
**THE EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS AND THE SURVIVAL
STRATEGIES OF STREET VENDORS IN HARARE CENTRAL BUSINESS
DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE**

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JAQUELINE MOLAI

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SUPERVISOR: DR V. L TONCHI (UNAM)

ABSTRACT

Street vending is a common practice the world over. In cities the streets are swamped with vendors selling various wares and Zimbabwe is no exception. However, in recent years the proliferation of street vending in Zimbabwe, particularly in Harare Central Business District (CBD) has been an eyesore and several questions have been raised as to what is really behind such proliferation and what tactics are these vendors employing to remain in the streets despite efforts by the council to remove them from the streets. This study specifically sought to answer questions relating to the political, social and economic situation, under currencies and tactics that have resulted to the proliferation of street vending in Harare CBD.

In investigating this research problem, the study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. The population of this study was 50, comprising of selected street vendors, selected Harare City Council officials, vendor association representatives and citizens. The main tools for the collection of primary data were interviews, direct observation and questionnaires and for secondary research, the study employed literature review by analysing the content of published studies. The major findings established that the proliferation of street vending in Harare CBD had serious implications to the country's Municipal by-law on city vending.

The study recommends that government, at both national and local level should identify major risk indicators associated with the proliferation of street vending, formulate long-term policies aimed at addressing the macro-factors behind the proliferation of street vending, come up with appropriate response mechanism strategies to deal with such and design a supportive policy framework that promotes an environment for earning livelihoods through street vending.

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DECLARATION

I, Molai Jaqueline, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my own research and that this work or any part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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Molai Jaqueline

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBD - Central Business District

HCC - Harare City Council

ESAP- Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes

IMF - International Monetary Fund

LRP- Land Reform Programme

ZIDERA- Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

ZANU PF- Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

ZimAsset - Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation

ZCIEA - Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations

NAV - National Association of Vendors

NVUZ - National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe

ZRP - Zimbabwe Republic Police

VISET - Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation

FDI - Foreign Direct Investment

CHRA- Combined Harare Residents Associations

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the background information, the research problem, research question, and the significance of the study. Street vending is an ancient and important occupation found in virtually every country and major city around the world.

Research on street vending has shown that this phenomenon is generally a global occurrence which may contribute to the overall economic activity and service provision. However, other observers associate street vending with congestion, delirium, pollution, health and safety risks, tax evasion, the sale of shoddy merchandise and at the same time presenting unfair competition to off the street establishments.

In the process it presents challenges to the Municipal by-laws which are aimed at bringing sanity and order into their jurisdictions. Following this reasoning, in either circumstance, it also follows that the proliferation of street vendors has a connection with the use of strategies by street vendors of operating in the streets.

In light of the aforementioned supposition, this study seeks to explore the effects of Municipal by-laws and the survival strategies of street vendors in the Harare CBD. Reviews of the present status quo will be conducted as well as a brief background of the vendor situation in the world in general and Harare in particular. The Harare CBD was purposively selected for the study because the city continues to register a rapid rise in the rate of the proliferation of street vending.

1.2 Background of the study

Although, ancient street vending is an important informal occupation found in every country. Research by Bhowmik (2012), showed that this phenomenon is generally a global occurrence and it contributes to the overall economic activities and service provisions. Despite a general belief that street vending will recede as economies develop and incomes rise, it is actually on the increase in many countries. Skinner (2008), asserts that street vending accounts for 15 to 25% of total informal employment in Africa and contributes between 46 to 70% in trade. The origins of vending can be traced to early Iron Age periods whereby merchants are recorded to have been moving around trading different items. Ancient Rome and Greece witnessed high rates of vending since the progression of civilization. As early as the 14th century, government officials in Rome oversaw street vending activities (Snodgrass, 2004). Quentin and Bonnet (2015), claimed that if vendors are not controlled, they would create an environment where council is deprived of revenue to provide services.

Various schools of thought explain the causal factors to the mushrooming of vendors and the government responses towards this scenario. Legalists, such as Hernando De Soto (1988) have argued that hostile legal systems lead to the growth of vending. The dualist perspective holds that vending is a pre-modern traditional activity that forms part of the development process and will disappear when the society becomes modernised (Williams & Gurtoo, 2012). Structuralism's perspective presents vending as a survival practice of livelihood. According to Maloney (2004) the Voluntarists School focuses on vendors who deliberately seek to enjoy benefits of informality by avoiding regulations and taxation.

The Zimbabwe economy since the early 1990s has been underperforming, fuelling high cost of living and high unemployment caused by enormous retrenchments and as a result most people were forced into street vending (Njaya, 2015). Although street vendors represent a third of the population in Zimbabwe with an estimate of 20 000 vendors operating in the Harare CBD, there has been a general tendency to reduce the activities of street vendors as a nuisance within the urban environment (Matenge, 2013). Despite efforts by the council to rid the streets of illegal vendors, the continued presence of vendors in the streets indicates that there are ways used by vendors to circumvent arrest and their removal from the streets of Harare CBD. For the purpose of this study the term street vendors will refer to unlicensed and licenced vendors operating from undesignated areas.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Once considered the pride and sunshine city of the Southern African nation, Harare has become home to thousands of vendors who sell everything from fruit, roasted mealies to clothes on pavements. The situation in the Harare CBD is such that even the licenced vendors have deserted their designated areas to sell their wares from street pavements, creating challenges for the City Council to keep sanity in the city. Despite efforts by the HCC to keep vendors out of the undesignated areas, vendors have continued to be on street en masse. The previous research on street vending by scholars such as Njaya (2014) and Rusvingo (2015), were limited to the understanding of vending as a livelihood strategy and no attempt was made to interrogate the survival strategies that vendors have employed to stay on the streets of Harare's CBD. The rise in the number of street vendors on Harare's CBD is an indication that vendors are employing strategies to remain on the streets of the CBD. This study sought to cover the research gap on the survival strategies employed by street vendors in Harare's CBD

despite councils' efforts to keep vendors off the streets. The study resulted in the development of guidelines on how to harmonise Harare Municipal by-laws with street vendors' survival strategies.

1.4 Research objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

- i. To investigate reasons street vendors in Harare CBD do not adhere to municipal by-laws
- ii. To explore survival strategies employed by street vendors in Harare CBD to evade municipal by-laws
- iii. To establish causes and impacts of vending in the Harare CBD

1.5 Significance of the study

The study provides insights into the underlying survival strategies that have kept vendors on the streets of Harare, particularly the CBD. It should also nourish the HCC with information that will be useful when designing policies for the regulation of street vending.

1.6 Limitations of the study

Vending is by nature, difficult to measure, as vendors are continuously on the move trying to remain undetected. In that regard, it was difficult to get vendors to complete the questionnaires. However, convenience sampling was used to get vendors available. Statistics on vendors were difficult to get and an average based on estimates provided by newspapers, City officials and Vendor Associations was used to determine the population of the study.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

The research focused on the survival strategies behind the continued presence of street vending in Harare's CBD with emphasis on street vending as an occupational activity, rather than as an example of a larger aggregate of the informal sector.

1.8 Outline of the study

This study was organised as follows:

Chapter 1: It presented the introduction and gave a background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and significance of the study as well as the limitation of the study.

Chapter 2: Presents a theoretical framework and reviews literature related to vending as a trade. It also brings on board the various theories that are associated with vendors and views on vending from different perspectives.

Chapter 3: Discusses the methodology, research design and research population, sample size of the study, research instruments, procedure, data analysis and research ethics.

Chapter 4: Focuses on presentation of the results and analysis of the findings.

Chapter 5: Presents conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

1.9 Summary

This chapter provided the main scope of this research including the reasons for conducting the study; key assumptions that inform it; the main objectives and research questions as well as the background factors that form the foundation of the study. The following chapter will explore various scholarly works related to the topic under study as well as theories that inform the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study systematically reviewed literature related to the phenomenon of street vending. This review involved analysing existing studies, reports and guides on street vending and strategies written by various scholars. However, while the study may make reference to case studies from other parts of the world, it primarily focused on the Zimbabwean context.

2.2 Conceptualising Street vending

Street vending is one of the most visible activities in the informal economy and is found everywhere in the world, both in developed and developing countries. Bromley (2002) noted that street vending is a very dominant and important occupation found in every country and major city around the world and an old practice which has been present since time immemorial. Various authors have defined street vending and the common theme among definitions is the location of trade. Street vending as a trade involve self-employed workers in the informal economy who are either stationary or mobile.

Mitullah (2004) described street vending as an activity that takes place on street pavements, sidewalks, but also at bus stops and in other public places. Cross (2000) described it as the production and exchange of legal goods and services that involved the lack of appropriate business permits, violation of zoning codes, failure to report tax liability, non-compliance with labour regulations governing contracts, work conditions, and legal guarantees in relations with suppliers and clients. Over time street vendors have become the contentious participants in the informal sector.

Street vending occurs in different parts of streets and roads, thus, Bromley (2002) argued that some street vendors are always strategically positioned in most populated areas of the Harare CBD, while others move around places selling their products. Mitullah (2003), observed that although the largest number of street vendors are women, in recent years a noticeable number of males and children have also joined the business. She further clarified that street vendors usually work 8 to 12 hours a day, however, gender and location are the main determinant on how time is managed as in what time to start and quit for the business day. According to Nesvag (2000) society has branded the practice of street vending as uncivilised, outdated and even related to criminal activities. Resultantly, street vending has been regarded as a danger and utmost threat to public health and order.

2.3 The characteristics of street vendors

Brown, Dankoco and Lyons (2010) articulated that street vendors are at the heart of the informal economic sector. Therefore, it is imperative to note that the characteristics identified in other performing informal economic tasks are also very visible amongst street vendors. The only difference street vending has from other informal economic activities is its uniqueness of being in every corner of the streets in the city. Henceforth, this makes it worthwhile to define those unique characteristics of street vending. Although, Pillay (2004) argues that one characteristic of vending is being self-employed, it should however be noted that this is not always the case because in some places street vendors are hired by shop owners to sell for them on the streets.

Pillay (2004) further emphasised that street vending is not labour intensive, but rather its effectiveness relies more on how the vendor operates or functions. Previously, women and children due to limited access to formal education and marketable skills

have dominated the trade of street vending, but recent trends suggest that men have become active participants as well (Mitullah, 2003). However, it is not entirely correct that street vendors entirely engage in vending due to a lack of education, but in some instances lack of employment and need to supplement formal income may be the major influence of such an outcome. Thus, street vending may end up being the only economic activity relied on.

Vending still remains the most dominant trade with many participants in the streets selling goods despite all the modern developments in retailing (Skinner, 2008). In this regard, Mitullah (2003)'s research indicated that most vendors have or are from very large families and that the high percentage of women vendors are sole breadwinners who only receive limited or no support from other relatives. . In support of this position, Skinner (2008) further explained that there is a thin line that exist between street vending and poverty. Street vending in most African cities is more directly linked to poverty than anything else

In terms of structures, street vendors use various structures such as tables, chairs, mats which are erected by in positioning themselves to conduct business or even pushcarts to move around displaying goods. Although there is no specific age group associated with street vending, Mitullah (2004)'s study on street vending in Africa highlighted that the most active traders are at the average of 20-50 years old. In identifying the age group, there is a further analysis which posits that vending involves a diverse kind of people ranging from youths to pioneers in the trade both as a career for self-sustenance and a way of supporting family.

Other characteristics associated with vending is its lack of formal statistics due to the secret operations of vendors in seeking to evade compliancy with the council by-laws

and its ease of entry, low capital requirements, skills and technology. Due to uncertain factors on the diverse needs of individuals in street vending it is very difficult for councils to formulate policies which focuses on addressing their needs. According to Skinner (2008) street vendors work very long hours every day because they are always bound to catch early morning commuters to work and also come back home late evening. Street vendors often provide goods rather than services in order to gain quick returns since goods are easily and quickly sold as they are always in demand (Skinner, 2008).

2.4 Street vending evolution

Street vending is part of the informal sector. The term informal sector had been coined by a British anthropologist, Keith Hart, in his 1971 study of low-income activities among unskilled migrants from Northern Ghana to the capital city, Accra, who could not find wage employment (Hart, 1973). Although Hart stressed the potential of the informal sector to create employment and reduce poverty, it continues to receive mixed reviews with others considering it to be marginal, not linked to the formal sector and undermines the healthy function of the formal economy.

The above perception underpins the conflicts over unfair competition, licensing, taxation, site of operation, sanitation and working conditions, between urban authorities on the one hand and street vendors on the other hand arguing that they have different costs: daily fees levied in the form of bribes, Bromley (2000) and that they respond to a different need in the local economy than off-street businesses. The general belief tend to suggest that the informal sector in developing countries would disappear once those countries achieve sufficient levels of economic growth or modern industrial development.

Ongoing harassment of vendors is pervasive across African cities. Lonrenço-Lindell (2004) outlines that in Guinea Bissau, although a more permissive approach has been adopted since 1986, municipal agents have essentially remained hostile to vendors. In surveys conducted in Abidjan by Adiko and Anoh-Kouassi (2003), 69% of the 355 vendors interviewed cited that they have experienced harassment from the police. Njaya (2014), in his study on the working conditions of street vendors in Harare found out that about 76% of the vendors reported harassment by police and 46% by municipal authorities.

Street vending is a global phenomenon. In the 1980s, the changes that were occurring in advanced capitalist economies had an expansionist effect on the terms of the street vending debate. Both North America and Europe witnessed increased production of goods and services that were being subcontracted to small-scale vendors and industrial outworkers. In the process, vending became a permanent, but subordinate and dependent feature of capitalist development. Furthermore, the economic crisis in Latin America in the 1980s brought to light that the informal sector especially vending increases in many countries during periods of economic crisis (Tokman, 1984).

During the Asian economic crisis of the 1990s, millions of people who lost formal jobs turned to vending as a source of livelihood. ESAP introduced to Africa in the 1980s and 1990s at the recommendation of the IMF and the World Bank as well as economic transition in the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe were also associated with shifts of employment opportunities towards the informal sector. Globalisation opened new markets for products from the advanced economies in the local developing markets rendering the latter inaccessible to small-scale local producers. This is because in global competition formal firms tend to hire a few core

workers under informal arrangements and prefer to outsource the production of goods and services to other firms and countries (Rodrik, 1997). Informal firms and small producers often lack the market knowledge and skills to compete with formal firms for export markets and often face competition from imported goods in domestic markets.

There is renewed interest in street vending worldwide and this is so because vending is continuously growing worldwide (Horn, 2009). This renewed interest also stems from the recognition of the links between informality and growth on the one hand as well as between informality, poverty, and inequality on the other. There is increased recognition that much of street vending today is integrally linked to the formal economy and contributes to the overall economy and a realisation that supporting the working poor in the vending business is a key pathway to reducing poverty and inequality.

2.5 The theories on street vending

Over the years, literature has revealed four theories regarding the causes, composition and nature of vending. These theories deal with the underlying factors causing the escalation of vending as a trade as well as the government responses towards this development. The theorists are the dualists, structuralists, legalists and the voluntarists.

The dualist perspective holds that vending is a pre-modern traditional survival activity that form part of the development process and will disappear when the society becomes modernised (Williams & Gurtoo, 2012). The dualist perspective argues that street vending comprises of marginal activities, which are both distinct and unrelated to the formal sector. However, street vending provide income for the poor and becomes a safety net for most people in times of crisis. The dualist school argue that vendors are excluded from modern economic opportunities due to imbalances between the growth

rates of the population and modern industrial employment opportunities thereby causing a mismatch between people's skills and the structure of modern economy.

In a country's development process, vending is therefore seen as representing a stage of development during which the industry lack working opportunities and is unable to absorb the excess labour due to the discord between slow economic growth and the rapid growth of population. Resultantly, it becomes a safety net, absorbing the labour force excluded from the labour market by the shrinking formal sector (Williams & Gurtoo, 2012). However, Chen (2007), disputed the dualist view of thinking by arguing that, the formal and the informal economy are often dynamically linked with many informal enterprises having production or distribution relations with formal enterprises, supplying inputs, goods or services ready for the market either through direct transactions or subcontracting engagements. Moreover, several formal enterprises employ wage workers under informal employment relations, for instance, the majority of part time workers, temporary workers and home workers work for formal enterprises through contracting or sub-contracting arrangements.

The structuralists perspective presents vending as necessity-driven, a survival practice conducted out of economic necessity and as a last resort in the absence of alternative means of livelihood. Vending for the structuralists is seen as a crisis of capitalist development demonstrating the inability of capitalism to absorb the mass of unemployed. The structuralists' theory views street vending as a sub economic unit that feeds into the formal units through exploitative relationship between the formal and informal economies (Castells & Portes, 1989). The informal economy is seen as largely assisting in capitalist accumulation. The school views street vendors as workers that serve to reduce input and labour costs hence their presence increase the

competitiveness of large capitalist firms. The theory further argues that vending is a result of the nature of capitalist growth.

The legalistic perspective depicts vending as a rational economic choice to avoid the costs, time and effort associated with formal registration (Chen, 2012). The legalistic perspective argues that a hostile legal system leads to vending by micro-entrepreneurs, who opt for vending in order to avoid the formal registration. Legalists, argue that hostile legal systems such as cumbersome government rules and procedures create barriers to formalisation and thus it suffocates the productive potential of the vending sector. The school subscribes to the notion that vendors seek to deliberately avoid regulations and taxation when dealing with goods and services in order to maximize their profits. The school however weighs the costs of becoming formal which include registration, cost of license, the costs of taxes, compliance with regulations or laws and higher rates for public utilities against the costs of operating illegally which involves avoidance of fees and penalties, avoidance of taxes, not having property rights, not having enforceable contracts and not receiving benefits from the formal sector.

