of interest in the next section. For the white farmers, the support extended to them by the state resulted in them assuming a greater role in terms of fulfilling the country's food needs by increasing their market share to 75% in 1978 from a low of 30% in 1960 (Selby 2006, p.69).

This part of the chapter has grappled with the colonial impact on the pre-colonial food systems. It has revealed that the colonial influence on the food systems was profound and diverse. However, its major impact was on the changes it made on the landholding patterns by

dispossessing Africans of their fertile lands and confining them to unproductive Reserves. The colonial period saw an increase in African farmer productivity through the adoption of new farming practices and access to new markets in colonial centres of commerce. Hence one of the major changes brought by the colonial regime to the food system was the commodification of food. The net impact was that where the Africans used to be self-sufficient in terms of food production, they later became largely dependent on white farmers (who were actively supported by the colonial state) for food given that the latter had assumed the lion's portion in terms of providing the country's food needs. The discussion further revealed that the colonial encounter also sought to turn some of the African peasants into wage labourers through brute force or subtle ways such as instituting a raft of taxation measures creating unbearable living conditions in the Reserves. Given that some of this labour was required in the newly established urban centres, it is of interest to establish how the urbanisation process unfolded in colonial Zimbabwe and in turn examine the governance mechanisms to manage the same.

3.3 The rise of urbanisation and colonial urban governance in colonial Zimbabwe

As highlighted in the foregoing, the systematic weakening of African peasant agriculture was largely meant to prop-up white settler farmers. Simultaneously it helped in creating conditions of existence that would shepherd some of the black rural peasants into centres of commerce such as the then newly established urban centres. It is these urban centres that the discussion now turns to given that the central focus of the study is on urban governance and urban food systems. Thus, the section begins by discussing the conditions that promoted urbanisation before dwelling on the institutional dynamics that underpinned the urbanisation and urban development processes especially in relation to food systems.

3.3.1 A history of urbanisation in colonial Zimbabwe

Arrighi (1970) avers that whereas during the period from the late 19th Century to the early part of the 20th Century participating in the labour market for black Africans was discretionary, the situation changed in the mid-20th Century when then participation became a necessity. The 'forced' participation was informed by the cumulative impact of extra-economic measures instituted by the colonial government and its agents in an effort to develop settler agriculture capitalism (Mushimbo, 2005; Phimister and Pilosoff, 2017; Taringana, 2018). The long-term impact of these measures became evident when the significance of agriculture in the livelihoods of black Africans paled compared to other livelihood sources such as wage labour. To illustrate

this point, the share of cash income from sale of produce by African farmers fell from a high of 70% in 1900 to just under 20% in 1932 (Arrighi, 1967). This development accentuated the urbanisation process that had already been initiated through the white settler capitalists' commercial activities. To this end as an example, Mlambo (2009, p.82) indicates that the population of black people residing in Salisbury increased to a high of 75 000 by 1951 from a low of 22 000 in 1936.

Beside the push factors just highlighted, urbanisation was also promoted by the pull factors in urban locales. These pulling forces were anchored on a rapidly expanding industrial base in colonial Zimbabwe. To demonstrate this expansion, Nyambara (2000) points out that secondary industries' net output in Southern Rhodesia grew from \$2 million in 1955 to \$30 million in 1955. He further highlights that from 1947 to 1952 the number of factories increased from 433 to approximately 700. It is clear that by the 1950s, involvement of Africans in wage labour had increased significantly. Phimister and Pilosof (2017) argue that by 1951 approximately 600 000 Africans were wage labourers, a figure which accounted for approximately 60% of the adult population. However, one must emphasise that in spite of this phenomenal growth in the number of Africans involved in wage employment, the majority of them used wages to supplement their subsistence agricultural activities (Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). The implications of this development on the food system were profound since it meant that in their places of wage employment, large markets were created for food, entrenching the process of commodification of food. Aiding this commodification was the establishment of supermarkets during the colonial period. These include the three leading supermarket brands in Zimbabwe, which are OK established in 1942 (OK, 2012), SPAR in 1966 (Ziyenge, 2012) and TM in 1978 (meiklesinvestor.com). The existence of this market for food also meant that food was no longer consumed where it was produced, a scenario which promoted a metabolic rift using Marxian thought. However, one must hasten to note that because of the strong connections that a significant part of the African wage labourers continued to have with their rural homes, food from own production or remittances from the rural homes still played a part in fulfilling the needs of the urbanites (Potts, 2010).

In order to create a reliable pool of wage labourers with no direct involvement in subsistence agricultural production, the colonial government introduced the Native Land Husbandry Act which amongst other things sought to deny urban workers farmland (Mushimbo, 2005; Phimister and Pilosof, 2017). As a result of this Act and the growing industrial base, the urban population in Southern Rhodesia grew from 250 000 to 600 000 during the period 1960 to 1979 (Phimister and Pilosof, 2017, p.222). However, this

phenomenal growth in urban population was not matched by a concomitant growth in service provision especially for the African population. For instance, Yoshikuni (2001, p.168) argues that, “[t]he housing system in most Rhodesian towns, in its developed form, restricted African residence to either the government-controlled location, or employer-supervised private premises, in order to deny ‘delinquent servants’ any place of refuge.” Given these conditions, it thus becomes of interest to interrogate how colonial urban governance shaped food systems. It can be discerned from Yoshikuni’s assertion that the urban centre was a “...site of control and restriction...” as well as “...a planned and planning space” (Potts, 2011, p.17). In view of this assertion, the discussion proceeds to interrogate the institutional framework governing colonial urban spaces in Zimbabwe with particular focus on how the urban areas were administered, who was allowed to reside there, the controls and restrictions they faced particularly with respect to food related issues. It suffices to point out from the onset that urban governance in colonial Zimbabwe was highly centralised and primarily sought to entrench and protect the commercial interests of white settler farmers (Ranger, 2007).

3.3.2 Institutional framework for colonial urban governance

In this section there is an exploration of the extent and nature of urban governance in colonial Zimbabwe. However, the exploration is not meant to be exhaustive but to serve merely as a guide in pointing out how contemporary urban governance structures and processes influencing current food systems came to be.

The Town Management Ordinance of 1894 (Ordinance 2) in conjunction with the Municipal Law of 1897 are regarded as the foundational legal instruments of urban governance in colonial Zimbabwe (Chatiza, 2010; Mutembedzi, undated). It is these instruments that provided the legal backing for the institution of Sanitary Boards. However, Salisbury which was the first formally promulgated Sanitary Board was established before the existence of this legal instrument (Chatiza, 2010; Vosloo, 1974). It is through the legal instruments highlighted that Sanitary Boards were conferred with municipal status, a status which gave them the power to elect councils to manage the affairs of urban areas.

Amongst the functions conferred to these municipalities was the housing provision function including to black Africans. However, it should be stated from the onset that through the provisions of the Town Management Ordinance of 1892 and the Natives Regulation Ordinance of 1901 black Africans were not allowed to be in urban areas unless they were employed by white settlers (Musemwa, 2010). It is therefore clear that from their origins urban centres in colonial Zimbabwe were not meant for the black African population. Furthermore,

within the urban centres, planning initiatives were based on racial lines following the dictates of the Municipal Act of 1897 (Marumahoko et al., 2020). It is through this Act that white settlers got preferential treatment in terms of service provision compared to their black counterparts who “...were pushed to poor African Townships with limited water, electricity, health facilities and housing services...” (Mandipa, undated, p.20). Whilst this legal instrument was not directly targeted at particular elements of the food system or indeed the entire food system, it can be argued that it indeed laid the foundations for the realisation of different food systems with different outcomes too within the same urban area. Furthermore, it is of interest to note that colonial urban governance was founded upon exclusionary and paternalistic tendencies which resultantly sought to fight off any agential initiatives by the ‘residents’ especially those whose residency status was in question. To this end, the colonial urban governance infrastructure ruthlessly dealt with any forms of informality, whether in residency or on commercial issues (Mushimbo, 2005; Potts, 2011). The African Townships (Water Restriction) By-Laws of 1966 are a case in point as they criminalised the use of Council water for gardening or irrigation purposes in African Townships only (Mandipa, undated). Going against this by-law had serious ramifications for the transgressor. Therefore, there was no room for black Africans in urban areas to produce food for their consumptive needs. This meant that food had to be bought or supplied as part of employment perks. However, Toriro (2019) points out there were patches of acceptance of urban agriculture in Harare and cites the case of Mabvuku and Tafara. These areas were set aside for domestic servants and in their establishment a large area was allocated for urban food production (Toriro, 2019).

Other pieces of by-laws such as the Gatooma (now Kadoma) Noise and Nuisance By-Laws of 1971 Protection of Lands By-Laws of 1971, Salisbury’s (now Harare) Obstruction of Sidewalks By-Laws of 1974, its Public Health by-laws of 1962 also made it extremely difficult for black Africans to use their entrepreneurial skills to eke a living in urban centres hosting commercial entities failing to provide for them (Mandipa, undated).

The Municipal Act of 1897 underwent a series of amendments during the colonial era. These included the Municipal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1916 which sought amongst other things to widen the powers and responsibilities of municipalities especially by conferring them with the right to institute by-laws (Mandipa, undated; Marumahoko and Fessha, 2011; Taru, 2013). Much more importantly for food systems, municipalities were empowered to institute by-laws prohibiting or regulating the keeping of cows and dairies (Mandipa, undated). Furthermore, in 1929 this Law was further amended giving municipalities wide powers and responsibilities related to the creation and maintenance of sewer systems within their respective

jurisdictions (Jonga, 2014; Mandipa, undated). Again, this is of interest with respect to food systems and food security as issues of sanitation have a bearing on the food utilisation pillar of food security. The last amendment of the Municipal Act came in 1940 and had a direct bearing on key elements of the food system. For instance, it granted municipalities wide ranging powers to oversee the operations of what it termed 'Native eating Houses' which were antecedents to modern day restaurants. According to Mandipa (undated, p.23), "...the Act empowered municipalities to control, regulate, inspect and licence native eating houses for the upkeeping of basic health standards. Under the Act, native eating houses were to be kept well ventilated, clean, with good lighting and in good order." It can be discerned from the letter and spirit of this Act that by then the urban food system had developed to the extent of having providers of ready cooked meals as part of key actors in the system. Furthermore, it can be discerned that this legal instrument as one of the first colonial urban governance instruments seeking to directly affect the food system sought to do so from a public health perspective. A similar piece of legislation, the Dairy Act of 1937, though not primarily classified under urban governance laws was premised on a public health approach. This Act amongst other things regulated conditions under which cows were to be milked if a farmer wanted to supply milk to entities that processed milk and cream (Hove, 2015). Hove (2015) goes on to aver that the Act also set minimum hygiene standards for dairy processing and retailing entities and also introduced compulsory registration to municipal authorities for dairy suppliers in urban centres. However, in a study of urban governance it is also of interest to highlight that both white settler farmers and black farmers demonstrated agency by actively resisting this law as they argued it negatively affected the viability of their businesses. The resistance was registered through non-compliance with some aspects of the Act and the continuation of trade using clandestine means (Hove, 2015). Notwithstanding this initial resistance, Hove (2015, p.159) points out that "...such practices subsided significantly after the Dairy Division threatened to annul the registration of conniving depots." This example casts the colonial Zimbabwean urban centre as characterised by control and restriction from the administrators and technocrats on the one hand and resistance by dairy farmers inspired by the exigencies of livelihood needs and demands on the other hand. This reality informs the current study's analysis, in chapter 8, focussing on the urban poor's agency as they operate within the food system.

The Municipal Act was further complemented by a series of other urban governance statutes. The Native Urban Locations Ordinance of 1906 for instance sought to control the influx of blacks into urban areas and ensured that provision of accommodation in urban areas was linked to employment. The Private Locations Ordinance of 1908 complemented the Native

Urban locations Ordinance which had “provisions for the establishment of locations by White Settlers and natives who were employed by the Europeans were to be tenants” (Mandipa, undated, p.26). The other elements of the colonial institutional framework which informed urban governance are the 1973 Urban Councils Act and the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 consolidated in 1951 (Msindo, 2007; Chigwata, 2010). The latter gave leeway for the establishment of African Advisory Boards (Chigwata, 2010; Msindo, 2007; Passmore, 1966) which gave Africans in the townships a modicum of representation in Council affairs albeit indirectly as they acted as intermediaries between elected councillors and the black African communities (Chigwata, 2010; Msindo, 2007). However, with time, Africans increasingly viewed African Advisory Boards as nothing but conduits for European rule over them. “Because of this suspicion, Tenants' or Residents' Associations were born as alternative, unofficial platforms to express African urban grievances” (Msindo, 2007, p.286-287). These developments point to the fact that governance arenas are platforms of continuous struggles and different actors fight to assert their power in order for their interests to be recognised. As these struggles take place social formations are constantly changed, destroyed and created.

The institutional framework highlighted in the foregoing point to the fact that colonial urban governance systems saw black Africans in urban areas as objects to be acted on without affording them room to participate in the governance processes and structures. Using Obeng-Odoom's DED (Decentralisation, Entrepreneurialism and Democratisation) framework, it is clear that decentralisation efforts were minimal as “...local government [was] literally reduced to an instrument of the central government” (Kurebwa, 2015, p.20-21). In reality what was obtaining then was more of urban management than urban governance. Furthermore, the entrepreneurialism promoted was biased towards one racial group to the detriment of the other through the (mis-)use of the law. The democratisation element was very weak as certain segments of the urban populations were enfranchised in terms of political participation as either voters or elected representatives whereas others were disenfranchised from realising the same. Furthermore, there was no meaningful room for civil society to participate in urban governance. As a result of a combination of all these issues “...urban Africans were therefore, “the other”, [with] a social history characterised by under-provision of services, political exclusion, and socio-economic ill-treatment...” (Kurebwa, 2015, p.96). However, it should be pointed out that even though the colonial governance systems did not necessarily give rise to social movements solely focused on these urban conditions they nonetheless bred nationalist movements which

waged struggles premised on some of the conditions that obtained in urban areas amongst other things (Hove, 2015; Mupfuvi, 2014; Mushimbo, 2005).

This part of the chapter has interrogated the institutional complex that underpinned colonial governance initiatives in the nascent urban centres. It has revealed that the governance mechanisms in place were largely segregationist as they sought to prop-up white settler capitalists to the detriment of the black Africans. More specifically, the urban centres were not meant for the black population. Hence, the presence of black Africans in those centres was not borne out of the desire by the colonial establishment to let them enjoy the comforts of urban life but by sheer need as black Africans served as a vital cog in the development of settler capitalism in its various dimensions. The discussion has reflected on how the urbanisation process was catalysed through a raft of legal, political and economic strategies which all cumulatively sought to undermine peasant agriculture in the reserves and prop up white settler capitalism. The implications of these strategies on the food system were varied. The major implication was that those black Africans that served the colonial establishment in its commercial centres such as towns and cities had to rely on food which they did not produce. In other words, food was now accessed more through buying and the receipt of food rations as part of the employment perks.

It is clear from the discussions in the first two sections of the chapter that the colonial establishment instituted an unjust order which triggered a reaction of the black Africans mainly in the form of a protracted liberation struggle culminating in the realisation of majority rule in 1980. It is thus necessary to explore how the post-independence government dealt with a myriad of factors underpinning the injustices of the colonial establishment in general and the urban food system in particular.

3.4 Urbanisation, urban food systems and urban governance in post-independence Zimbabwe

This section discusses post-independence developments that affected development dynamics in general and food system dynamics in particular. It begins by reflecting on the changes instituted by the black majority government on the restrictions that had been placed by the colonial establishment especially on the movement and settlement of black Africans in urban centres. The discussion will then interrogate the institutional complex developed to manage urban affairs in the post-independence era. Inevitably the discussion weaves in major policy and programmatic approaches taken by the Zimbabwean government that directly or indirectly impacted urban food systems.

3.4.1 Urbanisation trends in post-independence Zimbabwe

In this part an exploration of major government policies and their impact on urbanisation trends is undertaken. Having inherited a racially skewed economy, at independence the government of Zimbabwe sought to address some of the legacies of colonialism. Some of the measures taken had a direct bearing on urbanisation and these are explored in this section.

The attainment of independence saw the dismantling of the racially inspired restrictive framework that was in place in Zimbabwe's urban centres (Matamanda, 2020; Potts, 2016). Some of these restrictive measures were highlighted in the foregoing discussion. Suffice to say at this point that these restrictions broadly infringed on the right to property ownership and movement within the city for black Africans. The removal of these restrictions saw urban populations rising at a phenomenal rate. For instance, the population of Harare was 386 000 in 1969 and grew to 656 000, 1 184 169 and 1 903 510 in the periods 1982, 1992 and 2002 respectively (Munzwa and Wellington, 2010). All the other cities and towns followed these trends as attested by Tibaijuka (2005) who pointed out that all the major cities of Zimbabwe were characterised by an average of 5% population growth rate in the first decade of independence. The phenomenal increase in Zimbabwe's urban population was typical of many developing countries which Tibaijuka (2005, p.22) describes as the "challenge of rapid urbani[s]ation." According to Tibaijuka (2005) this challenge is borne out of the lure of the promise of urban life with improved social amenities and economic opportunities. She goes on to point out that this challenge arises from two issues which are the fact that many of the people who migrate to urban centres are not absorbed by the formal sector. Hence, they end up adding to an informal sector that because of its nature plays a key role in the city's economy but does not contribute much to the city's development by way of paying fees, taxes and levies (see Battersby and Muwowo, 2019). The other reason is that most of the local governments are dependent on central government funding for most of their operations. However, with increasing urban populations there are no concomitant increases in these grants meaning per capita expenditure for service provision is severely reduced.

Food systems as part of the urban economic, social and political milieu are equally affected by the urban development trajectory just highlighted in the foregoing. For instance, with increasing populations, one can discern that urban food supply systems are challenged to find innovative ways to feed the burgeoning populations (Battersby and Watson, 2019). In addition, the existence and expansion of the informal sector affects the food system landscape especially the retail element (see Chikulo et al., 2020; Skinner, 2019; Tawodzera, 2019). In the

Zimbabwean context, urban food markets typify this reality. For instance, it has been established that “food markets in Zimbabwe are evolving in response to state interventions...” (Chikulo et al., 2020, p.311). Thus, dynamics in major urban fresh produce markets such as Mbare musika in Harare provide pathways to the pulse of the city in its various facets such as economic, social and political amongst others. Furthermore, the nature of food systems and their outputs are also dependent on the quality of services offered by their respective urban management regimes. Hence, with faltering urban service provision regimes, food systems are affected and altered in one way or the other. These are issues that have not been explored in a systematic way which is what the current work does.

It is however misleading to think of urban food systems as being confined to the urban scapes. In actual fact, urban food systems transcend urban boundaries as food ultimately consumed or disposed in an urban area could have been produced in a peri-urban centre, rural area or even in another country. Thus, in subsequent sections when interrogating the policy strategies implemented by the government to address the colonial injustices it will become apparent that some of the policies although targeting spheres outside of the urban space ended up impacting the urban food systems.

3.4.2 Institutional framework influencing urban food systems and urban governance in Zimbabwe

In this section, the study scans the post-independence development environment in so far as it affected urban development broadly and more particularly urban governance and urban food systems. The section interrogates the institutional complex that undergirded Zimbabwe’s attempt at undoing colonial injustices. The interrogation exposes some of the key laws and actors that impacted urban development broadly and more particularly urban food systems.

3.4.2.1 Urban food systems and urban governance in Zimbabwe, 1980-1989

In the first decade of independence, the government of Zimbabwe largely pronounced a socialist development and planning paradigm rhetoric although in practise it followed a state-led capitalistic development ideology (Matamanda, 2020; Potts, 2016; Tibaijuka, 2005). Potts (2016, p.256) argues that the government “...remained essentially capitalist in its economic character (if socialist in its rhetoric) but the previous white settler governments had been strongly directive and their protectionist policies were maintained.” For food systems this means that large scale commercial farming remained at the centre of the production systems. However, this is not to trivialise the contribution of smallholder farmers which was significant too. Furthermore, with respect to the market it means the centralised marketing system of food

produce was maintained including the subsidies at the production and retail stages of the food system (Poulton, et al., 2002). Thus, local farmers and other food system-related enterprises enjoyed protection from international competition. Therefore, the government and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) were at the core of the food systems. Muir-Leresche and Muchopa (2006) aver that this arrangement worked well as maize production from smallholder farmers doubled during the period 1979-1985 and consequently tripled their marketed produce to the GMB. In addition, Eicher et al., (2006) point out that in the first 10 years of independence both smallholder and large-scale famers were flourishing.

Even though the government maintained the colonial economic system, it nonetheless instituted some reforms on the social and economic fronts which had a potential bearing on food systems and urban food systems in particular. During the first decade of independence the government's first developmental blueprint was the Growth with Equity Policy (GWEP). Through this policy initiative, the government sought to amongst other things vitalise the smallholder farmers whilst at the same time making sure not to temper with the large-scale commercial farming sector (Shumba and Whingwiri, 2016). For instance, notwithstanding the racially motivated land distribution imbalances obtaining then, the government pursued land reform on a willing buyer-willing seller basis. This was in part informed by the exigencies of the provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution which constrained the government from acquiring land for resettlement purposes as redress to the imbalances in land distribution in the country (Moyo, 2011). In addition, on the socio-economic front, the government advanced economic policies which sought to grow the economy, reduce poverty and inequalities. These included the Transitional National Development Plan (1982-1985) and the First Five Year Development Plan (1986-1990) which saw the country realising an average of 4% growth rate in its economy during the period (Mudimu, undated). Potts (2016) avers that with this phenomenal growth of the economy, opportunities for employment increased and hence leading to further migration into the cities. Increasing populations placed concomitant service delivery responsibilities on the local government authorities.

During the first decade of independence, with respect to urban governance, a major policy development was the repeal of the Urban Councils Act (1973) in 1980 (Chigwata, 2010; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). The net effect of this amendment was the removal of the racial division of urban centres with respect to representative democracy and tenure in urban areas (Chigwata, 2010; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). According to Chigwata (2010) notwithstanding the positive contribution of the 1980 Urban Councils Act, the downside is that

the Act reduced the autonomy of urban councils and instead increased central government control administratively and politically.

The Prime Minister's Directives on Decentralisation and Development of 1984 and 1985 were the other key local government reforms in the first decade of independence albeit with a strong rural focus (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). The import of these directives is that they created new structures and introduced new actors in the local governance arena through the Provincial Councils and Administration Act of 1985 (Chatiza, 2010). These included village development committees at the lower levels right up to the Provincial Councils and Provincial Governors amongst others. Although initially not of interest to urban governance scholars, these structures were to play a prominent role in the latter periods of post-independence Zimbabwean urban governance landscape as the office of the Provincial Governor was introduced therein in 2004 (Chigwata, 2010).

In spite of the raft of changes made in the governance of Zimbabwean urban areas in the first decade of independence, one continuity was the maintenance of the colonial planning system. This planning system was modelled on the lines of the British metropole with its emphasis on planning, order, aesthetics and disdain for informality and 'disorderliness' (Kamete, 2007; Matamanda, 2020; Nyarota, 2018). For instance, in the food system, urban local authorities routinely destroyed crops cultivated in undesignated areas (Toriro, 2018). In Harare for instance, the city authorities were bolstered in their actions by the Control of Vegetation and Waste Material By-Laws of 1982 [SI 704/1982] which prohibited unauthorised urban farming. Relatively impressive economic performance by Sub Saharan Africa standards in the period under review aided the government in quashing the informality 'scourge' as the formal economy absorbed the majority of those in the urban areas.

Notwithstanding the impressive gains made by the government in its quest to democratise the economy, its interventions came at a great cost to the fiscus. For instance, the deficits of the four major marketing boards (GMB, Cotton Marketing Board, Cold Storage Commission and Dairy Marketing Board) accounted for as much as 51% of the state's expenditure on agriculture in 1986 (Poulton, et al., 2002). This amongst other fiscal pressures contributed to shepherding Zimbabwe into a SAP.

3.4.2.2 Economic liberalisation era, urban food systems and urban governance

In the second decade of independence, Zimbabwe took a major paradigm shift in its developmental philosophy at the behest of the Bretton Woods Institutions. In 1991 the country embarked on an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). This Programme

entailed the adoption of a raft of neoliberal measures prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Amongst some of the measures prescribed were devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, trade liberalisation, promotion of exports, removal of all forms of subsidies and price controls (Mlambo, 2017; Mudimu, undated; Nyandoro and Muzorewa, 2017). Many scholars point out that the impacts of ESAP on the economy and people's livelihoods were generally disastrous notwithstanding intervening variables such as drought and half-hearted implementation. They point out that ESAP led to reduced productivity in manufacturing, closure of businesses due to external competition, wide scale retrenchments, rise in poverty levels and a general increase in cost of living amongst others (Infrastructures and Cities for Economic Development, 2017; Mlambo, 2017; Mudimu, undated; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1998). The major outcome of these developments was the phenomenal growth of the informal economy whose size "...was estimated at 59.4 percent of GDP in the 1999–2000 fiscal year, then regarded as the highest in Africa..." (Mlambo, 2017, p.107). With respect to the food system, these developments altered it in significant ways. For instance, widespread loss of formal jobs largely informed the phenomenal growth of the informal sector as an alternative livelihood source and more importantly an alternative food source (Infrastructures and Cities for Economic Development, 2017; Potts, 2016; Tibaijuka, 2005). In addition, with respect to food production, urban agriculture activities grew phenomenally. To this end, hectareage of land under agriculture grew to a high of 9828 in 1994 from a low of 4822 in 1990 and food production Harare alone increased by 90% in the early part of the decade (Toriro, 2019).

The food system was further reconfigured by ESAP through interventions on the agricultural inputs and outputs markets typified by the removal of government interventions in the setting of prices for inputs and outputs (Poulton et al., 2002). Other than changes in the four major agricultural parastatals, deregulation in the agricultural sector under ESAP led to the establishment of an agricultural commodities broker in the form of the Zimbabwe Agricultural Commodity Exchange (ZIMACE) (Poulton et al., 2002). According to Poulton et al., (2002) volumes of commodities traded under ZIMACE increased by an average of 35% annually during the ESAP decade. Furthermore, because of export promotion under ESAP marked by attractive export incentives, GMB exported most of its maize stock without due regard to domestic requirements leading to a huge maize deficit in the country. This deficit led to price increases in 1997 which were met by food riots in Harare (Bond & Manyanya, 2002; Poulton et al., 2002). The government was very harsh in its response to these measures, which some scholars argue contributed significantly to the rise of the opposition Movement for Democratic

Change (MDC) (Mlambo, 2017). This is a party which later on took on a central role in the governance of most urban centres in Zimbabwe.

ESAP also sought to make far reaching changes on the urban governance landscape. To this end, the Government policy blueprint on ESAP aptly captures the letter and spirit of the Programme with respect to local government when it points out that:

there is now recognition that the zoning regulations and the licensing of small businesses, shops, hawkers and vendors, which have been in force since independence inhibit the growth of informal employment", the government resolved to establish a Commission to review local council bye-laws and other regulations on economic activity with a view to reforming and rationali[s]ing them in a manner that would balance "growth objectives with enforcing acceptable public health standards and orderly development of towns (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991, p.15).

To achieve some of these stated goals the government indeed reformed some aspects of the institutional framework governing local governance by amending the Urban Councils Act in 1995, 1996, 1997 and 1998. Furthermore, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (RTCP) was amended in 1996. However, all these legislative changes did not significantly alter the planning landscape or give greater recognition of the informal sector as they "...are steeped in colonial norms of land use planning, and only provide for mono-functionally zoned urban forms..." (Chigumira, 2019, p.145). For instance, Chigumira (2019) points out that whilst the RTCP Act makes provisions for stakeholder consultation on issues of planning, that provision is only extended to licensed businesses and residents with title deeds. In the process, the interests of those in the informal sector and the poor without title to any property are not taken into consideration. With respect to the Urban Councils Act (1996), the government demonstrated its democratisation agenda by empowering local authorities. Specifically, the Act introduced directly elected Executive Mayors (Chigwata et al., 2019). Of interest in this study is that notwithstanding all the legislative changes, urban governments had still not at this stage been given direct responsibilities in relation to the food system.

More generally, like other SAPs, ESAP advanced the notion of less government in the economy in favour of the market (Wekwete, 2016). This notion resulted in government financial support to the local authorities dwindling and hence negatively affecting service delivery in its various forms (Wekwete, 2016). Furthermore, in line with the neoliberal form of governance, local authorities started to explore privatisation, commercialisation and public-private partnerships in order to deliver services (Paradza and Musandu-Nyamayaro, 1997). Thus, the neoliberal regime introduced other players in the urban governance landscape. Other

than the private sector just highlighted, it also led to the proliferation of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) especially Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). “The range of civil society organisations spanned social service delivery in the health sector, especially HIV/AIDS, agriculture, food emergencies and economic entrepreneurship” (Chatiza, 2016, p.4). In the food sector, NGOs increased their footprint in urban agriculture from the late 1990s (Toriro, 2019).

The second decade of independence was marked by significant changes in the urban food systems and urban governance landscape. Most of the changes were entrenching the citizens deeper into poverty leading to a fight back by the citizens culminating in landmark events that further reconfigured urban food systems and urban governance in the first decade of the new millennium. Potts (2016, p.257) describes this period as a crisis period where “[e]conomic management abandoned any conventional developmental model such as modernisation or neoliberalism, and had slid into crisis management....”

3.4.2.3 Urban food systems and urban governance during the crisis period- 2000-2010

The period 2000-2010 in Zimbabwe’s political economy is best known for agrarian reforms that were seismic in impact on the country’s agrarian landscape and by extension food systems. It is during this period that the government of Zimbabwe hastily instituted a land resettlement programme dubbed the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). Some scholars argue that the FTLRP was responsible for the drastic fall in crop production figures. For instance, Kapuya et al., (2013) argue that successive land reforms dismantled the dual nature of Zimbabwean agriculture by continuously reducing the land area controlled by white commercial farmers. The FTLRP was the most impactful of the different land reform models. Kapuya et al., (2013) indicate that whereas commercial farmers contributed 47.37% towards the country’s maize output during the period spanning 1980/81-1989/90, their contribution fell to 15.76% over the period 2000/01 to 2006/07. These changes were accompanied by significant changes in national average output for maize from 1.93 million hectares for the period 1980/81-1989/90 to 1.18 million hectares over the period 2000/01 to 2006/07 (Kapuya et al., 2013). Kapuya et al., (2013) further point out that the waning fortunes of commercial farmers affected communal farmers too as it is from them that they drew cheap fertilizer, seed inputs and low interest financing. The drastic drop in maize output was calamitous as production shortfalls averaged 500 000 tonnes leading to widespread food insecurity where between 5.2 and 7.2 million Zimbabweans were experiencing one form of food insecurity or another (Kapuya et al., 2013; Tawodzera et al., 2016). Resultantly, Zimbabwe began to import a substantial part of its

food requirements (Tawodzera et al., 2016) in the process expending US\$2.8 billion between 2001 and 2008 (Kapuya et al., 2016). Concurrently, the Zimbabwean government through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe experimented with different forms of agriculture financing mechanisms to try and shore up local production by the newly resettled farmers. These included the Productive Sector Facility of 2004, the 2005 Agriculture Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility, Operation Maguta in 2005 to 2007 and the Farm Mechanisation Programme of 2007-8 (World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). All these programmes sought “to stimulate agricultural production through the provision of subsidi[s]ed agriculture loans to reduce production costs” (World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe, 2019, p.34).

The global financial crisis of 2007-2008 also played a part in worsening Zimbabwe’s food supply plight. Given its new status as a net importer of a substantial part of its food requirements, Zimbabwe bore the brunt of increasing global food prices (Tawodzera et al., 2012). The price spikes coincided with domestic economic and political implosion characterised by record inflation levels, inflation of over a billion percent, political instability, mounting debt levels at a time when International Financial Institutions had cut off the country from international finance and low levels of Foreign Direct Investment amongst other things (Mlambo, 2017; Potts, 2016; Tawodzera et al., 2012). Given these cumulative challenges, it is not surprising that “...food prices rose far more steeply in Harare in 2008 than it did in other Southern African cities...” (Tawodzera et al., 2012, p.22). This development points to the fact that urban food systems are affected by developments in places far away from the concerned urban centre and in some instances by developments that are not directly linked to food. To add impetus to this argument, Moyo (2013a) avers that the FTLRP improved access to land and productivity using the case of urban based farmers. His study pointed out that with improved productivity, urban based A1 farmers farming in rural areas supplied food markets in Bulawayo with their surplus agricultural produce.

In the urban governance sphere, the decade under review witnessed landmark developments. The first relates to increased land grabbing in urban and peri-urban areas (Matamanda, 2020; Muchadenyika, 2015), by the ZANU PF politicians, their proxies and supporters in the process informalising land management through the proliferation of housing cooperatives that they established (Matamanda, 2020). For instance, one study in Harare found that housing cooperatives were running over 100 illegal settlements in land set aside by the City of Harare for specific developments (Matamanda, 2020). This development should be understood in the context of rising contestation for power in urban centres which were increasingly under the effective control of the opposition MDC (Muchadenyika, 2015;

Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). The illegal parcelling of land was part of an elaborate scheme of gerrymandering to try and wrest power and control of urban centres (Muchadenyika, 2015; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). Land was a crucial source of political capital given the massive housing backlog (Muchadenyika, 2015) and the pervasiveness of urban agriculture as a source of food for most low-income households in Harare (Tawodzera et al., 2012). In addition, the central government went on to introduce a raft of changes in the urban governance legislation and also increased its interference in urban governance (Muchadenyika, 2015). A few highlights of these include, the dismissal of opposition executive mayors and their replacement with appointed and ZANU-PF aligned commissions; the allocation of land in urban and peri-urban land by the central government contravening provisions of the RTCP and Urban Councils Acts; usurping the water service provision mandate from councils by empowering the Zimbabwe National Water Authority to be in charge of the same thereby depriving the local authorities of much needed revenue for service delivery (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). It is apparent that at this point urban governance in Zimbabwe was experiencing what Resnick (2014) calls ‘vertically divided authority’, a situation where central government intervenes intrusively in the management of urban affairs.

The vertically divided authority was also apparent in an urban clean-up operation code-named *Murambatsvina* (which literally means refuse dirt) in 2005 whose import was to destroy illegal residential and business structures. The impact of the Operation was far-reaching as hundreds of thousands lost their livelihoods sources and homes (Mlambo, 2017; Potts, 2011; Potts, 2016; Tibaijuka, 2005; Toriro, 2019). It is of interest to note that this Operation was done in spite of the provisions of Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 whose import was to allow for the use of residential premises for other purposes. This was intended “...to ‘soften’ the Act but the main legislation [Town and Regional and Country planning Act] remains steeped in colonial norms of land (Mutembedzi, undated, p.18). As such backyard structures and concomitant activities therein were legally sanctioned through Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994. The fact that the government went on to destroy so many structures and livelihoods has persuaded scholars to point out that the government had political motives. For instance, Bracking (2005, p.342) argued that:

...violence was wanton, symbolic and punitive, signifying ZANU (PF)’s determination to maintain power and social control in the face of a population who probably did not provide a majority vote for it, with areas who voted for the opposition MDC the worst affected.

The general impact of the Operation was that it “...rearranged Zimbabwe’s urban landscape and worsened the plight of the urban poor, increasing their vulnerability to hunger and food insecurity” (Tawodzera, et al., 2016, p.2). For the food system in particular, Operation Murambatsvina led to the destruction of crops in urban areas, informal food vending stalls, informal food processing structures and structures for growing mushrooms and rearing chickens amongst other things (Toriro, 2019). This was a critical development coming in the context of a formal food sector failing to service the population in a macroeconomic context characterised by hyperinflation, forex shortages, power cuts and price controls amongst other factors (Tawodzera et al., 2012). These multiple challenges had led to a severe shortage of basic commodities including food items in the formal markets showing the agential character of actors in the business sector who either strategically withdrew from business or were forced by the prevailing circumstances. In response, the government, through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in 2007 initiated a cheap forex loan facility to enable the business sector to import and provide basic commodities at submarket prices (World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). This programme was called the Basic Commodities Supply Side Intervention (BACOSSI). Thus again, the government as a key actor in the urban food system showed its interventionist character in an effort to ensure the poor accessed food and hence assure their food security.

The other major developments with respect to food systems in the decade under review included the enactment of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, policy changes on urban agriculture and some changes in national legislation. The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 as amended in 2011, amongst other things sought to protect certain sectors of the economy by reserving them for locals only (Moyo, 2016). The relevant ones for the current discussion included agriculture, primary production of food and cash crops, retail and wholesale trade, milk processing and grain milling (Moyo, 2016). This Act again shows an interventionist state in the food system which sought to protect local entrepreneurs. Resultantly this scuppered foreign direct Investment. For instance, unlike in other countries of the Southern African Development Community, Zimbabwe for a long time did not experience the incursion of regional supermarket chains mainly domiciled in South Africa (das Nair and Chisoro, 2016).

The other key legislative developments affecting the food system in the period under review were the amendment of the Food and Food Standards Act of 1971 in 2002 and the Public Health Act of 1924 in 2002. These Acts generally place primacy on the importation, manufacture and sale of safe food to the public, regulates the importation, manufacturing and

sale of food (Chigumira et al., 2019). This shows that urban food systems are not only affected by laws of local authorities, but national laws also play a critical role in regulating the food system.

The net effect of most of the negative developments highlighted in this section was that Zimbabwe experienced counter-urbanisation in the period under review (Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development, 2017; Potts 2011; Potts, 2016). Furthermore, there was an exodus of Zimbabweans to other countries (Potts, 2011; Tawodzera et al., 2016; Tibaijuka, 2005), a development which was to play a significant role in Zimbabwe's food system through increased cash and food remittances (Tawodzera et al., 2016).

The Zimbabwean crisis abated towards the end of the decade with the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) by the three political parties with representation in Parliament. These parties were ZANU-PF led by Robert Mugabe, MDC-T led by Morgan Tsvangirai and MDC-M led by Arthur Mutambara. The formation of the GNU saw the country begin the subsequent decade on a better footing.

3.4.2.4 Urban food systems and urban governance in Zimbabwe, 2010-2019

One of the first major policy interventions of the GNU was the decommissioning of the Zimbabwean dollar under the Short-Term Economic Recovery Programme 1 (STERP) spanning the period February to December 2009 (Kanyenze et al., 2017). Through this step and the adoption of a multicurrency regime, Zimbabwe had partially dollarised and a firm ground for macroeconomic stability had been laid (Kanyenze et al., 2017; Mlambo, 2017; Tawodzera et al., 2016). However, it should be pointed out that the introduction the multicurrency was announced by Patrick Chinamasa, the then Acting Minister of Finance in his budget statement delivered in January 2009 (Kanyenze et al., 2017). The impact of economic stabilisation measures introduced by the GNU led to phenomenal economic growth levels (Kanyenze, et al., 2017; Mlambo, 2017). However, the downside of partial dollarisation for the food system as was in other sectors of the economy was that it made local production expensive and thus tended to encourage imports especially those from South Africa instead of local production (Chigumira et al., 2019; Kanyenze et al., 2017). Resultantly, the policy shift was a double-edged sword. On one end, it led to 'the return of food' (Tawodzera et al., 2016) which had disappeared in the formal economy but on the other end food insecurity prevalence increased. To this end, Tawodzera et al., (2016) point out that the ZIMVAC Survey conducted in 2009 had indicated that urban food security had increased mainly due to the pricing of basic commodities in foreign currency and high food prices.

The GNU also led to the promulgation of a new constitution in 2013. This constitution contains important clauses on local government and food. However, a comprehensive analysis of the Constitution in relation to the issue of food and local governance would not serve the primary goal of this discussion. Suffice to point that in its founding provisions, the Constitution provides for local governance in Zimbabwe where hitherto it had always been a creature of statute (Mushamba, 2010). This was a milestone because the implications are that the central government cannot do away with local authorities without a review of the relevant constitutional provision. Furthermore, with respect to food security, the Constitution in section 15(a to c) assigns the responsibility of ensuring food security to the state (GoZ, 2013a). In addition section 77 (b) guarantees the right to sufficient food for all people “and the State must take reasonable legislative and other measures available to it, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right (GoZ, 2013a, p.38). Given these snapshots of constitutional provisions, it is clear that the State is the central actor in food systems as its actions or lack thereof have serious implications on the nature of food systems and their impact on the realisation of the right to food. However, theoretically local authorities have the constitutional backing to affect the food system in their areas of jurisdiction. Section 276 (1) of the Constitution states that “...a local authority has the right to govern, on its own initiative, the local affairs of the people within the area for which it has been established, and has all the powers necessary for it to do so” (GoZ, 2013a, p.109). Furthermore, Section 276 subsection 2a gives local authorities the leeway to “...make by-laws, regulations or rules for the effective administration of the areas for which they have been established” (GoZ, 2013a, p.109). Therefore, it is clear that local authorities can on the basis of these provisions affect the food system especially those elements within their jurisdictions. However, it is of interest to interrogate how for instance urban governance actors mediate contradictions emanating from some of the constitutional provisions as far as certain elements of the food system are concerned. For instance, whereas the Constitution empowers the local authorities to manage the affairs of the areas they superintend, it is interesting that in the Bill of Rights in Section 24 (1) the same Constitution guarantees a right that might go against the objectives of local authorities as planning agents. It says:

The State and all its institutions and agencies of government at every level [which includes local authorities] must adopt reasonable policies and measures... to provide everyone with an opportunity to work in a freely chosen activity, in order to secure a decent living for themselves and their families (Goz, 2013a, p.22).

Section 24 (2) a goes on to say that all these entities “...must endeavour to secure the removal of restrictions that unnecessarily inhibit or prevent people from working and otherwise engaging in gainful economic activities...” (GoZ, 2013a, p.22). A potential case of interest for a study of this kind relates to the production of food through urban agriculture and the activities of informal traders. Are these recognised by the local authorities or this provision is violated? If it is the latter, what sort of responses do the affected agents make? These are some of the issues that this study, particularly chapters 7 and 8 grapples with, focussing on the urban food system.

Chapter 14 of the Zimbabwean Constitution provides for devolution of power to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities. Bulawayo, the area of focus in this study is designated as a metropolitan council. Of interest is that one of the objectives of devolution as stated in Section 264 subsection 2 (d) is “to recognise the right of communities to manage their own affairs and to further their development” (GoZ, 2013a, p.103). Thus, in principle, affecting the food system to ensure particular food security outcomes qualifies as the community’s right to manage its own affairs and furthering its development. Thus, the metropolitan council becomes an interesting platform to examine urban food system and urban governance dynamics. This view is given impetus by the fact that Section 269 of the Constitution states that metropolitan councils are to be chaired by a mayor and constituted by various categories of legislators who derive their mandate from the respective metropolitan council voters. Given the largely toxic relationship between the central government and local government as highlighted in the foregoing and the fact that ZANU PF was against devolution provisions in the Constitution (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016), it becomes of interest to interrogate ground level developments concerning the same specifically in the context of food systems.

The year 2013 heralded Zimbabwe’s return to its crisis path after a controversial national election which marked the end of the GNU and the return of a ZANU-PF-led government. Tawodzera et al., (2016, p.4) sum up the state of affairs that obtained after the end of the GNU when they say “...policies have led to staple food supply problems, price increases, and vulnerability to changes in weather.” Some of these policies include the Command Agriculture Programme (CAP) introduced in 2016. Through the CAP, the government guarantees a private company to supply inputs to farmers who are in turn expected to deliver their produce of at least 5 tonnes per hectare with respect to maize and wheat to the GMB (World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). A critical aspect of the programme is that the government covers up for farmers’ non-repayment. As a result of this provision,

interventions by the government “...contributed to unsustainable overall fiscal deficits in 2017 and 2018.” (World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe, 2019, p.22). For instance, according to the World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe (2019), in 2016 the CAP was financed to the tune of US\$105 million but only US\$47 million was repaid in 2017. Furthermore, in 2017 out of the US\$238.3 million advanced to farmers in 2018, only US\$81.3 million was recovered meaning there was non-repayment of 81%. Resultantly, in spite of the huge financial investments into the food system, the country is still experiencing huge cereal deficits and by extension high levels of food insecurity.

During the period 2013-2018 Zimbabwe’s development was guided by a policy blueprint called the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIM ASSET). This policy blueprint was anchored on four pillars, which are: Food security and Nutrition; Social Services and Poverty eradication; Infrastructure and Utilities and Value Addition and Beneficiation (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013b). Under the Food and Nutrition Security cluster, one of the key result areas was the regulation of food imports to promote local production. This was concretised through amongst other ways, Statutory Instrument (SI) 64 of 2016. SI 64 restricted the importation of several basic commodities including foodstuffs a development which the Famine Early Warning System (Fews Net, 2017) then warned would negatively affect in-kind remittances. SI 20 of 2017 sought to widen the tax base by including previously zero-rated basic food stuffs under taxable commodities. These included meat and meat products, cereals and margarine amongst other commodities (Mhlanga and Ndebele, 2017). This policy initiative was however shelved after widespread opposition by a wide spectrum of interest groups after citing that basic food stuffs had become more unaffordable for the poor (Mhlanga and Ndebele, 2017). SI 133 of 2016 introduced a surrogate currency called Bond Notes which according to Chigumira (2019) has created a foreign currency parallel market and also increased transactional costs which has ultimately led to price increases for goods including foodstuffs.

Local governance was also affected by some of the policies from central government in the period under review. For instance, at the height of ZANU PF’s campaign in the 2013 elections, President Mugabe committed to reducing or cancelling bill arrears for citizens (Zaba, 2013). As a result, local authorities had to write-off residents’ arrears for water bills and rates incurred between 2009 and 2013. Resultantly, 92 local authorities in Zimbabwe lost a combined income of US\$2 billion with Harare City Council alone losing US\$166 million in revenue (Zaba, 2013). The impacts of this measure were dire. To this end, the World Bank and Government of Zimbabwe (2017, p.1) argue that “[d]ebt cancellation in 2013 caused

significant disruption to local government finances, both in terms of immediate finances and longer-term impacts on ratepayer compliance.” This case again proves the factitious relationship between urban local authorities and central government which partly explains the failure by the local authorities to deliver on their mandate of service delivery. Regrettably, some of the resultant service delivery deficits have negative outcomes on the urban food system.

The interrogation of the institutional complex undergirding urban food systems and urban governance in post-independence Zimbabwe has highlighted that the growth of urban centres has created a development conundrum which has been the hallmark of many sub-Saharan African countries. This is a conundrum marked by a rapidly growing population without concomitant economic development to support the burgeoning and expectant population. Consequently, in spite of a cocktail of measures to try and arrest spiralling poverty, post-independence political landscape has been regrettably largely marked by a sharp decline in standards of living for the citizens in general and the urban residents in particular.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has grappled with the historical narrative of how the Zimbabwean food system was originally conceived, how it has been changing and the agents that have been changing it. It showed that pre-colonial Zimbabwean communities as epitomised by the Ndebele and Shona had simple food systems that nonetheless largely achieved their goal, which was to keep those respective communities fed. A key feature of the pre-colonial food systems in Zimbabwe is that the food then was largely not regarded as a commodity save in few instances where food was traded.

The discussion then proceeded to the colonial era in order to examine how the colonial encounter altered the pre-colonial food system. The overall finding was that colonial influence on the food systems was profound and diverse. However, its major impact was on the changes it made on the landholding patterns through dispossessing Africans of their fertile lands and confining them to unproductive reserves. The colonial period also saw an increase in African farmer productivity through the adoption of new farming practices and access to new markets in colonial centres of commerce. The existence of produce markets was hence one of the major changes brought by the colonial regime to the food system as it led to the commodification of food. The discussion further revealed that the colonial encounter also sought to turn some of the African peasants into wage labourers in centres of commerce through brute force or subtle

ways such as instituting a raft of taxation measures creating unbearable living conditions in the Reserves.

One of these critical centres of commerce was that of urban centres whose development and governance processes were also discussed extensively. The chapter revealed that the governance mechanisms in place were largely segregationist as they sought to prop up white settler capitalists to the detriment of the black Africans. More specifically, the urban centres were not meant for the black population. Hence, the presence of black Africans in those centres was not borne out of the desire by the colonial establishment to let them enjoy the comforts and trappings of urban life but by sheer necessity as black Africans served as a vital cog in the development of settler capitalism in its various dimensions. The discussion also reflected on how the urbanisation process was catalysed through a raft of legal, political and economic strategies which all cumulatively sought to undermine peasant agriculture in the reserves and prop up white settler capitalism. The implications of these strategies on the food system were shown to be varied.

The final part of the chapter interrogated post-independence urbanisation dynamics, including how those were impacted by urban governance and how they in turn affected urban governance. The discussion revealed that urbanisation rates increased rapidly with the attainment of independence largely in response to the removal of legal bottlenecks instituted by the colonial regime with respect to access of urban areas by black Africans. Growing urban populations presented service delivery challenges. The service delivery challenges are largely informed by a lack of requisite levels of economic development to match growing population levels. Furthermore, it was noted that urban centres in Zimbabwe have remained centres of planning and control with low levels of tolerance for informality. Notwithstanding this management stance, on the ground there has however been phenomenal levels of growth of the informal economy which has affected the urban food system in various ways.

Having traced the historical development of the Zimbabwean food system, the next chapter specifically focusses on the case of Bulawayo as the primary case of interest in this study.

Chapter 4 : THE FOOD SYSTEM AND URBAN GOVERNANCE IN BULAWAYO: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the background on the development of Bulawayo's food system. Such an endeavour is worthy undertaking in order to contextualize the environment within which the Bulawayo food system is engrossed in. This is particularly true for the governance landscape. To this end, the chapter begins by scanning the history of the socio-economic development of Bulawayo in the context of evolving urban governance dynamics in the city. This historical account is meant to bring out a historical understanding of the configuration of Bulawayo's food system. Furthermore, it helps bring out historical factors responsible for shaping the current urban governance arrangements obtaining in the city. This is because as was shown in the previous chapter, to gain a proper understanding of the current food system, one has to interrogate colonial and post-independence governance interventions. The final part of this chapter interrogates the institutional framework governing the food system in Bulawayo. This is done by discussing the key elements of the food system through a governance lens.

4.2 A history on the socio-economic development of Bulawayo

This part of the chapter scans the history of Bulawayo's socio-economic development dating back to the late 19th Century when the City was founded. The discussion in this section traces the history of Bulawayo up to the contemporary era and in the process brings out the changes that the city has undergone over time. Whilst the account is historical and generalised, it however endeavours to focus more on food system related socio-economic development issues. This section begins by a discussion on the changing economic development landscape in the context of evolving urban governance. This is followed by a discussion on the social history of urban development which is again etched in different urban governance contexts.

4.2.1 An overview of the history of Bulawayo's economic development through an urban governance lens

Bulawayo was founded as an urban centre in 1894 run by a Sanitary Board appointed by the British South Africa Company (Musemwa, 2006a; Musemwa, 2008) and acquired municipal status in 1897 followed by its promulgation as a city in 1943 (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011). According to Musemwa (2008) Bulawayo's municipal status came after heavy lobbying by

white rate payers, a status which thenceforth allowed it to generate and utilise funds separate from those of the central government. The granting of the municipal status was legally informed by the Municipal Act of 1897. The import of this Act is that it specified obligations and responsibilities of municipalities (Mandipa, n.d.). What is striking for a study of food systems is that from the onset food was absent amongst mandates given to municipalities which amongst other things included provision of water, sewer, electricity, roads, health services and refuse collection (Mandipa, n.d.). Notwithstanding this omission by way of not mentioning food directly, it is however important to note that all these services are critical elements of the urban food system as their availability or absence can enable or cripple it.

Bulawayo has always occupied a central place in Zimbabwe's economy largely owing to its strategic geo-location which makes it the gateway to the southern African region and the rest of the country. Right from its establishment as a modern urban centre in the 19th Century Bulawayo attracted strategic economic players which saw the city grow to be one of the most industrialised cities in the region. Furthermore, an extensive railway line system linked the city to a number of centres in the region. As a result of its unprecedented industrialisation, the city has historically been described as the "Manchester of Rhodesia" (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011); Rhodesia's railhead, the largest and most industrialised city until the 1950s (Ranger, 2006); "the largest industrial city in Central Africa" (Yoshikuni, 2001, p.169) and "a relatively major regional commercial and industrial centre by 1945" (Chikowero, 2007, p.287-288).

Bulawayo earned the nickname "Manchester of Rhodesia" because during the Rhodesian days it was host to many heavy industries such as Hubert Davies, Radar Metal Industries, G&D Shoes, Zimbabwe Engineering Company and Tregers amongst others (Mpofu, 2010; Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011). Accounting for this industrialisation Musemwa (2006a) attributes it to a deliberate policy shift which encouraged the growth of secondary industries to curb reliance on consumer and capital goods imported from South Africa. This policy shift led to the establishment of processing industries such as meat canning, jam and sweet factories amongst others (Musemwa, 2006a). Chikowero (2007) attributes the industrialisation and commercialisation of Bulawayo to the introduction of electrical power.

From a food system perspective, it can be inferred that the industrialisation of Bulawayo also transformed the food system as it enabled the processing of food at industrial scale facilitating for instance longer lifespan or shelf life of food. It is during the colonial era that agro-processing industries were established in Bulawayo. Some of these entities included Country Choice Foods established in 1978 which manufactures and markets sugar speciality products (Star Africa Corporation, n.d.); Colcom a meat processing company established in

Zimbabwe and in Bulawayo after 1962 (Colcom, n.d); National Foods established in 1920 albeit trading using different names is a producer of a broad range of basic foods (National Foods Holdings, n.d) and United Refineries which was established in 1946 and amongst other things is a food manufacturer (United Refiners, n.d.). In addition to these big companies there were also small to medium enterprises whose proprietors were mostly of Indian ancestry (Mpofu, 2011a). Mpofu (2011a) notes that Indian traders traded on items such as fruits, vegetables, ginger beer and also ran eating houses. However, Indians too did not have access to General dealer Licences, a situation which however did not stop them from illegally operating as general dealers.

Increasing commercial activities in the city had two fundamental contributions to the food system. The first one was the commodification of food and the second one which is symbiotically related to the first was the generation of employment opportunities in the city. These opportunities attracted many people into the city thus generating a ready market for mass produced commercialised food products. To this end, Gargett (1975) avers that the population of African people in Bulawayo grew exponentially from 50 000 in 1946 to 270 000 in 1975. By the same token, the population of Europeans in Bulawayo was 2000 in 1895 and by 1955 the population had increased to 40 000 “partly due to Southern Rhodesia’s state which promoted it as a ‘Land of Opportunity’...” (Musemwa, 2006a, p.194). It is thus clear that the phenomenal growth of Bulawayo’s economic profile encouraged population growth which in turn informed the deepening social crisis for the urban poor some of whose features will be discussed later on in the chapter. The social crisis was informed by the fact that the economic benefits were not being equitably shared.

Economic development in Bulawayo was initially steeped in formality, a development which followed the very traditions of the city. From its establishment Bulawayo espoused values of a planned modern city modelled along the traditions of European cities following the instructions of Cecil John Rhodes (Musemwa, 2006a). Following Rhodes’ instructions, Bulawayo was designed in a rectangular grid pattern similar to imperial Roman settlements with wide open streets meant to facilitate amongst other things policing and control (Musemwa, 2006a). Thus, whilst economic activities in the city grew, they were however inclined towards formal business concerns. Informal economic activities were abhorred in the city. As indicated in the previous chapter, colonial authorities sought to tie rights to the city for Africans with employment and as such there was no room for informality in colonial Zimbabwe (Mpofu, 2010). In fact, “the informal sector was never legalised in colonial Zimbabwe” (Mpofu, 2010, p.93). In spite of these restraints, some of the poor nonetheless were involved in illegal trading

as hawkers within the city in the 1940s selling items such as fruits, vegetables and groundnuts amongst other things (Mpofu, 2010). What these developments point out is that the economic landscape in general and the foodscape more specifically do not conform to the dictates of officialdom only but are also configured from below by the activities of actors deemed illegal. Thus, whilst the informal economy was not part of the design of colonial urban planning it has always been part of the urban economy owing to the agential activities of the urban poor in their quest for survival. Owing to their non-acceptance, actors in the urban environment have always endured suppression from the authorities more so in the period before independence (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011; Mpofu, 2010).

The suppression of informal economic activities was mainly instrumentalised through various legal instruments. Amongst some of these legal instruments at a national level were the Town and Planning Act and the Urban Councils Act in their various forms. These were discussed in sufficient detail in chapter 3. In addition, the Vagrancy Act of 1960 was an instrument that was partly used in attempts to stifle informal economic activities in Zimbabwe. The Act sought to criminalise unsanctioned residency in urban areas itself a euphemism of residing in urban areas without employment for three or more months. This Act negatively impacted those who survived on the informal economy in Bulawayo too as they were also arrested as part of the ‘undesirables’ within the city (Mpofu, 2010).

Local legal instruments in the form of bye-laws were also employed in an effort to tame the informal economy in Bulawayo. For instance, the 1963 Bulawayo Street Food Vendors Bylaws outlawed the selling of food without the requisite permits and also stipulated public health-oriented provisions to be followed by those granted permits to operate (Mandipa, undated, p.52). In spite of these attempts by the authorities to stifle the informal economy, the sector continued to expand (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011; Mpofu, 2010). An interesting aspect of the informal economy which can provide a better understanding of the current dynamics obtaining in the food retail sector in the city is the relationship that obtained between registered vendors and their illegal counterparts. Literature reveals that at times registered and formally recognised traders worked in cahoots with the illegal vendors by contracting them to sell wares on their behalf (Mpofu, 2010). At other times the relationship between the two groups was marked by animosity as the registered traders believed that the illegal vendors were reducing their client base as they could afford to sell similar items to those they were selling at lower rates since they did not have any statutory financial obligations like them (Mpofu, 2010). Furthermore, the illegal vendors enjoyed flexibility in their operations as their operations were not tied to defined spaces and places thus giving them the leeway to for instance engage in

door-to-door vending (Mpofu, 2010). Thus, in spite of the closed spaces, illegal traders found a way of opening up spaces in order to maintain their livelihoods in a city which had failed to provide opportunities for them in spaces deemed acceptable by the authorities.

Informal economic activities increased during the last decade of the pre-independence era inspired by amongst other factors sluggish urban economic performance, relaxation of urban influx controls and the heightening liberation war which served to accentuate the rural-urban migration (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011; Mpofu, 2010). Thus, by the time of Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the informal sector had grown considerably although it was still relatively small in comparison to the formal sector (Davies, 1978; Gumbo and Geyer, 2011; Mpofu, 2010).

Of interest is that illegal informal traders were already part of the food system in Bulawayo during the pre-independence era. In terms of food production, Mpofu (2010) notes that by the end of 1973 approximately 1000 residents especially poor women were welfare garden allotment holders chosen from amongst the underprivileged who include widows, the poor and elderly. He further points out that in terms of retail, Makokoba had 149 registered vending stalls with an assortment of foods such as fruits, cooked eggs and meat, caterpillar and vegetables. Thus, informal activities have been part of the food system since the pre-independence era but there is lack of studies that have interrogated these in the context of urban food systems and urban governance. Existing literature has tended to look at each of the elements in isolation without attempting to draw the interconnections amongst the various elements that constitute the urban food system.

Post-independence political and economic developments altered the Bulawayo economic landscape in significant ways. In as much as Bulawayo also experienced increased rural-urban migration because of the dismantling of racially inspired legal instruments at independence, it also faced a unique push factor. This push factor was that of security instabilities that characterised large parts of predominantly Ndebele speaking areas in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces. The government blamed these instabilities on the activities of the former combatants of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) the military wing of the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU) political party (Dube, 2019). PF-ZAPU's stronghold was in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. The government's response to what it termed dissidents was the creation of a crack North Korea trained military unit known as the 5th brigade which rolled out a military campaign in the 'problem provinces' which was known as *Gukurahundi* (local Shona parlance for rain that washes away chaff). The campaign was intense in 1983 and 1984 and resulted in the death of

between 20 000 to 30 000 civilians (Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice, 1999). Mpofu (2010, p.153) points out those who survived the violent onslaught sought refuge in Bulawayo “...resulting in the population to grow at an annual rate of 9.8 percent between 1982 and 1985....” The exponential growth in the population of Bulawayo resulted in the deepening of the housing and unemployment crises that had always characterised the city pre-independence period (Mpofu, 2010). Some squatter settlements such as those in Killarney and Trenance also emerged during this period (Mpofu, 2010).

The political instability just described in the foregoing had interesting urban governance and economic development impacts. Musemwa (2006b) argues that because Matabeleland was predominantly a PF-ZAPU territory, the government framed the city which is the nerve centre of the region as a ‘dissident city’. “... [T]he central government treated the ZAPU-dominated local authority as an extension of its erstwhile arch-rival, PF-ZAPU (Musemwa, 2006b p.243). Thus, unlike other urban territories in Zimbabwe that started to experience what Resnick (2014) calls a ‘vertically divided authority’ with the emergence of MDC at the turn of the millennium Bulawayo was from the onset of the post-independence era experiencing that. These governance ructions had serious negative impacts in Bulawayo’s economic development as averred by Tambo (2015) in one of the government’s mouthpieces, the Sunday News, that “[t]his campaign caused capital and industrial flight. Industries moved mainly to [the] capital city Harare and neighbouring countries.” The impact of the Matabeleland disturbances was worsened by a downturn in the country’s economy in general partly due to massive social investments made by the Zimbabwean government immediately after independence (Tambo, 2015). The impact of these company closures is of interest to a study of urban food systems since one can postulate that urban food security is largely a function of economic access which is in turn a function of income mainly derived from employment. Furthermore, since it was established in the foregoing that the development of Bulawayo’s modern economy reconfigured the food system by commodifying food and providing the market for it, it becomes critical to interrogate how the demise of the same impacted the food system.

The Matabeleland disturbances and the resultant political and economic impacts were also evident with respect to water issues. Musemwa (2006) argues that during the *Gukurahundi* period water was used as a political weapon to discipline the ‘dissident city.’ It is important to note that Bulawayo has historically faced water challenges some of which have at times reached crisis proportions. “Since its foundation, Bulawayo has experienced pernicious cycles of drought which recur at an average of one per every five years” (Musemwa 2006a, p.189). As a result of these water challenges Bulawayo tops amongst Zimbabwe’s urban areas with

respect to the number of times it resorts to restrictive water demand management strategies such as shedding and rationing (Musemwa, 2006b). In fact, in the different epochs that define the distinct trajectories that the Bulawayo economy has gone through, one constant has been the challenge of water. It is these perennial water challenges that have been blamed as partly responsible for the de-industrialisation that has been occurring in Bulawayo (Madonko, 2016; Musemwa, 2006b; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011). Commenting on the closure of businesses during the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, Musemwa (2006b, p.245) argues that "... 'several of the city's factories' were forced 'to relocate operations, wholly and partially, to other areas having lesser water-supply constraints.'" From an urban governance perspective, it is critical to highlight that while the city suffocated under conditions of water scarcity both the colonial and post-independence states did not construct a dam for it during the period 1976 to 1992 (Musemwa, 2006b).

The impact of water challenges on Bulawayo's economic development was accentuated in the 1990s. It is during this time that Zimbabwe as a whole had embarked on ESAP. Evidence from literature points out that the combined impacts of ESAP and water challenges decimated Bulawayo's industrial base resulting in further loss of livelihoods for many people (Mawowa, 2011; Mpofu, 2010; Nel and Berry, 1992). What made Bulawayo more vulnerable to ESAP is that most of its industries were agro-based in that their inputs were derived from agricultural products whereas the output was also largely consumed by the agricultural sector. Thus, it can be surmised that Bulawayo's economy is very sensitive to agriculture-related shocks such as droughts (Mawowa, 2011; Mlambo, 2017). Furthermore, Mawowa (2011) argues that the Bulawayo industrial base was dominated by textiles, clothing and footwear which made it vulnerable to both drought and ESAP-induced competition with cheap imports. The combined effects of drought and ESAP led to the laying off of 2000 G and D Shoes' workers after its closure, 2000 workers at Fashion Industrial holding and 1 200 workers at Bulawayo Clothing amongst other companies (Mawowa, 2011). Thus, ESAP and recurrent droughts hit the core of Bulawayo's industries resulting in loss of livelihoods given that "[s]ome of the biggest industrial employers in Bulawayo have been the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), food processing industry and clothing and textiles among others" (Mawowa, 2011, p.12). It can be discerned from Mawowa's assertion that the food system in Bulawayo was affected directly and indirectly by the twin forces of drought and ESAP. It was affected directly by the closure or scaling down of food processing industries and indirectly by the scaling down and closure of other businesses from whom residents derived their livelihoods in general and more specifically the income to access food. In addition, during the 1992 drought as has been the

case with some other drought situations in Bulawayo, the BCC outlawed the use of hosepipes for watering vegetable gardens and in some cases even the gardens themselves (Mpofu, 2010). This move negatively affected households' ability to supplement their food stocks through own production.

As pointed out in the foregoing, Bulawayo was established as the country's railhead. Thus, the rail industry also occupied a strategic place in the city's economy. Thus, when the economy went bust, most employees lost their jobs from NRZ which occupied a strategic role as the city's biggest employer. Furthermore, in as much as Bulawayo benefitted from its strategic geo-location during its economic boom period, Mawowa (2011) avers that these same factors were also responsible for the city's economic woes. Firstly, when the economy was experiencing turbulent times, the NRZ as the largest employer experienced challenges as the tonnage that it moved declined drastically leading to job losses for many city residents and demise of related businesses (Mawowa, 2011). Secondly, Bulawayo's strategic location as a gateway to the rest of the sub-region ironically made it easier for business entities to leave it in preference for neighbouring countries and other local urban centres especially Harare (Mawowa, 2011; Mlambo, 2017). Mawowa (2011) further points out with the demise of the manufacturing sector in Bulawayo, the city's economy was becoming much more reliant on agriculture especially cattle ranching.

The turn of the millennium brought no respite to Bulawayo's economy as was the case with the rest of the country. This period was marked by farm seizures under the FTLRP briefly discussed in the preceding chapter. As a result of the fact that Bulawayo's economy is largely agro-based, it follows that its economic fortunes during the period of the FTLRP were tied to those of this land reform programme. It is thus not surprising that during the first decade of the millennium, Bulawayo witnessed heightened cases of company closures and retrenchments (Mawowa, 2011; Mlambo, 2017). To demonstrate the impact of the depressed economic environment in Bulawayo, Mawowa (2011) uses the example of the NRZ. He points out that at its peak in the 1980s, the NRZ used to haul approximately 18 million tonnes of cargo annually, a figure which declined to a paltry 3.2 million tonnes by 2008. Furthermore, the disturbances in the commercial sector led to the laying off of many workers in that sector, a development with negative ripple effects on the local economy given that this sector used to provide up to 60% of employment to Zimbabweans (Mawowa, 2011; Mlambo, 2017). Resultantly, at a national level, manufacturing activities declined cumulatively by 92% between 1999 and 2008 (African Development Bank, 2011). For Bulawayo, this economic downturn was further accentuated by the water challenges highlighted in the foregoing.

