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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

**URBAN LAND USE CONFLICTS IN HARARE: EXPLORING THE NOTION OF
INCLUSIVE CITIES THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF URBAN AGRICULTURE IN
MABVUKU SUBURB.**

BY

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Declaration

I Primrose Hove (R143662B) declare that , this dissertation submitted to the department of Sociology for the Master Of Science degree in Sociology and Social Anthropology is my personal work and has not been submitted to any other university before.

Student Signature----- Date-----

Supervisor' Signature----- Date-----

Abstract

The study focuses on urban land use conflicts in Harare, exploring the notion of inclusive cities paying particular attention to the analysis of urban agriculture in Mabvuku suburb. The study used Henry Lefebvre (1991)'s concept of 'the right to the city' as the theoretical framework informing the study and this gave adequate theoretical expositions of the study. Urban agriculture is not a recent phenomenon. In recent years, the notion of the right to the city has been given urgency by SDGs. Thus the invisibility of urban agriculture in urban bylaws and residents are dealt with when they farm is important for in explaining urban land use conflicts between urban authorities and urban farmers. Often there are accusations that they are farming illegally, on unauthorised urban spaces, un-built stands, steep slopes, wetlands, road sides, open spaces against the laws. Henry Lefebvre (1991)'s notion of "the right to the city" highlights a need for urban justice (where everyone enjoys his or her right to the city) through his vision of moving towards a renewed perspective of the city (inclusive city) after realising the exclusive nature of cities and existing neoliberal urbanism which was associated with inequalities. Qualitative research design was used and within the qualitative research paradigm the case study design was adopted. Qualitative research methodology was used for the entire data collection process. The study looks at reasons for urban farming from a residents' point of view and note that economic hardships, unemployment and the high food prices poor urban dwellers have resorted to urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy despite the fact that it is prohibited by the urban authorities (EMA and Council) and an illegal activity within the urban areas. The study shows that, land use conflicts are as a result of the city conservative laws and authoritarian handling of its residents. The conflicts point to the elusiveness of the idea of inclusiveness of cities and also points to contestations in rights to the city and use of its spaces. The poor urban dwellers are excluded with exclusionary policies in use in the city. The city of Harare has not yet in complied with the idea of an inclusive city, just city where everyone accesses services equally and have the right to the city, right to decide and shape the city collectively within its structures and systems from their perspectives and needs with the city facilitating responsible and sustainable use of space. The study concluded that there is a gap of inclusivity in the city and the urban land use conflicts are as a result of segregatory policies crafted long back which can no longer suit the cities of today where almost everyone is leaving in the city. Therefore, study revealed that there is need for a paradigm shift in terms of bylaws used to govern urban land uses within cities which will enable the crafting of new policies which are inclusive and sensitive to

everyone's needs. In this vein, this study contributes to sociological debates on inclusive cities in Zimbabwe.

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Dedications

This research study is dedicated to my family. May the almighty Lord continue to shower my family with his blessings . It is my pride and joy forever, the best above the rest in this world.

Acronyms

DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
EMA	Environmental Management Act
ESAPS	Economic Structural Adjustment Policies
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NUA	New Urban Agenda
PUA	Peri - Urban Agriculture
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UA	Urban Agriculture
UCAZ	Urban Councils Association Of Zimbabwe
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank

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Chapter 1

1.0 Introduction

This is a study on urban land use conflicts in Harare exploring the notion of inclusive cities through an analysis of urban agriculture in Mabvuku suburb. It is motivated by the notion of inclusive cities and seeks to explain the causes and social drivers of urban land use conflicts within the context of urban Agriculture in Harare, to bring an understanding of the experiences of urban residents in their multi-purpose uses of land versus those of urban authorities and to contribute to debates in sociology on inclusive cities in Zimbabwe with specific reference to the city of Harare. The theoretical framework which informed this research is Henry Lefebvre (1991)'s concept of the 'right to the city' challenging neo-liberal urbanism which is exclusionary in nature. This is supported by Beall (2010) who contends that, Lefebvre is a radical theorist and activist of urban justice who have embraced the notion of the 'right to the city' advocating for urban justice with the vision of moving towards a renewed perspective of the city (inclusive city). There is a lot of talk about inclusive cities and right to the city as evidenced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) number 11 and 16 which stipulates the greater need of promoting, making peaceful and inclusive cities (Muchadenyika and William, 2016). Turock (2016) argues that, the notion of inclusive cities is even supported by the New Urban Agenda (NUA) of 2016 through its provision of a framework and roadmap for the development of cities which are inclusive and engines of prosperity. As much as there is this talk about inclusive cities where everyone have the right to the city however, there are differences in how people use urban spaces they have, access to, when and how they access these spaces (urban land). This study applies some of these concepts to explain conflicting perspectives to and use of the urban land or space between urban authorities and urban farmers. Therefore, contributing to the body of knowledge the issues of urban land use conflicts through an exploration of inclusive cities with specific reference to the analysis of urban agriculture.

1.1 Background of the Study

In Zimbabwe during the colonial period agriculture was not allowed in cities. Byerley (2010) noted that, in Salisbury urban agriculture was not allowed because the town was inhabited by wage workers. The colonial government used environmental laws to restrict free practice of UA such as Salisbury (Protection of Land) bylaws of 1973 and the Municipal Act; Chapter 125 forbade all cultivation on municipal land that was done without council's prior approval.

Crops grown without prior approval were slashed by the local government (Makonese and Mushayavanhu, 2003). This leads to the argument that, before 1980 urban agriculture (UA) was subdued in scale by colonial laws that controlled its practice and influx of Africans into cities (Byerley, 2010). This is because Africans only entered cities when they had wage work so that they will not have time to do other activities and the other reason was that urban residence was temporary where men lived in hostels. Lazarus (2000) indicated that, in post independence Zimbabwe, municipal governments planning processes have continued to look down upon urban agriculture and no specific policy has been drafted for that. This is because of the exclusionary nature of cities (Beall and Parnell, 2004). Mbiba (2000) posited that, as much as urban agriculture was prohibited to be done in cities its practice within cities was triggered by the adoption of neoliberal policies (Economic Structural Adjustment Policies (ESAPs)) of 1991 in Zimbabwe from the IMF (International Monetary Fund)/ World Bank (WB). These were market driven policies which aimed to achieve economic development through market liberalisation, removal of government subsidies and increasing government revenue, privatisation of services (Handa and King, 2006). However, according to Clarke and Haward (2006), these policies had adverse social impacts such as retrenchments, reduced formal sector employment, high cost of living, poverty and a rise of new informal activities including urban agriculture.

Mbiba (2000) argues that, the socio-spatial impacts of economic structural reforms reveal the prominence of urban agriculture as a local contingency response to the widespread and entrenched poverty in African cities such as Harare. Peck and Tickel (2002) in the same vein augmented that, the economic plunge and the massive decline in formal employment and incomes of indebted countries such as Zimbabwe after adoption of ESAPs in the early 1990s contributed to the rise and increase of UA. Due to the collapsing living standards and high levels of unemployment there was poverty and urban agriculture resulted as a livelihood strategy, safety net used by the urban poor to cope with this poverty. Therefore urban agriculture became more noticeable in 1990/1991 following the implementation of ESAPs as a new form of survival in cities. Mougeot (2005) posited that, urban agriculture has been seen as an important livelihood strategy in Africa in the face of economic crisis as urban households have been affected by rising costs of food and high unemployment in Zimbabwe which emanated from an over a decade of economic and political meltdown (Mbiba, 2000). Therefore, the need to improve food access and security have led to the rise in urban agriculture during the several years of economic crisis in Zimbabwe (Ruwanza, 2007).

Easterly (2005) contended that, with the rise of UA as a livelihood strategy coping with the adverse effects of ESAPS such as unemployment and poverty there was emergency of new land use patterns. Urban Agriculture is one land use activity which emerged but however, it has not been recognised as part of the urban plan according to the city authorities which resulted in urban land use conflicts between the urban authorities(urban council, EMA) and urban farmers due to different interest pertaining to urban land use . This is supported by Lee-Smith (2010) who argued that, UA has been excluded from the urban planning systems and no bylaws has been supporting it since long back. Simatele and Binns (2008) further argues that, the practice of UA by urban farmers on unused spaces, un -built stands, steep slopes, hilltops, wetlands has triggered urban land use conflicts between the farmers and urban authorities because the land use for UA is not legally recognised by the authorities..Along these lines McGranahan et al. (2016) argued that, the formulation of the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 (SDGs) was as a result of exclusionary neoliberal urban planning systems and policies. Thus McGranahan et al.(2016) further acknowledges that, the formulation of the SDGs 2016 -2030 was to address inequalities in the cities and encourage the building of inclusive cities (also known as just cities) that recognises everyone and where everyone has the right to the city. Among the United Nations (UN)'s SDGs, SDG 11 and 16 stipulates clearly the notion of inclusive cities which is a development agenda which needs to be followed by world cities in an attempt to achieve sustainable cities and sustainable development (Earle, 2016).

Furthermore, Turock (2016) accentuates that, the world leaders have agreed on the need to achieve inclusive cities in SDGs 11 and 16 to achieve inclusive urbanisation and this is of paramount importance because inclusive cities are needed to achieve a balance and move cities towards the progressive realisation of human rights for all without any forms of exclusion. Thus Marcuse et al.(2011) contended that, the demands for inclusion matters ,social justice are contributing to a growing sense that individuals and groups need to reclaim their right to the city and bring about 'just' or inclusive urban transformations. Logan and Molotoch (2007) in favour of the above argument posited that, SDGs and debates on inclusive cities are a reaction to a strong critique of the existing urban governance that are exclusionary of other groups of people especially the urban poor and governments that have policy objectives that has done little to address social and economic inequalities. Thus a study gap on inclusivity. It is amidst of the exclusive nature of cities such as Harare that do not in cooperate urban agriculture as an urban activity which has caused urban land use conflicts

between urban authorities and urban farmers that inspired this study. Therefore, there is need to explore the notion of inclusive cities through an analysis of UA in Mabvuku suburb.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A number of researches have been conducted on urban agriculture. Most of these studies have focused on UA as a coping or a livelihood strategy during economic doldrums, linking it to issues of household food security (Toriro, 2009). Some scholars have delved much into the practice, type of urban agriculture as well as the legality or illegality of UA (Makonese and Mushamba, 2005). Basure and Taru (2010) also focused on conflicts, contestation and marginalisation in urban agriculture. Furthermore, researches have been done as well on inclusive cities in Zimbabwe. Bandaiko and Mandisvika (2015) focused on their study of the right to the city analysing the criminalisation of the informal sector in Harare where they raised questions of inclusivity, whose right to the city is it if these people had no rights .They emphasised much on informal vending, informal transport system and informal housing in Harare. In addition, a research which focused on unearthing exclusions towards more inclusive Zimbabwean cities was done in Kadoma (Kadoma Research Report, 2013). This research delved much on high unemployment rate, critical housing shortages, urban environmental issues and sewer and sewage management in unearthing the exclusions. However, of all these studies which were done less has been contributed on the notion of inclusive cities through an analysis of urban agriculture .Hence this research study zero in the notion of inclusive cities analysing urban agriculture specifically. Easterly (2005) contends that, neoliberal policies negatively impacted the poor as they created inequalities, unemployment, poverty and exclusion .Therefore in a bid to cope with these problems people came up with other livelihood strategies. Thus it can be argued that, neo-liberalism brought with it new forms of survival in cities such as urban agriculture but, the city authorities lagged behind in their thinking and their policies such that they could not embrace it as a city activity which created land use conflicts. Hence exclusion of the urban poor whose needs are seen as problematic and land use seen as deviant as it challenges what authorities define as acceptable. Thus Lefebvre (1991) advocates for urban justice through his concept of “the right to the city” challenging neoliberal urbanism which is exclusionary in nature. Furthermore, the introduction of SDGs especially goals 11 and 16 on inclusive cities was a response to the exclusion of the poor people in cities. This study therefore, seeks to document the extent to which cities such as Harare understand and comply with the international standards of building inclusive cities.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the experiences of urban residents in their multi-purpose uses of land versus those of urban authorities?
2. What are the causes and social drivers of urban land use conflicts within the context of urban Agriculture in Harare?
3. What can be done to contribute to debates in sociology on inclusive cities particularly in Harare?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To provide an analysis of the experiences of urban residents in their multi-purpose uses of land versus those of urban authorities.
2. To examine the causes and social drivers of urban land use conflicts within the context of urban agriculture in Harare.
3. To contribute to debates in sociology on inclusive cities particularly in the city of Harare.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Several studies have been carried out on urban agriculture by scholars such as Murphy (2004) who has shown that UA has been used as a survival strategy to ensure food security in the years of economic crisis. Nugent (2000) also focused on the impact of urban agriculture on the household and local economies. On the same note, Crush and Tevera (2011) did a study on urban agriculture and food security in Southern African cities. More so, Mbiba (2000) did a research study on the challenges of urban agriculture. Mashoko (2010) focused on urban farming and its relevance for sustainability and policy implications in Africa. Furthermore, Armer- Klemesu (2000) also wrote an article on urban agriculture and food security and health. Even though researches on UA have been done, less or no researches on urban land use conflicts, exploring the notion of inclusive cities through an analysis of urban agriculture have been done in particular. Therefore the study is significant as it has a unique component of exploring the notion of inclusive cities which is part of the development agenda to be achieved by 2030. It is in the midst of this context that the study's importance is evident as it contributes to a critical sociological debate on inclusive cities with reference to Harare city.