Maloney's voluntarists' theory focuses on vendors who deliberately seek to enjoy benefits of informality by avoiding regulations and taxation but, unlike in the legalist school, does not blame the cumbersome registration procedure (Maloney, 2004). For vendors being informal is a deliberate choice made to enjoy benefits of informality. This perspective argues that informal vendors choose to operate informally after weighing the costs and benefits of informality relative to formality. The school is associated with avoidance of formality costs, taxes and social protection contributions. The theory argues that the benefit of informality is that it is a way to earn income while avoiding costs of formality.

According to Berner, Gomez and Knoringa (2008), a survival entrepreneur does not start a business by choice because he/she cannot find wage employment, attempts to increase security and smoothen consumption rather than maximising profits and for this purpose diversify their activities instead of specializing. Vendors consider profits as part of their household income. Similarly, Skinner (2008), argues that survivalist vending in developing countries is necessity driven due to joblessness or other economic shocks, characterised by sell of low-quality products mainly supplying the survival needs of low-income consumers whose purchasing power is limited to the lowest priced products or cheap imports and do not pursue expansion in business. However, for some people street vending is necessitated by a business choice than a survival strategy (Williams & Gurtoo 2012).

Each perspective contributes empirical knowledge and point out critical issues that helps in the understanding of street vending. The dualist perspective contributes information on the technical basis of production, self-employment and responses to surplus labour supply. Structuralists contributes information on the way in which certain productive forms and producers are side-lined from benefits, disabled competitively, exploited and subordinated by large firms in ways that contribute to capital accumulation.

Legalists contribute information on entrepreneurship and the impact that institutions and state intervention have on vending activities. All the theories however agree that street vending is the expression of the uneven nature of capitalist development in peripheral societies and if there is technological advancement, export oriented and relative autonomy, vending can contribute to the growth of economies (Rakowski 1994).

According to Chen (2007), there is a new way of thinking in how street vendors are perceived. On the one hand, the old thinking alludes that vending is a practice that will wither away and die with modern industrial growth. It further refers that it is only marginally productive, exists separately from the formal economy, and represents a reserve pool of surplus labour. In this regard, the old thinking suggests that vendors choose to be illegal and unregistered in order to avoid regulations and taxation. Also, that vending is comprised mostly of survival activities and as such most vendors do not qualify to be a subject for economic policy. On the other hand, the new thinking argues that vending is a permanent feature that is expanding with modern, industrial growth, it is a major provider of employment, supplier of goods and services for lower-income groups, can contribute a significant share of GDP if it is cooperated into formal sector and that most vendors are amenable to and would welcome, efforts to reduce barriers to registration and related transaction costs and to increase benefits from regulation.

2.6 Key debates on vending

Vending generates debates around the world and some of the debates are as following;

- **Registration and taxation**

The argument is that street vendors compete unfairly against off-street business because their sector is not burdened by the costs associated with registration, taxation costs, rent and utility payments. Consequently, this creates unfair competition and thereby threaten the viability of off-street establishments. This debate encourages local governments to formalise street vendors by relocating them to off-street premises where they would be expected to register, pay taxes and rent or own their workplaces.

The street vendors on the other hand argues that they have different costs and that they respond to a different need (the poor) in the local economy than off-street businesses.

Accordingly, they claim that most street vendors pay various kinds of taxes and levies and are particularly subject to indirect taxes (Cohen, Mihir & Pat, 2000). Furthermore, street vendors also incur costs associated with non-registration, such as having their goods confiscated, a risk to which off-street enterprises are not subject to. Street vendors also pay a form of rent through daily fees levied in the form of bribes demanded in exchange for their use of public spaces. According to Kamuyori (2007), several times the Nairobi council inspectors make their monthly salary on bribing street vendors. Thus, it is not that street vendors avoid the costs of doing business but rather they incur different kinds of costs as compared to off-street entrepreneurs.

- **Individual and collective rights**

This debate centres on the question of whether street vending raise the tension between the individual right to work and the collective right to public space. In most countries, local governments are responsible for public space and is understood that as a public good all people have a right of access. Chitrakar, Baker and Guarald (2017), argued that pedestrians and bus traffic attract street vendors who sell wares which are demanded by these road users.

Mitullah (2004) argued that traders choose places where they are easily visible to pedestrians and motorists and this is normally at strategic points with heavy human traffic. Vendors often locate themselves at places, which are natural markets for them such as at the main roads, streets, parks, pavements, within shopping centres and corners of streets. If the services provided are not required at those locations, then they would have no incentive to continue staying there.

However, city authorities view their existence as illegal as their presence reduces road capacity. Furthermore, Chitrakar, Baker and Guarald (2017), points that if the same principle that is applied for the design of the road environment for motorised traffic especially private cars, then vendors have a valid and legal place in the road environment. Street vendors and hawkers serve the same function for pedestrians, bicyclists and bus users. As long as urban roads are used by these modes, street vendors will remain inevitable and necessary. Critics of street vending argue that public rights are violated when street vendors use public space for their own use and they call upon governments to defend public space from such encroachments by strictly regulating or even outlawing street vending. Environmentalists have major concerns about the environment because street vendors bring pollution problems, congestion and garbage (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2003). Opponents generally feel that vending introduces congestion, dirt and unfair competition and ruins a city's image, thereby compromising its economic competitiveness.

The opposing argument on the other hand posit that vendors should be allowed to exercise their economic rights made explicit in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other normative frameworks. Most Constitutions guarantee the right to work, the right to carry on a trade or business hence banning vending violates that right. Thus, advocates of economic liberty argue that banning street vending intrude upon principles of free and open competition in addition to individual rights to work and non-discrimination.

Bromley (2002) supports street vending for its vast contribution to the general development of the economy meaning that street vending should be given space in the city because every urban dweller has the right to access the city. Omoegun (2015),

explained that because urban public space is generally land in public ownership, the rights of its owners and different users are complex and ambiguous. Therefore, efforts towards a rights-based approach should be directed at the clarification of the rights of urban public space users including street vendors in order to provide them with more security of operation while empowering public authorities to protect the larger interests of citizens.

Vendors see the city as a place where they can make profit for living and which they depend on. Berry (2009), argues that it is not only street vendors who benefit from profits of vending but also the communities because street vendors sell affordable goods. This translate to the fact that there are many people who struggle to buy goods in formal shops because they cannot afford to and they depend on street vendors which is why street vending should be given a place in the city. Cohen, Mihir and Pat (2000), argues that street vending is a form of self-empowerment and a flexible form of trade to those who are unable to access formal employment hence it should be given space to exist.

Further, Bromley (2000) argues that due to the flexibility of the street vending business, vendors can supply their products (goods and services) at different places and at any time hence they play a big role in adding vibrancy to urban environment and in many places vending is considered a cornerstone of historical and cultural heritage thus vendors have a right to the city. Brown, Dankoco and Lyons (2010) argues that urban public spaces should be shared equally by all urban users, which clarifies the rights of street vendors to be in the city.

- **Urban governance and contributions of street vendors**

Street vending create arguments in urban planning debates. Many cities experience cycles in which local authorities tolerate, regulate and evict street vendors in accordance with economic trends, election cycles and other urban management pressures. As part of entrepreneurial urban governance strategies, guided by market-oriented principles, cities compete for foreign investment and world class city status resulting in evictions of street vendors from historic centres (Roever, 2014). In cities across Africa, vendors are subjected to ongoing harassment and this has been influenced by colonial approaches to urban governance in which vending was associated with the native population, thus restricting vending was a way of controlling the native's presence in the urban areas (Skinner, 2008). In most regions, vendors have been evicted en masse to make way for mega events such as the Olympics games and World soccer Cup.

Research have proven that the phenomenon of vending is growing and as such urban governance should treat it as an integral, permanent feature (Dube & Chirisa, 2012). Street vending contributes to the economic, social and cultural life of cities by offering a dependable retail outlet for a wide range of affordable goods. Since vendors sell affordable goods in small quantities, they offer the poor access to otherwise unaffordable goods.

Vending is also a major foreign tourist attraction to tourists looking for an authentic experience. Buying locally made handicrafts in the streets allows tourists and residents to experience the vitality of public life in global cities (Chen, 2012). He further argues that vending presents a way of living by creating employment for many who would

have depended on the state for free services or would have turned to criminal activities in order to survive.

In Uganda, small-scale trade is reported to contribute 95% of the urban economy while in Nigeria, it was estimated that in 1993 the informal sector adds between 20 and 30% to the GDP. In regard to pollution and crime, research have shown that street vendors themselves are often not the source. On the contrary, conscientious vendors work hard to keep their place clean and provide the eyes and ears to help deter crime in the streets such as when the New York City street vendor alerted the police on a bomb hidden in a car parked in New York City's Times Square (Hays & Salazar, 2010).

- **Street vendors a nuisance or a blessing**

Many have argued that street vending plays a role in the decline of an area, creating a poor impression of the city among inhabitants and visitors alike (Brown, 2006). Street vendors congest the streets and contributes to dirt and dilapidated buildings. It is for this reason that street vending should be accommodated in city designs and provided with good infrastructure. Bromley (2002) outlines major arguments in support of and in opposition to street vending. The arguments in favour of street vending are that it contributes to the provision of goods and services, in turn adding to the overall level of economic activity. Furthermore, he argues that street vending offers people a variety of alternative occupations and acting as a safety net for the unemployed as well as offering upward social mobility to minority groups.

The positive elements associated with street vending include the fact that street vending develops entrepreneurial skills, alleviates the hardships associated with unemployment and promotes economic viability and the dynamism of cities. Street

vending also results in the expansion of a municipality's economic base through licensing fees and contributes to the overall global economy.

Street vendors support the large majority of the population by selling items at a cheaper price. Bromley (2002) argues that opposing perceptions of street vending arise as a result of the misguided perception that street vendors do not operate in elite neighbourhoods. Thus, street vending is frequently portrayed as a symbol of poverty by the authoritarians and modernists and such that its eradication is regarded as advancement towards the perceived notion of universal wealth and modernisation. This results in clamp downs when there are any visible signs of disorder in order to render the city clean and orderly.

2.7 Global view on street vending

Literature has been written on the concept of vending and the factors that cause the existence of vendors. What is apparent in such literature is that vending is approached from a classical economics point of view. There seems to be consensus among scholars on street vending that the widespread unemployment in different parts of the world both in rural and urban areas contributes to large numbers of people entering the streets in order to earn a living. Thus, the effects of an increasing population growth in the era of globalisation is rapidly accelerating migration from rural to urban areas. Therefore, the increase in rural to urban migration is being viewed as a major factor of street vending.

Roever (2014), observed that it is because of the shortage of productive employment opportunities in the formal sector and the employment growth which takes a far lower rate compared to growth in the labour force that leads to the emergence of the sector. Available literature also points to the fact that street vending in developing countries

is as a result of economic challenges and weak economic policies, particularly those related to urban planning and governance.

On the international scene, Gibson (2010), explored the phenomenon of street vending from classical economics point of view and provide statistics from the United Nations, which show that since the 1980s, two-fifths of the economically active population of the developing world engage in the informal economy. According to the UN Habitat (2003), statistics indicate that vending is most prevalent in Africa where the informal sector employs about 60% of the urban labour force. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the informal sector accounts for about 78% of non-agricultural employment. In Kenya, about 2 million people (16%) of the labour force, are employed in informal sector. According to Skinner (2008), millions of people throughout the world, especially in Africa still make their living partly or wholly through selling goods on the streets. Skinner (2008) claims that selling an array of commodities in the streets is what characterises African cities.

In Asia, street vending also accounts for a large percentage of all employment. In the Philippines, it accounts for 36% of employment in urban areas. In Dhaka, Bangladesh, 63% of all employed people are in the informal sector. In India, street vending makes up 14% of total urban employment (Chen & Raveendran 2014). In Latin America, vending constitutes the following fractions of employment: between 60-75% in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and that four of every five new jobs in the same sector (UN Habitat, 2003).

Skinner (2008) argues that vending is part of economic development processes. In support of Skinner's idea, Bromley (2002), argues that street vending is the manifestation of both poverty and under-development thus its disappearance is viewed

as a process. Many observers subscribed to the notion that vending as marginal or peripheral and not linked to the formal sector or to modern capitalist development. Some of these observers believe that street vending would disappear once countries achieve sufficient levels of economic growth or modern industrial development (ILO, 2003).

Employment in the informal sector tends to grow during periods of economic crisis. The 1980s economic crisis in Latin America, the Asian economic crisis, the 1990s, globalisation of the economy, Structural Adjustment in Africa and economic transition in the former Soviet Union and in Central and Eastern Europe are cases in which millions of people who lost formal jobs and could not find alternative formal jobs have to turn to vending as they could not afford to be openly unemployed. Also, in response to inflation or cutbacks in public services, households often need to supplement formal sector incomes with vending earnings.

2.8 A regional conception of street vending

African cities are characterised by selling an array of commodities from fruit and vegetables to clothes, traditional medicine and even furniture in the streets. According to Skinner (2008), millions of people throughout the world, especially in Africa still make their living partly or wholly through selling goods on the streets. In a research of six case studies drawn from Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire and South Africa, Mitullah (2004), observed that in all the cities covered, street vending was rampant and a source of employment and income for many urban dwellers. Based on this observation, the research concluded that street vending has a significant contribution in the urban and national economy of African countries.

Further, Skinner (2008) alludes that in Africa, the vending is estimated to account for 60% of all urban jobs and over 90% of all new urban jobs. He made the above observation after reviewing literature on street vending in several parts of Africa including West Africa (Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast and Ghana); Central Africa (the Democratic Republic of Congo); Sub-Saharan Africa (Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Lesotho); and East Africa (Tanzania, Kenya).

One of the key factors behind street vending in Africa relates to the effects of the ESAP of the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, privatisation, restructuring of the public sector, and opening up of African economies to foreign goods led to a dramatic shrinking of the formal economy in Africa (Skinner, 2007). This resulted in a substantial increase in the numbers of those informally employed. Skinner (2008) also asserts that liberalization of African economies led to an increase of imports with informal traders acting as the final point of sale for many of these goods and this has dramatically increased as a result of imports from China to Africa over the last years.

Unlike Skinner (2008) who suggests that one of the key factors behind vending in Africa relate to the effects of ESAP, thus, privatisation, restructuring of the public sector, urbanisation, migration and opening up of African economies to foreign goods which led to a dramatic shrinking of the formal economy in Africa, Bromley (2002), links vending to public policy inconsistency by most African governments as these governments have been reluctant to incorporate vending into the formal economy. Bromley (2002) also link street vending to public policy inconsistency by councils in developing countries.

In terms of policy frameworks, research has shown that councils in developing nations have been reluctant to incorporate street vending into the formal economy. Dube and

Chirisa (2012), argues that planning ordinances and decrees in Africa show little real variation from colonial patterns, while Mkhize, Dube and Skinner (2013) maintains that there has been a long history of anti-informality sentiments in governments. Adherence to the ideology of planned and orderly cities remained a core belief for many governments.

Ndlovu (2011), notes that vending in Zambia is illegal, considered a public nuisance and in 2002 the local government in Lusaka with the help of paramilitary and police managed to get rid of vendors off the streets. Further, Ndlovu (2011) claims that the raids were motivated by the need to create a conducive environment and promoting better health and increasing security for both the city population and the vendors. Apartheid South Africa launched raids between the 1950's and 1980's to rid cities of street vendors (Gamieldien & Niekerk, 2017). Skinner (2008), further claims that eviction of vendors from the streets in countries often precede major public events.

After 1994, South Africa raided vendors when the country was preparing to host the 2010 Soccer World Cup, Tanzania in the mid-1970s did the same when the government cleared out vendors operating in Dar Salaam and removed them to villages on the coast. In 1983 a penal code was enacted that branded street trading was a subversive activity that challenged socialist principles and vendors were labelled as unproductive, idle and disorderly in Tanzania (Nnkya, 2008).

In Maseru, Lesotho in 1991 vendors were removed from the streets when Pope John Paul II visited the city as well as when former Presidents of Namibia Sam Nujoma and South African Nelson Mandela visited on state visits in 1991 and 1995 respectively (Nnkya, 2008). In Zimbabwe, street vendors were removed when Harare hosted the Non-Aligned Movement in 1984. The above case studies point to a vicious

cycle of antagonism and mistrust between street vendors and government which created an atmosphere of hostility and antagonism.

However, there are a few African countries that have accommodated street vendors. Tanzania since 1990 has issued vendors licences and have allowed vendors to operate in Dar es Salaam where some vendors operate in town during the day, while others operates in Kariago streets as soon as the off-street traders closes for the day. This was made possible by the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP), a collaboration between the government and the United Nations agencies who identified vending as a key issue (Nnkya, 2008). Resultantly, the CBD of Dar es Salaam vending is well managed by both the council and the vendor associations.

In South Africa, the city Durban has also recognised the street vendors. In South Africa the Business Act 71 of 1991 prohibits the councils from restricting street vending while other legislations allow regulation of the street vending trade. In 1996, the city Durban established an area based urban renewal initiative which resulted in the construction of infrastructure to accommodate street vendors.