However, in the new millennium the challenges had taken a new dimension. By then the MDC was in total control of urban local authorities including in Bulawayo. In an effort to wrestle power from the opposition, the ZANU-PF led government intervened intrusively in urban areas as was discussed in the previous chapter and as will be further explored in the next section dealing with the case of *Operation Murambatsvina*. With respect to water, the central government in 2006 tried to cripple urban local authorities by taking over water and sanitation services provision from the local authorities through its parastatal, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) (Mapira, 2011; Muchadenyika, 2014; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). Scholars argue that part of the reason for this initiative was to financially cripple the local authorities since revenue generated from water bills was an integral component of the councils' finances (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016; Muchadenyika, 2014; Mapira, 2011). Musemwa (2008, p.882) adds that, "[t]he control over water seems to have become one of the Zimbabwe government's newly-found tools to socially and politically rein in 'errant' cities such as Harare, Bulawayo, and Masvingo for voting for the MDC." The move by the government further crippled the local authorities because the water and sewer assets that were transferred to ZINWA were not paid for by the parastatal (Mapira, 2011; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016; Musemwa, 2008). In keeping with the tradition of the city/state duels of the colonial era as will be highlighted in the subsequent section, this issue also became a sore point in the relationship between the state and the city. The BCC unlike other local authorities refused to comply with the directive and for that was sanctioned by not receiving any grant from the government in 2007 (Mapira, 2011). To survive, BCC sought assistance from the private sector in order to be able to procure water treatment chemicals (Mapira, 2011). After much pressure and resistance, the government of Zimbabwe instructed ZINWA to transfer back to the local authorities the water and sewer service provision responsibilities (Mapira, 2011). It is also critical to point out that in resisting the government move, the whole of Bulawayo across political party affiliation and economic sectors rallied behind the BCC (Musemwa, 2008). This could be accounted for by the fact that, "[t]he 'neglect' by the central government by not investing to boost the water capacity and industrial base of the city has often been cast by local leaders in ethnic and political terms, explaining poverty in Bulawayo in terms of regionalism" (Mpofu, 2014, p.490). As a result of how the water issue has been framed, it has generally galvanised the entire city against the state as the general view is that the crisis poses an existential crisis for the city.

The water issue just described in the foregoing is not the only one that characterises the city-state duels where revenue generating entities are concerned. For instance, in terms of

power generation, the BCC had a coal-powered electricity generation plant which was in 1987 usurped by the Zimbabwe Power Company itself a subsidiary of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) (Dube, 2019; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2018). Whilst it is not only Bulawayo that lost its power plant, the key issue is the nature of governance where a parastatal wholly owned by government usurps a critical asset of the local authority without compensation. This is an interesting development which matters where food system issues are concerned as will be shown in latter chapters how erratic electricity supplies are impacting aspects of the food system.

Revenues from vehicle licensing also give credence to the intrusive intervention of the central government in local authorities' affairs. Muchadenyika and Williams (2018) point out that in 2010 the central government usurped the revenues generated through vehicle licensing. The Zimbabwe National Road Administration (ZINARA) became the central government agency entrusted with the sole responsibility of collecting vehicle licensing revenue. Again, this development is of considerable interest in a study of this nature as latter chapters reflect on how the state of the road infrastructure (which is an object of urban governance as discussed in chapter two) is affecting food system activities.

The first decade of the turn of the millennium also went down in history as one of the worst in terms of the country's economic performance and by extension Bulawayo. This is a period where the country experienced record-breaking hyper-inflation. The country's currency, the Zimbabwean dollar depreciated in value at an astonishing pace. Resultantly, many more business folded, and many more people were further rendered jobless. Whilst it is not of primary interest to comprehensively interrogate this crisis period, it however suffices to point out that the government tried a plethora of policy initiatives in an effort to arrest the multifaceted crisis. Some of these policy initiatives included price controls instituted through *Operation Dzikisai mitengo* (reduce prices) (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010; Mlambo, 2017; Nyamunda, 2014; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011); use of multiple exchange rates which disadvantaged exporters amongst other actors in the country (Solidarity Peace trust, 2011) and the destruction of the informal sector through *Operation Murambatsvina* (Mpofu, 2014; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011). The results were catastrophic for the food system as "[t]he impact of the price blitz was the drying up of basic food stuffs from retail shops (Mawowa and Matongo 2010, p.330). The policy strategies also partly contributed to a significant part of the population migrating to countries such as South Africa, Australia, United States of America, Botswana and Namibia amongst others (Mlambo, 2017; Nyamunda, 2014). Consequently, it is estimated that about 5 million Zimbabweans are living in the diaspora (Mlambo, 2017) a

situation that has slowed the urbanisation process in Zimbabwe with Bulawayo realising a net migration of -0.3% between the period 2002 and 2012 (Potts, 2016, p.259). For Bulawayo and Matabeleland in general whilst the general trend in the country was that levels of migration started to peak in tandem with the country's economic misfortunes, in these places the history of migration predated the country's economic crisis but were instead initially informed by the *Gukurahundi* episode discussed in the foregoing (Nyamunda, 2014). The migration of a significant part of the population has also altered the country's food system in general and Bulawayo's in particular as a result of the financial and food remittances sent by the diasporans. However, Mawowa and Matongo (2010) point out that the evidence on the potential benefits of remittances is still thin.

The current study while not providing statistical evidence does however establish evidence on these remittances in so far as they link with household food sourcing strategies and informal and formal traders' food commodity sourcing practices. All these help shed light on how the Bulawayo food system taps from both financial and food remittances.

In addition to these issues, it is critical to point out that another key aspect of the Bulawayo economy is the pervasiveness of the informal trade in forex within the CBD. It is because of this reality that has earned the city the moniker 'World Bank' in local parlance (Mawowa and Matongo, 2010). Informal trade in forex is partly inspired by Bulawayo's geo-location which helps facilitate intra-regional informal trade especially involving Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa (Mawowa, 2011).

The period beginning 2009 realised changes in the country's political landscape through the institution of a Government of National Unity (GNU) amongst the three main political then, brought respite to the country's economy. It is during the GNU period that the government extended support to some of the city's companies under the Distressed Industries and Marginalised Areas Fund (DIMAFA) which was financed to the tune of US\$40 million (Mpofu, 2014). However, this initiative did not do much to revive the city economic base although admittedly it improved domestic industrial capacity utilisation albeit for a limited time period. The net effect of this and other positive macroeconomic policies such as the adoption of the multicurrency system was that it improved the availability of basic commodities at comparatively stable prices which reduced or eliminated the need to buy or send food from South Africa or Botswana using the services of *Omalayitsha* (small scale Cross-border couriers/transporters) (Nyamunda, 2014).

The economic malaise that has characterised Zimbabwe's political economy in general and Bulawayo's in particular has had serious ramifications on the city's economic landscape.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the growth of the city's informal economy. Whereas as pointed out in the foregoing the city's informal economic sector was suppressed and hence small by the time of the country's independence, the economic malaise detailed above has led to a phenomenal growth of the informal sector in Bulawayo (Mawowa, 2011; Moyo, 2018; Mpofu, 2010; Mpofu, 2011b; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011). Resultantly, most residents of Bulawayo are now running their own small enterprises, cross border trading and street vending (Mawowa, 2011). However, from an urban governance perspective the informal sector presents "challenges for city management and service delivery given the sector's limited revenue contribution to the city. In return, the city is unable to guarantee reliable infrastructure to enable industry to thrive" (Mawowa, 2011, no page number). These challenges emanate from the fact that the closure of many companies in the city negatively affected the BCC's revenue streams as fewer and fewer companies remained operating in the city and thus contributing to the city's revenue base. Furthermore, the closure or downscaling of companies and accompanying job losses resulted in a significant number of residents failing to settle their financial obligations to the Council (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011).

The illegal informal traders of the 21st Century are still using the same *modus operandi* as their forerunners of the colonial era as Mpofu (2010, p.212) points out that:

In all townships, vendors set up stalls at shopping centres and at major roadsides. This was despite the availability of designated vending areas. Registered vendors and shop owners cried foul and many were tempted to abandon their vending bays and join illegal traders at undesignated points as they thought that illegal traders managed to operate successfully without licences.

Mpofu's description of the activities of illegal traders puts into perspective some of the dynamics underpinning urban governance in Bulawayo. It highlights that the illegal traders at times opened up self-allocated trading spaces which were more lucrative than those officially designated. This again shows the agency of the traders in the face of a restrictive environment. It is partly because of such initiatives that the informal businesses were targeted during *Operation Murambatsvina* of 2005. However, it is also important to note that notwithstanding this temporary setback, the informal traders in the long run scored some significant victories in the post-*Murambatsvina* reconstruction programme. For instance, post-*Murambatsvina* the Council relaxed its restrictive land use planning regulations and hence allowed informal traders to operate from hitherto prohibited areas with a lot of business potential such as in the low-density areas, parts of the CBD and in shopping complexes (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011).

Furthermore, the government at times working with the Council also built trading infrastructure for the informal sector players, capacitated them through a range of training programmes, assisted them in marketing their products and services and also financed them (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011).

The informal traders have also tapped into the power of networking and group action as they have constituted collectives that represent their interests, a development which gives them the critical mass when negotiating with authorities. To this end, Moyo (2018) cites a case in Bulawayo where informal traders refused to vacate an area earmarked by the BCC for a regional transport hub. This, they did with the support of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economies Association (ZCIEA). These developments point to the fact that the activities of the informal traders have reconfigured the planning system as an urban governance tool and by extension the food system as some of the traders trade in food items. However, these changes did not lead to the disappearance of illegal traders as they are still there fighting and creating their spaces too. (Gumbo and Geyer, 2011; Moyo, 2018).

To conclude this section on economic development in Bulawayo in the context of varying urban regimes it can be reinforced that Bulawayo's economy has undergone different phases of development. The economy was at its nascent phase built on the foundations of industrial capitalism in a setting undergirded by racial segregation. The passage of time has brought with it different socio-political dynamics which have had a profound impact on the economy. The food system itself also steeped in the economic environment has been transforming in tandem with the broader changes in the economy and society at large. Thus, from the beginning the Bulawayo food system was commodified as agro-processing companies and a variety of retail actors processed and sold food products respectively. The discussion also showed that for as long as the formal economic system was intact, the governance arrangements in place did not give due recognition to the activities of the informal sector. Notwithstanding this lack of recognition, to their credit informal economic actors have carved their own spaces in the economy and in the city governance landscape. Thus, at the moment, the city economic landscape is characterised by both formal and informal actors operating side by side albeit at times with unease. Some of the changing economic dynamics highlighted in the foregoing were informed and they in turn informed changes in Bulawayo's social landscape which is the subject of discussion in the next section.

4.2.2 Urban governance and social development in Bulawayo: a historical overview

This subsection focuses on social development in Bulawayo in the context of evolving urban governance dynamics. Whilst it gives an historical overview of social development of Bulawayo in general, its primary focus is on the residential areas of the poor. Thus, the discussion spotlights the development of Makokoba Township amongst others as the first area of residency for black Africans in Bulawayo. This is largely informed by the fact that Makokoba and other residences of black Africans give a proper perspective on how the Bulawayo food system has been shaped and reshaped over time at least from the perspective of the livelihood experiences of the poor residents. Thus, such an endeavour gives a proper antecedent of the study case, which is Ward 28 constituted by Cowdray Park, itself a residential area for the predominantly poor.

Right from its foundation, Bulawayo was constituted by a rich mosaic of ethnic and racial groups including white European settlers and black Africans of different nationalities and ethnicities such as the Ndebele, Venda, Kalanga, Sotho, Shona, Zambians, Malawians and Congolese amongst others (Msindo, 2007). Mpofu (2011a) adds Indians of different ethnicities who settled in Bulawayo towards the end of the 19th century as one of the social groups that also added to this rich vein of social diversity in the city. However, like other colonial urban centres, Bulawayo was a city for the Europeans with black Africans seen as mere sojourners meant to reside there for as long as they served a useful role to the capitalistic system (Chikowero, 2007; Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). Using Clapp and Fuchs' (2009) three dimensional (instrumental, structural and discursive) understanding of power discussed in chapter two it can be surmised that framing Africans as sojourners was well calculated so as to deny them equal conditions of existence as their white counterparts. To this end, the foundations of urbanity in Bulawayo were steeped on racial segregation institutionalised through the 1895 location ordinance which amongst other things underscored the temporary nature of Africans' stay in the city (Ranger, 2007).

The location ordinance also provided for the provision of basic facilities required by Africans in Bulawayo, facilities whose cost of provision were to be borne by Africans through rents and income generated through beer sales (Ranger, 2007; Yoshikuni, 2001). Chikowero (2007, p.302) further adds that locations were meant to serve "...as a controllable labour camp and separate from white society as far as possible. In pursuit of this policy of racial segregation and control, BCC established the Old Native Location (now known as Makokoba Township) as the first residential area for black people (Mpofu, 2010). Of note is that during its formative

years, black Africans were expected to build their own houses. Describing the houses built then, Mpofu (2010, p.1) points out that most of them were "...built of all sorts of materials that included pole-and-dagga, thatch, corrugated iron and a few of brick houses with a corrugated iron roof." Yoshikuni (2001, p.168) argues that "[t]hanks to this relative lack of regulation the Bulawayo location grew into, depending on one's standpoint, a great slum yard or a haven of unregulated African urban society." The lack of service provision was not matched by an equally disinterested attitude towards the goings-on in the Location. Instead, the colonial state, including the BCC "...was brutally interventionist in terms of surveillance, while at the same time was amorphous and incoherent in terms of the planning and development of a self-sustaining urban community" (Musemwa, 2006a, p.199).

There are a number of colonial policy initiatives that point to the fact that the urbanisation process for black Africans in Bulawayo as in other colonial urban centres more generally was founded on discrimination. Water service provision is one such policy trajectory where Makokoba Township was not connected to the city's modern water reticulation up until 1928 whereas water-borne sewage was only realised in 1934 (Musemwa, 2006a). Of interest to note in a study of urban governance such as this one is that water service provision in Bulawayo was initially in the hands of a private company called the Bulawayo Waterworks Company (BWC). As a private entity, it was under no obligation to provide water services to Makokoba Township notwithstanding that in any case most of the residents were too poor to afford payment for the services rendered (Musemwa, 2006a). Due to non-availability of water and the extremely small plots of 40 ft. by 80 ft. leased to black Africans they could not practise backyard gardening. Evidence from literature points out that from the onset food delivered by the urban food system for black Africans largely came from three main sources which were procurement from different forms of food markets, employer rations (Mpofu, 2010) and remittances from rural areas (Potts, 1995). Mpofu (2010, p.35) avers that "[m]ost workers were given food rations to supplement their low pay. The rations were hardly enough and often substandard, and this forced workers to purchase extra food from their meagre incomes." It is clear from Mpofu's assertion that black Africans encountered a partly paternalistic and partly commodified food system in Bulawayo both twinning to produce undesirable food and nutrition security outcomes. The paternalistic element in the food system for the black Africans was informed by the provisions of the Native Labour Regulations Ordinance of 1911 which provided that white employers were to provide food to their employees (Mandipa, n.d.). As for the discussion on water service provision it puts into perspective the fact that urban

governance impacts on other sectors other than food sometimes end up with food security impacts.

The supply of electricity is another pointer to the racial segregation that epitomised the city of Bulawayo from its foundations. Public electricity service provision in Bulawayo started in 1897 and like water service provision discussed in the foregoing disadvantaged the poor black communities (Chikowero, 2007). Chikowero (2007) points out that the BCC actively promoted the use of electricity in the white suburbs through concessionary power tariffs and directly supporting the purchase of electrical appliances through a hire purchase scheme. Urban governance processes were thus actively at play in creating privilege on one end of the city space while creating deprivation on the other end thus leading to "...a distinctly divided town of privileged citizens and underprivileged subjects..." (Chikowero, 2007, p.288). Whilst at face value such urban governance dynamics cannot immediately be linked to the food system, a closer analysis reveals otherwise. The electrification of white residential suburbs and the promotion of electricity use therein especially through household electrical appliances such as refrigerators and stoves reconfigured the food system particularly at the household end of it. Chikowero (2007, p.292) aptly captures the impact of electrification on the consumption end of the food system when he points out that, "[i]n the same way, electrical mechanisation enabled householders to save money buying food in bulk, to conserve it and then prepare it in a clean, efficient way." Furthermore, "it increased white settler householders' comfort, cleanliness and hygiene and eased the drudgery of labour" (Chikowero, 2007, p.288). In contrast to these conditions of comfort, Africans in Makokoba Township had to make do with the use of wood fuel whose access was restricted epitomising what Chikowero (2007, p.304) called the "...hardships of incomplete urbanisation, which alienated them from their environment without conceivably benefiting...from this modernisation process." Hence, lack of electricity service provision accentuated the Africans' encounter with a commodified food system as they had to buy firewood mainly for food preparation from licensed traders. Furthermore, paternalistic tendencies in urban governance were evident in this regard as BCC proposed the establishment of a centralised electrified food preparation centre in Makokoba Township where food could be prepared and sold to residents (Chikowero, 2007). This initiative was however rejected by the residents.

Housing provision is yet another area of focus that can help unravel the history of Bulawayo's social development and the attendant urban governance dynamics. As already indicated in the foregoing, Makokoba Township was largely a forgotten area. The area was eventually properly surveyed in 1922 resulting in the availability of plots for rentals at five

shillings per month (Mpofu, 2010). Subsequently, in 1929 some of the privately built houses were destroyed by the BCC albeit with some compensation given to the owners (Mpofu, 2010; Chikowero, 2007). In 1930 the Land Apportionment Act was enacted providing for the racial segregation of the country including urban areas. However, it is noteworthy that BCC refused to set aside Makokoba Township as a Native area, a decision which was one of many instances where the Council antagonised the central government on issues pertaining to the provision of houses for black Africans in the city (Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). Whilst these issues are not of primary interest in a study of food systems, they do however give indications to the nature of urban governance that has always characterised the city of Bulawayo. It can be discerned that from the onset local government authorities and their central government counterparts had an uneasy relationship. This is something that has in most cases characterised urban governance in Bulawayo up to the present day. Ranger (2007) writes authoritatively about the city versus state 'drama' to show how the current crisis in Zimbabwe can be understood through its colonial antecedent using the contested subject of housing provision for black Africans.

Ranger's (2007) work highlights that the duel was over the responsibility for housing provision for black Africans where the BCC argued that it needed financial support whilst the state argued that it was the BCC's responsibility to provide houses. Ranger (2007, p.176) points out that "If government could or would not pay for African housing, the council could do little even if they were falling behind demand." The tensions between the two authorities saw the setting up of two commissions by two Prime Ministers in 1930 and 1943 which both failed to solve the problem of housing provision (Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). It is also noteworthy that the tensions between the state and the local authority with regard to housing provision for the poor black Africans in Bulawayo could partly be explained by the fact that the state had usurped some of the financial resources that the BCC generated through African opaque beer sales (Mpofu, 2010). These beer sales were of considerable importance in that part of the profits catered for services in African residential areas including providing housing (Mpofu, 2010). This is further evidence of the uneasy relationship between the state and the city that characterised early urban governance in Bulawayo. It is also of interest that in response to advice by the state to court the private sector in the construction of houses for Africans, BCC's efforts came to nought (Mpofu, 2010). This, in spite of the fact that the housing challenges the city was facing were partly due to the increased appetite for additional labour by industrialists and other business players (Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). Furthermore, the Council partly attributed the blame to industrialists for paying low wages which necessitated the Council to consider charging white residents higher rates in order to subsidise the poor black communities

(Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). Thus, early forms of urban governance in Bulawayo in this regard point to the fact that they were characterised by a fractious relationship amongst different actors defying Obeng-Odooms's (2012) assertion that urban governance is all about partnership for urban development. It can therefore be surmised that early forms of urban governance were informed by a statist hierarchical urban management approach where all other actors saw the local authority as the ultimate responsible authority for service delivery in urban areas. Nonetheless, these developments in early forms of urban governance in Bulawayo point to urban governance as an arena of struggle over responsibilities and resources. Notwithstanding this long-held view about urban governance, relationships of such actors as the state, local authorities, the poor and the private sector amongst others have not as yet been explored in detail with respect to the city food system. This study thus grapples with such issues as it identifies the key actors in the food system and examines their interactions and the resultant food security outcomes.

The city versus state duels continued during the post-independence era where the central government continued to intervene intrusively in city affairs. One such case was witnessed after the 2005 *Operation Murambatsvina* (Restore Order) which started in mid- 2005 in Bulawayo. Mpofu (2011b) notes that the Operation was done without prior consultation of the BCC and without following due process as provisions of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act which the government claimed its Operation was premised on were flouted. Resultantly, Mpofu (2011b) notes that there were contestations between the state and the city over who was supposed to shoulder the financial responsibilities for the Operation. Hence like in the city versus state of the colonial era, central government expected the local authority to shoulder responsibilities for the Operation without accompanying central government financial support. Mpofu (2011b) notes that the Operation had massive impacts in the City as it led to the destruction of 10, 595 housing structures in the process affecting more than 74, 165 residents.

Central government interference in the affairs of the local authority became too apparent in the subsequent reconstruction programme dubbed *Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* (Operation Live Well). Whilst at its launch the Operation was said to be wholly state initiated and purportedly financed too, developments on the ground painted the Zimbabwean state as a meddlesome one with respect to local authority affairs. The central government amongst other things initially implemented the reconstruction programme through committees under the stewardship of army personnel foisted on the BCC and who had no prior experience in the task at hand (Mpofu, 2010; Mpofu, 2011b). This move "...exacerbated a long history of

struggle between council and state over the provision of housing services to low-income earners (Mpofu, 2011b, p. 177-178). These contradictions became even more apparent in the second phase of the reconstruction programme where instead of building houses for the poor, the government provided unserviced housing stands through the office of the Metropolitan Governor who oversaw the implementation of the Programme. It is instructive that the office of the Metropolitan Governor was introduced in urban areas in 2004 for amongst other reasons to ostensibly counter the opposition Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) which had almost attained exclusive control of urban local authorities (Chigwata et al., 2019; Mpofu, 2010; Mpofu, 2011b; Ranger, 2007). Consequently, at this stage of Bulawayo's history they were effectively two centres of power. On one hand there was the local authority headed by an opposition backed Executive Mayor and on the other there was a central government appointed Metropolitan Governor, a situation that fomented a "governance crisis" (Mpofu, 2010). The crisis was clearly brought to the fore by the then BCC Executive Mayor Japhet Ndabeni-Ncube who bemoaned that:

[u]naccountable ad hoc army-headed housing committees, with powers to override local authorities had taken over the Council's statutory roles. He argued that it was 'critical and right that, for the sustainability of any programme, role space and role actors are clearly defined and followed' (Mpofu, 2011b, p.186).

The Mayor's objections were inspired by the fact that those seeking land to build houses did so through officials spearheading Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* without giving due attention to the existence of the local authority. The consequences of this were dire as:

[h]ouses were built on unserviced land and houses were occupied without running water and sewer reticulation systems thereby exposing the occupants to the threat of major disease outbreaks that included diarrhoea and respiratory infections. This was very much against the Council's public health Bylaws (Mpofu, 2010, p.264).

Such developments are of interest in a study of this nature not least in their impact in shaping the socio-economic landscape which in turn is a critical factor in the configuration of a food system. For instance, the establishment of a suburb or sections of a suburb without the attendant amenities can potentially impact access to food and even utilisation within the household. Where the road network is poor or non-existent, formal business concerns some of which enhance food access in the residential area might not be keen to operate there and if they do it might be at a premium. In addition, lack of services such as water and electricity provision

within the households can negatively impact the handling and consumption of food therein leading to poor food security outcomes. These developments are also of interest because they were taking place in Ward 28 which is the study case. It thus becomes of interest to interrogate how these developments affected the food system and these findings are discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

The subject of housing provision in Bulawayo also brings into the fore the agential initiatives of poor black Africans residing in Makokoba Township. While the city and state authorities prevaricated over housing provision, the residents played an active part in ensuring their interests were taken care of. Scholars point out that black African residents in Bulawayo organised themselves primarily along their ethnic groups and further constituted themselves through other forms of identities beyond their ethnic groups. For instance, Yoshikuni (2001) indicates that the Ndebele people were the first to populate the city, a development which led to the forging of social institutions and associations meant to preserve Ndebele cultural sensibilities. Some of these groupings included Amandebele Patriotic Society and the Matabeleland Home Society. Other ethnic groups followed suit and constituted ethnic based and focussed groupings (Msindo, 2007; Ranger, 2007). The import of these social groupings in the broader governance processes is that they "...provided local expressions of anti-colonial discontent" (Msindo, 2007, p.269) as they served as platforms for political mobilisation. However, the downside of such social groupings is that they at times promoted divisions and rivalry, the pinnacle of which resulted in what are commonly referred to as the 1929 'faction fights.' These were basically violent encounters premised on what others put to ethnicity (Msindo, 2006) whereas others to class (van Onselen and Phimister, 1979) and yet others to intergenerational conflicts (Ranger, 2006). In addition to these social groupings, mass based inclusive groupings such as labour unions also provided fertile grounds to resist unjust processes of colonial urbanity. For instance, Ranger (2007) identifies the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) as one of those unions that stood up to the white community and the BCC in particular. Msindo (2007, p.271) adds that amongst other things the ICU spoke against "...poor housing, low wages and poor working conditions." Mpofu (2010, p.36) argues that "[t]he fact that the 1945 Railway workers' and 1948 General strikes respectively began in Bulawayo attested to the very poor living and working conditions that existed in the city." These developments show that the poor organised themselves and as collectives actively resisted what they saw as unjust initiatives by both the national and local government in aspects of urban administration.

African Advisory Boards (AAB) were one of the institutions which the black Africans fought for and also used to ensure their interests were catered for in urban areas (Mpofu, 2010; Msindo 2007; Ranger, 2007). For instance, in 1930 the then Prime Minister of Colonial Zimbabwe Howard Moffat instituted a commission of inquiry to amongst other things investigate the conditions of existence of blacks Africans in urban areas (Ranger, 2007). One of the issues which the ICU and other associations representing Africans lobbied for was the institution of a body inclusive of elected Africans to act as an intermediary between the Council and African residents (Ranger, 2007). The Commission amongst other things recommended that there be a Native Advisory Board made up of six residents of Makokoba Township, a recommendation that was firmly rebuffed by the BCC on the grounds that such a Board would serve as a springboard for the activities of anti-colonial activists (Ranger, 2007). Notwithstanding these objections, the BCC was nonetheless the first local authority to constitute AABs in 1940 as a way of ensuring black people's representation in municipal governance (Mpofu, 2010; Msindo 2007). These Boards were to be deemed mandatory later on in 1946 with the enactment of the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (N(UA)ARA) (Mpofu, 2010; Msindo, 2007). At the risk of diverging from the main issue under discussion, which is that of collective action by Africans in urban governance, it is however also critical to point out that the enactment of the Act took place after an arduous battle between local authorities especially BCC and the central government (Ranger, 2007). The BCC argued that "...local authorities were being asked to assume control over the largest section of the people [Africans] without any assistance, which rightly it was the Government's obligation to do..." (Ranger, 2007, p.181). These sentiments were inspired by the fact that the N(UA)ARA was mandating the local authorities to provide permanent housing for black Africans in urban areas. The BCC thus took about four years before adhering to the provisions of the Act (Mpofu, 2010; Ranger; 2007). It is also critical to note that using Clapp and Fuchs' (2012) conceptualisation of power, the state ended up employing instrumental power as it withheld the transfer of industrial stands to BCC as a ploy to force the local authority to build houses for Africans, itself a key provision of the N(UA)ARA (Mpofu, 2010; Ranger, 2007). There are so many things that can be said about the Act for it had far reaching implications on urban governance. Suffice to point out that Ranger (2001) surmised that it was the most critical intervention by the central government in local governance and in Bulawayo it partly stimulated and partly coincided with extensive transformation of areas inhabited by Africans. The existence of AABs was also legally backed by the N(UA)ARA. AABs were however described as ineffective and elitist from the onset as they were mostly constituted by African

middle class which made them unpopular with low-income Africans (Mpofu, 2010; Msindo, 2007). What this historical development indicates about urban governance is that even in cases where certain actors combine efforts to form collectives there are possibilities of internal ructions within the groups informed by varied interests within the collective. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Msindo (2007) points out that the AABs nonetheless tried to use the little power they had to keep the Council on its toes by for instance agitating for the overturning of a ban on homebrewed African traditional beer, raising issues of accountability within the BCC and advocating for direct representation within the Council. Furthermore, they used covert forms of resistance by boycotting or cancelling meetings to forestall council business (Msindo, 2007). In spite of their valiant efforts, the AABs ebbed in importance as most Africans started questioning their efficacy resulting in the sprouting of alternative formations in the form of tenants/residents' associations albeit without enjoying official recognition (Mpofu, 2010; Msindo, 2007). The AABs were however resuscitated towards the end of the 1960s but still failed to force the Council to act on their recommendations that trampled on the interests of white residents (Mpofu, 2010).

In addition to the collective agential efforts of Africans in urban governance there were also some efforts that were made by individuals in order to negotiate their spaces in the urban scape. Mpofu (2010) avers that in spite of the development of a number of suburbs for Africans, the housing crisis did not abate and to cope with the situation some individuals sublet part of their rented accommodation, an act which could lead to eviction whereas others built unsanctioned pole and dagga kitchens. The Council responded through regular raiding missions to evict illegal residents (Mpofu, 2010). All these actions point to the fact that the poor exercised agency in the face of an unjust and repressive urban environment in order to cope. These actions are useful pointers in the study of the urban food system as one can then interrogate how individuals deal with closed spaces within the system.

To conclude this section, it can be said with certainty that urban governance in colonial Bulawayo was a site of struggle with multiple actors having varied interests and employing varied tactics to create spaces for themselves. In the process, the social and physical landscape in the city was changing as it is after the enactment of N(UA)ARA that a number of suburbs were built for Africans with accompanying changes in tenancy arrangements. Whilst the issues raised in this section have been highlighting elements of the Bulawayo food system, it however remains necessary to interrogate the institutional framework governing the same. To this end, the following section is an overview of the institutional framework governing the Bulawayo food system.

4.3 Institutional framework governing Bulawayo's food system in perspective

In presenting this section, the study follows the key elements of the food system which are production, processing and retailing. It begins by examining the governance context of urban agriculture, specifically focussing on agricultural production within the city. Subsequently, discussions on food processing and retailing follow respectively. As the discussion unfolds it brings to the fore some of the key actors, activities, policies, regulations and laws that seek to guide actors in performing their food system roles including mediating their interactions.

4.3.1 Urban agriculture in Bulawayo

Urban agriculture in its formal and informal dimensions has a long history in Bulawayo. In spite of the long history of practice of urban agriculture, a draft urban agriculture policy was only formally promulgated in December 2002 and later finalised in 2007 (BCC, 2007; Mpofu, 2010). Accordingly, the development of Bulawayo's agriculture policy is a classic case of the development of a policy in response to practice. Hitherto the development of this comprehensive policy, urban agriculture was largely regulated through a coterie of legal instruments governing different segments of urban governance such as land use planning, public health and traffic control amongst others. Some of these legal instruments are the Regional Town and Country Planning Act: (Chapter 29:12); the Environmental Management Act (Chapter 20:27), the Bulawayo Protection of Lands and Natural Resources Bylaws, 1975 and the Bulawayo (Public Health) Bylaws, 1966 (BCC, 2002; Sithole, et al., 2012). BCC has gone further to promulgate the Bulawayo (Urban Agriculture) Bylaws, 2008 which are specifically focussed on urban agriculture. These Bylaws are being used to regulate urban agriculture in tandem with some of the legal instruments just highlighted in the foregoing. Specific provisions of the urban agriculture Bylaws will be discussed under specific and relevant aspects of urban agriculture as the discussion on the institutional complex undergirding urban agriculture in Bulawayo is unpacked in this section.

According to the BCC (2007) the practice of urban agriculture involves both legal and illegal actors, individual and collective farmers, rain fed, or irrigation supported forms of farming. At the heart of the policy intentions is the promotion of a regulated urban agricultural sector encompassing both the subsistence and commercial actors in order to boost local food production, promote local economic development and poverty reduction. This policy thrust is also apparent in the city urban agriculture Bylaws which state that, "[u]rban agriculture shall be permissible within the municipal area for the purposes of providing household food security,

alleviating poverty, creating employment, establishing and sustaining agricultural businesses...” (BCC, 2008, p.3). More specifically, BCC (2007, p.15-16) points out that the specific objectives of Bulawayo’s urban agriculture policy are:

- a) Assisting the Bulawayo City Council in promoting and supporting development of an orderly, well organized, viable and sustainable urban agriculture.
- b) Providing guidelines in the implementation of urban agriculture programmes and projects throughout the city taking cognisance of the major issues identified.
- c) Assisting the local authority in the integration of Urban Agriculture in its socioeconomic system as a legitimate land use and economic activity and its institutionalisation.
- d) Addressing key issues, challenges and proposals for their resolution.

It can be surmised that BCC’s urban agriculture policy and the associated Bylaws seek to create order and leverage on the practice to address some of the city’s pressing social and economic challenges. Furthermore, point (c) above is a tacit admission by the local authority that urban agriculture was hitherto not recognised as a ‘legitimate land use and economic activity.’ It is thus of interest to establish how urban agriculture is faring with respect to improving household food security including how the institutional set up affects its practice as an integral element of the city’s food system.

Urban agriculture has historically been widespread in Bulawayo, albeit at times practised illegally or without authorisation. To demonstrate the pervasiveness of urban agriculture in Bulawayo, Mpofu (2010) points out that in 1973 there were approximately 1000 welfare garden allotment holders and during the 1994/95 farming season approximately 30% of the Bulawayo population was involved in it. It is this increasing participation of the Bulawayo populace in urban agriculture that has at times prompted the BCC to designate more land towards the practice and even make institutional reconfigurations in an effort to accommodate the practice. The promulgation of the Bulawayo urban agriculture policy and associated bylaws are examples of such instances where the Council had to accommodate the interests of the residents who practised urban agriculture marking a shift from its long-held position where urban agriculture was not institutionalised in council business.

In terms of the profile of urban agriculture in Bulawayo, the BCC urban agriculture policy acknowledges that it is widespread in the city and involves “crop and livestock production and is practised under different circumstances and arrangements” (BCC, 2002, p.10). Moyo (2013b) goes further in profiling urban agricultural practices in Bulawayo by pointing out that there are both on-plot and off-plot farmers. He indicates that on-plot urban

farming takes place within the confines of one's legally designated residential plot where a resident can grow crops and vegetables. Off-plot farming involves farming in areas which the residents regard as commons, notwithstanding that at times it would be land designated for specified future projects. According to Moyo (2013b), access to these plots is not regulated but is on a first 'claim basis.' The BCC (2002) classifies this off-plot farming as unauthorised farming and indicates that it is the most common in the city, notwithstanding that it is mostly seasonal as residents usually cultivate 'their' fields during the rainy season. Interestingly, the Bulawayo (Urban agriculture) Bylaws (BCC, 2008) explicitly state that everyone practising agriculture within the city should do so with its express authorisation and without posing health hazard, environmental degradation and nuisance within the city. From the on-set it can be discerned that a huge proportion of urban farmers have had spaces for urban agriculture closed for them since they practise it on undesignated land. From a governance perspective it is of interest to interrogate how these urban residents are navigating these closed production spaces within the food system and the attendant reaction from the city authorities.

The BCC (2007) urban agriculture policy further brings a distinction on on-plot farming activities by highlighting that the city's land use planning regulations designate or zone certain areas for purposes of the practice of urban agriculture. These are areas in the margins of the city or in low density areas where residents are allocated big plots of about 2 hectares and examples include Douglasdale, Norwood, Montgomery, Riverside and Burnside amongst others (BCC, 2007). The Bulawayo urban agriculture policy also highlights that in some cases residents can be granted concessions to practise specified forms of urban agriculture in especially low-density residential areas which are characterised by bigger plot sizes. For one to get the Council Special Consent s/he must apply for it to the BCC and most residents generally apply for poultry and market gardening. Permits are granted by Council with special conditions especially health and environmental conditions. For instance, plot sizes determine the number of chickens one is permitted to rear in that plot, with those in the high-density areas allowed only 25 birds whereas those in the low density can rear up to 200 (BCC, 2007, p.26). The Council further specifies the following regulations listed in table 4.1 pertaining to livestock rearing:

Table 4.1: Animal husbandry and specified conditions for its practice in Bulawayo

Livestock Type	Specified conditions
Beef cattle	Pen fattening only
Dairy cattle	Two per acre
Ostrich	Three adult birds per acre
Poultry (chickens, ducks, pigeons)	25 birds high density suburbs and up to 200 for low density suburbs
Sheep and goats	Pen fattening only
Rabbits	15 in high density suburbs and 30 in low density suburbs
Piggery	Only in plots of over 12 acres
Beekeeping	Only in plots of over one acre

Source: Adapted from BCC, 2007.

In granting or denying consent for certain practices of livestock husbandry within the municipal area, the Council also takes into consideration provisions of the Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09] and the Bulawayo (Public Health) Bylaws, 1966 Statutory Instrument 803/1966 (BCC, 2008).

As stated in the BCC's urban agriculture policy document, poverty alleviation is one of the policy's objectives. True to this declared intention, the agricultural production element of the food system also includes a provision for indigents. This is in the form of garden allotments dotted around suburbs of the mainly poor in high density areas. The BCC (2007) states that there are 12 such allotments in areas such as Makokoba, Mpopoma and Njube. Farmers under this scheme are chosen by the City's social workers based on their socio-economic status (BCC, 2007). "At present there are over 1 000 plot holders and the size of each plot averages 130m². The size of each garden allotment area ranges from 0.42 to 4 hectares." (BCC, 2007, p.11). The purpose of the gardens is to help augment household food supplies for poor households. In addition to these allotments, there are other organised agricultural activities, some run by individuals and others by cooperatives selected through local leadership structures (BCC, 2007; Sithole et al., 2013). For this type of urban farming, BCC (2007) cites the example of Gum Plantation, a brainchild of the City Council and is about 350 acres in size partitioned into 1 100 plots of 5 000 m² and water used is waste water from sewage works. In addition to these urban farming projects at a micro scale, there are institutional players in Bulawayo's urban agriculture including the City Council itself. The City Council through its Commercial Undertakings division runs amongst others farms two productive farms, namely Aisleby and Good Hope. Aisleby Farm is 1 286 hectares in extant and used for cattle ranching whilst Good Hope is used for maize production (BCC, 2007). Both these farms also make use of treated waste water from

sewage works a move which promotes environmental friendliness of the city's food system. To further, assure residents' safety, the Bulawayo (Urban agriculture) Bylaws, 2008 in part 4 point out that it is an offence for urban farmers to use raw sewage for irrigation purposes. The Bylaws further state that those using partially treated water have to do so in full compliance with the provisions of the Public Health (Effluent) Regulations, 1972, Statutory Instrument 638/1972 in relation to the standard of partially treated water and the crops which can be irrigated by this water.

Studies indicate that the repertoire of crops grown by urban farmers in Bulawayo generally include different varieties of leafy vegetables, onions, tomatoes, maize, cabbage, peas, fodder crops, mushroom, groundnuts, roundnuts, different types of melons all for domestic consumption or for business (BCC, 2002; Hadebe and Mpofu, 2013; Moyo, 2013b; Sithole et al., 2012).

The practice of urban agriculture has led to a number of institutional developments all in an effort to nurture it. For instance, the development of the City's urban agriculture policy was a result of collaborative efforts of a number of actors with an interest in urban agriculture. These players constituted themselves into an entity called Bulawayo Urban Agriculture Multi-stakeholders Forum (BCC 2007; Moyo, 2013b). This Forum includes amongst others the Council whose role is to provide land, water and an enabling institutional environment, Non-Governmental Organisations for technical and financial support, farmers who practise urban agriculture, research institutes for technical support, financial institutions for financing, ward councillors, local and central government representatives (BCC, 2002; Hadebe and Mpofu, 2013; Moyo; 2013b; Sithole et al., 2012).

Therefore, such actors provide a good basis of interrogating the city's food system and the attendant urban governance dynamics which is at the core of this study.

This section has given an overview of Bulawayo's food production environment by interrogating various urban agriculture activities and the institutional environment they are steeped in. Whilst many studies have interrogated this element of the food system, they however do not go further to interrogate how it interacts with other elements and the household food security outcomes. This is particularly important because in an urban set-up food security is more than a food production issue but an access one too. To this end, the following section interrogates food processing activities in Bulawayo including the actors thereof and the attendant urban governance dynamics.

4.3.2 Food processing and transportation in Bulawayo

Food processing is also an integral element of food systems and like food production discussed in the foregoing it is also steeped in and influenced by an urban governance context. For instance, food processing actors and environments are usually strictly regulated by urban authorities because of their potential health impact on human health. The Bulawayo urban food system too is not exempt from such a generalisation.

Food processing activities start from places where food is produced especially with respect to the cultivation of crops where harvesting marks the initial process of food processing. As a result of the potential use of environmentally unfriendly ways of harvesting, BCC has crafted by-laws regulating the handling of agricultural residue. The Bulawayo (Urban agriculture) Bylaws, 2008 in conjunction with the Bulawayo (Protection of Lands and Natural Resources) By-laws, 1975 outlaw the burning of agricultural residue in order to protect the natural environment and human life (BCC, 2008). For one to burn any agricultural residues there is need for express authorisation from the city authorities and the Environmental Management Agency (EMA). This is a clear sign that urban governance can potentially affect the nature of food systems since this act of controlling what to do with agricultural residue can influence farmers' agronomic practices. For instance, there is a likelihood that the restrictions on handling of agricultural residue can 'force' the farmers to reuse it in the form of compost or in some instances as fodder for some animals reared.

The processing of meat is also done within the precinct of the city's laws and regulations. For instance, the Bulawayo (Abattoir) (Amendment) Bylaws of 1999 expressly outlaw the operation of abattoirs in residential areas on public health grounds. Furthermore, abattoirs are strictly regulated, for instance through the Bulawayo (Game Meat) By-laws, 1969 which stipulate that for one to be registered with the Council as a supplier of game meat they have to have their premises which they use for handling and dressing game meat inspected and certified by a Medical Health Officer. These by-laws further give conditions on how game meat is transported around including the type and state of vehicles permitted to carry game meat.

The Bulawayo (Abattoir) (Amendment) Bylaws of 1999 in conjunction with the Public Health (Abattoir, Animal and Bird Slaughter and Meat Hygiene) Regulations Statutory Instrument 50 of 1995 govern the handling of different kinds of meat within the city. These legal instruments give assigned officials authority to inspect and certify abattoir premises and the meat processed in the respective abattoir. They go on to provide guidelines on the slaughter, dressing, processing, packing and transportation of meat within the City.

It can thus be seen that urban governance plays an important role with respect to the processing and transportation of food within a city in an effort to ensure public health. Regulating the processing of food is critical especially for the food utilisation pillar of food security as it creates an environment where food is handled in a safe way that promotes human health. Since urban governance is not just about rules but is also about the interactions of different actors, it is the interest of this study to interrogate the actors in the food processing sector and how they interact with residents (households), city authorities and even civil society organisations leading to particular food system outcomes.

Given that the residents' point of access for food is mainly through retail outlets the following section gives an overview of the food retailing environment in Bulawayo.

4.3.3 The Food retailing environment in Bulawayo

The food retail environment is key in the determination of households' access to food in an urban set-up. It is thus necessary to scan through the food retailing environment in order to understand how this environment promotes or inhibits residents' access to food within the City. According to BCC (2007), most of the food produced within the city is marketed within the city through various retail platforms but mainly wholesale markets. The food retailing environment is constituted by both formal and informal actors as will be apparent when the discussion unfolds.

The food retail environment in Bulawayo like other elements of the food system is steeped in an urban governance environment that seeks to ensure order and accountability in food retail. The ultimate goal is to ensure that residents access food that is safe for human consumption. This means the city authorities formally designate retailing areas through land use planning and zoning laws. However, what has not been established is the extent to which Bulawayo's land use planning and zoning laws influence the development of a particular food retailing environment and how this environment in turn affects residents' access to food. Hence, this study interrogates how the positioning of food retail sites promote or inhibit residents' access to food. In doing so, it brings to light how the land use planning and zoning practices in Bulawayo affect residents, including their food sourcing practices in their given environment. For instance, BCC (2020) indicates that the City has 144 vending sites with a capacity to accommodate 15 333 vendors. It is thus of interest in this study to establish how those retail entities which are not formally allocated spaces to operate navigate these closed spaces to end up participating in the food system, albeit illegally. Furthermore, there are many formal food retail outlets of various sizes, such as supermarkets, general dealers and others.

What has not been established in literature thus far is their food sourcing and retailing practices including how they interrelate. These are some of the gaps that the current study is plugging as it investigates how food outlets in Bulawayo source and sell food to the residents and how the conduct of food retail outlets affects households' access to food.

All businesses in Bulawayo must be formally registered with the city council under the Bulawayo (Registration of Premises) Bylaws after having met minimum specified conditions including payment of certain fees and public health requirements. Furthermore, the Bulawayo City Council (Hawkers, Vendors, Flea Markets, Food Carts and Stall/Table Holders) by-laws, 2017 make it mandatory even for hawkers and traders to be registered and licensed to operate by the city authorities. Of interest is that those dealing with food must be certified to be medically fit and their premises and wares are subject to periodic health inspections.

The urban food retail environment is highly regulated. For instance, the Bulawayo (Game Meat) By-laws, 1969 prohibit the sale of unauthorised game meat within the precincts of the City. For one to get authorisation there are a number of specified public health procedures that have to be followed. The same conditions apply to other types of meats that are sold within the city as Byo (Abattoir) bylaws stipulate that any meat displayed for sale within the city should be from a registered abattoir. It is also critical to note that whilst BCC by-laws allow for vendors to trade in items such as second hand and new clothing, fruits and vegetables, they nonetheless prohibit them from selling meat. However, the practice is awash especially in the City's CBD as street vendors sell all sorts of meats such as beef, fresh and dried fish, offals and chicken amongst others (Msimanga, 2015). Whilst the city authorities have tried to use both discursive (by framing the practice as posing potential health hazards to residents) and instrumental power by using sheer force to rid the streets of these vendors, it is of interest to understand why residents still patronise these actors in the food system. Also of interest is that the practice of street vending, though not necessarily exclusively on food items, has nonetheless led to the rise of civil society organisations that attempt to represent the collective aspirations of street traders. For instance, there is the Bulawayo vendors and Traders Association (BVTA) and Bulawayo Entrepreneurs Association. The BVTA claims that it has 1139 members across the City's 29 wards. A survey of their activities gleaned from media reports indicate that they are also influencing the urban governance environment from below, with the BVTA active in advocating for changes in the City's bylaws landscape. It is thus of interest in this study to further interrogate how such social formations have changed or seek to change the food environment in Bulawayo through their activities.

This subsection has demonstrated that the food retail environment in Bulawayo is a site of struggle with city authorities fighting for control and order on the one hand and informal actors creating their own spaces of participation in order to survive on the other hand.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that in order to have a sound understanding of contemporary food systems there is need to have a historical understanding of their development. To this end, the chapter discussed the development of the Bulawayo food system from the colonial era. It was shown that the food system was borne in an environment of racial inequalities and injustices. These injustices manifested through unequal access to resources and amenities such as land, water, electricity and housing. In addition, on the economic front it was shown that the economic development of Bulawayo into the country's industrial hub promoted the commodification of the food system with residents increasingly reliant on food purchased from shops. It was also shown that Bulawayo like most other colonial cities abhorred informality including in the economic sector. As such during the colonial era, informal economic activities were heavily suppressed through legal instruments and the use of brute force. In spite of this harsh environment, informal sector economic actors did however emerge and survive in the city through the use of various strategies.

The chapter also briefly interrogated the city's institutional complex with respect to governance and food systems. This interrogation revealed that urban agriculture in its various forms is now a recognised economic sector in the city and is characterised by the involvement of a diverse set of actors with sometimes competing interests. The food processing, transportation and retailing environment is similarly steeped in the same urban governance environment as urban agriculture. The environment is also characterised by the involvement of a diverse range of actors. It was shown that the activities of these actors are shaped by planning and governance instruments used by the city authorities. However, it is also apparent that some of the actors create their spaces outside of those formally created ones. It is thus in the interest of this study to examine how households access their food in this kind of environment and the food security outcomes thereof.

Having appropriately backgrounded the study through this chapter and the one preceding it, it is now necessary to discuss the methodological pathways to be followed in the operationalisation of this study on the Bulawayo food system.

Chapter 5 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology followed to gather data on how the Bulawayo food system is configured including the identification of agents operating within the food system. It further elucidates on the methods employed to understand how and by who the Bulawayo food system has been shaped and re-shaped over time including the interrogation of how urban governance processes and structures affect food security especially at a household level. In order to achieve these goals, the chapter begins with a discussion of the study's philosophical underpinnings which subsume epistemological, ontological and axiological orientations. Subsequently, a discussion on the study's methodological choices is done which encompasses the research design and approach. Also highlighted in this chapter is the description of the study area, the targeted population and sampling procedures. Data collection, analysis and presentation procedures and techniques are also explored in the chapter. Finally, the chapter ends by exploring ethical issues in research to demonstrate that the study was being done in ethically acceptable ways in both the scientific community and the general population at large.

In order to put this entire chapter into perspective, Figure 5.1 below presents a schematic representation of the key elements of the research methodology discussed in herein.

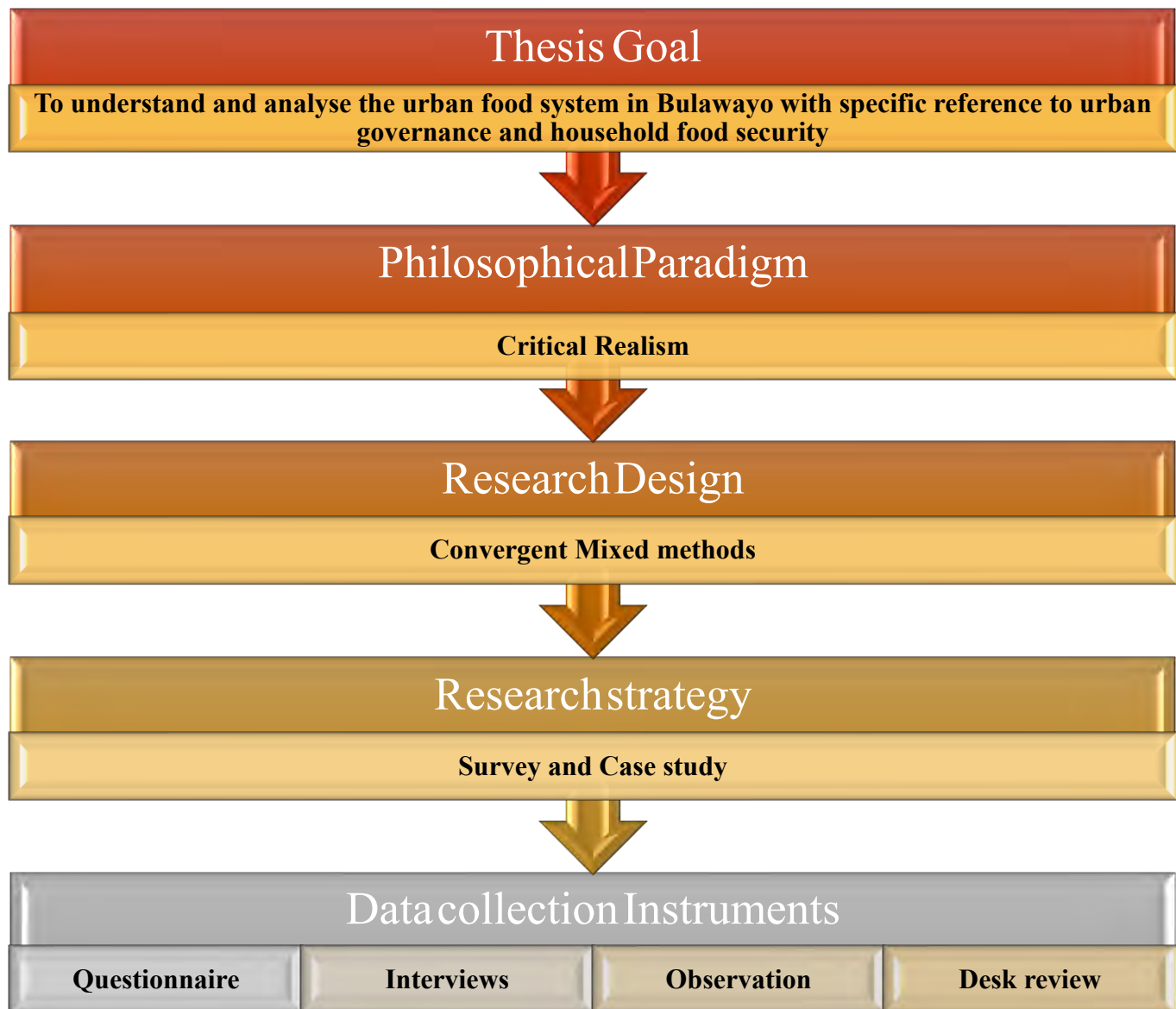


Figure 5.1: Schematic representation of the study's methodology
Source: Author's own creation.

5.2 Research paradigm

The genesis of the concept of paradigm in research has been attributed to Kuhn (1962) an American philosopher who presented it as a philosophical way of thinking. Since then, a number of scholars have elaborated on that initial proposition pertaining to the conceptualisation of research paradigm. For instance, Guba and Lincoln (1994) present a paradigm as a set of beliefs or worldview which provide direction to research whereas Cresswell (2013, p.6), says a research paradigm is actually "...a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study." Neuman (2014) opines that a paradigm is an entire system of thinking whereas Collins and

Hussey (2009) conceptualise it as a philosophical framework. From all these submissions it can be surmised that the concept of a paradigm in literature carries nuanced meanings which at times mainstream ‘worldview’ whereas in other instances the epistemological stance, model approach to research and beliefs shared by a group of researchers are emphasised. Therefore, a paradigm establishes the ‘norms’ of what constitutes research and how to conduct it for a community of researchers. Resultantly, a paradigm is the anchor of any research as it directs the researcher on what should be studied, the ways in which it should be studied and how the findings thereof should be understood (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). In terms of typology, scholars identify several research paradigms though generally these can be collapsed into three main ones, that is, positivism, interpretivism and critical paradigms (Candy, 1989; Tennis, 2008).

Scholars generally identify four critical common elements of a research paradigm which are epistemology, ontology, axiology and methodology (Hall, 2013; Kaushik and Walsh, 2019; Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). These are elaborated in the following subsections.

5.2.1 The study’s ontological and epistemological orientation

The ontological orientations of a study reveal the researcher’s assumptions about the nature of reality (Kaushik and Walsh, 2019; Maarouf, 2019). Sefotho (2015) adds that ontology relates to the study of research phenomena which is represented by being or reality of the subject matter under study. Guba and Lincoln (1994) further opine that in the sphere of knowledge production, sociological view of social reality, which is its ontology, impacts the way of understanding this reality, in other words, the epistemological approach. According to Kaushik and Walsh (2019, p.1) epistemology relates to researchers’ “assumptions about how we know the world, how we gain knowledge, the relationship between the knower and the known....” Thus, at the core of epistemology is the element of knowledge, specifically issues to do with defining its parameters, that is, its nature and forms, and ways of attaining and disseminating it (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). Epistemology therefore grapples with the question of what constitutes valid knowledge and how researchers can acquire it.

Research phenomena encompasses both entities and non-entities. Entities relate to the material world whereas non-entities relate to ideas, experiences, feelings and attitudes amongst other things. Like in all other dimensions of research paradigms, ontologically, research paradigms proffer divergent perspectives with respect to the nature of being or reality. For instance, while on the one hand positivism posits that a single reality exists independent of whether or not human beings perceive it (Maarouf, 2019; Weber, 2004), interpretivism on the

other hand maintains that the understanding of phenomena is value-related and resultantly generates multiple realities as informed by amongst other factors, time and space (De Villiers, 2005).

This thesis is not undergirded by a positivist philosophy because it is not its goal to establish causal links between or amongst variables as positivism proposes (Creswell, 2013). Instead, it works from the standpoint that the activities of the actors within the Bulawayo food system are conditioned by the broader socio-structural environment epitomising urban governance. As such, its proposition is that the socio-structural factors do not cause (or determine) the activities of the different actors but instead simply condition them. Furthermore, it is not anchored on an interpretivist philosophy given that interpretivism focuses on social reality through the lens of the actors without due regard to reality that is operating at levels beyond the perception of the concerned actors (Wynn and Williams, 2012). Therefore, “[i]n response to this polari[s]ation, some researchers use a critical realist perspective” (Shannon-Baker, 2016, p.329) as this study does too. Critical realism accepts the compatibility (of worldviews) thesis which puts forward the argument that research can make use of both quantitative (read as positivist) and qualitative (read as interpretivist) approaches to help make up for the weaknesses of each other (Shannon-Baker, 2016). According to Banifateme et al., (2018, p.58), “[c]ritical realism does not confine itself to the phenomenal appearance of realities; rather it contends that one has to dive into deeper layers of reality.” Wynn and Williams (2012, p.787) further opine that “...critical realism is positioned as an alternative to the positivist and interpretivist paradigms, and leverages elements of both to provide new approaches to developing knowledge.

Critical realism is an appropriate fit for a study of urban food systems since it gives room to transcend mere description of events and to recognise the role of structure and agency (Wynn and Williams, 2012). Thus, whereas critical realism is informed by a constructivist epistemology which understands the world through individual viewpoints/standpoints it is however unique in that it acknowledges, as informed by realist ontology, that reality can exist outside perception and hence the call for researcher to dig into ‘deeper levels’ of reality (Shannon-Baker, 2016). Thus, from a critical realism perspective, events that emerge cannot be solely attributed to individual agency but also to the environment in which individuals are operating in (Dobson, Myles, & Jackson, 2007). Critical realism enables researchers to do this by proposing a stratified ontology that recognises the empirical, actual and real domains (Shannon-Baker, 2016; Wynn and Williams, 2012) which are represented in figure 5.2 below:

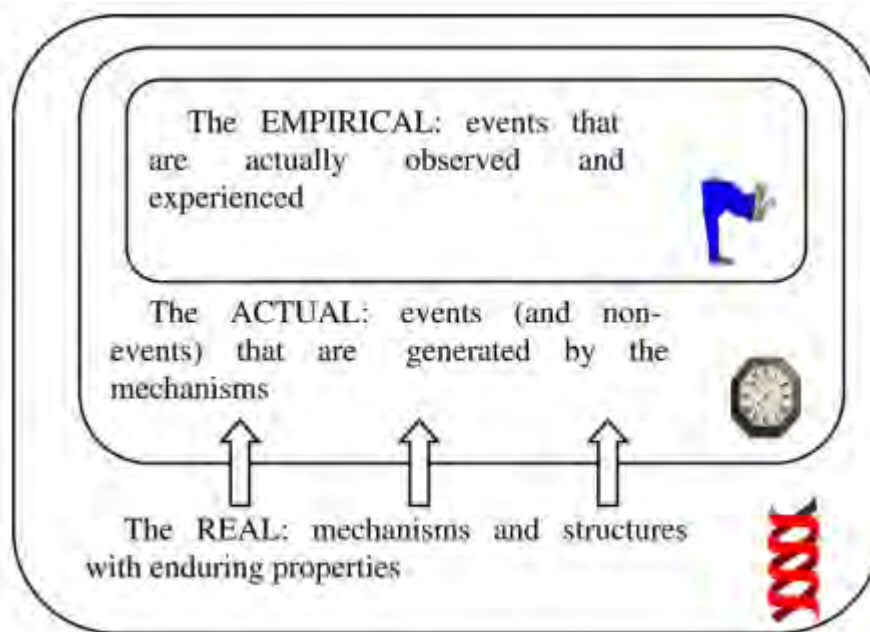


Figure 5.2: Domains of reality from a critical realist perspective

Source: Mingers, 2004, p.94.

The stratified ontology presented in figure 5.2 has important epistemological influences. Firstly, it influences researchers to draw on the perception of individuals in respect of the way they experience and observe events at the empirical level. Secondly, it projects the fact that what is on the ‘actual’ and ‘real’ layers cannot be directly experienced and hence defy direct observation and measurement by researchers. Thirdly, the empirical is subsumed within the ‘actual’ and ‘real’ domains implying that context of experience is key in accounting for that experience. Hence, stratified ontology enables one to go further and dig deeper into the ‘real’ layer in order to explain what is being observed at the empirical layer. Heeks and Wall (2018, p.4) argue that “[g]iven the transitive (i.e. variable and uncertain) relationship between the empirical and the actual, critical realism requires pluralism of methods in order to improve validity of insights into events (and hence, into underlying mechanisms.” Wynn and Williams (2012, p.793) reinforce this perspective when they point out that:

[c]ritical realism seeks to posit descriptions of reality based on an analysis of the experiences observed and interpreted by the participants, along with other types of data. The resulting knowledge claims are focused on specifying and describing those elements of reality which must exist in order for the events and experiences under examination to have occurred.

It is in this respect that the current study uses the mixed method approach. The mixed methods approach will help gain a much fuller understanding of the subject at hand. The qualitative element in the study helps appreciate the social actors' views pertaining to the nature of the urban food system including its different actors and elements and how they interact with and alter it, how and why the food system has been changing and finally deciphering the agency of the poor as they play their part in the food system. On the quantitative side, the study interrogates how urban governance processes and structures shape food security at a household level. Accordingly, critical realism allowed the study to glance through social actors' practices within the food system, the beliefs informing their behaviour and the likely consequences of their behaviour. In doing this, the study was guided by axiological underpinnings of critical realism which are highlighted in the next section.

5.2.2 Axiological underpinnings of the study

Axiology is "the study of what things are good and how good they are, or more simply, the philosophical study of value and value theory" (Schwandt, 2015, p. 15). Hesse-Biber (2010, p.171), buttresses this definition by propounding that, "[a]xiology means being cogni[s]ant of our values, attitudes, and biases and acknowledging how these might play out in research praxis...." Two elements of critical realism differentiate it from positivist research with respect to its axiological leanings (Heeks and Wall, 2018). Firstly, whereas positivism advances the proposition of value-free research, critical realism's (similar to interpretivism) axiological proposition is that observation and research are value-laden. This implies that what researchers do is shaped by experience and context (Heeks and Wall, 2018). Secondly, critical realism propounds that research should be values driven, more specifically emancipatory values. According to Heeks and Wall, 2018, p. 4) this "...means recognising the way in which the social structures and mechanisms of the real domain can sometimes serve to generate events and processes that are oppressive and outcomes that are unequal. Thus, in recognition of these axiological propositions, the current study unfolded with a clear approach to unearth generative mechanisms that inform the nature of the Bulawayo food system using the governance lens. Therefore, as will be apparent in the empirical chapters presented later on in the study, the study attempts to show how issues such as power dynamics amongst various actors in the urban governance landscape result in certain food system outcomes.

A discussion on the axiological leanings of the study requires that a researcher explicitly state their positionality and embeddedness in the research area which is what the following section does.

5.2.2.1 Researcher's positionality and embeddedness

In this section I use the first person deliberately in order to reflect my position in the research subject under study. I have been a resident in the City of Bulawayo since 1983 albeit with occasional breaks linked to certain life cycle events. Between 1989 and 1994 I used to spend the greater part of the year in a boarding school which is approximately 80 kilometres from Bulawayo. During the period 1995 to 1999 I was in Harare some 440kms away from Bulawayo at the University of Zimbabwe where I read for both my undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications. I briefly worked (1999-2003) at the University of Zimbabwe where I learned the ropes of research firstly as a research assistant and later on as a research fellow. In 2003 I enrolled for a Master's programme at the University of Leeds in England where I developed a keen interest on issues of food security and general political economy inquiry. My Master's dissertation was entitled 'Economic liberalisation and food security in Zimbabwe.'

In 2005 I joined one of the local universities situated in Gweru, a city which is approximately 170 kilometres from Bulawayo. I was there up to 2011 when I left to join my current university which is in Bulawayo. At this university I am an academic member of staff in a research focussed institute where I research under the Governance, Migration and Development thematic Unit. It is at this Institute that I have deepened my appreciation for food security related issues.

I am a member of the Scaling-Up Nutrition Research and Academia Platform (SUNRAP) which is a technical arm of the country's Food and Nutrition Council, a council charged with providing technical backstopping services to the government on food and nutrition-related issues at policy and practice levels.

Finally, as a long-time resident of Bulawayo I have been and I continue being a participant in the city's food system on a daily basis. It therefore follows that I hold certain views about the food system. Furthermore, the selection of the research topic and the research site is clearly informed by my positionality as just highlighted in the foregoing. Nonetheless, I have endeavoured to remain as objective as much as possible by faithfully following the dictates of scholarship. A greater part of these endeavours is enunciated below through the methods section which reflects that the study was done in a systematic and scientific way.

5.3 Methodology

Methodology is one of the four dimensions or constituent elements of a research paradigm. However, unlike the other three elements just discussed in the foregoing, methodology is unique in that its focus is not on the metaphysical but instead on procedures and techniques

employed in the planning and actual execution of a study in order to address the stated problem and lead to the generation of new knowledge. As indicated in the foregoing discussion, the conduct of research is guided by underlying philosophical assumptions. For this study as was stated earlier on, the underlying philosophical beliefs derive from critical realism. Critical realism is generally associated with mixed methods or multi-methods (Shannon-Baker, 2016). To this end, this section of the chapter now discusses the methodological issues informing the study. The discussion will highlight the research design and the research approach which basically frame and inform the procedures and techniques used in the study. Furthermore, in view of the fact that for critical realists context matters, there is a subsection dedicated to the description of the study area. Subsequently, the study population, sampling procedures, data collection, analysis and presentation procedures are discussed including the instruments for collecting data. Finally, the chapter addresses ethical issues by highlighting the ethical considerations that have been taken into consideration in the conduct of the study.

5.3.1 Research design

Research designs guide the conduct of a study as they provide the framework or plan through which a research is conducted. In fact, Babbie and Mouton (2001) aver that research designs basically play a similar role to house plans or designs. In formulating a research design a researcher is informed by amongst other things epistemological, ontological, axiological, theoretical and practical considerations (Bryman, 2012). Resultantly, all the procedures and techniques employed in a study are informed by the research design including the identification of the study population, sampling, data collection procedures and instruments. Creswell (2013, p.12) concurs by noting that research designs “...provide specific direction for procedures in a research....” Given that this study is underpinned by the critical realism research paradigm it “...embraces the two extremes normally espoused by positivism/post-positivism and those supported by interpretivists. The former emphasises quantitative methods as opposed to interpretivists’ qualitative approaches” (Parvaiz et al., 2016, p.76). This study therefore adopts a mixed methods approach where qualitative and quantitative approaches are used in a complementary manner (Creswell, 2013). The mixed methods approach provides “more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone” (Ayiro, 2012, p. 498). Ayiro’s assertion is especially significant for this study which follows what Creswell (2013) call the convergent mixed methods approach. In this approach,

the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator typically collects both forms of data at roughly the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results. Contradictions or incongruent findings are explained or further probed in this design (Creswell, 2013, p.15).

The approach proposed by Creswell above lends itself well for a study on urban food systems and urban governance as it allows the elicitation of qualitative data on the actors and their activities in the food system on the one hand and quantitative data on household food security levels on the other hand. Notwithstanding the use of these two approaches, it should be however stated that they do not enjoy an equal standing in this study. Qualitative methods dominate as the study sought to gain a sociological understanding of the complex multi-dimensional processes and structures underpinning the Bulawayo food system. This is the [QUAL+quan] which some studies embrace to reflect the dominance of one approach over the other in data collection (Armitage, 2007). The mixed methods design employed in this study is enunciated in the following section on the research strategy.

5.3.2 Research strategy

In line with the principles of mixed research designs, this study employs a combination of research strategies in order to derive maximum value from their respective strengths in relation to select aspects of the research problem. To this end, a survey is employed to elicit quantitative data whereas the case study is used to address the qualitative dimension of the study. In this study, the survey design was applied within a single unit embedded case study and the two strategies are explained in the following sections.