Hickey and Bukenya (2015) notes that, the subject of inclusive cities, involving inclusion and exclusion matters has become a major concern within the international development community. Thus the notion of inclusive cities is at the heart of development studies where inclusion is understood as a process of improving the opportunity, ability and dignity of the disadvantaged people on the basis of their identity to take part in their society and enjoy their full rights to their cities and societies (Hickey and Bukenya, 2015). In the same vein Wodak and Meyer (2009) accentuated that, in recent years the city has become the focal point for policy in relation to inclusion matters and development because cities are most likely to feel most acutely the effects of the failures in inclusion. In addition cities of today are centres of production including urban agriculture among the production activities (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Therefore it is justified for an exploration of inclusive cities through an analysis of UA in Mabvuku in this study. It is against this background that, causes of urban land use conflicts are understood as well as shedding light on the experiences of urban residents in their multi-purpose uses of land versus those of urban authorities.

Furthermore, Ball (2016) argues that, discussions on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 11 and 16) and inclusive cities are part of the social just and human rights based programming in development studies which justifies this study on urban land use conflicts in Harare exploring the notion of inclusive cities in an analysis of urban agriculture in Mabvuku suburb. McGranahan (2016) also noted that, with the agreement on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations (UN) especially goal 11 and 16 and the signing of the 2016 New Urban Agenda (NUA) stressing on the notion of inclusive cities (Barnett and Parnell, 2016), it is imperative for city governments to build more inclusive cities as highlighted in the development goals so as to achieve sustainable cities, inclusive cities and sustainable development. This therefore brings out the study gap on inclusive cities in Zimbabwe with reference to Harare where the city is not inclusive and where there is a policy vacuum. It is against such a background that this study is justified as it brings about a sociological debate on inclusivity in an analysis of UA and at the same time taking into consideration the urban land use conflicts.

Earle (2016), is of the argument that, in 2015 the UN adopted the Sustainable Development Goals 2016 -2030 in a bid to achieve development and ensure justice and human rights are delivered to everyone globally. In line with the above aforementioned statement, SDGs came out because of the impact of exclusion that poor people were experiencing in cities which had been influenced by the neoliberal policies which were segregatory, capitalistic and

exclusionary in nature as these policies widened the gap between the rich and the poor (Easterly, 2005). Therefore the discourse of inclusive cities contained in SDG 16 and 11 is of prominence to explore in this research through an analysis of urban agriculture (UA) where farmers have been excluded from the city as UA is not considered by authorities as part of the city activities and neither are they bylaws supporting the practice. This is supported by Muchadenyika and William (2016) who contended that, the fight against exclusion is enshrined in SDGs 11 and 16 stipulating that there is a greater need to promote peaceful and inclusive cities by 2030. Earle (2016) augments that, rights based approaches are of important in the development of inclusive cities through inclusive city policies. Thus it is important to develop an inclusive city where bylaws, policies can be crafted which integrates the livelihoods of the urban poor so as to create social just cities where people's rights to the city are recognised. Conforming to Earle (2016)'s argument on the development of inclusive cities it is in the midst of this context that this study's significance is evident as it contribute to a sociological debate on inclusive cities taking reference to the city of Harare (Zimbabwe).

1.6 Organisation of the Study

This dissertation comprises of six chapters. The first chapter gave a general overview of land use conflicts in an exploration of the notion of inclusive cities through an analysis of urban agriculture. It introduced the study problem, outlining its aims and objectives. The justification of the study was also discussed. Chapter two was a review of the available literature on land use conflicts in Sub Saharan Africa in relation to urban agriculture and it was guided by the notion of inclusive cities. In this chapter, various issues were conceptualised such as conflicts, urban land use and urban agriculture. There was also a discussion on inclusive cities in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as legal provisions prohibiting urban agriculture the cases of Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Reasons for the prohibition of urban agriculture were also discussed in this chapter. Chapter three discussed the theoretical framework that was used in the research study. Chapter four highlighted the research methodology that was used in the research study. This involved the sampling framework, giving a brief outline of the qualitative methods to be employed by the study. Chapter five involved the presentation of data collected from the field. The final chapter encompasses data analysis, summary of findings and conclusions of the research study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on land use conflicts in Harare's Mabvuku suburb with particular attention to urban agriculture. The literature is guided by the notion of inclusive cities and rights to the city by Lefebvre (1991). The idea of inclusive cities enshrined in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 11 and 16 showing that the city should be inclusive as it values all people and their needs equally including even the poor, vulnerable groups making sure that they have a representative voice in governance, planning and have access to affordable basic services such as land (Turock, 2016). These issues will be brought out in the discussion below. The review started by conceptualizing urban agriculture and urban land use conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter preceded capturing literature on inclusive cities and urban land use in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Furthermore, the researcher also reviewed literature on the legal provisions used to prohibit urban agriculture drawing cases from various Sub-Saharan African countries such as Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. All in all the literature review about land use conflicts exploring inclusive cities in an analysis of was done in a bid to shed light and create a room for the understanding of inclusive cities in SSA and Zimbabwe in particular. The chapter ended by giving a conclusion and the identified gaps for the current research to fill based on the findings from the reviewed literature.

2.1 Conceptualisation of Urban Agriculture

Urban Agriculture in this research is defined as a practice which takes place within urban and on the fringe (peri-urban) of a town, city or a metropolis, where there is growing and raising, processing and distribution of a diversity of food and non-food products (Mougeot, 2000). This is done through (re-)using largely human and material resources, products and services found in and around that urban area, and in turn supplying human and material resources, products and services largely to that urban area. Mougeot (2000) also argues that, urban agriculture in the global south is practised for subsistence and survival by the urban dwellers. An urban agriculture practitioner in this research study consists of any person or household cultivating crops on a plot or off plot and keeping one or more types of livestock. The farming involves vegetable production where vegetables such as cabbage, spinach, rape, beans, onions, tomatoes. Also maize cultivation is part of urban agriculture in this study. According to Mbiba (2000), crop production is carried out in open space in various African countries within towns, while poultry breeding takes place in the built-up

area, backyards (poultry such as chickens, guinea for meat and eggs). This is also the case in this research study. Urban farming activities can also be found everywhere, behind houses or along roadsides, on roofs or under power-lines in Malawi (Masnavi, 2000).

There are two categories of urban agriculture which are On-plot and Off-plot agriculture. On-plot agriculture refers to farming which is practised on the plots around houses such as backyard gardening. On-plot agriculture mainly involves poultry rearing and crop production (maize is the main crop produced during the rainy or wet season in Zimbabwe) (Mbiba, 2000). Off-plot agriculture is a category of urban agriculture which is practiced in public open spaces, agricultural allotments and utility service areas. Reports regarding off-plot production in Zimbabwe are however, about agriculture taking place in public open spaces, where production processes are largely illegal and heavily contested (Mbiba, 2000). This implies that the practice of UA is not authorised and the bylaws do not support it.

2.2 Urban Land Use Conflicts in Urban Areas in SSA

Conflict is generally defined as tension between opposing views, interests, or wills (Silome, 2014). The conflicts are due to differences in perspectives and worldviews of different players who share common resources (Crush, 2011). Turock (2016) augments that most of the conflicts arise from competition for land over its different uses. In fact, land use conflicts explode sharply over issues linked to social inequalities. Urban land use comprises of activities taking place on the land and what the land will be assigned for (Polidoro, 2011). Jenkins (2003) also defines land use as arrangements, activities, and inputs by people to produce change or maintain a certain land cover type. Land-use conflicts are defined as situations in which involved parties of constituents have incompatible interests concerning the use of a certain piece of land (Sawio, 2004). Often conflicts occur when individuals become involved in either promoting or opposing a project from being realized (Rogerson, 2005). Most of land-use disputes arise when regulations, by-laws on, or related to, urban agriculture exist and where there is no clear policy, the law may be interpreted differently by different actors (Crush et al., 2011). Hence people involved in urban agriculture find themselves in conflict with the urban municipalities due to the existing differential interests between the two groups on issues relating to urban land use.

Furthermore, it can be argued that these urban land use conflicts emerged and intensified across the world as a result of neoliberal policies. Harvey (2005) contended that, neoliberal

policies were economic policies adopted from the multilateral funding agencies (IMF and WB) which led to the reduction of state interventions in economic and social activities and the deregulation of labour and financial markets, as well as of commerce and investments. The application of these neoliberal policies has been responsible for a substantial growth of social inequalities within the countries where such policies have been applied such as Zimbabwe among others in the Global South (Navarro, 2002). The huge increase in inequalities that occurred since then was the direct result of the growth in income and well-being of the dominant classes which was a consequence of class-determined public policies (neoliberal policies) (Milanovic, 2005). Therefore, the deregulation of labour markets was an anti-working class move, deregulation of financial markets greatly benefited financial capital and deregulation of commerce in goods and services benefited the high-consumption population at the expense of labourers (Harvey, 2005). In addition, reduction of social public expenditures affected the working class and led to the deterioration of their living standards. Harvey (2005) also notes that, privatization of services among other policies, greatly benefited the rich class and negatively affected the working classes that use public services. Handa and King (2006) argue that this exacerbated poverty. According to Faux (2006), even though poverty increased worldwide following neoliberal policies the poor within each country have been adversely affected. This led to the informalisation of economies leading to a wide range of survival strategies by the poor including urban agriculture (Mbiba, 2000). City authorities did not embrace these new emerging survival strategies as justified by the enforcement of laws that did not include the change in socio-economic analysis (Milanovic, 2005). Their policies were exclusionary of these emerging survival strategies for instance in the case of urban agriculture which they have been prohibiting causing tension and conflicts between them and urban farmers. In support, Earle (2016) acknowledged that, the pursuit of sustainable development in cities through MDGs and SDGs is set against the backdrop of the impact of exclusion poor people have been experiencing in cities.

Taking it from the above line of argument it can be justified that, the key issues regarding urban land use, especially in urban agriculture, are the recognition of urban agriculture as an official urban land use by the urban authorities and municipalities. However municipalities, authorities do not consider urban land as appropriate for agriculture which they view as a rural activity and not part of the urban plan (Simatele and Binns, 2008). Most municipalities (South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique, Zambia) in Sub Saharan Africa either have city development structure plans, strategic plans or city development strategies, but most of these

plans do not acknowledge urban agriculture to take place in restricted areas (Crush et.al, 2011). Urban agriculture is excluded from the land allocation and the cities are not being inclusive of the urban farmers. Thus land tenure issues come into play as another cause of land use conflicts between farmers and municipalities (Prain, 2006). This is because agricultural activities in most African cities occur on informally occupied land because farmers do not own land and are excluded from being given the land tenure rights. Therefore, Beall (2000) contended that exclusion is as a result of social or economic deprivation or discrimination which does not allow certain groups of people to participate in city life and activities. Byerley (2010) argues that all this is rooted in colonialism where during colonial period UA was not allowed in cities because most of the people were wage workers who had rural homes where they practiced UA and urban migrants were temporary residents in towns. Lazarus (2000) indicated that, in post independence Zimbabwe, municipal governments planning processes have continued to look down upon urban agriculture and no specific policy has been drafted for it. However due to poverty and changing employment patterns, urban residents increasingly include urban farming as part of their livelihoods despite the failure of city authorities to move with the times and consider the emerging survival strategies in cities so as to integrate excluded groups such as urban farmers in their decision making concerning urban land uses.

2.3 Inclusive Cities and Urban Land Use In Sub-Saharan Africa

At the heart of inclusive cities is the issue of providing services to all citizens equally which impacts on access and equality within urban spaces. The United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development goals 2016-30 (SDGs) are in support of inclusive cities. The Sustainable Development Goal number 11 provides a framework through which nation states are encouraged to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (Earle, 2016). This SDG 11 is supported by the recently launched New Urban Agenda of 2016 through providing a framework and a roadmap for the development of cities that can serve as engines of prosperity and centres of cultural and social well-being while protecting the environment (Turock, 2016). As this discourse on urbanization or the New Urban Agenda of 2016 evolved it is used to analyze the impact of land governance and more specifically issues of urban land use. According to Muchadenyika and William (2016) the fight against exclusion is supported by the SDG16 which states that, there is need to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”. It is important to note that existing literature on urban

agriculture and urban land use conflicts lacks depth on assessing the impact of urban land use and issues of inclusivity despite the fact that some of the core principles of the new urban agenda is to provide basic services for all citizens, ensure that all citizens have access to equal opportunities and face no discrimination.