2.9 The Zimbabwean scenario

2.9.1 Pre and post-colonial era

There is evidence that vending is an old trade. Literature noted that trade in Zimbabwean villages was organised with market days rotating between different villages and in some cases the markets were organised on neutral land between the villages. It increased with the discovery of minerals in areas like the Great Zimbabwe and Mutorashanga (Arrighi, 1966). The Native Registration Act (Act No 12 of 1936) and the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 during the colonial era, contributed to the

prohibition of black ownership on premises in the white dominated areas and banished vendors to the poorest markets, implicitly preventing their growth (Falola & Fleming, 2009).

The Native Registration Act restricted vendors to the native locations and sales of curios, baskets and similar articles were allowed in the towns while sale of goods such as chicken, eggs, butter was prohibited (Arrighi, 1966). Inequalities and institutionalised levels of poverty among the black people can be regarded as a contributor to street vending during that time. However, the majority of literature that discussed colonial policies did not include the aspect of vending.

In the 1980s, more native people came into urban areas and the government could not control this movement like the colonial government did before. Moyana (1999), indicates that at independence, the new Zimbabwean government tried to introduce policies aimed at promoting black empowerment through a number of economic measures.

It is probably after independence that the term informal sector gained popularity as many blacks especially the unemployed began to venture into businesses. Researches show that after independence, government's aim was to create economic opportunities for low income people the government adopted an expansionist policy aimed at including the black majority in the economic equation. Moyana (1999), maintains that although the informal sector gained popularity, very little was done to support the sector as there was continued harassment of people by police and coercive legislative measures like restrictive trade licensing, and safety regulations remained in place.

According to Moyana (1999), the government assumed the role of the chief employer until its economic policy on employment and subsidies was replaced by ESAP in 1991. ESAP resulted in the increase in numbers of the urban poor hence the informal sector that the colonial government had attempted to contain, exploded (Moyana, 1999).

Literature shows that several policies, chief among them that contributed to the rapid development of street vending in Zimbabwe include the ESAP in 1991 and the 2000 LRP. The implementation of the ESAP led to falling per capita urban incomes, public sector retrenchments and deterioration of urban infrastructure worsening the living standards of the urban poor in Zimbabwean cities (Moyana, 1999). SAPs were aimed at reducing state burden by reducing state subsidisation, effectively making town life more difficult than in the countryside. On the other hand, the LRP was aimed at resettling the landless by the Government. Against this background, the government decided to compulsorily acquire land for resettlement using the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 (Charter, 2010), which was aimed at acquiring more land for the resettlement of majority blacks that were in congested in marginal rainfall areas.

Critics however, point out that the implementation of this Act was controversial and its consequences worsened the country's economic conditions as economic sanctions were imposed by the United States of America and other European countries. The United States of America's sanctions in the form of ZIDERA of 2001 has for close to two decades restricted Zimbabwe's access to lines of credit from multilateral lending institutions. ZIDERA bars any American citizens who sit on boards of international financial institutions from authorising credit to Zimbabwe. Both the ESAP and LRP resulted in high rates of unemployment whose ripple effects culminated into widespread vending supporting the structuralists' perspective that argues that vending

is necessity-driven, a survival practice conducted out of economic necessity and as a last resort in the absence of alternative means of livelihood.

A review of literature on street vending in Zimbabwe shows that street vending has been manifesting at the backdrop of continued socio- economic challenges bedevilling the country. Njaya (2014), refers street vending as an informal business which had flooded the streets of Harare and became an increasingly visible phenomenon and disruptive locus of conflict between the council and the vendors. However, he discusses this observation in terms of policy clashes between the council and the vendors as the former tries to restore order while the later seeks to consolidate economic advantage and business sustainability for survival.

Vendors have flooded the streets of Harare and became an increasingly visible phenomenon and resultantly it became a point of conflict between the council and the vendors (Njaya 2014). Tibaijuka (2005), alluded that the May 2005 Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe was possibly the largest scale and most violent, eviction of street vendors in the continent in the last decade. According to Tibaijuka (2005), Operation Murambatsvina was launched in a military style-like clean-up operation of cities to enforce by-laws to stop all forms of illegal activities including vending and those living in informal housing.

Tibaijuka (2005), estimated that some 700,000 people in cities across the country lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both while Potts (2007) estimated that in Harare alone 75,000 vendors were affected. Tibaijuka (2005) estimates that one in every five Zimbabweans were affected by Operation Murambatsvina. Unfortunately, while the government managed to deal with the intended problems, the operation resulted in a humanitarian crisis which attracted the attention of the international

community. The most critical contribution of Tibajuka (2005)'s work is that it shows how the vending phenomenon in the country contributed to an unforeseen national humanitarian crisis.

Njaya (2014), observed that legislation, regulation and enforcement in independent Zimbabwe has continuously failed to mirror the shifting environment and incorporate street vendors into town planning to ensure sustainability of street vending and hence its contribution to sustainable development of the country. The hawker's license was aimed at protecting established businesses (mostly white) while subjecting small businesses (mostly owned by blacks) to harassment for failure to meet prescribed standards. In post-independence towns have continued with the Hawkers by-laws which prohibits business of vending unless one is in possession of a valid hawker's license and the Criminal Law Codification Reform Act of 2004 makes obstruction of roads by vendors a punishable offense. These by-laws and the Act seemed to be anti-street vendors.

According to Media Centre (2015), despite violent evictions executed by the City Councils around the country, street vendors continue to occupy new locations in the Harare CBDs and to operate outside the bounds of the law. Nyaya (2014) alluded that this was because street vendors devised strategies of evading compliance with state regulations of their street businesses. Literature indicates that street vendors have used various resistance strategies including quiet forms of resistance, small-scale individual actions, subtle and innovative arrangements and sometimes open protest and direct confrontation (Bromley, 2002).

Literature by organisations such as the Media Centre (2015), shows that the issue of vendor situation in Zimbabwe has a significant impact on national political, security

and economic issues. The Media Centre (2015) for instance points that politically, the issue of vendors has sucked in both ZANU PF and MDC politicians and such developments make the issue a national concern calling for policy consideration and redress. The issue of vending has also divided the nation with some arguing that the government should only remove vendors from the streets when solutions of alternative employment is made. Others viewing government as two faced by claiming to support the informal sector through its ZimAset programme which supports the small businesses and encouraging self-sustenance while at the same time seeking to remove the vendors from the streets (Media Centre, 2015).

Further, Media Centre (2015) notes that vending is been at the centre of the country's recognised companies such as Econet, Delta, Zimpapers and Dairiboard whose business models are hinged upon innovative aggressive vending activities to sell their products hence supporting the structuralists theory that argue that vending is a sub economic unit that is subordinate to the formal economy. According to the Media Centre (2015) many business models today, including banking now rely on a strong network of vendors, money transfer for example has grown from leaps and bounds through various vending networks, electricity has followed the same way and the media has long relied on vendors to sell newspaper copies with success. However, research also acknowledges that street vending is detrimental to formal business growth in cases where vendors compete with established businesses that remit taxes to the government. Thus, vending if it spirals out of control can harm formal registered businesses that contribute to the national revenue pool through taxes thereby translating to national economic threats (Media Centre, 2015).

In addition to the economic, political and security impact of street vending on the country, there are also the social implications of street vending. For instance, the Human Rights Watch (2015) has been documenting cases of police violent crackdown on unlicensed street vendors marked by beatings, destruction of their goods and arbitrary arrests. As the media is regarded as the mirror of society that mirrors reality on the ground through texts and images. What media portrays should not be taken for granted as it communicates impending danger. What the media in Zimbabwe have been reporting concerning the activities of street vendors including their conflict with the state and councils should be regarded as early warning signs of threats to the country's national security, political, social and economy. This conflict, coupled by the work of international governments and NGOs seems to threaten the existence of the local governance. This is in line with Clapham's (1998) observation that there is the increasing influence of NGOs which have increasingly been willing to take on a host of issues including human rights, which has been linked to government reaction to vending in Zimbabwe, to threaten the power of states. Therefore, media reports concerning the proliferation of street vending dispute between the council and street vendors sets the tone of this research's investigation.

2.9.2 Harare city council and vending

The HCC, since colonial times have not allowed illegal vending in the Harare CBD. By-laws have been passed in the pre and post independent Zimbabwe by the council to curtail vending in the streets of Harare CBD. The council's position had always been that the vending should remain within the designated areas.

Post-independence by-laws have perpetuated the colonial position on vendors. These by-laws include the Pushcart By-law which prohibits the pushcarts in the Harare CBD,

the Hawkers and Street Vending By-law 953 of 1978, its amendments 246 of 1982 and 57 of 1983 and the Harare Hawkers By-law of 2013 which restricts vending to holders of licences who should operate from designated areas and prohibits business of vending unless one is in possession of a valid hawker's license.

The license cost is prohibitive, pegged at US\$120 per annum and vendor associations such as ZCIEA, NAV and NVUZ have argued that the cost to be registered is exorbitant and is beyond most of the vendors, who are leading a hand-to-mouth life (Zimbabwean, 2014). Further, the by-laws have been accused of being restrictive, stipulating that no hawker shall remain stationary while conducting his or her business for more than 15 minutes. In addition, it prohibits the sale of all fresh produce and groceries in the CBD streets as well as making it illegal to vend from car boots. Council retains the right to refuse to issue or renew a hawker's license if in its opinion, the renewal or issuance would harmfully affect any existing trade or businesses carried out in the area.

The City of Harare has responded to the challenges brought about by street vending by evicting street vendors en-masse. A situation of running battles has characterised the relationship between vendors and the municipal police leading to vendor crack downs where the Municipal Police beat and arrested vendors as well as the leaders of NVUZ.

Some of the challenges faced by the Municipal Police include lack of manpower and at times have sought help from ZR) to help in removing the vendors from the CBD. The ZRP have resorted to evoke the Criminal Law Codification Reform Act of 2004 as the HCC police do not have arresting powers to effectively roll out a clean-up in the city and non-compliance by the vendors to designated areas. In 2016 and 2017, the

HCC opened new designated places for vending but there were no takers as vendors argued that the areas were far from the CBD hence there were no customers and would rather take their wares to where the customers are which is the CBD (Kadirire, 2016).

2.10 Summary

This chapter presented key arguments on street vending as propounded by various scholars. The major observation was that most works on street vending were discussed in isolation as there was a lack of analysis that was aimed at elaborating the relationship between street vending and their strategies for survival. This was also raised by Mitullah (2003), who stressed that studies conducted regarding street vending in Africa and elsewhere in the world have been inadequate and information available is largely deficient and locality specific. The dimension of extrapolating the strategies employed by street vendors to survive in the streets has minimal literature available. This study aimed to fill the gap as identified.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods that were employed in collecting and analysing data for this study. The chapter also discusses research procedures and protocols that were followed before and during data collection. The discussion is in line with Denzin and Lincoln (2003)'s assertion that it is the task of every researcher to identify the best methods to use before conducting a research. However, for the purposes of this research the researcher employed a mixed method in which the qualitative as well as the quantitative dimensions were employed.

3.2 Research design

According to Morse (2005), research design can be thought of as the structure of research. Tesch (2000) explained that development researchers have a wide choice of research design. The core types of methods that can be used are quantitative, comparative, triangulation, mixed methods and multiple methods. This study adopted a mixed method. It used the case study research design to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinion, motivations and insights in the phenomenon under study. Qualitative data collection using focus group discussions and one on one interviews was done for this research. Bryman (2001) defines qualitative research as a "research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data, it is inductivist, constructionist and interpretivist. The researcher considered the use of qualitative data methodology because of the need to gain an in-depth picture of the perceptions and experiences of vendors and key informants. Patton (2017) acknowledged interviews as one method of collecting qualitative data. Probes in interviews and focus group discussions yielded in-depth responses about people's

experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings and knowledge. This called for a closer association and the use of more non-structured and in-depth research approaches. During focus group discussions one could pick up the underlying understanding and emotions associated with the responses participants give. These could be as a result of personal experiences or by what they observed in the streets. The researcher had an opportunity to probe and seek clarity on ambiguous responses. At the end, information obtained was satisfactory and directly linked to the topic under study, thereby making it easier for the researcher to interpret easily and clear a lot of assumptions on the research topic.

Quantitative methods assisted the researcher to learn how many, how often and the extent to which the respondents agreed with a particular concept. Mouton (2005) argued that quantitative methods allow for replicability, generalisability and reliability on planning programmes. To emphasise Mouton's argument, Punch (2004) supported that quantitative data brings out the voices of the respondents and relates their minds to the study. Structured questions determined what proportion of the audience had certain opinions, behavioural intentions, attitudes to and knowledge of the research topic. Quantitative research assesses the extent to which policies on paper have been implanted. It allowed for comparability and assessment of claims as well as enabling the researcher to understand discrepancies.

Claire, Smith and Sithole (2015), established a list of the main advantages of mixed research. One of them is that the approach enables the researcher to record empirical evidence of what is happening to establish meaning rather than pursuing a particular hypothesis or an already established meaning. Therefore, this leads to new knowledge about a phenomenon under investigation. Mixed research also provides a more

accurate reflection of complex issues through in-depth inquiry. Mixed research is also used to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem. The study utilised the semi-structured interviews, passive observation method and structured questionnaires. The passive observation method is a method in which the researcher will just observe events happening without participating.

The quantitative method was mainly used to collect demographic data. The reason for collecting qualitative data is to allow meanings and findings to be elaborated, enhanced, clarified, confirmed, illustrated or linked as well as allowing for a greater diversity of views to inform and be reflected in the study. Interviews, questionnaires and observations were useful in triangulation for identifying aspects of a phenomenon more accurately by approaching it from different points using different methods and techniques.

3.3 Population

Claire, Smith and Sithole (2015), defined a research population as a collection of respondents who have relevant information for the study and from which outcomes are to be attained. On the other hand, Castells and Portes (1989) referred to population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications. According to ZimSat (2012) Harare urban area had a population of 1,485,231 people. This study focused on the CBD which has an estimate of 20,000 vendors operating in its streets. This study's population comprised of selected street vendors, selected Harare City Council officials and vendor association representatives from VISET, NAV and NVUZ.

3.4 Sample

The eligibility criteria for the research population was based on common characteristics of the study population and in this regard the common characteristic was vending. The main eligibility criterion for the population was that the participants had to be vendors operating in the Harare CBD. Purposeful sampling was used to select participants believed to have in-depth knowledge of the issue under study to select a sample of 60 participants comprising of 40 vendors, 15 ordinary citizens and 5 key informants, that is (1) official from the Housing and Community Services Department and (1) official within the Municipal Police Division and 3 representatives from Vendor Associations.

3.5 Research instruments

The researcher adopted a mixed approach and used semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, non-participative and observation to collect primary and secondary data.

3.6 Data collection procedure

This research used primary data that was collected through interviews, questionnaires, observations and data from newspapers, journal articles and books. The researcher adopted purposive, snowballing, convenience and stratified random sampling, sampling techniques to select council officials and members of the vendors associations. Convenience sampling method was used to collect data using the vendors available on that particular day when the research was in the field collecting data.

3.6.1 Sampling procedures

It was impossible for the researcher to include the views of all members of the population. Therefore, a sample was used so that only part of the population was

approached and consulted for data collection. The advantage of using a sample is that it requires less time and financial resources.

3.6.2 Non-probability sampling

Non-Probability sampling is when the probability of including each element of the population in a sample is unknown, it does not give them equal opportunities for selection. This procedure can provide valuable information but the results when properly constructed can be generalised and representative to a larger population. In this regard, the researcher used purposive sampling, convenience and snowball sampling techniques targeting vendors, vendors associations and council officials.

The major advantages of non-probability sampling techniques discussed above include saving time and money and also helps guarantee maximum participation from the willing participants. Furthermore, non-probability sampling techniques enable the researcher to only concentrate on areas and participants who provide the most consistent and appropriate information related to the study. This reduces the risk of incorporating elements with limited knowledge about issues under investigation. This is normally a risk associated with probability sampling that tries to give an equal chance to every component including those with limited knowledge about issues under study. However, the main drawback of this technique is that it is difficult to assess whether or not the study's findings can be applied to the larger population.

- **Purposive sampling**

Claire, Smith and Sithole (2015) defined purposive sampling as a method where subjects are selected because of some characteristics that are relevant to the study. It is also known as judgmental sampling. The method was used to select elements to discuss the strategies allowing the vendors to survive in the CBD in Harare. This

method was based on the researcher's judgment regarding what should be included and what ought to be left out. Furthermore, the method was used to select vendors, council officials and members of the vendors associations. Purposive sampling therefore ensured that the sample size was not too large to enable researcher to extract data at the same time was not too small that to achieve data saturation. In terms of selecting the study population, purposive sampling was used by choosing busy streets vending avenue.

- **Snowball sampling**

Claire, Smith and Sithole (2015), highlighted that snowball sampling which is sometimes known as the chain sampling involves the use of a respondent who is also connected with people of the same interest on the issue being investigated and would then contact them for purposes of providing information to the research. In other words, one respondent is used to connect with other elements within the target population which the researcher does not have immediate access to. The researcher used respondents whom the researcher had amicable relations with to source out other vendors. The procedure provided this researcher with the opportunity to reach out to elements within the target population who became suspicious when researcher went to source their comments herself.

- **Convenience sampling**

Convenience sampling enabled the researcher to select those participants who were available and likely to participate (Castells & Portes, 1989). Bromley (2002), indicates that essentially, individuals who are the most ready, willing, and able to participate in the study are the ones who are selected to participate. This method was used by the researcher to recruit participants for the research before interviewing them. The

researcher visited the selected research sites to recruit willing participants by informing them about the research and explaining what it entails.