5.3.2.1 The single unit embedded case study strategy

Given that there is dearth of information on urban food systems in general and the Bulawayo food system in particular, the case study strategy emerged as best suited for this study. Case studies are best suited for providing the means to gain a deeper understanding of less researched aspects of a particular phenomenon (Sheskin, 1985). The advantage of using a case study is that it can handle in an in-depth manner complex situations characterised by multivariate conditions because of its flexibility and ability to draw from multiple methods for data collection and analysis (De Vaus, 2001; Bryman, 2012). In defining a case study, Yin (2003) emphasises that it is an empirical inquiry on a particular phenomenon immersed in a real-life context. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) concur with this understanding as their definition also mainstreams drawing on multiple sources in a given context. From the definitions given by

different scholars it can be surmised that the salient characteristics of a case study are that it uses a variety of techniques to draw in-depth information on a particular subject from a diverse range of sources immersed in a specified context. Such characteristics augur well for a study exploring complex phenomena such as food systems and governance which necessarily involve a diverse range of actors and action situations. Furthermore, Yin (2003) points out that amongst other things a study should consider a case study if the context is of importance in bringing a fuller understanding of the phenomenon; if the intention is to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions and if the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are blurred. All these characteristics ring true for a study on urban food system and urban governance study. Urban food systems are shaped by their contexts which makes an inquiry on the same of critical importance. In addition, this study grapples with a number of exploratory issues since the Bulawayo system has not been studied in great detail before which demonstrates that it is grappling with the ‘how’ questions too.

One of the key decisions to make when using the case study strategy is deciding what the case of interest is. Baxter and Jack (2008, p.546-547) point out that the case in a case study is the unit of analysis which is determined by asking questions such as, “Do I want to “analy[s]e” the individual? Do I want to “analy[s]e” a program[me]? Do I want to “analy[s]e” the process? Do I want to “analy[s]e” the difference between organi[s]ations?” In attempting to answer these questions, one quickly comes to the realisation that this study is not dealing with a basic case study. Instead, this study falls into the category of case studies Yin (2003) identifies as single unit embedded case studies. Embedded case studies focus on more than one unit of analysis which are embedded in a single case and normally use a mixed methods approach subsuming qualitative and quantitative approaches (Gustafsson, 2017; Scholz & Tietje, 2002). Figure 5.3 schematically represents the embeddedness of this case study on food systems.

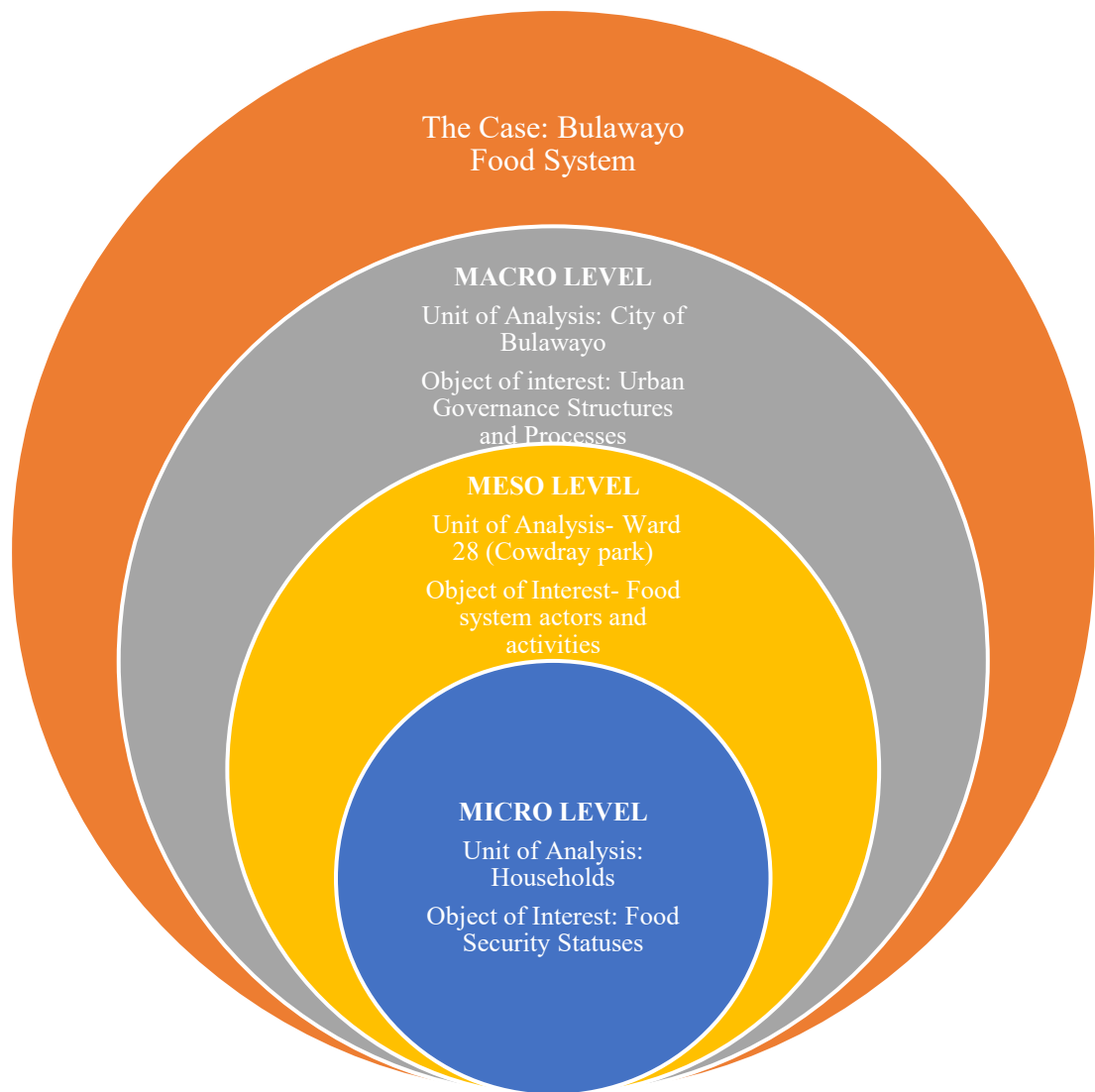


Figure 5.3: Schematic representation of the study's embedded case
Source: Author's own creation.

Figure 5.3 indicates that this study's case is the Bulawayo food system, meaning the study's focus is on food-related activities (from production to consumption) incorporating food producers, processors, distributors, retailers and actors who include ordinary citizens, CSOs and political authorities as well. Given that the urban food system is "legitimised, enabled or regulated through laws, policies, institutions, stakeholder actions, practice, governance and external pressures" (Haysom, 2014, p.6) the macro unit of analysis thus becomes the city of Bulawayo. The object of interest is therefore the city's governance actors, processes and structures in so far as the food system is concerned. In analysing food system actors and activities, it however becomes necessary to scale it down to the ward level (ward 28) for manageability purposes. The food system is a very complex phenomenon and to better manage the study it is critical that food system actors and activities are mainly dealt with at a ward

level. Finally, to explore household food security levels the study focuses on the household as a unit of analysis. It should be however stated that in practice things are not as discrete as presented here where there are clear boundaries amongst the identified units of analyses. For instance, some governance processes and structures might not permeate through the entire city and might be only linked to a specific community. Furthermore, households in ward 28 are not confined to the ward boundaries with respect to their food system activities. To counteract these deficiencies, the study captures these issues but does not follow-up on them. For instance, residents buy some of their food in the city central business district or outside the city. This was noted in the study, but no further inquiry was made on such issues on the basis of practicality and manageability.

In using the case study, the current study is in sync with other studies of a similar nature. For instance, Tawodzera (2010) used the case study strategy to understand vulnerability and resilience using the lens of food security for households in Epworth, a district in Harare province. Sibanda and von Blottnitz (2019) similarly employed a case study strategy in order to gain an understanding into how the food systems of Kisumu, Kitwe and Epworth functioned. Finally, Battersby and Muwowo (2019) employed the case study strategy in their examination of planning and governance dynamics in Kitwe Zambia and how these impacted the food retail space.

In spite of the popularity of the case study strategy, there have however been criticisms levelled against it mainly premised on its lack of statistical generalisability, lack of representativeness, potential for ‘researcher bias’ and that complexity of data generated can lead to different interpretations (Cornford and Smithson, 1996; De Vaus, 2001). In defence of the case study strategy, Yin (2003) avers that statistical generalisability is not the object of the case study strategy and instead places primacy to analytical generalisability. Analytical generalisability places results generated in a particular case to some broad theoretical propositions. This means that results generated in this study cannot be generalised to other urban centres even if they might share certain characteristics with the city of Bulawayo. Nonetheless, to further buttress analytical generalisability, the study also employed a survey strategy which is discussed in the following section.

5.3.2.2 The survey

Households constitute an integral part of a food system, not least because of their role in shaping the nature of the food system. It is thus befitting that households occupy a central role in the study too. To this end, the study also employs a quantitative survey strategy to

complement the qualitative case study. Leedy and Ormrod (2015) aver that surveys are generally used for the collection of data relating to amongst other things people's knowledge, attitudes and experiences pertaining to a particular phenomenon through asking a series of questions and tabulating the responses. A survey tends to lean towards a positivistic worldview and hence collects standardised data in a systematically sampled population in order to draw inferences about the larger population (Creswell, 2013; Saunders et al, 2016; Welman et al., 2005). These attributes made a survey a suitable strategy to use in assessing household food security dynamics involving food availability, access, utilisation and stability. The survey strategy facilitated the collection of quantitative data pertaining to these dimensions of household food security from a relatively large population.

Surveys are generally classified into two types on the basis of the temporal dimension. These are the cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys. Longitudinal surveys normally take a long-term view of a phenomenon whereas the cross-sectional counterparts focus on getting a snapshot of a phenomenon. To this end, the current study adopts a cross-sectional survey to sociologically understand the Bulawayo food system in general and more specifically to assess household food security levels. However, this is not to trivialise the contribution of historical factors in shaping aspects of the food system. To the contrary, the study comprehensively deals with historical factors in so far as they have shaped and continue to shape the Bulawayo food system. This was done through a literature review of the same. Such an approach is informed by the fact that one of the objectives of the study is to trace the development of the Bulawayo food system historically.

The application of the survey research strategy in certain aspects of a study on food security in general and food systems in particular is consistent with other studies of a similar nature. For instance, Tawodzera (2010) employed the survey strategy to understand household food security dynamics and coping strategies in Epworth, Zimbabwe. The Consuming Urban Poverty (CUP) project housed at the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town extensively used surveys across three smaller cities of Africa which are Kisumu in Kenya, Kitwe in Zambia and Epworth in Zimbabwe (Battersby and Watson, 2019). Furthermore, the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) has previously employed surveys in their studies on urban food security. For instance, in 2008 and 2012 AFSUN conducted surveys on urban food security in low income areas of 11 southern African cities (Tawodzera et al, 2016).

In order to understand how specific methods were deployed under the case study and survey strategies it is important to first have an understanding of the characteristics of the research site. The following section thus provides a description of the study area.

5.4 Description of the study area

In chapter four the study grappled with the subject of the historical development of the Bulawayo food system. Given that a food system occurs in a defined context, it follows that in grappling with the historical development of Bulawayo's food system it was inevitable that some aspects of the context were highlighted. Nonetheless, it is still necessary to comprehensively describe the study area. This is informed by the fact that whilst the study is generally focussed on Bulawayo in so far as urban governance structures and processes are concerned it is nonetheless much more focussed on one of the Wards of Bulawayo on issues of the food system and household food security. The Ward under focus on household food security issues is Ward 28.

The city of Bulawayo is divided into 29 administrative wards each overseen by an elected official through a popular vote held once every five years. In terms of population size, Bulawayo has a total population of 738 600 which is constituted by 54.3% females and 45.7% males (Zimstat, 2017b). However, these population figures have historically been questioned partly because of the perception that the city is marginalised for the reasons discussed in chapter 4 where the city has historically been seen as a 'dissident' city. For instance, Hadebe and Mpofu (2013) aver that the city's population was approximately 1.3 million residents at the time of the publication of their article whereas Chigwenya (2019) puts it at 1.5 million.

In terms of geography and climate, Bulawayo occupies the south-western part of the country which is semi-arid and is classified as agro-ecological region 4. This region is characterised by average to low rainfall levels and as such the city has over time been facing drought conditions in increasing regularity (Nel and Berry, 1992). Resultantly, whilst 99.4% of the city's population has access to improved sources of clean water only 41.5% of the population has access to sufficient water quantities on demand (Zimstat and UNICEF, 2019).

According to the latest poverty figures from the country's statistical agency, Bulawayo's household poverty prevalence stood at 22.3% in 2017 against a national average of 60.6% (Zimstat, 2019). Individual poverty prevalence stood at 29.9 % in 2017 against a national average of 70.5% (Zimstat, 2019). As of 2017, the food poverty line for a single person in Bulawayo stood at US\$32. 1 against a national average of US\$31.7. The Bulawayo economy is highly informalised as only 23.8% of the economically active segment of the population derives an income from permanent paid employment (Zimstat, 2018).

In terms of city planning with respect to residential areas, the city has largely maintained a three-tier residential system largely informed by income dynamics. These include

the low-density areas for mainly the high-income earners, medium density suburbs for middle income earners and high-density suburbs for mainly low income earners. Ward 28 which is also called Cowdray Park is predominantly a low-income area (Chingwenya, 2019). The Ward is relatively new and is one of the fastest growing wards in the city by population and residential infrastructure developments. It is located in the north-west outskirts of the city and is bordered on the western side by Nyamandlovu [a commercial farming area], Norwood [a low-density area] to the North, Luveve-Makhandeni [high density suburbs] to the South and Richmond suburb [low density] on the eastern side (Zimbabwe Election Support Network [ZESN], 2019).

Ward 28 had 45 114 people at the last census count in 2012 constituting 11 261 households with an average household size of 4 people (Zimstat, 2013). Ward 28 is by far the largest in Bulawayo by population with the next biggest ward (Ward 27) by population having a population of 30 815 people.

In terms of the state of development, Ward 28 is basically two wards in one. There is a part of the ward that is fully serviced with general availability of amenities such as grocery shops, butcheries, roads, potable water, electricity, sanitation services and schools amongst other things. This part of the Ward includes areas (according to the community's divisions and naming) such as Ama-4, Signpost-Hawkflight, Esigayweni-ma-13-Roma, Flyover and Terminus. Then there is another part of the Ward which is partially serviced and is largely a legacy of *Operation Murambatsvina* and *Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* (Live Well). This area has limited access to potable water, poor sanitation coverage, limited shops, poor or no road network, limited access to health and educational facilities and is largely off the city electricity grid amongst other things. This part of the Ward includes areas such as Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle, Caravan, Empompini, Esigodweni and Ebhesini. Accordingly, the study uses the two broad categories to classify households in the latter empirical chapters. Hence, the former areas provided households that are described as 'serviced' whereas the latter those that are described as 'partially serviced.'

The last food poverty atlas of Zimbabwe estimated that Ward 28 had 1051 poor households (Zimstat, 2016). The Ward had a food poverty prevalence rate of 9.4%, the third highest in the city after wards 13 and 7 (Zimstat, 2016). Bulawayo's average food poverty prevalence then was estimated at 7%.

Having characterised the study area, the following section discusses the study's population drawn from this area.

5.5 Study population

A study on food systems necessarily encompasses a wide range of actors and activities which makes the study population very broad in range. This study's population is constituted by key informants representing the local authority, local and international civil society organisations domiciled in Bulawayo whose areas of focus include urban governance and food security and community leaders on issues of food security. In addition, households in Bulawayo's ward 28 are part of the study population. Finally, a range of economic players in the food system are also included within the study population. These include food producers, transporters, processors, and retailers in ward 28 of Bulawayo.

5.5.1 Sampling design

In order to systematically tap from the diverse range of actors highlighted in the study population section above it is critical to be guided by a clear sampling design. To this end, this study employs both probability and non-probability sampling procedures which are elaborated in the following sections.

5.5.1.1 Sampling procedures

A multi-stage sampling approach was employed in this study. The city of Bulawayo was purposively sampled as the case study for this research. The selection of Bulawayo was informed by the fact that most studies on food security and food systems in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular have tended to focus on the capital or large cities to the detriment of what Battersby and Watson (2019) call secondary (smaller) cities. Whilst there is no universally agreed definition of what constitutes secondary cities, in the case of this study they are so defined due to their 'subordinate' hierarchical status relative to primate (usually large capital cities) cities with respect to considerations such as administrative function, population size and size of the economy (van Zutphen et al., 2021). Battersby and Watson (2019, p.4) further counsel on the need for context-specific studies on secondary cities as their research had pointed out that "...food systems of secondary cities in Africa are far more geographically diffuse than imagined...." The city of Bulawayo was purposively sampled as the case study for this research in order to add to the breadth of knowledge on the under-researched food systems of secondary cities. Bulawayo was selected amongst other secondary cities in consideration of convenience since the researcher lives in the city and as indicated in the section on the axiological stance of the study above is familiar with the city and participates in its food system. Within Bulawayo, Ward 28 was purposively sampled in order to use it to illuminate the subject

of urbanisation and urban poverty in the Global South in general and in Bulawayo in particular. Ward 28 was purposively selected as the most populous ward and third most food insecure in the city (ZIMSTAT, 2016) as highlighted in the previous section. Furthermore, Ward 28 is constituted by a section of houses that owe their existence to the government's reconstruction programme after the destruction borne by *Operation Murambatsvina*. The Ward thus becomes interesting because it took some time for the local authority to accept responsibility for this section arguing that it was not of its creation. Accordingly, the Ward was partly selected for these interesting urban governance dynamics.

To discuss the other dimensions of the sampling procedures, one needs to briefly reflect on sampling frames.

5.5.1.2 Sampling frames and sample sizes

Sampling frames constitute one of the critical building blocks of a scientific study. However, as Mouton (1996) notes, it is an onerous task for researchers to get sampling frames. This was the case with this study as getting sampling frames proved challenging and unfortunately, I did not have the resources and capacity to constitute sampling frames for a study of this magnitude. The subsequent sections detail sampling procedures followed in the study.

Households: The initial thinking was to use the city council housing list as the sampling frame. However, after several unsuccessful requests to the relevant offices, I opted for alternative means. This entailed using the existing community divisions of the Ward as spelt out in section 5.3. To do this, I enlisted the assistance of the Ward Councillor, who indicated that the Ward is divided into ten neighbourhoods/sections, each with its own section leader.

To determine the sample size for the quantitative survey, I used a web-based sample size calculator called Raosoft (www.raosoft.com). The sample size calculator was set at a 5% margin of error, 95% confidence level and a response distribution of 50%. For the 11 261 households in Ward 28, the sample size calculator indicated that the minimum sample size had to be 372 households. Armed with this data, I then divided the study area into 10 equal strata of at least 37 households per stratum. I used section leaders' administrative records to sample households within the Ward sections. Admittedly, these records were not up to date in some instances due to people's movement in and out of the respective sections.

Furthermore, there were instances where more than one household resided in one dwelling unit. In such cases, only one of the households was chosen. Nonetheless, working with these records, I used the Microsoft Excel randomisation (RAND) function to select the first sixty households per stratum. At least 37 of these were prioritised for inclusion in the

study, and the other 23 if needed made up for households not accessed for whatever reason amongst the first 37. In total, 400 households were accessed, although 2 withheld consent bringing the total number of households that participated in the survey to 398.

A further 17 (13 females and 4 males) were randomly sampled out of the sampled households to participate in in-depth interviews. The randomisation was done through a mobile app called Random number generator developed by UX Apps and accessed through the Google Play store. However, the number of participants was not predefined. Instead, theoretical saturation determined the sample size. Furthermore, to get perspectives from across the 10 sections of the Ward, sampling of the first 10 participants was done section by section (see Appendix H for a list of interviewees and their Ward sections).

Formal Retailers: no sampling frame was accessed but given the small number of formal retailers in Ward 28 maximum variation sampling was used in order to include different types of formal retailers such as supermarkets, butcheries and superettes amongst others. The inclusion criteria was that a given entity had to be a retailer operating in ward 28 and amongst some of the goods it sells should be food items. There was no pre-determined sample size for this strand of respondents and at the end of the fieldwork 5 participants had been sampled.

Informal traders: no sampling frame was accessed given that a significant part of informal traders is not known by the authorities. As such I opted for maximum variation sampling where I considered issues like nature of goods sold, area of operation and even issues of gender. In terms of sample sizes, there were no pre-determined sample sizes for informal traders. Nonetheless the traders were selected until data saturation or “informational redundancy” (Sandelowski, 2008, p.875) was reached. Hence, six of the informal traders participated in the study.

Key informants: there is no sampling frame for key informants that was used. Key informants are purposively selected for their specialist knowledge or roles in given aspects of the study. As such key informants were drawn from BCC’s selected departments whose mandates influence or affect the food system. The other key informants were officials from civil society organisations operating in Ward 28 of Bulawayo whose central mandate is part of the food system. Key informants were also drawn from the central government and private sector. In total, 15 key informants participated in the study (see Appendix H for a list of interviewees).

Having determined the sampling frames and sample sizes for the different categories of respondents there is need to also dwell on data collection procedures.

5.6 Data collection procedures

Field data collection only commenced once all pre-field administrative procedures had been completed. These included getting an ethical clearance letter from Rhodes University. After getting the necessary clearance, the study was also subjected to similar clearance procedures by the local authority, Bulawayo City Council. Data collection instruments were developed prior to these administrative steps although they were finalised after the administrative procedures. After all these processes, the following steps were taken to operationalize the research plan.

5.6.1 Recruitment and training of research assistants

Four research assistants (RAs) who are enrolled in social science programmes at local universities were recruited. In recruiting the RAs, the researcher also considered prior experience in fieldwork. The RAs were trained by the researcher for five days. The training involved the basics of research, an overview of the study and a comprehensive appreciation of the study methodology including the data collection instruments. Since the questionnaires were administered through KoBo Collect, a mobile based application for collecting data, RAs were also trained to navigate the system. Finally, one of the days was reserved for pilot testing of the tools and later on fine-tuning them.

5.6.2 Community entry formalities

The researcher used community gate keepers to gain entry into the different segments of respondents. For instance, for the household survey I contacted and appraised the Ward councillor about the study. He then helped to link the study team with the other lower leadership levels within the Ward on as per need basis. Similarly, for other categories of respondents entry into their domains was through their respective collectives/associations.

5.6.3 Pilot study

Bless et al., (2006) define the pilot study as a small study conducted prior to a larger piece of research to determine the suitability and adequacy of methodological procedures. A pilot study was conducted in the neighbouring Ward 15. The purpose of the pilot study was to fine-tune the data collection instruments and test the RAs' competencies in order to address any shortcomings before the main fieldwork.

Specific data collection methods are discussed in the following section.

5.7 Data collection methods

Kivunja and Kuyini (2017) identify four sources from which knowledge can be drawn from, which are intuitive, authoritative, logical and empirical knowledge. To tap into all these sources of knowledge, this study gathered both primary and secondary data. The following research methods were used in gathering evidence.

5.7.1 Desk review of literature

In this study, secondary data was derived from published literature on various aspects of food systems and urban governance. Data was elicited from published peer-reviewed journals, reports from local and international CSOs including UN agencies and central and local government. Most of the literature was sourced through the internet using search engines such as Google scholar and other online databases subscribed to by Rhodes University library in South Africa and the National University of Science and Technology library in Zimbabwe. The search for sources within these databases was mainly done in a phased manner using key words starting from the general to the specific as guided by the research problem and objectives. For instance, the starting point was to search for materials through the key words ‘food system’ and ‘urban governance’ and systematically breaking these key concepts to much more specific conceptual domains as the literature search progressed. Furthermore, some of the literature was identified through ‘snowballing’. This happened through reviewing literature identified through a key word search and then using the identified source as a gateway to other related sources.

The literature review exercise was critical in bringing an understanding of the processes and institutions that shape the food system. It was further important as it illuminated the methodological options available for the current study. Finally, it was useful in theoretically framing the study and in deciphering the historical context in which the Bulawayo food system has emerged from.

Whilst a wealth of information was generated through the desk study component of the study there was still need to complement it with primary data generated through fieldwork. The fieldwork was accomplished through employing multiple methods which are detailed in the following sections.

5.7.2 Key informant interviews

According to Cossham and Johanson (2019) key informants are people who have vast knowledge about a particular issue under investigation who might not be the subject of the

research but can potentially enhance a researcher's understanding of a particular issue and hence enhance objectivity. Based on this definition all key informants were purposively sampled.

Semi-structured interviews (see sample guide in Appendix C) were conducted with key informants (Marshall, 1996) such as councillors, technocrats from the City Council, representatives of Residents Associations, representatives of Food Traders Associations and local and international NGOs to provide relevant opinions on the subject at hand. For instance, key staffers within the Bulawayo City Council such as representatives of the planning, health and the Town clerk's department departments were interviewed. These engagements helped map urban food system agents and activities and to bring about an understanding of how the urban governance food sub-system fits into the broader food system in Bulawayo, including shedding light on changes over time and broader national processes at play. All the interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the respondents.

5.7.3 Household survey

This entailed administering a questionnaire to household heads or their representatives through a mobile application called Kobo collect. The survey questionnaire (see Appendix A for sample), involving closed-ended questions only (Mligo, 2016), elicited demographic data, food expenditure and consumption patterns, enablers and challenges regarding food security and livelihoods, and coping mechanisms amongst households. Embodied in the questionnaire are food security survey tools, especially those originating from the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) project, such as the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS), Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence (HFIAP), Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) and the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS). These tools have been used internationally, regionally and nationally. For instance, regionally the AFSUN survey made use of FANTA survey instruments in its survey of 11 Southern African cities. The CUP project too has employed the FANTA survey tools in its interrogation of food systems in selected secondary cities of Africa. To this end, Battersby and Watson (2019, p. 4) point out that "[t]he CUP project used the suite of Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) food security indicators...." Furthermore, locally although under the auspices of AFSUN and CUP, Tawodzera et al., (2016) and Chigumira et al., (2019) have employed these survey tools in Harare and Epworth respectively. The widespread use of these tools demonstrates their acceptability as reliable instruments to use in assessing household food security. It is in this

vein that this study also made use of these tools which were consolidated into one standard questionnaire and administered in households of ward 28. These tools are detailed below:

Household Food Insecurity Access Scale: this tool gives an approximation of food insecurity in a given locality. Coates et al., (2007, p.1) aver that the HFIAS “...method is based on the idea that the experience of food insecurity (access) causes predictable reactions and responses that can be captured and quantified through a survey and summary[s]ed in a scale.” This tool is appropriate for this study because it measures food insecurity at a household level which is the current study’s scale of analysis. The HFIAS uses nine generic questions which seek to elicit households’ experiences of food insecurity through probing on their feelings with respect to food security status, perceptions on quantities and quality of food and behavioural responses to food insecurity amongst other issues (Coates, et al., 2007). The experiences elicited are based on a four week recall period. To derive the HFIAS, each response to each of the nine questions is scored and the total score aggregated with a possible maximum score of 27 indicating the highest level of food insecurity whereas a score of 0 signifies that the household is food secure (Coates, et al., 2007; Tawodzera et al., 2016). It should be stated that even though the HFIAS tool is generic and standard it was nonetheless adapted to be culturally appropriate as Coates et al., (2007) advise. To this end, the researcher made use of the pilot study to adapt the tool to suit the local context.

Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence: the HFIAP tool also seeks to capture households’ experience of food insecurity in the past 30 days. Tawodzera (2010, p.93) points out that “... the experience of food insecurity (access) causes predictable reactions and responses that can be captured and quantified through a survey and summarized in a scale.” The scale classifies households under any one of the four classes of food security which range from food secure to three distinct levels of food insecurity which are mild, moderate and severe (Coates et al., 2007; Tawodzera et al., 2016). Coates et al., (2007) provide guidelines as to how to categorise households into the four classes of food (in)security.

Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP): this tool contributes to the measurement of mainly household food availability and access over a twelve month recall period (Bilinsky & Swindale 2010; Tawodzera, 2010; Tawodzera et al., 2016). Tawodzera et al., (2012, p.7) point out that by using MAHFP “households are asked to identify in which months (during the past 12 months) they did not have access to sufficient food to meet their household needs.” This means that through the MAHFP one can decipher when households are generally able to provide for their food needs and also when they are not able to. This is a useful measure in a study of food systems since generalisations can be deciphered

on periods or cycles of vulnerability to food insecurity and attempts made to link them to broader systemic issues.

Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS): the other FANTA survey tools discussed in the foregoing are concerned with capturing households' access dimension of food security which by inference subsumes the availability dimension. The MAHFP adds the stability dimension of food security as it gives a picture of periods in which households experience stability or instability in food availability and access. What all these other tools do not capture is the nature of households' diets. The HDDS thus plugs this gap as it seeks to capture the diversity of households' diets by eliciting the different food groups consumed by a household over a given reference period, normally 24 hours or a week (Swindale & Bilinsky, 2006; Tawodzera, 2010, Tawodzera et al., 2016). This tool uses generic food groups numbering twelve in total and elicits information on whether or not the household ate the different food groups within the preceding seven days in the case of this study. The food groups as listed by Swindale and Bilinsky (2006) include cereals; roots and tubers; vegetables; fruits; meat, poultry, offal; eggs, fish and seafood; pulses/legumes/nuts; milk and milk products; oil/fats; sugar/honey and miscellaneous.

This suite of quantitative tools is very helpful in capturing the different dimensions of food security at a household level. However, these tools are not enough on their own in explaining the structural and systemic factors belying the household food security dynamics. It is in this respect that the study draws from several qualitative tools detailed below to gain access to a rich vein of information on processes and structures shaping the food system.

5.7.4 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with household heads or their representatives, informal food vendors, food retailers, small retailers and food corporates: According to May (2011, p.131), “[i]nterviews yield rich insights into people’s ... experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings.” To this end, semi-structured in-depth interviews (see Appendix B) were conducted with 17 of the 398 household heads or their representatives, subsequent to the questionnaire survey. These interviews enabled a deep understanding of the household-level food (in) security sub-system, including food procurement and consumption practices, experiences of food insecurity, activities pursued to inhibit the level and intensity of food insecurity, and how urban governance processes and structures shape food in (security).

Food traders and food corporates in Ward 28 were also interviewed (see Appendix B) in order to understand how they conducted their business (where they source food for selling,

type of food sold and whom they sell it to), focussing as well on the structures and processes that enable or constrain their work. Some of the interviews were nothing more than informal conversations given the settings and the sheer number of informal traders.

In addition, representatives of food manufacturers were also interviewed to elicit their perspectives and practices as part of the urban food system, including details about sourcing and selling of food products, urban infrastructure challenges, and interactions with city authorities. All these helped map food system activities, actors and how agents in the food retail influence and are in turn influenced by other elements of the Bulawayo food system.

5.7.5 Five item food mapping

This involved mapping five food items, namely, maize/mealie-meal, wheat/bread, fresh produce (leafy vegetables and tomatoes), meat and beans in terms of their pathways from source to households including attendant urban governance dynamics. These food items were selected on the basis of secondary sources which indicate their popularity in the study area. Their popularity was further confirmed in FGDs and household interviews. This mapping involved a combination of observation, informal interviews, primary documents, a photographic survey and also drew upon the informal interviews detailed above.

5.7.6 Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions (four in total) completed the qualitative instruments used in the study. Focus group discussion guides (see Appendix D) guided the group discussions. This method nourished the research process as group dynamics helped stimulate participants to say more than they would ordinarily say in a non-group setting (Kitzinger, 1995). In this regard, one of the groups (consisting of eight people) was constituted by informal food traders and the other by farmers. The other two groups (consisting of at most eight people) were for household heads: one men-only and the other women-only. Drawn from the household heads interviewed, it was important to generate conversations through these discussions, and in particular to identify the ways in which food (in)security challenges were being addressed by way of inter-household collaboration and affected by the programmes and actions of city authorities.

Having gathered a wealth of data from respondents it is also critical to discuss how the different types of data gathered were processed, analysed and presented. These issues are dealt with in the following section.

5.8 Data analysis and presentation procedures

This section details the procedures followed in processing, analysing and presenting the data generated in the study. For convenience and nothing else, these are presented under the broad headings of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

5.8.1 Quantitative data processing, analysis and presentation

Quantitative data generated through this study was transferred into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22. All questionnaires were checked for accuracy, correctness and completeness before being inputted into SPSS database. After data entry, the data was cleaned by checking for possible double entries, identifying entry errors by linking entries with respective questionnaires, identifying and dealing with blank cells, correcting typographical errors and addressing formatting related challenges such as extra spaces and using appropriate text cases to allow for proper analysis without these errors compromising the analysis process.

In analysing quantitative data, the study relied on basically two quantitative analyses techniques which are descriptive techniques and analysis of relationships between given variables (Campbell & Berbaum, 2010). Descriptive techniques helped in projecting an overall picture about the state of household food in(security) in Ward 28 of Bulawayo. The focus of descriptive statistics was on ‘measures of central tendency’ which subsume the different types of averages which are the mean, median and mode (Denscombe, 1998; Wang & Vom Hofe 2007). The descriptive statistics helped generate frequency tables on variables of interest as informed by the FANTA suite of tools highlighted in the foregoing. Furthermore, to get a good grasp of the interrelationships between given variables, inferential statistics were used particularly the chi-square tests. The output generated through the two statistical analyses techniques is presented in the form of graphs and tables complemented by narratives from qualitative data whose generation is discussed in the next section.

5.8.2 Qualitative data processing, analysis and presentation

As indicated in the foregoing section on data collection methods, attempts were made to both audio-record and note-take proceedings during qualitative data collection. The audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim and simultaneously translated into English for those in other languages other than English. In analysing the qualitative data transcripts, the researcher made use of the thematic approach. This required reading and re-reading of the data for the researcher to be able to discern emerging themes from the transcripts. As the researcher was

reading and re-reading transcripts, he was coding the data largely influenced by the study objectives and theoretical underpinnings. Thus, as common issues of interest (as guided by study objectives and theoretical underpinnings) emerged they were coded and grouped into named categories. The thematic data analysis approach followed in this study is the one advanced by Braun and Clarke (2006) who identify six phases involved in the analysis process. These phases include the familiarisation, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and finally producing the report through relating the findings in the context of the study objectives and existing literature.

For a study to gain acceptance in the scientific community it must assure the community that it has passed the tests of validity and reliability. In view of this important aspect, the following section discusses these issues.

5.9 Validity and reliability

Qualitative and quantitative approaches must satisfy different criteria for them to gain acceptance in the scientific community. In the quantitative tradition a study must satisfy the demands of validity and reliability whereas on the qualitative side it has to pass the test of trustworthiness. Given that this study is guided by the mixed methods approach it follows that it has to somehow satisfy the demands of both approaches as scholars such as Creswell (2013) counsel. To this end, this section initially discusses validity and reliability of the quantitative approach taken in the study and later on grapples with the subject of trustworthiness of the qualitative component of the study.

5.9.1 Validity and reliability of the quantitative approach

As discussed in the foregoing, this study's quantitative approach involved administering a questionnaire survey. The discussion on validity is informed by Yin's (2003) conceptualisation of validity which subsumes the tests of internal, external, construct validities and reliability. Whilst as was noted in the foregoing, it is not the primary concern of case studies to give primacy to considerations of generalisability, the quantitative household survey was done in a systematic and scientific manner giving some confidence that the findings can be generalised to households in similar settings as explained in the foregoing. The questionnaire used is a standard questionnaire used to assess household food security and as shown above has been extensively used in similar studies. In addition, the sampling was done in a systematic and scientifically acceptable manner. The use of a mixed methods approach and triangulation of data collection techniques in this study helped complement the results of the quantitative survey

in the process enhancing the study's validity and the reliability of measuring instruments. Reliability of the study was further enhanced through the employment of RAs with acceptable experience in research who were trained and also participated in a pilot study to ensure all members of the study team had the same understanding of research procedures.

Given that this study is undergirded by the mixed methods approach, it is also imperative to address issues similar to those addressed in this section in the qualitative dimension of the study. This is done through discussing trustworthiness in research.

5.9.2 Trustworthiness of the qualitative approach

The strategy of trustworthiness is normally employed in qualitative research to test validity and reliability. Validity of qualitative research findings is a question of findings meeting the needs and expectations of a researcher, participants and readers (Creswell, 2013; Leedy and Ormrod, 2015). Creswell (2013) suggests the use of eight strategies to ensure validity, but this study has used four strategies as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985). These four subsume Creswell's eight. The four strategies include credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Visagie, 2012).

5.9.2.1 Credibility

It relates to the degree to which the study is trustworthy or gives confidence in the procedures and findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To ensure credibility the researcher sought to establish rapport with the respondents especially through multiple engagements to prolong engagement periods. Furthermore, because the researcher is well immersed in the local cultures, it was relatively easy to establish the rapport needed to generate trustworthy findings as advanced by the credibility strategy. In addition, because of the researcher's insider knowledge of the local cultures, customs and traditions, the researcher was able to probe further on issues.

Other than knowledge of the local cultures, the researcher has a sound background in research as a practising academic. The researcher has gained sound knowledge in research methodology and the phenomenon under study as explained in section 5.2.2.1 of the study. All these attributes helped in collecting sound data. In addition, the quality control measures of Rhodes University, including mentorship from the thesis supervisor and oversight played by the University ethics committee ensured a credible research process and outcomes.

Triangulation of qualitative data techniques and sources also aided in strengthening the credibility of the study. Furthermore, member checking was done to ensure that respondents validated the study findings. Finally, after the data had been collected, it was subjected to a rigorous and systematic process of analysis as detailed in the foregoing.

5.9.2.2 Transferability

It is a strategy for ensuring trustworthiness of a study and relates to the extent to which the procedures followed in a study and findings thereof can be transposed to a different set of respondents in a similar setting (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Therefore, transferability is the qualitative counterpart of external validity in quantitative approaches. As indicated in the foregoing, the objective of this case study is not to generalise to other cases but instead to add to existing theory. Nonetheless, thick descriptions of the procedures followed were given to allow for an element of transferability as these thick descriptions allow other researchers to replicate the procedures. Furthermore, the findings are presented using thick descriptions too supported by direct quotes.

5.9.2.3 Dependability

Dependability relates to the extent to which the findings of a study can be replicated with a different set of respondents in a similar setting (Merriam, 1998). In this regard dependability is the qualitative counterpart of reliability in quantitative studies. The strategies followed are similar to those of transferability as they involve comprehensive documentation of procedures followed.

5.9.2.4 Conformability

According to Mandal, (2018, p.592), “conformability refers to the objectivity of research during data collection and data analysis. Conformability, thus partly relates to the degree to which the research findings are corroborated or supported by others who could be peers or respondents. To ensure conformability, triangulation of data collection techniques and sources was employed. Member checks on particular themes of the study were also done with respondents. Furthermore, the study findings are presented in the context of existing knowledge. This means the findings are compared with existing knowledge. Finally, the study was subject to expert opinion through regular reviews by the thesis supervisor.

Whilst this section has grappled with issues of validity and reliability in order to demonstrate how the study is being conducted in conformity to the dictates of the scientific community there is still one aspect that has not been discussed. This is the aspect of ethical considerations in the study. Hence the following section delves on this subject.

5.10 Ethical considerations

Saunders et al., (2016, p.726), define ethics in the context of research as “the standards of the researcher’s behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of the research

project, or who are affected by it.” Conducting research in ethically acceptable ways is a prerequisite for a study to gain acceptability within the scientific community and the broader population. This is particularly compelling for studies such as this one which are invasive as they ‘pry’ into what Silverman (2000) calls people’s private spaces. It is in this regard that this section details the ethical considerations made in the different phases of the study.

5.10.1 Ethical clearance

In order to protect the rights of the study participants in this study, the study was subjected to Rhodes’ University research ethical clearance protocols. The fieldwork activities only commenced after ethical clearance had been granted (see Appendix E).

After getting ethical clearance from the university, the study was subjected to a similar clearance process by the Bulawayo City Council (see Appendix F) where the study was discussed in a full council meeting and given the green light. The only condition that accompanied the clearance from the local authority was that a copy of the thesis should be lodged at the city council library after successful completion of the study.

5.10.2 Voluntary and informed participation

One of the critical ethical considerations is the principle of informed consent where study participants have to participate in a study fully aware of what the study’s goals are, the procedures followed, the risks if any and the benefits amongst other things.

Participants in this study were first of all informed of the study’s goals, the procedures followed, the risks of participating in the study and what they stood to benefit by participating. Participants were then given an opportunity to ask questions and to share their views about the study. Subsequently, consent was sought verbally and in written form (see Appendix G) depending on the obtaining situation on the ground. Furthermore, participants were given the opportunity to refuse to participate in the study or not to participate in certain aspects of the study if they felt uncomfortable. Thus, no participants were coerced into participating. In addition, no minors participated in the study even if they are actors, for instance in street food vending.

5.10.3 Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

The study was conducted in a manner that respects the privacy and maintains the confidentiality and anonymity of study participants. To ensure privacy, household interviews were done in a private space of the participant’s choosing. However, ensuring privacy in FGDs was a bit challenging. Nonetheless, to mitigate against violation of the principle of privacy, ground rules

for FGDs were shared with all participants. Furthermore, the discussion points in FGDs were very generic to avoid exposing individuals' private matters which are best left for household interviews.

For practical purposes audio recording of interviews and FGDs was unavoidable save for situations where the participants withheld their consent. To ensure confidentiality, participants were encouraged to use pseudonyms and in situations where a participant's name was inadvertently exposed, the researcher withheld it in the write-up. Furthermore, audio recordings and notes taken during fieldwork were kept by the researcher in a safe and secure space. Transcripts of interviews and FGDs were kept in a password protected computer which was accessed by the researcher only.

For key informants who hold certain positions of influence, requests were made for a waiver of the anonymity principle since they were speaking in their official capacity. However, prior permission was sought and if it was withheld the researcher respected the participant's choice.

5.10.4 Honesty, transparency and integrity

This study also respects the principles of honesty, transparency and integrity in the conduct of academic work. This was done by being open about each and every procedure undertaken in the study, the goals, the possible risks and benefits. Furthermore, the researcher was honest and transparent to the different stakeholders such as the community gatekeepers, respondents and fellow academics. It is in keeping with the principle of transparency and integrity that this chapter has comprehensively detailed the procedures to be taken in the course of the study and the justification thereof.

The researcher also observed the principles of honesty and integrity by faithfully reporting on the study findings and subjecting them to member checks. In addition, all secondary sources used were referenced properly as guided by the American Psychological Association 7th edition referencing manual.

5.10.5 Harm and risk

This study endeavoured to protect all participants from any physical or psychological harm. For the research team, this entailed operating in a transparent and above-board manner. In addition, research activities in the communities were carried out in broad daylight with the knowledge of the community gatekeepers. The community gatekeepers referred to in this instance are the security services personnel (police and intelligence officials) and the voluntary community structures known as '*uzibuthe*' (organise yourselves) in the local parlance. In

Zimbabwe when one is carrying out research in the communities, especially one where more than four people will congregate, it is a requirement to go through the security establishment. The visit to the security offices is meant to alert them that you are within the community.

For study respondents, the researcher endeavoured not to put any of them in harm's way. The questions asked avoided as much as possible to psychologically harm the respondents and respondents were free not to answer certain questions. Furthermore, to avoid harm especially in group settings such as in FGDs ground rules were shared with the participants and enforced during the course of the discussion.

The COVID-19 pandemic however presented some challenges in the conduct of this study as the research team and the participants could have been exposed to it. To minimise the risk of harm, the research team abided by the World Health Organisation's protocols relating to the pandemic including constant hand washing, social and physical distancing. Furthermore, all members of the research team underwent COVID-19 tests before embarking on fieldwork. The researcher also provided the RAs with basic personal protective equipment (masks, gloves and face shields) and hand sanitizers.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodological procedures followed in the conduct of the study on urban food systems and urban governance in Bulawayo. It has shown that the study is undergirded by the critical realism research paradigm. The chapter reflected on the ontological, epistemological and axiological stances of critical realism and related them to the current study.

The chapter further explored the methodological orientations of the study. To this end, the chapter argued for a mixed method research design given the complexity of the phenomenon of food systems. Because of their complex nature, with a multiplicity of actors and actor situations, the chapter argued for a mixed approach to the research strategy combining both the case study and the survey strategies. The case study helped understand in detail the Bulawayo food system in particular the actors, activities and the institutional environment affecting the food environment and their interactions as agents in a food system.

Data collection techniques and sources were also detailed in this chapter. Again, in being faithful to the critical realism research paradigm and the mixed methods approach, the use of a number of research techniques and data sources are argued for in the chapter. A detailed description of data collection and analysis procedures was also given in this chapter. Such comprehensive descriptions are meant to help the study deal with issues of validity, reliability and trustworthiness which are also separately handled in the chapter.

Finally, the chapter explored the ethical principles followed in all phases of the study to ensure that the study was conducted in a manner that produced findings that gain acceptance in the wider scientific community on the one hand and by the general population (especially the respondents) on the other hand.

Having laid the roadmap for data collection in this chapter, chapter 6 will then be the first chapter to present and discuss the findings emanating the fieldwork. Chapter 6 will map the Bulawayo food system in order to identify the key actors and explore their food system related activities.

Chapter 6 : THE CONTEMPORARY BULAWAYO FOOD SYSTEM IN PERSPECTIVE

6.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to describe the Bulawayo food system. To this end, the chapter fulfils objectives a) which seeks to map the Bulawayo food system in order to identify key food system activities and actors; c) which seeks to analyse how the identified agents interact with and influence the food system in Bulawayo and d) which seeks to analyse how the current organisation of food production, processing, distribution and consumption contribute to food (in-) security in Bulawayo. However, before delving on these issues it is critical that demographic characteristics of study respondents are first discussed. It is after the description of study respondents' demographic characteristics that the chapter will then proceed to present and discuss key food system activities that define the Bulawayo food system. Subsequently, the chapter identifies different agents operating within the food system and analyses how these interact with and shape the food system. Lastly, the chapter analyses how the nature of the entire gamut of the food system affects aggregate city food security in Bulawayo.

6.2 Summary of demographic findings

This section presents findings on the demographic characteristics of questionnaire survey respondents. Four hundred households in Ward 28 of Bulawayo were sampled and of those approached 398 participated in the study with the other two withholding consent. Therefore, the response rate was 99.5%. The high response rate was largely informed by the fact that the questionnaire was physically administered by research assistants and the presence of the research team had been communicated to the residents through WhatsApp groups by established residents' networks.

This section on demographic findings reflects on gender, marital status, age and disability status of the household head. Thereafter, it then focuses on the characteristics of the households that were sampled. The characterisation will include household size, age distribution, sources of income and sources of food. The demographic findings presented at this stage are in the form of descriptive statistics. In the later chapters, particularly chapter 8, these findings will be cross tabulated with certain elements of household food security. This

will be done in order to interrogate whether or not certain demographics affect household food security.

6.2.1 Gender

Table 6.1 below summarises findings on the gender of the household respondents. It shows that an overwhelming number (78%) of study participants were female.

Table 6.1: Gender of respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Male	88	22.1
Female	310	77.9
Total	398	100.0

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

The findings on gender are not typical of household headship characteristics in Bulawayo as far as gender dynamics are concerned. For instance, according to the Inter-Censal Demographic Survey of 2017, 60.4% of households in Bulawayo were headed by males with the remaining 39.6% headed by females (ZimStat, 2017b). The current study's findings on gender of respondents can be explained mainly in two ways. Firstly, whilst the study targeted the head of household, it nonetheless engaged with their proxies. Consequently, given that fieldwork was mostly carried out during business days and hours most men were not found since the traditional division of labour ascribes them the breadwinner status. Secondly, issues of food from a traditional perspective for most cultural groupings that reside in Bulawayo are guided by the gender norm that views the kitchen domain in general and food in particular to be that of women. As such, in some households where men were present, they quickly deferred responsibility to their female partners once they heard the research was centred on issues of food.

6.2.2 Marital status

The majority (60%) of study participants indicated that they are married followed by those who indicated that they are single (23%) as summarised in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Marital status of study participants

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Single	91	22.9
Married	238	59.8
Divorced	18	4.5
Widowed	51	12.8
Total	398	100.0

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

The intercensal demographic survey findings of 2017 indicate that 47.7% of people in Bulawayo were married and 6, 2% were divorced.

6.2.3 Age

The respondents were fairly well dispersed across the different age categories with no age group being dominant than the others. These findings are summarised in figure 6.1.

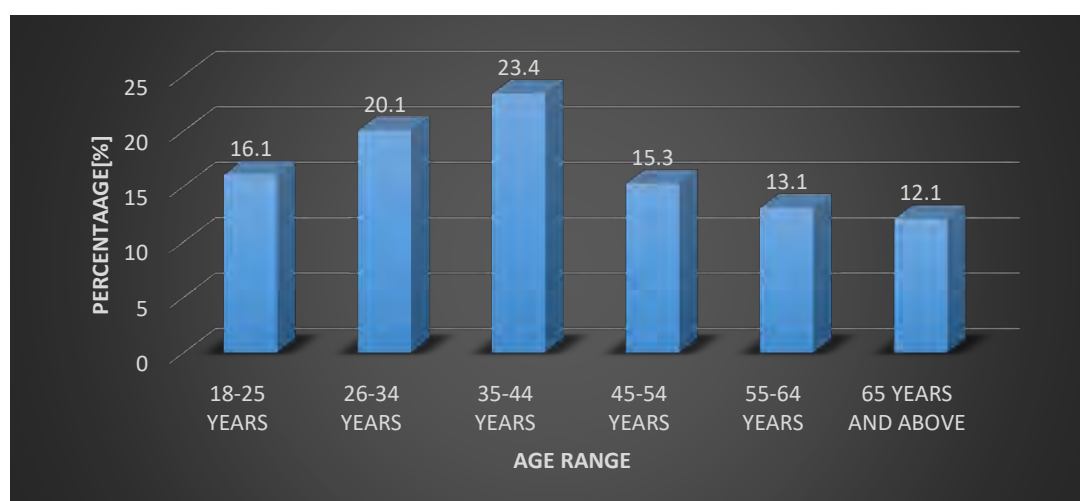


Figure 6.1: Age distribution of Respondents

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

Figure 6.1 indicates that 23.4% of study participants representing 93 individuals were within the 35-44 year age category. The least number of respondents came from the 65 years and above age category which had 48 respondents accounting for 12.1% of the entire study participants.

6.2.4 Disability status of household head

The study also sought to find out the disability status of the household head. The majority of respondents (94.5%) indicated that the household head had no disability with the remaining

4.5% indicating that the household head had some form of disability. The Inter-censal demographic findings of 2017 point out that the disability prevalence in Bulawayo province is at 7.2%.

6.2.5 Household size

The findings of the study point out that the modal household size was 4 with this category constituting 23.6% of the study respondents. This is in sync with the Intercensal findings of 2017 which also indicated that the average household size in Bulawayo was that of 4 people per household. The minimum household size was 1 which had 2% of the households whereas the maximum was 10 which accounted for 1%. The rest of the findings on household size are summarised in figure 6.2.



Figure 6.2: Household Size

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

6.2.6 Household distribution by age

The study findings on household sizes were further analysed by interrogating household age distribution. The household members were categorised into one of the 4 age categories shown in table 6.3. The findings point out that 51% of the households surveyed did not have any members of less than 5 years of age with 35.7 % having 1 member belonging to this age category. For the 5-17 year age group, 31.4% of the households did not have such members whereas 50% had 1-2 members belonging to the age category. The age range with the most

number of household members was the 18-65 year one. In this age range, 43.7% of the respondents indicated that they had 2 members, 20.1% indicated that they had 3 members. Lastly, the 66 years and above age category was not that common within the sampled households. Eighty three percent of the households did not have a member of this age category.

Table 6.3: Household age distribution

No.	Less than 5 years old		Between 5 and 17 years		Between 18 and 65 years		Aged 66 and above	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
0	203	51.0	125	31.4	8	2.0	330	82.9
1	142	35.7	108	27.1	70	17.6	48	12.1
2	41	10.3	92	23.1	174	43.7	16	4.0
3	11	2.8	43	10.8	80	20.1	1	.3
4	0	0	22	5.5	38	9.5	2	.5
5	0	0	5	1.3	21	5.3	0	0
6	1	.3	2	.5	3	.8	1	.3
7	0	0	1	.3	3	.8	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	1	.3	0	0

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

6.2.7 Household sources of income

In urban areas food access is largely a function of income. To this end, the study sought to find out the respondents' sources of income. The findings are summarised in Figure 6.3.

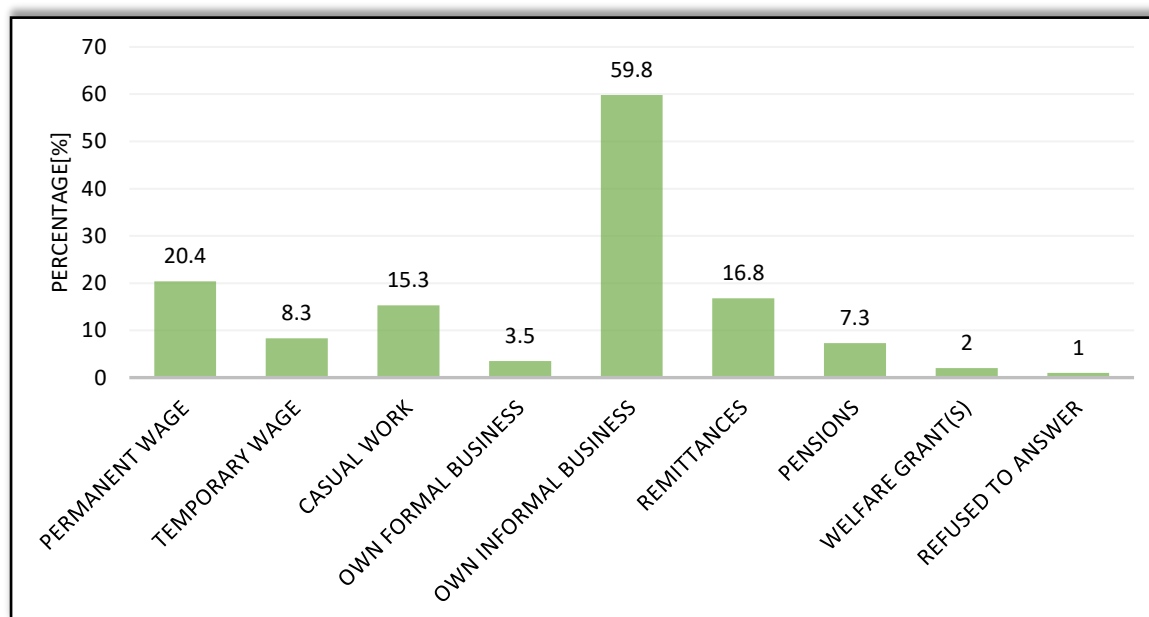


Figure 6.3: Household Sources of Income

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

According to figure 6.3, households' sources of income are diverse and include own informal businesses, remittances, wage employment and casual work amongst other things. Figure 6.3 shows that most respondents (59.8%) rely on their own informal economic activities to survive. Wage employment on a permanent or temporary basis was mentioned by 29% of the respondents.

The respondents were further asked to provide what they considered to be the household's main source of income. The findings are summarised in figure 6.4.

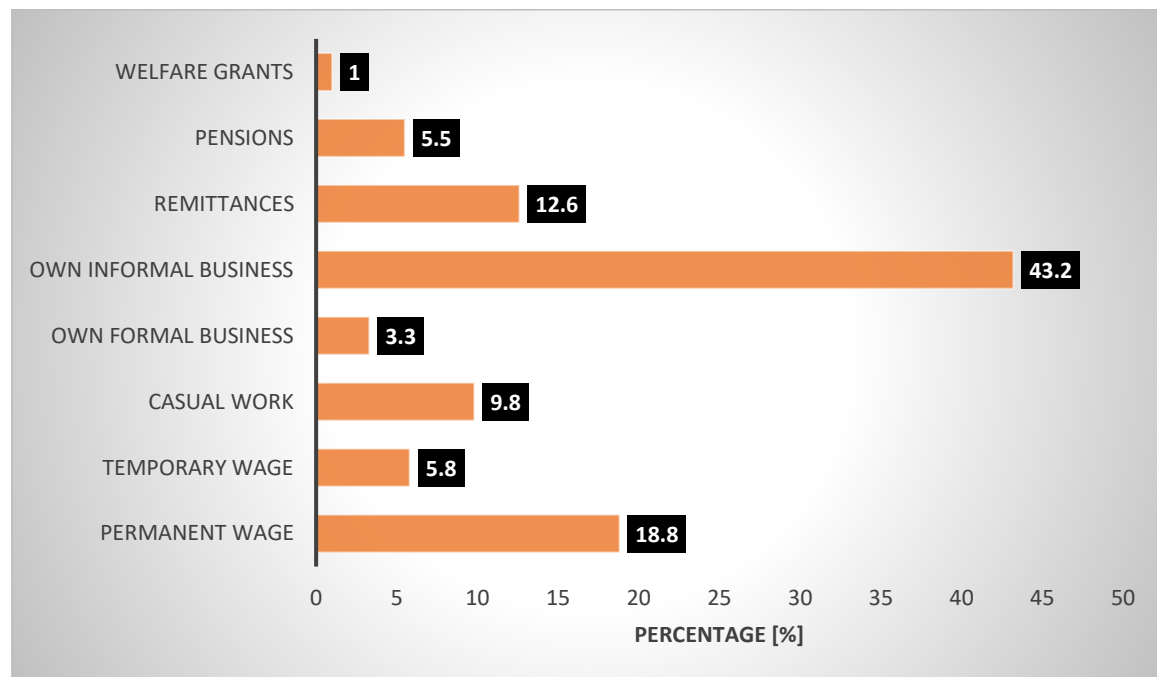


Figure 6.4: Household's Main Source of Income

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

The findings in figure 6.4 clearly show that most (43.2%) households rely on informal businesses for survival. Permanent wage employment and remittances in that order are the next in popularity. It is also critical to point out that welfare grants were mentioned by only 1% of the respondents as the main source of income for those households. These findings are in sync with findings from other studies. For instance, Mlambo (2017) aptly captures the socio-economic transformation that has been taking place in Zimbabwe. He points that Zimbabwe's economy has transformed from being an industrial powerhouse to nation of vendors over a 25 year period stretching from 1990 to 2015. The decline of the formal economy has seen a corresponding decline in permanent wage employment on one hand and a concomitant increase of participants in the informal economy on the other hand. In addition, the decline in the

country's economy also led to a rise in outward migration which could be the reason why remittances are the third most frequently cited main source of household income.

6.2.8 Average household income

Findings on average household monthly income are summarised in figure 6.5. Figure 6.5 shows that 70% of respondents indicated that their average household monthly income was US\$100 or less. Twenty percent of the respondents indicated that their household monthly income was between the ranges of US\$101-US\$500.

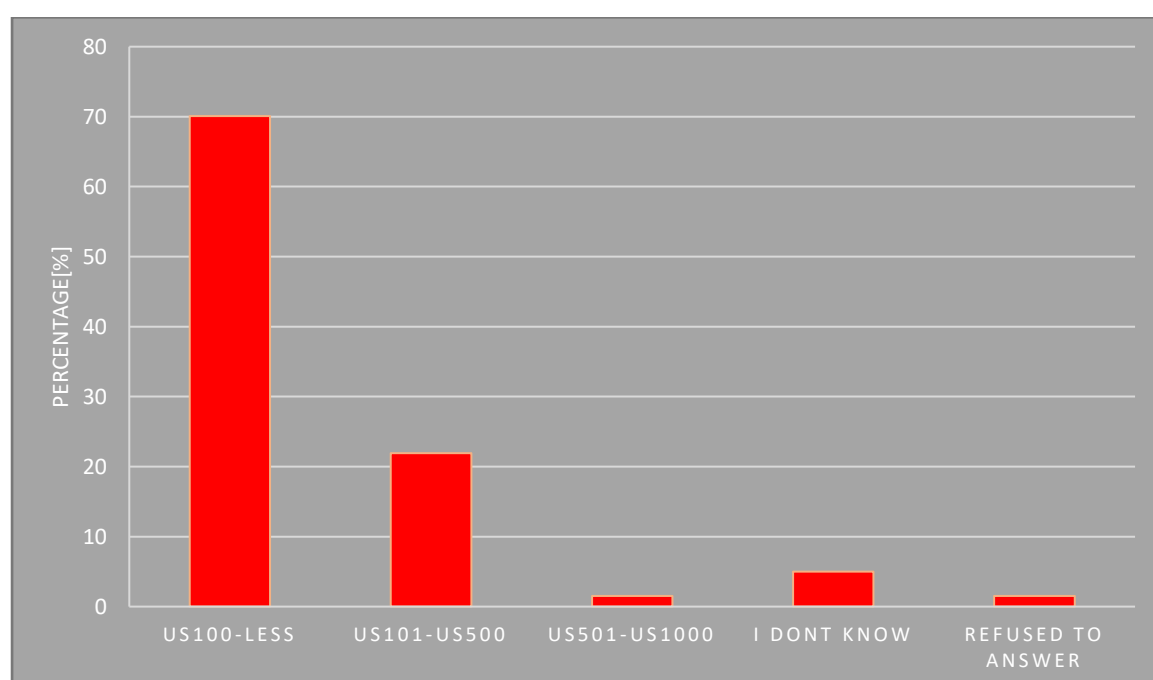


Figure 6.5: Average Household Monthly Income

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

The findings summarised in figure 6.5 point to precarious livelihoods in light of the fact that the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) for Bulawayo stood at ZWL5 855, 87 per person in March 2021 (ZimStat, 2021). This translates to around USD69 per person per month using the then official Interbank auction rate of 1 USD to ZWL85. Therefore, using this TCPL it means most households that participated in the study are getting income that is below the TCPL especially if those households are constituted by two or more members. These findings resonate with those of the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (2020) which indicate that only 11% of the sampled households in Bulawayo had incomes that were above the TCPL.

The subsection on household income concludes the presentation of demographic findings. The next section proceeds to then describe the Bulawayo food system following the different elements of the food system. The system is described through its elements for

manageability notwithstanding that there are a lot of cross linkages amongst the different elements of the food system.

6.3 Locating the sources of food consumed in Bulawayo

This section locates the sources of food consumed in Bulawayo and as is common with most urban food systems, the description of the Bulawayo food system will reveal that it is characterised by spatial dispersion. To this end, Battersby et al., (2014, p.90) aver that “[f]ood consumed within a modern city is rarely all derived from its local agricultural hinterland.” Such a realisation underscores the complexity of urban food systems. As such, for purposes of convenience and practicality, the section uses the different hierarchies of scale to describe the food systems. As such the description will start with the international level cascading down to locally produced food. Furthermore, the description focuses on five food items or food groups that were identified as generally the most common in the diets of low-income earners of Bulawayo. These include maize/maize meal, wheat/flour, fresh produce (represented by tomatoes and leafy vegetables), meat and pulses. As such the discussion on the food system begins with tracing the flows on maize/maize meal through the different hierarchies of place, starting with the international level.

6.3.1 The flow of maize

Bulawayo’s staple food is mainly constituted by *Isitshwala/sadza* (thick porridge) which is made from maize meal. According to USAID (2016) maize consumption accounts for over 50% of the average calorie consumption of the majority of Zimbabweans. Accordingly, this section traces the sources of maize and tracks its movement from production to consumption.

6.3.1.1 Tracing the connectedness of the Bulawayo food system to the international food system through maize flow

The flow of maize reveals that there are a number of pathways which link the Bulawayo food system to the international food markets. Maize imports by various actors link the Bulawayo food system to those of other countries. One of the key actors that facilitates these linkages is the central government which procures maize in international markets in times of food deficits.

Domestic maize supplies do not always meet the needs of the market owing to a plethora of reasons some of which include periodic droughts, pest and disease outbreaks, reduced production by farmers as a result of unattractive producer prices, inadequate support extended to farmers, policy changes such as the institution of the Fast Track Land reform Programme (FTLRP) (USAID, 2016) etc. However, adverse agro-ecological events, mainly

drought, are usually the main reason behind maize deficits that are experienced in Bulawayo and the rest of the country. According to the President of the Grain Marketing Association of Zimbabwe (GMAZ) Southern Region Chapter, to make up for the maize deficits the government resorts to importing from as near as neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Zambia and as far as Brazil (Interview, 15 April, 2021). Since 2000, Zimbabwe has imported maize with the lowest quantity of 50 metric tonnes in 2000 and the highest 1400 metric tonnes in 2014 (USAID, 2016). These imports were confirmed by an official of the central government who noted that:

In good agricultural seasons Bulawayo gets its food in general and maize supplies in particular from surrounding rural districts and it is stored in the Grain Marketing Board's silos in the industrial sites there. However, when there is a drought or just a shortage of maize around, we import maize from other countries, and it is brought to Bulawayo's grain silos by rail (Interview with the Provincial Development Coordinator, 10 April 2021).

These findings are further corroborated by a Ministry of Finance report on its web portal as indicated in Box 6.1:

Box 6.1: Government of Zimbabwe communication on food imports in 2020

GOVERNMENT STEPS UP MAIZE IMPORT

Maize imports are being increased to beat shortages caused by drought, while large sums of money are being set aside to ensure the maize reaches the intended beneficiaries.

According to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe's (RBZ) latest monthly report, Treasury spent US\$1, 5 million on maize imports in August, but the figure shot up to US\$4 million in September, with the Government saying higher imports were in the pipeline to cope with not only last season's drought, but what is likely to be an inadequate harvest this season.

Maize imports boost local supplies for both food hand-outs and subsidised roller meal, which are part of a raft of social safety nets to improve the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans.

Source: <http://www.zim.gov.zw/index.php/en/news-room/latest-news/493-government-steps-up-maize-imports#>

It can be deduced from the information contained in Box 6.1 that the central government plays a critical role in ensuring maize reaches the communities, in this case those of Bulawayo. However, because of the onerous task involved in importing maize, at times government invites development partners to assist it. This then brings a second pathway of maize imports, which is that of development assistance. In this respect, the Provincial Development Coordinator (PDC) noted that the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) usually plays a central role. He noted that the WFP unlike other development partners who tend to procure food to

support communities from their home countries prefers instead to import maize from neighbouring countries in order to minimise logistical costs and hurdles (Interview, PDC, Bulawayo Metropolitan Province, 10 April 2021). The President of GMAZ Southern Chapter also indicated that corporates, in the form of milling companies at times procure their maize as individual entities or as collectives mainly in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The study also established that individuals also contribute in establishing connections with the international food system through one of three channels. One of the channels is through Zimbabweans domiciled mainly in neighbouring countries sending food through informal cross border transporters known as *omalayitsha* or alternatively haulage trucks that ply cross border routes and some cross border bus operators. In addition, Zimbabweans in South Africa and other countries also use online or virtual spaces to buy and remit mealie-meal and other food items in order to avoid logistical issues involved in physically buying food in South Africa, packaging it and sending it to Zimbabwe through one of the means just highlighted. One such platform which is proving popular is malaicha.com. The researcher visited malaicha.com's collection depot several times and observed that at times malaicha.com dispenses local mealie-meal and yet in other times dispatches South African mealie-meal brands such as Ace, White Star and Iwisa. This online platform came in handy during lockdown periods that have been pronounced on multiple occasions since March 30 2020 in an effort to curtail the spread of the novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) in the country as shown in excerpt 3 in Box 6.2 below. During this period, the researcher observed Bulawayo residents in queues that at times stretched for over a kilometre waiting for their turn to collect their parcels sent from South Africa. At that point, the platform became one of the main legal channels through which Zimbabweans abroad could support their relatives and friends back home. The importance of food remittances from abroad was also apparent in the household survey where 41 (10%) of the 398 respondents indicated that food remittances from abroad were one of their households' food sources. Furthermore, 6% of the respondents indicated that food remittances from abroad were their households' main source of food.