In terms of the New Urban Agenda, adopted in 2016 by world leaders who committed to eight high level goals to improve the sustainability and resilience of the world's cities, the city of Johannesburg's spatial planning vision for the future offers a good example of an inclusive city and Botswana's urban land zoning which includes urban agriculture as part of the urban plan concerning urban land use (Muchadenyika and William, 2016). However the cities in most African cities remain exclusionary to vulnerable groups, especially women, youths and the poorest who are relegated to the informal, peripheries and ghettos of space, livelihoods and knowledge (Barnet and Parnell, 2016). Hence there is a gap in the context of urban land use in Southern Africa on mainstreaming democratic land governance and recognizing sustainable urban and territorial development as essential to the achievement of sustainable development and prosperity for all (Chirisa et al, 2015).

In southern Africa, the idea of inclusive cities and the New Urban Agenda has confronted the social and spatial legacy of colonial and apartheid cities' (Turok, 2016:11). The historical context is at the heart of how post colonial or apartheid land governance has evolved in ways that continuously exclude the poorest segments of the population. Both South Africa and Mozambique have a legacy of parallel and unequal development of urban spaces based on race (Angel, 2016). This parallel development has morphed into one based on class. Large areas of South African cities still reflect colonial planning traditions designed to promote racial segregation, which no longer adequately meet the demands of urban areas which are doubling in size every 10 to 15 years. In Mozambique, colonial vestiges of exclusion are felt in overpopulated high-density areas, which were built for black labour. This has created problems in terms of service provision and social services such as access to urban space or urban land for farming by the urban farmers in some of these areas (Mashiri et al., 2017). There is no social justice in terms of the distribution of urban land uses which is leading to urban land use conflicts.

The urban goal 'provides a platform for collaboration among local authorities and development actors' in building resilience and inclusion in cities (Earle, 2016). However, collaboration between diverse actors requires a policy and coordination framework at

national and city level because the existing urban land use conflicts are as a result of lack of collaboration. McGranahan et.al (2016) is of the view that such a framework should underscore actor interests, actor roles and responsibilities in the new urban agenda. Following this argument, Southern African governments at national level lacks and should develop a national urban agenda taking into consideration comparative advantages of various actors. However inclusive urbanisation is pivotal in dealing with exclusion from the city and exclusion and segregation in the city (McGranahan et al, 2016:13). In Southern African cities such as Nairobi and Maputo people are excluded through municipal services, economic opportunities and land access among others. Exclusion in cities is rife, partly due to globalisation and neoliberal approaches to urban planning. For instance, governments use policies and planning tools to constrain access to and organise urban spaces in ways that advantage the urban wealthy and middle classes and, often ignore or are hostile to low income residents (McGranahan et al, 2016: 16).Hence justifying why there are urban land use conflicts as a result of the practice of urban agriculture. The city must be inclusive of everyone including the poor because everyone has the right to the city (Ranger, 2007).

2.4 Inclusive Cities in Zimbabwe

The Government of Zimbabwe has not prioritised SDG 11 of inclusive cities rather has prioritised 8 goals dealing with poverty, hunger, energy, infrastructure, water and sanitation, health, education, gender equality and women empowerment (Mashiri et al,2017). However, the decision to leave SDG 11 is problematic and catastrophic to the inclusion of all urban residents in Zimbabwe. This is because, the majority of the 8 selected SDGs are largely dependent on how human settlements are planned and governed. Hence, to achieve the selected 8 goals require addressing the plight of cities and human settlements. Second, at the time of evaluating the SDGs in 2030, half of Zimbabwe's population will be living in cities (UN-Habitat, 2012). In other words, this means that issues of poverty, education, water and sanitation, hunger and food security, health, climate change, employment and decent work among others will be core priority issues in cities. Following this argument, it is therefore transformational to prioritise SDG 11 now, as all the other development issues will put more pressure in cities than ever before (Mashiri et al, 2017). Beall (2000) argues that inclusive cities can address the existing urban problems such as poverty, urban land use conflicts. Hence the cities must be inclusive and there must be inclusive urbanisation. The distribution of land uses within cities is a key defining feature of inclusive urbanisation and inclusive cities (Angel, 2016). Urban primacy in Zimbabwe has led among other things to urbanisation

being concentrated in one region – metropolitan Harare (Mashoko, 2010). Such an approach is non-inclusive and unsustainable. This is why there are urban land use conflicts. Furthermore, the internal development of cities should prioritise both areas for the rich and poor thus including the poor urban farmers as well.

Furthermore, inclusive municipal governance is core to inclusive cities in Zimbabwe. Inclusive municipal governance emphasises on governance arrangements that promote the inclusion of the people in particular the poor and marginalised in the management of city affairs (Muchadenyika, 2015). The way cities are governed determines the nature of inclusivity in a city (McGranhan et.al, 2016). In this regard, the governance of cities should include the poor and marginalised through incorporating their needs and aspirations. Therefore, the urban poor should not be seen and treated as ‘urban nuisance’. Rather, these should be conceived as vital stakeholders in urban governance and it should be the responsibility of city governments to include everyone (Ranger, 2007). Other than providing municipal services to the poor, city authorities should plan and manage cities with the poor and lower income earners in perspective. In the context of urban agriculture the key issues of regularisation and formalisation of informal urban land should be mainstream in urban governance agenda as opposed to demolitions and evictions (elements of a non-inclusive city) as noticed in urban agricultural practices (Mashoko, 2010). The pricing of municipal services should also consider the economic challenges, crisis at hand people will be facing in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, Zimbabwe does not have a defined city development framework. As such the development of cities and in particular metropolitan cities is left uncoordinated (Muchadenyika, 2016). This provides challenges of urban land uses such as urban land use conflicts due to differing interests between municipalities and urban farmers.

2.5 Legal Provisions Prohibiting Urban Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa

Urban municipalities cite a range of legal provisions to justify the prohibition of UA which are discussed below. As such, the municipalities do not see their actions as exclusion, injustice or unfair. Some cities have tried to integrate while others have not. Often cities are concerned with public health, environmental protection; public security which they say is challenged by UA. Mbiba (2000) observed that in Lusaka (Zambia) urban agriculture has been marginalized and not fully integrated into city planning. The government of Zambia continued to enact several restrictive measures on urban cultivation (Tevera, 2000). Tevera (2000) pointed out that, through the Public Health Act 13 of 1994 and CAP 295 of the Laws of Zambia controls urban cultivation. CAP 295 of the laws of Zambia under the Prevention

and Eradication of Mosquitoes laws demand that, no person living within a township permit any premises or lands owned or occupied by him or over which he has control to become overgrown with bush or long grass of such nature as it is likely to harbour mosquitoes. Tevera (2000) argues that ,the Public Health Act in Zambia in section 64 is against some of the activities done by urban farmers which are liable to cause nuisances considering the current use of raw sewage by farmers for irrigating vegetable crops and poultry farming in residential areas which affects public health. This justifies several scholars such as Brown and Jameton (2000), Ericksen (2007) who have pointed out urban health risks associated with UA and the implications of these for the environment .Thus this act for the protection of public health within the boundaries of a city prohibit and restrict the growing of any crop(Simatele and Binns, 2008). Risks introduced by urban agriculture mis-practices are a major concern among public officials throughout the developing world and have even been used to repress specific forms of UA (Bryld, 2013) .Thus the aforementioned provisions are among the most important legal instruments used by urban councils (municipalities) to control urban cultivation, leading to the destruction of maize fields (Masanvi, 2000). It is against this backdrop that the urban farmers conflict with the authorities who are destroying their crops which are important for food provision as a livelihood strategy in the time of hardships. Therefore, the above literature from Zambia enables one to argue that, this is why urban agriculture is shunned in Sub Saharan Africa by the authorities as they base on the laws which are not specifically meant for urban agriculture yet the livelihood strategy has got potential of improving the livelihoods of the people. Therefore, leading to conflicts between urban farmers who are aching a living out of urban agriculture and the municipalities who are completely against it as it is liable to be injurious to health which the people practicing this economic activity will never understand.

Institutional and legal framework is important for urban agriculture in Tanzania. However there is absence of solid institutional and legal frameworks for urban farming in Tanzania. Urban Agriculture is still considered an illegal and informal activity whose importance is strongly undermined in the case of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania (Briggs and Mwamfupe, 2001).The same is happening in most African countries such as Ghana, Zambia and Zimbabwe .There is a general lack of tolerance towards urban farming and these countries have no urban laws that accommodate urban farming (Armar-Klemesu and Maxwell, 2000). Urban Agriculture has usually been met with repressive actions from the city authorities such as slashing of crops and reclaiming of unused space, thus negatively impacting on the

potential of urban agriculture in providing food produce to urban households. Scholars such as Lee-Smith (2010) augments that, given the criminality that has been attached to urban farming and its constant suppression by urban authorities in Tanzania one then must not be tempted to make an exaggeration of its contribution to the development of urban households. This is because urban farming came to be seen as backward, traditional and as an activity that had no place. According to Dongus (2009) in Tanzania urban agriculture was seen as a constraint on urban development and a signal that the process of development was not operating as it should be. Henceforth from the above literature it can be argued that urban agriculture is not supported by the authorities thus leading to conflicts between urban farmers and city authorities. This therefore calls for urban agricultural policies which can be used to integrate urban agriculture into the city lawfully since the economic activity is on the rise and is increasing among urban dwellers justifying its contribution to urban livelihoods. Hence suppressing the activity and continuous prohibitions from authorities will not resolve the existing conflicts rather than embracing it and its potentials by making cities inclusive.

The above literature on the legal provisions prohibiting UA in SSA has shown that there is an existing knowledge gap on the notion of inclusivity within the cities such as Tanzania and Zambia. Literature that captures the inclusivity is missing as justified by the policy gap SSA where urban agriculture is not supported by any policy and city fathers (urban authorities) still view it as a rural activity. However this cannot be generalised to every SSA countries, thus leading to the review of literature in the context of this study Zimbabwe focusing on its legal environment. This is important as it shows if there is literature in Zimbabwe to do with UA and the policies, bylaws used to govern the practice which reveals issues of inclusion or exclusion of the urban farmers((urban poor) within the country.

2.6 Legal environment in Zimbabwe.

Currently, no national policy exists in regards to urban agriculture in Zimbabwe. As a result, the various ministries which deal in some way with agriculture do not have a common reference point from which to craft policies and regulations in regards to urban agriculture or that may affect urban agricultural practices. Ruwanza (2007) argues that, in 1982, responding to degradation of urban environment by livestock, local authorities re-enacted the moribund by-laws of 1949 for controlling livestock (Animal By-laws of 1982 of the Local Government Act (no 8 section 80 of CAP 378). These by-laws are primarily geared toward the keeping of livestock, where no person shall keep any animal within the city area unless he or she shall obtain a permit from the City Director, no person shall keep more than four cattle in any City

Area, no person shall graze any animal within the city area, and subject to any permit issued under these bylaws allowing animals to be moved, all animals within the City Area shall be kept in a building, structure or enclosure. In regards to vegetable production, the bylaws state that fruit and vegetables should not obstruct the sight of roadways. Furthermore, growing crops is not permitted within 14 meters of roads, and in river valleys crop cultivation is not allowed within 15 meters of the riverbank (although farming is permissible, and even encouraged, within river valleys in general) (Mlozi, 2003).

However, because the bylaws have never been amended or updated to reflect current conditions or issues such as water pollution, present a number of issues in Zimbabwe and also in Kenya as posited by Salome(2015). The spatial extent is also unclear if the bylaws refer only the urbanized areas of the city, or do they refer to the peri-urban areas as well. In addition, Werkerler (2004) argues that, the procedure for obtaining permits is not explained. More so, some of the by-laws are not ambivalent to the specific needs of farming in urban areas and require revision. Bryld (2013) pointed out that other areas are simply not addressed by the by-laws such as the use of polluted river water for irrigation in urban agriculture. Therefore silence of the by-laws on some issues pertaining to urban agriculture is creating conflicts between authorities who are prohibiting urban agriculture and the farmers engaging in urban agriculture because there is no common understanding between the two parties. Hence, justifying the view that, African cities are having a challenge of inclusivity. Urban farmers and their activities are excluded through the bylaws used to govern urban land use.

The other legal provision used against the practice of urban agriculture in Zimbabwe since there are no specific policies meant for UA is Environmental Management Act of 2002 with the aim of preserving wetlands and the environment. The Environment Management Act (Chapter 20:27) through section 113 provides for the protection of the wetlands (Turner et al, 2000). Environmental Management Act 3 (Chapter 20:27) states that “no person shall, except in accordance with the Board and the Minister responsible for water resources, disturb any wetland by drilling or tunnelling in a manner that has or is likely to have an adverse impact on any wetland or adversely affect any animal or plant therein or introduce any exotic animal or plant species into the wetland”. Dugan (2005) argued that wetlands are valued for their functions, products and attributes. Whitlow (2003) noted that, wetlands are effective at improving water quality through processes of sedimentation, filtration, physical and chemical immobilization, microbial interactions and uptake by vegetation according. Therefore destruction of wetlands in cities through the practice of UA as much of it takes place on the

wetlands is what EMA is against and has been a major concern. This is why there are conflicts between the urban farmers and the Environmental Management Agency on the use of wetlands. Matamanda et al. (2014) argues that wetlands are under threat in Harare and other urban setups, in Zimbabwe and generally across Africa. Urban agriculture imposes great pressure on water resources according Mutisi and Nhamo (2015).Prain (2006) argued that, in a bid to respond the Environmental Management Agency has put in place policies such as the Statutory Instrument .7 of 2007 4 which is clear on the management of wetlands. This clearly shows that EMA has been posing a blind eye towards urban agriculture in Harare due to its objective of wetland management which is different from the view of urban farmers who see wetlands as suitable for urban agriculture and very productive. Thus highlighting conflicts which are there on urban land use and which arise from the clash of interests between farmers and municipalities. Therefore, one is justified to argue that urban agriculture is excluded by the existing policies, bylaws used by the urban municipalities and ministerial agents such as EMA to govern and monitor the urban land uses, as well as environmental management. City authorities which can be termed the city fathers are not inclusive of the emerging survival strategies such as UA in cities as shown by the absence of bylaws specifically meant for. Another legal provision such as EMA of 2002 is used showing a gap of inclusivity.