3.6.4 Probability sampling

This type of sampling technique involves a selection process in which each element has in the population an equal chance of being selected. The selection of the elements is meant to make the results of the inquiry to be representative of the population and can be highly generalised. There are two types of probability sampling namely, random sampling and stratified sampling that will be used.

- **Stratified random sampling**

Stratified Random Sampling involves dividing the target population into representative sub-population on the basis of variables such as gender, education, political affiliation among others depending on their importance to the study (Claire, et al, 2015). Notably, the researcher divided selected respondents into representative samples basing on their gender, type of wares they sell and age for purposes of getting their views survival strategies. To increase validity and reliability, stratified random sampling was combined with systematic random sampling technique where upon a sample of street vendors were selected by ensuring that every tenth vendor was selected from the target population.

3.6.5 Data collection methods

Gerrish *et al* (2008), emphasised that it is important to establish correct methods to address the research purpose and answer the research questions. The methods of data gathering employed in this research were based on the aims of the study and the depth of inquiry required and to locate all relevant information related to the topic under study. Available literature shows that there is an array of data collection methods

available, however this study made use of structured and unstructured interviews, direct observation, focus groups and questionnaires. The main tools for the collection of primary data were interviews, direct observation and questionnaires. These were all administered in the Harare Central Business District. For secondary research, the study employed literature review by analysing the content of published studies that documented street vendor activities in the country. These included journal articles, documentary reviews, newspaper articles, government publication material and other resources from the internet.

- **Structured, Unstructured and Semi- structured Interviews**

According to Chikoko and Mhloyi (1995) an interview is a broad term that refers to a process of gathering information by the interviewer from the interviewee through posing questions. Interviews can be structured, unstructured and semi structured and the researcher used the three types of interviews to increase the reliability and validity of information gathered from the purposive sample of government officials, representatives of vendors association and vendors. The weaknesses of one form of interview were stridden over by the strength of the other interview type.

A two tier-interview slant was conducted with key informants; one targeting street vendors and another targeting government authorities that deal with street vendors particularly the Harare City Council officials and key informants from vendor associations. Key informant interviews according to Marvasti (2004) are qualitative in- depth interviews with people who know what is going on in a community. The interview sessions involved face to face questions and answers exercise between the researcher and the interviewees. The interviews enabled the discovery of different aspects related to the respondents. They allowed, for instance the collection of both

verbal and non-verbal information from the respondents. Interviews also deepen understanding about people's experiences.

The interviews enabled the discovery of different perspectives related to the topic under study. They allowed, for instance the collection of independent and expert commentary from authorities and other stakeholders who were well informed about the activities of vendors and this provided additional critical information. In addition to this, interviews also deepened the researcher's understanding of the issue under investigation through in-depth knowledge seeking from responsible authorities. Thus, it is a good method for intensive investigation. Interviews also enable the researcher to be in control in terms of data gathering and coding as well as the response rate. The response rate was also reliable compared to that of questionnaires. However, the only major drawback of this technique was that it was time consuming since most of the key informants were employed personal. So, reaching them was difficult due to bureaucratic procedures and 'limited time' on their sides.

- **Observation**

Through observations, the researcher was able to directly or indirectly collect data with the subject knowing or unaware that they being observed. This involved collecting data through continuous observation. Analysis of the information gathered was done through descriptive observations whereby the researcher simply wrote down what was observed as well as evaluative observation which involved making inferences and a judgment based on the observations.

- **Questionnaires**

Questionnaires are instruments used for collecting data in survey research. They usually include a set of standardized questions that explore a specific topic and collect information about demographics, opinions, attitudes, or behaviors (Statistics Canada, 2003). Questionnaires helped the researcher to solicit data from street vendors in chosen research sites. The main advantages of questionnaires according to Patton (1990) include that questionnaires enable the researcher to reach a wider population and in this case street vendors. Additionally, because of the nature of the work of street vendors which requires vendors to be always on high alert and attentive, questionnaires were a flexible way for both the researcher and interviewees. Thus, respondents were able to attend to the questionnaires at their own times when they were not busy.

- **Focus Groups**

Those participants who were not able to spare time to answer the questionnaire and those who were illiterate were engaged in the focus group. Focus group allowed vendors to participate freely and to express their views. However, by nature of vendors during discussions some vendors joined in and some left before the end of the discussion.

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis was done carefully and critically as it is important in the research because it assembles all the information in the survey and makes sense out of it. Kruger (2000) stated that analysis of data derived from focus group discussions should use an inductive process. This is a process in which understanding of issues is based on the discussion as opposed to testing or confirming a preconceived hypothesis or theory. The analysis included an in-depth study of the events, experiences and topic in order to describe the context of the experience as was informed by the focus group

discussions. The researcher was aware of the complexities in analysing qualitative data. To counter these, the data was grouped in categories and an objective analysis was done. This was meant to ensure that the analysis process was systematic and verifiable.

A mixed methods approach of both qualitative and quantitative techniques was used for data presentation and analysis. The study used both narrative and content analysis to analyse the data that was gathered. The data obtained from the interviewees was analysed through narrative analysis, while data obtained from the documents was analysed through content analysis. The data was read and examined carefully and presented in the form of tables and charts. The data was then presented in a descriptive summary of what the interviewees had said. The researcher classified similar responses to merge them into themes and categories. This helped the researcher to examine the interview transcripts and documentary notes before identifying the pattern and organising the data into categories.

3.8 Ethical ethics

Ethics is defined as a set of moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity (Wakefield, 2014). Leathard and McLaren (2007) stated that ethics define moral principles and philosophies which determine what is good for individuals and society. Newell and Burnard (2011) stipulated that there are various ethical issues which arise in almost all research. For example, is the study in question worth doing or is the participant in the study going to be harmed? These are the questions to answer before conducting any research. To ensure adherence to ethical procedures, the researcher upheld several ethical guidelines. As Babbie (2008), stated social scientists like any other group have agreed on codes of conduct while carrying

out research. This involves a requirement for researchers to be aware of the general agreements shared by researchers about what is proper and improper in the conduct of scientific inquiry (Babbie, 2008).

Marshall (1998) defined research ethics as the application of moral rules and professional codes of conduct to the collection, analysis, reporting and publication of information about research subjects, in particular active acceptance of subjects' right to privacy, confidentiality, and informed consent. The principle of research ethics applies to all types of research. This study adhered to all appropriate ethical agreements for social researchers which include confidentiality, voluntary participation, no harm to the participants and disclosure of limitations of the analysis and reporting. The following research ethics were considered during the study:

- **Confidentiality**

Confidentiality pertains to the treatment of information that an individual has disclosed in a relationship of trust and with the expectation that it will not be divulged to others without permission in ways that are inconsistent with the understanding of the original disclosure (Babbie, 2008). It also guarantees confidentiality when the researcher can identify a given person's identity but promises not to do so publicly (Babbie, 2008). The questionnaire survey was self-administered to the respondents and indicated clearly that the participation is on voluntary basis. Where there was face to face contact in interviews with key respondents, they were interviewed only because they agreed voluntarily to participate and were informed that they could choose to terminate the interview at any stage (Talerico, 2012). The study took into consideration confidentiality effectively protecting the identity of the respondents by

avoiding the use of names or identifiers while compiling the report. There was no incentive or reward given to participants.

- **Professional integrity and responsibility**

Integrity and responsibility may be defined as active adherence to the ethical principles and professional standards essential for the responsible practices of research. Active adherence means the adoption of principles and practices as a personal credo, not simply accepting them as impositions by rule makers.

Ethical principles refer to honesty, the golden rule, trustworthiness and high regard for scientific record (Stanley & Karenman, 2006). In this study, the researcher acknowledged the contribution of other academics and sources of data used, followed all relevant laws on privacy and disclosure and worked towards the best possible data quality and integrity. In addition, the researcher adhered to appropriate data security.

3.8.3 The right to privacy

Protecting research participants' right to privacy requires respect for their autonomy, their right to self-determination, as well as their general welfare. The evaluation of privacy involves consideration of how the researcher accesses information from or about potential participants. It is against this background that the researcher ensured that the privacy of the respondents, who provided data to the researcher, was respected in such a way that data was only collected during the time when the vendors were working in the CBD and questionnaires did not require personal details so this protected the subject's right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

3.9 Summary

This chapter examined the broader approach used in conducting the study including the various aspects of the data gathering process. It explored the research approach, the methods used in conducting data gathering and analysis. This chapter also discussed the ethical considerations that guided the conduct of this study. Finally, the chapter provided justification for the methods used in generating results presented and analysed in Chapter 4 that follows.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study was an exploration of the confusion and disorder in the Harare CBD attributed to the presence of street vendors. The objectives of the study were to investigate reasons street vendors in the Harare CBD do not adhere to municipal by-laws, explore survival strategies employed by street vendors in the Harare CBD to evade municipal by-laws, establish causes and impacts of vending in the Harare CBD. The previous chapter focused on the methodology used to gather data and this chapter emphasizes on the presentation of data as well as analysis of the data. The findings are therefore based on the views of vendors, the HCC, vendors' association groups and citizens. The study used a mixed approach. The mixed analysis largely concentrated on quantitative, thematic analysis and interpretation of statistical extrapolations. The data is illustrated in Figures and Tables for easy interpretation.

4.2 Section A: Social and Demographic Background Information

This section addressed the background variables that captured the respondents' social and demographic characteristics. The research target population was 60 participants but only 50 respondents participated. The 50 respondents who participated consisted of 36 vendors, 10 ordinary citizens and 4 key informants. The response rate for all data gathering methods used (interviews, questionnaires and focus groups) was 83%. However, of the 36 vendors who participated in the study, 12 were approached through questionnaires and structured interviews while the other 24 were engaged in two focus groups consisting of 12 vendors per group, 4 key informants were examined through

structured interviews and questionnaires were administered on 10 citizens from all walks of life.

4.2.1 Response rate of participants

The research had targeted 40 vendors, 5 key informants and 15 ordinary people. Table 1 and Fig 1 shows that the highest response rate to the actual population that responded was 72% from the vendors, followed by ordinary citizens with 20%, while the lowest response was recorded on key informants 8%.

Although the targeted number of 5 key informants was not achieved, 4 responded hence the low response in the key informants was attributed to the fact that the number of key informants engaged was smaller compared to the other groups engaged with respect to the actual respondents that participated.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Respondents	Targeted respondents	Actual respondents	Percentage
Vendors	40	36	72%
Key informants	5	4	8%
Citizens	15	10	20%
Total	60	50	100%

N = 50

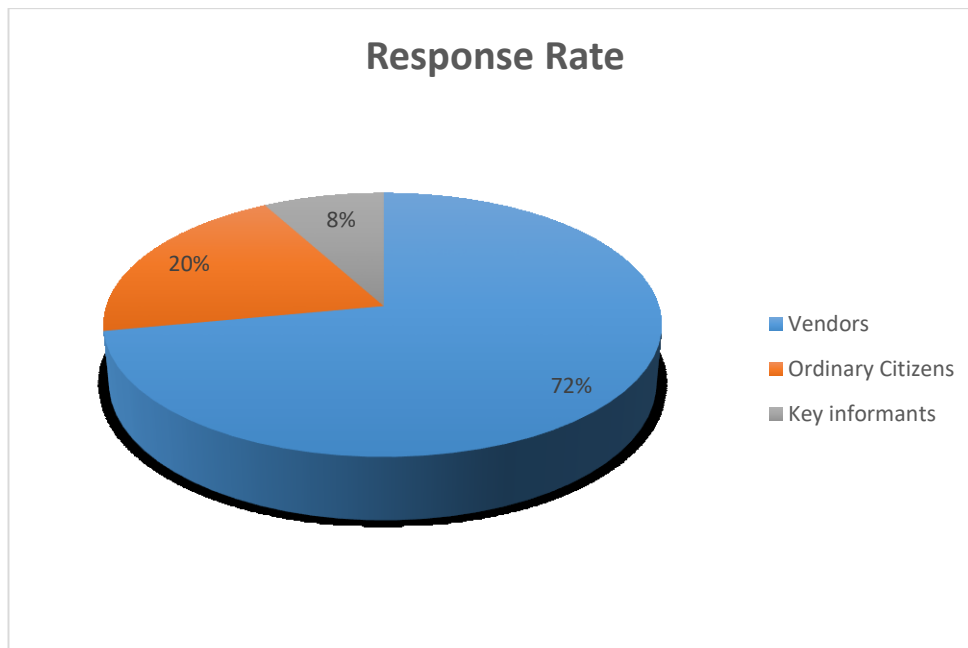


Fig 4.1: Response Rate

The high response rate from vendors may be explained by the fact that focus group discussions were initiated on the streets while the vendors were waiting for customers and they welcomed the discussion as it gave them something to do rather than sitting doing nothing. The focus group discussions on vendors contributed to the highest response rate, this can be attributed to the fact that this cluster had the highest number of target respondents. Furthermore, the focus groups started with 12 participants each but other participants left because they had to move around to sell their wares.

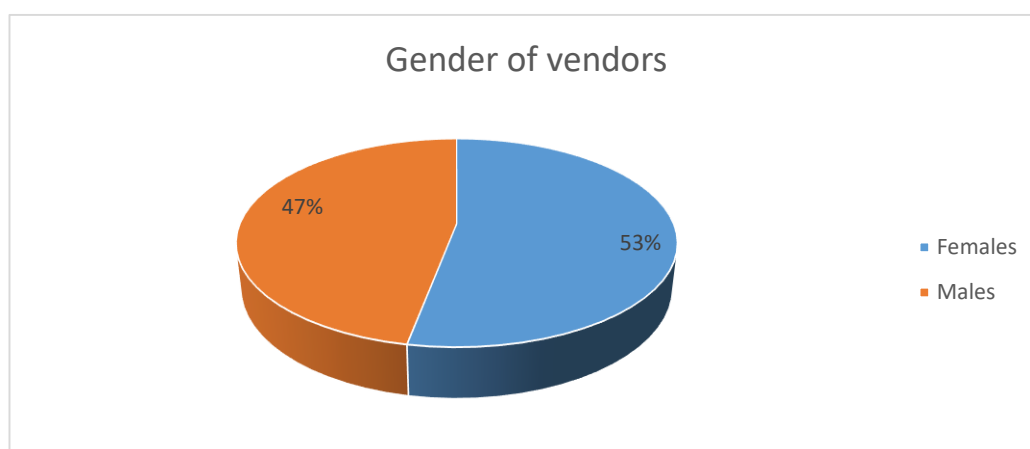
However, during the focus group discussions other vendors and even passers byes who were not part of the original group joined the discussion and left midway to do their business. Although the groups at times had more than 12 participants the researcher was in control of the discussions and managed to probe for more information from participants who seemed to enjoy the cover of the group.

4.2.2 Presentation of gender status of vendors

Table 4.2

Gender status of respondents		
Gender	Respondents	Percentage
Females	19	53%
Males	17	47%
Total	36	100%

N=36



Fig

4.2 Gender status of vendors

Notably, 53% of the vendors were females and 49% of the participants were males. It was observed that the majority were females who risk vending than males probably because of their biological make up. Males are bread winners and they tolerate hardships associated with manual work while traditionally women resorted to vending to support families. Furthermore, it can be argued that vending was women's calling taking into consideration that the patriarchal society in Africa promoted males over females. In this regard males had opportunities to attend school while females were left uneducated and as a result ended up in vending in which there are no educational qualifications needed. However, the data shows that men's numbers in the vending business is increasing as there is some manual work available and maybe in the future men will overtake women in the business.

4.2.3 Vendors' marital status

Out of the actual vendor respondents, 47% of them were single parents, 28% were married, and 25% were never been married. Respondents indicated that poverty is a factor that pushes individuals to the streets. Traditionally, vending was dominated by single parents but the marital status of this study indicated that married and those who have never been married have joined and might overtake the statistics of single parents in the vending trade. This indicates that due to the hard economic environment prevailing, families and single people have resorted to vending.

Table 4.3 Vendors' marital status

Marital status	Respondents	Percentage %
Single Parents	17	47
Married	10	28
Never been married	9	25
Totals	36	100

N=36

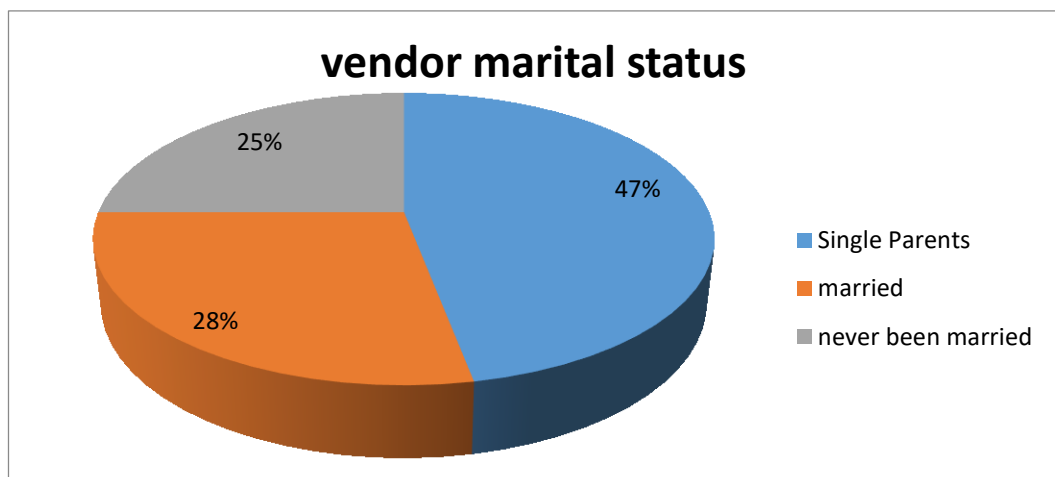


Fig 4.3 Vendor marital status

From the gathered data, it was evident that most individuals flocked to the streets to attain a form of livelihood are single parents. Other respondents indicated that they

were formerly employed but were also engaged in activities in the informal economy so as to supplement the earnings obtained from the formal economy.