The second channel is through cross border traders who either go to the neighbouring countries or simply use the *omalayitshas*. However, with this channel what is usually imported is mealie-meal, not maize in its unprocessed state. FGD participants in an FGD for vendors indicated that they buy maize meal and other food stuffs through this channel.

The third and final channel through which mealie-meal from neighbouring countries found its way into Bulawayo is through some supermarkets that import it using mainly middle-men. This was mainly done in situations where the local mealie-meal brands were failing to

meet demand or were uncompetitive pricewise. For instance, in the last quarter of 2020 the researcher observed that some supermarkets in Bulawayo were selling mealie-meal from neighbouring countries, mainly from South Africa and Botswana. This is also supported by excerpt 2 of Box 6.2 below.

Box 6.2 below presents some views of study participants on the connections between the international food system and the Bulawayo food system through the flow of maize or mealie-meal:

Box 6.2: Views on maize flows from the international food system

1. *As you can see my child, I am now wasted, I no longer have any strength to look after myself and all my children have crossed the border. So they have become our saviours, as they send us food to eat on a monthly basis. Here we just buy green vegetables and other small things through the money that they also send to us from South Africa. This is what is there, although I do not like South African food because it is over processed and hence has no taste. The mealie-meal is too refined, you can mistake it for flour, but we have no option, circumstances dictate that we have to eat what is available. (Household in-depth Interviewee #2)*
2. *At times Zimbabwe faces food shortages like we experienced last year. At such times we buy from anyone who has the food. You find that these smaller shops can buy things like mealie-meal from South Africa and sell it to us. The challenge is they only sell it in foreign currency which we don't have. (Household in-depth Interviewee #3)*
3. *During the lockdown we had problems getting food from our children in South Africa. They ended up using malaicha.com where you receive a message [SMS] and just go to town to collect your stuff. At an extra fee they can even deliver at home. This is how we survived the lockdown, otherwise we were going to starve to death. (Male FGD participant, Ward 28, Bulawayo, 10/04/21)*
4. *We source our goods from different places. Some we buy in wholesalers in town, others we go directly to the farms like Mandalay. We also buy in bulk from South Africa. With this option we either go there or if you want to avoid hustles with the authorities you just give money to omalayitsha or haulage truck drivers and they can bring your stuff especially bulk stuff like mealie-meal, flour, rice and cooking oil. During lockdowns some bus companies such as[name omitted] were ferrying stuff for us at a fee because there were few passengers travelling then and so they sort of turned into courier companies for us. (Male FGD participant, Ward 28, Bulawayo, 10/04/21)*

It is apparent that the international food system has in the recent past been playing a critical role in ensuring a steady supply of Zimbabwe's staple food in the form of maize or maize meal. However, the national food system is still critical in ensuring that citizens in general and Bulawayo residents in this case have access to maize or maize meal.

6.3.1.2 Maize/Maize meal at the national level

At the national level it was established that maize supplies come from many places but mainly from the maize producing regions of the country such as those places in agro-ecological regions 1 and 2, mainly places such as Kadoma, Chegutu, Gokwe and Banket etc. The maize comes from both smallholder and large-scale commercial farmers who normally sell it to the GMB which is a parastatal. According to the PDC and the President of GMAZ Southern Region Chapter, maize is transported within the country using the railway system or haulage trucks. However, the PDC in an interview noted that districts surrounding Bulawayo such as Umguza and Bubi also play a critical role in supplying maize to Bulawayo and the maize is ferried by haulage trucks mainly to the GMB silos in the city's industrial sites.

It is critical to point out that it is illegal for farmers to sell their maize to any other buyers other than to the state-owned GMB. This is something that the President of GMAZ Southern Chapter also attested to in an interview.

Dry foods vendors also indicated in interviews that they also source a lot of maize from areas such as Gokwe in the Midlands, Kadoma and Chegutu in Mashonaland West amongst some of the places. For instance, Mrs Green a vendor at eMalaleni traditional food market indicated that she sources her maize and other dried foods to sell at her market stall from many areas which include Gokwe, Binga, Buhera, Chegutu and Kadoma amongst other places (Interview, 11 June 2021).

This section has shown that maize consumed in Bulawayo comes from many places within the country. Thus far, the discussion has focussed on maize that comes from outside Bulawayo. However, there are in-city sources of maize which are explored in the next section.

6.3.1.3 Urban agriculture and maize production within Bulawayo

Some of the maize/maize meal consumed within Bulawayo is a product of agricultural activities that take place within the confines of the city. The Bulawayo city urban agriculture policy does acknowledge that there are a lot of agricultural activities that take place within the confines of the city. It further acknowledges that with respect to maize, most of the cultivation is unauthorised and takes place in undesignated areas (BCC, 2007). Indeed, observations in Ward 28 confirmed that maize farming is very prevalent. The researcher drove through the ward on different occasions and observed that many open spaces had been turned into agricultural fields where maize was the main crop grown with accompanying field crops, mainly sweet potatoes, different forms of pulses, sweet reeds and different types of melons as shown in the pictures below.



Figure 6.6: Photograph of a maize field on roadside in Ward 28, Bulawayo

Source: Primary field data, 31 March, 2021



Figure 6.7: Photograph of a maize field with a sweet potato ridge as field boundary in Ward 28, Bulawayo

Source: Primary field data, 31 March, 2021

Focus group participants and key informants from the local authority also buttressed on the pervasiveness of maize cultivation within Bulawayo. The researcher also observed that some

households even had small maize gardens within their yards which they noted was just for consumption as fresh mealies. The household survey findings support these assertions, notwithstanding that they were not specific to maize. The findings indicate that 31.4% of the respondents in Ward 28 do rely on food they produce. However, this is just to complement food sourced through other avenues as only 3.3% identified the food they produce as their households' main food source.

At a commercial level, the Bulawayo City Council owns a Aisleby and Goodhope farms within the precincts of the city. In an interview with the City Economic Development Officer, he revealed that the Council is practising mixed farming in the two farms. In addition, there are agricultural plots that were allocated to residents around the city, some of which are being used for maize production (Interview, City Economic Development Officer 9 April, 2021). On the quantities of maize produced within the City he indicated that as yet no study has been commissioned to quantify the amount of maize produced within the precincts of the City.

This section has briefly highlighted the local sources of maize which marks the end of the end of the discussion on tracing sources of maize and maize meal that is consumed in Bulawayo. It is now critical to explore the processing and distribution pathways within Bulawayo.

6.3.1.4 Processing and distribution of maize within Bulawayo

As was shown in the foregoing, all maize that is procured by the government goes into the GMB silos in Bulawayo. From the GMB, maize is procured by millers whose allocation is dependent on verified milling capacity. The GMAZ President for the Southern Chapter indicated that the determination of the milling capacity is done by GMB officials. Some of the millers identified by the GMAZ Southern Chapter President include, National Foods, Bulateke, Blue Ribbon, Membar Foods, Falzian Enterprises, Mathokozisa, Champion Foods, United Milling Company and Sibhula Milling amongst others.

These millers process the maize by milling it, fortifying it in line with the Food Fortification regulations of Ministry of Health and Child Care encapsulated in Statutory Instrument (S.I) 120 of 2016. The mealie-meal is then packaged in mostly 2kg, 5kg, 10kg, 20kg and 50kg packages. After that the mealie-meal is sold to wholesalers and retailers.

However, it also came out in the study that some farmers sell directly to small and at times unregistered service millers within the city who use hammer millers. These will have on average one or two mills in an establishment. For instance, one of these service millers who owns one milling machine and operates in Ward 28 said:

I source my maize from surrounding districts using my small truck. I go to the communities and buy maybe a tonne and come here to mill it or sell it as it is to the residents. I used to do this under the cover of darkness where I would buy maize in the surrounding rural communities during daytime and then transport it overnight when I knew law enforcement agents would be off the roads. Now with COVID and lockdown regulations I just take my chances and travel during daytime. If I'm caught we negotiate with the police (Interview, Small Miller, Ward 28 Bulawayo, 19/03/21)

The small millers indicated that they generally mill for individuals who come with their maize or buy for them. These individuals normally mill a 20litre bucket of maize up to a 50kg sack for purposes of domestic consumption.

Having scanned through the maize processing environment, the discussion proceeds to explore the maize meal retail environment.

6.3.1.5 Retailing mapping of maize/maize meal within Bulawayo

After processing by the millers in the manner described in the foregoing, the millers transport the maize to wholesalers and retailers who would have placed orders with them. The study established that the retail environment for maize meal is quite diverse ranging from big supermarket chains to individually run backyard shops in residents' houses. The practices of these retail actors are briefly described in the following sections.

Maize retail in supermarkets, general dealers and superettes

Bulawayo is home to a number of supermarket chains. The researcher identified the most prominent supermarkets within the CBD to be TM Pick n Pay, OK, Spar, Choppies, and Greens. However, in Ward 28 which is the study case, one supermarket was identified which is that of TM Pick n Pay. Some other smaller grocery shops identified include Coolland and Athens shops. All these shops sold mealie-meal in 5, 10 and 20 kilogramme packages from mostly renowned local brands. These included Red Seal (National Foods), Amandla (Blue Ribbon), Bulateke (Bulateke) and Alpha (United Milling Company). However, in some of the shops there were also mealie-meal packages from neighbouring countries. The importance of supermarkets in availing food in general to the residents of Ward 28 was underscored by the outcomes of the household survey. The findings point out that 83.4% of households use supermarkets as household food sources. Furthermore, 69.3% indicated that supermarkets are their main food sources. However, Ward 28 presents interesting dynamics in that there is a huge part of the Ward where there are no supermarkets. The construction of supermarkets is in progress albeit at a slow pace with occasional stoppages due to difficult economic conditions as observed by the Ward Councillor.

Whilst the retail actors just described play a critical role in ensuring access to maize meal by residents of Ward 28, there are nonetheless other players who attract customers for a number of reasons. The actors are the subject of discussion in the next subsection.

Maize retail in small shops and tuckshops

Small shops and tuckshops surveyed through observations had mealie-meal supplies albeit in relatively smaller quantities compared to their bigger counterparts described in the foregoing. In informal conversations with some of the small shop operators in Ward 28, they pointed out that they had smaller quantities because they were constrained by lack of storage space to cater for bigger volumes of maize meal. They also indicated that financial constraints were also limiting their ability to procure more stocks. The third reason advanced was that of security concerns, where they noted that as small shops and tuck-shops, they were easy targets of thieves because of their limited security in their business premises.

Furthermore, it was observed that most of the small shops and tuck-shops stocked smaller sized maize meal packages of between 2 and 10kgs. The shop owners indicated that they knew that residents usually bought foodstuffs from them as a stop-gap measure. This was confirmed in an FGD for females where one respondent indicated:

We normally buy our food stuffs in town [CBD]. We buy bulk and non-perishable food items such as mealie-meal, cooking oil, flour together with other household requirements when we go to town. In the course of the month if the supplies run out, we then get from the local shops or even from the streets (Female FGD participant, Ward 28, Bulawayo, 10/04/21).

These sentiments are also supported by the household survey findings which point out that 55.3% of respondents identified small shops as one of their households' food sources. However, the figure drastically goes down to 12.5 % with respect to respondents' choice of small shops as their households' main source of food.

Not all households in Ward 28 buy their maize meal from registered entities. In Ward 28 there is a burgeoning informal trade of food stuffs as detailed below.

The retail of maize meal in the informal markets

Informal trade in maize meal is very extensive in Bulawayo particularly in Ward 28 which is the study's case. Informal traders in ward 28 are all over the Ward. Literally every road, road junction, business centre is full of informal sector retailers. The researcher observed some of them operating in open spaces with no form of shelter at all, others were operating with small make-shift shelters made from plastics and some other supporting materials. Others were

operating from car boots and yet others were operating from their houses. Most of the maize-meal sold by informal traders was of foreign origin. Vendors indicated in their FGD that they sold a lot of mealie-meal from neighbouring countries because it was cheaper than local brands. In terms of quantities, the vendors indicated that they do not stockpile maize meal because they do not have the stock. They said since their entrepreneurial activities were illegal, they tried to keep stocks low in the event that they were raided by authorities.

In terms of packages, the informal traders had mostly 5 and 10kg packs of mealie-meal. However, in addition they had some very small packs in plastic bags. They indicated that they were responsive to people's needs on the ground. The FGD participants indicated that at times people run out of money during the course of the month or week and hence as a stop-gap measure will need just maize-meal to cook once or a couple of times.

Some FGD participants in ward 28 indicated that they buy maize from Shasha and eMalaleni dry markets which specialise in dried cereals, vegetables and pulses. The researcher visited the place which is located adjacent to the city's long distance bus terminus which is itself approximately 2 kilometres from the CBD. It was observed that all sorts of dry foods including grains such as maize were in abundance in these two dry markets.

The importance of the informal sector in the provision of food was underscored in the household survey where 55.8% respondents indicated that their households source food it. However, only 6.3% of the respondents indicated that the informal sector is the main food source for their households.

In summary, this subsection has mapped the flow of maize and maize meal right up to the end consumer of interest, the household. The maize flow pathways are schematically represented in figure 6.8 below.

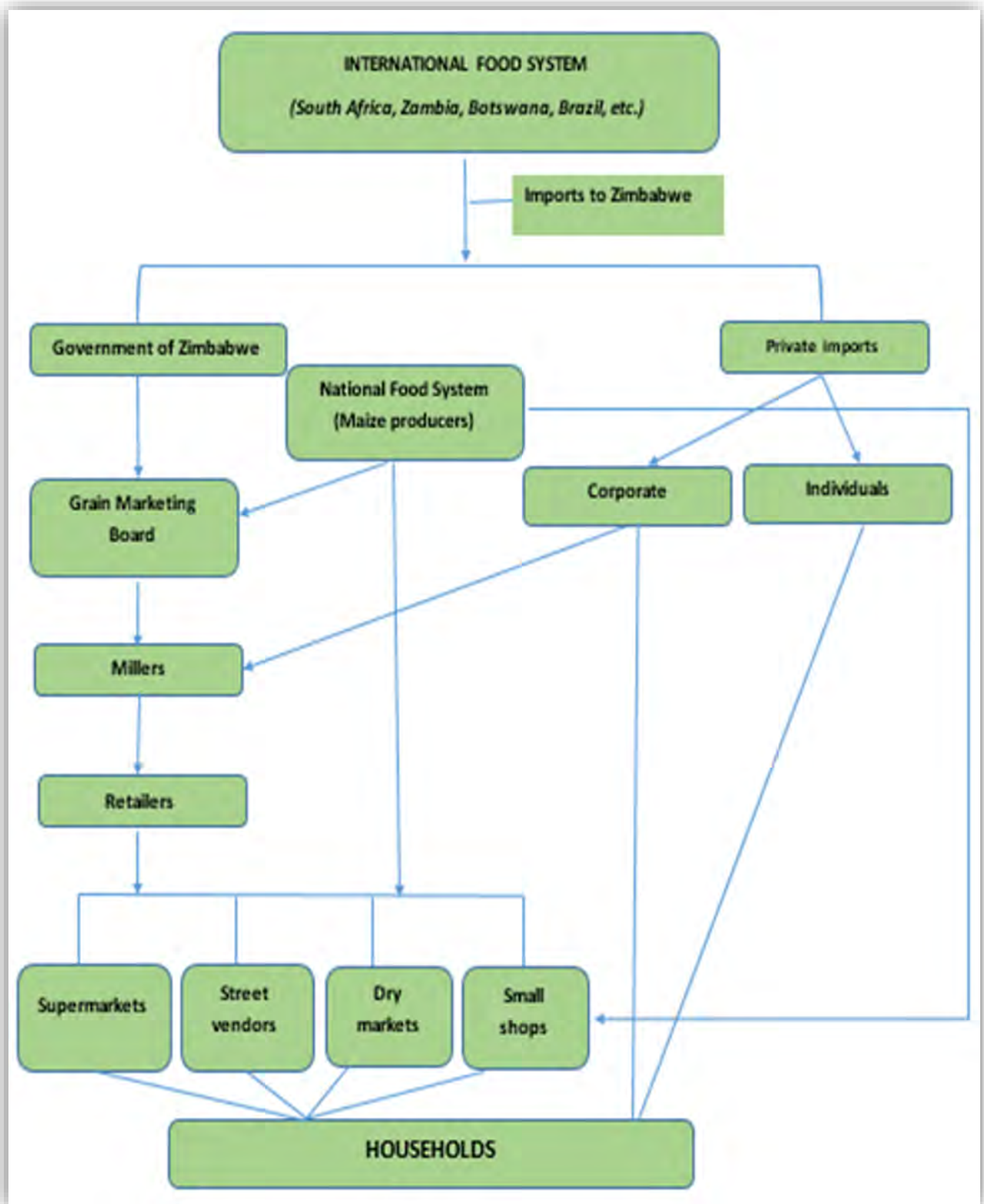


Figure 6.8: Bulawayo Food system- Maize Flow Chart
 Source: Author's own creation.

The retail sector in its various forms establishes a connection between households and their staple food which is maize. However, there are other food items that are also a central element of the diets of households in Ward 28 of Bulawayo. As such the discussion proceeds to do similar mappings for these food items starting with fresh produce.

6.3.2 Mapping the pathways of fresh produce to Bulawayo households

In the previous section it was noted that *isitshwala/sadza* are staple foods for most households in Bulawayo. It is usually eaten in combination with leafy vegetables and tomatoes. It is for this reason that this part of the chapter maps the flow of leafy vegetables and tomatoes as proxies for most vegetables that are consumed by low-income households of Bulawayo. However, because these are perishable foodstuffs with a very short shelf-life the flow chain is much shorter compared to the maize meal just described in the foregoing.

6.3.2.1 Fresh produce connecting Bulawayo food system with the wider Zimbabwean food system

Notwithstanding the fact that leafy vegetables and tomatoes are perishable they nonetheless do not always originate from Bulawayo and its environs. At times they are sourced from faraway places. It is these flows of leafy vegetables and tomatoes that link the Bulawayo food system with the broader Zimbabwean food system. The ‘Bulawayo fresh produce supplies’ at times fail to meet demand leading to an influx of fresh produce which includes tomatoes and leafy vegetables from places as far away as Harare, Kadoma, Birchenough Bridge, Nyanyadzi etc. In an interview with a city official he indicated that:

whereas most of our fresh produce comes from within the boundaries of the city and around its margins there is growing trend where makoronyeras [fresh produce market touts] travel the length and breadth of the country when they realise that there is certain produce that is in short supply within the city markets. They go to those places and bring truckloads of the produce and sell from the trucks on the streets which is illegal of course...(Interview, City Economic Development officer, Bulawayo, 9 April 2021).

Other than these illegal supplies coming through the channel just described, the City Economic Development Officer indicated that most of the tomatoes and leafy vegetables come from the agro-residential horticulture plots within the city and surrounding districts such as Umguza, Nyamandlovu, Umzingwane and Matobo. In these districts there are both large scale and smallholder commercial horticulturalists. These horticulturalists supply bulk fresh produce

markets which are in the CBD very early in the morning. The operations of these will be discussed later on.

There are also interesting outgrower contract farming arrangements involving Sondelani Ranches which involve the production of tomatoes in Bulawayo and other areas under the Turning Matabeleland Green (TMG) Initiative. The initiative has resulted in one of the city's biggest investments in the recent past with the establishment of a tomato processing plant (Interview, City Economic Development Officer, 9 April, 2021).

Whereas the actors mentioned in the foregoing play a critical role in the supply of leafy vegetables and tomatoes to Bulawayo it is also critical to explore production of these within the confines of the city.

6.3.2.2 The production of leafy vegetables and tomatoes in Bulawayo.

A significant portion of fresh produce consumed in Bulawayo is produced within the precincts of the city. The producers include smallholder commercial horticulturalists who operate from the fringes of the city, areas which were designated as agro-residential plots. Some of these include Kesington, Worringham, Woodville, Gumtree etc. According to the BCC's City Economic Development Officer these plots generally are within the 2-4 acre range in size.

There are also farmers who were allocated urban agriculture plots within the city. However, the City Economic Development Officer noted that most of these were not active due to lack of extension services support and credit lines support amongst other things. However, he noted that there are some who are producing albeit at subdued levels. In addition, there are welfare garden allotments around select residential areas mostly in the low-income high-density areas. According to the Bulawayo Acting Principal Social Services Officer, under whose section these gardens fall under, these are vegetables gardens that are allocated to the needy so that they may augment their food supplies and even sell the surplus (Interview, 24/04/21). In addition to the gardens there are also community gardens that are allocated to residents on a first come first served basis and also on as per need basis. However, the demand for these gardens is very high and most people fail to gain access to them.

In Ward 28 however, FGD participants claimed that these community gardens are not there. They indicated that from what they were informed by Council officials the Ward does not have these gardens because boreholes could not be drilled as the area was rocky. However, the Ward Councillor indicated that he had initiated one community garden in one of the remotest parts of the Ward which the researcher could not access:

No, here they are not there [community gardens], I have started one at Esigodweni there since I came in as Councillor. It's a one-acre plot and I allocated 40 households two garden beds each. The Turkish embassy sunk a borehole for me there....
(Interview, Ward 28 Councillor, 31 January 2021)

The researcher failed to access the garden because the roads were in a very bad and in some instances non-existent. Given the vast size of Ward 28 in terms of area and the fact that only 40 households had been allocated these gardens, the researcher understood the different submissions by the Councillor and residents who participated in FGDs in that light. Interestingly, in a follow-up telephone interview with the Ward Councillor, it was revealed that the community garden was in a state of disuse owing to a broken-down borehole (Interview, 23 July 2021).

The residents of Ward 28 have however not been deterred by lack of formally parcelled urban agriculture plots. Instead, they have allocated themselves garden plots along two streams of sewer that flow through the Ward. The following household in-depth interviews attest to this:

As for vegetables we plant them along the stream, and we use sewer water to water it. We produce the vegetables for domestic consumption but if we get too much of it we sell
(Household in-depth Interviewee #6).

Yes, we have a garden. We have planted leafy vegetables, beans, tomatoes and sugarcane. We water the garden with sewer water, but the challenge is that sometimes it is closed. This water comes from upstream in the Luveve sewage where there is a sewer dam. So, I think when it reaches a certain level of water, they open it and it flows downstream to us this side and this is what we use to water our gardens...
(Household in-depth Interviewee #7).

These submissions are further corroborated by the following photographic figures. Figure 6.9 shows a tomato garden just next to one of the sewer streams in Ward 28. Figure 6.10 shows a leafy vegetable garden which also has a mature crop of sugar cane adjacent to a sewer stream. Then figure 6.11 shows part of the sewer stream that is used to water the vegetables cultivated on the stream banks.



Figure 6.9: Photograph of tomatoes grown by a sewer stream in Ward 28, Bulawayo
Source: Primary Field Data, 2021



Figure 6.10: Photograph of a sprawling vegetable garden with leafy vegetables and sugar cane by the banks of a sewer stream
Source: Primary Field Data, 2021



Figure 6.11: Photograph of a sewer stream for watering vegetables

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

The cultivation of leafy vegetables and tomatoes does not only take place in undesignated places but there is also a lot of cultivation within the residential plots where households have small gardens. The researcher observed that in these backyard gardens residents grow a mixture of vegetables but mainly leafy vegetables, tomatoes and onions. FGD participants and key informants also pointed out that residents do grow these vegetables in their backyards as also evidenced in figure 6.12.



Figure 6.12: Photograph of a backyard vegetable garden, Ward 28, Bulawayo
Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

The production of fresh produce within residents' yards marks the last space of production of the same. The produce realised in this space is the closest to the household and does not require any distribution or much processing to be consumed by the households. However, produce for the other spaces of production is far removed from the household and hence requires some moving around to get to the household. In light of this, the following section focuses on bulk delivery sites for fresh produce in Bulawayo.

6.3.2.3 Bulk delivery sites for fresh produce in Bulawayo

By law and to some extent in practice fresh produce reaching Bulawayo is delivered by trucks of varied sizes very early in the morning. The fresh produce is delivered to designated delivery sites. According to the Bulawayo City Council Town Planning Department Official some of these sites include Willsgrove, Patel, Petca, Bulawayo Main Market and the New Market (Interview, 04/07/21). These act as wholesalers and facilitate the breaking bulk process. In an FGD farmers revealed that these wholesalers charge 10-12% commission for this service.

However, it emerged that these wholesalers are rigid in the face of a highly fluid economic environment. For instance, a farmer indicated that:

Fresh produce wholesalers are still stuck with the mentality that they are the only fresh produce selling point in town and they do not canvas for customers and there is poor customer care. As such patronage to these areas has been decreasing over time (Participant, FGD farmers, 22/04/21).

In addition, the wholesalers only pay for what has been bought and because of their poor sales record a lot of produce goes to waste in their spaces. Another disadvantage of dealing with these wholesalers is that they pay for the produce once or twice a week irrespective of the time and number of deliveries of fresh produce made to them.

Most of the tomatoes and leafy vegetables delivered in Bulawayo go to the wholesalers and middlemen who operate in Bulawayo's CBD. From these wholesalers and middlemen, retailers in their various types procure produce and transport it to their retail sites. Most of the produce that goes to the low-income high density residential suburbs is first transported in sacks for leafy vegetables and boxes for tomatoes by push carts from the marketplace to public transport service providers such as buses and mini buses. This is one of the pathways which takes vegetables to suburban areas like Ward 28. As such the following section scans the retail environment for fresh produce in Bulawayo's Ward 28.

6.3.2.4 Mapping fresh produce retail environment in Bulawayo's ward 28

The fresh produce retail market is quite diverse in Bulawayo in general and Ward 28 in particular. At the formal level in Ward 28 there is Pick n Pay supermarket which supplies tomatoes and leafy vegetables. There is also Hamara Foods which is a big fresh produce shop in the Ward. According to the Shop Manager, the store sells both bulk and non-bulk fresh produce to the residents of Cowdray Park (Interview, 11/04/21). The manager bemoaned low business which he attributed to the easing of lockdown restrictions which enabled most residents to go to the CBD where they then got their fresh produce from. He also noted that they sourced their leafy vegetables from their farmers as they had contract farming arrangements with a number of farmers. The other formal shops in the form of superettes, small shops and registered tuck-shops generally did not have tomatoes and leafy vegetables. These retailers indicated that this was because of the competition offered by street traders who are all over the Ward which makes it difficult for the residents to leave all of those traders and

opt to travel some distance to buy from them. Furthermore, they indicated that fresh produce required special storage by way of refrigerators which they do not have.

Street traders in tomatoes and leafy vegetables are many as was observed by the researcher as he drove through the Ward several times. The vendors also confirmed that they did sell tomatoes and leafy vegetables which they sourced from multiple sources. It emerged in the FGD of vendors that they source their vegetables from the CBD. In the CBD they sourced from Wholesalers and middlemen. Some also indicated that they sourced from nearby farms where they were transported by pirate vans which charge them US\$1 to go there and on return they pay a similar amount of money plus an additional fee for their luggage which they noted is usually a dollar for each sack one would be carrying. The street traders believe they have an edge over supermarkets and other formal suppliers because of a number of reasons which are presented in Box 6.3 below:

Box 6.3: Vendors' views on their competitive advantage over formal fresh produce business concerns

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Consumers want to have a feel of what they are buying yet some formal shops package their produce2. They supply in smaller packs even one item and this is good for those without refrigerators3. They have social relationships with their customers and thus they gain patronage from the same4. They are strategically located5. Prices competitive6. Can extend credit lines to customers |
|---|

The researcher observed that the vendors operated from open spaces where they just display their tomatoes on the ground on top of plastic mats or have temporary stalls with vegetable racks and some were selling from car boots. Figures 6.13 and 6.14 below show some of the wares (including tomatoes) that the vendors sell.



Figure 6.13: Photograph of a vendor stall in front of a resident's house, Ward 28, Bulawayo
Source: Primary Field Data, 2021



Figure 6.14: Photograph of wares on the ground including tomatoes, Ward 28, Bulawayo
Source: Primary Fieldwork Data, 2021

An interesting development in the retail sector is the use of online platforms to sell and buy vegetables. The study found out that this was at times an individual initiative by farmers or enterprising retailers. Whilst the primary target market are the Zimbabweans in the diaspora, the platforms are also used to market produce even to those citizens in the country. Box 6.4 below is an example of such initiatives.

Box 6.4: Online Advert for Fresh Produce in Bulawayo

No more struggling for Fresh Vegetables or unnecessary running around during Lockdown. Order your veges [vegetables] while relaxed from the comfort of your home on your mobile phone and get them delivered right to your doorstep. Are you in the diaspora and you have family that needs fresh supply of veges? Three Simpler steps to order

- 1. Place your order with us or our agents before 10 am Monday to Saturday and we will deliver SAME DAY on your behalf Gifts, Fresh Vegetables and Meats to your Loved ones around Bulawayo*

Source: [Rabbitate Farm Fresh, 5 Bernafay Lane Matsheumhlope, Bulawayo \(2021\) \(findglocal.com\)](#)

The use of online platforms transcends individual initiatives and institutional actors have also tapped into the potential of information communication technologies (ICTs) in an effort to improve the business environment. One such initiative is the development of a mobile application called *Sizimele* (IsiNdebele for We are standing on our own). This application was developed by the Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund in partnership with Dan Church Aid an NGO, vendors, and traders' collectives such as the Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association (BVTa) and Vendors Initiative for Socioeconomic Transformation (VIsET) amongst others. However, at the time of fieldwork vendors had not yet started using it as it had just been launched. The vendors are however excited about this application as the researcher witnessed in a training workshop where they were also capacitated on using the application.

To sum up this section, figure 6.15 schematically shows the flow of tomatoes and leafy vegetables right up to the households.

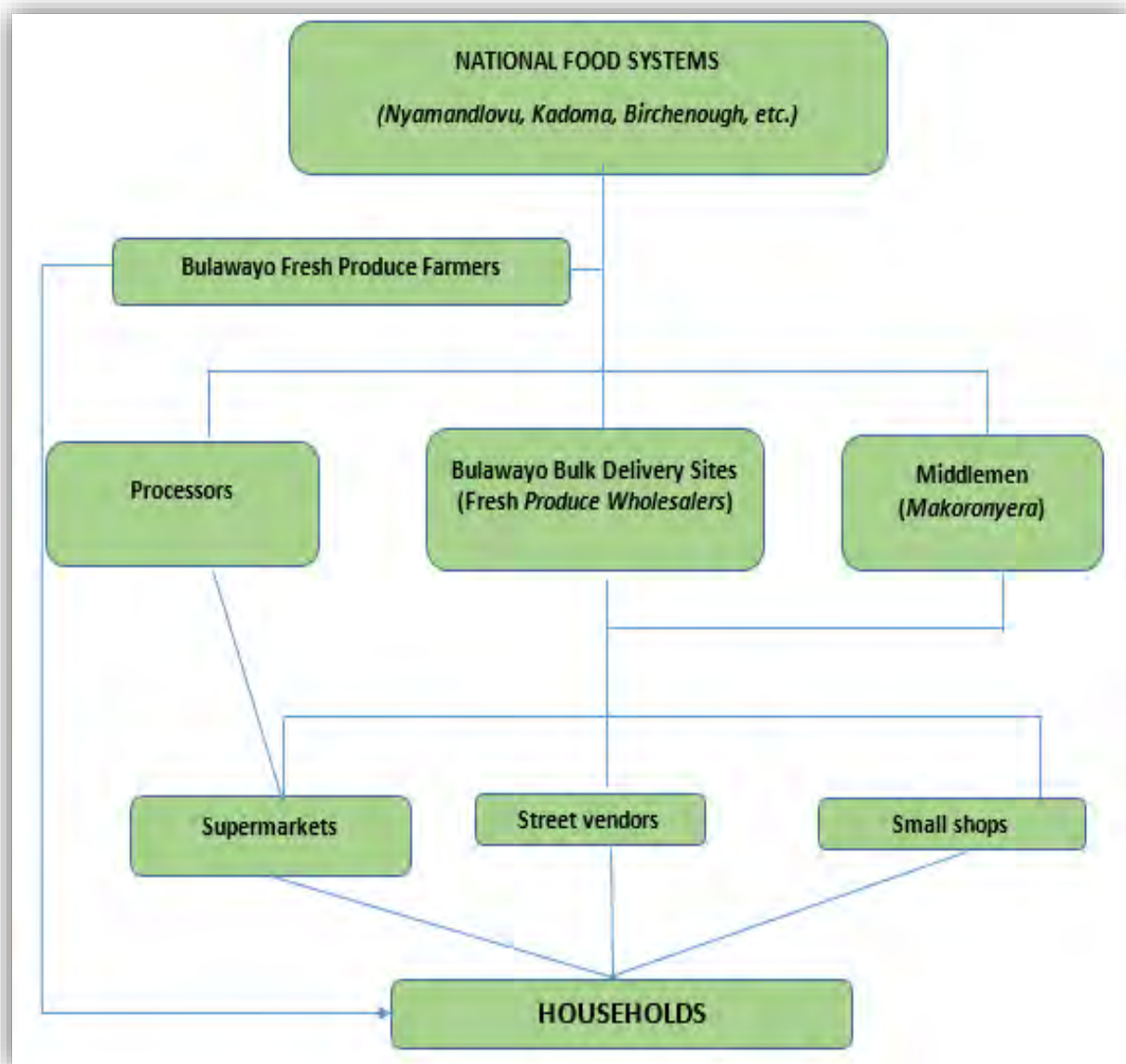


Figure 6.15: Fresh Produce Flows within the Bulawayo Food System

Source: Author's Own Creation

This section has mapped the fresh produce (tomatoes and leafy vegetables) flow and given that these are usually eaten together with meat the following section maps the flow of meat within the food system of Bulawayo.

6.3.3 Tracing meat flows within the Bulawayo food system

This part of the chapter discusses the flow of meat within the Bulawayo food system. The focus is on beef and chicken as respondents indicated that these are the most popular amongst the residents of low-income households. The discussion begins by scanning national level sources of meat for the Bulawayo food system before delving into meat production within the city.

6.3.3.1 Meat flows from the national food system into the Bulawayo Food System

A significant amount of meat, that is, both beef and chicken consumed in Bulawayo does not originate from within the precincts of Bulawayo. For chicken, the researcher observed that in major supermarkets there were five popular frozen chicken brands sold. These include Irvines Chickens (Irvines Farm, Chitungwiza), Surrey Chickens (Surrey Group in Marondera), Baba Johns (FairHill farm, Gweru) and Drummond Chickens.

According to the Divisional Head of the Environmental Health Section in Bulawayo City Council, the chicken is transported into the city in refrigerated trucks owned or hired by the chicken farmers. The chickens are distributed to butcheries, supermarkets and meat shops within the city mostly as frozen chicken pieces commonly packaged in 1-2kg packs. There are also full, half and quarter chickens that are also sold in a frozen state in these shops.

There are also interesting contract farming arrangements. The most cited one by key informants was the one run by Sondela Ranching where the company trains communities in rural areas surrounding Bulawayo and residents of Bulawayo on chicken rearing. They then provide chicks and other inputs for the successful and willing graduates of the training programme to rear chickens on a contract farming arrangement.

As for beef, most of the beef consumed in Bulawayo is mostly from surrounding beef producing provinces of Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North, Masvingo and Midlands. According to the City Economic Development Officer some of the beef originates from commercial ranches both small and large. He noted that these ranchers also buy cattle from communal and resettlement farmers where there are fattened in feedlots in and around Bulawayo. Communal and resettlement farmers in their own right also contribute beef supplies directly to Bulawayo through bringing their cattle for to auctions held within or around the city.

6.3.3.2 Meat production within Bulawayo

Chicken production at a commercial scale and at a micro level is very common within the city of Bulawayo. For large scale commercial producers of chicken there are entities like Big Brother chickens, Drummond and Sondela Ranching amongst others. These like their counterparts at the national level rear broiler chickens which they sell as frozen chicken pieces.

Other than large scale commercial growers of chicken there is also extensive backyard chicken rearing in Bulawayo. Some of it is legal whereas part of it is done illegally. The latter is especially true for low-income high-density suburbs of which Ward 28 falls under. Bulawayo City Council officials indicated that they were aware that there were residents who reared chickens in their backyards without the necessary permission from the local authority.

Beef production within the city is limited given that it requires big land sizes in most instances. However, there are large scale commercial beef producers within the city such as Mbokodo and Pilosoff. They have feedlots and hence their cattle do not require extensive velds for pasturing. Bulawayo city council also has Aiselby farm which according to the City Economic Development officer has a herd of cattle of over 500. He pointed out that they sell excess cattle annually as they do not want the herd to exceed 600. The reason is that there are water challenges. The Council official indicated that the Farm has a capacity to host 2 500 herd of cattle, but they have had to make do with about 20% of that capacity owing to water challenges.

The meat that is produced in and around Bulawayo undergoes some processing before it is distributed to retailers. Thus, processing of meat is discussed in the following section.

6.3.3.3 Meat processing and distribution in and around Bulawayo

According to the Divisional Head of the Environmental Health Section of the Bulawayo City Council, all meat that is consumed in Bulawayo should be processed in areas certified by the local authority to be hygienic and safe. He further indicated that the distribution of meat required a cold storage chain. He noted that commercial farmers generally complied with the Council statutes as both their cattle and chickens were processed in abattoirs. Some of the notable abattoirs identified by key informants include Grills, Umvutsha, York, Heads and Hooves, Bellevue and Montana Meats. The processed meat is then transported by refrigerated trucks to meat wholesalers and retailers.

It was also established that some of the smallholder farmers and individuals also made use of these abattoirs for a fee. However, the Divisional Head of the Environmental Health Section indicated that some of the individual and smallholder farmers slaughter their cattle in undesignated areas and smuggle it into the city to sell to unscrupulous retailers or street vendors.

With respect to chicken, a similar pattern can be discerned. Large scale commercial farmers make use of abattoirs which they own. These include Sondelani Ranching, Drummond, Texas amongst others. Again, the processed chicken is transported to wholesalers in refrigerated trucks. However, because there are a lot of backyard chicken farmers, the Council official responsible for environmental health indicated that those doing this also slaughtered their chickens within their yards in unapproved spaces thereby endangering the consumers.

After processing the meat is taken to meat wholesalers and retailers who are discussed in the following section.

6.3.3.4 Mapping meat retail in Bulawayo

Processed beef carcasses are transported to wholesalers and retailers most of whom are located in the CBD. The major wholesalers/retailers cited by key informants include Head and Hooves, Texas, Bulawayo Meat Market, Imbizo Meats and Rolling Ribs amongst others. According to the City Economic Development Officer, it is mostly from these entities that residents and suburban retailers buy their meat from. However, some of the butcheries operating in the residential areas source their meat directly from smallholder farmers in the rural areas or use a network of middlemen (Mr Hove, Interview, 09/04/21). In Ward 28, 8 stand-alone butcheries were identified and 2 more were also identified as departments of two stores. Interestingly, at the time of the fieldwork the partially serviced part of Ward 28 did not have a single butchery meaning to say residents had to source their meat from the CBD or in the area of the Ward serviced by butcheries or even resort to informal traders.

As noted in the foregoing, chicken is processed and packaged mostly as frozen chicken pieces in 1 and 2kg packs which can have a shelf life of years. However, with respect to chickens reared in the backyard, residents indicated that these are sold live or are dressed and sold as whole frozen chickens to other community members. In an FGD of vendors it was revealed that all parts of a chicken are sold and there is a ready market for everything including intestines, chicken feet, gizzards, livers, necks and heads. They indicated that the only thing that they throw away are the feathers.

There is also a thriving informal meat market in Ward 28. The researcher observed that street traders sell meat on the street where they will be having small chillers or cooler boxes. The researcher observed that they sell all sorts of meat including chicken and chicken parts, beef, tripe and casings, fish, goat meat and pork. Unfortunately, none of the vendors was willing to have their meat photographed as they feared the research team was a reconnaissance team for the local authority.

In an FGD for vendors, they argued that they have a niche in the meat market because of some of the reasons listed in Box 6.5.

Box 6.5: Vendors' Views on Street meat trade

1. Prices lower than in the formal establishments
2. Have no minimum quantities
3. Have a quick turnover in terms of sales and hence always sell tastier meat than formal establishments.
4. Convenient trading spots whereas some of the formal establishments are kilometres away
5. Provide a wide selection of meat choices
6. Flexible trading hours
7. Open to consume now and pay later schemes
8. Have social capital within the community

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

Another avenue of meat sales is the online platform. One of the FGD participants indicated that:

We are now surviving on Zimbabweans abroad. I sell chickens and some of my major clients are diasporans in South Africa, UK, Australia, Namibia, Botswana and many other countries. I advertise on WhatsApp and Facebook and then you get messages requesting you to make deliveries to a certain address. My chickens do not last because of these guys (Male FGD Participant, 10/04/21).

These are therefore the main retail channels for meat and to sum up figure 6.16 schematically maps meat flows within the city food system.

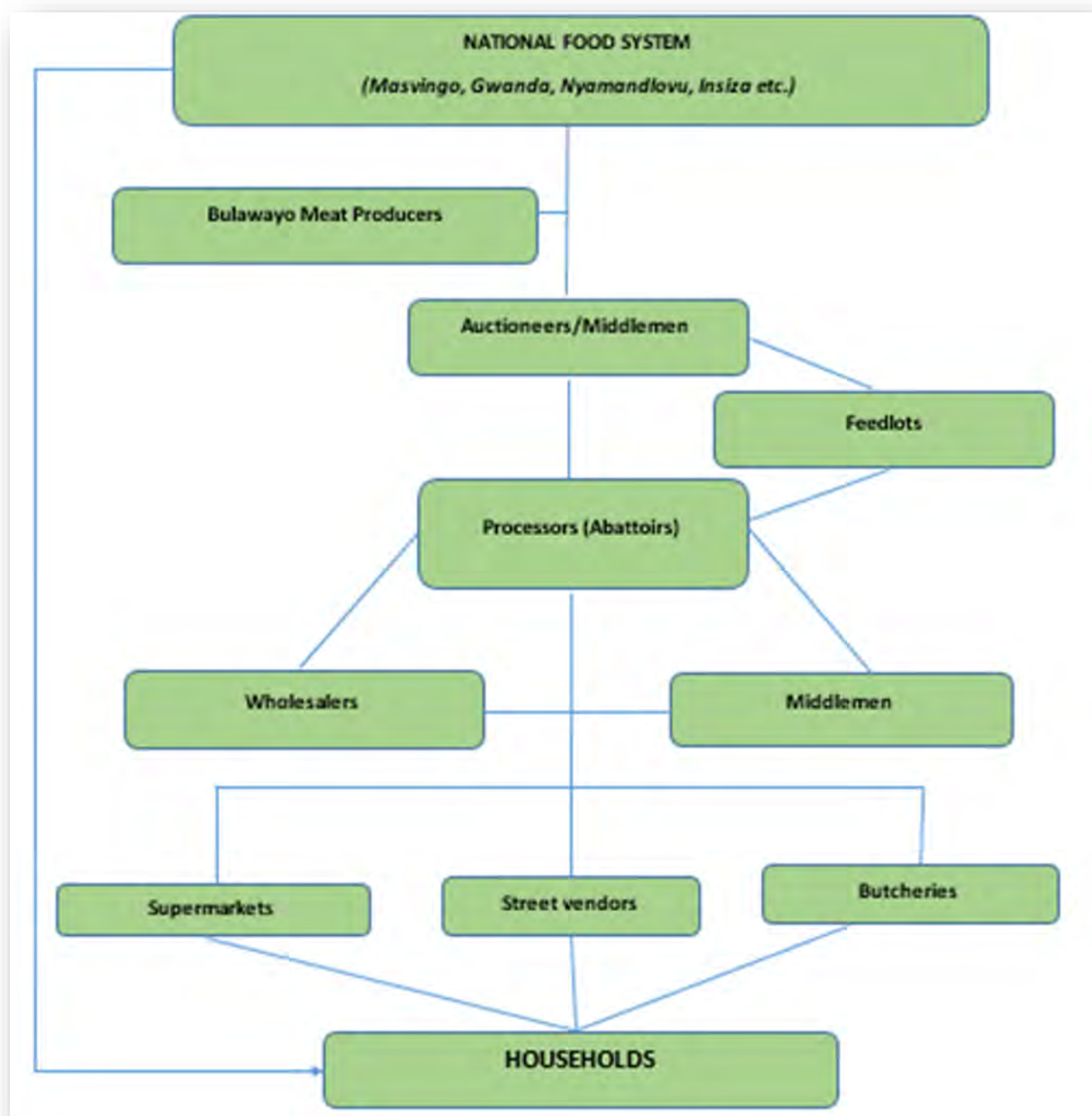


Figure 6.16: Meat Flows in Bulawayo

Source: Author's own creation based on field data

This subsection has dwelt on meat pathways that are a key feature of the Bulawayo food system. However, because of a poorly performing economy this important source of protein is at times inaccessible to some community members. Such community members then resort to alternatives to get the required protein. One of these alternatives is that of pulses represented by dried beans which is the subject of the next section.

6.3.4 Locating sources of pulses (beans) in the Bulawayo food system

Pulses in general and beans in this case are an important part of diet of residents of low-income areas in Bulawayo. Thus, this part of the discussion explores the pathways of beans through the ‘farm-fork principle’. As such it begins by mapping the national level sources of beans.

6.3.4.1 Getting sugar beans from the national to the Bulawayo food system

Basing on information discerned from multiple sources beans in Zimbabwe are mainly grown in Gokwe, Middle Sabi, Nyanga, Birchenough, Beitbridge West, Middle Sabi and parts of Marondera. In Bulawayo, FGD participants indicated that they do grow sugar beans, albeit in small quantities for subsistence. The study did not get any information pertaining to commercial sugar bean production in Bulawayo. Sugar beans produced in the country are sold to various food manufacturers in Zimbabwe including those in Bulawayo who go on to process and add value to the produce.

6.3.4.2 Processing, distribution and retailing of sugar beans

According to USAID (2014) sugar beans are sold to entities such as the GMB, National Foods and Jasbro amongst others. These companies usually package the sugar beans in branded plastic packs of 500g- 1kg. Some of the brands identified by the researcher in supermarket shelves include Jasbro, Red seal, Pro Brands, Meso and others.

The researcher also observed that trade in cry sugar beans is very widespread within the informal market. In the CBD there are street traders who buy the beans in bulk from outside Bulawayo and sell the beans to vendors who operate in dry markets where a variety of dry foods are sold. These vendors sell quantities as little as a teacup to as big as a 20l bucket.

This brief subsection has scanned the sugar bean supply chain nationally and its connections with the Bulawayo food system. The information is summarised in figure 6.17 below.

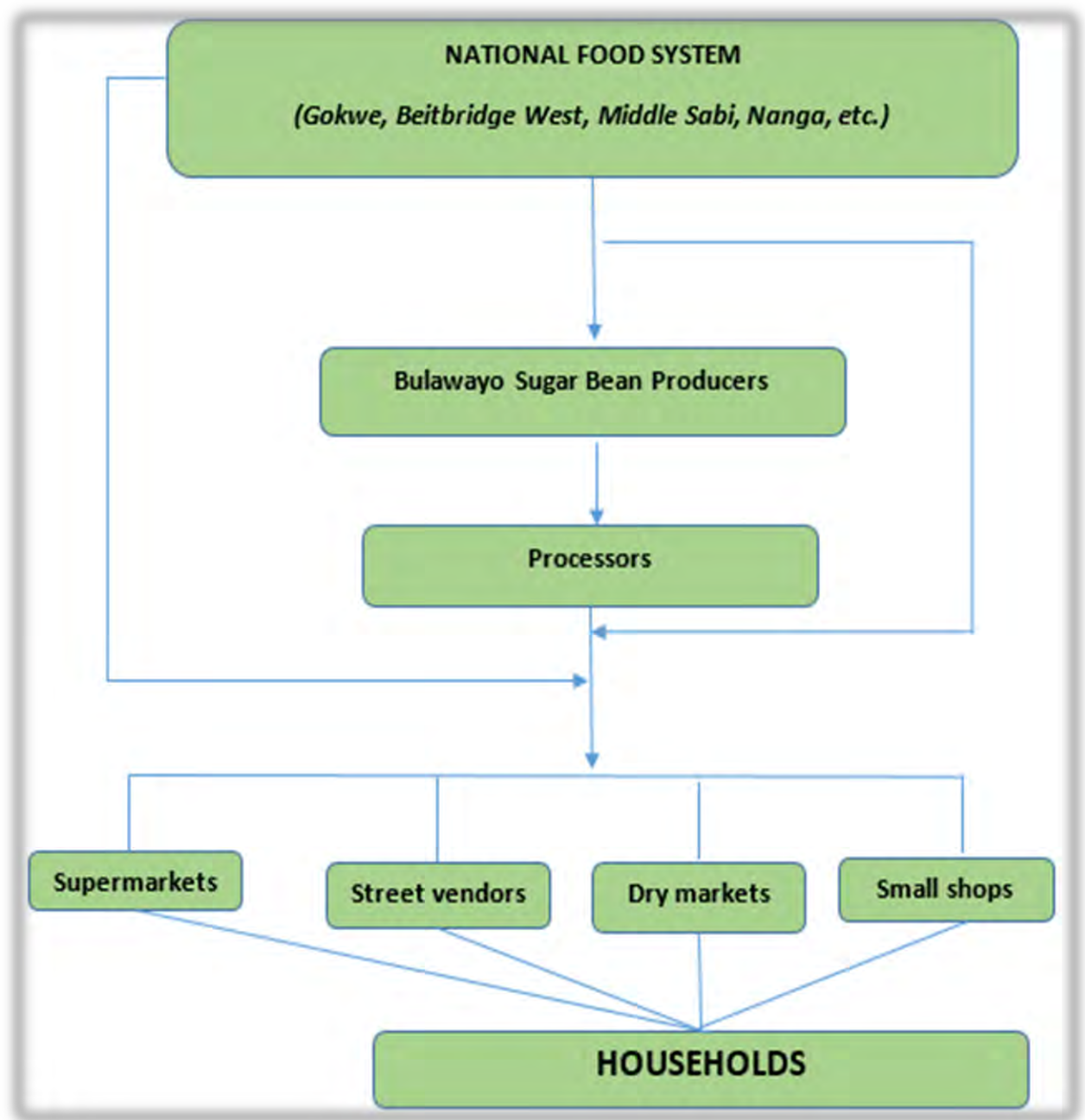


Figure 6.17: Sugar bean Flows within the Bulawayo Food System

Source: Author's own creation based on field data

Having mapped the sugar bean pathways and their connection to the Bulawayo food system, the next section maps pathways of wheat/flour as the last food item of interest.

6.3.5 Wheat/flour flows and the Bulawayo food system

According to Mutambara et al. (2013, p.23) “[w]heat is the second most essential strategic food crop in Zimbabwe after maize.” Study participants also concurred with this assertion as they pointed out that wheat was an important part of their diets as it provided flour which is used to

prepare a number of foods usually taken with beverages. In spite of its importance, the country has nonetheless been struggling to meet demand. For instance, from an all-time peak of 325 000 metric tonnes in 1990. Wheat production levels have been going down to a low of 180 000 metric tonnes in 2021 (Index Mundi, 2021). These developments are worrying on the backdrop of an average wheat consumption level of around 300 000 metric tonnes over the last five years (Index Mundi, 2021). To make up for the deficit it means the country has to source from the international food system.

6.3.5.1 Wheat flour and the international food system

As indicated in the foregoing, Zimbabwe imports a significant chunk of its wheat requirements. The PDC and the National Bakers Association of Zimbabwe indicated that most of the wheat that is imported into the country is imported by government and private millers from countries such as Germany, United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa amongst others. Like the maize supply chain discussed in the earlier parts of the chapter, there is also a portion of flour that is smuggled through by private individuals using *omalayitsha* and haulage trucks that ply the intra-regional route. This was revealed by vendors in their FGD. However, wheat imports are not the only source of wheat in Zimbabwe. Some of it is produced locally as detailed below.

6.3.5.2 Mapping national sources of wheat/flour

Most of the wheat grown in Zimbabwe comes from “...the Commercial Farmer’s Union (CFU) through the Crop Producers Association (CPA), Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU), Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union (ZCFU) and Zimbabwe National Farmers Union (ZNFU) (Mutambara et al., 2013, p.26). This, the authors argue is because of the high production costs associated with wheat. However, there is also a contribution by smallholder farmers especially in various irrigation schemes around the country and in wetlands, mainly for subsistence. These assertions were supported by the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province PDC who noted that rural districts around Bulawayo such as Umguza, Matobo, Insiza and Bubi were involved in wheat production. Furthermore, a representative of a leading Food Conglomerate indicated that their company has contract growing arrangements with some smallholder farmers around the city of Bulawayo (Interview, Operations Manager, 22 April 2021).

In terms of marketing, like maize, wheat is a controlled product meaning to say it is the government which sets producer prices and buys through the GMB. The wheat is transported by rail or haulage trucks to GMB silos dotted around the country including Bulawayo. This is when the processing and distribution stages ensue.

6.3.5.3 Processing and distribution of wheat

Milling companies collect required wheat stocks from GMB depots in Bulawayo and transport them to their milling plants. A representative of the National Bakers Association of Zimbabwe (NBAZ) indicated that there are a number of wheat millers in Bulawayo which include National Foods, Blue Ribbon, Bulateke and Evergold amongst others. The millers process wheat into bread flour which according to NBAZ is largely consumed by the two main bakers in Bulawayo, which are Lobel's bread and Bakers Inn. Other than these two there are numerous in-store bakeries in some of the city's supermarkets (Interview, NBAZ representative, 21 April 2021). After the processing of wheat into flour and its subsequent manufacturing into bread, the bread is transported to retailers using mid-sized trucks and vans (Interview NBAZ representative, 21 April 2021). However, some of the flour is sold to retailers and is transported using haulage trucks.

6.3.5.4 Mapping the flour/bread retail environment

The flour/bread retail environment is quite diverse as the other food items that have already been mapped. Flour is sold mostly in 1kg, 2kg and 5kg packs. The researcher observed that supermarkets in Bulawayo stock various brands of flour in these quantities. These include Gloria (National Foods), Red Seal (National Foods), Blue Ribbon Flour (Blue Ribbon) and Evergold (Evergold) amongst others. The flour comes in different forms, with some as self-raising, some plain and some as cake flour. These brands of flour were in both formal and informal retail outlets.

In Ward 28, all the supermarkets, superettes and formally registered tuckshops had flour albeit in varying product ranges and quantities. In the informal sector, the researcher observed that traders generally sold one brand and a significant number of informal traders had South African brands of flour such as Snowflake and Sasko flour.

Bread retail in Bulawayo is dominated by three brands which are Lobel's bread, Proton and Bakers Inn. As indicated in the foregoing, Lobel's and Bakers Inn have bakeries in Bulawayo. Proton bread is from Marondera and the company only established a distribution depot in Bulawayo (Interview, NBAZ representative, 21 April 2021). Of interest to note is that the researcher was tracking the price of bread and the three brands were almost always at par with respect to their pricing. As of June 2021 the three brands were retailing at approximately \$ZWL94 per loaf. However, supermarkets like TM Pick n Pay retailed their unbranded in-house baked bread at approximately \$ZWL83.

There is a lot of bread being retailed in by different types of informal sector traders. The Divisional Head of the Environmental Health Section in the Bulawayo City Council indicated that they had noted a disturbing concern where bread manufacturers were distributing bread to illegal retailers at the expense of registered ones. He pointed out that when they engaged the bakeries, they indicated that formal retail concerns sold their bread on a commission basis and if they failed to clear stocks, the losses accrued in their books. Furthermore, these formal retailers remit revenue from sales after some time. However, with street traders revenue collections are done daily and they pay in cash which is a plus as it enabled them to buy forex from the parallel market.

The information discussed in this subsection is summarised in figure 6.18 below:

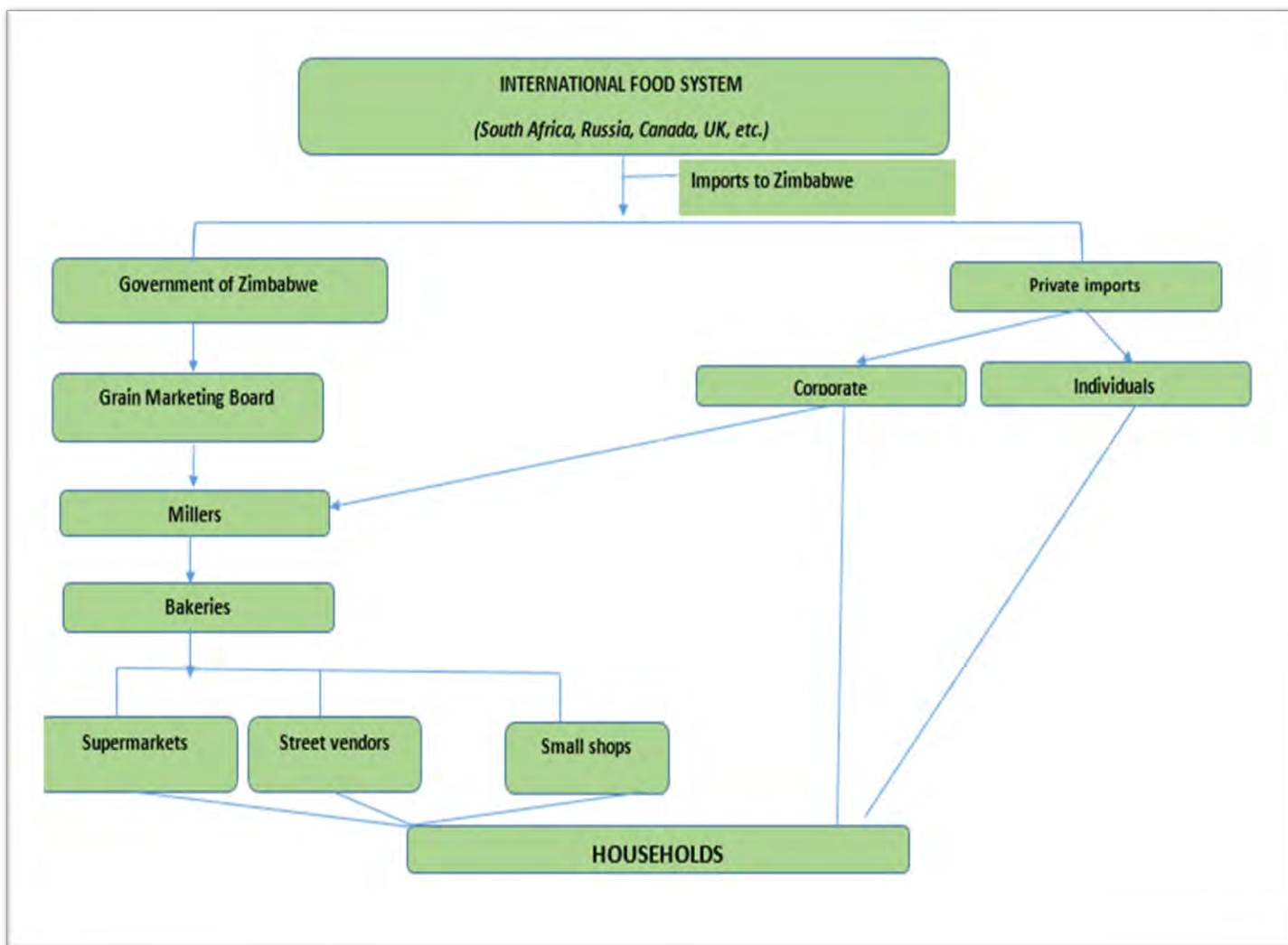


Figure 6.18: Wheat/Flour Supply Chain

Having extensively mapped the Bulawayo food system using the five food item list critical in the diets of low income households, the following section interrogates the food system and food security connections in light of the mapping done.

6.4 Exploring food system dynamics and food security in Bulawayo

This part of the chapter examines how the food system configuration just described affects aggregate food security of Bulawayo. The examination is informed by Ericksen's (2008) food systems conceptual framework described at length in chapter two. To briefly recap, the framework points out that the food system activities discussed in the foregoing lead to certain food security outcomes. That is, they affect one, some or all of the food security dimensions of availability, access and utilisation. However, equally important are feedback loops between the natural environment and food security outcomes on one hand and the social welfare system and food security outcomes on the other. Therefore, to accomplish this, the discussion begins by interrogating the key features of the food system environment based on the current study's findings and examines how the environment affects Bulawayo's food security. Subsequently, the discussion will examine how sources of food, processing and distribution dynamics and lastly the retail environment as espoused in the foregoing affects Bulawayo's food security.

6.4.1 The food system environment: bio-geophysical and socio-economic features and food security

The Bulawayo food system environment is typified by an adverse agro-ecological natural environment which was described in sufficient detail in chapter 4. Suffice to point out at this stage that Bulawayo is situated in a semi-arid region typified by periodic droughts. This on its own curtails production related food system activities in terms of range and magnitude of agricultural produce that can be grown within the city. This partly explains why even on good rainfall seasons the city remains dependent on transfers from other areas of the country as was shown in the discussion on maize flows within the food system. Furthermore, as was highlighted in the foregoing, the local authority has had to cut its agricultural production levels owing to recurrent droughts.

The periodic droughts also contribute indirectly to food insecurity in the City in the sense that as was shown most of the respondents rely on purchased food and hence financial resources are a necessity. In order to gain access to financial resources one has to be active in the community's economic processes and activities. However, one's participation in the

economic activities is also contingent on the availability of opportunities. In the case of Bulawayo, a number of scholars have argued that the city's economic woes are to a large extent related to its water crisis (Madonko, 2016; Musemwa, 2006; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2011). The Bulawayo Provincial Development Coordinator (PDC) also shared the same sentiments pointing out that:

the shortage of water within the Province is one thing that keeps me awake at night because I know that without water Bulawayo will die. But the President [Mnangagwa] has said Bulawayo must not and will not die and as such has given us a target to connect the Gwayi-Shangani dam to the City's water supply system by the end of this year (Interview Bulawayo PDC, 10 April 2021).

The findings of this study indicate that a great majority of people within the city are unemployed and those who are employed or economically active one way or the other have very low incomes. Resultantly, most people are in poverty in general and food insecure more specifically.

The agro-ecological conditions obtaining in Bulawayo are however conducive for cattle ranching which at least helps in ensuring steady meat flows within the food system and in the process helping households to be food secure to a certain extent. However, the challenge is that the city has run out of land and there is no space for people to farm within the city. This is corroborated by ZimVac (2020) which points out that 66.7% of respondents indicated that they were not growing crops in Bulawayo because of lack of access to land. Similarly, a representative of BCC's Town Planning department indicated that, "land will never be enough, there are quite a number of players, and it is a highly contested area where everyone wants land for different uses. So we can never say there is enough."

The shortage of land is partly explained by a growing population which is now approximately 800 000 people. This element of the food system is a double-edged sword in that on one side it can present opportunities for those who need markets for their produce and products whereas on the other side it creates resource limitation challenges. This is apparent in the study's case of Ward 28 where a greater part of the Ward does not have any access to essential services as pointed out by the ward councillor who said, "as I have said Cowdray park is a new baby, there are a lot of needs, we don't have shops, infrastructure I can put it at 40%..." (Interview, Ward Councillor, 31 January 2021). So, in this case the geo-physical environment can have negative impacts on food security as such areas generally do not attract investment.

6.4.2 Sources of food and food security in Bulawayo

The sources of food play a huge role in a city's food security status. The previous section has demonstrated that Bulawayo is largely dependent on national and international food systems in order to meet its food requirements and hence assure food security. Dependency on international food systems for the supply of wheat and maize makes the city vulnerable to food insecurity. This is because these systems are vulnerable to trade policy related shocks. Furthermore, these systems are prone to other shocks like the current COVID-19 pandemic. With hard lockdowns, moving food across long distances becomes difficult and expensive if not impossible. Resultantly, such food systems expose people to food insecurity.

Another element that links the Bulawayo food system to the international food system are remittances from Zimbabweans abroad. Whilst these remittances provide a safety net in an environment devoid of economic opportunities, they are nonetheless also subject to the same vulnerabilities associated with long chain food flows such as those that characterise international food systems. An encouraging feature of the Bulawayo food system and its links to the international food system has been its adaptive and innovative capacity. This is exemplified by its shift from physical transactions to online ones. This has ensured that remittances continue to play their role in ensuring food security in Bulawayo.

Study findings point out the fact that food smuggling is rife. Whilst the food is helping address deficits in the city, there are threats to the food utilisation element of food security which has food safety as one of its critical elements. When food is smuggled critical organs of the state that are supposed to ensure that all the food that enters the country is safe for human consumption are bypassed hence endangering the lives of citizens.

Food systems anchored on imports of staple foods are also subject to shocks related to forex shortages especially in a country like Zimbabwe where the economy has for a long time been underperforming. For instance, in December 2018 the country's biggest milling company had to close shop because the government was failing to avail forex for the import of raw materials. The closure resulted in serious bread shortages.

The interlinkages between Bulawayo's food system and the national food system is helpful in that it addresses supply deficits. However, the national food system like its international counterpart when vulnerable to certain shocks negatively affects food security outcomes in the city. For instance, looking at food sources, rural-urban transfers are now of very insignificant levels. Respondents indicated that while they still maintain social ties with

their rural areas they are no longer getting any food from the rural areas largely because of climate variability and change.

6.4.3 Processing and distribution

The processing and distribution activities within the food system are characterised by a certain level of centralisation. For instance, looking at fresh produce, the bulk delivery sites are in the CBD. This lack of decentralisation affects access to certain foods by certain segments of the population. This leads to congestion in the areas designated as markets and food security becomes a challenge when emergencies such as COVID-19 occur. With hard lockdowns, most residents failed to gain access into the CBD thereby denying them access to certain foodstuffs. It is thus not surprising that at the onset of the Pandemic the local authority tried to decentralise some of these entities as shown by the notice in Box 6.6.

Box 6.6: BCC Public Notice on Decongestion of the CBD


CITY OF BULAWAYO

PUBLIC NOTICE: BULK DELIVERY SITES FOR FRESH FARM PRODUCE SITES, VENDING SITES AND ALLOCATION OF VENDING BAYS

The City of Bulawayo would like to advise members of the public that, following the announcement of a 21 day lockdown period to combat the spread of COVID-19 by His Excellency, the President E. D. Mnangagwa on 27th March 2020, the City has reconfigured fresh farm produce wholesale markets and vending bays. The move has seen the decongestion of the City Centre by spreading the fresh farm produce wholesalers closer to their clients in the suburban locations as well as minimizing the unnecessary movement of vendors into town to access markets.

1. BULK DELIVERY SITES

Council has identified the initial six (6) bulk delivery sites which are ready to receive deliveries. These are Emganwini Mupedzanhamo, Tshabalala Market, Pumula Old Market, Magwegwe North Market, Cowdray Park Terminus Market and New Magwegwe Market.

However, there are other bulk delivery sites which have been identified but still require appropriate sanitary infrastructure or engagements with private owners before these markets become operational. These sites are Nkulumane Sekusile, Nkulumane Complex, Lobengula Komron Market, Burombo Beer Garden, Nkunzi Beer Garden, Luvuvu Terminus Site, Entumbane Complex, Entumbane Flea Market, Njube Market, Mabutweni Market, Makokoba Market and Makokoba Efusini.

2. VENDING SITES

The city has a total of 144 vending sites with a capacity of 15 353 vending bays located in 29 wards of the City of Bulawayo. 8 465 or 55% of the available bays have been allocated while 6 888 or 45% remain unallocated.