2.7 Gaps in Literature and conclusion

From the review of the above literature on the conflicts on urban land use in relation to urban agriculture it was revealed that there is a gap of inclusivity in the existing city structures and urban planning systems in relation to urban planning and land use patterns. The city and its planning systems are not inclusive of the poor urban farmers .The urban farmers are excluded and are not even given space to do their own activities within the cities like other urban activities. As much as everyone has the right to the city, the city of Harare is not being inclusive of the poor urban farmers. Hence the significance of this study to fill in the research gap on an inclusive city since for a long time, urban agriculture has been excluded, there was no inclusion of the urban farmers and it had not been clear what urban agriculture is or should be despite its perceived economic benefits in times of economic crisis which has been creating conflicts on urban land use. Hence the study sought to bridge a gap on the need for cities to be inclusive of everyone and offering equal opportunities to every citizen with specific reference to urban agriculture an area which has been given little attention in research.

The reviewed literature has also shown that there is a policy gap and there is no specific policy on urban agriculture in various Sub Saharan African countries yet it is being practiced widely. The reason behind the policy gap is because the cities are not inclusive. There are no specific by-laws to urban agriculture and other environmental laws used are not clear. It is of importance to recognise that urban agricultural activities are ever increasing which has policy implications. Henceforth, there was a great need for the current research to be done so as to shed light on the gap and even suggest the way forward. Furthermore, it was crucial for this research study to find out from the perspectives of those people involved in urban agriculture in Zimbabwe specifically and to hear and understand these conflict issues from the authorities themselves in Zimbabwe. This therefore, provided in-depth information on the land use conflicts, the legal instruments used by the urban councils or municipalities against urban agriculture and information on how they do it since it was not clear from the reviewed literature in Zimbabwe. It was also evident that some of the existing laws were written as far back as 1965 and have never been repealed or amended at all such that they have been taken by events since they are no longer serving the interests of the people. Hence there is a policy gap due to the exclusive nature of the Zimbabwean cities and the study sought to bridge this gap.

Chapter 3

3.0 Theoretical Framework

This study uses Henry Lefebvre (1991)'s notion of the 'right to the city' to explain a resurging approach to urban development seen in SDGs and answer the research questions pertaining to the topic at hand as it explained very well the urban land use conflicts in relation to urban agriculture as well as bringing out issues of inclusion and exclusion of urban farmers by the authorities. The concept of the 'right to the city' was explained so as to give adequate theoretical expositions for this study. Bryman (2008) argues that every analytical framework has got its limitations, however in the current study the limitations of the works of Lefebvre on 'the right to the city' were countered by the advantages this approach has to the current research and these advantages became the strengths countering the limitations.

3.1 Right to the City

The theoretical framework that informed this study anchored heavily on the works of Henri Lefebvre (1901- 91). He was a French Marxist philosopher whose works has become outstanding in the fields of political science, geography and urban studies (Elden, 2007). In his urban studies Lefebvre presented himself as a radical theorist and activist of urban justice who have embraced the notion of the right to the city as a means to challenge and analyse neoliberal urbanism (Marcuse, 2008). Hence Lefebvre 's response was a neoliberal critique in seeking post-neoliberal insights so as to address the issues of urban injustice focusing on the right to the city. The overarching argument presented by Lefebvre is that , recent work on neo liberalism in many places need to be revised in order to create intellectual space for alternative ideas that may be more relevant to the cities where the majority of the world 's urban population now resides (Beall et al.2010). Therefore, his works draws attention to the possibilities to challenge neoliberal forces (market forces and commercial interests) which used to dominate cities so relentlessly leading to exclusion of the poor.

On the notion of the 'right to the city' Henri Lefebvre's original meaning is that the concept can be likened to a cry and demand situation which should be understood by those in power (urban authorities) as a collective right over urban space within a larger struggle to transform social , economic relations and the concentrated power structures (Lefebvre, 1992, 1996). According to Lefebvre (1991) the city is a space of political engagement with those in power such as the city council, the Environmental Management Agency being powerful when it

comes to land use issues which exclude other people such as the urban poor, the disadvantaged people in terms of access to space (urban land). Above all, and the 'right to the city' entails an argument for not being excluded or displaced, and especially for 'full political participation in the making of the city' (Mitchell & Villanueva, 2010, p. 668). The idea of collective struggle over urban space is famously explained by David Harvey, who augments that, "a right to the city is far more than an individual liberty to access urban resources but, it is a right for people to change themselves by changing the city. Furthermore, it is depending upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the process of urbanization. This also include the freedom for every person to make and remake cities which is the most neglected human right" (Harvey, 2008, p. 23).

Taking it from Harvey (2008)'s argument on the 'right to the city' in his support of Lefebvre it can be argued that the urban farmers, the majority who are the urban poor should have the right to the city and shape the process of urbanisation, make and even remake the cities rather than to continue being seen by the urban authorities as 'nuisance' within the cities (Lefebvre, 1992). Their farming activities should be embraced within the urban areas of today rather than UA to continue to be seen as illegal, not an urban activity. Therefore in line with the argument of Lefebvre, the city authorities should move towards a renewed perspective of the city which is inclusive of everyone. In the same vein Beall et al. (2010) augments that Lefebvre's argument was for a more systematic engagement of today's cities such as Harare and for city authorities to have an understanding of the right to the city as involving democratization of land use and urban spaces.

Generally, the concept of the right to the city just means ensuring that everyone (women, men, youth and children, rich and the poor urban dwellers) has equal access to basic services such as land in the cities they live (Harvey, 2008). Beall (2010) contented that, the right to the city also implies minimum levels of safety and security of tenure, so that urban farmers do not live in constant fear of being assaulted or criminalised by the urban authorities for farming illegally. Furthermore, the right to the city include the right for people (including urban farmers) participate in decisions affecting their livelihoods (Lefebvre, 1991), and in this case it means decisions concerning the integration of urban agriculture within the cities and influence the end of the urban land use conflicts which involves slashing of their crops, destruction of their maize plots by urban authorities. Finally, the right to the city should translate to equal opportunities for all to improve everyone, especially poor people's living conditions (Lefebvre, 1991). This is supported by Beall et al. (2010) through his view that

inclusivity of cities through realising the right to the city for everyone is the only solution to urban poverty, inequalities that exist rather than a problem.

Marcuse (2009) augmented that, the right to the city is not just about the realization of particular rights which include, access to housing or water, but it embodies political claims that can encompass several rights . Among the political claims, the three most crucial ones include, habitation (to live in the city and use its facilities), appropriation (to take full advantage of its economic opportunities) and participation (to influence its form and operation) (Lefebvre, 1996; Purcell, 2014). Thus the poor urban farmers should have a right to live in the city and use its facilities such as the urban land, the space they find suitable to do their farming activities without facing any challenges or being involved in any land use conflicts with the urban authorities (Marcuse, 2009). Again in line with the second political claim of influencing the form and operation of the city as a particular right which is supposed to be recognised and enjoyed (Marcuse,2009) ,urban farmers then are denied the right to influence the form of cities through their farming activities which are seen as illegal by the urban authorities since no policy is in support of urban agriculture as an urban activity especially in Harare (Mabvuku suburb).As much as Lefebvre (1991) presents a vision for a city in which users manage urban space for themselves beyond the control of both state and capitalism, in this study urban farmers do not have any influence over urban land neither do they influence the operations in which urban land is allocated .They are just people not exercising such a right. Furthermore, on the third political claim which encompasses the right to appropriation (to take full advantage of the city's economic opportunities) urban farmers are denied this right. This is because as much as they try to take the advantage of the wetlands which they see as more advantageous to farm on in terms of yields, EMA is against the use of wetlands so as to avoid wetland loss and degradation. As much as the farmers see an economic advantage of practising agriculture on these lands which enables them to yield more produce for consumption (enhancing food availability and security) and for business so that they can earn income, EMA one of the governing environmental board is against it as it punishes the culprits with the jail sentence. Also those farmers who farm on open spaces, roadsides, hilltops as a livelihood strategy and safety valve against urban poverty are having conflicts with the urban council over these land uses which are not legal and not part of the planned city activities. Hence urban farmers are denied the right to take full advantage of the city's economic opportunities in the face of economic challenges they are facing as a result of unemployment and low incomes they are earning.

However as much as the aforementioned right to the city embodies the political claims that encompasses several rights (Marcuse, 2009) such as habitation (to live in the city and use its facilities), appropriation (to take full advantage of its economic opportunities) and participation (to influence its form and operation) (Lefebvre, 1996) these represent a challenge to private property rights and serve as mechanisms for struggling against the dominance of private capital and market values over urban land. Thus, Lefebvre saw the 'right to the city' as part of a project to dismantle the existing economic and political system because of its inherent exploitative nature and exclusionary character, and its failure to give ordinary people such as the poor urban farmers a proper stake in the city. According to scholars such as Purcell (2001), Harvey (2008) and Marcuse (2009) Lefebvre believed that equitable cities require transforming the fundamental structures of society into a quite different, fairer system. Thus the system in which the council officials and EMA officials operate in as much as they are having conflicts with the urban farmers over land use need to be transformed so as to accommodate everyone within the city. This also include the policies which are neoliberal in nature these city authorities adhere to when dealing with land use which is resulting in urban land use conflicts with the urban council. Furthermore, some of these policies are a continuation of colonial policies which are segregatory, not inclusive of the other people especially the poor and their activities such as urban farming (Lazarus, 2000). Thus according to Lefebvre (1991) capitalism was the main obstacle and a barricade to just and inclusive urban development because it is fundamentally extractive in character and inhibits the state (urban authorities, the urban planners, real estate managers) from taking the bold redistributive actions required to overcome urban poverty, inequality and exclusion through fair distribution of urban land and crafting bylaws and policies which enables people of every class within the urban areas to have access to urban space.

According to Lamarca (2011) Lefebvre's claim of 'the right to the city' focused on the prospects for the realisation of everyone's right. This include rights to defends rights to urban space for the urban poor which is a cry and demand for an inclusive programme to support the marginalised poor people (Lamarca, 2011). Thus a right to the city in this current study can also be best understood in terms of how urban spaces are used (Mitchell, 2003). . According to Lefebvre (1991) space is a social product that was created from a mix of legal, political, economic and social practices of structures and the people surrounding those structures. He recognizes the inherent and multiple social meanings of space and the spatiality of all human activities in his works when he is advocating for the right of every

person to the city (Lefebvre, 1991). Hence the existing urban conflicts are emanating from the social production of urban spaces where different actors have different beliefs concerning the use of urban spaces and urban land since urban space and its use is a social product. Thus the urban farmers produce their own urban space for farming (such as open spaces, un-built stands, wetlands, hilltops, roadsides) through their farming activities against how these spaces are produced by the urban authorities basing on the urban plan and urban policies. These differences on how the two different parties produce urban space therefore has led to the existing urban land use conflicts. The conflicts can be seen as spatial conflicts characterised by different ideas of urban land uses, the inherent multiple meanings of space and what it should become (Lawson, 2008).

The concept of the right to the city by Henry Lefebvre (1991) is closely linked to that of socially just cities also referred to as “inclusive cities” in international development discourses such as SDGs (Elden, 2007). Thus, UN (world leaders) have adopted the phrase ‘rights’ and the idea of embracing human rights in articulating the Sustainable Development Goals towards an inclusive and sustainable urban development (Purcell, 2013). Cleobury (2008) defines an inclusive city as one that provides all its citizens with decent public services, protects citizens’ rights and freedom, and fosters the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of its citizens. It strives to produce a beneficial framework for inclusive economic growth and improves the quality of urban living (Cleobury, 2008). According to Muchadenyika and William (2016), if a city is inclusive, it means that all the citizens have access to basic services, access to employment opportunities, promotes human rights, spatially and socially cohesive among other attributes. In this vein, the idea of socially just cities resonates with Lefebvre (1991) ‘s concept of the ‘right to the city’ to address the urban injustice and advocating for socially just cities. Thus this study seeks to explore how these notions are experienced in the city of Harare by its poor residents in Mabvuku.