4.2.4 Distribution of vendor participants by age

The study also considered age by asking respondents to indicate their years of birth category. Age is important in explaining the patterns in vending. Older people are expected to embrace vending easily as opposed to youthful ones who would be expected to be employed in the formal sector. The findings as captured in Table 4.4 and Fig 4.4 show that the highest number of respondents were aged between 32-38 years with 31% and 28% were aged between 25-31 years. The majority which was 67% of the respondents were under 38 years hence it can be concluded that young people are more into vending than old people.

Table 4.4 Distribution of vendor participation by age

Age Group	Vendor Respondents	Percentage
18-24	3	8%
25-31	10	28%
32-38	11	31%
39-45	7	19%
46-52	3	8%
+53	2	6%
TOTAL	36	100%

N=36

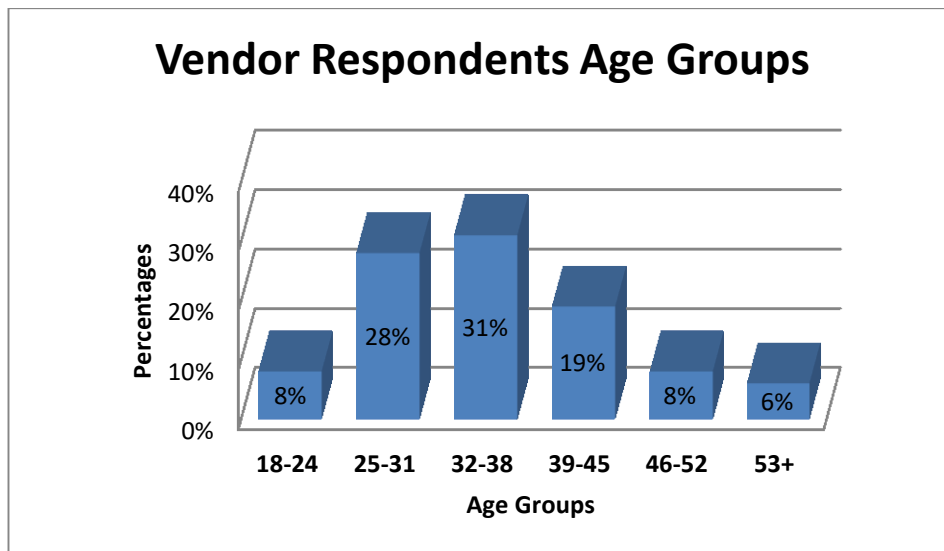


Fig 4.4

Distribution of vendor participation by age

4.2.5 Educational background of the vendors

Most of the respondents were literate and able to converse with the researcher well. Of the 36 vendors who contributed to this study, 33% had attained secondary school education, 67% had attained tertiary education. To note is that of all participants none had primary or no education at all. This can be noted as a change in the vending patterns in which traditionally the activity was the domain of the uneducated or those who only attained primary education.

The current pattern points to the fact that vendors in Harare are part of the educated crop. Various views pointed to one common direction that individuals flock to the streets in search of a better livelihood thus increasing the proliferation rate of street vending.

Tertiary education for the purpose of this study refers to college and university education while secondary education refers to academic learning. Further information will be elucidated as the chapter unfolds. The distribution is shown in the table 4.5 and fig 4.5 below:

Table 4.5 Educational background of the vendors

Age Group	Vendor Respondents	SECONDARY EDUCATION	TERTIARY EDUCATION
18-24	3	3	0
25-31	10	4	6
32-38	11	3	8
39-45	7	1	6
46-52	3	1	2
+53	2	0	2
TOTAL	36	12 (33%)	24 (67%)

N=36

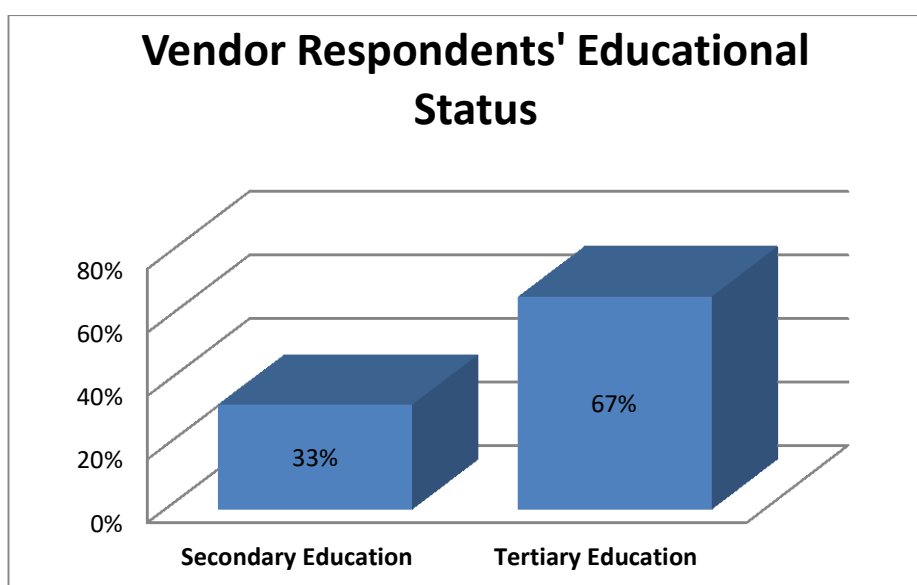


Fig 4.5 Educational background of the vendors

The data indicates that Harare city has poverty that is protracted and unrelenting. It has made a generation impotent; it has created a situation where it has destroyed the future of at least six generations. Two generations have been directly affected by economic implosion and these have nothing to pass to the next generation except poverty and dependency. The poor families are likely to remain poor at the same time increasing inequality in the society as the poor would likely remain where they are at the moment.

4.3 Section B: Nature and causes of vending and proliferation

This study investigated street vending activities in the Harare CBD as the selected site (geographical location) in this study as indicated earlier in Chapter 3. The investigation established that the main activities of street vending in the Harare CBD are characterised by packed pavements in the streets as vendors lined up and clogged the sidewalks displaying different wares ranging from clothing, toys, groceries and cosmetics to vegetables and fruits. Hundreds of vendors were tightly packed in the pavements as they set up their intricate web of businesses that were dealing with a variety of products and services in every inch of the Harare CBD and others selling from their car booth and some using pushcarts. Rusvingo (2015) expounded that the continuous proliferation of street vending in Harare is catalysed by the prevailing economic situation, political utterances and other social issues.

4.3.1 Products/services on the streets

Diversity fundamentally characterised the nature of products that determined the economy of the proliferation of street vending in the Harare CBD. From the focus group discussions held, both the structured data gathering methods used in the study established that street vendors were selling a variety of products. The vendors operating along the avenue under study included the stationary vendors who sell from the pavements and those who move around operating pushcarts. Stationary vendors sell a variety of small items like Jiggies chips, sweets, kids' panties, grocery items, cosmetics, vegetables and cigarettes among others while pushcarts sell vegetables in season, like: fresh mushroom, carrots, vegetables and tomatoes as well as fruits such as apples and bananas. Some pushcart vendors roast and sell green mealies while on the run. Thus, the majority of vendors were selling a wide range of products from

household commodities to clothing, different types of vegetables, toothpaste, soap, cooking oil, sugar and cooked food.

The study also established that during night vendors were selling cooked food, particularly maize, boiled eggs while others were using gas or charcoal-powered grilling pans to cook chicken livers, gizzards, feet and pap on the streets for sale. It has been discovered by the study that vendors sell a variety of goods to maximise on the profits and to lure different customers. The sale of many products by a vendor helps customers to shop different goods from one vendor. One vendor interviewed noted that the variety of goods are “one stop shops on the street”.

Table 4.6 Common types of Products/services sold by vendors on the streets

Products	Number of respondents selling the products
Medicine	20
Grocery items	30
Clothing	25
Toys	32
Fruits and Vegetables	27
Cooked food	12
Electronic gadgets	20

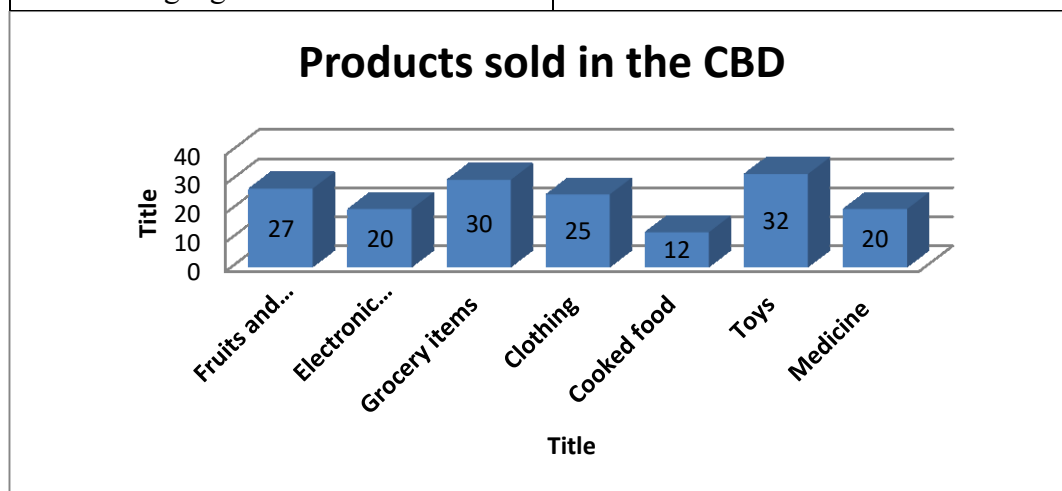


Fig 4.6 Common types of Products/services sold by vendors on the streets

Of the products sold on the streets by vendors, toys are the most product sold on the streets. Vendors prefer selling toys because they are non-perishable, affordable and easy to hide in case of raids. Grocery items are the second most popular products. The grocery items include cooking oil, soap and toothpaste among others.

According to a vendor from Budiro, grocery items are competitive on the street because they are less expensive than in the shops and at times vendors sell quantities that cannot be found in shops, for example 250g of repackaged cooking oil. It should be noted that people from the streets can buy products that are only enough for one meal and do so again and again. This is so because most of the people are living from hand to mouth and cannot afford to buy groceries that last for a month or even a week.

The vendor noted that vendors who are also cross borders traders bring grocery items as part of their household items under the stipulated rebate quarter and as such do not attract duty payment since it will be considered for household use hence the reason why they sell them cheaply on the streets. Vegetables/tomatoes were mentioned 27 times, thereby making them third popular product on sale in the streets, followed by second hand clothing 25, electronic gadgets and medicine at 20 times each while cooked food was the least traded products on the streets.

The cooked food products came last, this can be attributed to the fact that those who sell food use pushcarts and it is difficult to evade municipal police while pushing the pushcart. Besides evading arrest, illegal cooked food selling attracts a huge fine because of the dangers of food poison attached to food handling.

Medicine products were in the form of both traditional and pharmaceutical medicines. However, some vendors were selling counterfeit medication. Some of the

pharmaceutical health medication included family planning and sex enhancing pills, lightening creams such as diproson and carolite and painkillers like paracetamol. The majority of traditional medicines were mostly sexual aids and lucky charms.

4.3.2 Reasons why people vend as presented by respondents

However, in terms of the vendors' personal circumstances leading to the proliferation of street vending, the study established that the the failure of the learned citizens to get employment within the formal economic sector pushed them outward towards the informal sector so that they can be able to fend for their families. Other causes mentioned are bad economy, inconsistent government policies, politics and availability of cheap products on the parallel market. Participants on the question gave multiple reasons and the number of reasons mentioned was noted by the researcher.

Table 4.7 Reasons for selling products/services in the street

Reasons for vending	Participants who responded
Unemployment	50
Government Policies	30
Politics	42
Easy of Entry	36
Availability of cheap products on the parallel market	25
Profit associated with vending	20

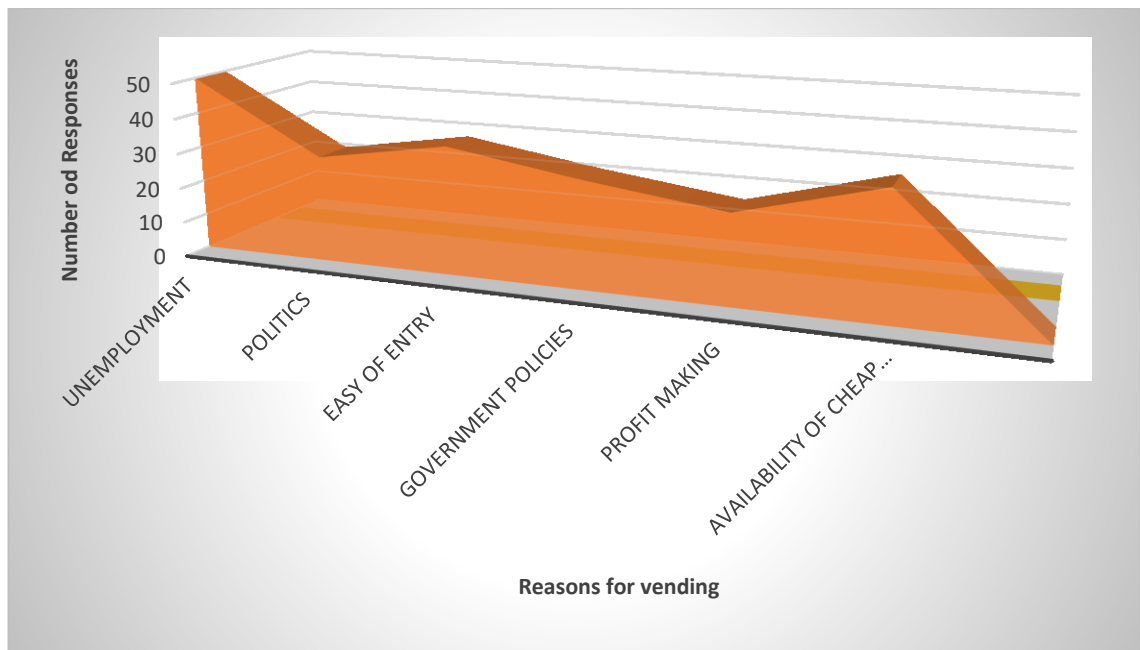


Fig 4.7 Reasons for selling products/services in the street

Table 4.7 and Fig 4.7 above provide the statistical outcome from focus group discussions, questionnaires and views of key informants who blamed the economy and unemployment as the major macro-level causes behind the proliferation of street vending. As shown in Figure 4.7, ‘unemployment’ was mentioned 50 times in the responses of 50 who actually participated in the research.

Politics appeared 42 times, easy of entry 36 times, poor government policies 30 times, availability of cheap products on parallel market 25 times and the need for high profit was mentioned 20 times by the 50 participants who participated.

However, in terms of ‘Other’ reasons participants gave reasons such as the low cost of vending and supplementing income for those working to help sustain families. One participant, the advocacy officer of Harare Residents Trust pointed out that the increase of vendors in the city was clear evidence of a “failed economy and inability by the government to provide jobs”.

4.4 Section C: Vending and municipal by-laws

This section looks at issues that link the municipal by-laws and vending activities in the CBD.

4.4.1 Adherence to municipal by-laws

Participants engaged indicated that the vending activities in the streets of the Harare CBD were not being conducted in line with the by-laws. All participants agreed that if the activities were in line with the by-laws then vendors would not be found on the streets by rather found only in designated areas.

Of note is that 60% of the respondents found on the streets after 1700 hours said that they were licensed vendors who have deserted their places of work to capitalize on the absence of municipal police who had closed for the day and the passersby who would had clocked off work on their way home. The license holders feared losing their licenses if they were caught operating from undesignated areas, hence, they flocked the streets at night. However, the majority of vendors operating during day time did not have licenses.

The question why vendors do not adhere to Municipal by-laws was administered to the whole population that is the vendors, key informants and ordinary citizens who participated in the research. Vending by law is illegal and when asked why vendors do not adhere to municipal by-laws participants noted that it is costly to pay to council for legalisation, the process is cumbersome, low number of markets to accommodate all vendors, lack of market infrastructure, the location of the markets and high profit. Below is the table 8 and Fig 8 indicating why vendors do not adhere to Municipal by-laws?