However, six (6) vending sites located in Ward 1, CBD, along 5th Avenue with a total of 1 062 bays have been abolished and relocated to other unallocated bays in other sites among the 29 wards. Furthermore, an additional 450 bays located at 8th Avenue, Tower Block Khotlhamo Weekend and Holiday vending, have been abolished and relocated to suburban sites. It must be noted that the city is currently redesigning the rest of the vending bays to comply with COVID-19 health requirements including social distancing.

Source: (BCC, 2020)

The processing of maize too demonstrates concentration of power in one entity, the central government through the GMB. By controlling the buying and selling of maize at times

the government distorts the market which end up creating opportunities for arbitrage. It is such opportunities that have led the politically connected to abuse maize meant for the poor.

6.4.4 The retail environment and food security

The food flows described in the foregoing show that the food retail environment is quite diverse ranging from street trader right up to national and international supermarket chains. Thus, the retail environment is characterised by duality. Despite the existence of this duality, supermarkets were seen to be taking a dominant role in the food markets. On one hand this can be viewed in positive light as supermarkets have built a reputation of providing a wide range of foods which adhere to health protocols and are usually offered at acceptable pricing. However, on the other hand supermarket presence in suburban areas especially those inhabited by low-income earners tends to negatively affect the income sources of low-income earners who survive on informal trading. As such, the duality in the retail market works to the benefit of the end consumer.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter set to map the food system of Bulawayo through tracking the flows of five food items which are considered essential elements of the diet of low-income households in Bulawayo. These are maize/mealie-meal, fresh produce (leafy vegetables and tomatoes), beans, meat (beef and chicken) and wheat/flour. However, given that food systems are influenced and in turn influence the social environment, the chapter began by giving an overview of demographic features of the study respondents.

The food mapping exercise revealed that the Bulawayo food system is largely dependent on other food systems of a higher scale, that is national and international food systems. Whilst this helps cover for deficits, it is nonetheless subject to a number of vulnerabilities. Some of these include trade policy changes, occurrence of hazards which impede the smooth transportation of food from one area to another as is the case with COVID-19 related restrictions in movement.

Even though the food that is consumed within Bulawayo is largely coming from outside the city boundaries, it was shown that processing normally takes place within the precincts of the city which ensures Bulawayo residents have physical access to food without travelling long distances. However, processing and distribution of food especially fresh produce has historically been concentrated in the CBD which is not easily accessible for some poor households.

The bio-geographical and demographic characteristics of Bulawayo have been shown to be critical elements of the city's food system leading to certain food security outcomes. High levels of poverty within the city, unemployment, infrastructural deficits all play a role in affecting food system outcomes.

Having mapped the Bulawayo food system, the next chapter proceeds to examine how urban governance affects household level food security outcomes.

Chapter 7 : AN EXAMINATION OF URBAN GOVERNANCE PROCESSES AND STRUCTURES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter builds from the concluding section of the preceding chapter which provided broad brush strokes of how the configuration of the food system in Bulawayo broadly affects food security within the city. This chapter further interrogates this relationship by examining how urban governance processes and structures affect household level food security. This is in fulfilment of study objective ‘e’ which seeks to investigate and assess how urban governance processes and structures in Bulawayo shape food availability, access, utilisation and stability at the household level. To this end, this chapter presents findings relating to food security as discerned through food security proxy indicators such as the Household Food Insecurity Access Score (HFIAS), Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) and the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS). Furthermore, the discussion on food security is also guided by its four pillars, which are availability, access, utilisation and stability. The chapter investigates the intersectionalities between urban governance processes and structures on one hand and the household as a key food system actor on the other hand. As such it examines how urban governance processes and structures either facilitate or constrain the household and its activities in so far as food security is concerned.

In terms of organisation, after this brief introduction the following section profiles the sampled households with respect to their food security status. This is followed by an examination of the relationship between household socio-economic characteristics and its food security status focusing on average household income, main source of income and proportion of income spent on food. The relationship between size of a household and its food security status is also investigated. Then the final part of the chapter grapples with the intersectionalities obtaining between select urban governance elements and household food security.

7.2 Profiling household food security in Bulawayo’s ward 28

In this section households in Bulawayo’s Ward 28 are profiled with respect to their food security status. The profiling is done using HFIAS, MAHFP and HDDS indicators.

7.2.1 Household food security status through the lens of the Household Food Insecurity Access Score

HFIAS provides a leeway to measure food insecurity within communities. HFIAS scores range from 0 to 27 with the former pointing to a food secure household and the latter indicating the highest level of food insecurity. Thus, the higher the HFIAS score the more food insecure the household would be. Study findings point out the mean HFIAS for Ward 28 is 9.4 whereas the median for the same households is 9. These findings are in sync with those of other studies notwithstanding the different time periods in which the surveys were carried out. For instance, in a 2012 African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) survey in poor neighbourhoods of selected African cities, Harare had a mean HFIAS of 9.6; Windhoek 9.3; Maputo 10.4; Gaborone 10.8, Maseru 12.8 amongst a host of other cities (Tawodzera et al., 2016). Similarly, food insecurity levels are very high in ward 28 as was the case in most of the 11 cities survey in the AFSUN survey. Figure 7.1 summaries findings pertaining to household food insecurity in ward 28.

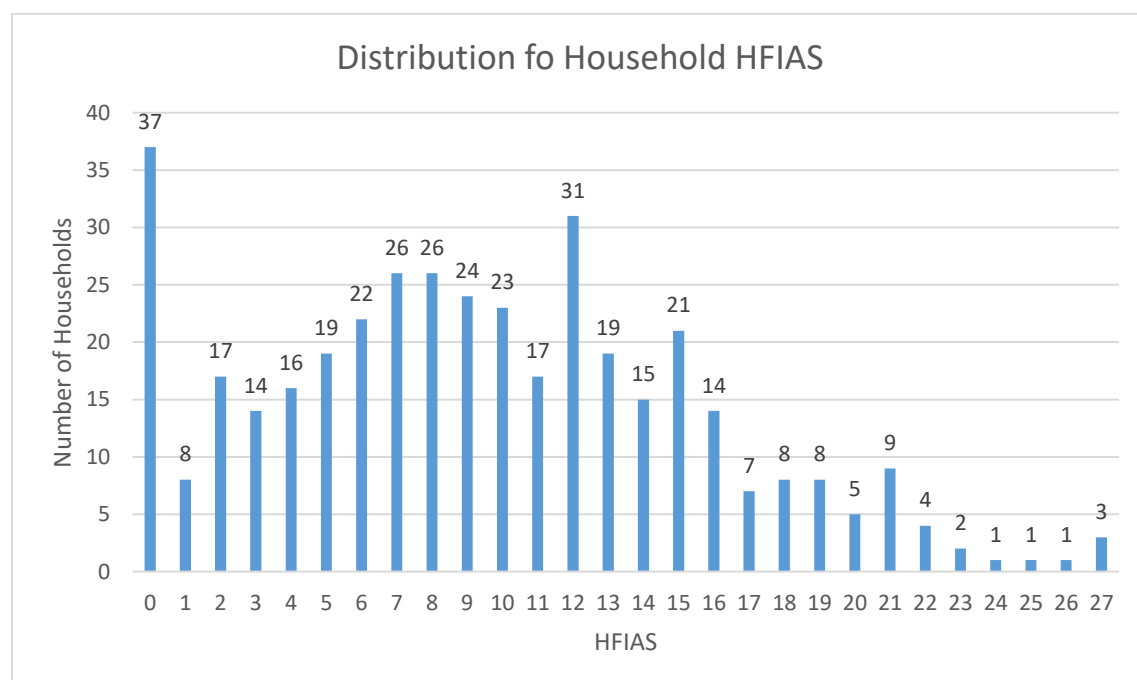


Figure 7.1: Distribution of Household Food Insecurity Access Scores

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Figure 7.1 indicates that households are distributed across the entire range of HFIAS, that is, they range from 0 right up to 27. The modal HFIAS score is 0 as 37 (9%) of the households indicated that they were food secure and hence had not at any point in the month preceding the survey experienced any food insecurity. However, as can be seen from figure 7.1, a significant

number of the households (189; 47%) have a HFIAS score which is above the mean score of 9.4. This points to high food insecurity levels within the ward. However, on the positive side is that there are relatively fewer households with HFIAS scores of 20 or more suggesting the prevalence of milder forms of food insecurity.

The pervasiveness of food insecurity is further demonstrated through findings summarised in table 7.1. Table 7.1 shows the distribution of households according to their food insecurity experiences. These experiences range from the milder ones related to anxiety about household food supply through the moderate ones related to reduction in quantities of food consumed right up to the most severe ones related to insufficient food intake and its physical consequences (Coates, Swindale & Bilinsky (2007).

Table 7.1: Household Food Insecurity Experiences

Nature of food Insecurity experienced in the past 4 weeks	Percentage Households experiencing it	
	Yes	No
Lack of adequate food	76	24
Eating Less Preferred Foods	80	20
Limited Variety of Foods	81	19
Eating Food not liked	75	25
Smaller Meals than Preferred	60	40
Fewer Meals in a Day	67	33
No food of any kind to eat	73	27
Went to bed hungry	15	85
Whole day and Night without food	11	89

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

n=398

Table 7.1 indicates that most of the households experience the milder to moderate forms of food insecurity as they experience mostly anxiety related to food supply and quality and quantity related issues with a few households experiencing the physically debilitating forms of food insecurity. For instance, 81% of the households indicated limiting the variety of foods consumed within their households, 80% eating less preferred foods and 76% lacking adequate amounts of food amongst others. On the extreme are households that indicated experiencing hunger by going without food for 24h hours (11%) and going to bed hungry (15%).

Figure 7.2 gives further information on household food insecurity experiences by indicating the frequency of occurrence of household food insecurity experiences across the range of rarely through sometimes right up to often. The highlights of the findings include the

fact that of the households which indicated eating fewer meals in a day, 44% of them indicated doing so often whereas those who go to bed hungry, most (57%) indicated rarely experiencing that. For those households indicating lack of adequate food, 36% of them pointed out that this happens often whereas 38% said this happens sometimes.

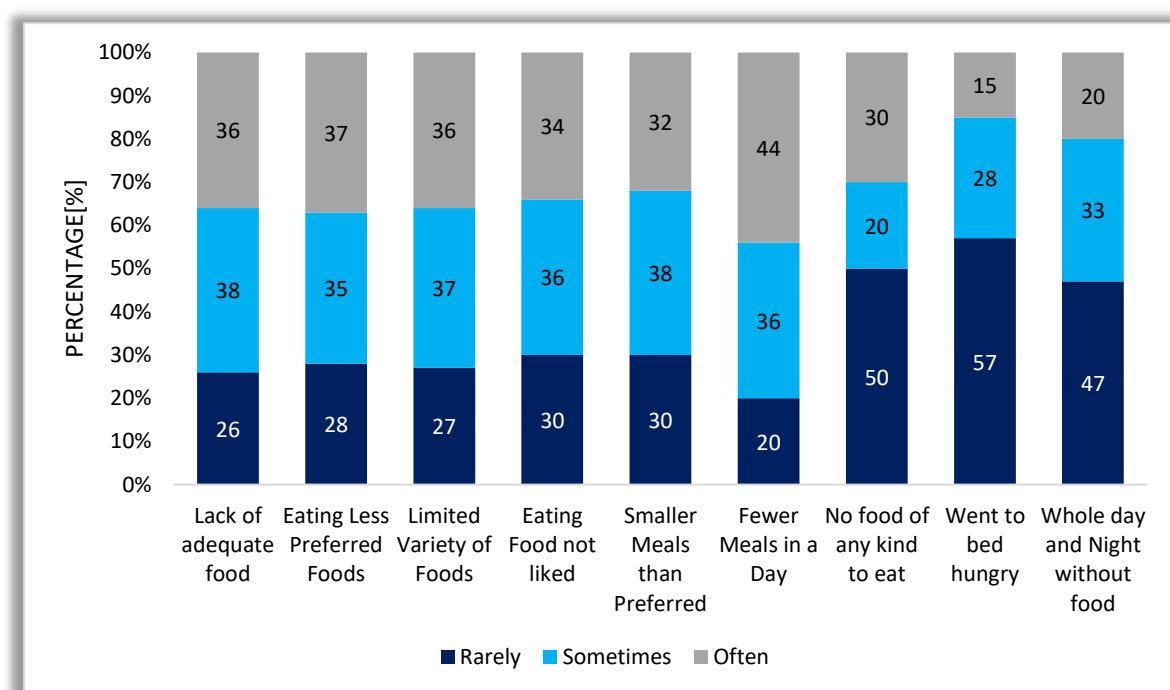


Figure 7.2: Frequency of Household Food Insecurity Experiences

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Whilst the HFIAS gives an indication of food insecurity levels within a community it nonetheless does so through a continuum of a scale ranging from 0 to 27 without necessarily categorising the households into distinct food security groups. To make up for this limitation another indicator is used. This is called the Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence (HFIAP) Indicator which,

...makes a finer distinction between food secure and food insecure households by allocating each household to one of four food security groups based on their HFIAP score: (a) food secure; (b) mildly food insecure; (c) moderately food insecure; and (d) severely food insecure (Tawodzera et al., 2012, p.16).

To this end, HFIAP was used to categorise the sampled households into these four categories and the findings are summarised in figure 7.3.

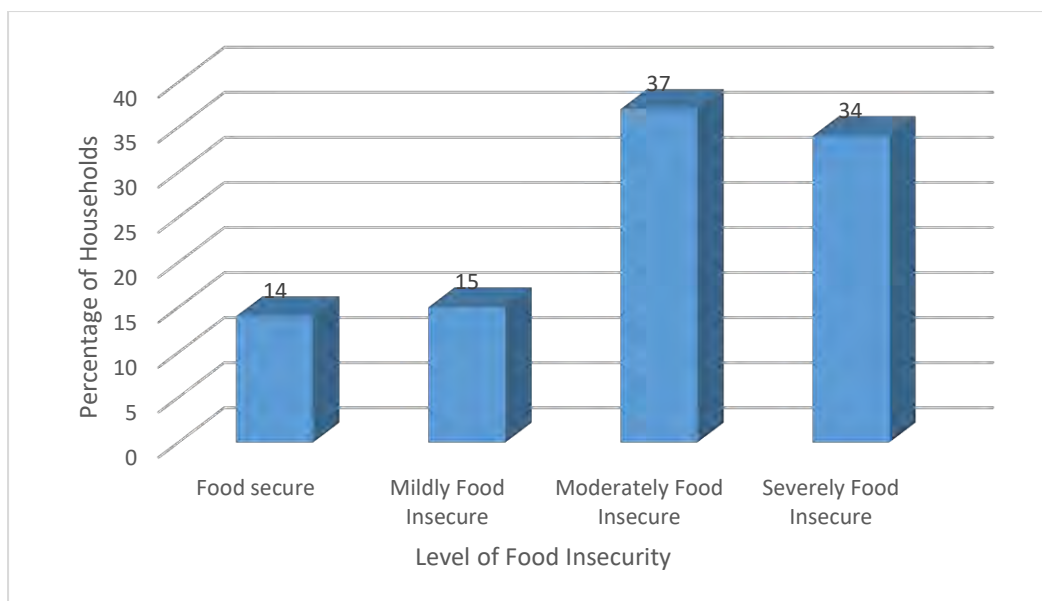


Figure 7.3: Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence in Ward 28

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Figure 7.3 buttresses the findings on the high levels of food insecurity obtaining in Bulawayo's Ward 28 as only 14% of the households were deemed food secure and the rest were classified as either mildly, moderately or severely food insecure. These findings are in sync with those of other studies in more or less similar settings. For instance, Tawodzera and Chigumira (2019) found that only 8% of households in the dormitory town of Epworth near Harare were food secure. Similarly, in Kisumu in Kenya, Wagah et al. (2019) established that food insecurity levels were very high especially in the poorer neighbourhoods where the combined prevalence of moderate and severe food insecurity was 71%. Furthermore, Fuseini and Sichone (2019) established that 6% of the sampled households were food secure in Kitwe, Zambia. This in contrast to 79% who were severely food insecure and 90% who were either severely or moderately food insecure.

Qualitative findings also support the quantitative findings presented in the foregoing. Participants in FGDs pointed out that many households in the Ward were food insecure owing to amongst other things high unemployment levels, COVID-19 related restrictions and high food prices. Some of the excerpts supporting these claims are presented in box 7.1 below.

Box 7.1: Food insecurity experiences in Ward 28

1. *Food security is a challenge because this is a new suburb with a lot of youngsters who are unemployed, child headed families whose numbers are big in Cowdray Park, both parents succumbed to HIV...I also have a population of about 600 People with Disabilities (PWDs) in Hlalani Kuhle area [part of partially serviced area in ward 28]. We gave them their section there, so those people have a challenge in terms of accessing food (Interview, Ward 28 Councillor, 31 January 2021)*
2. *Food insecurity is there in Cowdray Park since people are unemployed there is no industry so it's now difficult for people to survive... (Interview, Ward 28 Councillor)*
3. *I don't want to lie we do not starve but there are times that we experience food insecurity especially these days with lockdown restrictions it becomes difficult for one to fend for oneself. (Household in-depth Interviewee #8).*
4. *I cannot say we starve but at times we experience food insecurity because there is only one person [her partner] who is working in this household (Household in-depth Interviewee #5)*

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

Excerpts 1, 2 and 4 in Box 7.1 support the claim that some households experience food insecurity as a result of unemployment since food security is more of an access issue which itself is contingent on the availability of financial resources. For a significant number of people, these financial resources are accessed through some form of employment. Excerpt 3 shows that sometimes poor urbanites experience food insecurity due to shocks such as those related to COVID-19.

Whereas the extent of food security is quite clear, at least from a quantitative perspective, it still remains unclear whether or not this is the norm throughout the year, or it is linked to certain periods of the year. To get a better understanding of this issue, the following section utilises one of the indicators of food security, which is the Months of Adequate Household Provisioning (MAHFP).

7.2.2 Profiling household food security through the months of adequate household provisioning

This subsection presents findings pertaining to households' perceptions of food insecurity experiences across the 12 months of the year. Survey findings reveal that 71% of households indicated experiencing food insecurity in at least one of the 12 months preceding the survey. Twenty eight percent of the households indicated that there was never any particular month where they experienced food insecurity with the remaining 1% refusing to answer the question. Figure 7.4 shows number of households that experienced food insecurity by month over a 12-month period preceding the survey period. The findings indicate that most (153; 38.4%) households that experienced food insecurity did so in March of 2020. This was followed by

110 households for April and December. The three months that had the least number of households experiencing food insecurity were September (63), October (66) and August (68).

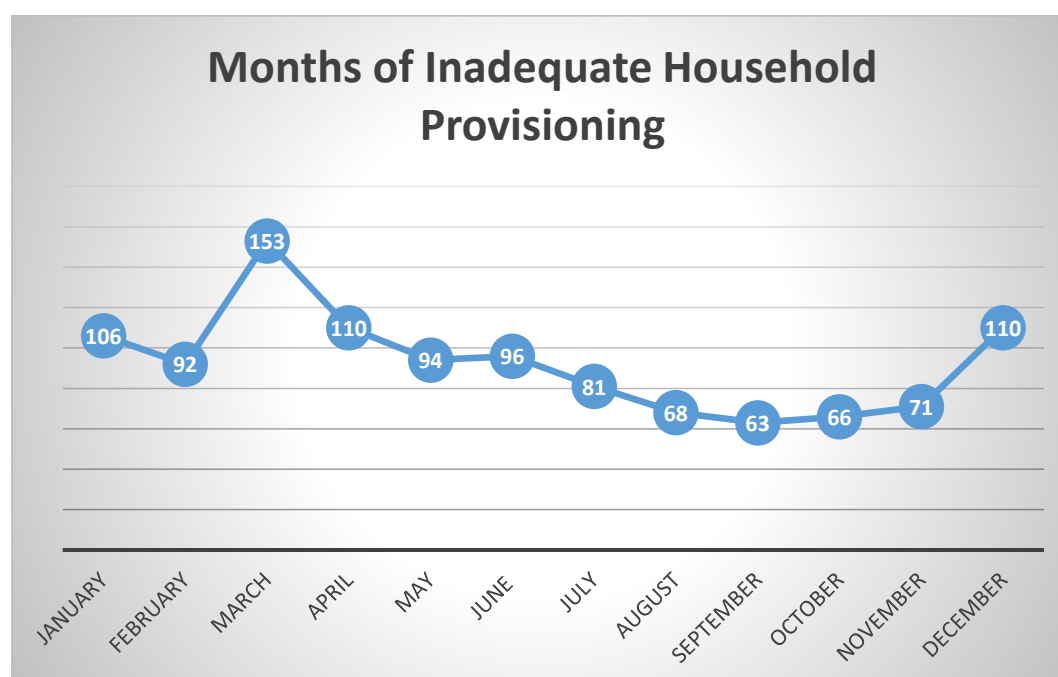


Figure 7.4: Number of Households Experiencing Food Insecurity by Month

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Findings in Figure 7.4 indicate that unlike rural food security which is mainly linked to agricultural cycles, urban food security is linked to the broader social, political, economic and agro-ecological environment. For instance, the survey reveals that March 2020 had the highest number of households that experienced food insecurity. This could be mainly because of the hard lockdown regulations that were pronounced by the government in the same month. These regulations affected food security in several ways. Some of these include the fact that households could not directly engage in food production outside of their homes, households could not access foodstuffs from their usual buying points especially if those points were more than 5 kilometres from their place of residency and households could not easily gain access to remittances from rural areas and the diaspora. In addition, the overall effect of the various lockdown restrictions on livelihoods was linked to income. Some citizens lost their jobs or had their incomes cut which had a detrimental effect on food security since in urban areas food security is more of an access than a production issue. These findings are corroborated by those of ZIMVAC report of December 2020 which point out that most households (31%) cited disruptions in accessing food products or services as the most significant difficulty experienced

during COVID-19 related lockdowns. In addition, the same report points out that most households (25%) indicated that the greatest COVID-19 livelihood effect was a reduction in food sources. Other than the lockdown, Zimbabwe also experienced a critical shortage of maize meal in the first half of 2020 partly due to a drought during the 2019/20 agricultural season, near hyper- food inflation rate of 807.36 in March 2020 and the weakening of the Zimbabwe dollar on both the official and parallel market platforms by 49.1% and 63.1% respectively (Reserve Bank Of Zimbabwe, 2020).

Qualitative findings further support the quantitative findings as detailed in Box 7.2.

Box 7.2: Views on Months of Adequate Household Provisioning

1. *The issue of months when we experience food insecurity is very difficult to discern because it's usually linked to one's personal circumstances. If for instance you are not well and you don't go to work you lose your income and at that particular point you are likely to experience hunger if there is no one to help you (FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21).*
2. *The problem is that we are in a very abnormal period of time. Generally, food insecurity is a challenge in January because of the 'January disease'. However, now with COVID every month has been diseased (FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21).*
3. *In December we really enjoy life. That's when we eat a lot of things because of the merrymaking associated with the festive season. This in part is responsible for our woes in January when we experience the greatest hardships. January is a very tough month for us even though this past year was tough throughout because of Corona [COVID-19] (FGD for women, Ward 28, 10/04/21).*
4. *Life in Zimbabwe is now very tough since we are unemployed. However, this past year has been extremely difficult because of the lockdowns [COVID-19]. So basically every month was a difficult month for me and my household (Household in-depth Interviewee #1)*
5. *I normally experience hardships in general and food insecurity in particular three times a year. Firstly, it's in January where after merrymaking in December I will be broke, Worse still in December as civil servants we get paid early round about mid-December. Then January comes with all its obligations especially those relating to school. It's worse because being the beginning of the year you have to buy new school uniforms and stationery on top of paying school fees. Secondly, there is May which under normal circumstances is the beginning of the second school term. Again, it's time to break the bank! Thirdly, it's September where we have to pay third term fees (FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21).*
6. *This is a unique year. The rainfall season was good and in spite of the lockdown [COVID-19 related] we are already getting some food from our fields. We expect to get more in March and April and hopefully this will ease the hunger we are experiencing. Beyond that only God knows, the situation is very bad, if we don't go to work, we will starve unless good Samaritans come to our rescue (Household in-depth Interviewee #3).*

Two main issues can be discerned from the excerpts in Box 7.2. Firstly, the 12 months preceding the survey were not the usual months for most households because of the COVID-

19 pandemic and associated countermeasures. Resultantly, some households uncharacteristically experienced hardships in general and food insecurity in particular throughout the year. Secondly, in a 'normal' year, excerpts 2, 3 and 5 suggest that January is usual the toughest month together with the months of May and September. This is mainly due financial obligations related to children's education. Excerpts 3 and 5 suggest that December is usually a very good month owing to the festivities associated with the festive season. These findings are in sync with those of Tawodzera et al., (2016, p.23) who found that in 2012 in Harare the sampled households had the greatest food insecurity challenges in January owing "...to a longstanding pattern of overspending and overconsumption during December festivities." Wagah et al., (2019) also established that in Kisumu households overspent in December only to experience greatest food insecurity in January. A survey conducted by Fuseini and Sichone (2019) in Kitwe also demonstrates this seasonality where January presents itself as the toughest month for poor households to navigate with respect to their food requirements.

Other than simply identifying the months when households are generally food secure or insecure, the study also used the MAHFP to discern the number of months that each sampled household experienced food insecurity in the 12 months preceding the survey period. Survey findings reveal that the mean number of months of inadequate household food provisioning in the sampled households was 3 meaning the mean number of months of adequate household food provisioning was 9. The mode was 0 and the minimum was 0 whereas the maximum was 12. Figure 7.5 thus summarises the distribution of the sampled households across the different MAHFP scores.

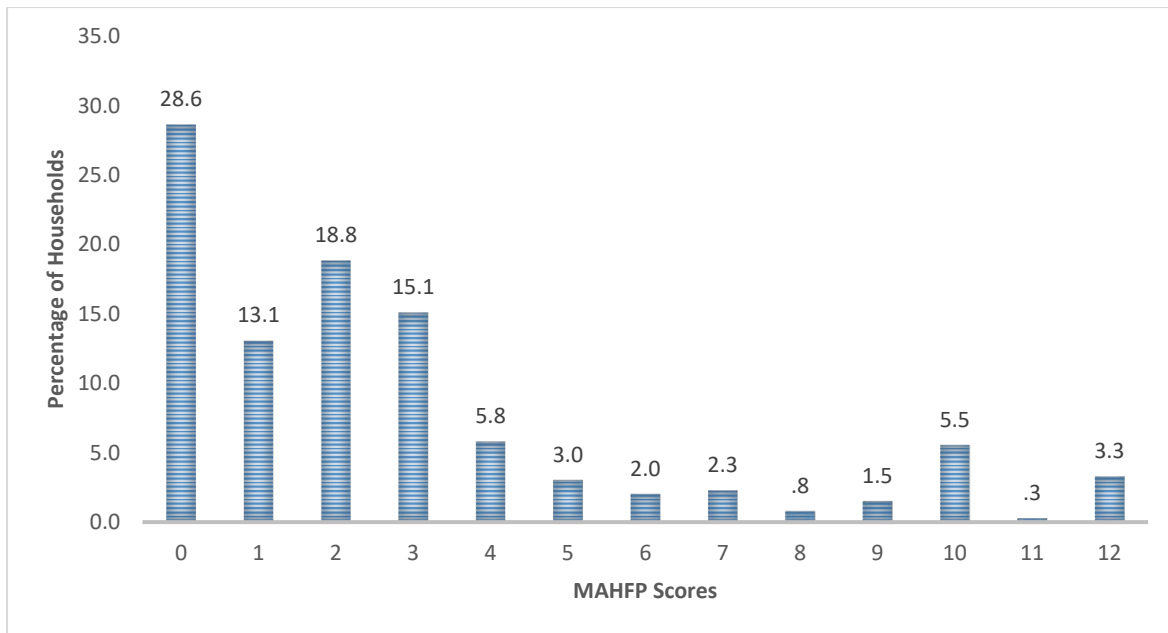


Figure 7.5: Distribution of Households across the MAHFP Scores

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Figure 7.5 shows that 28.6% of the households indicated that there was no particular month in which their households experienced food insecurity. This was followed by 18.8% of the households which indicated that they experienced food insecurity in 2 of the 12 months. Figure 7.5 further indicates that 52.7% of the sampled households experienced food insecurity for between 1 and 4 months. On the other side of the range, 9.1% of the sampled households indicated that they were food insecure for between 10 and 12 months. These findings are also in sync with those of other urban centres in more or less similar settings. For instance, Wagah et al., (2019) indicated that the average MAHFP in Kisumu was 10.31 with over 80% of the sampled households indicating having adequate access to food for 9 or more months. In Kitwe, Fuseini and Sichone (2019) found that the average MAHFP was 8.95 amongst the sampled households.

Conclusively, it can be argued with a certain degree of certainty that generally sampled households experience stability with respect to food security throughout the year using the MAHFP indicator. Nonetheless, potential shocks within the broader urban food system environment render the households vulnerable to food insecurity at any point of the year. Whereas the MAHFP paints a relatively good picture in terms of household food security, it however does not inform us about the kinds of foods that are available, and households have access to. To get this information, the Household Dietary Diversity Scores (HDDS) of the sampled households are computed in the next section.

7.2.3 What are households consuming?

This section interrogates the diets of sampled households in order to gain an understanding into issues of access to food and partly its utilisation. Survey findings point out that the mean HDDS amongst sampled households is 7.87. The minimum HDDS realised within the sample is 1 whereas the maximum is 12. The mode is 6 whereas the median is 8. These figures point to a fairly good household dietary diversity. Figure 7.6 summarises findings relating to the distribution of households across a range of HDDS. The figure shows that most households (71; 17.83%) had an HDDS of 6 followed by 63 and 59 with HDDS of 8 and 7 respectively. On the higher range of HDDS are 105 households with HDDS ranging from 10-12.

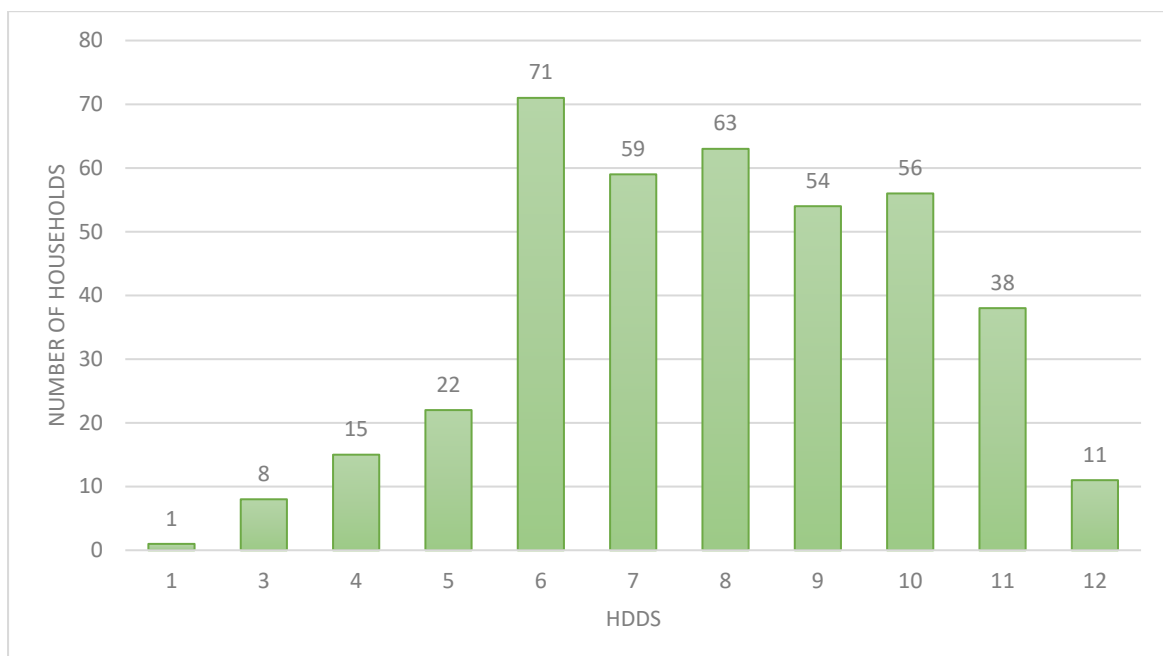


Figure 7.6: Distribution of Households by HDDS

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

The findings summarised in figure 7.6 are in sync with those of other studies on one hand and yet on the other are in variance with those of some other studies in more or less similar settings. The mean HDDS of 7.87 is comparatively higher than that of other studies in Africa. For instance, in Kitwe, Fuseini and Sichone (2019) established a mean HDDS of 3.25 whereas Tawodzera and Chigumira (2019) established an HDDS of 4.12 in Epworth, Zimbabwe. However, Tawodzera et al., (2016) found out that sampled households in Harare had a mean HDDS of 6.5 in 2012. These findings compare favourably with those of this particular study.

One of the factors that may account for the divergences with the findings of other studies is the recall period used. Some studies, like was done in the current study, use a recall period of a week whereas others use a recall period of either 24 or 48 hours. There is thus a likelihood of lower HDDS where shorter recall periods are used.

To gain a deeper understanding into the food groups consumed by the sampled households, an investigation was made to establish these. The findings thereof are summarised in figure 7.7. Figure 7.7 shows that the four topmost consumed foods amongst the sampled households are cereals (99%), vegetables (98%), oil/butter (97%) and sugar/honey (91%). On the other side of the range, the four least consumed food groups within the sampled households are fish (21%), roots/tubers (32%), eggs (37%) and fruits (46%).

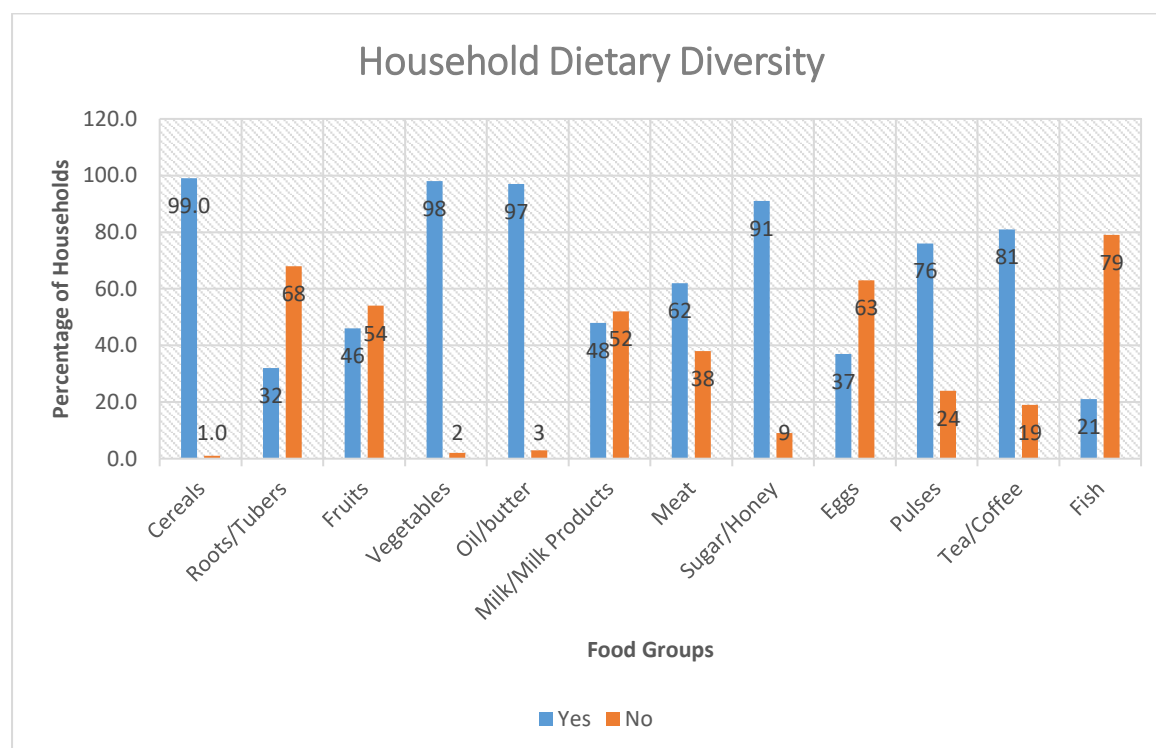


Figure 7.7: Food Groups Consumed by Households

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

The very high rate of cereal consumption is expected given that the staple diet of most people is constituted by maize meal or rice. Leafy vegetables are also a very popular dish which accompanies the cereals, partly because of their low price and the fact that they can be grown in backyard gardens. To this end, 299 (75%) households indicated that they have backyard vegetable gardens. Furthermore, in preparing most of the relishes cooking oil is used which also explains the high levels of consumption of this food group. Sugar and its substitutes are

also popular as an accompaniment of foods such as porridge and tea/coffee. It can be discerned from these findings that although the mean HDDS is fairly good, some of the households are lacking a nutritionally balanced diet. For instance, other than the consumption of legumes, other food groups which are sources of proteins are consumed on a relatively lower scale. These include eggs (37%), milk/milk products (48%) and meat (62%). In addition, the low prevalence (46%) of fruit consumption deprives households of important micronutrients. This speaks to the utilisation dimension of food security. Thus, though no nutrient tests were conducted, one can argue on the basis of the HDDS presented in figure 7.7, that certain households' diets predispose them to malnutrition. To this end, Wagah et al., (2019, p.230) point out that an "HDDS score of six or less is a proxy indicator of likely malnutrition." Going by this threshold, it means 117 of the sampled households (29.39%) are likely to be malnourished. These findings are corroborated by those of ZIMVAC (2020, p.49) which noted that "[t]he continuous deterioration in the quality of diets consumed by households in urban areas remains a cause for concern." ZIMVAC noted that at national level, only 54% of urbanites were consuming what are deemed to be acceptable diets with the other 33% and 13% consuming borderline and poor diets respectively. This could be partly due to the fact that urbanisation tends to be accompanied by a nutrition transition which in most cases results in the adoption of unhealthy diets characterised by a disproportionate intake of salt, processed foods, sugar and saturated fats (Drimie et al., 2013).

This section has broadly profiled survey households with respect to their food security status utilising a suite of food security indicators that include HFIAS, HFIAP, MAHFP and HDDS. It can be discerned from the findings presented in the foregoing that food insecurity is a problem in Bulawayo's ward 28. However, what is still to be established is what kind of households are vulnerable to food insecurity. It is in this respect that the following section interrogates the relationship between socio-economic characteristics and food (in)security.

7.3 Examining the relationship between socio-economic characteristics and food (in)security

In this subsection, the study examines the relationships between selected socio-economic variables and food security indicators. The selection of the explanatory variables was informed by findings from other studies. The first relationships to be interrogated is that of average monthly income and various household food security indicators.

7.3.1 Average household income and household food security

Table 7.2 presents a summary of the findings relating to the cross tabulation of average household income and HFIAP.

Table 7.2: Cross Tabulation Average household income*HFIAP

Average Household Monthly Income	Number of Food Secure Households	Number of Mildly Food Insecure Households	Number of Moderately Food Insecure Households	Number of Severely Food Insecure Households	Total
US\$100 or Less	37	43	97	102	279
US\$101-500	13	12	38	24	87
US\$501-1000	2	1	3	0	6
Refused to answer	2	2	2	0	6
Didn't Know	2	3	7	8	20
					N=398

Pearson Chi-Square Asymptotic Significance (2 Sided) 0.394

Source: Primary Field Data

Table 7.2 shows that amongst the sampled households there was no statistically significant association between average household monthly income and food (in)security status of a household. These findings are contrary to what other similar studies have found. For instance, Tawodzera (2010, p.109) in his study of food security in Budiriro, Harare found that “...association between household income and food security status was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$)”. Similarly, Tawodzera et al., (2016, p.28) found out in their study of low-income households in Harare that there was a “strong correlation between income level and food security status.” Findings of Pendleton et al., (2012) in their study of formal and informal settlements in Windhoek, Namibia also point to the same conclusion. Two main reasons appear to underlie the current study’s findings on income and household food security. The first one is one put forward by Pendleton et al., (2012, p.21) that “...there appears to be a threshold income above which more households are able to achieve food security and below which the vast majority are not....” The second one relates to the fact that the food security indicators used in the study are sensitive to any challenges related to access. This is particularly important for a survey conducted immediately after a hard lockdown since in some instances some of the information elicited related to experiences during the hard lockdown period.

Going by the first reason, one can argue that since the majority (70%) of respondents indicated average household incomes of US\$100 or less this could be the reason why in this instance there appears not to be a statistically significant relationship between household income and household food insecurity. Furthermore, it is important to note that a household income of US\$100 or less renders a household poor if it has two or more members using the country's Total Consumption Poverty Line. Then going by the second reason, it is possible that some households experienced some challenges with respect to food availability, access, utilisation and stability owing to the various restrictions associated with lockdowns. This means some households which had high incomes and hence theoretically expected to be food secure actually reported experiencing food insecurity. For instance, whilst one would have expected households with an income range of US\$501-US\$1000 to be food secure, study findings point that 4 of the 6 were either mildly or moderately food insecure. Tawodzera et al., (2016) came to similar conclusions in Harare when they noted that there were certain households which had relatively high incomes in 2008 but experienced food insecurity because of the widespread food supply failures in Harare and other parts of Zimbabwe. In addition, Quaife et al., (2020, p.4) in their study of COVID-19 in Nairobi informal settlements noted that, "Considerable food and economic vulnerability was reported due to COVID-19 control measures. Over 80% of respondents reported a partial or complete loss of income, and three quarters reported eating less or skipping meals due to COVID-19." In addition, Shupler et al., (2021) also established that in an informal settlement of Nairobi, COVID-19 containment measures had a negative impact on household food security outcomes with most households eating more vegetables and less meat, fish, milk and bread.

This finding demonstrates that whilst household level attributes are critical determinants of household food security, there are however some other times where broader systemic failings override household level attributes. The opposite holds true where for instance, households with attributes that render them highly vulnerable can be found to be food secure if the broader systemic interventions override those micro-level vulnerabilities. This could be for instance through social protection initiatives that help the poor overcome their vulnerabilities.

Having interrogated the relationship between household income and HFIAP, the following subsection proceeds to examine findings relating to the relationship between household income and HDDS.

7.3.2 Cross-tabulating average household income and household dietary diversity

Findings on household income and HFIAP are more or less similar with those of household income and HDDS. The Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant ($p=0.851$) relationship between these two variables. This becomes clearer when one analyses the output of the cross-tabulation exercise involving household income and HDDS. The output shows that 52 out of the 279 households that indicated that they earn US\$100 or less had an HDDS of 6 followed by 49 with an HDDS of 8 and 41 with an HDDS of 7. For the US\$101-500 income category with a total of 87 households, the top three HDDS scores by number of households are 10 with 18 households followed by 9 with 17 households and 7 with 15 households. For the highest income category used in the study which is US\$501-1000 the 6 households were fairly well spread from HDDS 6 up to 12.

The findings presented herein are at variance with some of the studies done in more or less similar settings. For instance, Ngema, Sibanda and Musemwa (2018) pointed out that the relationship between household income and HDDS is statistically significant at $p=0.000$ in Maphumulo Municipality of the KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. For this study, the reasons for the lack of strong association between average household income and HDDS are basically the same of those highlighted in the foregoing. These relate to the broader food system failings which might negatively affect the endowments that a household already enjoys.

The other indicator of food security, which is the MAHFP relates to mainly the dimensions of availability, access and utilisation of food. This aspect of food security is discussed in the following subsection.

7.3.3 Household income and months of adequate household provisioning

As was highlighted in the foregoing sections, there are distinct months of adequate household food provisioning or lack thereof. These patterns were largely attributed to households' spending patterns in line with key household needs such as education and to a certain extent leisure associated with the December festive season. Some of the highlights of the findings emanating from a cross tabulation of income and MAHFP indicate that of the 279 households with an income of US\$100 or less, the majority (76) indicated that they did not have a particular month where they faced food supply shortages. This was followed by 58 households that indicated that they could adequately provide for themselves for 10 months and 49 who said they could provide for 9 months. For the 87 households in the US\$101-US\$500 range, 29 indicated that they could provide for themselves for 12 months followed by 17 who indicated

11 months and 13 who indicated 10 months amongst the key highlights. For the 6 in the US\$501-US\$1000, 4 of the households indicated that they could provide for themselves for 12 months.

A Chi-square test of the two variables showed that their relationship is statistically significant at $p=0.000$. In addition, a Pearson Phi test revealed that there is a somewhat strong ($p=0.501$) association between the two variables. These findings corroborate those of prior studies. For instance, Battersby et al., (2015) argue that in South Africa urban food insecurity is characterised by low dietary diversity coupled by low household incomes. Furthermore, Tawodzera et al., (2016) found out that there was a strong association between household income and MAHFP scores in low-income households of Harare.

Other than simply looking at average household income, interrogating main household source of income and food security levels is also critical.

7.3.4 Household source of income and food security

This subsection examines the association between main source of household income and food security using the same suite of food security indicators used in the foregoing.

Findings appear to show that the main source of household income is a critical factor in accounting for a household's food security status. Table 7.3 summarises the output of a cross-tabulation of main source of household income and household food security.

Table 7.3 shows that 40 of the 75 households whose main income source is permanent wage employment are either moderately or severely food insecure. Thirty-five (46.6%) of households with the same main source of income are either food secure or just mildly food insecure. For households whose main source of income is temporary wage employment, 21 (91.3%) of the 23 were either moderately or severely food insecure and only 2 were either food secure or mildly food insecure. A similar pattern can be discerned with respect to casual work as the main source of household income. Twenty nine of the 39 (74.3%) households in this category were either moderately or severely food insecure with the remaining 10 evenly distributed between the two food security levels of food secure and mild food insecurity. For those households that rely on formal business, 9 (69.23%) of the 13 fall under the moderately and severely food insecure combined. The remaining 4 are in the food secure category. Households that mainly rely on informal business for income were mostly either in the moderately food insecure or food secure category with 62 and 67 households in those food security categories respectively. These two combined constitute 75% of all the households that

have informal businesses as their main source of income. In the remittances category 34 (68%) of the 50 households were either moderately or severely food insecure.

Table 7.3: Cross tabulating Main Source of Household Income*Household Food Security Status

Main Source of Household Income	Number of Food Secure Households	Number of Mildly Food Insecure Households	Number of Moderately Food Insecure Households	Number of Severely Food Insecure Households	Total
Permanent Wage Employment	22	13	24	16	75
Temporary Wage employment	1	1	12	9	23
Casual Work	5	5	14	15	39
Own Formal Business	4	0	4	5	13
Own Informal Business	15	28	62	67	172
Remittances	8	8	25	9	50
Pensions	1	5	6	10	22
Welfare Grants	0	1	0	3	4
					N=398

Pearson Chi-Square Asymptotic Significance (2 Sided) 0.001; Phi p value 0.340

Source: Primary Field Data

The findings on the last two categories are a reflection on the effectiveness of elements of the existing social protection systems with respect to ensuring food security for the vulnerable. Firstly, with respect to households that rely on pension income, 6 of the 22 households were either food secure or mildly food insecure and the remaining (73 %) were either in the moderately food insecure or severely food insecure categories. Secondly, for households that survive on welfare grants 3 of the 4 were in the severely food insecure category.

It can be discerned from the foregoing that on one hand, households that rely on permanent wage employment have a better proportion of households that are either food secure or mildly food insecure. Temporary wage employment on the other has the highest proportion of households in that category falling under either the moderately or severely food insecure categories. The other highlight is that pension-reliant households were largely food insecure.

A Pearson Chi-Square test of statistical significance shows that the association between main source of income and household food security status proxied through HFIAP is *0.001* as shown in table 7.3. Nonetheless, the strength of the association is not that good as shown by the phi value in table 7.3. Table 7.4 presents a comparison of means test output to further buttress the findings presented in the foregoing.

Table 7.4: Comparison of HFIAP Means based on Household Main Sources of Income

Main Household Income Source	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Geometric mean
Permanent wage	2.45	75	1.131	2.15
Temporary wage	3.26	23	.752	3.14
Casual work	3.00	39	1.026	2.76
Own formal business	2.77	13	1.301	2.39
Own informal business	3.05	172	.951	2.85
Remittances	2.70	50	.953	2.48
Pensions	3.14	22	.941	2.97
Welfare grants	3.50	4	1.000	3.36
Total	2.90	398	1.023	2.66

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021
n=398

Table 7.4 shows that households that are reliant on permanent wage income are generally much more food secure as on average they are classified in HFIAP category 2 (mild food insecurity) signified by a mean HFIAP of 2.45. Conversely, those reliant on welfare grants are largely food insecure as on average they are in HFIAP category 4 (Severely food insecure). Similarly, those surviving mainly on temporary wage income are on average moderately food secure as they fall under HFIAP category 3 given the mean of 3.26 shown in table 7.4.

The findings presented on the relationship between main source of household income and HFIAP confirm what other studies have established before. To this end, Cooke (2012) who conducted a study in Manenberg, Cape Town argues that reliability of a household's income source is a key determinant of household food security. Mabuza et al., (2016) also interrogated the impact of sources of income on household food security in Swaziland and concluded that those households that were dependent on farm income were much more food secure than those dependent on off-farm income. Furthermore, Wanyama et al., (2019, p.12) in their study of slums in Kenya and Uganda concluded that "... households with salaried employment are more food secure and have better dietary quality than other households, and especially in comparison to those that depend entirely on casual employment." For this study, these findings are instructive given the point that has already been established concerning shocks such as the

COVID-19 pandemic and their impacts on urban livelihoods in general and food security in particular. It would appear that those in permanent wage employment are in a better position to survive in an environment of shocks such as those related to lockdowns. For casual and temporary workers given that they are likely to be the first victims of downsizing in such situations, one can argue that partly explains the results herein. Informal businesses too found it difficult to operate under a strict lockdown regime. Qualitative findings seem to validate these claims as key informants, focus group participants and household in-depth interviewees lamented the impact of lockdowns on employment and income.

Having looked at the relationship between sources of income and food security as proxied by HFIAP, the next subsection examines the relationship between sources of income and another food security indicator, the HDDS.

7.3.5 Household dietary diversity and main source of household income

To gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between the main source of household income and food security a second food security indicator, HDDS, was used. The findings suggest that those households that are dependent on formal employment have relatively high HDDS. For instance, of the 75 households dependent on wage income, most (20) had an HDDS of 10. This is followed by 14 households with a score of 11 and another 14 with an HDDS of 8. Cumulatively, 84% of households dependent on permanent wage income have high HDDS of between 8 and 12. This is in comparison to 30.43% of households that are reliant on temporary wage labour that also have high HDDS of between 8 and 12. On the contrary, 13 out of 23 (56.52%) of households that are dependent on temporary wage income had low HDDS of 6 or below which as was noted is usually associated with malnutrition.

For casual work income reliant households, 20 of the 39 had low to mid-range HDDS of between 5 and 7. However, 10 (25.64%) of the households had high HDDS of 10-12. With respect to HDDS for households that are reliant on formal business income, the scores of the 13 households are fairly well dispersed across the HDDS range starting from HDDS 3 right up to 12. Households that are reliant on income from informal businesses are also fairly well dispersed across low, mid-range and high HDDS. For instance, 57 of the 172 households (33.13%) have an HDDS of between 3 and 6. Seventy nine of the 172 households (45.93%) have mid-range HDDS of between 7 and 9. The remaining 20.93% of households that are reliant on informal business income have high HDDS of 10-12.

Households that identified remittances as their main source of income were also fairly well dispersed across the broad HDDS categories of low, medium and high. For instance, 19

out of the 50 households (38%) have low HDDS scores of between 1 and 6. Twenty (40%) of the households have an HDDS of between 7 and 9 with the remaining 22% having high HDDS of between 10 and 12. Then as for pension reliant households, 10 of the 22 (45.45%) have mid-range HDDS scores of 7-9 with the remaining households fairly well dispersed in both the low and high HDDS categories. Finally, households that survive mainly on welfare grants were very few and from the 4, three have HDDS of either 6 or 7.

A Pearson Chi-square test of statistical significance with respect to the association of main source of household income and HDDS generated a p value of *0.022* which points to a statistically significant relationship. Furthermore, the strength of association is in the medium range as deduced from the generated phi value of *0.471*. Table 7.5 sums up the findings presented in this subsection by presenting an output table of an SPSS comparison of means test.

Table 7.5: Main Source of Income and HDDS Comparison of Means

Main Household Income Source	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Geometric mean
Permanent wage	9.01	75	1.842	8.79
Temporary wage	6.48	23	2.108	6.16
Casual work	7.82	39	1.819	7.62
Own formal business	7.85	13	2.375	7.45
Own informal business	7.72	172	2.019	7.44
Remittances	7.36	50	2.456	6.83
Pensions	8.05	22	2.340	7.67
Welfare grants	7.50	4	1.732	7.36
Total	7.87	398	2.141	7.54

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

The output in Table 7.5 buttresses the fact that households that are reliant on permanent wage income appear to have much more diversified diets than some other groups with a mean HDDS of 9.01. On the other extreme, temporary wage income reliant households seem to have poor dietary diversity with a mean of 6.48.

Whilst this subsection has established a relationship between main source of household income and dietary diversity what has not been established is whether this relationship is temporally stable or there are certain months of the year where what has been established does not hold true. To this end, the following subsection interrogates the relationship between main sources of household income with MAHFP.

7.3.6 Main source of household income and months of adequate household food provisioning

Table 7.6 summarises the findings on the relationship between main source of household income and MAHFP. The table shows that households reliant on permanent wage income, own formal business income and remittances can on average provide food for themselves without challenges for 10 out of the 12 months of a year. The table also shows that that the least MAHFP means are for welfare grants reliant households and those reliant on casual wage income. These have mean scores of 6 and 6.79 respectively. This means on average welfare grant reliant households can provide for themselves for 6 months on average whereas casual wage income reliant households can on average provide for themselves for 7 months.

Table 7.6: Comparison of MAHFP Means based on Main Household Income Sources

Main Household Income Source	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Geometric mean
Permanent wage	10.07	75	2.728	.00
Temporary wage	8.74	23	3.467	7.42
Casual work	6.79	39	4.137	.00
Own formal business	10.38	13	1.121	10.33
Own informal business	9.16	172	3.037	.00
Remittances	10.38	50	2.069	.00
Pensions	8.68	22	4.156	.00
Welfare grants	6.00	4	2.944	5.24
Total	9.21	398	3.205	.00

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

The chi square test between MAHFP and main source of household income also suggests a statistically significant relationship between the two ($p=0.000$). The association between the two is fairly strong as a phi value of 0.567 was generated.

Qualitative findings also support the findings relating to the relationship between main source of household income and household food security. For instance, FGD participants indicated, as shown in the excerpts below, that the welfare system was not effective which could partly explain the relatively low MAHFP scores for those households that rely on welfare grants.

Even those donors that are said to assist people, we don't see them here, we hear of their activities in other suburbs (Participant, Focus Group Discussion for Women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)

There are instances where you see that someone is in dire need of assistance but because there is no one to assist, people wallow in hunger and it becomes difficult...
(Participant, Focus Group Discussion for Women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)

The sentiments raised in the FGDs indicate gaps that are there in supporting poor members of the community making it likely that households that are reliant on welfare grants can experience intermittent food insecurity at certain points of the year. With respect to households reliant on casual wage income one of the FGD participants said:

2020 was a very bad year for us, hunger was rife for many of us. As casual workers we normally enjoy peak seasons where employment opportunities will be high like during festive seasons if you are in the retail sector for instance. However, the various restrictions linked to the containment of COVID-19 denied us opportunities to get employment because companies were closed. Even some of the permanent employees were stuck at home, some enduring pay cuts, or no pay at all. It is the government workers that were assured of their salaries... **(Participant, Focus Group Discussion for Men, Ward 28, 10/04/21)**

Sentiments such as the one above show that a steady and reliable flow of income is critical for household well-being in general and food security in particular.

Having looked at the relationships between the various food security indicators and main sources of household income there is still one other variable linked to income that has to be explored. This is however a bit different in that it analyses the proportion of household income spent on sourcing household food requirements.

7.3.7 Proportion of household income spent on food and household food security status

This subsection interrogates the relationship between proportion of household income and three food security indicators of HFIAP, HDDS and MAHFP. It begins by examining proportion of household income spent on food and HFIAP.

Of all the study respondents, 142 (35.7%) indicated that their households spend all of their household income on food. Of these, 113 households were either moderately or severely food insecure, that is, they were either in HFIAP categories 3 or 4. The remaining 20.4% were either food secure or mildly food insecure.

For the 92 households that indicated that they spend 75% of their income on food, 63% of them were either in HFIAP categories 3 or 4 meaning they were moderately or severely food insecure. The remaining 37% were evenly distributed between the food secure and mildly food insecure categories.

There were 9 households that indicated that they spend two thirds of the household income on food. Seven of these were either moderately food insecure or severely food insecure. This category was followed by that of households which spent half of their incomes on food. In this category there were 82 households and of these 67% were either in HFIAP category 3 or 4. The remaining 33% were in HFIAP categories 1 and 2.

Ten households indicated that they spend a third of their income on food. Sixty percent of these were either moderately or severely food insecure and the remaining 40% were either food secure or mildly food insecure. Lastly, 28 of the respondents pointed out that their households utilise a quarter of their incomes on food items. Of these, 46% were either food secure or mildly food insecure and the remaining 54% were either in the moderately food secure or severely food insecure.

The Pearson chi-test shows that the relationship between proportion of household income spent on food and household food security status is statistically significant with a p value of *0.034*. The association between the two is rather weak as it has a phi value of *0.0276*. These findings confirm a well-established argument in literature on the relationship between the two variables of interest. For instance, in their survey in Harare, Tawodzera et al., (2012) found that sampled households spent an average of 62% of their incomes on food. They go on to argue that “[a]s a general rule, the poorer the household, the greater the proportion of its income that is spent on food purchase” (2011, p.21). Furthermore, Nakamura et al., (2016) point out that on average, households in urban Africa spend between 39%-59% of their incomes on food, a proportion which is much higher for poorer households.

The second indicator of food security that is cross tabulated against proportion of household income spent on food is dietary diversity. A chi-square test showed that the relationship between the two is statistically insignificant at *0.299*. Indeed, a glance at the cross-tabulation output table for the two variables does not project any clear patterns of association or relationship between proportion of household income spent on food and HDDS. For instance, for the 142 households that indicated utilising all their income on food related expenses, 19.7% of them had high HDDS scores of between 10 and 12. In addition, 41.5% had mid-range HDDS scores of 7-9.

The same pattern can be discerned for those households that indicated that 75% of their incomes was spent on food. Out of the 92 households 29.3% of them had low range HDDS of between 3 and 6 whereas 47.8% had mi-range HDDS within the range of 7 to 9. The rest had high HDDS of between 10 and 12. Similarly, the 9 households that indicated spending two thirds of their income on food were evenly distributed from HDDS 3 up to 11 with each HDDS

score having one household. With respect to households that spend half of their income on food, these were fairly well distributed across the three broad HDDS categories of low, medium and high. In the high HDDS category there were 31.7% of the 82 households, 45% in the mid-range (HDDS7-9) and the remaining households were in the low range of between 3 and 6.

For those households that spend the least proportions of their incomes on food, the pattern is not different too. Five of the 10 households that indicated that they spend a third of their incomes on food were in HDDS 10 to 12 followed by 3 in HDDS 8-9 and 2 in the low range of HDDS 4 and 6. Finally, there were 28 households who indicated that they spend a quarter of their incomes on food. Five (17.9%) were in the low HDSS groups of 5 and 6 whereas 53.6% were in the mid-range of HDDS 7-9 and the remainder in the high HDDS groups of between 10 and 12.

Having explored the relationship between proportion of household income spent on food and HDDS, the last part of this subsection then proceeds to interrogate how proportion of household income spent on food associates with MAHFP. Unlike, the relationship between proportion of household income spent on food and HDDS which proved statistically insignificant, the relationship between proportion of household income spent on food and MAHFP was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.000$). Furthermore, the association between the two was found to be relatively strong at phi value of 0.567. Highlights from the output of a cross-tabulation of the two variables seem to confirm the relationship between the two variables.

Of the households that spent the least (quarter) of their income on food, 64.3% indicated that they could provide for themselves for between 10 to 12 months in the 12 months preceding the survey. Similarly, those using a third of their income on food had 8 out of the 10 indicating they could provide for between 10 to 12 months. On the other extreme end, those households that indicated spending all their income on food had a comparatively high number of months when they had food access challenges. Out of these 142 households, almost half (47.9%) could provide for 9 or less months in a year with 8 of them indicating that they had food access challenges in all the 12 months preceding the survey. Given the long-established relationship in literature pertaining to the proportion of household income spent on food and household food insecurity, these findings thus do not come as a surprise.

Household food security status is determined by other variables other than income. As such the following subsection interrogates the relationship between household size and household food status.

7.3.8 Household size and household food security

Figure 7.8 summarises the findings relating to household size and household food security proxied by HFIAP. The figure shows that in the sampled households of Ward 28 there was no clearly discernible pattern with respect to the relationship between household size and household food security status as proxied by the HFIAP categories.



Figure 7.8: Cross-tabulation of Household Size*HFIAP

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

Figure 7.8 shows that a household constituted by one member had equally high percentages of households categorised as either food secure or severely food insecure using the HFIAP categories. Similarly, households constituted by 2 members had a relatively higher percentage of severely food insecure households than the other HFIAP categories. On the other side of the divide, the biggest households in terms of number of members had 10 members and 50% of those households were moderately food insecure and 25% apiece for food secure and mildly food insecure households. Surprisingly, there were no households of this size experiencing severe food insecurity. In the category of households with 9 members, 85.8% of them were either moderately or severely food insecure. The fact that there is no clearly discernible pattern between household size and HFIAP category is further strengthened by the fact that chi-square test results returned a statistically insignificant result of $p=0.710$.

Evidence from earlier studies on the relationships between food security and household size are mixed. To this end, the current findings are different from some other earlier studies in more or less similar settings. For instance, Fuseini and Sichone (2019) found out that in Kitwe, Zambia, there was a discernible pattern between household size and a household's food security status. They pointed out that in most cases bigger households in terms of membership tended to be more food insecure. Similarly, Tawodzera et al., (2016, p.25) in their survey of food security in Harare came to the conclusion that "In all food insecurity scores, very large households consistently scored worse than smaller households...." Tawodzera et al.,'s findings were not confirmed in this study even where household size was cross tabulated with HDDS and MAHFP. Chi-square tests in this study returned statistically insignificant relationships between household size and HDDS ($p=0.814$) and household size and MAHFP ($p=0.273$). However, Frayne et al.,'s findings on the general picture relating to the relationship between household size and household food security status are in sync with the current study's findings. Frayne et al., (2010, p.34) in their study of 11 Southern African cities concluded that "[t]his relationship is not statistically significant, however, suggesting that household size is not a good predictor of a household's food security status."

Having explored the interrelationship between household food security status and household size, the next section interrogates household food security status with the disability status of household head.

7.3.9 Interrogating household food security status and disability status of household head

The findings on the relationship between household food security status and the disability status of the household head are summarised in figure 7.9. The highlight of the findings is that households headed by people with disabilities are largely severely food insecure with approximately 64% of them in this category.

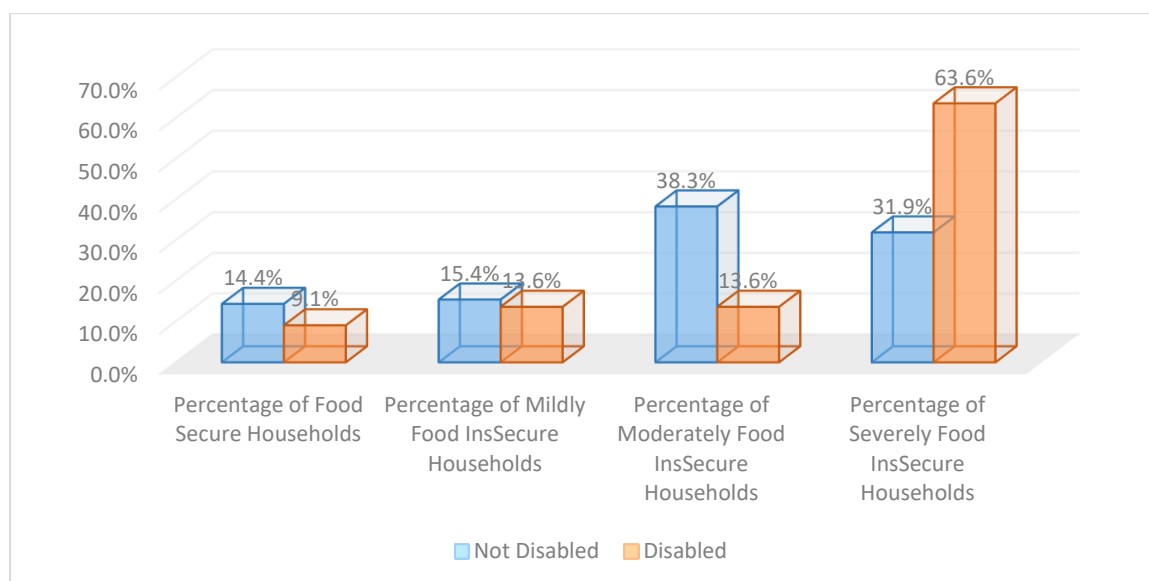


Figure 7.9: Disability Status of Household Head and Household Food Security

Source: Primary Field Data

n=398

The relationship between the variables presented in figure 9 was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.018$). However, the strength of association between household food security status and disability status was found to be weak with a phi value of 0.159 . The low strength of association could be attributed to the small sample size (22) of the disabled. Similar patterns were discerned after cross-tabulating household head disability status and HDDS. The findings reveal that approximately 55% of households with disabled household heads had low HDDS of between 1 and 6. This suggests a relatively low dietary diversity for such households. On the other side, those households headed by the non-disabled only 27.9% of them had similar ranges of HDDS. Similarly, the relationship between HDDS and household head disability status was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.000$) but with a weak strength of association with a phi value of 0.284 . However, the relationship between household head disability status and months of adequate household food provisioning (MAHFP) does not seem to follow the same pattern as the other two indicators. For instance, out of the 22 households headed by disabled individuals, 54.5% had no food security challenges for between 10 and 12 months. This compares favourably to the 60.9% of the 376 households that did not experience food security challenges for similar durations amongst households headed by those who indicated they were not disabled. Furthermore, the relationship between MAHFP and household head disability status was found to be statistically insignificant at $p=0.310$.

The findings discussed in this subsection were further buttressed by qualitative findings where in-depth interviews and FGDs revealed that the food security situation of vulnerable

groups such as people with disabilities, the elderly, chronically ill and child-headed households was generally dire. This is exemplified in the excerpts below:

I also have a population of about 600 people with disabilities in Hlalani Kuhle [section of Ward 28] area. We gave them their section, so those people have a challenge in terms of accessing food (Interview, Ward Councillor, Ward 28 31/01/21)

I don't have limbs, that's why they took me from the rural areas so I can't work the land in the plots. It's painful for me if I am not farming. This business of being given [food hand-outs] is not nice. (Household in-depth Interviewee #2)

The first excerpt shows that most of the disabled live in a particular section which is part of the partially serviced sections of the ward. The impact of this will be explored in greater detail in the later sections of the chapter, suffice to point out at this stage that the area makes it very difficult for people with disabilities to navigate and find their way to nearby sources of food. The second excerpt partly explains why sometimes people with disabilities struggle to meet their dietary requirements as some of them cannot supplement their food requirements by engaging in urban agriculture like what some households do. These observations are supported by Quarmby and Pillay (2018, p.8) who found out that:

...people living with disabilities in resource-poor contexts, such as sub-Saharan Africa, may be at a greater risk of food insecurity because of reduced food access, specifically in the context of food assistance, where they may not be included or managed adequately.