3.2 Conclusion

This study anchored heavily on the works of Henri Lefebvre (1901- 91) and his concept of the ‘right to the city’. This is linked to the tropical concerns of SDGs and the notion of inclusive cities where inclusion of the excluded poor people is at the centre of the discussion for the purposes of achieving development and ensuring that everyone enjoys his or her right to the city. This theoretical framework have been seen appropriate for answering the research questions pertaining to the topic at hand as it explain very well the urban land use

conflicts and where they emanate from in relation to urban agriculture as well as bringing out issues of inclusion and exclusion of urban farmers by the authorities . Concepts such as the right to the city and production of urban space have been explained very well in Lefebvre's works so as to give adequate theoretical expositions for this study. His works links with the idea of socially just cities which are in other words called inclusive cities which are not discriminatory and exclusionary of anyone, where all people have equal access to services provided by the city such as urban land (Marcuse,2009). The fact that Lefebvre was an activist of urban justice who have embraced the notion of the right to the city as a means to challenge and analyse neoliberal urbanism made his works appropriate for this study as it explained well where the social injustices are emanating from, the urban land use conflicts and why they are emerging and even the production of urban spaces where farmers and authorities will be at play .Hence Lefebvre 's works are of great importance in seeking post-neoliberal insights so as to address the issues of urban injustice focusing on the right to the city in this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology. A qualitative research design was employed for reasons that are explained below. The chapter also explains the research plan that was used to collect data as well as explaining the research methods that were used, and why they were used and preferred. It explains analysis techniques.

4.1 Research Methodology

In this research study qualitative research methodology was used and it enabled researchers to get detailed in-depth information concerning urban land use conflicts in relation to urban agriculture. Furthermore, the qualitative research methodology focuses on stories, exploration, contextualizing, introspection and theory construction. It uses small sample sizes and in-depth study (Jones, 2000).

4.1 Research Design

The study was purely qualitative in nature as it was based on the experiences, perceptions and comprehension of the urban land use conflicts, the causes, and social drivers of these conflicts. Rajasekar *et al* (2013) defined qualitative research design as a systematic subjective approach used and the procedure followed to describe life experiences and give them a meaning. Qualitative design is essential and crucial when a researcher seeks to gain insight, explore the depth, richness and complexity in the phenomenon (May, 2011). This study employed the qualitative research design because of its ability of in-depth study and because it is rooted in the voices and social experiences of the research participants.

Case study research design which falls under the qualitative paradigm is the specific approach that was used for this study. A case study research design entails understanding phenomena in real-life situations (Yin, 2003), and it utilizes naturally existing information sources such as people and interactions between people within the scope of the case (Yin, 2012). In this study cases were individuals such as urban farmers, EMA officials and urban council officials and these individuals formed the unit of analysis for the study (Yin, 2014). One of the greatest strengths of the case study design is its adaptability to different types of research question and to different research settings (Yin, 2012). The use of multiple sources of evidence allows triangulation of findings which, according to Yin (2014), is a major strength of the case study design. Case studies also offer the benefit of studying phenomena

in detail and in context, particularly in situations where there are many more variables of interest than there are observations. This study employed the case study research design as it sought to explore the urban land use conflicts in Harare exploring the notion of inclusive cities from the comprehension of urban farmers who are experiencing these conflicts in their real life situations and have the naturally existing information concerning urban farming.

4.2 Recruitment of Respondents

Purposive sampling was intended to be used in this research as a sampling strategy as it is primarily used in qualitative studies in selecting units (individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study's question (Yin, 2003). However, due to some bureaucratic processes which needed to be done taking long the researcher reverted to snowball sampling technique. More so, the fact that selection of unknown respondents engaged in urban agriculture using snowballing was practical, made the researcher to revert to it instead of purposive sampling. Through employing the snowball chain referral technique the researcher was referred to participants who practice urban agriculture in Mabvuku suburb. Through use of key informants which were two urban farmers the researcher knew, the researcher recruited more participants who met the characteristic of the study. Since it was difficult to recruit study participants determining who was a farmer and who was not, the snowball sampling technique made it easier for the researcher to make use of the existing urban farmers (on-plot and off-plot farmers) in recruiting study participants. During the time of recruitment of participants the researcher took into consideration the social categories of age and gender in order to capture the different viewpoints which might or might not be influenced by the social categories. According to Bryman (2008) issues of gender, race, class age as well as socio-economic status should be the basis of every social science research that seeks to capture different experiences of the phenomenon under study. In a bid to meet this goal the researcher had to be creative and use the chain referral process to include different gender and age groups, house ownership as some participants are lodgers as well as some own houses, period they started UA and the size of land they access. The researcher asked each participant to refer and nominate another urban farmer of the opposite sex who met the study criteria.

All the urban farmers in Mabvuku were the sample population from where the sample was selected. Given the need to attain an indepth account and detail from participants concerning their experiences in urban agriculture the researcher continued to take advantage of chain referral until the researcher realised that the sample was enough and had reached the stage

of saturation. A sample of 63 participants was selected from the population practicing urban agriculture throughout the whole year. Also 3 council officials and 3 EMA officials were also selected to participate in the study as interviewees through referral by one of the EMA top officials. Among the 63 respondents who were farmers 15 participants were interviewees and 27 participants were for the six FGDs. These respondents were enough to enable the researcher to get information until she reached the point of data saturation. . Among the selected samples were farmers who practiced On-plot and Off-plot agriculture in Mabvuku in the areas of Tafara, Chizhanje, old and new Mabvuku area. The main reason for the chain referral in selecting samples was to ensure that samples are likely to generate useful data for the study.

4.3 Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and secondary data.

4.4 In-depth Interviews

These are one on one interviews used to elicit information from research participants. Boyce and Neale (2006) noted that, an in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea or situation. In this research study in-depth interviews were used with the help of key informants. These were carried out with respondents who are both men and women who practiced urban farming on their small plots on roadsides, open spaces under power lines, wetlands, and steep slopes and on backyards. Such people provided in-depth information on urban land use conflicts, how they are involved in land conflicts. These interviews were carried out so as to get in-depth information on urban agriculture from household head participants who practiced urban agriculture for about 20 -30 minutes. These interviews were done in homes, fields or anywhere participants felt they were comfortable with. Five interviews were carried out with households heads who practiced Off plot urban agriculture on open spaces including roadside cultivation .The other five interviews were done with people who practiced On- plot urban agriculture in form of poultry raring (keeping broilers , off layers, roadrunners and so forth).In addition, five more interviews were done by farmers who farm on wetlands specifically so as to get a very clear picture of the experiences of these farmers as they use these areas. The other three interviews were carried out with council officials so as to get information on how they come into play concerning urban land use, the rules and regulations they adhere to. The last three interviews

were carried out with the EMA officials so as to understand the board's views on environmental management and urban land use conflicts with regards to the practice of urban agriculture. Only three interviews were done with EMA and council officials because it was difficult to interview them as they claimed to be busy every now and then during research period. Furthermore, the mentioned numbers of interviews were done with farmers because there was a barrier of time factor and the time the research was conducted was a rainy season where most farmers were very busy in their fields even during weekends. Hence the researcher had to work with a limited number of interviews for the success of the research. One thing to take note of was the use of interview guides by the researcher which made the task of interviewing people on specific aspects of the study easy. The interviews were recorded using a tape recorder and also the researcher would resort to note taking because some people refused to be recorded. With these interviews the researcher managed to get information on the urban land use conflicts, inclusion and exclusion of the urban farmers which is leading to the conflicts on urban land use. Yin (2003) augments that, since these interviews use unstructured schedule of questions they are of prominence for collecting data from individual perspectives and experiences which justify why interviews are crucial to understand perspectives on urban land use conflicts, issues of inclusion and exclusion of the poor urban farmers in cities.

4.5 Focus Group Discussions

Denzin and Lancoln (2011) posited that, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) can be defined as a group of individuals selected, assembled by researchers to discuss as well as commenting on personal experiences and the subject of research. The discussion will be led through by a skilled moderator. According to Cresswell (2013) FGDs are used as a tool to explore the unknown and will provide better understanding of the research topic under study through use of predetermined questions. In this research FGDs were used to explore issues on urban land use conflicts with regards to urban agriculture in Mabvuku area. Even issues of inclusion and exclusion of urban farmers were part of the discussions. Six FGDs were conducted with a total number of 8-9 people in each group which enabled the researcher to illicit a lot of information pertaining to the land use conflicts, exploring the notion of inclusive cities through the analysis of urban agriculture. The researcher made use of FGD guides to facilitate the discussions and recorded these discussions with a tape recorder. Sometimes the researcher would take notes during these discussions. The first two FGDs were conducted with a group of urban dwellers who cultivate by the roadside, open spaces and steep slopes.

The other two FGDs consisted of household members who practiced backyard gardening and poultry rearing. The last two FGDs were done with a group of urban farmers who farmed on wetlands so as to get information on the clashes and the land use conflicts they have faced and are facing with EMA officials and urban council officials concerning farming on wetlands. In these FGDs about 8 or 9 people participated including both men and women between the age groups of 19 - 25, 25-40 and 30-50 and 50+. The discussions lasted for about 45 to 50 minutes. These discussions were done during the weekends where almost everyone was resting and not working. This is because the researcher was avoiding a scenario where participants were going to refuse to participate because of work in their fields. Hence during the weekends research participants were free to take part in the research and the researcher was also free to conduct the research study.

4.6 Secondary Data

This is data that have been already collected by and readily available from other sources (Yin, 2003). In order to get information on the policies used to govern urban agriculture in full detail secondary information was used. Hence secondary sources were considered to extract more information related to policies or bylaws that govern urban land use in Mabvuku. Thus, government policy documents were used so as to complement the data collected from the field through interviewing council and EMA officials on the policies they use to govern urban land use. Although, this data collection technique is not very commonly applied but in land use conflict analysis it is imperative source to understand the bylaws that are used by the officials to govern urban land use and lead to the understanding that, failure to observe these laws it results in land use conflicts situations (Smith, 2008). Hence use of secondary data is of prominence in this research study. Smith (2008) argues that, the major advantages of using secondary data are the cost effectiveness and convenience it provides. He further notes that, when good secondary data are available, researchers can utilize them for high quality empirical researches. This therefore, provides the researcher with an opportunity to work effectively to test new ideas and theories (Smith 2008).

4.7 Data Analysis

Since the research was conducted using a qualitative research design, data was analysed using thematic analysis. According to Creswell (2013), thematic analysis encompasses the categorising of themes that emerged from the research during data collection. Thematic analysis also organises and describes data in detail and through it the researcher was able to interpret aspects of the research topic (Hallberg, 2013) such as urban land use conflicts,

issues of inclusion and exclusion of urban farmers as well as other issues that emerged from the research.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

In this research study on the urban land use conflicts in Harare analysing urban agriculture in particular ethical issues were taken into consideration by the researcher. They were very important because, they ensured that participants were not harmed or negatively affected by the research process physically and emotionally. Research participants (urban farmers) were informed on the purpose of the study since they were included in the research after they had agreed to participate in the research. The research participants were also given a consent form to fill before the research started. Furthermore, the researcher ensured that no pressure was put on participants in order to enhance their participation and there was freedom for participants to drop out of the research. Anonymity, privacy and confidentiality were also considered throughout the research as well as data analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Again and again the researcher kept on giving consent to participants throughout the research process. In addition permissions from Harare city council, Mabvuku Local Board and Environmental Management Agency (EMA) were sought for by the researcher to do the research after the researcher submitted the research proposal together with the research tools and was given.

4.9 Limitations of the Study

Some of the research participants such as the council officials and EMA officials were busy such that it was not easy to interview them. Most of the time the researcher visited these participants' offices she found them occupied no matter the fact that they could have told the researcher time they will be free for the interviews. Hence the researcher had a challenge with interviewing the officials since in the first place they were busy such that they did not want to participate in the study in anyhow. Furthermore, the fact that these officials were ever busy limited the researcher to interview only three EMA officials and this was the same case with council officials. However, after several attempts the researcher managed to interview these officials and got the information which she wanted.

The other field work dilemma was that, the data collection process was done during the rainy season and farming period which made it difficult and hard for the researcher to approach other participants and conduct interviews. This resulted in a limited number of interviews

done with urban farmers .This is also because some of the people refused to take part in the research as they claimed to be very busy attending to their fields even during weekends.

4.10 Study Area

Mabvuku is one of the oldest residential suburbs of Harare town which was established in the colonial era to house the blacks (Mashoko, 2010). There is high prevalence of urban agriculture in the area and it was chosen because it is a high density suburb of households practising urban agriculture (Moyo, 2014). Mabvuku is a high density suburb some 17 km east of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe (ZIMSTAT, 2012).

4.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, the researcher used qualitative research design. This is because with this research design an exploration and in-depth study of issues is made possible (Jones, 2000) which is also the focus of the study, to explore inclusive cities through an analysis of urban agriculture. In the research the sample size was chosen using snowball sampling thus, through chain referral. In depth interview, focus group discussions and secondary data were used to collect data. More so, thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected from the field. Ethics were also considered during data collection.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents research findings of the study carried out in Mabvuku, Harare from the 10th of November 2018 to the 15th of December 2018. The findings are based on themes. The themes that emerged included social and economic drivers of urban agriculture, land allocation and land use, causes of urban land use conflicts, exclusion of urban farmers, policies used by the urban council, policies used by the urban authorities are not inclusive, experiences of urban residents versus urban authorities and suggestions from urban farmers, urban council officials and EMA officials on what can be done so as to raise a sociological debate on an inclusive city which can address these land use conflicts.