Table 4.8 Reasons for non-adherence to municipal by-laws

Reasons for non-adherence	Number of respondents	Percentage
It is costly	14	28%
The process is cumbersome	8	16%
Low numbers of markets	4	8%
Lack of market infrastructure	6	12%
High profit	5	10%
Locations of markets	12	24%
Non response	1	2%
Totals	50	100%

N=50

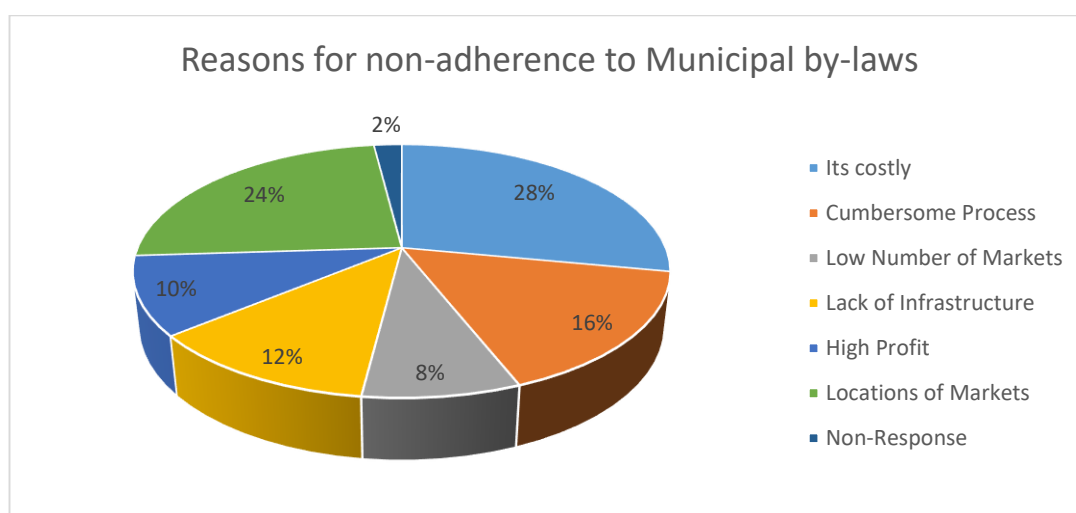


Fig 4.8 Reasons for non-adherence to municipal by-laws

The cost of regularisation is the number one reason why vendors evade municipal by-laws with 28%, followed by reason that the location of the council market stalls at 24% which respondents lament is too far from the buying crowds, then process to regularise is long and cumbersome at 16%, lack of market infrastructure with 12%, maximizing profits with 10%, and the low number of markets at 8%. Vendors lament that Harare City Council does not have enough market sites and infrastructure to accommodate the ever-increasing number of vendors that are entering the trade daily.

4.5 Section D: Survival strategies

4.5.1 Challenges faced by vendors on the streets and how they deal with such

On challenges facing vendors in conducting their business, respondents pointed out that the main challenge was the municipal police who at times rope in the ZRP to chase them away from the streets. Other challenges mentioned were too much competition as it brings down the prices of goods and products being sold on the streets. In order to survive on the streets most vendors admitted to engage in unethical means to make the numbers. For example, one vendor admitted that he tempers around with the scale such that he sells 600 grams of tomatoes as 1 kilo gram. They also noted that they face challenges of ablution facilities and water points leaving most of them resorting to using alleys to relief themselves.

4.5.2 Strategies used by vendors to evade council

This study established that vendors use different tactics to evade municipal raids. These tactics range from whistling by other vendors to signal the impending raid, bribing the municipal officials, running away and disappearing into the crowd, carrying the sale ware as if one is carrying a baby and hiding the sale wares in water drainage pipes or toilets.

Table 4.9 Strategies used by vendors to evade council

Tactics	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Whistling	9	25%
Bribe	8	23%
Running away	7	19%
Carrying wares on the back	5	14%
Hiding wares	7	19%
Total	36	100%

N=36

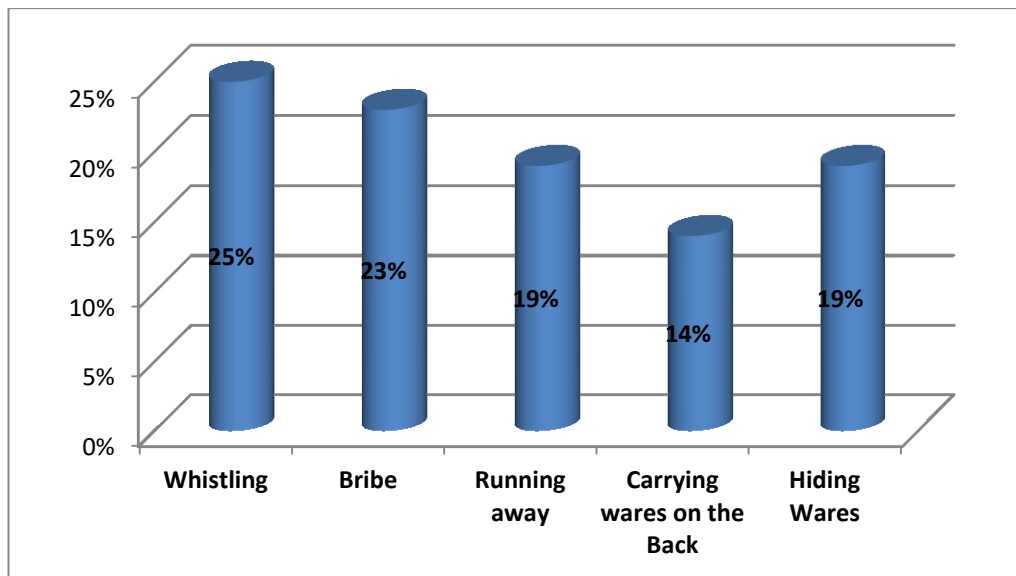


Fig 4.9 Tactics used by vendors

The study established that the main tactic used to evade municipal officials are whistling (25%), bribing municipal police (23%), running away (19%), hiding ware (19%), carrying wares the back like a baby (14%).

4.6 Section E: Impacts of street vending

This section covers both the negative and positive impacts of street vending in the CBD.

4.6.1 Respondent’s perception on the impact of street vending

Table and figure 10 below show both the positive and negative impacts of street vending. The general positive perception was that vending creates employment. Although it was general discovered that vending creates employment the downside of vending was the collapse of formal businesses. In other words, vending collapses formal businesses while create employment in the informal sector. Collapse of the formal economy means that council loses revenue and will in turn impact on its service delivery. Table 4.10 and Fig 4.10 illustrates the impacts of vending.

Table 4.10 Respondent’s perception on the impact of street vending

Impacts	Number of Respondents	Percentages
Diseases Outbreak	11	22
Collapse of Formal economy	9	18
Possibility of civil unrest	10	20
Unsafe Environment for other citizens (crimes)	8	16
Creation of Employment	12	24
Totals	50	100%

N=50

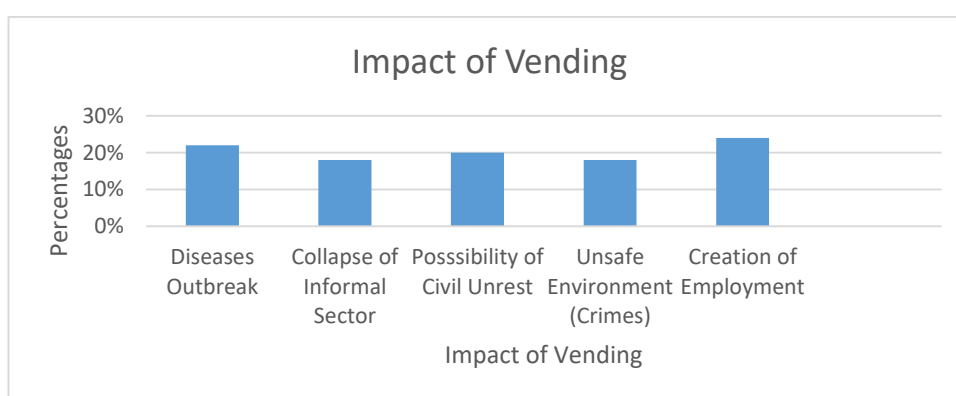


Fig 4.10 Respondent’s perception on the impact of street vending

Employment creation was cited as the top impact of vending with 24%, disease outbreaks 22%, possibility of civil unrest 20% the prospects of vendors participating in street political demonstrations, collapse of formal economy 18% and unsafe environment for other citizens 16% were mentioned by respondents. Under unsafe environment respondents mentioned issues such as confusion, disorder in the Harare CBD and rising crime within the Harare CBD and Harare losing its sunshine city status.

4.7 ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.7.1 Introduction

This section will discuss the research findings in detail. The study sought to explore the survival strategies employed by street vendors to survive in the streets of Harare CBD. The section below will interpret the data that was presented in the previous chapter. Interpretation of data will give meaning to the data captured from the research. Through the use of tables and graphs the data was presented and the findings were established which are presented below.

4.7.2 Section B: The causes of street vending in the Harare CBD

4.7.3 Political causes

There was growing belief among respondents that politics and massive power contestation between the main political parties: ZANU PF and MDC-T and its western regime change peddlers was a key variable that caused the proliferation of street vending in Harare's CBD. The researcher noted that the political divide was evident on the ground with MDC-T vendor supporters vending along Nelson Mandela Avenue, the Avenue in which MDC-T headquarters, Morgan Tsvangirai House is situated, while ZANU PF vendor supporters were mostly found along Fourth Street where the ZANU PF Harare Province Headquarters is situated. These vendors enjoy the protection of the Harvest house and ZANU PF offices. In a structured telephone interview, a political scientist and a Lecturer at the Bindura University of Science Education who preferred anonymity said that Street vending in the Harare CBD has reached unprecedented alarming levels and this proliferation of street vending is unique in that it was given the impetus by broad polarised political forces pitting ZANU PF against MDC-T.

The vending stalls are divided into two hostile camps namely ZANU PF and MDC T and each party creates and sponsors its own vendors for political expedience ahead of each general election. He further noted that it has become a public secret that the even foreign embassies in Zimbabwe were responsible for sponsoring vendors to operate in the Harare CBD with a view to creating an impression of delirium, lack of governance and rule of law.



Fig 4.11 Vendors holding a placard suggesting that they will exercise their voting rights in 2018 elections after they were removed from the streets. Source: *Kells* <https://zimetro.com/we-will-meet-in-2018-vendors/> retrieved 30-05-19

Notably, most of the vendors who participated confessed that they belonged to either ZANU PF or MDC-T and that political affiliation was the passport to owning a vending stall or vending space in the various flea market stalls dotted around the CBD. Some participants acknowledged that some foreign embassies were responsible for sponsoring MDC T vendors with finances to purchase second hand clothes and sell them in the streets of Harare CBD. It can be deduced that foreign embassies wanted to use the issue of vendors as a political trump-card intended to achieve two objectives

namely: to create a delirious situation through causing the proliferation of the vendors in the Harare CBD and also to provoke the government to react in a heavy handed manner to the attempt to litter the streets with illegal vendors.

Important to note was that, in either of the two (2) scenarios, the regime change agenda and its adjuncts would accuse the ZANU PF led government of lack of good governance and human rights abuse. Furthermore, during a focus group discussion, the majority of vendors who were sympathetic to ZANU PF believed that the MDC-T formation which is in control of most city and town councils in the country including the Harare City Council had a hand behind the proliferation of street vending.

A male vendor in the group discussion commented that vendors know each other and so as the city officials responsible for allocation of stalls know their people and as such even if one follows proper channels one will not get vending stalls if the powers that be suspect that you do not belong to them or the party in control of allocations. The argument behind this belief was that the MDC-T led Harare City Council has been parceling out vending stalls to its party members in order to win their loyalty and support ahead of general elections and those belonging to other political parties resorted to selling from undesignated areas hence the proliferation of vendors in the Harare CBD.

During a workshop on vendors attended by this researcher, sharing on his experience former Mayor of Harare pointed out that eliminating vending from undesignated sites would be extremely difficult because aside from the economic need, there was political influence on the vendors. The ZANU PF government had allowed vendors into the streets noting that it was empowerment as there were jobs and during the 2013 elections had promised to create two million jobs. Respondents aligned to MDC-T

indicated that it was actually ZANU PF officials who were defying Harare City Council by-laws by creating undesignated areas for their party members to vend and in the process cause the proliferation of vending. They noted that in 2016, the then First lady occasionally chided police and the City Council for harassing vendors and recognized street vending as a new form of earning a living. The then first lady's solidarity with the vendors triggered a massive influx of vendors into the streets. He added that ZANU PF sort of legalised vending to garner support for the party as vending absorbs the unemployed.

Therefore, the political imperative behind the proliferation of street vending stems from the fear from both ZANU PF and MDC-T of angering the urban electorate knowing that their attitudes towards the vendors will have an impact on the election results. In this regard, the two political parties were extremely cautious in their approach to the issue of vending as vendors are viewed as critical in the voting matrix and anyone who has a lion's share in terms of their control has high chances of attracting urban votes. Thus, MDC-T vendors believed that ZANU PF was using the street vending gambit to counter the MDC-T in order to win urban support in elections.

The focus group participants concurred that MDC-T was not also left out in the proliferation of vendors in the CBD. The ZANU PF sympathizers pointed that MDC-T had somehow given authority to its supporters to establish a myriad of stalls near the MDC-T headquarters. Notably, it came out from the focus group discussion that some of the stalls around the MDC-T headquarters are engaged in the business of selling MDC-T regalia and paraphernalia. The street vendors who engage in vending activities around the MDC-T headquarters are given authority by MDC T and not council, to do

so and in return the vendors perform the function of being sentinels to the MDC T headquarters building and the MDC T cars parked at the headquarters.

4.7.4 Illegal sanctions and deterioration of the economy

The general picture presented from the responses by both vendors and key informants was that one of the factors behind the proliferation of street vending was largely as a result of the economic meltdown, unbridled levels of corruption that eat into the fiscus and the ever-ballooning unemployment rate. Participants in a focus group discussion highlighted that the proliferation of street vending in the CBD is an indication of the backlashes of illegal sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by Britain and its allies in the West. This was at the turn of the millennium following the LRP that a part of efforts to correct skewed land ownership which favoured the minority whites. In this regard and as a result of the embargo, the country cannot access lines of credit, making it difficult to operate a modern economy.

They further noted that ZIDERA isolated Zimbabwe and starved the state of the much needed FDI and capital injection into the major drivers of the economy and this resulted in the disappearance of goods from the shelves, shoddy service delivery and the economy tottered on the brink of collapse with the majority living in conditions of poverty. Both vendor and key respondents argued that the backlashes of the ESAP in Zimbabwe and the dire economic conditions created by the illegal sanctions were forerunners of the causes of the proliferation of vending in Harare. They further argued that the illegal sanctions continued from where ESAP had left in terms of shrinking the economy and making life unbearable for the ordinary citizens.

4.7.5 De-industrialisation and ballooning unemployment rate

In a face to face interview, HCC Housing Director, highlighted that the illegal sanctions caused major industries to shut down and similarly the majority of line industries also closed down leading to massive retrenchments and laying off of workers. Respondents indicated that the de-industrialisation of industries in Harare and other cities created high levels of unemployment, alarm, frustration and despondency among the workers who were made redundant. Furthermore, some of the companies which remained operational, such as Dairiboard and Olivine downsized their workforce and those retrenched were not given due retrenchment packages.

According to an employee from the National Social Security Council who was vending to supplement her income: in July 2016, around 800 foreign owned companies had closed and restructured and rendered more than 20 000 individuals jobless in a space of a year. The majority of the companies manipulated the labour law weakness which did not make it mandatory for companies to give the retrenched workforce their retrenchment packages. In some of the cases, retrenched workers were only given three (3) months' salary even if they had worked for fifty (50) years for the company.

The above development resulted in the deepening of poverty amongst the families of the retrenched workers and the only way out of the dire situation was to engage in vending and hence the proliferation of vendors in the Harare CBD. Asked on her views on vendors, a passer-by noted that vendors have literally taken over the city. Furthermore, she reasoned that Zimbabwe is a country where the unemployment rate is believed to now be hovering above 90%.

Many have realised the need to appreciate that vendors are just people desperately trying to earn an honest living in a country where formal jobs are scarce. Therefore, it can be concluded that the proliferation of street vending is growing in line with the rate of unemployment and the deteriorating economy, which thus forces people to resort to the streets to seek ways of sustenance.

In focus groups that were conducted with vendors in the Harare CBD, vendors indicated that street vending is a better option for them because the barriers to entry and technical expertise needed to run street vending businesses are minimal. On the other hand, the general sentiment among key informants concurred with Chulu (2017) a local researcher who alluded to the fact that an estimated 300 000 students are being churned out of schools, colleges and universities every year. These join millions who are unemployed. This is in a country facing economic challenges, an unproductive farming sector and a stagnant labour market.

With the above scenario, street vending becomes the inevitable as these thousands join others already on the streets of Harare. This is just as Cohen, Mihir and Pat (2000), argued that street vending is a form of self-empowerment and a flexible form of trade to those who are unable to access formal employment hence it should be given space to exist. Fig 4.12 shows how graduates in Harare have taken to vending in order to survive.



Fig 4.12: A

graduate selling wares along the streets of Harare *Source: <https://zwnews.com/mugabe-alarmed-vendor-lawlessness-harare-cbd/retrived> 31-05-19*

Relatedly, an economist in the Ministry of Finance and Economic policy highlighted that the legislature and other legal frameworks implemented by the government have an implication on the proliferation of street vending. Chief Risk Controller in the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority, pointed out that the Import trade statutory instrument SI64/2016 was noble in its endeavour to control the inflow of imports at the same time encourage the flow of exports. Although instruments like these have managed to achieve sustainable growth in other manufacturing industries such as cooking oil production among others, the Statutory instrument has in some way encouraged the smuggling of goods through the porous border points and these goods have found way into the streets.

Notably, questionnaires administered to the Vendors Association of Zimbabwe indicated that the trade import Statutory Instrument 64/2016 also caused the increase in smuggling of goods from South Africa, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and other countries into Zimbabwe and these goods are given to vendors to sell at cheap prices,

on behalf of the smugglers. Consequently, street vending in the Harare CBD is intensified to unprecedented levels.