This discussion on the relationship between household head disability status and household food security status marks the end of the broader interrogation of the relationship between a number of socio-economic variables and household food security. It has been established that different household socio-economic factors relate to the different food security indicators in varied ways. It was also established that at times the same social or economic indicator can have different relationships with the different food security indicators, that is, it can demonstrate a significant relationship with one or two of the food security indicators and yet show no association with another amongst the suite of food security indicators used. These 'inconsistencies' point to the fact that there are other factors responsible for a household's food security status other than those relating to its socio-economic characteristics. These extra-household factors relate to the broader food system environment. It is for this reason that the following section explores urban governance dynamics in the context of household food security status.

7.4 Exploring urban governance dynamics and household food (in)security

This section explores urban governance dynamics and food security. The issues of interest that are explored are informed mainly by literature on what are considered to be the main objects of urban governance. To this end, the discussion will dwell on land allocation and land use management, provision and management of basic infrastructure and services. The transport system and food safety issues are also objects of urban governance which are however not treated in isolation in this section. They are examined together with land and infrastructure issues as cross-cutting. The objects of urban governance discussed in this subsection are not discussed as ends in themselves but instead are discussed in the context of them being means to an end of interest in this study, which is that of household food security. To gain a deeper understanding of urban governance dynamics, the exploration taps from the study's main analytical tools.

7.4.1 Household food security and land allocation and land use management dynamics

This subsection examines the interrelations between land allocation and land use management on one hand and household food security on the other hand using the case of Ward 28 in Bulawayo.

Urban local authorities have to deal with multiple contending interests for land, more so in contexts where urbanisation is increasing at a fast pace, yet the land resource remain finite. This is true of the city of Bulawayo as was highlighted in the context section of the study. In the context of food systems, one of the critical roles of land is the food production role. It is in this context that in this section focus is on how urban residents use the land for food production and the attendant enabling and disabling urban governance factors.

7.4.1.1 A Profile of Food Production Activities in Bulawayo's Ward 28

The most common usage of land for food production is backyard vegetable gardening as reflected in the survey findings where 75% of the respondents indicated that they do have a backyard vegetable garden. This is a good source of food especially vegetables. However, the challenge is that most of the residential plots in Ward 28 are very small. Residents and the city authorities indicated that most of the plots were on average 200m² in size. These two issues are supported by the qualitative excerpts from the FGD of women:

*The advantage is that you can stay for quite some time before going to buy vegetables elsewhere, at least you will be getting some vegetables from within the yard
Our yards are very small, they are just for you to subsist with your family because most of them are around 200 square metres in size... (10/04/21)*

Despite the advantages of backyard gardening as shown in excerpt one and perhaps because of spatial constraints concerns raised in excerpt two, there was no discernible food security advantage or disadvantage to households that had backyard gardens or those that did not. Findings point out that 68% of the 97 households were either in HFIAP categories 3 or 4 meaning they were either moderately or severely food insecure respectively. This compares well to 71.5% of the 297 who were found to be in the same HFIAP categories even though they had backyard gardens. Furthermore, there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables that was established. The other indicators of food security, that is HDDS and MAHFP were also found not to be predicated on backyard gardening.

The size of the plots also limits the range of agricultural activities that households can undertake within their yards. For instance, of the 398 respondents only 30 indicated rearing some poultry within their residential plots. This in spite of the fact that the city public health by-laws allow for residents to keep up to 20 units of poultry or ruminants without permission from the local authority. In an interview a city official from the Environmental Health Section of the Department of Health indicated that most households did not rear any poultry because the same by-laws go on to specify that poultry should be kept in proper fowl runs which should be at least 5 metres from any dwelling and any common boundary. This virtually disqualifies almost all households in low-income residential areas like Ward 28 thus depriving residents of means to augment household food requirements. This fact is further corroborated by findings relating to the growing of fruit trees. A significant 37.8% of all the sampled households indicated that they did not have an orchard or fruit trees in their yards. This could partly account for the low consumption of fruits as discerned in the foregoing.

The small sizes of residential plots partly inform the pervasiveness of unregulated agriculture in open spaces of Bulawayo and ward 28 in this case. Amongst the sampled households, 153 indicated that they are involved in unregulated agriculture. Of these, most (152) were into crop farming. However, their involvement in urban agriculture did not improve their food security status. Of these, 75.6% were either moderately or severely food insecure. However, the other way of looking at it is that these households engage in urban agriculture because of their precarious food security situation and as such urban agriculture should be seen as a survival strategy for households in distress (Crush et al., 2010). Nineteen of the households

who indicated that they practised unregulated agriculture outside their residential plots said they were into vegetable farming. Fourteen of those were either moderately or severely food insecure.

Respondents indicated through FGDs and in-depth interviews that whilst they had a desire to farm and augment their household food supplies there was a serious shortage of land. Some of these issues are evidenced in the following excerpts of interviews and FGD transcripts:

As people who are renting it's difficult to look for a plot as the next day you might be living elsewhere. So, it's best to utilise the place where you will be **(Household in-depth Interviewee #13)**

Some of us are renting and as such we cannot rear chickens which forces us to rely on buying from neighbours **(Participant, FGD for women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)**

You just delimit your own plot if you identify virgin land, you can start your agricultural activities **(Participant, FGD for women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)**

We will be working the fields by taking the risk not knowing whether you will see your crops through, or the land will be taken away from you before you harvest **(Participant, FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21)**

The first two excerpts show how land shortages affect household food supply. As was discussed earlier on especially in chapter 4, Bulawayo has been facing housing supply challenges since the colonial period. Bulawayo city council is still failing to meet the housing requirements of residents. As such, some of the residents find themselves renting houses or portions of houses where because of their insecure tenure status they might fail to engage in agricultural activities. The Bulawayo City Council does acknowledge its limitations in this respect in its urban agriculture policy. Crush et al., (2010) also buttress this observation on land shortages due to increased rates of urbanisation and attendant negative impact on availability of land to engage in food production activities. Excerpts 3 and 4 demonstrate that some people have just taken the initiative to grab whatever land they can grab and use it for as long as no legal claimant has challenged their use of the land. However, such kind of usage comes with a risk of the destruction of crops by the legal claimant or the representatives of the local authority. From the forms of power discussed in the earlier parts of the study, it is clear that the local authority sometimes uses instrumental power in the form of coercive instruments such as Municipal police and Rangers to try and manage unauthorised use of land. This is especially so for those cultivating in prohibited areas such as near or on riverbanks, near railway lines or roads and

below power lines. Notwithstanding council's use of instrumental power by flagging legal instruments and using coercion through its security apparatus, urban agriculture activities were observed to be prevalent in ward 28 especially during the rain-fed agricultural season. However, it is interesting to note that in spite of the existence of these avenues of instrumental power, the authorities at times mellow to the 'illegalities' involved in urban agriculture on 'humanitarian' grounds and political expediency. This came out in interviews with city officials in different departments such as those of Health, Housing and Community Services and Town Planning. The Ward 28 Councillor was even clearer on the issue as shown in the following interview excerpts:

They [city council] are against it because it's on the riverbanks, we engaged council they wanted to slash [crops] but we showed them that with this hunger they should be sympathetic to people but it's not legal (31/01/21).

Maize seeds under the Pfumvudza/Intwasa [government climate proofing programme for farming] programme came albeit very late. We were giving them inputs even if we knew they had no formally allocated land. We knew they will farm in the illegal plots (31/01/21).

The first excerpt shows that at times the City Council turns a blind eye on the illegalities of some of the urban agricultural activities on humanitarian grounds in view of the dire economic conditions in the country which have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The second excerpt shows the ambivalent attitude towards unregulated urban agriculture where on one hand there is recognition that aspects of the practice are illegal yet on the other recognising the actors by extending support to them.

In spite of the input support extended to some residents as detailed in the foregoing, the general sentiments from a broad spectrum of respondents were that for those who manage to get a piece of land to cultivate, the support they get is limited and haphazard. Whilst the BCC urban agriculture policy acknowledges the necessity of technical and financial support to farmers, there is nonetheless limited support for the farmers. This could partly be due to the fact that most of the households in ward 28 practise unauthorised farming. Nonetheless, the study established that generally the institutional framework for urban agriculture is very weak. Thus, there is a policy in place which however is characterised by weak or at times non-implementation at all. For instance, the policy stipulates that the local authority will constitute and constantly consult a multi-stakeholder forum comprising of amongst other stakeholders

farmers, agriculture professions, universities and financiers (BCC, 2007). However, this multi-stakeholder forum is not active as an official in the Social Services section indicated that:

..the policy has that provision, however, in practice the stakeholders are not that active as a coalition. What I have observed is that they are disjointed in terms of their work. Ideally they should be regularly meeting as stakeholders, come up with work plans that are periodically reviewed...(24/04/21).

This institutional weakness highlighted by the Council official finds expression in the experiences of the urban households who practise or intend practising urban agriculture. For instance, in household interviews and FGDs, households indicated that they were on their own in urban agriculture with no financial and technical support. However, some indicated that at times they do get limited input support from the central government. It is apparent from these findings that the failure of urban agriculture to positively influence household food security in ward 28 is partly due to weak governance arrangements that are failing to effectively back residents.

The issue of land allocation and management also affects the retail element of the food system. It is the local authority that is charged with the mandate of allocating land for different kinds of markets and management of the same. This also includes various forms of food markets. It emerged during interviews with a council official from the environmental health section and in an FGD with vendors that there was a serious shortage of vending stalls in Bulawayo in general and in Ward 28 in this case. The Council official pointed out that the dire macro-economic conditions that have characterised the Zimbabwean economy has equally affected council coffers and by extension its capacity to deliver services as stipulated in the Urban Councils Act of Zimbabwe. The declining macro-economic performance has been catastrophic to the food system and by extension household food security in mainly two ways. One of those ways is that with a declining economy the city has not been generating meaningful income to enable it to discharge its mandate effectively. Secondly, with a failing economy a significant proportion of the city's residents have over time been cumulatively added to the formally unemployed leading them to opt for informal employment as a source of livelihood. This then exerts pressure on the local authority to provide concomitant services to this growing population of informal sector participants. This included the provision of trading markets for those who trade in food items. A council official noted that:

Council finds itself in a very difficult situation because its income base has been narrowing and as such has had to make do with limited numbers of workers yet it is faced with rising cases of residents flouting the city's legal statutes in an effort to survive (Interview, BCC Official, Environmental Health Section, 24/05/21)

One such form of flouting of regulations is the widespread trading of food items on the streets including sensitive food items such as meat. Thus, this has a potential to negatively affect food safety as food sold in uninspected premises by unauthorised individuals is much more likely to be compromised than that sold in formally designated premises where council exercises oversight.

An interesting case highlighting the influence of informal institutions or what Gaventa (2006) calls hidden power is that of allocation of vending bays by people purportedly linked to the ruling ZANU-PF. In Bulawayo at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the BCC decentralised fresh produce markets to the suburban areas and closed some vending sites to decongest the CBD. Interestingly, one of the vending sites which was abolished (5th Avenue) has since been taken over by ZANU-PF youths who have begun allocating vending bays without the involvement of the local authority (Ncube, 2021; Sithole, 2021). It is of interest that these illegal acts are attributed to the ruling party given that BCC is run by the opposition MDC. As such, acts of this kind could be concretising Resnick's (2014) strategies of subversion in vertically divided authorities. These findings confirm Muchadenyika and Williams' (2018, p. 835) claim that:

urban politics is expressed through the use of informal and parallel structures to perform duties of local authorities. This strategy includes the use of political party structures and militia to control and parcel out urban land, and controlling and allocating flea markets to loyal ZANU (PF) supporters.

It is thus clear that there are hidden forms of power that are being used to advance a political agenda that seeks to stifle decentralisation efforts.

This subsection has grappled with land allocation and management challenges in so far as they interact with household food security. However, this is not the only object of urban governance that affects household food security. The other one relates to the provision of basic services and infrastructure.

7.4.2 State of infrastructure and food security in ward 28

Smit (2018a, 2018b) identifies the provision of infrastructure and services such as water, electricity, sanitation and roads as the second most basic object of urban governance. To this

end, the study interrogated the provision of these elements in Ward 28 in order to assess how their provision or lack thereof affected household food security. The findings thereof are discussed in this subsection.

According to the Ward Councillor, the state of service provision in the Ward is very poor. This relates to how some parts of the Ward were actually initiated as detailed below:

Box 7.3: The state of infrastructure and service provision in Ward 28

1. *The problem we have got here in Cowdray Park is that government [central] settled people on unserviced land so we are only starting to service the land now and its becoming a mammoth task. We are still using Blair toilets, we don't have a sewer system, I only managed to get them to connect water last year [2020] people were still using communal taps. Cowdray Park is a new baby it needs a lot of social services. I have 36 300 houses completed but we don't have a clinic here. So just imagine it's a disaster. We do not also have a police station. We have got only 2 police bases and they don't have a car to use. So that's why you see the crime rate in Cowdray Park is at its highest peak.*
2. *But when I came in now, I discovered we don't have schools in Hlalani Kuhle [one of the sections in Ward 28] and council doesn't have money. So I lobbied government that at least if we can get devolution funds for the city to be used in Cowdray Park. We managed to build a school, Vulindlela primary school. Though it's not complete its got two blocks with six classrooms The main bridge that links the old Cowdray park with the new Cowdray park there was no bridge, I also used devolution funds to construct a bridge and tar which is 1,4 km from the old Cowdray Park to the new Cowdray park. So it's now easier for kids to go to school, Before during the rainy season they could not go to school because there was no bridge*
3. *...the roads are in a bad state, and I am going to be meeting them [residents] after this to ask them to donate two US dollars per household, maybe we can do our roads. Because I had a meeting last week with the Town Clerk, council has got no money, government [central] promised but we don't know when. So as of now we can't move, so if the residents chip in and we raise something like 40 thousand USD we give it to council to do our roads (31/04/21)*

Excerpt 1 in Box 7.3 highlights how power dynamics in a multi-level urban governance system at times impacts service provision. As was noted in the discussion on land allocation and management, Bulawayo faces challenges in terms of availing both land for housing and housing units to its growing population of residents. This service delivery limitation was ostensibly seen by the central government as one of the reasons for the burgeoning informality in all its forms in Zimbabwe's urban areas which culminated in *Operation Murambatsvina*, a government clean-up programme. As was noted earlier on in the study, to counteract some of the effects of the clean-up exercise government instituted a rebuilding programme called *Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* (Maphosa et al., 2012). It is this programme that resulted in

the establishment of a huge proportion of Ward 28 which the Ward Councillor is referring to in excerpt 1. Regrettably, "...Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle faces severe challenges of infrastructure servicing, completing the houses and handing over the projects to local authorities (Muchadenyika, 2015, p.16). Therefore, excerpt one concretises the claims made by Muchadenyika and many other scholars as it shows that Ward 28 is in dire straits infrastructurally. However, the concern of this study is mainly on examining how these infrastructural deficiencies affect household food security. To this end, the following subsections interrogate the relationship between different indicators of food security and provision of certain services.

7.4.2.1 Food security status of households in serviced and partially serviced residential plots

The nature of Ward 28 especially with respect to infrastructural development and service provision aptly fits the introductory part in Charles Dickens' classic, *A Tale of Two Cities* as it can be described as two wards in 1. This is because it has a good proportion of its households living in serviced residential properties and another significant part of the population living in partially serviced residential plots as described in excerpts 1-3 in box 7.3. Table 7.7 summarises the relationship between site category (i.e. serviced and partially serviced) and household food security status as defined by HFIAP. The table shows that there were 204 sampled households in the serviced portion of the study area. Out of those households, 63 (30.9%) were severely food insecure, 77 were moderately food insecure, 34 mildly food insecure and 30 were food secure. For the partially serviced households, out of the 194 households, 71 (36.6%) of the households were severely food insecure, followed by 70 which were moderately food insecure. The remaining households were either mildly food insecure (27) or food secure (26). It is clear from these highlights that there is no clearly discernible pattern of differences between households in serviced residential plots and those in partially serviced plots. The chi-square test showed that the relationship between site category and household food security status is statistically insignificant ($p=0.648$).

Table 7.7: Household Food Security Status by Site Category

SITE CATEGORY			HFIAP				Total
			1	2	3	4	
	Serviced	Count	30	34	77	63	204
		% within Site category	14.7%	16.7%	37.7%	30.9%	100.0%
		% within HFIAP	53.6%	55.7%	52.4%	47.0%	51.3%
	Partially Serviced	Count	26	27	70	71	194
		% within Site category	13.4%	13.9%	36.1%	36.6%	100.0%
		% within HFIAP	46.4%	44.3%	47.6%	53.0%	48.7%

Source: Primary Field Data
n=398

Site category was also cross tabulated with HDDS as a food security indicator and the results are presented in figure 7.10. The findings in figure 7.10 indicate that a significant proportion (47.1%) of households living in serviced residential plots were in the HDDS range of between 7 and 9. For those in partially serviced residential plots 41.2% of them were in the same HDDS range. However, on the lower ranges of HDDS of 6 or less 30% households in the partially serviced areas were in that category. This is in comparison to 24% of the households in the same HDDS category which were from the serviced residential areas. There are thus marginal differences between households from serviced and partially serviced areas with respect to their dietary diversity. HDDS and site category were found to interrelate in a statistically significant way ($p=0.046$). However, with a phi value of ($p=0.216$) the strength of association is very weak between the two.

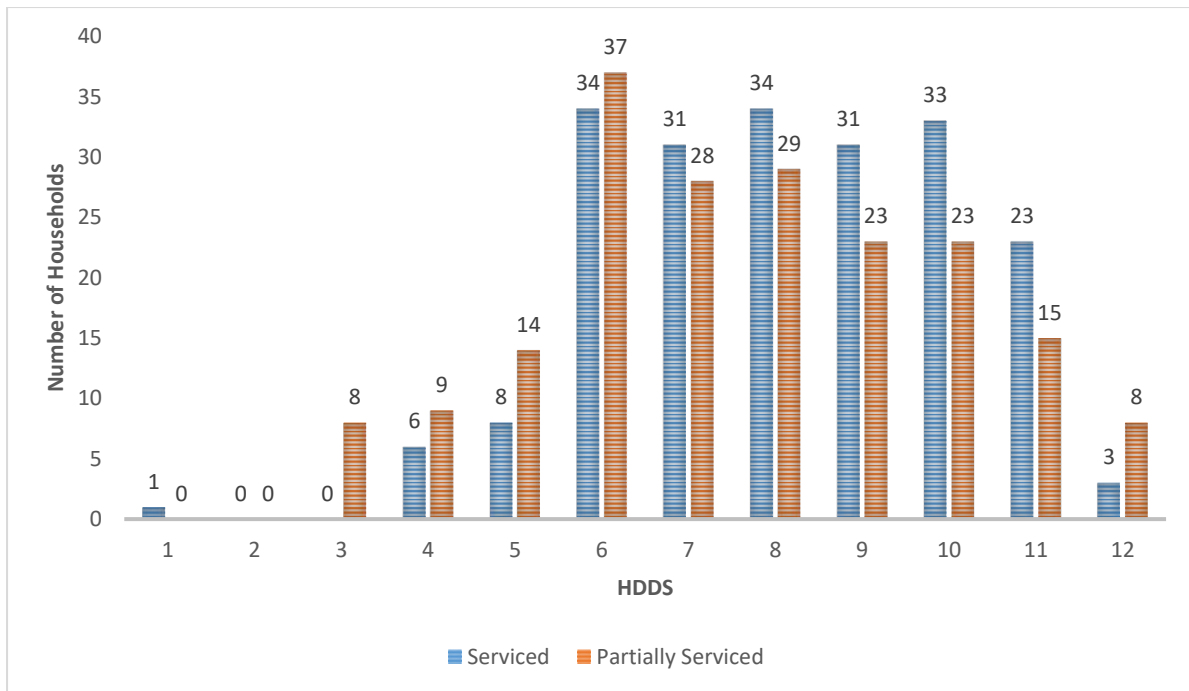


Figure 7.10: Distribution of HDDS by Site Category

Source: Primary Field Data

N=398 (Serviced n =204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

To gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between site category and household food security, site category was cross tabulated with MAHFP. The findings are summarised in figure 7.11.

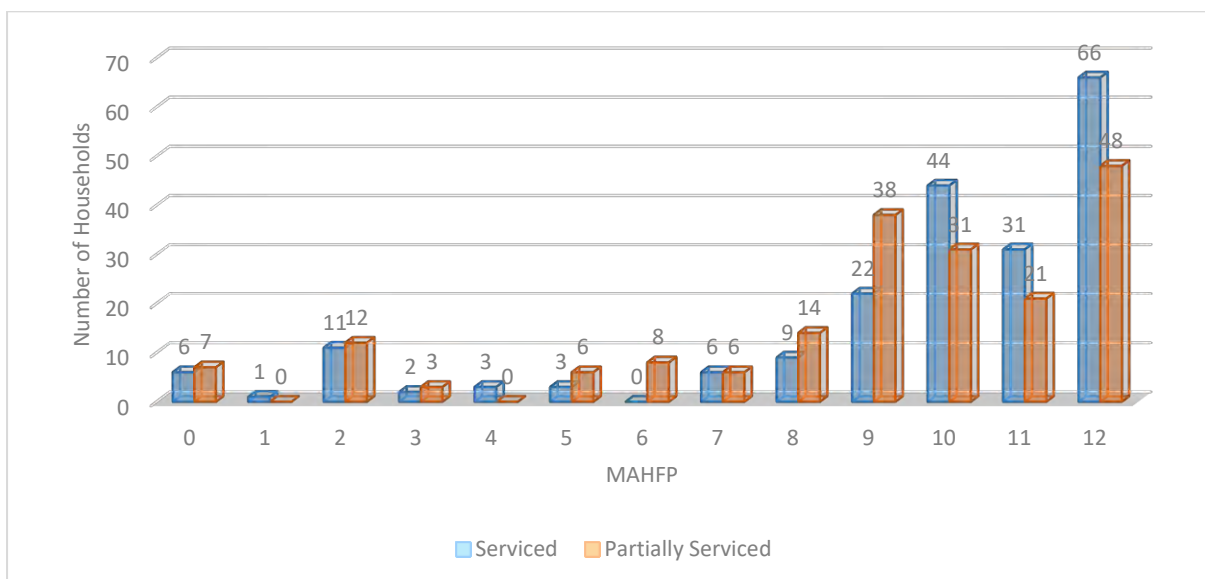


Figure 7.11: MAHFP Scores Distributed by Site Category

Source: Primary Field Data

N=398 (Serviced n=204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

A glance at figure 7.11 shows that generally there are more households which indicated that they could provide for their food needs for 9 or more months in the 12 months preceding the survey. However, there are marginally more households on serviced residential areas categories. A chi-square test revealed that the relationship between the two is statistically significant ($p=0.013$). However, the strength of association was on the low side suggesting that the state of service delivery or infrastructure provision is not a good predictor of a household's food security status.

This subsection has interrogated the interactions between household food security and state of infrastructure provision. The interactions between the two have been seen to be generally weak. However, it will be anomalous to just leave the analysis at that generic level without necessarily examining how specific elements of service provisioning or lack thereof actually impact households' food related experiences. As such the following subsection interrogates the relationship between household food related experiences and service provision in ward 28.

Households' main sources of buying food by site category

The study sought to find out how service provision affects household food related experiences and behaviours. As such households were probed on their main sources of buying food. The findings were cross tabulated with site category, that is, whether the households lived in serviced or partially serviced areas. The findings are summarised in figure 7.12.

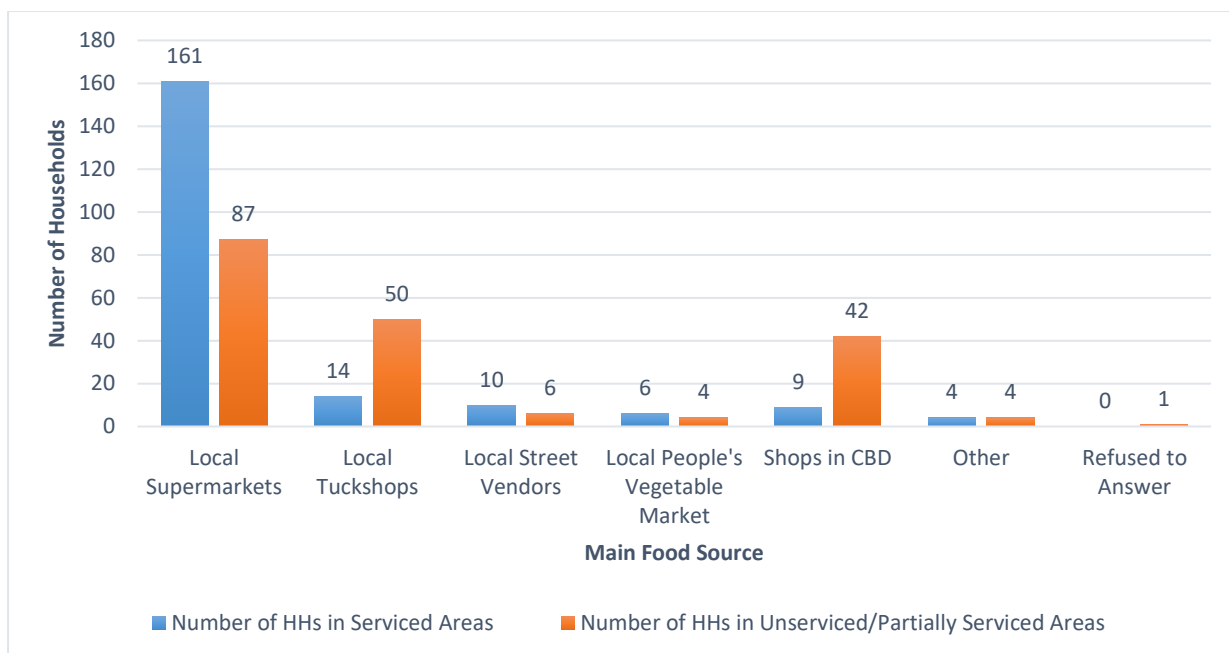


Figure 7.12: Households' Main Sources for buying food
Source: Primary Field Data
N=398 (Serviced n =204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

It is clear from figure 7.12 that 248 out of the 398 sampled households rely on supermarkets to access food. However, those households living in serviced areas had higher rates (79%) of reliance on supermarkets than those (45%) from partially serviced areas. Another discernible difference is that whilst 26% of households in the partially serviced section of the Ward indicated that they mainly bought their food from tuck-shops compared to only 7% in the serviced areas. Furthermore, 21.6% of the households in the partially serviced areas indicated that they mainly bought their food from the city central business district compared to 4.4% in the serviced areas. It is clear from these findings that the extent of service provision influences a household's choices with respect to certain aspects of food, in this case where to buy food. The relationship between service provision and food sourcing point was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.000$) and the association moderately strong with a phi value of 0.407.

Distances travelled to the main source of buying food were also interrogated and findings are presented in figure 7.13.

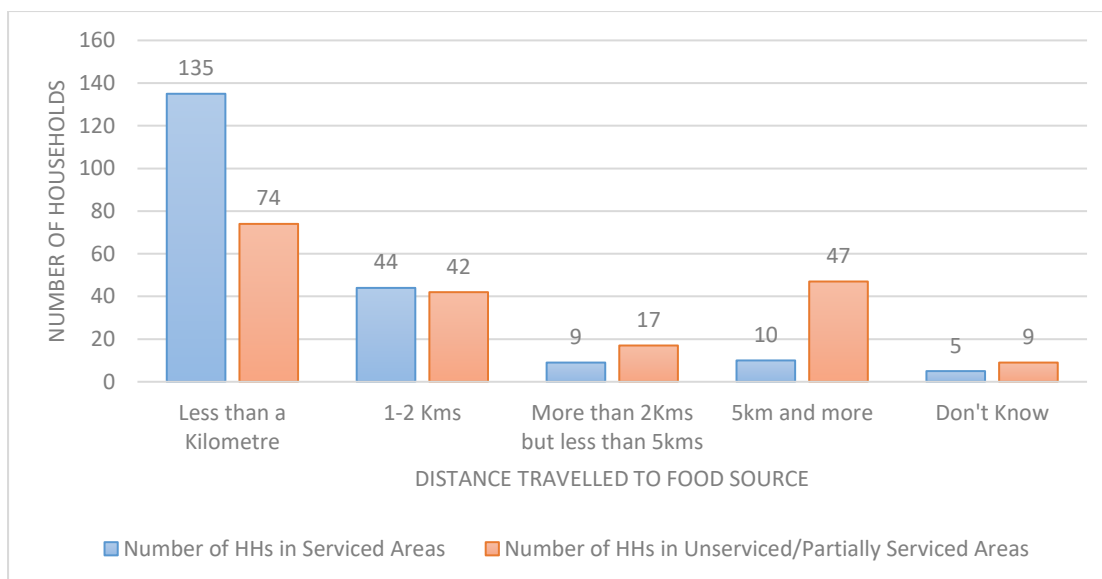


Figure 7.13: Distance to Main Food Source

Source: Primary Field Data

N=398 (Serviced n =204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

From figure 7.13 it is clear that households in partially serviced areas travel greater distances to their main food buying points compared to those in serviced areas. This is evidenced by the fact that the majority (68%) in serviced areas travel for less than a kilometre to their main food source whereas only 38% have that luxury amongst those who stay in partially serviced areas. The relationship between distance travelled to main food source and site category was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.000$) and the association mildly strong at phi value of 0.345. The distance travelled to the main food source affects the time taken as figure 7.14 shows. Figure 7.14 shows that 63.7% of households in serviced areas on average take thirty minutes round trip to and from their main food source. This is in comparison to 38% for the households in the partially serviced areas. Furthermore, 22.7% in partially serviced areas indicated taking more than 2 hours round trip to and from their main food source. This is not surprising given that a significant portion of them indicated that they actually go to the CBD to buy their food. It is also not surprising given that some indicated that they reside more than 5 kilometres (round trip) from the nearest supermarket.

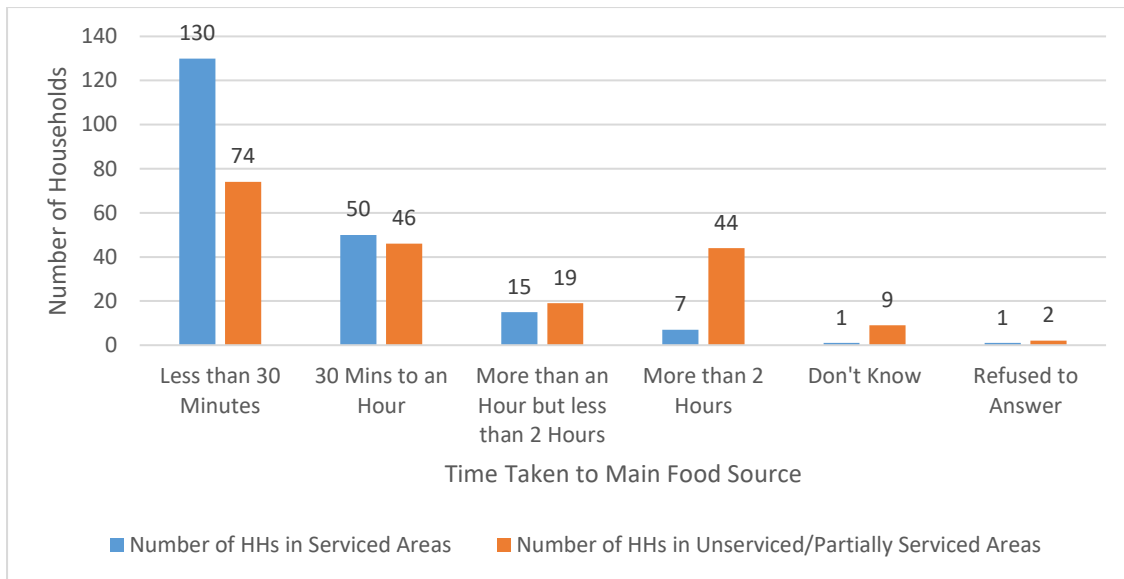


Figure 7.14: Time taken to travel to Main Food Source

Source: Primary Field Data

N=398 (Serviced n =204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

A chi-square test showed that the relationship between time taken to the main source of buying food and site category is statistically significant ($p=0.000$) with a mild strength of association at phi 0.315.

The findings presented in the foregoing also reflect on the accessibility system as an object of urban governance. It was observed that roads were generally very poor and largely impassable during the rainy season. As such residents indicated in FGDs that this made it difficult for them to access certain foods especially from the CBD. At the time of the survey, the Councillor was trying to convince each household to contribute towards a road fund that would see the Ward residents taking the initiative to rehabilitate their roads.

Site Category, Provision of Utilities and linkages to Household Food Security

In this subsection, the study examines the provision of utilities in order to assess the likely impact on the different dimensions of food security. In terms of main cooking energy source, the findings are presented in figure 7.15.

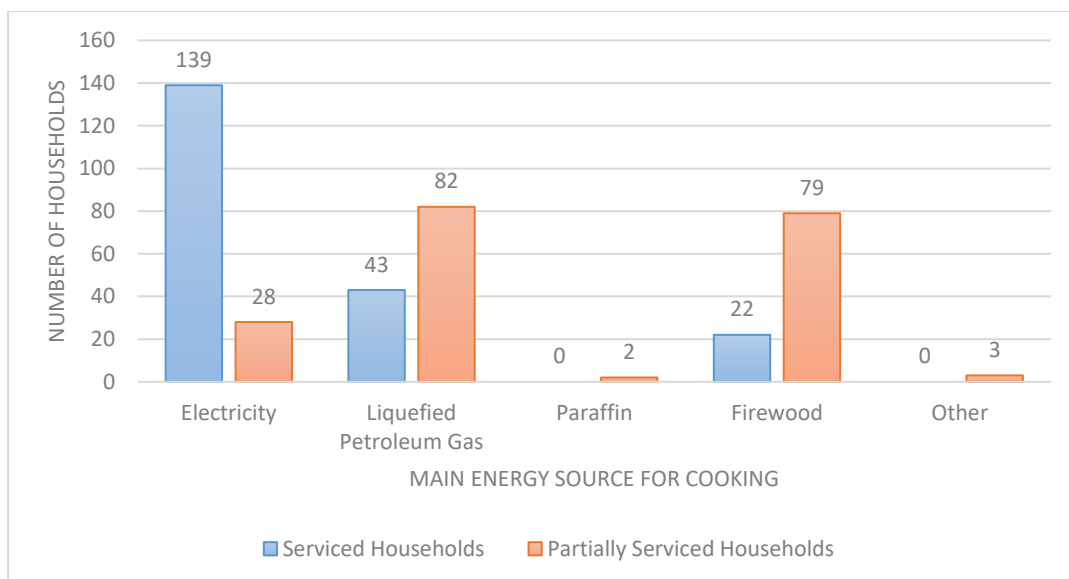


Figure 7.15: Households' Main Source of Cooking Energy by Site Category

Source: Primary Field Data

N=398 (Serviced n =204 and Partially Serviced n=194)

Figure 7.15 clearly shows the gulf between serviced and partially serviced areas with respect to energy provision. The primary source of urban household cooking energy in Bulawayo and in Zimbabwean urban areas in general is electricity. ZIMVAC (2020) found that 85% of households in Bulawayo were primarily reliant on electricity for cooking. And the national average was 46.6%. Figure 7.15 shows that 68% of the households in serviced areas primarily rely on electricity whereas 83% of households in partially serviced areas rely on either Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LP Gas) or firewood.

Whilst the connections between main source of cooking energy and household food security might not be apparent at face value, engagements with a cross section of respondents in FGDs, interviews with households and with key informants established some interesting interconnections which are presented in table 7.8.

Table 7.8: The energy-food security nexus in the eyes of the respondents

Excerpts of Household Experiences on energy and food security	Key Emergent Food Security Themes
<i>We avoid buying perishable food and if we do we make sure the food is prepared and consumed on that very day... (Household in-depth interviewee#2)</i>	Alteration of dietary preferences
<i>We avoid cooking meals that take some time to prepare like beans, samp, and tripe etc. using electricity because it is too expensive. Things like vegetables are very cheap to get and can be prepared in minutes (Participant female FGD, 10/04/21).</i>	Alteration of dietary preferences and possibly affecting nutritional status
<i>Because people have decimated the nearby bushes we now have to travel very far to areas like Norwood, Denver Farm and some other areas. So we now avoid cooking energy Intensive foods (Household in-depth interviewee#7)</i>	Alteration of dietary preferences and choice of less energy intensive foods might affect nutritional status
<i>Here you have to go to the shops everyday whether one has electricity or not. You can't afford to buy a lot of perishables because electricity supplies are unreliable (Participant, female FGD, 10/04/21).</i>	Food access compromised and dietary choices altered
<i>You can lose a lot of money if there is electricity supply failure for longer durations. So, it's either one buys every day, or you opt for dry foods like sugar beans, matemba, tinned foods eggs and others (Household in-depth interviewee#9).</i>	Alteration of food sourcing behaviour; food utilisation and stability compromised
<i>I now cook once in the afternoon because getting firewood is a struggle especially during the rainfall season. I can't afford firewood that is on sale here in Cowdray Park because a bundle of about 3-5 logs goes for US\$1 (Household in-depth interviewee#15).</i>	Dietary choices altered

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

It is interesting to note from excerpts in table 7.8 that the main issue affecting households is not only the supply of electricity, but also rather access to electricity too. It is clear that even those households with physical access to electricity at times fail to access it because of supply disruptions or due to lack of financial resources. Furthermore, electricity access is crucial in the storage of food as most households commonly use a refrigerator for storing perishable food. Two hundred (50.3%) of the sampled households indicated that they did not have a refrigerator or had one but could not make use of it because their dwellings were not connected to an electricity source. This also limits the range of dietary items a household can consume as is shown in table 7.8. These findings resonate with those of Battersby and Haysom (2019b, no page number) where it is noted that “[t]he dwelling structure and amenities also influence food security. The lack of adequate refrigeration or storage shapes purchasing habits both in terms of volumes and categories of food bought.” Similarly, Ballantine et al.,’s (2008) findings on

the relationship between household food security level and refrigeration ownership in the Eastern Cape province in the Klipplaat area revealed that households without refrigerators were more likely to be food insecure compared to those with refrigerators.

Another key utility that relates to household food security is water provision. Amongst the sampled households most households indicated that they relied on a tap inside dwelling for water supply. These and other findings are presented in table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Household Sources of Drinking and Cooking water

Type of water Source	Number of Households Using it	Frequency in %
Tap water inside dwelling	297	74.6
Tap water outside dwelling	73	18.3
Communal Tap/Standpipes	7	1.8
Other	21	5.3
Total	398	100

Source: Primary Field Data, 2021

Table 7.9 shows that generally for most households, water sources are within the residential plots of sampled households. However, FGD participants indicated that they faced a lot of challenges in terms of access as there is haphazard water shedding which at times lasted for a week. The following excerpt from a participant in an FGD for females illuminates this issue:

Life in Cowdray Park [ward 28] is just the same whether you have a water connection or not, whether you have an electricity connection or not, it's just the same. Even when they are load shedding or water shedding, they do that without prior notification. They just do it! For me Cowdray Park is the worst in Bulawayo (Participant, Female FGD. 10/04/21).

The respondents indicated that water supply challenges negatively affected their livelihoods. They indicated that at times their vegetables in backyard gardens wilted due to prolonged spells without being watered. The following two excerpts illuminate the difficult circumstances households find themselves in due to water access challenges:

The difficulty that we face is that you will be watering your vegetable garden using tap water. When the bill comes it will be frightening and at the end people fail to settle their water bill because you cannot avoid watering the garden (Household in-depth Interviewee #15)

During the dry season our vegetables will be wilting, what can you use when there is no water due to water shedding? (FGD for females, 10/04/21)

It is challenges such as the ones highlighted in the above excerpts that lead some households to resort to the use of sewer streams for watering some of their vegetables. Such coping strategies and their impact will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The broad findings in this section attest to claims in literature on the relationship between state of service delivery and household food security. For instance, Battersby (2011) found out that households in informal settlements of Cape Town were likely to be more food insecure than those living in formal housing. The findings in Ward 28 however show that whilst there are no discernible patterns pertaining to the relationship of household food security and whether or not the household resides in a serviced or partially serviced area. Nonetheless, it came out that there are clear channels through which urban governance dynamics affect household food behaviours and choices.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine the interrelationships that obtain between urban governance and household food security. As such it began by profiling the sampled households in terms of their food security status using the food security indicators of HFIAP, HDDS and MAHFP. The profile of the households substantiates the view held in literature that for households in poor urban communities, food insecurity is an intractable problem. However, findings point to the fact that most of the households experience milder to moderate forms of food insecurity.

The chapter also grappled with the nature of the diets consumed by sampled households and came to the conclusion that their HDDS was on average in the mid-range with outliers on both the positive and negative ends of the HDDS scale. However, it was noted that simply looking at average HDDS scores masks the exact consumption patterns of the households. Thus, to gain deeper insights into households' food security an analysis of the constituent elements of the food consumed was done. The analysis revealed that the consumption patterns of most households are consistent with the nutrition transition associated with urbanisation in Africa. The nutrition transition typically encompasses high rates of consumption of cereals/starches, saturated fats/oils, sugar and processed foods. Thus, even if the sampled households had relatively higher HDDS, the nutritional adequacy of the diets is questionable.

Stability is a key dimension of food security that cuts across all the other food security dimensions. To this end, the chapter profiled the households using the MAHFP indicator.

Generally, the households were found to be relatively self-sufficient throughout the year. However, given that the study was conducted during a state of disaster period (COVID-19), some of the trends associated with MAHFP did not emerge in the household survey but instead emerged in FGDs and interviews. It emerged that there are distinct periods where a significant proportion of households struggle with assuring their food security. These relate to calendar cycles related to issues such as beginning of school terms and associated expenditures.

To gain a better understanding of the food security situation just described, the chapter proceeded to interrogate household food security and its relationship with select socio-economic variables such as average incomes, main source of incomes, proportion of income spent on food, household size and household heads' disability statuses. The chapter did not establish any discernible pattern of association between household food security status and households' income. This is largely contrary to established knowledge in literature that since food in urban areas is largely accessed through buying it follows that those households with higher incomes are likely to be food secure compared to their low-income counterparts. This pattern was also discerned where proportion of household income was associated with household food security status. What these findings bring to the fore is that whilst intra-household level factors are critical in explaining the food security status of households it is equally important to look at them in conjunction with extra-household factors. For instance, in this case, the plausible explanation for these 'unique' findings could be that the food insecurity experienced by households with higher incomes could be due to COVID-19 induced systemic failures in the food environment. Another notable finding was that the main source of income was critical in predicting the household food security status with permanent wage earners likely to be food secure compared to temporary and casual wage earners.

The last part of the chapter examined the interrelationship between urban governance processes and structures and household food security. The examination showed that there is no clear relationship between aspects of urban governance (in this case proxied by whether a household was living in a serviced or partially serviced area) with household food security. Thus both groups of households were found to be experiencing food insecurity. However, an analysis of some urban governance elements such as land allocation and management, provision of basic infrastructure and services revealed that these elements are critical in informing households' choices and behaviours related to food issues.

Having gained this understanding on the relationship between household food security and urban governance, the next chapter will build from this to provide greater insights into how

households navigate these urban governance environments to realise desired food security outcomes.

Chapter 8 : UNDERSTANDING THE AGENCY OF THE URBAN POOR IN THE FOOD SYSTEM

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production' (Foucault 1991, p.194).

8.1 Introduction

Foucault's assertion in the above epigraph conjures the idea that in spite of a myriad of structural and process challenges (understood through Michel de Certeau as strategies) inherent in the Bulawayo food system that are seemingly staked against the urban poor as highlighted in the preceding chapters, the urban poor nonetheless somehow find their way (understood through de Certeau as tactics) through the urban food system. Thus, through their agency they are capable of producing their own reality within the food system. Thus, in spite of the domineering effect of urban management structures and processes, the urban poor are able to hold their own through findings spaces to operate as part of their everyday activities. It is in this respect that in fulfilment of study objective 'f' which is to identify and analyse the agency of the urban poor in contributing to the urban food system in Bulawayo, this chapter seeks to bring an understanding of the agency of the urban poor in the food system. This includes exploring their participation in food production in order to highlight the challenges they face and the agential initiatives they take to overcome those challenges for better food security outcomes. The chapter will also examine the participation of the poor in food processing, packaging and distribution. In addition, an exploration of the urban poor's participation in food retail is done. Finally, the chapter explores how households navigate negative food system outcomes in their households.

In bringing about this understanding, the chapter relies on Gaventa's power analysis framework, the power cube as an analytical tool because food security as one of the outcomes of food system environment and activities is characterised by multiple contestations for place and interests. Consequently, power relations are of critical importance in understanding food systems and their outcomes. The broad food system categories are taken as spaces of power. As such, the chapter interrogates the interactions between power, urban governance and agency/everyday practice as discerned from the working of the food system. In addition, the chapter also draws from de Certeau's theorisation on the everyday in order to understand everyday practices of the urban poor within the food system.

8.2 ‘Farming in the city’: participation of the poor in urban agriculture

The heading of this sub-section is inspired by de Certeau’s “Walking in the City” in which de Certeau theorises that the very essence of the constitution of a city is premised on the activities of those who ‘walk’ through the city. In the context of urban food systems, urban farming thus becomes a critical activity in shaping the form of the city and in the process structuring social relations. The food production space of the food system epitomises how urban governance structures and processes exclude or marginalise poor actors in Bulawayo. The production of food is regulated and hence expected to take place in spaces that are designated through formal planning regulations. Some BCC officials interviewed indicated that some of the regulations are carried in legal and policy instruments such as the Bulawayo urban agriculture policy, the City’s Master Plan, Regional Town and Country Planning Act: (Chapter 29:12), the Bulawayo Protection of Lands and Natural Resources By Laws, 1975 and the Bulawayo (Public Health) By Laws, 1966 amongst others. Thus, through these instruments, a ‘conceived space’ has been created by the authorities to identify and regulate spaces of agricultural production in the urban context (Lefebvre, 1991). For instance, in the urban agriculture policy it is stated that:

[t]he current City of Bulawayo Master Plan (2000 – 2015) has revealed that there are some 11 000 hectares of vacant land in the city. Most of this land is suitable for residential, commercial and industrial development. However, before if it is put to such use, urban agriculture can be practiced thereon. The main problem is accessibility of the land to farmers as it does not belong to those who wish to farm the land. The land is largely owned by private individuals sometimes even by absentee landlords (BCC, 2007, p.13-14).

It can be discerned that there is use of visible forms of power such as planning instruments to exclude or marginalise the poor in land access. Furthermore, this marginalisation is discursively couched in the language of public health, environmentalism and order in the urban environment to guard against ‘ruralising the urban’ (Lacour and Puissant, 2007) amongst other things. However, in spite of these institutional barriers, the urban poor are not deterred, and they create their own food production spaces as indicated below:

[t]his [unauthorised urban agriculture] is the most prevalent form of urban agriculture in the city although it is seasonal occurring mostly during the rainy season... Cultivation takes place almost everywhere and during the rainy season maize fields become so much part of the city’s landscape that it is often even unnoticed as one moves around the city. It is done around the house, in open spaces, along roadsides, or vleis, water courses and stream banks, on hill slopes, on old rubbish dumps, along servitudes

for electricity, water and sewers. A lot of urban farming is carried out on land that was planned, surveyed and even serviced, awaiting development in some cases (BCC, 2007, p.12).

Indeed, the study's empirical findings confirm the above as 163 (41%) of the households indicated that they practised some form of agriculture outside their residential plots but still within the precincts of the city of Bulawayo. Of those that indicated practising agriculture outside of their residential plots, 12.4% indicated that they were into vegetable gardening, 99.3% indicated crop farming and no one was into poultry or livestock rearing. To further validate some of the claims raised in the above quotation, 75% of the respondents who indicated practising some form of farming outside their residential plots noted that they did so without authorisation from the local authority whereas 22% did not know and 3% indicated that they had authorisation. Qualitative findings as shown in the excerpts below further buttress this notion that poor urban households are not just victims of visible forms of power emanating from the authorities but do push back through one form of resistance or another, in this case through disregarding the existing regulatory instruments.

You just carve your own plot if you see any fallow piece of land, you just start to farm
(Participant, FGD for females, 10/04/21)

We just take our chances, you just cultivate the land not knowing whether the land will be taken away from you or not **(Ward 28 FGD for females)**

As you can see here it's someone's stand, we used to cultivate there. You just use it and keep quiet and when the owner comes you just accept that they have come. **(Household in-depth Interviewee #14)**

The above excerpts indicate that respondents are well aware of their precarious tenure position with regards to the land they use for their agricultural activities, but they nonetheless take their chances. This shows that even if the spaces of production are legally closed, poor urban residents 'open' them up for use in carrying out their agricultural activities. This is what Lata (2018) theorises as 'counter-space.'

However, in spite of this 'resistance' by some households, it also became apparent that there are some households which have become victims of invisible power as deciphered by Gaventa. Residency status has been adopted by the community as one of the ways of accessing land with house owners at the apex of this stratification followed by lessees (of part or the whole property) of properties in Ward 28 next in line. This arrangement made it difficult for people from faraway places to claim pieces of land within or adjacent to the Ward. Quantitative

and qualitative findings also attest to this reality. For instance, the survey revealed that 50.5% of respondents who indicated owning houses were also into farming outside of their residential plots compared to 27.4% of lessees of full properties and 31% of lessees of portions of houses. Furthermore, in in-depth household interviews a common response by respondents who indicated that they were lessees pertaining to their non-participation in agricultural activities outside their residential plots was that their household tenure status was largely responsible for that. They indicated that house owners have become de facto ‘landlords/land barons’ by virtue of the fact that they were the first to settle in the vicinity and hence allocated tracts of fallow land to themselves. These are what Vélez-Guerra (2004) calls ‘longstanding de facto tenants’. Vélez-Guerra (2004, p.30) goes on to point out that on one hand, “[f]arming urban land, without landowner authori[s]ation and based on first come first serve basis (coloni[s]ation), has been a reality in developing cities not only for UA but also housing.” For lessees on the other hand because of their ‘late arrival’ and ‘temporary status’ it becomes difficult to access this land except in the hinterlands or as a tenant of a longstanding de facto tenant. This is exemplified in the following excerpts:

It’s difficult for us lessees of properties to access land for agricultural purposes since most of the land is already ‘owned’ by those who came before us and most of those happen to be house owners. In addition, the other challenge we face is that we move a lot as there is no security of tenure in leasing. This makes it difficult for one to invest his or her energies in cultivating a plot that s/he does not know will be his/hers for how long (Household in-depth Interviewee #11)

Land for agricultural activities is in high demand and for us lessees we stand minimal chances of having one’s own plot. So if one is really desperate for land we end up leasing land from the de facto owners (Household in-depth Interviewee #12).

I have around ten plots in this area. We were the pioneers here in Cowdray Park and there was plenty of land lying idle then. I work some of the fields and in other seasons if I find someone desperate for a field I let it out for money or I get a portion of their harvest (Household in-depth Interviewee #3)

Excerpt 3 exemplifies the tactic used by the urban poor to maintain land claimed in the past. Whilst at face value one might think leasing out land to others is just an economic decision, the decision however points to a tactic meant to ensure the land is always in use as a way of ‘marking one’s territory.’ This example demonstrates that a person can use a range of tactics to achieve multiple ends.

The issue of accessing land through informal renting or borrowing as discerned in excerpt 3 above is confirmed by other scholars who established the same in different case studies (D'Alessandro, Hanson & Kararach, 2016; McLees, 2011; Redwood, 2009). Furthermore, the power relations amongst the poor mirror what Williams and Rodgers (2008, p.174) observed in post-Soviet Ukraine where “[t]he spaces in the new location could be exclusionary as practices there will have their own deep-rooted antecedents and social networks built on trust and customs, so ‘space’ would be limited for newcomers”. This is precisely what is happening in Ward 28 with respect to accessing UA land by ‘late comers’ in the Ward.

8.2.1 Production strategies for surviving in an industrial food system

The activities of the urban poor in the production element of the food system are themselves partly a coping strategy to deal with the debilitating food security impacts of the current food system. This dominant food system whilst largely capable of physically availing food to the communities nonetheless precludes a great many of the poor as access to food is largely contingent on availability of economic means. As was shown in the preceding chapters, the majority of respondents are on the fringes of the formal mainstream economy largely as a result of a plethora of negative macroeconomic developments in the country in general and Bulawayo in particular. Even for those who have sought to earn a livelihood in the informal economy, shocks such as the COVID-19 related restrictions have made it difficult for them to realise decent returns (Banda Chitsamatsanga & Malinga, 2021; Dzawanda, Matsa and Nicolau, 2021). Under these conditions, for some respondents urban agriculture thus becomes a livelihood strategy to help in ensuring household food security. Given that most of the study participants indicated that they spend a greater proportion of their income on food, engaging in urban agriculture becomes a way of lessening the burden of accessing food through buying. To this end, Redwood surmises that, “[f]ood is often the single largest expenditure of poor families - up to 77% for many families -- any savings in its purchase can release a significant portion of income for other uses” (Redwood 2009, p.9).

Other than saving to ease economic pressure on limited income, another interesting aspect of urban agriculture as practised in Bulawayo and other poor urban communities in the Global South is that urban agriculture also enables poor urban households to ‘stall/reverse’ the ‘nutrition transition’ characterising most food systems in Africa. A recurring narrative in literature on urban food systems in Africa is that these are characterised by amongst other things a shift in diets from the ‘traditional’ to the ‘modern’ (Cockx et al., 2017; International

Food Policy Research Institute, 2002; Osei-Kwasi, et al., 2021). These ‘modern diets’ are characterised by ultra-processed foods which are high in sugar, fat and energy and are usually procured at relatively lower prices (Boatema et al., 2018; Osei-Kwasi, et al., 2021). Crush et al., (2011, p.23) argue that “In some urban food markets, the industrial food processing and supply system has replaced traditionally nutritious foods (still available in many rural areas) with nutritionally inferior, energy-dense but cheaper foods and drink.” Given that most respondents indicated cultivating ‘traditional’ crops generally cultivated in the rural areas, urban agricultural activities thus offer the bridge between the urban and rural spaces with respect to diets. These crops include maize, sweet potatoes, melons, pumpkins, groundnuts, roundnuts, pulses etc. In addition, urban agriculture assists the poor communities to access healthy and nutritious foods associated with rural diets in an environment dominated by industrially produced processed foods which are relatively cheap but detrimental to their health. However, one should not overstate the impact of urban agriculture in this regard because of the limited scale in which it is practised partly as a result of constraints just highlighted in the foregoing. As the major limiting factor seems to be space, urban residents make use of all ‘available’ spaces including their backyards.

8.2.2 Maximising available space for food production through backyard farming

Backyard farming mainly in the form of vegetable gardening and poultry rearing also assist the poor urbanites to access nutritious food at relatively lower costs. Thus, this is another ‘tactic’ that respondents indicated using to carve their own space in an urban food system dominated by food accessed through market channels. To this end, 75% of the respondents indicated that they practise backyard vegetable gardening. To demonstrate that this is largely for domestic consumption, only 10% of these respondents indicated that they sell the produce derived from their gardening activities. In addition, 247 (61%) of the respondents indicated that they have orchards or fruit trees within their residential plots. Again, to show that these are mainly for domestic consumption, only 5% of the respondents indicated that they sell the fruits cultivated within their yards. With respect to poultry rearing, 30 (7.5%) respondents pointed out that they rear chickens within their residential plots. Furthermore, 9 of these indicated that they sell the poultry they rear. Interestingly, 97% of the respondents who indicated that they rear poultry within their yards pointed out that they do so without authorisation from the local authority. This is not surprising given the small sizes of residential plots and existing by-laws relating to rearing of poultry within residential areas. Thus, the local authority’s use of visible power

through instrumentalising its by-laws is partly responsible for the relatively small number of respondents participating in backyard poultry production. Nonetheless, the agency of the respondents can be seen in that they do respond with ‘tactics’ that enable them to find ways of rearing poultry in spite of the existence of regulatory mechanisms meant to stifle this practice in defined contexts as the following excerpts show:

We build temporary structures for rearing chickens so that even if Council people come and destroy, we do not lose much (Participant Male FGD, 10/04/21).

I keep my chickens within the house. I have turned one of the rooms into a fowl run of some sort (Participant Female FGD, 10/04/21).

I had a moveable cage made for me; this is where I keep my layers. I know that even if the authorities come, I can always hide the cage even within the house. Building a permanent structure is risky as we saw during the Murambatsvina era when unsanctioned structures were mercilessly destroyed (Participant Male FGD, 10/04/21).

It is clear that the poor urbanites are not deterred by regulatory hurdles in their quest to earn a living through poultry farming in an otherwise legally closed space. It is also of interest that 70% of the respondents who were into poultry farming did so for domestic consumption. Some of the reasons for backyard poultry production also show the agency of the respondents within the food system. A commonly cited issue in FGDs and in-depth household interviews was that meat prices were exorbitant, and it was better if one reared their own chickens. Some further averred that commercially produced broiler chickens were ‘tasteless’ and hence they preferred to rear their own indigenous breeds of chickens which they got from their rural areas. This is an important aspect of food security as FAO (2006) says food available to households should amongst other things be socially and culturally acceptable. In fact, preference of indigenous chicken breeds due to their taste has been established by other scholars (Choprakarn & Wongpichet, 2008; Umayya Suganthi, 2014).

This subsection has reflected on the agency of the urban poor as they operate within the production element of the food system. It has shown that the local authorities use visible forms of power such as enactment of by-laws and policies that tend to exclude or marginalise the poor in their participation in urban agriculture. However, the agency of the poor is evident in the way they navigate the restrictive institutional environment to reconfigure the production element of the food system to suit their reality. Nonetheless, the agential initiatives of the poor urbanites are not of sufficient force to ameliorate the negative effects of the dominant food system. For instance, even though they try to grow their own food or to do poultry farming to

supplement their food supplies these efforts are hamstrung by a combination of socio-economic, ecological and institutional factors. For those into crop farming, their farming activities are only seasonal as they practice rain-fed agriculture. This means it does not address the challenges experienced in the different dimensions of food security such as availability, access, utilisation and stability. Furthermore, the limitations of the current efforts are that they are done at the individual level with no efforts for collective agency, around issues of food production at least from the current case study. Thus, the researcher was not alerted to the existence of any associations or social movements that mobilise around issues related to urban food production. It can therefore be surmised that in ward 28 poor urbanites who are into urban farming use ‘tactics’ to continuously deflect discipline (epitomised by the city’s regulatory framework on urban agriculture) “...and that their "dispersed, tactical, and makeshift creativity" constitutes an "antidiscipline.” (Langer, 1988, p.123).

Having explored the agential activities of the urban poor in the production element of the food system, the next section proceeds to do the same in food processing, packaging and transportation.

8.3 The participation of the poor in food processing, packaging and distribution

The discussion in this section is guided by the five-item food list that was used for food mapping in chapter 6. This is meant to ensure consistency in the study and to avoid getting trapped in an academic maze trying to understand the agency of the urban poor within a complex phenomenon like the food system without clearly delineating operational boundaries. The five foods include maize/maize meal, fresh produce, meat (chicken and beef), sugar beans and wheat/flour. However, because of the lack of knowledge and meaningful participation by the participants on issues to do with wheat processing and distribution, this is not discussed.

8.3.1 Exploring agency of the urban poor in maize processing, packaging and distribution

It was highlighted in chapter 6 that maize is a controlled product. Statutory Instrument 145 of 2019. [CAP. 18:14] Grain Marketing (Control of Sale of Maize) Regulations, 2019 closed the marketing space of maize except for the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and contractors (Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). As a result, the processing of maize in Zimbabwe is centred on the GMB. However, some farmers sell directly to small and at times unregistered service millers within the city who use hammer millers. These will have on average one or two mills

in an establishment. For instance, one of these service millers who owns one milling machine and operates in Ward 28 said he sources maize from surrounding districts which he mills or sells to residents. The small-scale miller indicated that he generally mills for individuals who bring their own maize or those who buy from him. These individuals normally mill from as little as a 20-litre bucket (approximately 20 kilogrammes) of maize up to a 50kg bag for purposes of domestic consumption. Some of the FGD participants indicated that they circumnavigated the regulations pertaining to the sale of maize by transporting not more than 5 bags of 50 kilogrammes at a given time. They noted that the SI on the control of maize had a provision that allowed for such without need for prior authorisation. However, it also emerged that some people also violate the legal statutes pertaining to the transportation of maize by bribing their way through the police roadblocks. Others also indicated that the illegal activities also included smuggling of imported maize meal from neighbouring countries.

Furthermore, some of the FGD participants indicated that they preferred mealie-meal processed from the hammer millers on the belief that it was more nutritious as it was not too refined. The irony, however, is that the mealie-meal from service millers is not fortified with micronutrients as stipulated by the law. Others noted that they preferred hammer millers because they could access some of the by-products of maize milling that they wanted and as such one could get mealie-meal, samp and waste by-product as chicken feed. Finally, others noted that buying one's own maize and milling with the local millers was far much cheaper than buying packaged mealie-meal. One of the FGD participants said:

I do not normally buy mealie-meal from the shops because it is expensive, I prefer to buy maize which I normally buy for around 5 USD per bucket [20kgs] and take it for milling which costs just a dollar. This is far much cheaper compared to a 20 Kilogrammes of mealie-meal which one can find for around 12USD (Participant, Female FGD, 10/04/21).

For those into urban maize farming, they indicated that the control of maize regulations did not necessarily affect them directly where their urban fields are concerned since they rarely harvested 5 or more bags of maize. Furthermore, there is generally less post-production processes involved in the processing of maize and other field crops grown in the urban areas. To this end, Romanik (undated, p.16) points out that, “[u]rban agriculture is not constrained by lack of infrastructure because there is less need for packaging, storage, and transportation of food....” It can be inferred that there are generally less postproduction processes performed on urban agriculture produce which could partly explain why there are a few activities that show

the agency of the urban poor with respect to maize processing, packaging and redistribution. In addition, the little agency displayed by poor urban actors within the food system is at an individual level with no collective bodies advancing the interests of maize processors and distributors. This is unlike in the corporate side of the food system where small, medium and big milling companies have established associations such as the Small to Medium Scale Millers Association of Zimbabwe and Grain Millers Association of Zimbabwe.

8.3.2 Making their mark in fresh produce transformation and distribution

In this subsection, an examination of agential initiatives of the urban poor is done with a specific focus on fresh produce (leafy vegetables and tomatoes). As was revealed in chapter 6, fresh produce transformation is one of the governance nodes in the food system where big wholesalers exert their power over other players especially the food producers. The wholesalers do the bulking and have large warehouses to store fresh produce delivered by producers. In addition, they determine the price on the pretext that it is the market that sets prices and also pay on the basis of what has been bought. This means that they do not pay for produce that is wasted under their care. Furthermore, it means in a highly inflationary macro-economic environment producers lose value on their produce for each day they are not paid.

According to the farmers these inefficiencies are partly responsible for the rise of an enterprising group of people who according to Council officials and farmers have taken a significant share of the ‘wholesaling’ business. These are known in the market parlance as ‘*makoronyera*’ which is a Shona word meaning unscrupulous people. In practice these ‘*makoronyeras*’ are just middle-men and not wholesalers. The farmers indicated that some of their counterparts have resorted to delivering to the middlemen because they sell their produce at a faster rate than the formally recognised wholesalers. In addition, their commission is much lower at 5% and is open to negotiation. One of the farmers noted that “this arrangement works if you are selling small volumes but for bigger volumes it is unsustainable...” (Participant, Farmers’ FGD, 12 April, 2021). He noted that because these middlemen operate illegally from the streets it becomes difficult for them to deal with huge volumes from large-scale commercial farmers. The middlemen are not wholesalers but rather sell any quantities to buyers who mostly include suburban vendors. Furthermore, it was revealed that some of these middlemen now have standing arrangements with some farmers where they actually go to the farms to get their produce at farm-gate prices. Smallholder farmers are the ones who normally do this.

Some of the middlemen indicated that they have an informal standing arrangement with council security staff. For instance, one indicated that:

We experience raids now and again mainly instituted by the city authorities using their security personnel. However, because these guys are starving like us at times we come to an arrangement where we pay some kind of protection fee. So every morning and evening we each contribute one US dollar and one of us will then give it to an identified member of the security personnel. This way we buy our peace in terms of operating without harassment. However, when there are serious security operations, it is these guys from the security that warn us that we should lie low until that particular operation is over **Interview, ‘Wholesaler’ Bulawayo 5 Street Market, 7 May 2021).**

It is clear that whereas the municipality officials use instrumental power by deploying its security personnel to deal with the illegal wholesalers, the illegal ‘wholesalers’ have found ways to survive within this closed space. They thus disregard the delimitation of certain areas as ‘conceived spaces’ meant for the operation of formally promulgated fresh produce bulk traders. It is interesting, as intimated in the above excerpt, that the urban poor establish counter spaces with the assistance of the very instruments of power that are supposed to close spaces for them.

It is clear from the developments in the fresh produce processing element of the food system that some of the urban poor have opened new ‘wholesaling’ points despite the presence of regulatory mechanisms prohibiting such. Therefore, in spite of the closed spaces of fresh produce processing some urban farmers have found ways to circumnavigate these by operating from undesignated areas. Again, this conforms to Lata’s (2018) thesis of counter-space. In essence, the urban poor have redefined the ‘conceived space’ which explains why their operations are seen as detrimental to the advancement of the city. This is a typical case of what de Certeau (1984, p. ii) considered as “[e]veryday life invent[s] [-ing] itself by poaching in countless ways on the property of others.”

In terms of processing not much processing takes place. The researcher observed that for leafy vegetables in some instances farmers deliver them in open trucks and those who buy at the market (parallel ‘wholesalers’) buy in bulk and break into bundles which they then sell mostly to vendors that supply residents mainly in the high-density areas of Bulawayo of which ward 28 also falls under that category.

Respondents indicated that they transported or have seen people transporting fresh produce in push carts from the market area and then thereafter they use either public buses or minibuses which are the common modes of travel within Bulawayo.

8.3.3 Participation of the urban poor in meat processing and distribution

The practice of poultry farming and the rearing of cattle is governed by strict legal regime. For instance, according to the Public Health Act [CHAPTER 15:17] section 99, “No person shall use any premises as a slaughter-house, within the district of a local authority unless he or she is personally licensed in respect of those premises” (Government of Zimbabwe, 2018, p.495). Section 101 of the same Act goes on to state that:

No person shall sell meat or viscera obtained from animals and birds unless the animals and birds have been slaughtered in a registered abattoir and have been inspected by a meat inspector employed by a local authority and unconditionally passed as suitable for human consumption (Government of Zimbabwe, 2018, p. 495-496).

It is clear from the above stipulations of the Act that using Lefebvre’s conceptual triad of space, these stipulations serve to highlight that slaughterhouses (abattoirs) are conceived spaces for meat processing. These stipulations are regulating how animals should be slaughtered. Furthermore, Section 101 goes on to even conceive spaces of meat trade which are themselves contingent on whether or not they source their meat from officially recognised entities, in this case registered abattoirs.