5.1 Social and Economic Drivers of Urban Agriculture

From the research it was found out that several factors have led to the rise of urban agriculture amongst the urban dwellers in Mabvuku. From the 6 FGDs and the 15 interviews done by urban farmers with the help of key informants these interviewees noted that, they have been affected by rising cost of food and high unemployment in Zimbabwe. This has led to the practice of urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy and a safety valve. It was shown from the discussions that, it is practised by the urban poor in order to have access to food and as a source of income. Respondents highlighted that that low income earners also practise urban agriculture so as to have a source of food and acquire high quality food at low cost. Furthermore, interviews revealed that even the middle class family practice UA, as it offers the possibility of savings. The FGDs also revealed that urban agriculture is not only practised by the urban poor, but even by middle class households, such as civil servants and other professionals who need to augment their low salaries. Findings from the interviews which were carried out by the urban farmers of Mabvuku and the city council officials has shown that urban dwellers are heavily engaged in urban agriculture. One of the respondents postulated that;

‘It was against a backdrop of serious hunger and general poverty in the country that residents in Mabvuku have embarked on urban agriculture as one of the safety valves in the 1990s and 2000s. Due to food insecurity which has become a permanent feature of most city households, city dwellers have resorted to urban agriculture. This is because opportunities in the formal sectors are all but non-existent as a result of the closure of several companies which used to employ people in Zimbabwe’. (female respondent aged 50 who resides in Tafara area with her family and is not employed)

The other male respondent aged 45 and unemployed who lives in Chizhanje area in support augmented that,

“... pursuance of urban agriculture due to the economic hardships has been done despite the spirited ruthlessness from the city authorities who regard the practice as against urban by –laws ”.

Generally, most FGDs and Interviews done with the urban farmers have shown that farmers are aware of the restriction on cultivating some types of land, sighting the restriction governing cultivating within 30 metres of streams or slopes or within 12 metres from the roadside but due to shortage of land and poverty, these are ignored. Respondents also acknowledged the fact that, UA is not a planned city activity and is illegal. However, they cited that, the tremendous increase in food prices beyond the reach of the majority of the urban population led the poor urbanities to resort to and intensify urban agriculture as a coping strategy to meet their immediate food requirements because most of the respondents between the age of 30 to 50 said that, they are unemployed.

Respondents noted that, poverty drove many Mabvuku urban residents in Tafara area, Chizhanje, Old and New Mabvuku out to the open space and road verges to grow their own food and ensure household food security. Some residents testified that through UA they had managed to raise money for paying rent and school fees for their children through selling roasted maize cobs, fresh maize and vegetables which they farm along the roadsides and within the location. Hence, research participants (urban farmers) were of the view that UA creates jobs for the unemployed, especially the urban, and affords them a chance to generate their own cash for subsistence. Apart from supplementing household income, respondents who practice Off-Plot and On-Plot farming at their backyards also mentioned that UA ensures a variety of diet where sweet potatoes can substitute bread while the growing of maize and vegetables has enabled farmers not to rely on shops for these food staffs. These urban farmers also narrated that UA also provides fresh and cheaper vegetables to Mabvuku residents. Almost every farmer who participated in the research study acknowledged that these associated benefits have attracted more residents into UA leading to conflicts with the urban municipalities over the land uses.

Almost every urban farmer respondent in the research was of the view that crop production on open urban spaces such as maize, beans, round nuts, groundnuts, pumpkins seems to be providing jobs and food for themselves. From the three FGDs which were conducted by the

urban farmers, who farm on the open spaces, on roadsides, on steep slopes it was revealed that they are getting food, jobs and even generating income from their products such as maize, beans, sweet potatoes and a variety of crops they sell. Irrigated open-space vegetable farming was a common type among the interviewed urban farmers. These were located along the drains. One of the respondents had this to say concerning open space vegetable farming which was a response to poverty and economic crisis,

“Among the various farming activities being practiced in Chizhanje area, irrigated urban agriculture represents a market-driven bright spot for income generation and poverty reduction especially through the abundance of vegetable production.” (male respondent aged 37, unemployed and lives with his family).

Most of the respondents were of the view that it allows for competitive profits if farmers are ready to cope with risks associated with it, such as lack of tenure, support or even prosecution of the urban council officials (especially Mabvuku residence council officials).

From the two FGDs which were carried out by the urban farmers who farm On – plot, at the back of their yards, it was revealed that most of these farmers are rearing chickens for sale (traditional, free range breeds and broilers), they are also rearing egg-layers which are enhancing their business for eggs. Most respondents between the age of 30 to 50 and 50+ noted that they reared about 25 to 40 broilers. Only few farmers noted that they were rearing traditional chickens about 10 to 15. Those rearing egg layers highlighted that, each layer lays about 3 to 4 eggs per day (or at least 2 eggs) and the number of eggs collected per day or week varied as these respondents reared different numbers of these egg layers per head. As much as the numbers varied, these respondents had a common point stating that rearing layers, broilers generated income for them. This is supported by one of the respondents (aged 40 and employed) who cited that,

“I rear 30 layers on my backyard and collect about 3 eggs a day from each layer. At the end of the day i would have collected 90 eggs (3 crates). This means that if i feed my layers very well by the end of the week i would have collected 90 eggs (one day) multiplied by 7 days of the week which gives a total of 630 eggs (21 crates). Selling each crate for \$8 i get a total of \$168 a week. This money is enough for me to pay all the expenses and earn a living. This money from sales supplements my meagre salary”.

These farmers mentioned that they have been influenced by the economic problems to engage in these agricultural activities as a survival strategy.

5.2 Urban Agriculture: A Livelihood Strategy

After asking about the social and economic drivers of UA the researcher asked the participants to express their experiences of UA. This resulted in most of the participants citing urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy they have resorted to in response to poverty and economic challenges. They mentioned that UA allows them to grow, make food available, access and consume food of their choice with their families. Research participants regarded yields and returns from UA as viable, essential for their livelihoods and household food security. This was supported by the common point from participants that, at least one harvested two 50 kgs bags of maize from their pieces of land. Some also mentioned that, for those with several pieces of land they farm on and are not employed at most get 6 - 8 50kg bags of maize, and few kilogramms of other crops such as beans, round nuts and groundnuts. One of the interviewees (an old woman aged 62) had this to say,

‘Through urban agriculture, i can grow, make food available, utilise and consume the food i obtain from farming with my family. Mostly food is bought by my children and grand children but, i am able to complement this food through urban farming since i am a retired old woman. Every year i yield 90 -100kgs of maize and 15 to 20kgs of beans from two pieces of land i farm on off-plot (on the roadside opposite to my house and the other on a wetland area along Dennybrook road here in Mabvuku’.

Urban Agriculture as a livelihood strategy was mentioned in all the six FGDs with urban farmers and almost every participant said this (was one of the same point from participants). It was noted that UA is very important to the livelihoods of these participants' households especially those of age group 30-50 and 50+. From the age group of 20-30 years a few participants pointed out that they use UA to supplement other livelihood activities they engage in apart from UA. One of the female FGD participants aged 28 highlighted that,

‘Few of the people in Mabvuku in the area of Tafara, Chizhanje, Old and New Mabvuku are employed and the majority are not employed. The few who are employed are getting meagre salaries and this has led these people to resort to urban agriculture so as to supplement the insufficient incomes. For most of the people who are unemployed UA forms the basis of their livelihoods in this area of Mabvuku

as they get the main staple food maize, beans,vegetables from farming. There are other forms of livelihood strategies done by the urban people but, UA is a very prominent livelihood strategy ''.

Despite the fact that majority of the participants acknowledged that UA provide food for their families' .Almost half of the participants recommended it as an income generating activity. They highlighted that they sell some of their produce to citizens who do not practice UA or even sell poultry (such as broilers, traditional chickens) they rare and to sell to fellow citizens. This was highlighted by one of the interviewees, who stay in Old Mabvuku aged 46 when he said,

“I grow vegetables off-plot on a large open space which is a wetland throughout the whole year. On my place i have a lot of vegetables most of them which i sell. Vegetable selling generate income for me all year round. I sell one bundle of vegetables for a \$1 and at the end of the day i sell more than 8 bundles to the people close to my field. Various vegetable vendors come and hoard vegetables from me every week. So at the end of the week i get an amount of \$50 or 50+ depending on the demand of vegetables that week .This business is generating money which i use to sustain my family all year round”.

From the FGDs and interviews some of the backyard farmers in support of the mentioned point of UA as an income generating activity noted that poultry raring and selling as part of UA also generates income. Respondents highlighted that they rare broilers, traditional chickens (road runners) mainly for business. They pointed out that each broiler costs about \$12 dollars and traditional chicken is at \$14.So this business generated income for these urban farmers On-plot as they said that they can have sales which amounts to approximately more than \$100 per week. However the participants had varied amounts of income which they generated through selling broilers or traditional chickens because they stated different numbers of poultry, be it broilers they reared and sold. However, despite the varied number of traditional chicken, broilers these respondents mentioned they rare and sell they shared a point in common that through UA with regards to poultry raring income is generated which then helps them to earn a livelihood. Furthermore some of the respondents who participated in FGDs and Interviews also mentioned raring of egg layers for business as another activity in UA which generates income for households practicing it. Most respondents supported these stated points as they also noted that when raring egg-layers when they reach the stage

of laying eggs they lay 3 to 4 eggs a day when properly fed. This means that at the end of the day one would have collected many eggs depending on the number of layers one has. In the study all respondents mentioned a number more than 15 of layers they rear. Some respondents also stated that they collected more than 45 eggs especially those with 15 to 16 layers, those with more layers as they stated collect over 45 eggs a day. Respondents pointed out that with a price of \$8 per crate (30 eggs) or \$1 for 3eggs they can generate more income per week depending on the number of eggs one collects and the layers one has. Thus farmers mentioned that UA is an income generating activity.

5.2 Land Allocation and Land Use

Respondents indicated that, they do not have land designated for their agricultural activities legally. They access land illegally through self-allocation of unused pieces of land. Several respondents said for urban farmers, access to land is through the first-come first-served basis. One of the respondents mentioned that, it is through self help for one to access and get a piece of land for farming. Respondents who practice off-plot farming argued that they got pieces of land they use for their agricultural activities not through anyone but, through self allocation. Some of the male research participants said that, they inherited the land from their parents who used to farm on it since 2000 when the economic crisis began. So the ownership of these pieces of land is based on the experiences and time these urban farmers have been using the land. Among themselves, they know the owner of a certain piece of land and they even know the boundaries of these small pieces of land they use for production of their own food. On the question of how long urban farmers have been using their pieces of land the researcher got varied answers. The FGDs have shown that most urban farmers started in the 2000s when the Zimbabwean economy started to change where there was an economic crisis and rising food costs, which influenced the majority of urban farmers to practice urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy responding to the shocks. The Interviewed On-plot urban farmers argued that, they started farming on their backyards when they bought these stands. The land most of On-Plot farmers are using are theirs. These respondents noted that farming on their backyards is not intensive as compared to Off-plot farming because their stands are small. The respondents also said that, they grow vegetables and rare poultry mostly. However, they pointed out that backyard farming did not produce a lot but however it complemented their low incomes and other livelihood strategies they engage in. Only a few On-plot farmers indicated that they were lodgers who have been given permission by landlords to farm vegetables, maize, beans or any other crops on the backyard as well poultry

rearing (especially broilers and mainly meant for business). Interviewees who farm on-plot whether they own these stand or are lodgers stated that broiler rearing which takes place on backyards generated income as they would sell one broiler \$12 each. So at the end of the week one could have raised \$84-\$100 which is a lot and enough for their sustenance and feeding for their families.

Concerning what the land is used for and what is produced on the farmer's pieces of land, most off-plot farmers mentioned maize as the main crop they grow for food. These respondents cited that, they yield at least 80 to 100kgs for those with a single piece of land and for those who have several pieces of land especially those farmers who are unemployed in the age group of 50 years and above yield more than 100kgs. They were of the view that, other crops like beans, round nuts, ground nuts, watermelons, pumpkins and much more they grow comes after maize which is the first priority. Even On-Plot farmers narrated that they farm similar crops from the interviews that were carried out for those who have space in their backyards which are maize, beans on the small pieces of land on backyards. Some backyard farmers specialised in chicken rearing and egg production through rearing of egg layers and vegetable production for home consumption. It was revealed from the research study that some Off-plot farmers who have got large pieces of land in wetland areas like Chizhanje specialises in vegetable production since the area is wet and is conducive for farming all year round. The farmers who specialize in vegetable production narrated that they favour it because they can make fast money and earn a lot of money through it.

5.3 Causes of Urban Land Use Conflicts

Respondents from the two FGDs held with urban farmers noted that lack of support by the authorities to urban agriculture is the sole cause of conflicts over the urban land use. In their view no support has been given to poor urban farmers to enable them to have access to land to practice agriculture, hence intensifying urban land conflicts over the urban land uses. One of the Off-plot female farmers interviewed aged 33 who lives in Old Mabvuku confessed that;

‘No one support us in our farming practices which are the source of our livelihoods. No one allocates us farming land on legal basis. This is why we are having conflicts with the urban council claiming that urban farmers are using land for their farming practices which is not meant for farming although urban farmers will have found the place unused’.