4.7.6 Merchants of capital and the proliferation of street vending

Arguably, some grocery and clothing vendors who were interviewed indicated that the goods belonged to the shop owners in Harare CBD and other retail shops in the suburbs. The respondents pointed out that the proliferation of street vendors has also been caused by some Indian and Chinese owners of the retail shops in the Harare CBD who developed a tendency of hiring vendors to sell their goods such as shoes and clothes in the streets in the Harare CBD. This approach to business was meant to extend the market niche of the Indians as a business survival strategy in an uncertain economic environment characterised by stiff competition owing to smuggled cheap goods.

4.8 Section C Vending and municipal by-laws

The study discovered that the under-current cause for the proliferation of street vending in the Harare CBD was the HCC policy deficiencies, a mismatch between the by-laws and the prevailing economic situation and these caused the city fathers' failure to control the street vending in the CBD.

The views from both vendors and key informants showed that the policy challenge affecting the HCC started with the government tolerating street vending in the wake of the 2008 to 2010 sanction induced economic crisis which caused widespread suffering among the ordinary citizens and created conducive environment for the proliferation of vending in the post 2013 Harmonised Elections.

CHRA indicated that there was a conflict between the current economic situation and the by-laws and this also made policy implementation ineffective. Thus, the tolerance of street vending at the political level by powerful overarching political forces to cushion citizens from the ravages of a faltering economy had a major effect on the existing HCC by-laws. The populist political posturing by political figures across the political divide in search of supporters elevated the vending problem from being a mere urban nuisance to a socio-economic culture and this rendered the by-law inefficient, redundant and also disempowered the law enforcement agents.

An urban planning expert with the HCC argued that both government and the HCC should implement a holistic approach that addresses the issues from a regulatory, planning, moral, as well as human relations point of view. Further to this, the expert also indicated that the general populace, especially vendors themselves should play their role in helping address this challenge noting that in cases where the HCC does not manage, moral values should take center stage.

A representative of the VISET pointed out that vendors will always reappear in the streets despite force by the HCC to clear them out of the streets because the issue is not about just removing them but it is about providing alternatives that will enable vendors to sustain their lives. This statement was made in reference to vending structures built by the HCC council in areas out of the CBD near Coca-Cola depot and in Mbare along Mazorodze High Way. He supported the argument in the literature review that argues that vendors should also enjoy the right to use the streets and that vendors always position themselves where they deem most profitable and where there are customers. The representative argued that the HCC vending stalls situated near Coca-Cola and in Mbare and along Mazorodze High Way were too far from the Harare

CBD, away from the commuter omnibuses drop and pick up points and as such few people visit the stalls. Due to the proximity to the city center, the HCC stalls have been made redundant.

The study also established policy inconsistencies in terms of the administration and enforcement of the by-laws by the HCC. The researcher discovered that there is a mixed bag of reasons why vendors have decided to vend in the Harare CBD. The Hawkers and Street Vendors by-law section (4a) requires that “no person shall, whether as principal, agent or servant, carry on the business of a hawker unless he is in possession of a valid license or a disc...” On this issue, vendors revealed that the license fees charged by the HCC ranged from \$140-\$200 per booth or stall. These charges were too exorbitant and beyond the reach of many, therefore resorting to undesignated areas in the Harare CBD was the only available option. They also noted that the process for one to be a registered vendor is long and cumbersome.

According to HRT director, prospective vendors’ needs to make an application first with the council indicating where they want to vend from. An application fee of US\$20 has to be paid up front. The application fee is not a guarantee that your application will be successful. Upon receipt of the application, the Housing department that is responsible for markets stalls have to sit and consider all submitted applications and deliberate on them. Upon approval the applicant is given a contract for a period ranging from 6-12months and is required to pay between US\$140-200 license fees. Council reserves the right to renew the license upon expiry of the contract. The council licenses are tied to specific areas of operation and any violation to such will result in withdrawal of the license, fine or both. Besides the cumbersome process of registration

becoming a license holder in the Harare CBD comes with conditions which are difficult to adhere to.

One such regulation stipulates that no hawker shall remain stationary while conducting his or her business for more than 15 minutes. Provided that after the period of 15 minutes, he or she shall not be in a position within the radius of 100 metres from the place at which he or she was at the commencement of the 15 minutes period. Participants who noted that because of exorbitant fees and cumbersome HCC process of legalisation is considered punitive and most prefer not to legalise their vending operations.

Furthermore, participants noted that they do not legalise because the location of HCC vending areas are not profitable and are far away from the people. The motion brought up during the discussion supports the legalistic perspective which depicts vending as a rational economic choice to avoid the costs, time and effort associated with formal registration (Chen, 2012). The legalistic perspective argues that a hostile legal system leads to vending by micro-entrepreneurs, who opt for vending in order to avoid the formal registration.

Legalists, argue that the hostile legal systems such as cumbersome government rules and procedures create barriers to formalisation and thus suffocate the productive potential of the vending sector. The school subscribes to the notion that vendors seek to deliberately avoid regulations and taxation when dealing with goods and services in order to maximize their profits. The school however weighs the costs of becoming formal which include registration, cost of license, the costs of taxes, compliance with regulations or laws and higher rates for public utilities against the costs of operating illegally which involves avoidance of fees and penalties, avoidance of taxes, not

having property rights, not having enforceable contracts and not receiving benefits from the formal sector.

The researcher discovered that in as much as the council license is expensive, some vendors have preferred to vend from undesignated areas in order to maximize their profits. Focus discussion revealed that they are vendors who have grown big in the business and as such have diverted into employing other people to work for them as vendors and these are known as '*space barons*' in the streets. They are said to employ between 3-6 vendors to sell their wares. These '*space barons*' smuggle their products from neighboring countries and give them to their employees to sell on their behalf.

The presence of the '*space barons*' in Harare CBD is in line with Maloney's voluntarists theory which argues that vendors deliberately seek to enjoy benefits of informality by avoiding regulations and taxation but, unlike in the legalist school, does not blame the cumbersome registration procedure (Maloney, 2004). In such a scenario these '*space barons*' can afford to pay the licenses but choose to maximize their profits by avoiding paying taxes.

For vendors, being informal is a deliberate choice made to enjoy benefits of informality. This perspective argues that informal vendors choose to operate informally after weighing the costs and benefits of informality relative to formality. The school is associated with avoidance of formality costs, taxes and social protection contributions. The theory argues that the benefit of informality is that it is a way to earn income while avoiding costs of formality.

Furthermore, the researcher also gathered that there are continuous clashes between the Harare Municipal Police and street vendors due to the above-mentioned

inconsistencies. The Municipal police have on several occasions continued to try and evict the street vendors from the streets, giving them deadlines and forcefully pushing them off the streets and confiscating their wares. Yet on the other hand street vendors have vowed to stay put until the government has allocated adequate vending spaces at convenient sites. Fig 4.13 shows one vendor playing a placard with a message telling the government that they will not leave the streets without a fight during a demonstration in Harare CBD. However, the clashes between the vendors and the police requires the pedestrians to be wide awake to the dangers presented by the never-ending war between police/municipal police and vendors that often involves chases in the Harare CBD. Many unsuspecting people have gotten injured in the process.



Fig 4.13: Vendors with a placard noting that they will resist evictions from the streets *Source: Kells <https://zimetro.com/we-will-meet-in-2018-vendors/> retrieved 29-05-19*

An employee with the National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe said that most street vending activities that take place in the Harare CBD are unlawful and unlicensed. He further postulated that the council officials responsible for monitoring, regulating and controlling these street vendors are highly corrupt hence they benefit from the proliferation of the street vending activities in general thus they turn a blind eye to the catastrophe that is exhibited by this proliferation thereof. Additionally, some

respondents noted that council officials lack the willingness and power to fully enforce the city by-laws that guard against the proliferation of these street vendors because of the fear of blame. In this regard, one street vendor, advocated that the city council should provide more safe and secure vending sites that have proper ablution facilities and areas that allow vendors to have access to customers. He argued that most vendors have been driven to the Harare CBD mainly by economics of a big market as many activities are concentrated within the capital city.

In this regard, it is detrimental for the vending sites to be located out of the Harare CBD so as to reduce the chaos in the streets, confusion and disorder. An uncontrollable dense population in the Harare CBD has devastating consequences on the appearance of the city council as a tourist destination as well as on the architecture of the country as a whole, as well as presenting a health and environmental hazard.

4.8.1 Government policy and the proliferation of street vending in the CBD

The majority of vendors showed limited knowledge about the municipal's socio-economic policies related to vending or those that have an impact to street vending. At local level, they were asked about the types of policies they knew, most of them mentioned the Hawkers by-laws, which is a vending blueprint that was crafted by the Harare Municipal in 2013 as part of its developmental framework.

They showed limited knowledge about the contents of the document. However, they were aware of the actions of the HCC especially the daily levies introduced by the government as well as a crackdown on vendors operating from undesignated sites. In the meantime, all that the HCC seems concerned with is milking vendors by charging vending fees.

Harare is quite clearly now a city where by-laws only exist in writing but are not conformed to and as a result, the city is threatening to become one of the most chaotic cities in the world. In terms of levies, vendors indicated that the HCC was involved in aggressive collection \$1 daily levy while flea market traders were paying \$2 every day.

One 34-year old female vendor who was selling pap and rice to commuter bus touts along Mbuya Nehanda noted that it is better to pay \$1 per day to the council and operate on the streets than to stay home. In terms of the crackdown, vendors indicated that quite often, the HCC launch periodic military-style crackdown in which municipality police and at times with the help of the ZRP arrest, assault and confiscate vendors' products.

However, a 24-year old male vendor selling movie and music discs along Chinhoyi Street voiced concern that as long as the HCC fails to allocate proper vending sites, vendors will not be intimidated by their actions to move out of the streets. Yet one economic analyst indicated that policy issues relating to street vending in Zimbabwe date back to the ESAP era. He indicated that ESAP did not provide enough safety nets for those who had been retrenched, therefore together with the state's ill-preparedness to the shocks of ESAP, the country economic environment worsened, which led to high levels of unemployment.



Fig 4.14: Members

of the National Vendors Union march in Harare on June 24 to deliver a petition to the Parliament of Zimbabwe to halt the removal of vendors from the streets which was scheduled *Source: Cynthia Matonhodze Newsday Zimbabwe retrieved 1-06-19*

4.9 Section E: Tactics employed to evade the municipal police

There was common consensus, among street vendors that their biggest challenge was the HCC especially its crackdown on those selling at undesignated areas. The interesting point to note was that vendors were not resistant to the \$1 per day levies but what they did not like was the crackdown on them. In their responses they indicated that several times they have been caught unaware as council officials would spring from nowhere through their periodic blitzes normally code named ‘Street Vending Regedzai’ (Stop illegal street vending) and operation restore order where several vendors are either arrested or have their wares confiscated for selling illegally in the Harare CBD.

In terms of their solutions or reactions to these challenges they face, most vendors indicated that they either fight back the police or run away from them to protect their businesses. Fig 4.15 depicts one of the many running battles between the vendors and the police captured in Harare CBD. Vendors indicated that in most cases they endured cat and mouse battles with both the HCC municipality police and the ZRP. For them, allowing these authorities to move them out of the Harare CBD or confiscating their business is a sign of failure so they indicated that they devised several methods of dealing with these authorities.

One 24-year old vendor spoke of how he teamed up with his colleagues to throw stones at button-stick-wielding ZRP members who were trying to remove them near Copa Cabana. Therefore, to them when authorities approach them violently, they also reacted in similar style thereby leading to street turmoil, anarchy and antagonism between authorities and street vendors. In a nutshell, it can be deduced that the security of individuals conducting business in the streets is endangered during these battles between the police and the street vendors.



Fig 4.15: Vendors

in running battles with the police Source: Cynthia Goba Source: <https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/38258-chaotic-scenes-as-police-and-vendors-clash-in-harare-cbd.html> retrieved 2-06-19

Most respondents indicated that they resort to paying bribes to protect their business. A significant number mentioned this. During focus group discussions some of them even sensationally claimed that bribes were in both material and kind including providing sexual favors to the city council police to either get exempted from paying the daily levies or to avoid being disturbed during HCC police street monitoring patrols.

The above tactic supports the argument by Cohen, Mihir and Pat (2000) who argued under key debates on vending that the street vendors have different costs and pay various kinds of taxes and levies and are particularly subject to indirect taxes in the form of rent through daily fees levied in the form of bribes demanded in exchange for their use of public spaces. Vendors see the city as a place where they can make profit for living and they depend on.

Participants also stated that they would have not lasted long in the streets if it were not of the tactics they have perfected over time. Group discussion reviewed that most vendors have suffered losses of wares through unprecedented raids by municipal police. Thus, street vendors also incur costs associated with non-registration, such as having their goods confiscated, a risk to which off-street enterprises are not subject to. In order to protect their wares most vendors have resorted to hide their wares in water drainage pipes and only access them when customers have paid for the goods.

They noted that they only display a few of their wares in order for customers to know that they have that product in stock. According to a vendor, the tactic has worked well in safeguarding their wares away from the city police. The vendor further noted that even if they are caught in the raids, they are assured that the rest of their wares is safe.

According to participants this tactic has helped them to stay in business in the face of the municipal police raids.

The vendors also spoke of how they spot the navy blue and grey uniform and whistle or shout warnings to each other and then scatter in different directions leaving their goods or carrying them to avoid paying fine. The researcher discovered that vendors have developed a strongly knit community that considered every fellow vendor as family and as such to them all vendors are members of one big family. Although they might have differences and competition among themselves as characteristic of every family, in the face of evading city council they present a front of one united family.

To demonstrate the sense of community vendors have developed money clubs/ stokvel with each other in order to boost their income to build up stock. Vendors whistle to one another as a warning of impending municipal police and upon hearing whistles they run away and hide. Participants said that they can either disappear into the crowds and act as ordinary pedestrians, enter shops and pretend to be customers window shopping or hide in the alleys until the city police have left their areas of operations.

Asked why one would risk being arrested and whistle in order to save others, participants agreed that since they are members of money clubs it's better to risk one and others continue to make money. This they say will ensure the continuity of the money club. Some female vendors noted that they carry their wares on their backs as if they are carrying babies at their backs. According to most female participants the tactics has worked as city police will be fooled into believing that they will be carrying babies on their backs.

The researcher noted that the new government in Zimbabwe has stepped up raiding of street vendors resulting in vendors deserting the streets and sticking to vending sites. However, sticking to vending sites has been observed during the day and vendors have resorted to vending at night in the Harare CBD. City council offices closes at 1700hours and vendors infest the streets from 1710hours.

Vegetable and grocery selling participants have noted that being in the streets at night will maximize profits as vendors will be targeting people coming from work who will buy ingredients for their dinner on their way back home. For these vendors being in the streets at night enables them to earn better as their products will be on high demands during that time. Mitullah (2004) argues that traders choose places where they are easily visible to pedestrians and motorists and this is normally at strategic points with heavy human traffic.

Vendors often locate themselves at places, which are natural markets for them such as at the main roads, streets, parks, pavements, within shopping centres and corners of streets. If the services provided are not required at those locations, then they would have no incentive to continue staying there. Thus, vendors move into the Harare CBD at night to be where their products are needed.

4.9.1 Counter tactics by municipal police

The researcher also discovered that over years of engaging in cat and mouse battles with street vendors the municipal police have continuously developed ways of arresting vendors operating from undesignated areas. In other words, the city police have also developed tactics of their own to counter those of the vendors. The Municipal police has resorted to gather evidence and documents using cameras on vendors over

a period of time before they raid to arrest them. To note is that the municipal police has no authority to arrest but they can confiscate goods. Having noticed that despite the confiscation of goods, vendors continues to be on the streets, the idea of confiscation of goods is to paralyse the stock such that the vendors will be discouraged from returning to the street. The vendor tactic of hiding their wares has made it difficult for the city police to hit hard on their stocks to disable them from returning to the streets. The Municipal police has resorted to roping in the ZRP to arrest vendors in undesignated areas.

The ZRP uses the Criminal Law and Codification Reform Act of 2004 to arrest the vendors. Obstruction of roads by vendors is a punishable offense in terms of the Criminal Law and Codification Reform Act of 2004. After raids and arrests, municipal police will then present evidence of vending gathered prior to raids in order to make cases against arrested vendors. However, the method of using ZRP has worked for some time but ZRP uses branded police vehicles and vendors upon seeing the vehicles have resorted to running thereby rendering use of ZRP not an effective method of dealing with vendors.

Another method used by municipal police is to use plain clothes police to pose as customers to gather evidence before they arrest the vendors as illustrated by Fig 16. These plain-clothes municipal police officers work in groups posing as customers, some as lookouts and others will surround and make arrests.

If the vendor is displaying few goods, these municipal police officers in plain clothes will then ask for more wares such that the vendor will go to their hiding places to collect wares while lookout the police officer follows and observes. The police officer will later go raid the hiding place as well as arrest the vendors with the help of ZRP.

An interview with a council official reviewed that city police to discourage vending have resorted to station city police officers in streets and to deploy the municipal police vehicles to patrol the streets daily. This method has proved to produce positive results as vendors tend not to vend in the face of the patrols. However, the tactic has been unsustainable because of the fuel shortages being faced by the country and council has no budget to fuel the patrol vehicles daily.