Notwithstanding this strict legal regime, it was noted in the foregoing that there are some residents within ward 28 who are rearing chickens within their residential plots. It was thus of interest to find out how these poultry farmers processed and distributed their chickens. It emerged during FGDs that chickens were slaughtered within the residential plots and kept in domestic refrigeration equipment, and some sold as live birds. The BCC Divisional Head of Environmental Health pointed out that this was detrimental to the health of residents as the chickens were slaughtered under unhygienic conditions (Interview, 24/05/21). It can be deduced that the local authorities close spaces of participation to certain actors (mostly the poor) on discursive grounds of protecting public health. When probed on why they did not want to comply with the existing statutes, participants indicated in FGDs that it was not possible for them to do that as exemplified by this statement below:

The challenge is that we raise the chickens under illegal conditions in our backyards so how can we then try to formalise our operations at the tail-end of our operations? In addition, the requirements are just too many and too involving financially for people like us to be in a position to comply. So, we end up slaughtering chickens in our backyards. This gives us an advantage in that we are able to sell all the chicken parts

whereas if you go the formal route, you might be legally prohibited from selling certain parts (Participant, FGD for Men, Ward 28, 10/04/21).

It is clear that the urban poor appropriate spaces within the food system in order to participate notwithstanding that the enterprise of meat processing is legally closed for them. To this end, Sheldrake (2007, p.250) opines that, [t]he 'weak', in this case those who actually live in the city rather than plan it, find ways to make space for themselves and to express their self-determination." Of interest is that business practices of these informal actors have in some instances influenced those of their formal counterparts. The City's Divisional Head of the Environmental Health section pointed out that in the past things like chicken insides (intestines, gizzards, livers etc) were not sold for human consumption. However, upon realising that these chicken products attracted a huge market in the informal sector, the formal food retailers started selling them (Interview, 24/05/21). This shows that it is not only the big actors that influence the food system in terms of what it can provide to the people but the smaller players in what are regarded as informal spaces also play a critical role. Such appropriation by the dominant actors is what Williams and Rodgers (2008) term defensive strategy, which is a tactical manoeuvre by the dominant actors to maintain their dominance. In this case, one can argue that the formal sector players want to maintain market dominance and hence latch onto any strategies that will ensure they continue to enjoy greater market share.

The agency of the urban poor is also apparent in their use of formal players to achieve their ends. For instance, in an FGD for vendors, participants indicated that in some instances they use formally registered entities to go through all the procedures necessary for one to be afforded the opportunity to sell meat to the public. Thus, they can buy a beast from the surrounding districts and have it slaughtered and processed in a legally registered abattoir. In such instances, they indicated that they are charged by the abattoirs, usually US\$20 and have to forego all the 'insides' and 'extras' such as hooves and head. This interdependency between the formal and informal food retailers is confirmed by other studies (see Crush & Frayne, 2011; Peyton, Moseley and Battersby, 2015). For instance, Crush and Frayne (2011, p.783) opine that "Informal marketing systems, for example, source many of their processed and fresh food products from supermarkets and other formal sector retailers and wholesalers." Thus, with respect to meat, the only processing done by the informal players then just becomes cutting into smaller pieces and packaging in very simple packaging material.

The activities of informal actor players in the meat processing element are centred on individuals as the study participants indicated that they did not belong to any associations or

unions meant to advance their interests. The next section moves on to discuss the processing of sugar beans.

8.3.4 Processing beans to serve ‘our people’

This sub-section interrogates the agency of the urban poor as they participate in the processing of beans, which is one of the five item food list that the study focused on. However, it should be noted from the onset that “minimal processing is required between the production field and consumer.” (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2010:23). Not surprisingly, there is not much that emerged from the study on the processing element related to beans.

The title of this subsection is inspired by a quotation from one of the informal traders who noted in his interview that:

We understand our market very well. Most formal retail outlets like supermarkets sell food and other items that are beyond the reach of many. The sad part is that in determining their prices they factor in a lot of things that consumers have to pay for which they actually do not need because of their precarious livelihood circumstances. For instance, the fancy packaging and the branding are not really a key concern for our people. You talk about the air conditioning in some of these shops and the ambience. Yes, these things are fine if you have the money but for a poor person it's a luxury they cannot afford to pay for. As a result, with us we process beans to serve our people. We buy sugar beans straight from the producers at farm gate prices and only package them in small plastic bags which we buy from our colleagues who are into packaging material (Interview, informal ‘wholesaler’, Bulawayo CBD, 7 May 2021)

It can be deduced from the above quotation that the only meaningful initiative taken by the urban poor in the processing of beans is repackaging. Of note is that the repackaging is meant to amongst other things carve a marketing niche for the retailers by exploiting those gaps in the market left by the formal processors and retailers. This is the practice of bulk breaking. Therien (2017, p.15-16) says “[t]his is when they buy products in bulk from supermarkets, divide them into smaller quantities and then sell the products in smaller packages.” Interestingly, the researcher observed these bulk buyers using rudimentary methods to package beans. The traders buy plain small plastic packaging materials and pack sugar beans without scales and seal using a lit matchstick or cigarette lighter. These packages they indicated in informal interviews, are then sold to small shops, street vendors and shops in the outskirts of the city.

Having examined agential activities of the urban poor in the processing, distribution and transportation element of the food system, the next section goes on to examine the participation of the urban poor in food retail.

8.4 Examining the participation of the urban poor in food retail

Perhaps there is no other element of the food system in which the agency of the urban poor is more apparent than in the retail element. This is not surprising given that this is the food system element that largely mediates food access for most urbanites. It thus becomes a critical determinant of household food (in)security. It is apparent from what has been discussed thus far that formal food retail outlets enjoy recognition and support given that they are considered by the authorities to be legitimate players in the system. Thus, through the existence of shop licences, tax clearance certificates, business registration documents, town planning practices such as land zoning amongst other things there is a discursive distinction between formal and informal food retail entities. Thus, like in other elements of the food system, this preference for the formal food retail sector over the informal food retail sector is discursively couched in public health, urban planning and economic development arguments (Davies et al., 2021). It is in this respect that this section explores ways in which informal food vendors who largely belong to the social class of the urban poor, challenge the ideas of modernity as espoused in the conceived space. The way the informal food retailers create spaces within the dominant corporate food system by engaging in counter-hegemonic space making processes is used as the lens to understand their agency.

8.4.1 Finding their space under the sun: space/place making practices of informal food retailers

In spite of the conceived space which largely has limited room for informal food retailers, the study established that there are however many actors in the informal food retail space. It is thus of interest to highlight how they actually create their space for their business operations. As was noted in the previous chapters informal food retailers are an integral part of Bulawayo's food system.

The agency of the urban poor is seen in their involvement in food retail within the food system. This is apparent in both the CBD and in Ward 28. Notwithstanding that access to public space is delegitimised through discursive practices by the authorities, the researcher nonetheless observed that informal food vendors have set-up business in various areas. This was discussed in great detail in the preceding chapters, suffice to recount that these are generally in 'delegitimised spaces' such as selling from their residential areas, from streets, open spaces and vehicles amongst others. For instance, the household survey findings revealed that 136 (34%) of households sell food items within the precincts of their residential plots in defiance of existing regulatory framework. The respondents further pointed out in the FGDs

and household in-depth interviews that they sold food items from their plots for a number of reasons. Some of these reasons include the need to maintain concurrent multiple livelihood activities to maximise on returns. Thus, for instance one could for instance have a vending site within the residential plot which s/he could attend to whilst concurrently doing other household reproductive and or productive activities such as gardening, laundry, hair plaiting business and cooking. In addition, respondents pointed out that despite vending being illegal even within the precincts of their residential plots, they however felt less vulnerable to the actions of the authorities than when they were out in the streets. They attributed this to the fact that they ‘owned’ the space they operated from within the residential plot. Furthermore, operating from home reduced the risk of losing all their wares as they just displayed a few items and kept the rest within the house. This is unlike in the streets, especially for those who operate some distance from their residential areas, where one has to carry most of his/her wares.

The other tactic which demonstrates the urban poor’s agency within the retail element of the food system is their use of streets as spaces for food retail. In their FGD, vendors indicated that they did this to maximise on their returns by exploiting the weaknesses of the food system actors deemed legal and formal. Some of the issues they pointed out include their ability to reduce the distance that residents have to travel to the legitimised food retail outlets, ability to work outside defined business hours and being responsive to the socio-economic status of their customers by customising their products to this status. These tactics give credence to Demirpolat’s (2021, p.357-358) observation that, “[t]actics that do not have any space or spatial domain move in these areas produced by the strategy and use their cunningness to transform the operations of strategies.”

As was discussed in the previous chapters, a significant number of households especially in the partially serviced area of Ward 28 have to travel long distances to access formally designated retail outlets. To maximise their potential, the vendors indicated that they establish their trading spaces near the places of residency of their customers. It is such practices that ensure the urban poor withstand the competitive edge that the formal food retail activities have over them. Interestingly, it is because of this ingenuity that has resulted in the opening of these spaces they operate from which would have been hitherto closed. For instance, the Divisional Head of the Environmental Health section in the Bulawayo City Council pointed out that they ended up formally recognising some of the vending spaces in recognition of their critical role they played in the food system especially in the absence of formal players (Interview, 24/05/21). This is not unique to food vendors as the same phenomenon can be discerned where trade in second-hand clothing is concerned. Whereas the country’s regulatory

framework prohibits the importation of second-hand clothes for resale, local authorities such as the Bulawayo City Council have given in to the pressure and allocated traders of second-hand clothes specific days (usually, Saturday, Sunday and Public holidays) to trade and pay fees to council on each day they trade. This shows that the urban poor do not always conform to the dictates of the authorities but at times through their resistance lead to the reconfiguration of the regulatory environment. This issue confirms de Certeau's (1984) argument that, the dominant order, in this case represented by the local authority and formally registered business actors, is hamstrung in how it exercises its power given that it operates through strategies. On the other side of the divide, those who are dominated, in this case the poor urban informal traders, can potentially exercise their power anywhere given that they operate tactically.

Food vendors have also gone further with their tactics by embracing technological developments in an effort to deal with closed trading spaces. They have done this by opening up other spaces of trading, which are however not physical but virtual. In an FGD with vendors they pointed out that they have started using virtual platforms to advertise their wares to minimise chances of being arrested. Some of these platforms include the Whatsapp mobile phone application where they use the status update to advertise their wares. Furthermore, others indicated that their collectives (Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association) had developed a mobile phone application called *Sizimele* that enabled them to trade virtually. This shows that informal traders have transcended the boundaries of the current regulatory framework whose reach in terms of conceived space is mainly physical. However, the extent to which informal urban food retailers are making use of this tactic is yet to be fully established as its use is still at its infancy.

Customising services and products to suit the socio-economic profile of potential customers is another tactic employed by the urban poor in an effort to carve a niche in the urban food market. For instance, in an FGD for vendors, participants indicated that they sell smaller quantities for certain basic commodities which one would not find in the food retail outlets in the mainstream food system. These are exemplified in the following excerpts:

I prefer to buy from tuck shops because they open early and close late. Sometimes some of us leave very early for work and return very late, this does not give us the opportunity to buy food especially basic foodstuff that we need on a daily basis. Thus, tuck shops and street traders become a preferred place to patronise **(Household in-depth Interviewee #10)**

We package our basic food items in such a way that they will be affordable to everyone. So, for instance, we might sell sugar in very small freezit packs [approximately 100g],

tomatoes in single units, cooking oil in 100 ml container etc. This is unlike in the big shops where for instance for sugar the smallest quantity is a kg and for cooking oil its 750ml. So, we have that advantage over the formal outlets. We further outdo them by positioning ourselves in very strategic places like transport hubs and can even be mobile to enhance visibility and bring convenience to our customers (FGD, vendors, Ward 28, 14/05/21)

I buy from tuck shops or street traders because I can use my social capital to buy food on credit especially when things are tough at home. Sometimes you can even negotiate for discounts, however we cannot get such facilities from these big shops (Household in-depth Interviewee #8)

The three excerpts reveal some of the tactics that informal food retailers use to outcompete their formal food retail counterparts. These include longer trading hours, bulk breaking, strategically locating the business or even being mobile, being flexible on pricing and offering of credit facilities for households in distress. These findings are in sync with those of other studies. For instance, on pricing Njaya (2014) noted that informal food vendors could lure customers from formal food retail outlets by their ability to negotiate prices. On the use of credit, Peyton et al., (2015) in their study of supermarkets and informal food vendors in Cape Town averred that most *spaza* (type of informal retail outlet) owners indicated that they advanced credit to their customers. Of interest here is that social networks become key in one unlocking credit lines. It is only when there are strong social ties between the informal trader and consumer that this facility is activated. The facility benefits both parties as the buyer can access goods even in times when s/he does not have the financial resources to do so. For the trader, this means the maintenance of a loyal customer base is assured, thus fending off competition from both formal and informal food retailers. On bulk breaking scholars such as Battersby (2012) and Crush and Frayne (2011) have opined that this is a common practice in South African *spaza* shops. They point out that these shop owners buy in bulk from formal outlets such as wholesalers or supermarkets and then repackage the products into smaller units. These units generally align with the financial means of their targeted market. In addition to consideration of financial means, bulk breaking also assists households without assets such as refrigerators that allow for bulk storage for an extended period of time (Battersby, 2012).

The food vendors operating in the food system also indicated that they survive by at times bribing security personnel. To do this they organise themselves into groups and have someone collecting money from individual traders. A representative of the security personnel will then collect the money (usually 1 USD per person) at agreed times. This transaction buys the vendors time to trade without any fear of being arrested, at least for an agreed duration,

usually a day or a working session in a day. Thus, it is possible to bribe security personnel twice in a day if there are shift changes during the course of the day. FGD participants indicated that this was better than paying a fine of ZWL500 (approximately USD6 at the official rate) if one was arrested which often is coupled with different forms of harassment including physical manhandling, detention for hours leading to loss of earnings and confiscation of wares.

The other tactic that informal food traders indicated using was operating outside of working periods of security personnel, such as after 4 pm on Mondays to Fridays, after 1pm on Saturday and throughout the day on Sunday and public holidays. Thus, this is a tactic of avoidance, where the traders do not want to confront the authorities but rather to operate an underground economy that helps them to realise decent and viable livelihoods.

All the tactics highlighted in the foregoing seem to point to individualised agency amongst informal food vendors. This dovetails what has already been established with respect to the same in the other elements of the food system. However, findings from key informant interviews and FGDs revealed that the food retail element of the food system is the first element where collective agency was noted.

8.4.2 Collective agency within the food retail sector

The formation of collectives is a pointer to the agency of the urban poor who operate in the food retail element of the Bulawayo food system. In an FGD for vendors, participants indicated that they had now constituted collectives which aim to advance their interests and protect their rights as players in the economy more broadly and particularly in the food system. Some of the collectives identified by participants include Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association (BVTA) and Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation (VISET). These collectives have played a significant role in challenging the status quo with respect to the economy in general and the retail element of the food system more particularly. Some of their initiatives are epitomised in the profile of one of the collectives detailed in box 8.1.

Box 8.1: A profile of BVTA's agential initiatives

BVTA primarily exists to promote the rights of vendors and traders. It envisages an inclusive local economy that recognises and enables vendors and informal traders to have sustainable livelihoods. It does this by primarily focusing on three aspects. These are capacity building (e.g. human rights literacy trainings, financial literacy and providing them spaces where they can claim their rights); advocacy (e.g. by building capacity to claim basic services from duty bearers, hosting dialogue meetings, petitions, media advocacy, demonstrations, policy advocacy through meetings with councillors, Members of Parliament, policy makers and government officials); business support where BVTA assists them to create Internal Savings and Lending Schemes (ISALs) and Savings and Credit Co-operatives (SACCOs) instead of relying on microfinance institutions for financial capital. BVTA is a membership-based organisation. Most of these structures are in the high-density suburbs and the organisation is active in 23 of the 29 wards in Bulawayo, including the study case of Ward 28. The Ward structures recruit membership and support members if they have issues. They provide solidarity to one another rather than approach issues as individuals. BVTA believe vendors are an essential service provider in the food system as most of the people are serviced by them. The organisation also helps vendors to pool resources to achieve their goals. For instance, with respect to transportation which is a challenge when they are sourcing food from distant places “we try to do bulking, for instance if there is something that we want to buy in Binga, traders can pool resources and use our mobile app called Sizimele to buy and transport as a group.” BVTA is also working to ensure that traders operate in safe spaces, For instance, with the advent of COVID and associated restrictive measures, BVTA has been assisting its members to access personal protective clothing and sanitizers whilst at the same time offering health information literacy trainings. BVTA is part of a consortium of CSOs operating under the banner of Bulawayo Informal Sector Working group which is trying to develop a Memorandum of Understanding with the Bulawayo City Council. Amongst other things, BVTA is fighting lack of proper trading spaces. However, it also focuses on its members for instance by training them of food processing, use of new media technologies, basic knowledge on food handling and packaging amongst other things.

Source: Own Field Data, Adapted from Interview with BVTA Executive Director, 08/06/21

The profile of BVTA highlights a number of agential initiatives that informal traders collectively take to claim their space within the food system. Some of these include rights literacy trainings to empower them to claim their rights and to hold duty bearers accountable. For instance, the researcher witnessed one of the rights literacy trainings where the members of BVTA ward 28 were being taken through the country's constitutional provisions relevant to their trade.

BVTA and other like-minded organisations also display collective agency by employing a multi-pronged advocacy strategy as highlighted in Box 8.1. It is through such initiatives that vendors open up some closed spaces. BVTA's involvement in the debates surrounding the informal economy bill shows the organisation's thrust in advocacy. Thus, the organisation is participating in the reconfiguration of the institutional landscape of the informal

economy in general and the food retail element of the food system. This reconfiguration necessarily involves dismantling the structures that constrain the work of informal traders. The opening of spaces which were hitherto closed is evident in the fact that the Organisation is now part of Bulawayo's Informal Sector working group and hence is well positioned to influence policy and practice of the local authority.

It is also critical to highlight that it is through the agency of the traders' collectives that initiatives such as the *Sizimele* mobile application were developed. As was highlighted in the foregoing, it is an application that is expected to help the members overcome some of the challenges related to their trade. Some of these include limited market reach and lack of proper infrastructure to operate from amongst other things.

This subsection has discussed the various tactics used by informal food vendors as they navigate the Bulawayo food system which historically has been closed to them. Their initiatives are in most cases aimed at capturing the niche market of the urban poor whose food sourcing strategies are discussed next.

8.5 Food sourcing strategies of the urban poor

It is apparent from the findings presented in mostly chapter 7 that there are high levels of food insecurity in Ward 28 of Bulawayo. It was also apparent that urban governance deficiencies were seen to be partly responsible for these levels of food insecurity. This environment creates a situation where the urban poor are in constant struggles in an effort to gain access to food. Given these findings it is critical to establish the food sourcing strategies of the urban poor as they try to attain household food security. One of these is through the establishment of grocery clubs for bulk buying.

8.5.1 Bulk buying

Given the macro-economic environment that has largely been defined by high levels of inflation in general and food inflation in particular since the turn of the millennium, respondents pointed out that they used grocery clubs for inflation- proofing. This is evidenced from the excerpts below:

We as women normally come together to constitute grocery clubs. There will be about ten or so of us and we contribute R200 monthly which is given to Omalayitsha to buy groceries for us. We normally buy food with a long shelf life like rice, samp, cooking oil, sugar etc. etc. This is kept in the houses of members with the requisite space for storage. At the end of the year we have a small party and then share equally all the goods bought. (Participant, FGD for Women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)

In our grocery club we buy locally from wholesalers where we enjoy discounts for buying in bulk. We used to buy in South Africa until an incident where we lost some of our money to the runner who was responsible for buying on our behalf. We also contribute R200 and share our groceries in December. (Participant, FGD for Women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)

My friends and I have a money/grocery club. We contribute R250 every month. This money is kept by our treasurer. As members we are free to borrow some of the money at an interest. Then towards the end of the year we buy our groceries and share. (Household in-depth Interviewee #9)

For meat we have what we call beef clubs where people in groups of around 4-10 pool resources together to buy a cow from the surrounding areas. However, whilst this is advantageous in that it lowers the cost of beef it is nonetheless risky because you can lose your relish if there are power cuts, and you have no alternative source. (Participant, FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21)

The above excerpts show that the urban poor are not just victims of incessant price increases of food commodities, but they do take initiatives to hedge against inflationary effects associated with the dominant corporate food system. They contribute and buy in bulk to assure household food supplies in the following year. Furthermore, as exemplified in the last excerpt pooling resources helps in lowering costs but is however challenging where there are service delivery challenges. However, one should guard against over valorising this strategy as the amounts of money cited in the above excerpts might prove prohibitive for a great many others amongst the urban poor. These, who are at the lower rung of the social strata do not have the luxury to defer expending, for almost a year, the little financial resources that they access. For those in this group, survival is at times dependent on the benevolence of those within their circles.

8.5.2 Borrowing

Some respondents in interviews and FGDs indicated that they utilise their social networks which includes friends, extended family, neighbours and church mates amongst others to get access to food in times of financial distress. Some of related findings are listed in Box 8.2.

Box 8.2: Forms of borrowing as a food sourcing strategy

Borrow food from neighbours Borrow from friends Borrow from church mates Get food on credit from tuck shops Borrow money from savings club in order to buy food

Source: Primary field data, 2021

In spite of the utility value of these social networks in ensuring households experiencing food insecurity, some of the respondents pointed out that social networks within the communities were however very weak as people had taken to individualism. In addition, these networks according to Duncan (2013) require constant maintenance and complementation. Thus, the very poor are likely to fail to reciprocate their benefactor's actions leading to loss of that safety net in the long run. Furthermore, in in-depth interviews and FGDs participants also pointed out that given the tough economic environment that has in the recent past characterised the Zimbabwean economic landscape, it is increasingly difficult for individuals to have that extra food or money to lend to their counterparts experiencing food insecurity distress. For instance, a female FGD participant indicated that: "We don't ask from neighbours and relatives because they too will not be having enough...." (FGD, 10/04/21) Widespread relative deprivation is not the only reason for limited or lack of support for households experiencing food insecurity. Weak social networks in the urban environment also account for this lack of support as argued by FAO (2008, p.6) which points out that:

Food insecurity in African cities is much more an individual or household-level phenomenon, and much less a community phenomenon, than in rural Africa. Vulnerable groups in cities often have fewer informal safety nets (kinship and community networks).

These weak informal social safety nets were also highlighted by FGD participants and in-depth interviewees.

However, there are also some respondents who indicated that in good agricultural seasons they leveraged on food transfers from their relatives in rural areas. They however, pointed out that this kind of assistance was now rare due to adverse ecological events such as droughts, cyclones and erratic rainfall patterns amongst others. These events, they argued, made it difficult for those in rural areas to harvest enough to enable them to transfer 'surplus' to their urban relatives.

Other than reliance on individuals for assistance, the urban poor also look to institutional actors such as Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) amongst others.

8.5.3 Seeking assistance from institutional actors

In in-depth interviewees and FGDs study participants pointed out that they also seek assistance from mainly the government and NGOs. They pointed out that once in a while government assists them with maize meal. However, according to FGD participants and in-depth interviewees the supply was erratic and fraught with distribution inefficiencies with elements of corruption and nepotism based on political party affiliation. These issues are reflected in the following excerpts in Box 8.3.

Box 8.3: Views on institutional assistance

1. *I have at times seen that politics will be at play. You find that there is a certain clique that always gets assistance (food packs) all the time. In such situations you find that the same families will be getting assistance but, in some families, there will be extreme poverty yet they don't get any assistance. In some families you find that the father, the mother and child will be registered for assistance and all of them getting the assistance (Participant FGD for Women, Ward 28, 10/04/21)*
2. *There was a food task force, and they were very corrupt (Participant FGD for men, Ward 28, 10/04/21)*

It is clear from the two excerpts in Box 8.3 that even though institutional actors do assist the urban poor especially in times of food insecurity, their participation in the food system is not without controversy. There is at times politicisation of food assistance initiatives where people get access to food on the basis of their political affiliation. Participants in an FGD for women indicated that ZANU-PF and officers of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) were at the centre of the politicisation of food. This reality is confirmed by other writers. For instance, Chamunogwa (2021, p.15) commenting about food aid distribution in Zimbabwe points out that “...politics plays a significant role in determining who gets to receive food aid. Various media and civil society reports show that distribution of food aid is often politicised.” Ndlovu et al., (2020) in their study opined that politicisation of food assistance resulted in poor targeting and hence watered down the effectiveness of such initiatives. Moyo (2022, p.11) further buttresses the argument by pointing out that “...using food as a political weapon to punish opposition party supporters by ruling ZANU-PF party apparatchik is a long established callous inhumane strategy.”

In addition, other than politicisation, food assistance initiatives, in the eyes of study participants, are dogged by nepotism, clientelism and are not sufficient to contain widespread food insecurity obtaining within the population. However, the Provincial Development Coordinator's Office and the Ward 28 Councillor disputed that there was politicisation of food assistance, as they said targeting and selection of beneficiaries was done by professionals from

the Department of Social Development. Nonetheless, they acknowledged that food assistance initiatives were currently failing to meet demand. This was also confirmed by a key informant from one of the NGOs (Dan Church Aid) operating an urban food assistance programme with the World Food Programme (Interview 3 October 2021). The key informant indicated that ZIMVAC findings in 2020 indicated that there were as many as 2.2 million urban poor and vulnerable individuals in Zimbabwe. Resultantly, urban food assistance initiatives have limited coverage and, in some cases, lack consistency. This is confirmed by a study by Ndlovu et al., (2020) who found out that in-kind transfers in selected Bulawayo's suburbs was characterised by inconsistent distributions.

Despite the challenges noted in the foregoing, it is interesting that collective agency focused on addressing the same has been found to be limited. In all the key informant interviews, FGDs and in-depth household interviews there was no mention of collective initiatives to confront this issue. Interestingly when quizzed why communities took a collective approach on issues of death and funerals (given that in all the sections of the Ward there were burial societies) but did not see the need to do the same on issues of food, participants indicated that food was a personal and private matter. Nonetheless, residents associations' representatives indicated that they have taken it upon themselves to play a watchdog role where issues of food assistance are concerned. The residents' associations mentioned by FGD participants are Bulawayo Residents Association (BURA) and Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association (BPRA). The two associations are membership based and have structures in the City's 29 wards. In terms of funding, they mainly rely on monthly and annual membership fees and donations from well-wishers. In key informant interviews, representatives of these associations pointed out that other than playing a watchdog role on the roll out of food transfers they also broadly engaged in initiatives that sought to ensure residents received acceptable levels of service delivery. The key informants indicated that they did this by for instance having constant engagements with the city authorities, using various advocacy initiatives and holding the authorities accountable. These residents' associations whilst not primarily focused on food related issues nonetheless play a critical role in enhancing household food security. For instance, a Research Officer with BURA indicated that their organisation was broadly concerned with the socio-economic well-being of the residents of Bulawayo. Some of their food security related initiatives included monitoring service providers in terms of meeting the standards set by the Standards Association of Zimbabwe, ensuring hygiene standards in the food sector were of acceptable levels, ensuring fair distribution of food assistance packs and fair distribution of community gardens (Interview, 25/05/21).

A BPRA representative also highlighted similar roles to those highlighted by the BURA representative. He indicated that a notable achievement by their association was a multi-pronged advocacy strategy including the development of a comprehensive position paper and policy briefs which were used to oppose the installation of pre-paid water meters in Bulawayo. Coincidentally, the roll-out of the programme was meant to commence in Ward 28 (Interview, 21/05/21). Such agential initiatives, though primarily not focused on food security do however have food security impacts. Water is critical in food handling and preparation which are key aspects of the food utilisation dimension of food security.

This subsection has grappled with the dynamics of institutional assistance to deal with household food insecurity challenges. However, the urban poor do not always rely on other parties to ameliorate their household food insecurity situation. They at times exercise agency in the way they engage in livelihood activities leading to better food security outcomes.

8.5.4 Livelihood strategies to enhance household food security

The urban poor combine several livelihood activities to create livelihood strategies that are geared towards ameliorating their household food insecurity. According to household in-depth interviewees and FGD participants one of those activities that they engage in is urban agriculture in its various forms as has been discussed in the foregoing.

Other than urban agriculture, the respondents indicated that they seek casual employment and also do other things as exemplified by the excerpts below:

- 1. We are near farms, I have seen people going to the farms to look for odd jobs like weeding in those farms and when they come back, they will be having something that will enable them to eat (Participant Male FGD, 10/04/21).*
- 2. You can get some clothes and start selling you won't fail to get money for mealie-meal (Participant, Vendors FGD, 14/05/21).*
- 3. We sometimes go to the rural areas with some items like kitchen utensils and clothing items. We then do barter trade which enables us to get various food items like maize, chickens, groundnuts, roundnuts etc especially immediately post-harvest period (Participant, Vendors FGD, 14/05/21).*
- 4. During the agricultural season some of my family members go to the rural areas where they work the fields. This helps us in times of financial distress as we get some of the food harvested from there to consume in town (Participant, Female FGD, 10/04/21).*

Excerpt 1 shows that some of the urban poor seek casual employment in nearby farms where they are paid in cash or kind (food). Such arrangements help households ameliorate their

food insecurity situation. In addition, all the above excerpts indicate that at times households engage in activities that enable them to gain access to food items not necessarily through the medium of money which is the norm for most of the urbanites. Respondents pointed out they at times did this deliberately to guard against inflationary pressures associated with buying food in the formal markets. In addition, they noted that this also enabled them to gain access to nutritious traditional foods at much lower prices than they would ordinarily get them for in urban retail outlets.

Excerpt 4 points out to the fact that some urban households maintain their ties with their rural bases where they continue to engage in livelihood activities that partly help them to deal with food insecurity. Some of the harvests realised in the rural areas are then transferred to make up for household food deficits in the urban areas. This shows that for some households the dichotomy between urban and rural spaces is not as clear cut as other studies indicate it to be. There is thus a symbiotic relationship between rural and urban livelihoods. Rural-urban ties as a critical safety net for ensuring urban household food security have been established by a number of scholars (Crush and Caesar, 2017; Frayne, 2004). In the case of ward 28 however, a negligible number of respondents (12 out of the 398 respondents) cited rural-urban transfers as a food source for their households. In addition, only 5 (1.3%) of respondents cited rural-urban food transfers as their households' main source of food. In FGDs, participants indicated that the agro-ecological conditions obtaining in the Matabeleland provinces coupled with climate variability and change made it difficult to realise meaningful harvests. Instead, the participants indicated that they were the ones remitting food to their rural counterparts.

This subsection has briefly highlighted the livelihood strategies employed by Ward 28 residents to assure household food security. It is clear that households exercise agency by engaging in a mix of livelihood activities to enhance household income and ultimately food security.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter sought to understand the agency of the urban poor as they operate within the Bulawayo food system. This, against a background of a food system from which food is largely accessed through financial capital. To properly understand the agential initiatives of the urban poor, the discussion followed the main food system elements. Generally, it was found that urban poor residents' livelihoods are characterised by persistent struggles to overcome the hurdles inherent in the food system as it is currently configured. Using the theoretical lens of Gaventa's power cube and Lefebvre and de Certeau's theorisation on the everyday practices,

the discussion noted that notwithstanding the closed spaces, the urban poor create their own 'counter spaces' to contribute to the food system. The urban poor were seen to be active in the production element of the food system through their involvement in UA activities. However, their agential initiatives were restricted to individuals with no evidence of collective agency to stake their claim in the food system. As such, the urban poor remain dogged by structural challenges such as lack of access to land and capital. The processing, distribution and transportation element of the food system also exhibit similar traits as those of the production element. Whilst individuals show agency through the strategies they employ to carve their niche within the food system, this was however found to be limited in scope and effect. In addition, there was no collective agency discerned in this element of the food system.

Perhaps the most visible and effective forms of agency of the urban poor can be discerned in the retail element of the food system. It was noted that the urban poor involved in the food system fight for their space by using certain tactics. Some of the agential initiatives taken are at an individual level whereas others are at a collective level. It is through collective agency that the urban poor are opening up hitherto closed spaces. It was noted that through collectives such as the BVTAs, poor urban informal vendors use their collective voice to engage the authorities and, in the process, the urban space for food retail is slowly being reconfigured. This reconfiguration involves amongst other things increasing recognition that the informal food vendors are an integral part of the food system and hence appropriate measures to support the same are being implemented or are under consideration.

Having explored the agency of the urban poor as they navigate the food system, the following chapter uses the cases of four households to concretise the themes that the study has been grappling with through these households' everyday experiences.

Chapter 9 : HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVES ON EXPERIENCES WITH AND WITHIN BULAWAYO'S FOOD SYSTEM

9.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the central themes of this study, which are urban food systems, urban governance and household food security using the narrative form. The chapter reflects on the experiences of households within the Bulawayo food system. Through four household cases derived from in-depth interviews, the chapter provides an understanding of households' participation in the food system on the one hand and how the configuration of the food system affects household food choices and, ultimately, food security on the other hand. The selection of the households was done purposively with the inclusion criterion based on being representative of the broad diversity of household food (in) security experiences within Bulawayo's Ward 28.

In terms of organisation, after this introduction, the chapter presents and discusses the household experiences of an 81-year-old paraplegic pensioner living in the partially serviced area of Ward 28. The narrative of a household that is very food secure due to its ability to draw livelihoods from multiple sites and sources subsequently follows. This narrative is the story of Mrs Ndlovu, a teacher who lives in the fully serviced section of Ward 28. The narrative detailing the food centred livelihood activities of MaDube, a street vendor, follows. Even though MaDube lives in a fully serviced part of Ward 28, her narrative highlights the challenges of urban poverty and associated food insecurity challenges. The last narrative is centred on the life of a household that survives through odd jobs. The household lives in a partially serviced area and details multiple strategies used by the poor to put food on their tables.

9.2 A not so safe social safety net

In this section, I follow Gogo MaMoyo's narrative, which amongst other things, highlights how lack of basic services and negative macroeconomic developments affect households' access to food. Given her age, the subsection heading flags the weak social safety net where food security issues are concerned. Box 9.1 presents a narrative of Gogo MaMoyo's life.

Box 9.1: Gogo MaMoyo's story of a social safety net system on the brink

Gogo MaMoyo is an 81-year-old paraplegic pensioner who lives in the Mpompini area of Cowdray Park. She lives with her teen grandchild in a four-roomed house sitting on a 200 m² residential plot. Mpompini is one of the partially serviced areas of Ward 28, where dirt roads are the only access routes within the area and are an outlet to other parts of the Ward and city in general. As a result, public transport services are poor with the area not serviced by any transport operators, especially during the rainy season when the roads would be bad. The area has not yet been connected to the city's electrical grid system, and whilst it is connected to the water network, it is nonetheless yet to be connected to the sewer system. Gogo MaMoyo pointed out that "living in Cowdray Park [Ward 28] is quite challenging; we have been here for many years and still do not have access to many basic services expected in an urban set-up. We do not have electricity, we have no sewer, and even though we have a water connection, we have been enduring long spells without water supply due to the city's stringent water-shedding programme." She further pointed out that "You have never seen such hardships, we have to use firewood for cooking, and when it is raining, it is a challenge."

Gogo MaMoyo's diet is centred on *Isitshwala* (thick porridge) and some form of relish, usually some variety of a leafy vegetable sourced from her small backyard vegetable garden. However, at times she sources fresh produce (leafy vegetables, onions and tomatoes) from informal traders who operate from within their residential plots in the neighbourhood. She says that she rarely gets money to buy bread; she buys from the nearby tuck shops. Beyond her immediate environment, Gogo MaMoyo sources her food from the Central Business District (CBD) by sending some other people in her life. They bring her items such as mealie-meal, cooking oil, sugar and other mostly dry foods with a longer shelf life. This usually happens once a month when it is time for her monthly pension pay-out. However, "I had challenges during the immediate past rainy season [2020-21] because the roads were in a bad state so much so that we were no longer having any transport services. It became difficult for my helpers to assist me since they do not have cars. Imagine someone having to travel with about 20kgs of groceries for a long-distance [approximately 3kms]. That was a very difficult time for me because I could not use the tuck-shops too since they do not accept electronic money. I ended up swapping this electronic money for hard cash at a premium."

Gogo MaMoyo pointed that meat was a rarity in her household. She indicated that "It is difficult to meet all the household food requirements. Everything is bought, even the firewood that we use for cooking." For perishables, it is difficult for Gogo MaMoyo to buy in bulk because she does not have the money and the storage facilities. She said, "I have a refrigerator, it is there in the house, but I cannot use it because there is no ZESA [electricity]."

Gogo MaMoyo sees herself as a victim of Zimbabwe's hyperinflationary and convoluted currency policy environment that has seen several currency changes or redenomination. These changes, amongst others, have seen many pensioners and the rest of the population, in general, lose their savings. At the time of the survey, Gogo MaMoyo was getting a monthly pay-out of ZWL\$3000. She indicated that because most goods, including food, are denominated in foreign currencies, the value of her pay-out is further eroded by exchange rate disparities between the official and parallel market exchange rates. She further noted

that prices of food items have been skyrocketing beyond the reach of many, especially for them as pensioners.

Gogo MaMoyo indicated that she wished she was non-disabled as she could have augmented her food supplies through her own production. She noted that "I used to farm long back, but now I cannot. I do not have limbs; that is why they took me from the rural areas, so I cannot work the land in the plots. It is painful for me if I am not farming. This business of being given things is not nice." As a result, Gogo MaMoyo's copes with food insecurity mainly through benefitting from assistance rendered by her neighbours or children. She pointed out that she had ten children, five boys and five girls, but all her five sons have passed on. She has also lost two daughters, and the other three are married, which makes it difficult for them to support her financially. Furthermore, she indicated that none of the institutional actors who run food assistance schemes had come to her rescue. She said, "For us the disabled, it is difficult, no one cares about us. We see the Councillor, you see people calling each other, but they forget about us the disabled." She felt there were anomalies in selecting beneficiaries, and non-deserving individuals were getting assistance at the expense of deserving ones.

Lack of proper services makes it difficult to navigate the food system environment; as Gogo MaMoyo pointed out, "We once bought a goat with a neighbour. So we ended up drying the meat to make biltong. The fridge and stove are there, but there is no electricity. We have given up on electricity; they are silent about it. It is not easy here. However, the problem is that some neighbours are still using Blair pit toilets which makes it difficult for us to be drying our meat outside as there will be many flies."

She noted that she was only aware of funeral/burial associations and none of the food-related issues on community initiatives.

Source: Adaptation from in-depth household interview, 25 March 2021

9.2.1 Key messages from Gogo MaMoyo's narrative

In this subsection, I detail the key messages emanating from Gogo MaMoyo's narrative as informed by the key thematic areas of focus: urban food systems, urban governance, and household food security.

9.2.1.1 Level of food security

Gogo MaMoyo's story is a microcosm of the general picture obtaining in many of the households in Ward 28, as was discussed in chapter 7. Her story shows that, at best, she always has access to food, albeit of questionable nutritional value. However, the nutritional value is questionable partly because the diet is monotonous, typified by starch and leafy vegetables and lacking in fruits, meat and dairy products, all of key nutritional value. Going by FAO's

definition of food security discussed in chapter two, Gogo MaMoyo's narrative reveals multiple dimensions of food insecurity. For instance, the definition talks about food security as contingent on physical and economic access to food (FAO et al., 2021). In Gogo MaMoyo's case, both economic and physical access is not always guaranteed. For economic access, she is limited by her meagre pension pay-out, which at the time of the survey was less than the country's food poverty line. She indicates that her monthly pension pay-out was pegged at ZWL\$3000 against a food poverty line of ZWL\$4 139 per person (Zimstat, 2021). Physically, she fails to access certain types of foods on demand because the area in which she lives has no formally established retailers. Instead, it is serviced by informal retailers such as street vendors and tuck shops. In addition, physical access to food for Gogo MaMoyo is affected by her physical impairment since she has paraplegia. The FAO definition goes on to mainstream the safety and nutritional value of food. As has just been highlighted in the preceding, Gogo MaMoyo's diet lacks key macro and micronutrients. Finally, the last part of the definition underscores the issue of accessing preferred foods, and as already highlighted, Gogo MaMoyo's narrative shows that she eats what she accesses, not what she necessarily prefers. Gogo MaMoyo's food insecurity experiences are a microcosm of the experiences of the urban poor.

9.2.1.2 Sources of food and food sourcing strategies

Gogo MaMoyo's narrative shows that she uses a judicious mixture of food sources. Her food is mainly accessed through buying from different sources. For dry foods with a longer shelf life, she procures from the CBD through her helpers. This is typical behaviour of most urbanites in Africa as Crush et al., (2012, p.285) argue based on a survey in 11 Southern African cities that "[most households tend to patronise supermarkets on a weekly or monthly basis for the bulk purchase of food staples." For Gogo MaMoyo, however, because of a poor road network at some point she was forced to rely on nearby tuck-shops even for the dry food staples that she normally buys from the CBD. Buying dry foods from nearby retailers meant reduced buying power as some of her money was lost through a premium charged in the exchange of money from its electronic form to cash which is the only mode of payment acceptable to tuck-shops. In addition, prices at the tuck-shops are relatively higher than those in the formally recognised shops, especially those in the CBD. Other studies confirm this within the African continent, such as Crush et al., (2012), who established the same in 11 Southern African cities and Tawodzera (2010) in Epworth, Harare.

For fresh produce, Gogo MaMoyo partly relies on her small backyard garden, whilst at other times she uses nearby informal street traders. She is not exclusively reliant on the

backyard garden because of the unreliable water supplies and the high water charges that go in tandem with gardening under the city's stringent water rationing programme. At the time of the survey the city had just reduced the 144 hour per week water-shedding period to 48 hours but with strict rationing protocols still in place (Bulawayo City Council, 2021). Whilst Gogo MaMoyo wishes she could do off-site gardening or farming she is however hamstrung by her physical circumstances.

Gogo MaMoyo also sources food from neighbours and children in times of financial distress. Whilst these social networks are useful for her, there is however a problem in that those who sometimes assist her are also experiencing challenges due to a challenging economic environment. Regrettably, for her, she has not been fortunate enough to be amongst those selected for assistance from institutional actors such as government departments/agencies and non-state actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Gogo MaMoyo's experiences with food assistance programmes are not unique as several studies have established that these programmes are usually marred by targeting selection irregularities (Chingono, 2019; Ndlovu et al., 2019; Rohrbach et al., 2004).

Finally, the community in which Gogo MaMoyo lives has not taken initiatives to deal with food insecurity using its strategies. Whereas the community has sound governance structures and processes on issues of mutual funeral assistance associations/societies, the same cannot, however, be said of food issues. In other words, the community has not seen the need to organise itself around food issues as these issues are seen as individual family/household issues.

9.2.1.3 Gogo MaMoyo's experiences with service delivery in the context of her household's food security status

One of the key urban governance arenas is of service delivery. Gogo MaMoyo's narrative reveals several interactions between service delivery and her household's food security status. Firstly, as a household that mainly accesses food through buying from shops, the failure to attract formally registered shops in the area (probably due to limited servicing) negatively affects Gogo MaMoyo and other households. This is partly responsible for the proliferation of informal traders who run tuck-shops and also sell in open spaces on the streets of the suburb. Whilst they bring convenience to the residents by availing food and other household needs nearer to them and usually in customised form (e.g. smaller packages to cater for limited buying power), they, however are relatively expensive compared to formally registered shops. This shows that the city authorities have not fully played their part to enhance entrepreneurship as espoused in Obeng-Odoom's DED Framework. In order to attract investment, urban local

authorities are expected to amongst other things supply required services such as roads, water, waste management services and electricity, amongst others. One of the net outcomes for this inefficiency in service delivery for households is limited food access.

The failure to adequately provide utilities such as water, electricity and sewerage services negatively affects Gogo MaMoyo's food sourcing strategies. For instance, because of lack of electricity services, she has to buy perishables daily, something which is a challenge in a highly inflationary environment where food prices are always rising. In addition, the lack of electricity service provision has led Gogo MaMoyo to use alternatives in the form of firewood. The use of firewood itself tends to affect Gogo MaMoyo's food choices as she has to avoid foods that take long to prepare since this will be a huge cost for her in terms of buying firewood. Furthermore, because of the lack of electricity service provision, bulk cooking and storage is not an option for her as she cannot use her refrigerator. It is therefore clear that lack of proper service provision by the local authority partly accounts for the use of negative coping mechanisms such as buying and preparing foods that do not take long to prepare, which in some cases is not of significant nutritional value.

Poor water supply services characterised by long periods of water-shedding are also detrimental to household food security for Gogo MaMoyo through two channels. Firstly, as was highlighted in the foregoing, the erratic water supply situation makes it difficult to sustain gardening activities, yet these gardens are an integral source of vegetables. Thus, whilst households attempt to positively cope with food access challenges informed by an unstable macroeconomic environment at the national level, poor service delivery at the local level serves to undermine households' efforts. Secondly, water is critical, especially in ensuring another dimension of food security is attained. This is the utilisation dimension, given that water is useful in preparing food. Prolonged water-shedding can lead to compromises in hygiene standards and ultimately result in foodborne conditions affecting household members.

On lack of sanitation services, such as a functional sewer reticulation system, households' access and utilisation dimensions are negatively affected. In the case of Gogo MaMoyo, as highlighted in her narrative, she at one time tried to access meat by buying a goat together with a neighbour. However, because of lack of electricity, the only option left for long term storage was through drying the meat into biltong. This proved problematic because some nearby households use Blair pit toilets. Such conditions attract many house flies which could then transmit diseases into the dried meat.

Gogo MaMoyo's narrative reveals food insecurity challenges experienced by the poor who survive in poorly serviced areas. Her story highlights how urban governance deficits have

failed people like her, resulting in food insecurity. Urban governance has failed people like Gogo MaMoyo by failing to avail necessary services that mainly serve as access channels to food. Furthermore, Gogo MaMoyo's story reveals a social safety net system that is on the brink and, as such, is failing to protect vulnerable members of society such as her. Whilst her vulnerabilities might be different from those of others, what is revealed by her story indicates that the social safety net is no longer effective, probably for all other forms of vulnerabilities faced by the urban poor in Bulawayo.

9.3 Taking charge of one's life: Mrs Ndlovu's story of being her own 'council'

Whilst Gogo MaMoyo's story highlighted in the previous section is one that highlights multiple forms of deprivation all intersecting to produce or worsen household food insecurity, the story of Mrs Ndlovu narrated in Box 9.2 is one of relative abundance.

Box 9.2: Mrs Ndlovu-Multi sources of food from multiple sites

Mrs Ndlovu is a 41-year-old married teacher who lives in an area of Ward 28 popularly known as Ama-4. She regularly lives with her two sisters in an eight roomed house on a 320m² corner residential plot. Her 2 children spend most of their time in boarding schools in the outskirts of the city of Bulawayo and her husband is a teacher in South Africa.

The Ama-4 area is one of the oldest in ward 28, and it is not surprising that it is fully serviced. All the properties in the area have access to electricity, clean water and the city's sewer system. In addition, within the vicinity, there are supermarkets and other facilities such as schools. The access roads within the area are tarred. For Mrs Ndlovu's household, they have additional facilities such as an off-grid solar system and a 5000l water storage tank. These are used as a fallback mechanism when the city's services fail. She indicated that "I have decided to play the role of council because the council has failed the community and me in many respects. This is why I have resorted to having my own water storage facility and power supply to avoid inconveniences."

Mrs Ndlovu's household has multiple sources of food drawn from multiple sites. She indicated that her household's diet is centred on starches (*isitshwala*, potatoes and rice). She indicated that her rice is normally sent from South Africa with other dry foods and is usually transported by *Omalayitsha* (Informal cross border transporters). She indicated that the starches are usually eaten with different kinds of meat usually sourced from a family farm in Insiza district which is one of the districts close to the city of Bulawayo. She indicated that she also brings traditional food from the farm especially *umfushwa* (dried vegetables), groundnuts, samp and curdled milk, amongst other things. Mrs Ndlovu pointed out that she spends most of her weekends and school holidays on the farm because it enables them to have a diverse diet at a cheaper cost. She further pointed out that she sells some of the produce to augment her income from her formal job. "I have to do this because my salary is not enough. Eighteen thousand Zimbabwean dollars does not buy much, and as such, it is important to have extra sources of income."

Mrs Ndlovu also pointed out that she usually sources her basic fresh produce such as tomatoes, leafy vegetables, onions, carrots, beetroots, amongst other things, from the backyard garden within the residential plot. She indicated that she usually sources small things such as condiments, bread, and fresh milk in nearby supermarkets.

In terms of food preparation, Mrs Ndlovu's household mainly uses an electric stove with an oven backed up by a gas-powered oven stove. Furthermore, when she goes to the farm, she brings some firewood which she partly uses to prepare meals that require longer cooking times. The household stores its perishables in a refrigerator and deep freezer. The freezer is mainly used for bulk meat storage. Asked about the stability of her household's food security status, Mrs Ndlovu indicated that "I will be lying if I said there are times when we have experienced challenges. We generally have enough food throughout the year. In fact, we even have buffer stocks especially of dry foods and things like meat which we keep in the freezer." Mrs Ndlovu highlighted that even under strict lockdown protocol as a farmer she still managed to continue with her farm operations since farming was considered as one of the essential services that were expected to continue operational.

In terms of participation on community governance issues, Mrs Ndlovu indicated that they only participate in the *uzibuthe* (funeral/burial society) where they pay a stipulated amount every time there is a death within the area. She indicated that because of their busy schedule, it was impossible for them to know if there were other community initiatives, especially those meant to address issues of food insecurity.

Source: Adaptation from in-depth household interview, 7 April 2021.

9.3.1 Key messages from Mrs Ndlovu's narrative

This subsection elicits and discusses key themes emerging from Mrs Ndlovu's narrative within the framework of the study's focal areas. The key themes are discussed under levels of food security, sources of food and food sourcing strategies and lastly, intersectionalities between urban governance and household food security.

9.3.1.1 Level of food security

Mrs Ndlovu's household is highly food secure. Her household has both physical and economic access to different kinds of foods. In addition, the food that her household eats also bears testimony to its secureness on issues of food. The diet is quite diverse and balanced, and the household food supplies are generally stable throughout the month and the year as a whole. Mrs Ndlovu's household food security status is informed by a number of factors. The main reason is that the household enjoys a diverse portfolio of income sources, including salaries from her formal employment and that of her husband in South Africa and income from farm produce sales. For instance, Mrs Ndlovu indicates that at the time of the survey, she was earning approximately ZWL\$18 000. Whilst it was not much, it suffices to point out that the Food Poverty line for Bulawayo stood at ZWL\$4,145.34 per person then (ZimStat, 2021). This

underscores the importance of income levels as a predictor of a household's food security status. Whereas in chapter 7, it was revealed that the household survey findings did not establish any strong relationship between household income and its food security status, it was however noted that this could possibly have been informed by the destabilising nature of COVID-19 and related management protocols. Thus, Mrs Ndlovu's household confirms the relationship between household income and its food security status. This relationship is well established in the literature (see Abo & Kuma, 2015; Akinboade et al., 2016; Drammeh et al., 2019).

Mrs Ndlovu's household food security status is also aided by other extra-household factors. For instance, the area where she lives is fully serviced and the shops are within reasonable distances from the area. This facilitates relatively easier access of food. Furthermore, the availability of utilities such as water and electricity, including Mrs Ndlovu's own back-up systems, facilitate the realisation of all dimensions of food security.

9.3.1.2 Sources of food and food sourcing strategies

Mrs Ndlovu's narrative reveals that her food sources are diverse and are in multiple locations encompassing those within the Ward, the City and others from outside the city but within the country and yet others from across the country's borders. Most of the food consumed by Mrs Ndlovu's household comes from her family farm outside of the city of Bulawayo. It is from the farm that she gets a significant part of her household's food requirements, including the staple maize meal. It is also through this channel of food sourcing that she manages to access socially and culturally preferred food which is an important aspect of food security. This source of food reflects the rural-urban linkages and their importance in ensuring urban food security. Given that this is a food sourcing strategy that is taking place outside of market channels, there is a likelihood its contribution is overlooked or missed in policy circles or even in research (Crush and Caesar, 2016; Crush and Caesar, 2017). Crush and Caesar (2017, p.10) actually argue that:

[r]ather than viewing this in binary terms – as movement between separate and discrete rural and urban households – it can be more productive to see the household as dispersed or 'stretched' over space, across the rural-urban divide and very often between countries.

Given this line of thinking, Mrs Ndlovu's household is stretched across different localities within the country (Bulawayo and Insiza district) and across countries (Zimbabwe and South Africa). This food sourcing (not that food sourcing is the main motivation) strategy involves drawing food from different locations by engaging in a variety of activities. In the case of Mrs

Ndlovu, this involves being a wage earner in an urban set-up, being a farmer in a rural set-up and having the husband being a wage earner in another country. Engaging in rural farming is one of the strategies that a significant number of Zimbabwean urbanites make use (Tawodzera, 2010). For instance, Crush and Caesar (2017, p.20) aver that, “[b]y engaging in rural farming, urban household members generated food to eat when they visited the countryside, or they could sell it to generate a supplementary income for use in both the rural and urban areas.” In the case of Mrs Ndlovu, the food is not just for eating in the rural areas but mainly for consumption in the urban areas. In addition, it is also for sale to generate household income to meet other household food and non-food requirements.

Across the border, Mrs Ndlovu’s husband too plays a part in sourcing food (especially dry foods). This is a significant channel of food provisioning as Pendleton et al. (2006) established in their survey that 68% of sampled Zimbabwean households indicated receiving remittances in the form of goods that included food. It is also of interest that Mrs Ndlovu’s access to food through this channel is facilitated by *Omalayitsha*, the informal cross border traders who deliver at the doorstep.

9.3.1.3 The interactions between service delivery and household food security: Mrs Ndlovu’s experiences

In this section, I discuss the interactions between service delivery and household food security through the experiences of Mrs Ndlovu. Mrs Ndlovu's circumstances are different from those of Gogo MaMoyo discussed in the foregoing. Mrs Ndlovu lives in a fully serviced area as opposed to Gogo Moyo. However, even though the area is supposedly fully serviced, some services are erratic and unpredictable. For instance, her household sometimes experiences water and electricity shedding periods. Ordinarily, these would have negative effects on a household’s food security. As an example, electricity is a key source of cooking energy and powering appliances such as refrigerators for many households in the city of Bulawayo, and any disturbances in its supply may have ramifications on households' food security status. However, in the case of Mrs Ndlovu, she has insulated herself against such ramifications by installing an off-grid solar system. As such, she is in a position to buy and store perishable food in a refrigerator to have it on demand. This is unlike other households that end up sacrificing such foods or resorting to daily procurement to avoid food spoilage and waste. Similarly, for cooking, Mrs Ndlovu's household has a gas stove and access to firewood which ensure that her household is not constrained by power in terms of determining the food it wants to eat.

With respect to water, Mrs Ndlovu's household uses the 5000-litre storage tank to good effect as her backyard garden is attended to without the constraints imposed by water shedding.

Mrs Ndlovu's residential plot is of a much bigger size compared to the standard sizes of 200m². A bigger plot size gives her the leeway to productively use some of the space, like in this case, through vegetable gardening. In addition, a higher income level allows her to settle the water bills. Resultantly, as was revealed in the narrative, Mrs Ndlovu's vegetable garden has a diverse range of vegetables which assures the household's dietary diversity.

This subsection has examined Mrs Ndlovu's household food security status. It can be argued that Mrs Ndlovu's narrative is a microcosm of food secure households in Ward 28 in many respects. Her household (which is a spatially stretched one) is engaged in livelihood activities in areas that are geographically dispersed. It is through these livelihood activities that Mrs Ndlovu's household realises income which is one of the key determinants of the household's stable food security status. Engaging in these spatially dispersed livelihood activities also enables the household to draw food from different areas based on comparative advantage. Finally, a relatively higher income enables Mrs Ndlovu's household to cope with service delivery deficits with relative ease. The positive coping strategies employed by the household have positive spin-off effects on the household's food security status.

9.4 Coping with Food Insecurity

In this section, I discuss the life of a resident (MaDube) of Ward 28 following the same approach used in the first two narratives highlighted in the foregoing. Box 9.3 captures MaDube's story.

Box 9.3: MaDube and her household's precarious livelihood

MaDube is a 38-year-old woman who is married and has three young children, all under 7. They live on a rented 2 roomed property sitting on a 200m² residential plot in the Eterminus area. Eterminus is part of the fully serviced part of Ward 28, which is fully connected to the city's electrical grid, sewage and water networks and has tarred access roads. MaDube's husband is a casual labourer who survives on hiring out his services in a central place in the CBD where people usual go to seeking for casual labourers. MaDube herself is a vendor who operates from the area's business centre.

In terms of food, the main food items consumed in MaDube's household are *isitshwala* and rice on the side of starches usually served with leafy vegetables, sugar beans, soya chunks and *mfushwa*, amongst other things. MaDube indicated that "in the morning I prepare porridge for the kids and in the afternoon, we have tea with plain rice, and usually for supper we have *Isitshwala*." She further pointed out that "depending on the circumstances, sometimes we even skip the afternoon meal and just have porridge and supper. There are times when children cry of hunger in between meals and usually I offer them a cool drink if there is one." MaDube pointed out that having meat in her household was a rarity since they could not afford it.

MaDube narrated that the food they eat usually is from her vending business and the local supermarket. She pointed out that she buys mealie meal and rice from the supermarket as the prices are lower than those of tuck-shops. The other reason for choosing local supermarkets is that as a vendor, she is a time-constrained individual and hence has to make the most of the available time to maximise income from vending. On fresh produce such as tomatoes and leafy vegetables and other perishables such as milk, MaDube pointed out that she buys enough for the day (if she has the financial resources) as she has no storage facilities such as refrigerators. Even though she has electricity, it is beyond her reach, and she mostly uses it for lighting. She prefers to use firewood which she sources from scotch cart firewood vendors. As a result, "I avoid cooking things that take much time to prepare, I prefer things like soya chunks, kapenta (dried sardines) and vegetables because they are not heavy on energy usage when preparing." MaDube also pointed out that she did not have a backyard vegetable garden because she was just a tenant and feared incurring a high water bill. MaDube pointed out that her life was a typical hand to mouth story as she depended on daily income from vending to procure food requirements for her household. She said this made it difficult to survive and gave an example of her then present circumstances where she had taken time off (maternity break) to deliver her youngest child. As a result of that break, it made it difficult for her to feed her family. This was made worse because the husband was not bringing in any income due to COVID-19 related restrictions.

To cope MaDube had to get help from her mother in the rural areas who sent food items such as maize, dried vegetables and groundnuts. She also sent her some money. MaDube indicated that it would be difficult for her to replenish her stock for her business, given their family's precarious financial position. On being asked if there were no institutional actors assisting people in situations similar to hers, she pointed out that it was difficult for them as tenants to get assistance. She indicated that when some form of assistance comes, it is usually the landlords who benefit, and tenants are not considered. She gave an example of the mealie-meal shortage that was experienced in Bulawayo in the first half of 2020. To try and manage demand a book system was introduced. Through this system, each house had a book on which any mealie-meal purchase was supposed to be recorded. MaDube pointed out that unfortunately for tenants it was the landlords that were actually benefitting, and they got nothing.

Pertaining to her vending business, MaDube indicated that she operates from the local business centre in the open. She pointed out that competition was stiff amongst informal traders and between informal traders and formally recognised shops. MaDube pointed out that vendors use a variety of strategies to woo customers, such as bulk sourcing and breaking, which made their goods marginally cheaper than those in supermarkets. Their situation as informal traders was worsened by the fact that they experienced constant raids from the security establishment, usually at the instigation of formally registered shop owners. To protect themselves, vendors in the area including MaDube have joined different associations which work to advance their interests and to see to it that their rights were protected. She pointed out that most of them, including herself, really wanted to operate in some form of legally recognisable way, but the situation was not allowing them to. She said, "last year [2019] during the lockdown, they [city authorities] asked us to fill certain forms to help us get licences, but up until now, we have not seen them. I wish they could allow us to trade and come monthly to collect their money because if they say we must get licenses, we will not manage since everyone will be there, and it will take time. In addition, the process is cumbersome and involves many stages like getting fingerprints, blood tests and other things."

Source: Adaptation from household in-depth household interview, eTerminus area, Ward 28
26 March 2021

9.4.1 Key messages from MaDube's narrative

This part of the chapter elicits key messages from MaDube's narrative, following the key themes of household food security, urban food systems and urban governance. These themes will emerge as levels of food security, sources of food and the interactions between service delivery and household food security as discerned through MaDube's narrative are discussed.

9.4.1.1 Levels of food security

MaDube's household food security situation is dire and is a typical hand to mouth story. At the heart of the household's food insecurity woes is an unstable household income source which is then accentuated by other factors which will be discussed later on.

MaDube's household is severely food insecure going by the different dimensions of food security. Availability and access to food is a challenge mainly due to a lack of financial means to acquire the same. Resultantly, her household has to eat what it can access with the financial resources at its disposal. Food availability challenges within the household are reflected by negative coping strategies where some meals (especially in the afternoon) are skipped. What it usually accesses is barely a balanced diet as it is mainly a starch centred diet. For instance, MaDube indicates that they mostly eat porridge in the morning, tea and rice in the afternoon and Isitshwala in the evening. Consequently, the diet is lacking severely with respect to its diversity. Her narrative reveals that protein-rich foods like meat are a rarity in the household. This is worrisome given the profile of the household, which is dominated by young children. Such situations could account for the relatively high levels (approximately 23%) of stunting amongst children in Zimbabwe's urban areas (Food and Nutrition Council, 2018).

9.4.1.2 MaDube's sources of food and food sourcing strategies

As highlighted in the foregoing, MaDube mainly accesses food through buying. As a vendor, she usually takes some of the food items that she sells for her own household's consumption. Some of the food is bought from the nearby supermarket in the area where she engages in her vending business. This is usually packaged dry foods such as mealie meal and rice. Even then, MaDube buys limited quantities of these due to limited financial resources. MaDube's choice of supermarkets is informed by relatively lower prices offered by them compared to tuck-shops.

Another coping strategy used by MaDube's household is to rely on her social network, in this case, her mother in the rural areas. She gets assistance in the form of food or cash

remittances. Again, like the case of Mrs Ndlovu highlighted in the foregoing, this case highlights the significance of rural-urban ties in ensuring food security for especially poor urban households. However, the difference between Mrs Ndlovu's case compared to MaDube's is that in this case it is not so much of a stretched household but instead two households with kinship ties assisting each other.

MaDube's narrative also highlights that in spite of the dire livelihood circumstances experienced by households typified in this narrative, institutional actors are however failing to come to their rescue. Interestingly, in some programmes meant to ameliorate food insecurity they end up not benefitting because of their status as tenants. Again, like in Gogo MaMoyo's narrative, this case points to an urban social safety net that is weak and failing to protect the vulnerable in society.

9.4.1.3 The interactions between service delivery and household food security through the experiences of MaDube

Some of the food insecurity challenges experienced by MaDube's household are partly informed by service delivery issues. It is noteworthy that MaDube's narrative presents a third typology of households with respect to service delivery and household food security interactions. The first two areas represented by Gogo MaMoyo (those that are in partially serviced areas) and Mrs Ndlovu for those who are in fully serviced areas and relatively well off. MaDube's household represents a typology of households that while subsisting in areas that are fully serviced on paper find themselves failing to enjoy some of the benefits of living in such areas due to a number of reasons. For instance, whilst the shops are nearby in the Eterminus area, households like MaDube's fail to access the food items they sell due to lack of sufficient income. Whilst ordinarily, households near shops will regularly patronise such shops, this is however not the case with MaDube's. Whereas the shops are well stocked with a variety of food items that can assure households of a diverse and balanced diet, households like MaDube's cannot access those food items.

The lack of financial resources does not preclude households of MaDube's type from accessing food from the shops only. It further excludes them from enjoying the benefits of services such as those of water, electricity, sewerage and waste management. For instance, MaDube is not getting food through gardening like what the other two households presented in the foregoing do. The reasons are twofold but related. Firstly, lack of security of tenure as tenants makes it unattractive to venture into long term initiatives like gardening. Secondly, the lack of money makes it impossible to afford water for gardening activities. The same challenge is evident when it comes to access to electricity. Poor households like MaDube's fail to access

electricity because of the cost factor. This ends up affecting the households' food choices, opting for foods that take shorter times to prepare and, in the process compromising on nutritional value. This is confirmed by the other studies that established the same within the African continent (Battersby and Haysom, 2019a; Sola et al., 2016). Whilst Battersby and Haysom (2019a) argue that such dietary changes are indeed linked to energy access issues, they caution against oversimplifying the issue by leaving the argument at that level. They argue that other factors also need to be considered which work together with energy access challenges. Some of the issues they highlight include the aspirations of urbanites to climb the social strata through consuming “modern” diets, which are usually processed and hence take shorter preparation times. They also argue that dietary shifts are also informed by easy access to processed foods and the limited time available for food preparation due to hectic urban lifestyles. Whilst these are valued arguments, the case of dietary choices in MaDube’s household is clearly informed by poverty. It is because of income poverty that the household buys the food it buys which is normally of low cost. In addition to the low cost, the food bought has to meet one other important consideration for MaDube, which is that of light in terms of energy needed for its preparation.

MaDube’s narrative introduces a different dimension on the interactions between urban governance, the urban food system and household food security. This is because MaDube participates in the retail element of the food system as an informal street vendor. Her narrative reveals the cat and mouse relationship they have with law enforcement agents. Interestingly, MaDube's narrative also reveals the shortcomings of the city's bureaucratic system, where even those who are willing to undergo formalisation procedures are faced with a lot of red tape. As such she suggests a loose 'formalisation' approach which involves recognition of their existence through a system of monthly payments not accompanied by a lot of bureaucratic processes.

MaDube is a member of one of the associations that aim to protect the rights and interests of informal traders. This shows that she sees the value of collective action in navigating the city’s governance landscape.

This part of the chapter has reflected on the experiences of MaDube, whose existential reality epitomises the struggles of the urban poor who, despite living in properly serviced areas fail to access services mainly due to the intractable problem of poverty. It is the poverty that consigns households of such nature to debilitating levels of food insecurity. This food insecurity is marked by food purchases as and when financial resources become available. This means such households are vulnerable to shocks such as food price increases as there have no

buffer food stocks. Furthermore, should such eventualities occur, the social protection system is weak to help such households overcome their dire circumstances.

9.5 Surviving hunger in the city: The story of Mai Shoko

In this section, I reflect on the last of the four cases, which is the case of Mai Shoko, whose narrative resembles that of MaDube but with significant differences between the households. Her narrative is summarised in Box 9.4.

Box 9.4: Mai Shoko's experiences with the food system

Mai Shoko is a 42-year-old woman living in a partially serviced area known as Ebhesini. She lives with her husband and their 4 children in a 4 roomed house that is still under construction. Two of the children are in their mid-teens, whereas the other 2 are relatively younger. Their residential plot is 200m² in size. The area has no proper access roads, no electricity, no sewer system, although some properties have been connected to the city's water supply network. Mai Shoko is unemployed and survives on piece jobs. Some of the jobs that she does with her children include crushing rocks to make quarry stones since there are many people who are still building in the area. They also use wheelbarrows to ferry buildings sands which they sell to those members of the community who are still building. Her husband works as an assistant to a carpenter. Mai Shoko pointed out that their income-generating activities were precarious and hence there were times when the household struggled to make ends meet in general and to buy food in particular. These times are generally during the middle of the month when the demand for their services is low and some other times like during the COVID-19 related lockdowns.

Mai Shoko's family mainly eats maize meal porridge in the morning, tea and rice in the afternoon with bread a rarity in their household. Generally, for supper, the family eats *Isitshwala* and leafy vegetables and other low-cost relishes such as soya chunks, *kapenta* [dried sardines], Mopane worms and dried vegetables, amongst others. Mai Shoko's family usually buys its food from tuck-shops because registered shops are a distance from the Ebhesini area. She further noted that as a household with no regular income, tuck-shops are handy in that they offer credit facilities. Mai Shoko further pointed out that they avoid buying perishables and if they do they only buy quantities that are enough for one meal. She said, "if I have money for let us say milk, we rather buy powdered milk or just a small sachet of fresh milk to use once."