A key informant, an urban official highlighted that, the differing perspectives on land use are causing the disagreements. The chief council official said that, in January 2017 Harare city council issued a statement highlighting that hazardous cultivation will not be tolerated by the council, where residents farm on undesignated land or land set aside for other purposes, often poses serious urban planning challenges as well as environmental, social, health and infrastructural risks but it has not stopped the practice of urban agriculture. Almost all of the officials argued that urban farming is hazardous and this hazardous urban farming is usually seasonal, occurring mostly during the rainy season. People mostly grow maize and other food crops such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, sugar cane, and watermelons. According to the urban council officials, residents utilise practically every 'available' piece of land without much regard to anything else (they are inconsiderate about the environment). Almost all the interviewed officials were of the view that any 'unused' piece of land is a target during this time where people plant along road sides, hill slopes, on wetlands, along stream banks, dumpsites and near electricity pylons, water and sewer infrastructure. It was acknowledged by the city officials that citizens either are not aware of the impacts of their actions or regard environmental degradation and other risks as secondary to meeting their food requirements. However, as much as the urban council viewed urban agriculture as hazardous, the urban farmers were of the view that urban agriculture plays a complementary strategy to reduce poverty and food insecurity. These differing perspectives on land use causes conflicts between farmers and the urban council.

Interviews with the council officials has shown that, the other situation that has created urban land conflict between urban farmers and local authorities is when land that had been used by urban farmers is taken up for other planned land uses. One of the city officials (residence council) pointed out that, the strategies used by the city of Harare have been the densification as a land optimization strategy. According to this council official, in Mabvuku the densification policy led to conflicts between new residential stands holders which have been allocated stands and old residents who had always used those for agriculture. This was also confirmed by the second council official the researcher interviewed. The interviewee mentioned the fact that due to the allocation of stands on the space, urban farmers used to have for their farming practices there have been reported cases of conflicts between even the residential stands holders and urban farmers. It was acknowledged by the council officials that there have been even fighting over the land use disputes. One of the council officials had this to say,

“As much as the council is having conflicts over urban land uses by farmers, farmers go to an extra mile and fight with those people who are being allocated land for housing stands to by the authorities legally”.

In addition, the council officials were of the view that access to these informal pieces of land by the urban farmers is on a first claim basis, being the first to claim an unused piece of land have caused most conflicts. From the interviews and FGDs with urban farmers it was shown that most of the farmers in Mabvuku claim ownership of the land based on the period they have spent cultivating the land as noted from the interviews and FGDs with the urban farmers. According to the Mabvuku residence council officials interviewed, they said that they have been getting reports from the people of Mabvuku some claiming to have spent up to 20 years on the same piece of land and in some instances this has been passed on between generations, yet another planned urban land uses are now affecting their farming activities. The fact that some farmers have been holding a certain piece of land for several years before other land uses have been planned for, that same land is the major drive for urban land use conflicts. This is because according to the urban farmers interviewed, especially those who practice Off-plot farming on open spaces showed that they are not happy with the way the urban council is evicting them from their small farming plots yet they found it unoccupied when they started farming.

It was revealed from the research through interviews and Focus Group Discussions farmer's lack of land to do their agricultural practices was another cause of urban land use conflicts. Interviewed farmers noted that, urban land use conflicts were not just among urban farmers and the urban council but also, between the urban farmers themselves. They acknowledged that this was as a result of the farmers who have been crowded on small pieces of land, hence creating conflict among themselves and disputes over the land boundaries. Most respondents who participated said that, conflicts are also aggravated by the methods employed by urban farmers in accessing land through the first come first serve basis. Hence the farmers are having conflicts amongst themselves over land. Furthermore, land use conflicts are there even between community members themselves such as apostolic sects as they fight over the worshipping space and boundaries as said by the respondents who participated.

5.3.1 Exclusion of Farmers

Exclusion of farmers from the urban planning systems and land allocation is another cause of urban land use conflicts. From the interviews with urban farmers, they noted that, urban farmers who engage in UA neither, have any degree of power nor any power bases for practicing it. This was supported by the data collected from the FGDs which confirmed that farmers are excluded from the legal frameworks, urban planning systems on land uses as they argued that urban agriculture was not stipulated in the policies that are being used to govern urban bylaws. This is the reason they are engaged in urban land use conflicts with the council who base their power on legal and institutional frameworks. One of the interviewees aged 25 a female who live in New Mabvuku said that,

“Urban farming is not included in the city as an urban activity. Hence urban farmers are having conflicts with urban council officials over the urban land uses”.

This is confirmed by the information obtained from the interviews and FGDs where conflicting perceptions regarding land use are the other cause of land use conflicts among the urban council and urban farmers. Due to lack of common belief system among those engaged in UA and the urban authorities regarding land use conflicts are resulting. It was evident from the research and respondents narrations that urban land use conflicts were caused by perceptions and ideologies which differed among urban farmers involved and the urban councils concerning urban land use. A number of respondents noted that, as much as they considered open spaces, roadsides, wetlands and steep slopes as suitable for agriculture because there is nothing the land is being used for, the authorities have a different perspective regarding how the land should be used according to their urban planning systems which exclude urban agriculture.

Most urban farmers mentioned the issue of space availability as the major problem of UA and to them it was an indicator that the Harare city is not being inclusive of everyone which is causing land use conflicts. They were of the view that there is no space in the city allocated for urban agriculture. Hence the practice has not allocated land, for according to the discussions which were done by the respondents. Information from the FGDs and interviews has shown that, this has resulted in urban farmers occupying open spaces, wetlands, steep slopes and roadsides for farming purposes which is illegal and is resulting in land use conflicts with the urban authorities. All the respondents who participated in the research study mentioned that, no provisions have been made for space for urban food production.

Respondents cited that urban farmers' perspectives over urban land use are different from those of authorities which are resulting in exclusion of urban farmers. Respondents from the FGDs had almost the same point concerning how they are excluded. They highlighted that, many urban managers and planners think of their city more in terms of housing, transport, commercial services and industry, rather than in terms of agriculture, which is used by the poor urban dwellers as a safety valve. Generally, the respondents noted that urban agriculture suffers from a combination of political restraints, that include restrictive urban policy, laws and regulations (due to the mainly illegal status of urban agriculture) uncertainty about the property rights of land, lack of supportive services, unfeasible implementation of environmental technologies, and lack of organisation and representation of urban farmers.

5.4 Policies Used by Urban Council to Govern Urban Land Use

Through the interviews with urban councillors on the laws they use when dealing with urban agriculture, they narrated that, the pieces of legislation governing urban agriculture include, the Urban Councils Act Chapter 29:15, Regional Town Planning Act Chapter 29:12, Environmental Management Act Chapter 20:27, Public Health Act Chapter 15:09, Forestry Act Chapter 19:05. The urban councillors highlighted that, the Urban Councils Act (29:15) is one very important piece of legislation related to urban agriculture mainly about running of urban administrations. However, it is not specific about the manner in which agricultural activities should be carried out in urban areas. According to interviewed urban councillors, this is the main reason against which farming was and is still viewed as an activity not in sync with urban areas. These officials noted that, the question of urban agriculture is mainly dealt with through regulations and bylaws crafted under the Act. They were also noted that, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act, Chapter 29:12, authorizing the local planning authority, following available procedures to determine the nature of the activity to be carried out on any piece of land under its jurisdiction (Government of Zimbabwe, 2002) governs the practice of UA. Therefore, following these acts the council officials acknowledged that, they work and follow what these laws entails when it comes to issues of urban land use.

When the researcher read other people's reviews on the policies used by the urban council in their urban land use controls there was the Environmental Management, Act (20:27) (Government of Zimbabwe, 2002). This Act entailed environmental principles, the standards and practices that have an impact on urban agriculture. The policy document further revealed that this Act put emphasis on the sustainable management of the environment and deals with standards of environmental quality. It was also noted that, the Public Health Act, Chapter

15:09, deals with health related issues and do not support the practice of UA (Mudekwe, 2007). The Forest Act Chapter, 19:05 was promulgated to control, administer and manage state forests, to provide for the setting aside of state forests, trees and forest produce, to provide for the conservation of timber and to control the burning of vegetation (Mudekwe, 2007).The urban councils interviewed cited that, as far as urban agriculture is concerned, this Act is important as it relates to the protection of private forests and management of private land in urban areas. To the urban councillors the Act can regulate urban farmers' conduct to avoid unnecessary cutting down of trees.

5.5 Policies used by urban Authorities are not inclusive

Several respondents from the FGDs pointed out that the city of Harare is not inclusive of everyone since urban farmers are not considered by the bylaws. Laws are always against their practices. One of the respondents was of the view that the bylaws are silent about the emerged livelihood activities such as urban agriculture. The poor urban farmers are excluded.

Most respondents were concerned about inclusion. They mentioned that, times have changed and it is high time the authorities should consider urban agriculture as part of the urban activities done by the poor urban groups to earn a livelihood. They noted that it is no longer in the 1980 and 1990s where the urban authorities used to be hostile to urban farmers since that time urban agriculture was not considered as an urban activity. Most respondents highlighted that, it is high time cities should be inclusive of the urban poor and should have a new urban plan that include everyone and not to discriminate anyone.

According to the interviewed respondents and the FGDs almost all the participants were aware of the policies that prohibit urban agriculture. They were of the view that, the Urban Councils Act ,Chapter 29:15, Regional Town Planning Act ,Chapter 29:12, Environmental Management Act ,Chapter 20:27, Public Health Act, Chapter 15:09, Forestry Act Chapter 19:05 have a negative bearing on urban agriculture. It was mentioned that all these Acts do not support, but impede the practice of urban agriculture and the urban authorities use them as their power base. According to respondents (urban farmers), this as well is shown by the absence of supportive legislation, lack of support from central and local governments.. Participants of the research study have highlighted and shown that the policies or bylaws are not inclusive.

5.6 Experiences of Urban Residents versus Urban Authorities

5.6.1 Encounters with the Urban Council

From one of the interviewees (urban farmer) farming on the open space, un-built stand in Mabvuku mentioned that, she have been given a warning with the city council to stop farming in the residential area. The other interviewee said that, one of these years her crops on the roadside have been slashed by the authorities for about three times. The reason was that, these areas were not meant for farming. This was confirmed by the urban council officials who mentioned that, they were not concerned with urban agriculture because the places where farmers are doing their agricultural practices are not meant for farming.

One of the male participants was of the view that, despite the fact that urban agriculture is an undertaking that has existed for a long time in Zimbabwe, the practice has been masked in much debate. The respondent was of the argument that there have been reports of battles between farmers and urban municipal authorities and have been a regular occurrence in Mabvuku (especially Old Mabvuku). Most of the battles according to the information obtained through conducting FGDs have resulted in council officials burning or slashing the farmers' crops. Interviewees during the interviews carried out mentioned that this scenario has posed a serious threat to urban farmers' food security and the majority of whom are unemployed while some are low income earners as well as intensifying the urban land use conflicts. According to the urban farmer participants municipality authorities have regarded urban agriculture as an illegal practice that is incompatible with urban development. As such, not much assistance has been rendered to the deserving urban farmers in terms of land access for agricultural purposes.

From the interviews with farmers they mentioned that, the city council really destroys crops grown on the illegal area. Even when the city council officials were asked they confirmed that they slash and destroy crops of the urban farmers, especially those close to the roads, under power lines. Those who farm under power lines also confirmed how their crops are slashed as they will be clearing the area covered by the power line. Most of the respondents noted that they do not meet with the council officials in their small plots, but rather they find their crops slashed showing disapproval of the practice on these areas.

More so, On –Plot farmers farming on their backyards who were interviewed narrated their experiences where the council officials reached their houses to inspect their backyards and

they were given warnings to stop their activities. This was confirmed by one of the male respondent aged 52 who lives in Old Mabvuku, who noted that,

‘What brought them to my house was the kind of organic manure I used which polluted the air whenever I watered my vegetable garden. They came and gave me a warning to stop the farming activity since the area was a residential area and not meant for agriculture’.

5.6.2 Encounters with EMA Officials

The urban residents of Mabvuku who were the research participants, farming on wetlands and open spaces along Donnybrook road narrated that they have been involved in conflicts with the EMA officials several times whilst they were in their small plots. Several respondents were of the view that, the EMA officials participate in wetland conservation through monitoring of legal adherence, initiating wetland protection projects and monitoring illegal extension of farming plots. The respondents highlighted that, the institution is well known due to its punitive measures to degrading activities, including a jail sentence. The interviewed urban farmers and some participants from FGDs who has been farming along Donnybrook road and on the open space in Chizhanje area confirmed how they have been punished by an EMA official after they have been warned to stop misusing wetlands which are there so as to avoid wetland loss and they continued practicing their agricultural activities against the Environmental Management Act. This has got them into so much trouble.

One of the respondents who live in Chizhanje in Mabvuku had this to say:

‘We were evicted by EMA in 2017 from the wetland area where we were farming. I am one of those people who used to farm on the wetland area along the road called Tingini here in Mabvuku. Continuing to farm on this area where we have been evicted attracts a jail sentence’.