Fig 4.16: Vendors

try to evade arrest by Harare municipal policemen in the city centre *Source: Stanley Mushava <https://www.herald.co.zw/harare-vendors-in-suicidal-wager/> retrieved on 2-06-19*

4.10 Section D: Impacts of street vending

4.10.1 Negative impacts of street vending

As mentioned earlier, respondents indicated their views that street vending has implications on the formal economy, the political framework of a state, the environment, social factors as well as on the aspects of human security. All these mentioned factors can be grouped into the following themes:

- **Theme 1: The demise of political stability**

The occurrence of street protests by vendors was widely mentioned and cited as a major threat to the country's political security, with the potential to produce a new crop of street vigilante groups that may join or be manipulated by both local and external anti-government forces to effect regime change in the country. One widely cited example was the Tajamuka/Sesjikile Campaign.

The Campaign, which started in May 2016, was formed by a youth movement protesting against the ZANU PF government. Its members were mostly street vendors led by the director of VISET, a street vendors' vigilante group. During focus group discussions as well as responses from other vendors associations, the researcher established that part of these groups' advocacy strategies involve confrontation and street protest as part of advocacy initiatives to petition government to submit to vendors' demands.

The aforementioned risks and activities do not only affect national politics in terms of regime stability but are also a threat to the principles of formal governance which are based on properly constituted governance codes of conduct. Therefore, submitting to the whims of mass street frenzy renders the ruling government weak. For example, in one case, the VUZ indicated that in June 24 the organisation launched a street demonstration to deliver a petition to Parliament demanding an extension of deadline set for 26th June for the eviction of street vendors from the streets. Some key informants also indicated that the cat and mouse wars between street vendors and authorities threaten the country's political stability because they promote an environment for violence and political anarchy.

- **Theme 2 Social time-bomb**

Although respondents mentioned a number of security risks associated with street vending such as overpopulation in the Harare CBD and social crime, they noted that environmental and health hazards were a ticking time-bomb waiting to explode. These risks were perceived to have the lasting negative impact to both human life and national economic stability especially regarding costs involved with mitigating their impacts.

- **Theme 3 Environmental catastrophe in the waiting**

As Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2003) argues that environmentalists have major concerns about the environment because street vendors bring pollution problems, congestion and garbage. The research found out that street vendors were aware that their activities contributed towards street littering. However, vendors in Harare CBD appeared to blame consumers of their products for littering the environment by failing to throw litter in bins after buying and using commodities, the city authorities and other stakeholders blame street vendors for polluting the environment.

Pedestrians asked on the state of the Harare CBD noted that Harare is now a place where filth, mayhem, jostling and rampant lawlessness is the order of the day, a city in which people basically do as they please in broad daylight, with clear disregard of the implications of their actions. Fig 17 gives a picture of how the Harare CBD has become dirty, an eye sore and a health hazard. During focus group discussions and interview sessions with key informants it emerged that pollution of the Harare CBD was characterized by trash of green mealies, banana peels, rotting vegetable matters, left-overs of brown wild fruits during rainy periods and disgusting garbage left by vendors after selling their products or running away from police/municipal officers.

The HCC Town Clerk's Office which represented the city council indicated that in most cases vendors do not make an attempt to deposit their litter in bins or clean the places where they operate.

Additionally, one street vendor said that owing to the absence of proper ablution facilities, the areas where vendors operate from have become synonymous with all manner of stench, mostly urine an indication of how the environment has been polluted terribly. During focus group discussion some participants indicated that some vendors would go back to touch their products such as tomatoes and mangoes with unwashed hands after relieving themselves and maneuver around honking cars selling their products to unsuspecting passengers.



Fig 17: Vendors picking

fruit from dumpsites for resale in the CBD *Source: Harare City Time*

https://www.facebook.com/pg/cohsunshinecity/photos/?tab=album&album_id=500

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More so, dumping of litter all over the place results in the clogging of the drainage system and this inhibits rainwater from flowing from the streets. Street flooding is a common predicament during the rainy season because of the aforementioned reason.

- **Theme 4 Vending as a health hazard**

The HCC health official indicated that residents were at the risk of diseases due to vendors littering the environment. He stressed that the litter exposes residents to waterborne diseases including cholera and typhoid especially during the rainy season. The city health official indicated that in the recent past Harare has been battling a typhoid outbreak. Other key informants indicated that food sold by vendors is usually placed in unclean plastic containers or on pieces of cardboard on the ground, irrespective of the Food Hygiene by-laws 8k(II) put residents at extreme risk of disease outbreak.

In line with this observation the 2008 cholera outbreak in Harare was declared a national disaster after claiming 4000 lives and of the 8535 cases reported in 2018 outbreak 50 died therefore making the two incidents typical example of the health risk related to street vending. Conditions in the Harare CBD are poor hence it becomes the breeding ground for diseases such as typhoid, cholera, diarrhea and dysentery.

In relation to this, some participants during focus group discussions and from unstructured questionnaire lamented the proliferation of fake medicine being sold by their fellow vendors. As such widespread poverty forces people to look for cheaper medication as unlicensed street drug vendors put the lives of several people at risk. To support this contestation, the city health director has been quoted countless times in the herald expressing that untested and expired drugs found on the streets of Harare have put several people at risk.

- **Theme 5 Economic dilemma**

The research findings, established that the major economic risk related to the proliferation of street vending is the collapse of the formal economy as well as the costs associated with restoring sanity in the Harare CBD. One participant pointed out that if the government continues letting street vendors spreading their wings in the capital city, the country risks the total collapse of the formal economy as the country plunge into the informal economy at the expense of formal business. Therefore, the ultimate result will be reduced taxes, the death of the Harare CBD and the lack of potential investment as investors shun polluted and unattractive environments.

Other participants including the former town mayor of HCC indicated that the Harare City has since lost its glamorous Sunshine City Status as the once glamorous and splendid streets in the Harare CBD are littered with filthy garbage and vendors spreading their below standard wares all over the streets. Other respondents indicated that they prefer the CBD because that is where they can find readily available customers that can be easily shared between themselves and those legally owned outlets.

The appearance of street vendors in pavements and in front of the legally established shops may also lead to the collapse of the formal business/ economy which has a detrimental effect on the city council revenue collection. City council revenue generation is done by collecting mainly levies and license fees from the citizens therefore license evasions by street vendors deprive the council of the much-needed revenue as aforementioned earlier.

4.10.2 Positive impacts

4.10.3 Economic and social importance of street vending to the state economy

According to Fletcher and Ahmed (2011), street vending play three fundamental roles in the economic systems of cities. One fundamental role of street vending is that it is an important form of employment to a considerable number of the urban and migrant population. In Zimbabwe, with conservative figures pegging the unemployment rate at 90%. Gcumeni and Reeler (2015) posted that street vendors are estimated to account for two-thirds of the population in the major cities.

Street vending also indirectly sustains jobs of other employees who work in industries which manufacture or produce the wares sold by the street vendors (Chen (2002). As such it is not only the livelihood of vendors which relies on street vending but also the farmer, small scale producers and other home-based industries who lack the resources to market their own product.

Another economic contribution of street vending according to Flaming et al. (2015) is that street vending has a spilling effect across the local economy. In this regard street vendors sell their products to passers-by, as their profits accumulate, it leads to higher demand for more goods and services from local suppliers. The end results are increase of their stock levels and sales. Demand from suppliers in this chain helps generate more employment opportunities in the upstream supplier chain thereby broadening the tax revenue base for the state.

Furthermore, street vendors offer low-cost, decentralised and highly efficient system of distributing products required on a daily basis. These are goods such as fruits and vegetables, a market which the formal sector cannot adequately serve. FAO has also

acknowledged the important role played by street vendors in promoting access to food at low prices, (FAO 2016).

4.11 Summary

In summary, this chapter has presented the findings of the study to show the political, social and economic underpinnings and the implications of street vending based on evidence gathered through focus groups, questionnaire and interview research methods. What the study established was that Harare have gone through the classical phases in the evolution of street vending such as tolerance of the dilemma, eviction and now towards policy implementation. However, while the government is still contemplating which policy interventions are the best, evidence on the ground showed that the country is at the precipice due to looming political, social and economic security risks.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a summary for this research study as it presents the arguments that were derived from the findings presented in this study. Principally, the study was about the delirium in the streets of Harare CBD with special interest on the tactics employed by street vendors. Therefore, this chapter presents the major conclusions and theoretical inferences derived from the findings presented in the previous chapter. Thus chapter also communicates the implications of the study to various disciplines including policy, theoretical and research among others.

5.2 Conclusions

The study established that there were two major outcomes that confirmed what some existing literature had established. Firstly, to a certain extent the findings of this research study confirmed that conceptually the nature of street vending in Harare was unique and different from other vending activities in Africa in that the former was characterised by high levels of proliferation which was linked to the influences from political and economic under currencies. For example, existing literature indicated that street vending is in most cases viewed as illegal and a nuisance to urban development; street vending involves selling a variety of wares and that street vending is associated with pollution. Most of these features were common within street vending in Harare.

Secondly, the notion argued by the theorists of vending. The research discovered that the Harare CBD vending operations are a mixture of three theories that is the structuralists, legalistic and voluntary. Vending in Harare is structuralists' in the sense that it is necessity-driven, a survival practice conducted out of economic necessity and

as a last resort in the absence of alternative means of livelihood. This has been caused by a number of government policies that have led to the shutdown of many companies.

To some extent the HCC has made the formalisation process long and expensive leading to most resorting to vending from undesignated areas. Thereby supporting the Legalistic perspective which depict vending as a rational economic choice to avoid the costs, time and effort associated with formal registration (Chen, 2012).

On the other hand, '*space barons*' choose to operate illegally to maximise their profits just as Maloney's voluntarists theory which focuses on vendors who deliberately seek to enjoy benefits of informality by avoiding regulations and taxation (Maloney, 2004). For vendors being informal is a deliberate choice made to enjoy benefits of informality. This perspective argues that informal vendors choose to operate informally after weighing the costs and benefits of informality relative to formality.

However, to a larger extent the study also managed to establish new ideological persuasions regarding the hidden dimension to the political and economic causes of the proliferation of street vending in the Harare CBD and also explore its implications to human security. This connection was established in the findings and analysis chapter. Literature reviewed merely discussed the concept of street vending in isolation to human security.

Street vending was discussed largely within the informal sector (economics) paradigm, especially relating to the economic causes and implications of street vending to macro-economics. Similarly, the issue of human security was confined to international relations, security studies and political security and not linked to street vending. Therefore, the major difference between existing literature and this study is that the

findings of this study managed to clearly explain the nexus between the political and economic forces that contribute immensely to the proliferation of street vending in the CBD and it has major backwash effects to the human security of Zimbabwe.

This study was done through identifying the various political, economic and security risks associated with the proliferation of street vending in Harare. Thus, these risks were identified as, political (regime change and weakening of formal governance); social (environmental pollution and health hazards) and economic (collapse of formal economy).

5.3 Recommendations

Having discussed the main issues related to the proliferation of street vending in the Harare CBD and the implications of such, the researcher found it worthwhile to provide recommendations to key stakeholders regarding policy strategy aimed at addressing this challenge. The aims of the policy recommendations is to provide evidence-based insights for the prevention or minimisation of the social, economic and political risks associated with the proliferation of street vending in Harare.

Recommendation 1: This study recommends that government, at national level should formulate long-term policies aimed at addressing the macro-factors behind the proliferation of street vending such as industrialisation in order to reduce the economic burdens of unemployment and reduced income which the majority of participants highlighted as the major challenges forcing them to sell goods in the streets. Furthermore, government should facilitate ease of regularisation of street vending activities by repealing and amending restrictive laws and enacting appropriate laws that legitimise vending zones in urban development plans.

Recommendation 2: The study also recommends that both government and local authorities should identify major risk indicators associated with the proliferation of street vending and formulate appropriate response mechanism strategies in the event of a disaster, especially in vulnerable sectors such as health, security and the environment. This will help deal with early warning signs of looming disasters or actual disasters when hazards associated with the proliferation of street vending strike. Furthermore, the authorities should also raise awareness about risks associated with the proliferation of street vending in order to educate both society and the actual street vendors about the risks of this challenge and the possible devastating impacts to national existence.

Recommendation 3: Local government authorities should craft non-reactionary and non-confrontational strategies for dealing with street vendors. The regulatory authorities in particular the local government authorities to design a supportive legislative and policy framework that provides and promotes an environment for earning livelihoods through street vending.

Recommendation 4: Vending zones should be accomplished through a consultative participatory process to ensure that the designated vending zones are practical and appropriate for existing demand for vendors' goods and services.

5.4 Recommendations for further research

The findings of the study have several implications to various disciplines related to the topic of this study which include the theoretical paradigms and policy frameworks. The policy implications of this study concern its influence on council by-laws and policies aimed at controlling street vending activities. For example, the findings of the

study communicate the threat posed by the proliferation of street vending and the need for the HCC to review its current policies and deal with the issue of the proliferation of street vending as a matter of urgency. Ultimately, the study provides the basis for further research around policy strategy interventions for dealing with the challenge presented by the street vending.

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APPENDICES

THE EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS AND THE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF STREET VENDORS IN HARARE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD)

My name is Jaqueline Molai, student of the University Of Namibia (UNAM). I am doing a Master’s Degree in Public Administration, within the faculty of Economics and Management Sciences, Department of Politics and Administrative Studies. This survey on the effects of municipal by-laws and the survival strategies of street vendors in Harare Central Business District (CBD) is undertaken for academic reasons.

The information you are providing me will be confidential, be advised that provision of names is out of choice and you are free to opt out from proceeding with the research at any given time.

Thank you very much for your participation

Interview guide

SECTION A: Demographic Data

- 1. Age Group (Years): 18–28 29–39 40–50 50+
- 2. Sex: Male Female
- 3. Marital Status: Single Married Separated Divorced
- 4. Marriage setting: Single Parent Unmarried Married
- 5. Educational profile: None Primary Secondary Tertiary
- 6. Employment status: Employed Unemployed Self employed

SECTION B: What are the causes of the proliferation of street vending in the Harare Central Business District?

- 7. What type of products/services are you selling?
.....
- 8. Can you explain why you are involved in selling such goods/services on the streets of Harare CBD?
.....

9. In your own opinion, what could be the reasons for having so many people doing business in the CBD?

.....

SECTION C: Vending and Municipal bylaws

10. Are you a licensed vendor?

Yes No

If yes why are you not selling from the designated place?

.....

If no why have you not become a licensed vendor?

.....

11. Are you aware of the Municipal Bylaw on vending activities in the CBD?

Yes No

If yes explain your understanding of the Bylaw.

.....

12. In your own view, what are the political, social and economic hand behind the proliferation of street vending in the CBD?

.....

13. In your opinion, why is the Harare city council failing to control the proliferation of street vending?

.....

14. In your own opinion what could council do in order to curb street vending?

.....

SECTION D: What are the impacts of street vending in the CBD?

15. Does vending have an impact on the CBD environment?

Yes No

If yes please explain, the political, social and economic impacts of vending

.....

SECTION E: Survival strategies

16. What challenges are you facing in conducting your business on the streets?

.....
17. How do vendors deal with such challenges?
.....

18. What strategies do you employ to survive in the streets in order to continue vending?
.....

Key Informants

Organisation/Employer.....

Job Title/Position

SECTION A: Demographic Data

1. Age Group (Years): 18–28 29–39 40–50 51+

2. Sex: Male Female

3. Marital Status: Single Married Separated Divorced Widowed

4. Marriage setting: Monogamy Polygamy Single Parent Remarried

5. Educational profile: None Primary Secondary Tertiary

6. Employment status: Employed Unemployed Self employed

SECTION B: Causes of the proliferation of street vending in the Harare CBD.

7. In your own opinion, what could be the reasons pushing people towards street vending in Harare CBD?

8. Can the Municipal policies be responsible for creating the conditions for the proliferation of street vending in the CBD?

SECTION C: Harare City Council Section

9. In your opinion, what are the factors that affect the Harare City Council in terms of mitigating the proliferation of street vending in the CBD?

10. In your own view, why is the Harare City council failing to control the proliferation of street vending in the CBD?

11. What tactics/strategies are used by vendors to evade Municipal Bylaws?

12. In your opinion why do vendors resort to tactics employed to evade Municipal Bylaws?

13. What strategies have the council employed to curb street vending and how effective are the strategies?

SECTION D: Implications of the proliferation of street vending in Harare CBD

15. In your view, what are the political, economic and social impacts caused by unregulated street vending in the CBD.



The Rev. Dr. Greenfield Mwakipesile

ThD, MBA, HBS | mwakipg@outlook.com

CONTACT

PO Box 99539,
UNAM,
Windhoek,
Namibia

LANGUAGE & COPY-EDITING CERTIFICATE

20th June 2019

RE: LANGUAGE, COPYEDITING AND PROOFREADING OF JAQUELINE MOLAI'S THESIS FOR THE MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEGREE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

This certificate serves to confirm that I copyedited and proofread **JAQUELINE MOLAI'S** Thesis for the **MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEGREE** entitled: **THE EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS AND THE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF STREET VENDORS IN HARARE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT**

I declare that I professionally copyedited and proofread the thesis and removed mistakes and errors in spelling, grammar, and punctuation. In some cases, I improved sentence construction without changing the content provided by the student. I also removed some typographical errors from the thesis and formatted the thesis so that it complies with the University of Namibia's guidelines.

I am a trained language and copy editor and have edited many Postgraduate Diploma, Masters' Thesis, Dissertations and Doctoral Dissertations for students studying with universities in Namibia, Zimbabwe, eSwatini, South Africa and abroad. I have also copy-edited company documents for companies in the region and abroad.

Please feel free to contact me should the need arise.

Yours Sincerely,

The Rev. Dr. Greenfield Mwakipesile



greenfield.mwakipesile



@mwakipg



+264813901701



Dr. Greenfield
Mwakipesile