Mai Shoko's family also survives on a backyard vegetable garden where they grow leafy vegetables, onions, tomatoes and green beans. They are also involved in off plot gardening by a nearby sewer stream whose water they use for watering their vegetables. Most of the produce from the stream is sold to other community members. Mai Shoko's household also cultivates a small plot which they put under field crops such as maize, sweet reeds, melons, sugar bean and groundnuts. This form of farming is done during the rainy season. She indicated that they are just using the land without any knowledge of who the owner is. She narrated the many incidents in which they have had a brush with the city rangers who sometimes take their tools.

According to Mai Shoko, institutional actors have failed her household as they have not come up with plausible initiatives to help families like hers which are always in distress. She indicated that in 2020 government brought subsidised maize and maize meal for the residents to buy to ameliorate food supply challenges that were gripping the country then. However,

buying proved a challenge as they just saw other people with 'connections' getting mealie-meal or maize on a number of occasions.

Source: Adaptation from in-depth household interview, 06 April 2021

9.5.1 Key messages from Mai Shoko's narrative

This subsection interrogates Mai Shoko's narrative with the aim of eliciting key messages that articulate relevant experiences as guided by the study's thematic focal areas. As such the key messages will articulate the food security levels of Mai Shoko's household, sources of food and food sourcing strategies. Finally, it discusses the interactions between urban governance and household food security using the experiences of Mai Shoko.

9.5.1.1 Levels of food security

Mai Shoko's household is severely food insecure owing to income poverty. The casual work done by household members is not rewarding enough on a regular basis to assure sustained household food security levels. As such the stability dimension of food security is compromised. For instance, in her narrative Mai Shoko reveals that the household faces challenges in generating income from casual labour activities especially during the middle of the month. In addition, during the COVID-19 related lockdown her household struggled to get employment opportunities which had negative knock-on effects on the food security status of the household.

The diversity of food consumed by Mai Shoko's household is limited with foods like meat, dairy products, eggs, fruits not appearing as central elements of the household's diet. In addition, it is also clear from Mai Shoko's narrative that at times the city or even the whole country faces food availability challenges. This is exemplified by the shortage of maize meal highlighted in Mai Shoko's narrative.

9.5.1.2 Sources of food and food sourcing strategies

Mai Shoko's household sources food from diverse sources mainly due to its thin income base. Notwithstanding this thin income base, the household however accesses a significant portion of its diet through buying. Interestingly, the source of food that comes through this channel are the tuck-shops. One of the main reasons for this choice is that these tuck-shops offer flexible payments terms including credit facilities. This is a strategy that is captured in a number of studies on different food environments in Africa. (Opio and Ogindo, 2019; Fuseini, Battersby & Jain, 2019).

Mai Shoko and her household also accesses food through own production in three different sites. There is the backyard vegetable garden within the residential plot which is

mainly for household consumption. There is also an off-site garden where vegetables are grown mainly for sale to the surrounding community. Lastly, there is the off-site plot where rain-fed field crops are cultivated during the rainy season.

9.5.1.3 The interactions between urban governance and household food security through the experiences of Mai Shoko

The food sourcing strategies just highlighted in the foregoing are somehow influenced or affected in some ways by aspects of urban governance. Mai Shoko's household resides in a partially serviced area. This on its own means that her household has no access to key services, which are critical determinants of household food security. By the location of its residential plot, the household is precluded from accessing registered food retailers such as supermarkets. Indeed, Mai Shoko's narrative reveals this as it highlights that one of the reasons she prefers buying food from informal retailers such as tuck-shops is their proximity to her place of residency. This is supported by Tawodzera et al.,'s findings which revealed that "Supermarkets are still used less frequently in part because they are often located in formally planned areas at some distance from the informal areas surveyed" (Tawodzera et al., (2016, p.14).

Mai Shoko's household has no access to electricity and, as such, avoids buying food in bulk. Her household just buys perishables enough for a single meal. At times it resorts to alternatives such as powdered milk in place of fresh milk.

Due to the non-availability of water supplies, Mai Shoko waters her backyard vegetable garden and the off-plot one using water drawn from a sewer stream. Whilst this helps the household to access fresh food, it, however, raises questions about the safety of the food, which is a critical aspect of the food utilisation dimension of food security. It is even more worrying that such produce is not just consumed within Mai Shoko's household but also sold within the community.

Mai Shoko's farming activities also buttress some of the issues highlighted in chapters 6 and 7, where it was noted that some households engage in off-plot crop farming during the rainy season. For many, they do so in unregulated and sometimes illegal ways. To some extent, Mai Shoko's household falls in this category as she narrates that she has constant brushes with law enforcement agents due to her farming activities. Despite the laws and activities of the law enforcement agents, poor households such as that of Mai Shoko use certain tactics to appropriate the food production space within the Ward. For example, Mai Shoko's household 'allocated' itself a piece of farming land without due regard for who the owner is. The household will work the land until the real owner claims the land.

The politics of food distribution is also apparent in Mai Shoko's narrative. The narrative reveals that there are sometimes acts of nepotism and corruption that preclude deserving households from accessing support from institutional actors such as the government.

This part of the chapter has discussed Mai Shoko's live realities as she navigates the food system. It has revealed that some households, whilst headed by economically active groups, are however unemployed or under-employed, which compromises their ability to meet their needs in general and food requirements in particular. The socio-economic profile of the household is further worsened by the lack of appropriate services and amenities such as roads, water and sewer, amongst others.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the key themes of the study through the narratives of four households. In choosing the households, there was an attempt to ensure representativeness of the different food security experiences of different types of households. Thus, the chapter presented the narrative of Gogo MaMoyo to capture household and food security dynamics related to vulnerable segments of society living in the partially serviced area. Through Gogo MaMoyo's narrative, it is clear that this subaltern urban class experiences severe food insecurity owing to its socio-economic profile, which is then accentuated by the surrounding environment characterised by a lack of proper service provision. Furthermore, Gogo MaMoyo's narrative reveals that whilst food access is largely monetised in urban areas where the economies are floundering; however, there is no robust social safety net to cushion those negatively affected by struggling economies.

Whereas Gogo MaMoyo's narrative highlights the problem of urban poverty and food insecurity, the story of Mrs Ndlovu is a microcosm of food secure households in ward 28. Her narrative shows how spatially stretched households employ multiple livelihood activities in geographically dispersed areas. It is through these livelihood activities that Mrs Ndlovu's household realises income which is one of the key determinants of the household's stable food security status. Engaging in these spatially dispersed livelihood activities also enables the household to draw food from different areas based on comparative advantage. Finally, a relatively higher income enables Mrs Ndlovu's household to cope with service delivery deficits with relative ease. The positive coping strategies employed by the household have positive spin-off effects on the household's food security status.

The third narrative discussed in this chapter was that of MaDube, whose existential reality epitomises the struggles of the urban poor who, despite living in properly serviced areas,

fail to access services mainly due to the intractable problem of poverty. It is poverty that consigns households of such a nature to debilitating levels of food insecurity. This food insecurity is marked by food purchases as and when financial resources become available. This means such households are vulnerable to shocks such as food price increases as there have no buffer food stocks. Furthermore, should such eventualities occur, the social protection system is weak to help such households overcome their dire circumstances.

Finally, the chapter presented the narrative of Mai Shoko, whose everyday experiences also mirror those of multitudes facing urban poverty. The narrative highlights how income poverty caused by reliance on irregular income streams leads to food choices that may negatively impact a household's food security status. In addition, the narrative highlighted how urban governance dynamics worsen this situation.

More generally, the four narratives show that a good proportion of households in ward 28 are experiencing varying levels of food (in)security. This is mainly informed by income poverty and the urban governance deficits.

Having profiled all the selected households, the next chapter summarises the major findings of the study leading to appropriate conclusions that generate recommendations to various entities.

Chapter 10 : CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to understand the urban food system in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, with specific reference to urban governance and household food security. As the concluding part of the thesis, this chapter synthesises the key findings and relates them to the study sub-goals first and then to this main goal later. The preceding empirical chapters have shown how urban governance processes and structures condition household-level food-related behaviours, choices, and practices, ultimately leading to specific food security outcomes. To delve into these issues in greater detail, this chapter begins by reflecting on the study's subsidiary goals. In this (first) section, all the sub-goals are revisited and discussed in the context of empirical findings presented in the different chapters. Subsequently, the chapter then reflects on how the main objective was fulfilled within the context of the analytical framework employed in the study. The third section of the chapter discusses the study's limitations, which leads to the last section that pinpoints directions for further research.

10.2 Reflections on the Study's Sub-goals

This section reflects on how the study's subsidiary goals which were formulated and pursued to fulfil the main goal were addressed through the empirical findings. The sub-goals are to:

- a) Map the Bulawayo food system in order to identify key food system activities and actors;
- b) Trace the Bulawayo food system historically and identify the factors which shape and reconfigure it;
- c) Analyse how the identified agents interact with and influence the food system in Bulawayo;
- d) Analyse how the current organisation of food production, processing, distribution and consumption contributes to food (in) security in Bulawayo;
- e) Investigate and assess how urban governance processes and structures in Bulawayo shape food availability, access, utilisation and stability at the household level; and
- f) Identify and analyse the agency of the urban poor in contributing to the urban food system in Bulawayo.

Before addressing these sub-goals, the contextual framing (spanning chapters 1-5) put the study into perspective theoretically, historically and methodologically. The following subsections reflect on each of the sub-goals.

10.2.1 Mapping the Bulawayo food system

The first sub-goal on mapping the Bulawayo food system was over-arching because identifying food system actors and activities was a continuous process covering different study aspects. Nonetheless, chapter six is the anchor chapter on this aspect of the study as it presented the contemporary Bulawayo food system. In order to map the Bulawayo food system, the study mainly relied on tracing flows of five food items. These food items included the staple maize/maize meal, fresh produce (leafy vegetables and tomatoes), wheat/wheat flour/bread, meat (beef and chicken) and sugar beans. These food items were selected based on their essentiality in the diets of low-income households.

Mapping the flows of the food items highlighted in the foregoing revealed the complexity of food systems manifested through the multiple channels through which the Bulawayo food system is subordinated to other higher-order systems. These higher-order systems include the national and international food systems. For instance, while the study focused on the Bulawayo food system, empirical findings in chapter six indicate the intricate connections between the City's food system and the national and international systems through imports and exports.

Going by the HLPE (2017) classification of food systems, the Bulawayo food system lends itself well to being classified under mixed food systems, a hybrid of modern and traditional food systems. This is because, in mixed food systems, food production typically occurs in small local farms and large distant farms; infrastructure for storage and distribution is well developed, although accessibility issues arise concerning the poor. Food in mixed food systems is usually highly processed and accessible through, amongst other places, several retail channels, including stores and markets (HLPE, 2017). Indeed, mapping the food flows of the five food items brought out all these issues. Thus, the Bulawayo food system is characterised by food production by both the formally recognised and unrecognised actors within the City's precincts and small- and large-scale actors from mainly outside the city boundaries.

The processing and transportation/distribution elements exhibit similar traits to those of production, although the five food items traced showed that most of the food processing takes place within the city boundaries. Although informal actors participate in the processing, it was shown that most of the processing is done at an industrial scale by large corporates.

Concerning transportation/distribution, it was shown that there are both formal and informal actors.

Finally, in the retail element of the food system, it was demonstrated that there are both formal and informal actors who act strategically to carve and maintain their market niches. Other than these actors, it was also discussed how the local authority (the BCC) plays a critical role in regulating production, transportation, processing, and retail spaces. However, the local authority was itself subject to the limits placed by the central government in the exercise of its powers. In addition, CSOs, especially residents' associations, are also participating particularly in the food system's retail and production elements. They mainly play advocacy roles, extend in-kind transfers to the food insecure and run social accountability programmes, amongst other things.

10.2.2 Historicising the development of the Bulawayo food system

To understand the factors that have over time been shaping and reconfiguring the Bulawayo food system, including urban governance, chapters three and four traced the historical development of the Zimbabwean and Bulawayo food systems, respectively. The historicisation sought to fulfil the study's second sub-goal.

For Zimbabwe in general and Bulawayo in particular, the findings highlighted that colonial influence on the pre-colonial food systems was profound and diverse. Its significant impact was on the changes it made on the landholding patterns through dispossessing Africans of their fertile lands and confining them to unproductive reserves. On the positive side, the colonial era increased productivity due to adopting new farming practices. In addition, increased productivity was partly spurred on by increased demand generated through newly established centres of commerce. These centres of commerce led to the development of produce markets which significantly altered the food system as it led to the commodification of food. In the pre-colonial era, it was established that food was almost exclusively produced and consumed within the communities, even though there was a movement of food to relatively distant locales through limited trade and political arrangements such as payment of tribute.

Another significant channel of change during the colonial era is evident where the colonial establishment sought to turn some of the African peasants into wage labourers in centres of commerce through brute force or subtle ways such as instituting a raft of taxation measures creating unbearable living conditions in the Reserves. One of these critical centres of commerce was that of the newly established urban centres, including Bulawayo. It was during the colonial era that the institutional framework for the establishment and management of these

urban centres was set up. The study revealed that the governance mechanisms in place were essentially segregationist as they sought to prop up white settler capitalists to the detriment of the black Africans. More specifically, the urban centres were not meant for the black population. Hence, the presence of black Africans in those centres was not borne out of the desire by the colonial establishment to let them enjoy the comforts and trappings of urban life but by sheer necessity as black Africans served as a vital cog in the development of settler capitalism in its various dimensions. The discussion also reflected on how the urbanisation process was catalysed through a raft of legal, political and economic strategies, which all cumulatively sought to undermine peasant agriculture in the reserves and prop up white settler capitalism. The implications of these strategies on the food system were shown to be varied.

The developments in the post-independence era were also discussed. To this end, urban growth and urbanisation increased with the attainment of independence, mainly in response to the removal of legal bottlenecks instituted by the colonial regime concerning the access of urban areas by black Africans. Growing urban populations presented service delivery challenges. The service delivery challenges are informed mainly by a lack of required levels of economic development to match growing population levels. Furthermore, it was noted that urban centres in Zimbabwe have remained centres of planning and control with low levels of tolerance for informality. Notwithstanding this management stance, on the ground, there has, however, been unprecedented levels of growth of the informal economy, which has affected the urban food system in various ways. The growth of the informal sector in Bulawayo is partly accounted for by the massive de-industrialisation that has taken place in the City owing to factors such as the effects of ESAP, perennial water shortages, the declining national economy and the relocation of companies to Harare and other big urban centres in the SADC region.

10.2.3 Activities of agents within the food system

The activities of agents within the food system are captured across the empirical chapters. Chapter six (as was shown in sub-section 10.2.1 in the preceding) mapped the actors and their activities within the Bulawayo food system. Chapter 7 primarily reflected on how these actors interact as agents and sometimes objects of urban governance. Chapter eight focussed explicitly on the agency of the urban poor as they operate within the food system.

It was shown that the actors are involved in various food system elements, from production to consumption. In fulfilling this subsidiary goal, it became apparent that as the actors interact, there are power differences that configure their relations. The local authority as the central actor in urban governance utilises instrumental, structural and discursive forms of

power to try and shape the form, processes and activities of the food system. For instance, the local authority uses legal instruments, coercive instruments such as the deployment of security apparatus, and discursive messaging to promote or discourage certain activities within the food system. However, despite its power, the local authority being subject to the central government's authority at times has to contend with the actions or policies of the central government. A key highlight, in this case, is the issue of *Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*, which the government instituted without the active involvement of the Council. However, Council is now dealing with the Operation's legacy in Ward 28. While not directly related to food, such manoeuvres have food system impacts, which were discussed at length in chapter seven.

The private sector actors contribute significantly to the food system as producers, processors, transporters/distributors and retailers of food. The study reflected on some of their business practices as they attempt to influence the food system. The study also reflected on their interactions with other actors. For instance, it was shown that the private sector sometimes resists central government statutes or directives. For instance, between 2007 and 2008, they resisted government price controls which triggered widespread food shortages in the country in general and in urban centres such as Bulawayo in particular.

Consumers, especially households, were identified as critical actors within the food system whose preferences and practices play a significant role in shaping the nature of the food system. For instance, preferences for lower prices partly account for the widespread participation of informal food traders who have little or no overheads. Furthermore, they prefer to buy food, especially perishable food, daily in nearby areas because of limited storage capacities.

Besides being consumers, households play a critical role in food production through urban agriculture activities. The households are mainly involved in backyard vegetable gardening, off-plot crop and vegetable farming and backyard poultry rearing.

10.2.4 Organisation of food production, processing, distribution and consumption contributes to food (in)security in Bulawayo

The food mapping exercise revealed that the Bulawayo food system is mainly dependent on other food systems of a higher scale, that is, national and international food systems. Though this helps cover deficits, it is subject to several vulnerabilities. Some of these include trade policy changes and the occurrence of hazards that impede the smooth transportation of food from one area to another, as is the case with COVID-19 related restrictions in movement.

Even though the food consumed within Bulawayo mainly comes from outside the city boundaries, it was shown that processing usually takes place within the precincts of the City, which ensures that Bulawayo residents have physical access to food without travelling long distances. In terms of processing and distribution, especially concerning maize and wheat, it was demonstrated that the centrality of the GMB with its exposure to political manipulation sometimes results in food supply challenges within the City. These structural failures in the food system have been exploited by other actors who, although mostly acting illegally through, for instance, smuggling food from outside the country or buying and selling controlled products such as maize and wheat, help stabilise food supplies, especially in urban areas.

The bio-geographical and demographic characteristics of Bulawayo have been shown to be critical elements of the City's food system, leading to specific food security outcomes. High levels of poverty within the City, unemployment, and infrastructural deficits all affect food system outcomes.

10.2.5 Urban governance and household food security

In fulfilling sub-goal 'e', the study examined the interrelationship between urban governance processes and structures and household food security. The examination indicated that there is no clear relationship between aspects of urban governance (in this case, proxied by whether a household was living in a serviced or partially serviced area) and household food security. Thus, households in both areas were found to be experiencing food insecurity. However, an analysis of some urban governance elements such as land allocation and management, provision of basic infrastructure and services revealed that these elements are critical in informing households' choices and behaviours related to food issues.

The institutional landscape governing the Bulawayo food system seeks to provide for 'order' and safety within the City in general and food system in particular as inspired by the modernist/western vision of how a city should look like. To this end, the institutional landscape is characterised by many legal instruments controlling space usage within the City. This means there are designated spaces for food production, processing, transportation, retailing and consumption. In addition, as was shown in section 10.2.3, the local authority uses different forms of power to try and ensure its vision is realised. This institutional landscape at times negatively affects households' access to food.

For instance, in the retail element of the food system, formally recognised actors are failing to provide services to the households in Ward 28 primarily because they are still constructing infrastructure in compliance with the local authority's strict and costly building

codes. Resultantly, the absence of these formal food retail outlets encourages the mushrooming of street food vendors, most of whom are not recognised legally. Even for those vendors operating in designated areas, those areas are poorly equipped, with limited or no sanitation facilities.

In the production element, while the land is 'available', it cannot, however, be accessed for use in urban agricultural activities because of the local authority's planning and zoning laws, regulations and policies. As such, households at best access land on a usufruct basis or at worst downrightly disregard property rights issues and use whatever land they can access.

10.2.6 Agency of the urban poor in contributing to the urban food system in Bulawayo

The discussion on urban governance processes and structures and how they condition households' food-related behaviours and ultimately food security status tends to privilege structural factors in explaining food system dynamics in Bulawayo. The sixth subsidiary goal (f) sought to focus on the urban poor's agential initiatives as they attempt to circumnavigate the structural barriers inherent in the food system. Thus chapter 8 showed that, notwithstanding the closed spaces, the urban poor create their own 'counter spaces' to contribute to the food system. The urban poor were seen to be active in the production element of the food system through their involvement in urban agriculture activities. However, their agential initiatives were restricted to individuals, with no evidence of collective agency to stake their claim in the food system. As such, the urban poor remain dogged by structural challenges such as lack of access to land and capital. The processing, distribution and transportation element of the food system also exhibit similar traits to those of the production element. Although individuals show agency through the strategies they employ to carve their niche within the food system, this was found to be limited in scope and effect. In addition, there was no collective agency discerned in this element of the food system.

Perhaps the most visible and effective forms of agency of the urban poor can be discerned in the retail element of the food system. It was noted that the urban poor involved in the food system fight for their space by using specific tactics. Some of the agential initiatives taken are at an individual level, whereas others are at a collective level. Through the collective agency, the urban poor are opening up hitherto closed spaces. It was noted that through collectives such as the BVTAs, poor urban informal vendors use their collective voice to engage the authorities, and in the process, the urban space for food retail is slowly being reconfigured. This reconfiguration involves, amongst other things increasing recognition that the informal

food vendors are an integral part of the food system, and hence appropriate measures to support the same are being implemented or are under consideration.

10.3 Addressing the main objective

The main goal of the thesis is to understand and analyse the urban food system in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) with specific reference to urban governance and household food security. Section 10.2 has reflected on the sub-goals that feed into this main goal. Accordingly, in this section, I now reflect on the relevance of the thesis' theoretical framing in pursuing this main goal. Obeng Odoom's DED framework in the main guided this thesis. As such, in this section, I reflect on whether or not the empirical findings in this thesis conform to the tenets of this framework.

10.3.1 Reflecting on the DED Framework

What follows reflects on the theoretical insights of the DED framework in so far as urban governance in Bulawayo is concerned. While the three elements of DED (Decentralisation, Entrepreneurialism and Democratisation) are presented separately, the reflections do bring out their interlocked nature as Obeng-Odoom proposes.

10.3.1.1 Decentralisation

Concerning decentralisation, it was shown that the institutional landscape is convoluted and hence affects urban governance processes and, ultimately, food system dynamics in multiple and complex ways. Whereas Zimbabwe's 2013 constitution provides for devolution of power to (amongst other centres) Metropolitan Councils, these Metropolitan Councils are not yet in place. Nonetheless, central government appointees such as the Minister of State for Provincial Affairs, Provincial Development Coordinator and District Development Coordinators are already running central government programmes within the City/Province. This manifests what Resnick called strategies of subversion in a vertically divided authority such as Bulawayo, which has since 2000 been under the leadership of a popularly elected authority of various MDC formations. For instance, some of the strategies of subversion have included delayed budget approvals, thinning of the Council's revenue base by the central government and its agencies through usurping some sources of revenue such as vehicle licensing fees and water user fees (at some point in time), non-payment of rates and other service fees due to the Council by government agencies, and pushing populist policies such as writing-off rate payers' debts. Interestingly, the service delivery challenges that negatively impact Ward 28 in Bulawayo are mainly due to the legacy of central government intrusion in the management of the affairs of the local authority. This was through *Operation Murambatsvina* and *Operation*

Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle. All these issues have cumulatively affected the capability of the local authority to discharge its mandate and hence the existence of some of the poor food system outcomes as discussed in the study. In addition, at times, the ruling party, through its agents, has directly intervened in the food system and, in the process, usurped the responsibilities of the local authority.

It is also clear that local authorities, in this case, BCC, have not been expressly assigned a food security mandate in terms of legislation. Hence, local authorities cannot do much to influence especially the supply of food within their areas of jurisdictions. For instance, at the centre of the flow of maize (which is a staple crop) is the GMB, an entity entirely under the direction of the central government. However, the local authority does exercise its power in certain aspects of the food system to ensure actors operate in designated areas following laid down procedures to assure the health and safety of residents.

An interesting dimension is that limited decentralisation is also an issue within the precincts of the City. The local authority itself has not fully embraced decentralisation, and this is affecting food system processes and outcomes. For instance, application procedures for vending licences, including associated medical examination, are centralised, yet the local authority has offices and health facilities throughout the different wards. Furthermore, until the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic in the City, the local authority had not actively sought to decentralise fresh produce markets to the suburban areas.

10.3.1.2 Entrepreneurialism

It was observed that urban governance in Bulawayo is entrepreneurial, and this is coordinated by a section within the Town Clerk's department. To this end, the local authority has historically been directly involved in entrepreneurial activities as it runs entities such as farms that help augment food supplies and beer outlets whose profits have been used to advance the City's social development agenda. This includes, amongst other things meeting the housing needs of low-income households. Entrepreneurial urban governance traits are also evident in that the City was granted Special Economic Zone status to attract investment and ultimately reverse de-industrialisation. More directly to the food system, the City of Bulawayo has progressively opened up spaces even for informal and small-scale enterprises. Nonetheless, the city council fails to meet the demand for trading space with appropriate amenities as highlighted in section 10.3.1 above because of a failing formal economy.

10.3.1.3 Democratisation

Operationalisation of urban governance as democratisation is evident in Bulawayo as, in legal terms, elections are used as a platform to elect council leadership every five years. However, as shown in section 10.3.1 and as Obeng-Odoom argues about the interlocked nature of the three elements of DED, the majority's will is subverted through various strategies owing to the nature of decentralisation obtaining. One of those not mentioned in the foregoing, since it speaks directly to democratic values, relates to a provision in the law that allows the Minister of Local Government to appoint special interest councillors.

The participation of Bulawayo residents in urban governance projects a somewhat mixed picture. On the one hand, there are platforms where residents participate in urban governance on issues that somehow affect the food system. For instance, at the retail level, some associations represent vendors' interests. These associations actively participate in urban governance processes, and their activities are altering the food system. Residents' associations, too, are playing a central role in pushing for improved service delivery, which has implications for the food system. In addition, residents' associations were found to be playing a critical role in holding the authorities to account where issues of food or farming input distribution were concerned. On the other hand, similar platforms in agricultural production, processing and transportation were missing, thereby denying the residents the advantages that the critical mass of collective agency brings to them.

10.3.1.4 On the evaluative questions of DED

The three evaluative questions used to assess urban governance in Bulawayo relate to how urban governance is lived, whether or not it leads to job creation and, finally, how it affects service delivery.

On how urban governance is lived, it is clear that urban governance is a site of contestation for power and influence. To mediate these contestations, there are platforms in place for multi-stakeholder engagement. Residents have an opportunity to elect their representatives every five years, and in-between elections, they have various platforms to have a say in the running of the City. For instance, where the food system is concerned, a case in point is that of the multi-stakeholder engagement platform, which is provided for in BCC's UA policy, notwithstanding that the platform was found to be inactive. Furthermore, the local authority engages with informal traders every month, and it is through such arrangements that the local authority has progressively shifted from its hard-line stance on the sector. However, the study found that there is no active involvement of residents on food-related issues, and no

community-based organisations had organically emerged to deal with food-related issues. Thus, while residents self-organise within their neighbourhoods to advance their interests on specific issues (for instance, funerals and, at times, safety and security), so far, there is not much that they have done concerning food. Perhaps, this is partly because the local authority itself does not see itself as having a direct food security mandate. This could be rubbing off to the communities who then see issues of food supply as a domain of the central government.

On job creation, despite the concerted efforts, it is clear that entrepreneurial urban governance initiatives have not brought much by way of jobs. Instead, it was shown that the City has been de-industrialising, which has been coupled with high levels of job losses in the formal sector. Resultantly, the kind of available job opportunities are in the informal sector. Although these jobs are playing a critical role in availing the much-needed income for residents of Bulawayo to participate in the food system on the supply side (as farmers, transporters, processors or retailers) or on the demand side as consumers, their quality is however low. To this end, the study established that most of those employed in the informal sector had challenges of ensuring household food security mainly because of unpredictable income streams. The unpredictability was further exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and associated control measures. There is thus now a vicious cycle where the demise of big industries has informed the rise of the informal sector which, because of its nature, results in a thin tax base for the Council to tap from and hence avail services to make the City an attractive investment destination.

On service delivery, the study showed that the local authority is doing all it can to keep the City serviced, but that it is not meeting the demand. For instance, it was demonstrated that it is failing to meet the demand for land to cater for both agricultural and housing needs. In addition, the City has always grappled with serious water supply challenges, failure to meet demand for the City's electricity needs, poor road network and failure to meet the demand for informal trading spaces with requisite amenities amongst other things. All these issues were shown to condition the urban poor's choices and practices as they participated in the food system.

10.3.2 Reflecting on Ericksen's food system framework

Ericksen's (2008) food system framework, which formed part of the theoretical framing for this study, was instrumental in aiding a particular understanding of the Bulawayo food system. For instance, the framework was at the centre of understanding the flows of the five food items that the study tracked. As such, the study interrogated the different activities that relate to the

production of those foods right up to their consumption. Furthermore, it reflected on the food system outcomes mainly centring on food security in the context of urban governance as a socio-economic driver. The study indicated how socio-economic drivers affected food system activities such as production and retailing amongst others, leading to particular food security outcomes which in turn affect the socio-economic context.

In assessing food security as an outcome of food systems in line with Ericksen's framework, the study utilised a suite of indicators (HFIAS, HFIAP, HDDS and MAHFP). These captured not just the three dimensions of food security (availability, access and utilisation) detailed in the Framework, but also mainstreamed the dimension of stability in food access, availability and utilisation.

10.3.3 Reflecting on power and everyday practices

This thesis also drew on the notions of power and everyday practices to better understand the dynamics around interactions of different food system actors. To this end, it highlighted how the local authority uses different forms of power, namely, instrumental, structural and discursive, in an attempt to influence the form, processes and actors of the food system. In addition, drawing from Gaventa's power cube, it was shown that power is exercised at different levels/places (local, national, global), in different forms (visible, invisible and hidden) and in various spaces (closed, invited and claimed/created). However, drawing on de Certeau and Lefebvre, the study also demonstrated that the everyday activities of the urban poor are equally important in shaping the food system. Thus, the urban poor using certain tactics appropriate urban spaces (in ways that are at times in direct contrast to existing statutes) to suit their ends.

10.4 Thesis' Overall Contribution

This thesis adds to the body of knowledge on food security in general and food systems in particular. As was highlighted in chapter one, existing studies tend to focus on primate (capital) cities and in the process giving limited or no attention to cities smaller (secondary) than their primate counterparts. As such, nuanced understanding of the urban form and processes, including how these condition urban food systems and household food security in these cities, has been limited. This thesis thus becomes a welcome addition to the literature of a secondary city's food system. The thesis has added to the existing body of knowledge by providing empirical evidence of how urban governance dynamics play a central role in conditioning urban food systems in general and household food security in particular. To do this, the Bulawayo food system was mapped and, in the process, key activities, actors and action-contexts

scrutinised. By using an eclectic theoretical approach, the study was in a position to bring out a nuanced understanding of the Bulawayo food system. Whereas other studies have tended to privilege structure over agency on food security issues, this study (through engaging with the micro practices of the poor) highlights how the urban food system is equally constructed from below as it is from above.

A further contribution of this study is that, while a number of studies have reflected on food security and aspects of urban governance, most have tended to do so using a cross-sectional approach. This study added a diachronic element by historicising the development of the Bulawayo food system. Thus, the study added the historical context to the understanding of the current structures, processes and activities contributing to urban food systems and urban governance. This approach added complexity to the understanding of food systems and food security. Taking this approach enabled the study to analyse the historical processes through which the food system is not just created but is always subject to change and reconfiguration.

10.5 Limitations of the study and directions for future research

The sheer magnitude and complexity of a food system makes it inevitable that certain aspects remain unaddressed or partially addressed. This is the case with this particular study. This study was limited in its scope geographically. Bulawayo residential areas are stratified mainly on the basis of income, that is, low density for high income groups, medium density suburbs for mainly middle-income groups and high-density suburbs for primarily low-income groups. With this study focusing on Ward 28, which is predominantly a low-income settlement, the study misses out in understanding some nuances related to other income groups and conditions obtaining in their residential areas. There is thus scope for additional context-specific studies that will bring out nuances related to the other residential areas for middle- and high-income groups.

The study also confined itself to household actors with respect to the consumption element of the food system. This means institutional actors such as schools, hospitals, restaurants, prisons amongst others are not covered notwithstanding their importance as actors in the food system. Given the centrality of these actors, there is a need for studies that interrogate their contribution to the food system including how they are conditioned by urban governance dynamics.

On governance, the study placed primacy on vertical forms of governance with anecdotal appreciation of horizontal forms of governance. However, these forms of governance are critical and need to be better understood especially where the informal sector is concerned.

Finally, in examining power dynamics between actors participating in the food system, the study did not include power dynamics within the household. This is something which the Power Cube overlooks as well as it focuses on the global, national and local levels leaving out the household as an arena of contestation which results in particular food security outcomes. There is thus need for studies that focus on this aspect to enrich the body of knowledge on food security. This is particularly so given the realisation of varied forms of households informed by existing economic challenges in the country. These for instance include ‘dispersed/stretched’ households which are households that function in geographically dispersed spaces such as rural and urban areas or across different countries. They also include an increasing incidence of both de facto and de jure female headed households and child-headed households amongst others. Thus, while studies have grappled with intra-household dynamics in the context of traditional forms of households, there is now need to engage with these newer forms which are increasing in number. In addition, whilst the study dealt with issues of people with disability as a segment of vulnerable and marginalised populations, there is still need for much more comprehensive and nuanced studies on the participation of people with disability, women and young people in the food system.

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APPENDIX A: HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

My name is..... a researcher/research assistant conducting research on urban food systems, urban governance and household food security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. This study is being done in fulfilment of the requirements of a PhD programme in the Sociology department of Rhodes University. You have been randomly selected to participate in this study and we are thus requesting for your permission to carry out the study. This information, in addition to data already collected through other means will help in providing a complete picture pertaining to the Bulawayo food system and relevant urban governance issues.

Procedure

You will be asked a series of questions that relate to your household in general including food insecurity experiences and other food related practices. This exercise will take about **one hour** of your time. You are free to opt out of the exercise now or anytime during the course of the exercise. If you feel uncomfortable in answering any question, please say so. Information gathered through this research exercise will be treated with confidentiality and sources of information will remain anonymous.

Benefits

There are no direct financial or material benefits for participating in this study. However, information gathered may help the Bulawayo City Council and other stakeholders to formulate food system related policies that help improve household food security within the City.

Further Information

Should you require further information about this exercise or if you have any complaints, please feel free to contact Professor Kirk Helliker at k.helliker@ru.ac.za or alternatively call the Town Clerk of the Bulawayo City Council or the Bulawayo City Council Information Department on +26329275011

ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Questionnaire number:	_ _ _		
Site name:		Site code:	_ _ _
Date of Interview			_ _ _ _ _
Name of Enumerator	_ _		
Has the participant provided informed consent?	Yes	No	
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (Enumerators to circle one response unless instructed otherwise)			
A1	Which gender category do you identify with? 1=Male 2 = Female		

	3=Transmale 4=Transwoman 5=Other, please specify..... 6=Refused to Answer							
A2	Marital Status? 1= Single 2= Married 3= Divorced/Separated 4=Widowed 5=Refused to Answer							
A3	Disability Status of Household Head		Household Head Disabled = 1			Household Head not Disabled = 2		
A4	Respondent's age group?	1= 18-25	2= 26-34	3= 35-44	4= 45-54	5= 55-64	6= ≥65	7= Refused to Answer
A5	What is your highest level of school/education attended? 1= Never went to school 2= Primary School 3= Secondary School 4=Vocational Training 5= College/University 6= Refused to Answer 7=Other, please specify.....							

A. HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

B1	Household size (Tick appropriately) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ⁺ Refused to answer Don't Know											
B2	Household distribution by age (Write total number for each category) <5years 5-17 years 18-64 years 65 ⁺ Refused to answer Don't Know											
B3	Household Sources of Income (Circle all that participant mentions) 1=Permanent wage/salary employment 2=Temporary wage/salary employment 3=Casual work 4=Own formal business 5=Own informal business 6=Remittances 7=Pensions 8=Welfare grant(s) 9=Refused to answer											

B4	Of those sources mentioned in B3, which one is the main source of income for the household? 1=Permanent wage/salary employment 2=Temporary wage/salary employment 3=Casual work 4=Own formal business 5=Own informal business 6=Remittances 7=Pensions 8=Welfare grant(s) 9=Refused to answer
B5	What is your household's average total monthly income? 1=US\$100 or less 2=US\$100- US\$500 3=US\$501- US\$1000 4=US\$1001-US\$2000 5=US\$2001+ 6=Refused to answer
B6	What proportion/percentage of the monthly income mentioned in B5 is spent on food? 1=All of it (100%) 2=Three quarters (75%) 3=Two thirds (66%) 4=One half (50%) 5=One third (33%) 6=One quarter (25%) 7=Don't Know 8=Refused to answer
B7	What are your household's sources of food? (Circle all that participant mentions) 1=Own production 2=Buy from supermarkets 3=Buy from small shops 4=Buy from informal market/street vendors 5=Remittances from abroad 6=Remittances from rural areas 7=Gifts from welfare entities/food aid 8=Exchanges/barter trade 9=Don't know 10=Other, Please specify..... 11=Refused to answer
B8	Of the sources mentioned in B7, which one is your main source of food? 1=Own production 2=Buy from supermarkets 3=Buy from small shops 4=Buy from informal market/street vendors 5=Remittances from abroad 6=Remittances from rural areas 7=Gifts from welfare entities/food aid

	8=Exchanges/barter trade 9=Don't know 10=Other, Please specify..... 11=Refused to answer
B9	House tenure type 1=Owned 2=Rented full house 3=Rented portion of the house 4=Other, please specify..... 5=Don't Know 6=Refused to answer
B10	Does your household own a refrigerator/freezer? 1=Yes If yes proceed to C1 2=No 3=Refused to answer
B11	If NO to B10, how do you store or preserve food for long term usage? 1=Use neighbour's refrigerator/freezer 2=Preserve through drying 3=Preserve through smoking 4=Other, please specify..... 5=Don't Know 6=Refused to answer

B. HOUSEHOLD FOOD (IN)SECURITY PROFILE

C1	In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C2) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C2)
C1a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C2	In the past four weeks, were you or any household member not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C3) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C3)
C2a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)

C3	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat a limited variety of foods due to a lack of resources? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C4) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C4)
C3a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C4	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat some foods that you really did not want to eat because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C5) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C5)
C4a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C5	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C6) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C6)
C5a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C6	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C7) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C7)
C6a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C7	In the past four weeks, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your household because of lack of resources to get food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to C8) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C8)
C7a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)
C8	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food? 1=Yes

	2=No (skip to C9) 3=Refused to answer (skip to C9)		
C8a	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)		
C9	In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything because there was not enough food? 1=Yes 2=No (skip to D1) 3=Refused to answer (skip to D1)		
C16	How often did this happen? 1 = Rarely (once or twice in the past four weeks) 2 = Sometimes (three to ten times in the past four weeks) 3 = Often (more than ten times in the past four weeks)		
C. HOUSEHOLD FOOD (IN)SECURITY PROFILE- MONTHS OF ADEQUATE FOOD PROVISIONING			
D1	Were there months, in the past 12 months, in which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs? 1=Yes 2=No (Skip to E1) 3=Refused to answer (Skip to E1)		
D1a	Which were the months in the past 12 months during which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs? (Circle all that apply) 1=January 2=February 3=March 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=August 9=September 10=October 11=November 12=December		
D. HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY PROFILE			
E1	Did you or any of the members of your household eat any of the following types of food in the last 7 days (1 week)? (Tick appropriately against each food group)	1= Yes	2=No
	<i>i. Isitshwala/sadza, bread, rice, pasta, biscuits, cookies, or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat</i>		

	<i>ii.</i> Any foods made from roots or tubers such as carrots, potatoes, cassava?		
	<i>iii.</i> Any vegetables?		
	<i>iv.</i> Any fruits?		
	<i>v.</i> Any sugar or honey?		
	<i>vi.</i> Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?		
	<i>vii.</i> Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit wild game, chicken, duck, or other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?		
	<i>viii.</i> Any eggs?		
	<i>ix.</i> Any fresh or dried fish?		
	<i>x.</i> Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?		
	<i>xi.</i> Any cheese, yogurt, milk or other milk products?		
	<i>xii.</i> Any other foods, such as condiments, coffee, tea?		
E. Urban Governance Dynamics			
F1	What is your household's main source of cooking energy? 1=Electricity 2=Gas 3=Paraffin 4=Firewood 5=Other, please specify..... 6=Don't Know 7=Refused to answer		
F1a	Is this source of cooking energy reliable/always available? 1=Yes 2=No		
F2	What is your household's main source of drinking and cooking water? 1=Tap water inside the dwelling 2=Tap water outside the dwelling but inside the yard 3=Communal taps/standpipes 4=Communal borehole 5=Other, please specify..... 6=Don't know 7=Refused to answer		
F2a	Is this source of water reliable/always available? 1=Yes 2=No		
F3	Where do you normally buy your food? 1=Local supermarkets/general dealers 2=Local tuck shops 3=Local Street vendors 4=Local people's/vegetable markets 5=Shops in the Central Business District 6=Don't Know		

	7=Refused to answer
F3a	What is the total distance to and from the place where you normally buy your food? 1=Less than 1 kilometer 2=Between 1 and 2 kilometers 3=More than 2 kilometers but less than 5 kilometers 4=5 kilometers and more 5=Don't Know 6=Refused to answer
F3b	How much time (round trip) does it take to go to and from the place where you normally buy food? 1=Less than 30 minutes 2=30 minutes to an hour 3=More than an hour to 2 hours 4=More than 2 hours 5=Don't Know 6=Refused to answer
F3c	How do you normally travel to the place where you normally buy food? 1=On foot 2=Bicycle 3=Private car 4=Public transport 5=Other, please specify..... 6=Refused to answer
F3d	Is this mode of travelling generally reliable? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer
F4	What is the most important consideration for your household when buying food? 1=Price 2=Quality 3=Health/cleanliness of the premises 4=Distance or proximity of the place where food is bought 5=Other, please specify..... 6=Refused to answer
F5	Do you have a backyard vegetable garden? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer If no or refused to answer proceed to F6
F5a	If yes to F5 do you sell some of the vegetables? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer

F6	Do you have an orchard or fruit trees within the yard? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer If no or refused to answer proceed to F7
F6a	If yes to F6, do you sell some of the vegetables? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer
F7	Do you rear any type of poultry within your yard? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer If no or refused to answer proceed to F8
F7a	If yes to F7, do you have authorisation from the local authority? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't Know 3=Refused to answer
F7b	Do you sell some of the poultry? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer
F8	Do you sell any food items within your household premises? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer
F8a	If yes to F8 do you have authorisation from the local authority? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't Know 3=Refused to answer
F9	Does your household practice any form of farming outside your premises but still within the City of Bulawayo? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer If no/refused to answer proceed to F10

F9a	If yes to F9 which form of farming? 1=Vegetable gardening 2=Crop farming 3=Poultry farming 4=Livestock rearing 5=Other, please specify 6=Don't Know 7=Refused to answer
F9b	Do you have authorisation from the local authority to practice farming? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't Know 3=Refused to answer
F9c	Do you sell some of the produce from your farming activities? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Refused to answer
F10	In the last 6 months have you attended any community meeting? If yes proceed to F10a and for other options end the session 1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't Know 4=Refused to answer
F10a	Who was hosting the meeting? 1=Local community leaders 2=Ward Councilor 3=Member of Parliament 4=Council official 5=Civil society organisation officials 6=Central government officials 7=Refused to answer
F10b	In this meeting were any food related issues discussed? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Not sure 4=Refused to answer

Thank you for your time!

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Household Interview guide

1. Can you tell me about the food you eat in your household? [*Probes; staple diet, availability, accessibility, identify five most important food items for the household*]
2. How do you normally source your food as a household? [*Probes: different ways of sourcing food such as own production, buying, exchange etc; reliability of the source(s), seasonality, challenges etc*]
3. Where do you normally buy your food? [*Probes: different types of places, types of food in relation to types of food selling points; reasons for preferred places*]
4. How do you normally store and prepare food? [*Probes: availability of assets for preparing and storing food, different strategies, adequacy of the strategies, challenges and recommendations on what they think can be done to improve their situation*]
5. Can you comment on the general state of food security within your household? [*Probes- availability of food, adequacy of food in terms of quantities and quality, dietary diversity, seasonality and food insecurity experiences*]
6. What do you normally do when you are facing food security challenges in the household? [*Probe: coping strategies and their effects on household well-being, who is greatly affected, whether or not they get external support and if so from who and the nature of support*]
7. How do the policies, laws and regulations of the Bulawayo City Council affect your household's access to food? [*Probe on effect on food production, processing, transportation and retailing. Further probe on how they think the situation could be improved*]
8. Are there any community structures where issues of food are discussed in the ward? [*Probes: which are those structures, who participates, what are their roles, are the structures effective, what can be done to improve them?*]
9. How do you think your household's food security status can be enhanced? [*Probe: support needed*]

Interview guide: informal/formal or registered/unregistered food vendors and retailers

1. Can you please comment on the state of business in this area? [*Probes: why choose to invest in this area, infrastructure issues in the area, what are the disadvantages, what are the limitations, seasonality, business potential of the area etc*]
2. Which food items do you sell? [*Probes: where they source items, how they transport their items and items that most people buy in the area*]
3. Which strategies do you use to try and outcompete fellow retailers and/or vendors? [*Probes: product range, prices, quality, payment terms, customising service and products to customers' needs*]
4. Which laws, policies and regulations affect your business? [*Probes: whether or not they are compliant, effects on product range, operating times, health issues, etc*]
5. How do you interact with the Bulawayo city Council? [*Probes: platforms for interaction that are in place, modes of interaction, frequency of interactions etc*]
6. How do you interact with the local community? [*Probes: platforms of interaction, modes of interaction, goals of interaction, successes, challenges etc*]
7. What kind of a relationship do you have with registered/unregistered business actors? [*Probes: synergies, rivalries, engagements etc*]
8. Are you a member of any collective/association? [*Probes: if so, what are the goals of the collective/association. Modus operandi, benefits, challenges etc*]

Interview guide for food manufacturers/processors

1. Can you briefly comment on the state of the food manufacturing industry in Bulawayo? [*Probes: business prospects, challenges and major players, operational challenges*]
2. Where do you normally source your inputs? [*Probes: reasons, nature of transportation*]
3. Who are your major customers? [*Probes: do they sell locally within the city and out of it, do they sell to registered and unregistered customers, small and big retailers etc*]
4. Which entities oversee your work processes and products thereof?
5. Which laws, policies and regulations affect your business? [*Probe on whether or not they are compliant, effects on product range, operating times, health issues, etc*]

6. How do you interact with the Bulawayo city Council? [*Probe on platforms for interaction that are in place, frequency of interactions, associations they have and their effectiveness*]
7. How do you interact with other food manufacturers, locally, nationally and internationally? [*Probes; membership to voluntary associations*]

APPENDIX C: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE: TOWN PLANNING DEPARTMENT/CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT/TOWN CLERK’S DEPARTMENT-CITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SECTION/HOUSING AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

1. What is the role of your department in the administration of the city? *[Probes: key mandate and roles, by-laws administered]*
2. Can you comment on the state of the food system in Bulawayo? *[Probes: who are the major producers of food, who are the transporters, who are the processors and retailers, major changes that the system has gone through]*
3. Does the City of Bulawayo have a food security/system policy? *[Probes: If so, what are its goals and which aspects does it cover?]*
4. What are the challenges facing the Bulawayo food system? *[Probes: nature of the challenges i.e., whether short or long term, whether structural or superficial, what needs to be done to address the challenges, are the challenges being addressed by the city council?]*
5. What is the council position on:
 - i. urban agriculture
 - ii. Informal food vendors?
6. How do you involve CSOs and the private sector on issues related to the food system?
7. How do you interact with residents? *[Probes: levels of interaction {is it citywide or covers other lower levels}, platforms for interaction that are in place, frequency of interactions, modes of interaction, is food part of the agenda as they interact]*
8. How do you think the Bulawayo food system can be improved? *[Probes: does the city council have the capacity, support needed, is the city council working towards that?]*

Key informant Interview Guide: Civil Society Organisations/Associations

1. What does your organisation do? *[Probes: vision, mandate and major stakeholders]*
2. What role do you play in the food system of Bulawayo? *[Probes: is this the organisation’s core mandate,*
3. How do you interact with the Bulawayo city council? *Probes: levels of interaction {is it citywide or covers other lower levels}, platforms for interaction that are in place,*

frequency of interactions, modes of interaction, is food part of the agenda as they interact, if so which topics are covered?]

4. How do you interact with the residents?
5. Which methods do you used to push your agenda?
6. What do you consider to be your success points in food system related issues?
7. What are challenges you encounter in your efforts to contribute to the food system?
[Probe on resources such as staff, time, finances]
8. How are you connected to other CSOs nationally, regionally and internationally?
9. How do you think the Bulawayo food system can be improved? *[Probes: do they have an alternative vision of the Bulawayo food system?]*

Key informant interview: Ward Councillor

1. May you briefly tell me about your role as a ward councillor? *[Probes: main deliverables, vision for the ward, enablers and disablers]*
2. How do you interact with residents? *[Probes: processes and structures in place, challenges, successes]*
3. How is the state of infrastructure in the ward? *[Probes: water access, roads, electricity etc]*
4. What role do you play on issues of food security within your ward? *[Probes: council policy on food, enablers, disablers]*
5. Which foods do households in your ward prefer or are common to them?
6. What do people do to get food in this area? *[Probes: activities, actors involved, enablers and disablers]*
7. How do people produce their own food in this ward? *[types of food produced, spaces used, support they get, benefits and challenges, do people farm legally or illegally, how is produce used]*
8. Where do people who live in this area prefer to buy their households' food? *[what type of food is bought, which types of selling points and why, challenges]*
9. What is the general state of food security in this ward? *[Probes: has it always been like this, how does it compare with other wards, what explains this situation?]*
10. What do people in this area do in times of food insecurity?
11. Who supports residents on issues of food? *[Probes: what forms of support, who benefits, how are they selected?]*

12. Which community structures are in place to discuss food issues? [*Probes: membership, goals and deliverables*]

Food transporters and logistics companies

1. What role do you play in Bulawayo's food system?
2. Who are your major customers?
3. Where do you normally transport food from and to which destinations?
4. How do you interact with Bulawayo city council? [*Probes; platforms of interaction, laws and policies governing their operations*]
5. How are you connected with other transporters of food?
6. What are the challenges you face in your industry?

Central Government

1. What sort of relationship exists between central and local government? [*Probes: enabling legislation, roles of each, nature of relationship with Bulawayo city council*]
2. What is the state of food security in Zimbabwe's urban areas? [*Probes: any challenges and if so what is the government doing to address those challenges*]
3. How are roles shared between the central and local government on issues of food security? [*Probes; explore on who does what*]
4. Which policy framework is in place to govern food systems in Zimbabwe? [*Focus of the policy*]
5. What can be done to improve urban food systems in Zimbabwe? [*Probes: is the government already doing this?*]

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

Household Head/Representative

1. Which food is common in this area? [*probes: types of food, popularity of the food, reasons for popularity*]
2. What do people do to get food in this ward? [*Probes: activities, actors involved, enablers and disablers*]
3. How do people produce their own food in this area? [*types of food produced, spaces used, support they get, benefits and challenges, do people farm legally or illegally, how is produce used*]
4. Where do people who live in this area prefer to buy their households' food? [*what type of food is bought, which types of selling points and why, challenges*]
5. Where do people generally get their food in this ward? [*Probes: identify the places, factors informing choices*]
6. How is the state of infrastructure in the ward? [*probes: water access, roads, electricity*]
7. Which community structures are in place to discuss food issues?
8. What is your overall impression on the state of food security in this ward?
9. What do people do when faced with food insecurity?
10. How do the policies, laws and regulations of the Bulawayo City Council affect households' access to food? [*Probe on effect on food production, processing, transportation and retailing. Further probe on how they think the situation could be improved*]

Food vendors

1. Which food is common in this area? [*probes: types of food, popularity of the food, reasons for popularity*]
2. Where do people generally get their food in this ward? [*Probes: identify the places, factors informing choices*]
3. How did you get into the food vending business?
4. How do you practise your vending? [*probes: place of vending, things used*]
5. How is the state of vending infrastructure in the ward? [*probes: availability and quality of vending stalls, water and sanitation access, roads, electricity*]

6. How do the policies, laws and regulations of the Bulawayo City Council affect your vending activities? [*Probe on effect on application procedures, trading practices etc. Further probe on how they think the situation could be improved*]
7. Which structures are in place to support your vending activities? [probes: associations, CSOs and government departments supporting vending]
8. What is your relationship with formally registered food retailers?

Farmers

1. Which food is common in this area? [*probes: types of food, popularity of the food, reasons for popularity*]
2. How did you get into farming?
3. How do you practise your farming? [probes: legality, place of farming, crops grown/livestock reared, crop processing, where sell crops if they sell]
4. How do the policies, laws and regulations of the Bulawayo City Council affect your farming activities? [*Probe on effect on application procedures, farming practices, access to land etc. Further probe on how they think the situation could be improved*]
5. Which structures are in place to support your farming activities? [probes: associations, CSOs and government departments supporting farming]

APPENDIX E: RHODES UNIVERSITY ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



Human Ethics subcommittee
Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee
PO Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 635 6050
f: +27 (0) 46 635 6822
e: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za
<https://www.ru.ac.za/ru/ethics/ethics>
NHREC Registration no: REC-241114-063

16/10/2020

Mandlenkosi Maphosa

Email: g18m9895@campus.ru.ac.za

Review Reference: 2020-1639-4750

Dear Prof Kirk Helliker

Title: A Critical Analysis of the Urban Food System, Urban Governance and Household Food Security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Principal Investigator: Prof Kirk Helliker

Collaborators: Mr. Mandlenkosi Maphosa,

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed and **APPROVED** by the Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee (RU-HEC). Your Approval number is: 2020-1639-4750

Approval has been granted for 1 year. An annual progress report will be required in order to renew approval for an additional period. You will receive an email notifying when the annual report is due.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on the completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloging number allocated.

Sincerely,

Prof Arthur Webb

Chair: Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee, RU-HEC

cc: Mr. Siyanda Masele - Ethics Coordinator

APPENDIX F: BULAWAYO CITY COUNCIL CLEARANCE LETTER

 **City of Bulawayo**

Town Clerk's Office
Municipal Buildings
Fife Street
P.O.Box 591
Bulawayo

All Communications
To be addressed to the
Town Clerk

Tel: (263-9) 75011
Fax: (263-9) 69701
Email: info@cityofbulawayo.co.zw
Website: www.cityofbulawayo.co.zw
Facebook: The City of Bulawayo
Twitter: @CityofBulawayo
Call Centre: 08084700 (Econet)
08004700 (Telone) (09) 71290

REF: JBM/MZ.74-00-00

38 AUNGAN ROMA
SUBURBS
BULAWAYO

Dear Mr/Mrs/Miss M. MAPHISA

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH ON COUNCIL
PREMISES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN ROOTS SYSTEM
URBAN GOVERNANCE AND POLICIES FOR SECURITY IN BVC
EMERGENCY

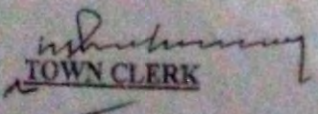
Your letter on the above matter refers.

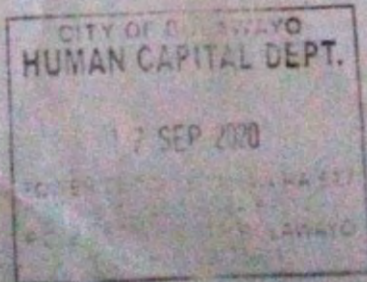
Please be informed that Council acceded to your request to carry out research within Bulawayo City Council premises subject to the following conditions:

- You should submit a copy of your research findings after completing the research exercise.
- Council is to be indemnified against any accident/mishaps, which may occur during the conduct of the research.

Accordingly you may approach any of Council's Service Departments as appropriate for assistance.

Yours faithfully


TOWN CLERK



APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT-INFORMED CONSENT FORMS

English Form



INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participant)

Project Title: *A critical analysis of the urban food system, urban governance and household food security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe*

Mr Mandlenkosi Maphosa from the Department of Sociology, Rhodes University has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the research project is to *understand the urban food system in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) with specific reference to urban governance and household food security.*
2. The Rhodes University has given ethical clearance to this research project, and I have seen/ may request to see the clearance certificate.
3. By participating in this research project, I will be contributing towards the development of new knowledge on food systems of secondary cities which may assist food policy makers to craft beneficial policies which may lead to reduced urban food insecurity.
4. I will participate in the project by answering questions asked by the researcher or his representatives.
5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.

6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.
7. There may be risks associated with my participation in the project. I am aware that:
 - a. the following risks are associated with my participation: corona virus infection and getting entangled in political conflict.
 - b. the following steps have been taken to prevent the risks: in all the procedures to be followed during the study, WHO guidelines of preventing corona virus infection such as frequently washing hands with soap or sanitizer, wearing of face masks, social distancing and avoiding having crowds bigger than those allowed at law will be strictly adhered to. In addition to prevent political related conflicts, community gate keepers will be used to communicate the goals of the study and the fact that the study has nothing to do with politics. Furthermore, no one will be allowed to participate in the study activities whilst putting on regalia of any political party. All group meetings will be cleared by the police as per the country's laws.
 - c. there is a 0% chance of the political conflict risk materialising. There is a very small chance (0.04%) of corona virus infection based on the current infection trends in Zimbabwe.
8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of a PhD thesis and journal articles. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.
9. I will receive feedback in the form of community meeting regarding the results obtained during the study.
10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Prof. Kirk Helliker at k.helliker@ru.ac.za OR Mr Mandlenkosi Maphosa at mandlenkosi.maphosa@nust.ac.zw or on 0772960288)
11. By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.
12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.
13. Request to take pictures, video and voice recording for this study

I, have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand, and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask, and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

.....

Participants signature

Witness

Date

Rhodes University, Research Office, Ethics

Ethics Coordinator: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za

t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727 f: +27 (0) 86 616 7707

Room 220, Main Admin Building, Drostdy Road, Grahamstown, 6139

Ndebele Form



INCWADI YOKUVUMA NGOKWAZI

UKWETHULA UKUVUMA NGOKWAZI

(Kwalowo ozangena echwayisisweni)

Isihloko sochwayisiso: Ukuhlaziya uhlelo lwezokudla, ukuphathwa kwamadolobho kanye lesimo sezokudla emizini yakoBulawayo eZimbabwe (*A critical analysis of the urban food system, urban governance and household food security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe*)

UMandlenkosi Maphosa **owogatsha** lwe-Sociology ku-Univesithi yaseRhodes ucele invumo yami ukuthi ngingene echwayisisweni olubethwe ngaphezulu.

Isimo kanye lenjongo yochwayisiso kunye lalesi sethulo sokuvuma ngokwazi sokuchasisiwe kimi ngolimi engiluzwisisayo.

Ngiyakwazi ukuthi:

1. Injongo yaloluchwayisiso yikuzwisisa uhlelo lwezokudla edolobheni lakoBulawayo eZimbabwe kukhangelwe kakhulu ukuphathwa kwamadolobho kanye lesimo sezokudla emadolobheni.
2. I-Univesithi ye-Rhodes isiphe invumo yokuthi uchwayisiso lolu luqhutshwe njalo sengibonile incwadi etshengisa lokho kuvuma.
3. Ngokungena kulolu chwayisiso ngizabe ngiphathshisa ekuthini kutholakale ulwazi olutsha oluphathelele lenhlelo zokudla emadolobheni angamakhulu kangako khona okungasiza labo ababumba iziqondiso eziphathelele lokudla ukuthi babumbe iziqondiso ezilusizo ngalokho ke kuqedwe udubo lokungatholakali kuhle kokudla emadolobheni
4. Ngizancedisa kuloluchwayisiso ngokuphendula imibuzo ezabuzwa ngumchwayisisi loba lowo amthumileyo

5. Ukungena kwami kuloluchwayisiso ngokokuzikhethela njalo nxa ngingafuna ukuphuma kuloluchwayisiso ngaloba liphi ibanga ngingenza njalo kungelampumela embi engizahlangana layo.
6. Angisoze ngithole inzuzo ngokungena kuloluchwayisiso kodwa nxa kulendleko engibalazo ngenxa yokuphathisa echwayisisweni ngizaphiwa isenaniso.
7. Kungaba lengozi ezihambelana lokuphathisa kuloluchwayisiso. Ngiyakwazi ukuthi:
 - a. Ingozi ezilandelayo zingabakhona ekuphathiseni kwami echwayisisweni: ukuthelelana i-corona kanye lokungena engxabanweni zezombangazwe
 - b. Amanyathelo alandelayo asethethwe ukwenqabela lezongozi: kukho konke okwenziwayo echwayisisweni kuzalandelwa izimiso ze-WHO ezokuvikela kugcikwane le-corona ezifana lokugeza izandla njalonje ngesepa kumbe isanithayiza, ukugqoka ama-mask, ukuhlala kumbe ukuma kutshiyelwane amabanga avunyelweyo kanye lokungahlanganisi abantu abanengi ngasikhathi sinye. Phezu kwalokho ukuze kungabi lengxabano eziphathelane lezombangazwe kuzasetshenziswa abaphathi bezigaba ukuthi babikele umphakathi mayelana lenjongo zochwayisiso kanye lokuthi uchwayisiso lolu alulani lezombangazwe. Phezu kwalokho akusoze kubelomuntu ovunyelwa ukuza emihlanganweni yochwayisiso egqoke impahla zebandla loba liphi elezombangazwe. Imihlangano ezenziwa izenziwa kulandela invumo esuka emapholiseni.
 - c. Akulathuba ngitsho elincane ukuthi uchwayisiso lolu lungabangela ingxabano zezombangazwe. Kulethutshana elincane kakhulu (0.04%) lokuthi umuntu abanjwe ligcikwane le-corona elihambelana lalelo elivele likhona elizweni laseZimbabwe.
8. Umchwayisisi ujonge ukwethula impumela yochwayisiso njengogwalo oluzahlolwa ukuze athole isicoco sePhD kanye lezehluko ezizacindezelwa njengezehluko zezinye izingwalo ezethula ulwazi kuncezu ezithile. Loba kunjalo imfihlo kanye lokufihlwa kwempawu ezibalula abantu ukuthi bangobani kuzaqhubeka kusenzakala njalo ibizo lami kanye lempawu ezingibalula ukuthi ngingubani azisoze zivezelwe loba ngubani ongazange aphathise ekuqhutshweni kwalolu chwayisiso.
9. Ngizathola impumela zochwayisiso emhlanganweni womphakathi.
10. Eminye imibuzo engingaba layo mayelana lochwayisiso lolu loba ukuphatheka kwami kulo izaphendulwa nguMandlenkosi Maphosa ([0772960288/mandlenkosi.maphosa@nust.ac.za](mailto:0772960288@mandlenkosi.maphosa@nust.ac.za) LOBA uKirk Helliker othinteka ku e-mail ethi: k.helliker@ru.ac.za)

11. Ngokusayina lesi sethulo sokuvuma ngokwazi angizithatheli amalungelo ami loba okumele ngikuthole ngokusemthethweni.
12. Olunye ugwalo lwesethulo sokuvuma ngokwazi ngizasiphiwa njalo olunye lwakhona kuzagcinwa efayilini.
13. Ngiceliwe ukuthathwa izithombe, amavidiyo kanye lokuthi kusetshenziswe isithaphamazwi ukuthi sithathe lokhu engizabe ngikukhuluma kuloluchwayisiso.

Mina u, sengibalile ugwalo lolu olulolwazi kumbe ngiyavuma ukuthi sengichasiselwe ngolimi engiluzwisayo njalo ngiyazi ngalokho okumunyethwe yilolu gwalo. Sengibuzile yonke imibuzo ebengifuna ukuyibuza njalo ngathola impendulo ezingisuthisayo. Ngiyazwisisa ngokugcweleyo mayelana lalokho okukhangelelweyo kimi ngesikhathi sochwayisiso.

Angibanjwanga ngamandla ngaloba yiphi indlela ukuthi ngiphathise kucwayisiso lolu. Ngingena ngokuzikhethela echwayisisweni lolu oluqanjwe ngaphambilini.

.....

Isiginetsha salowo ophathisayo

Umfakazi

Ilanga

Rhodes University, Research Office, Ethics

Ethics Coordinator: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za

t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727 f: +27 (0) 86 616 7707

Room 220, Main Admin Building, Drostdy Road, Grahamstown, 6139

APPENDIX H: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Pseudonym/Name	Role in the study	Organisation represented	Date of Interview
1. Mr Moyo	Key informant	President of the Grain Marketing Association of Zimbabwe (GMAZ) Southern Region Chapter	15 April 2021
2. Mr Nyoni	Key informant	Bulawayo Metropolitan Province Provincial Development Coordinator	10 April 2021
3. Mr Moyo	Key informant	Bulawayo City Council City Economic Development Officer	9 April 2021
4. Mr Sithole	Key informant	Bulawayo City Council, Town Planning Department	4 July 2021
5. Councillor Mujuru	Key informant	Ward 28 Councillor	31 January 2021; follow-up 23 July 2021.
6. Mr Ncube	Key informant	Divisional Head, Environmental Health	24 May 2021
7. Mr Mpofo	Key informant	Acting Principal Social Services Officer	24 April 2021
8. Ms Mathe	Key informant	Dan Church Aid	03 October 2021
9. Mr Ndiweni	Key informant	BVTA Executive Director	08 June 2021
10. Mr Claude	Key informant	Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association Programmes Officer	21 May 2021
11. Mr Maphosa	Key informant	Bulawayo Residents Association Research Officer	25 May 2021
12. Mr Jones	Key informant	Store Manager	11 April 2021
13. Mr Chisi	Key informant	Supermarket Manager	11 April 2021
14. Mr Ncube	Key informant	National Bakers Association of Zimbabwe	21 April 2021
15. Mr Ncube	Key informant	Operations Manager-Leading Food manufacturing company	22 April 2021
16. Mrs Green	Interviewee	Vendor-eMalaleni Food market, Bulawayo	11 June 2021
17. Mr Hove	Interviewee	Sales-Butchery	9 April 2021
18. Mr Phiri	Interviewee	Small miller ward 28	19 March 2021
19. Interviewee #2 (Gogo MaMoyo)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Empompini area, Ward 28	25 March 2021

20. (Interviewee #3 (Goba)	Household in-depth interviewee	Male resident, Esigayweni area, Ward 28	26 March 2021
21. Interviewee #6 (MaSithole)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Ebhesini area, Ward 28	29 March 2021
22. Interviewee #4 (MaDube)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident e-Terminus area	26 March 2021
23. Interviewee #7 (MaNcube)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident Garikai area, Ward 28	29 March 2021
24. Interviewee #17 (Mrs Ndlovu)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Ama-4 area, Ward 28	07 April 2021
25. Interviewee #16 (Mai Shoko)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, eBhesini area, Ward 28	06 April 2021
26. Interviewee # 8 (MaNkala)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Esigodweni area, Ward 28	30 March 2021
27. Interviewee #5 (MaTshuma)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Caravan area, Ward 28	27 March 2021
28. Interviewee #1(Ndou)	Household in-depth interviewee	Male resident, Ama-4 area, Ward 28	24 March 2021
29. Interviewee #9 (MaNgwenya)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Flyover area, Ward 28	01 April 2021
30. Interviewee #10 (MaSibanda)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Caravan area, Ward 28	01 April 2021
31. Interviewee #11 (MaKhumalo)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Flyover area, Ward 28	01 April 2021
32. Interviewee #12 (Nyathi)	Household in-depth interviewee	Male resident, Flyover area, Ward 28	01 April 2021
33. Interviewee #14 (Mandaza)	Household in-depth interviewee	Male resident, Signpost-Hawkflight, Ward 28	02 April 2021
34. Interviewee #15 (MaZitha)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Esigayweni area, Ward 28	02 April 2021
35. Interviewee #13 (MaDlamini)	Household in-depth interviewee	Female resident, Signpost-Hawkflight area, Ward 28	01 April 2021