The other respondent who also lives in Chizhanje a former dormitory suburb of hostels close to Old Mabvuku said that, ‘

‘If ever caught by the EMA officials farming on wetlands, steep slopes there are a penalty for that in the form of a jail sentence. Henceforth, I and my colleagues practice our farming activities on these illegal urban spaces early in the morning before EMA officials start their work. We will then go back to these areas to carry on with our farming activities in the evening after the working hours of official’.

Most of the off-plot farmers farming on the open space (wetland area) close to Batanai Primary School noted that, EMA occasionally responds to wetland degradation threats such as fire instead of routine management of the resource. They were of the view that despite knowing the laws and consequences associated with breaking the law, they continue to use wetlands since they promote good harvests and those who farm on wetlands do not rely on rainfall for their farming activities but they rely on water that collects in certain places, spring water. Most of the respondents were of the view that, EMA is constrained by inadequate human and financial resources resulting in their sporadic visits.

Several participants noted that, there is wetland degradation as the residents of Mabvuku have mismanaged the sustainable cultivation technique due to lack of knowledge. This is the reason they have had encounters with EMA officials in a bid to preserve the wetlands and avoid the wetland use and degradation. Five female respondents from Old Mabvuku mentioned that they have been arrested after they were found making tunnels on the wetlands so as to drain too much water the soil holds and prevent plants from being affected. The other issue they were arrested for was because they had no permits, which authorise them to use the land.

From the discussions done and narrations of respondents it was shown that, as much as they have had encounters with the EMA officials, they have noticed inconsistencies in wetland policy articulated by the same institution in wetland management. Respondents cited that, this situation leaves wetland users, especially urban farmers confused about their status in wetland management processes. For instance, in New Mabvuku there are several cases reported where urban farmers which were involved in use of wetlands with the support of EMA and with the council permission were threatened with expulsion from the land by officials from the same Agency who notified them that they are illegal users.

5.7 EMA's Concern About Wetland Use and Environmental Management

The interviewed EMA officials showed that, they were against the use of wetlands by urban farmers and their organisation was against urban agriculture. According to one interviewee (EMA official), urban agriculture destroys wetland resources and these wetlands will end up drying through the forced drainage urban farmers will be involved in. To the interviewed officials, wetland loss is the loss of wetland area, due to the conversion of wetland to non-wetland areas, as a result of human activity, while wetland degradation is the impairment of wetland functions as a result of human activity including urban agriculture. So to avoid

wetland loss and degradation in urban areas urban agriculture should not be practiced according to the perspective of EMA officials.

It was revealed that EMA regulates access to wetland utilization. This explains why according to EMA officials interviewed, no single wetland is utilized for cultivation with a permit as required by the EMA Act (2003) (Subsection 113). The interviewed EMA officials highlighted that, these statutes expect EMA to grant licences to prospective wetland users having a clear environmental management plan for certain activities, regardless of the scale of operation.

The researcher also read the EMA policy document of 2002 they use. The Policy framework contained the punitive measures for producing crops in wetlands within stated boundaries. EMA officials use the Environmental Management Act of Zimbabwe (CAP 20:27 of 2002), Section 113, Part XII, subsection (2), which advocates for the protection and conservation of wetlands in the country and prohibits activities that may degrade wetland resources (EMA,2002).However, the researcher found out from the policy document that cultural wetland protection is poorly documented and lacks proven record of success rate in curbing wetland loss and degradation. The researcher also found out as she read through the policy document that, wetland issues are not discussed openly. EMA policy document 20:27 states that cultivation of wetland without a permit from the minister is not allowed. They therefore maintain the perception that, it is illegal to cultivate wetlands. As a result, wetland cultivation occurs unsupported.

One EMA official who was interviewed was of the view that, wetland management in Zimbabwe is regulated by the Environmental Management Act of 2002 as indicated in the policy document the researcher read. This act allows cultivation of wetlands in certain instances which include, when a permit is granted by the minister. As such, such use of wetlands is registered. One EMA official who was interviewed was of the view that, (Chapter 20:27) of the Act of 2002 states that,

“No person shall, except in accordance with the express written authorization of the Environmental Management Agency, given in consultation with the Board and the Minister responsible for water resources, disturb any wetland by drilling or tunnelling in a manner that has or is likely to have an adverse impact on any wetland or adversely affect any animal or plant life therein, or introduce any exotic animal or plant species into the wetland”.(EMA,2002)

The act as confessed by the respondents suggests that urban dwellers can get “written permission” from the Minister responsible for water. However, the process for obtaining this permission remains obscure according to the urban farmers.

5.8 Reasons for the Prohibition of Urban Agriculture

5.8.1 Urban Farmers Have No Council Permission

Evidence from the interviews done in the field research indicates that UA practices of council land without the consent of the city council and hence leading to urban land use conflicts. The three council officials who were interviewed acknowledged that people simply make use of any open spaces that they can find for urban agriculture without council permission. This partly explains the cultivation on steep slopes and other areas susceptible to erosion.

During the research, the researcher found out that farmers cultivate where the ‘**NO CULTIVATION**’ signs are displayed by the council and this is an indication that the urban farmers had approached the council for land, despite the fact that they were advised that all the arable land had been taken up for other uses and were not for urban agriculture. This can be supported by one of the urban farmers’ (aged 36 who lives in Tafara area) statement that;

‘I farm in the restricted areas because I do not have anything to do life is very difficult for me and my family since I have no a formal and paying job. So farming is my survival strategy’.

From the research conducted and the rate at which the interviewed urban farmers have acknowledged their practice of UA, shows that only a few farmers take heed of the Harare city council’s directive to stop any form of farming near restricted areas, while the bulk of these farmers continue to plough near stream banks, wetlands, roadside and under power lines.

5.8.2 Access to Land Issues

The interviewed farmers in Mabvuku were in most cases those who had small plots on the open space, along roads, steep slopes and they pointed out that, they were not the owners of the plots they were farming. They declared to farm on institutional land or illegally on other areas. Only few farmers practiced their farming on their own land, on the backyards of their houses. Most of the farmers pointed out that, access to land is difficult for them since the urban authorities believe that farming is not part of the urban activities which should not be

done in urban areas. Most farmers, who cultivate in open spaces, urban fringes and along roadsides in the city, mentioned that they inherited land from family and friends or had acquired the land by "first claim". Thus the first person who found a vacant piece of land and started using it became the owner. Respondents highlighted that, they do not own any land legally which is the reason they are clashing with the urban council over the urban land use.

From the FGDs it was found out that those practicing Off-Plot farming accessed land through informal means. These urban farmers believed that first possession of land and inheritance of land from family and friends is strongly associated with the number of years the household had resided in the area. Households that had resided in a particular area such as Old Mabvuku or Tafara for more than 10 years were found to have acquired land by inheritance or first claim. The general statement mentioned by farmers who participated in the FGDs is that, since they do not possess tenure rights to the land on which they farm, they were likely to lose their land at any moment and this discourages them from investing in agriculture.

Land that is used by urban farmers usually involves pieces of un-built urban land that is held by private landlords. Hence, most urban farmers do not own land according to the respondents. One of the 30 year old male respondents said that,

‘‘I farm on an un-built stand. The area was discovered by my mother back then in 2008. It is the same piece of land that I now use to grow vegetables, ground nuts to mention just a few. The area where I farm is not mine and I will continue to farm on it till the time the stand owner will build it’’.

Most urban farmers as shown from the research study are unaware of the process to acquire land for farming as it has not been publicly announced.

5.8.3 Urban Farming lead to Food Contamination

The interviewed urban authorities cited that there is a significant negative impact of UA and this concerns food contamination. According to the EMA reports the researcher requested to look at it was noted that, vegetables are highly contaminated with pathogens through the use of polluted stream or drain water for irrigation, and also with pesticides. Interviewed EMA officials and the urban councillors pointed out the fact that, the practice in urban vegetable production can lead to a build-up of minerals and pesticides which over the long period of time can have detrimental health and environmental consequences. These respondents (urban council and EMA officials) narrated that from the past up to present day, the fear of negative

health impacts has in many cities led to the enactment and imposition of restrictive policies on urban agriculture.

5.9 Suggestions on How to Address land Use Conflicts

According to the urban authorities concerning what can be done with the problem of urban land use conflicts in their narrations during research was that, an important step should be taken by the authorities at local, regional and government level to organize urban farmers to facilitate sustainable access to productive resources (such as land), information and training. They also argued that appropriate information, education and training for farmers will be important to ensure their understanding and contribution to good nutrition and health as they practice urban agriculture.

From all the interviews carried out by urban farmers, they were of the view that, the urban authorities such as the Environmental Management Board should enhance the capacity of farmers to match wetland use to their objectives and wetland conditions and to create awareness of wetland management options and strengthen urban farmers' capacity to make informed choices of wetland management technologies. They also pointed out that the panacea to avoid land use conflicts was only through accommodating urban farmers and even facilitating farmers to define their objectives and vision to improved wetland utilization dynamics. Farmers who were research participants noted that EMA should facilitate farmers to understand wetland condition dynamics so as to avoid wetland loss and conflicts between the two parties through the development and implementation of training programs for farmers in future, as well as exposure programs such as farmer exchange visits so as to address the misunderstandings which are there concerning wetland use. This was following the argument of all the EMA officials that there is no any advocacy program which EMA is providing which focus on urban land uses including urban agriculture. The interviewees also highlighted that as EMA officials they will influence the board to facilitate and provide training materials to create awareness of different ways of modifying and adapting to management options. The other issue the EMA officials mentioned was an attempt to achieve sustainable use of wetlands.

The interviewed EMA officials raised another idea of raising farmer awareness of the environmental threats to the wetlands and better wetland management options so as to bring in the notion of inclusivity. Furthermore, it was urban farmers who participated suggested that there should be the establishment of an all inclusive local level wetland committee

responsible for regulating and managing wetland activities. From the interviews with urban farmers and EMA officials it was mentioned that, the committee should have representatives from all stakeholders, including farmers, urban council members, Environmental Management Agency (EMA). The urban farmer's respondents proposed that there should be a wide representation in the committee which will help create a platform for dialogue and consensus building among the stakeholders with different interests in the wetland. Those respondents who participated in the FGDs mentioned that, there should be promotion of the use of more environmentally friendly soil fertility management practices such as conservation farming and other organic fertilizers by the urban authorities.

The urban council officials and the urban farmers also suggested that there should be participatory land use planning (participatory wetland management planning, land use planning) which is a process that brings diverse groups of people, and individuals with different interests concerning land use, values and perspectives together for a shared vision on how land should be used. These respondents were of the view that this should be done in urban areas and therefore providing an opportunity to formulate highly sustainable wetland use systems and land use for development. They were of the view that this will bring back the inclusive city, thereby leading to a socially just city. They also argued that with the facilitation of land user which ensures inclusive consensus-based planning and management process, this will involve all relevant sectors and groupings of the people in the urban areas in coming together, resulting in the involvement of the urban dwellers in stocktaking of their land resources to address land use potential, strengths, opportunities and suitability for various uses of land. All these views concurred with the responses from urban farmers that the urban planning systems should be inclusive of everyone since everyone has the right to the city, right to equal access to urban resources without any discrimination. Several respondents (urban farmers were of the view that there is a policy vacuum in Zimbabwe is regarding urban agriculture). They were of the view that there should be a revision of policies that govern urban land use to accommodate the poor urban farmers in the cities and make these cities inclusive.

5.11 Conclusion

The chapter has presented the research findings in the form of themes which emerged due to similar views and narrations made by respondents. The themes which emerged include, causes of urban land use conflicts, exclusion of urban farmers, social and economic drivers of urban agriculture, power basis used by the urban council, bylaws used by the urban

authorities are not inclusive, experiences of urban residents versus urban authorities and suggestions from urban farmers, urban council officials and EMA officials on what can be done so as to raise a sociological debate on these land use conflicts.

Chapter 6: Discussion of Findings

6.0 Introduction

The chapter presents the discussion of the study findings presented in Chapter 5 as a response to key study questions in particular on the response to the general question on the urban land use conflicts, exploring the notion of inclusive cities in an analysis of Urban Agriculture in Mabvuku suburb. The discussion in this chapter is illuminated by Lefebvre (1991)'s concept of “the right to the city” (presented in chapter 3), the literature review (presented in chapter 2) and the study findings presented in chapter 5. The discussion of findings is organised in the following themes, illegality of urban agriculture, differing perceptions of urban land use, reaction of authorities to UA, persistence of UA, urban land use conflicts and the right to the city, implications for social justice, Harare an exclusionist city and finally land tenure issues and politicisation of urban space. Through the discussion of findings, the researcher demonstrates how the current study contributes to a sociological debate on inclusive cities. The chapter concludes the study as well.

6.1 Illegality of Urban Agriculture

Agriculture has always been seen as illegal in urban areas and associated with the imaginary of the rural environment, and as a matter of fact, its related activities were most of the time confined to such context. Still, this worked out to be quite incorrect, chiefly as a result of the low purchasing power of the poor urban people. Indeed, the increase in poverty and the high unemployment rates, increased the food demand and the vicinity to the markets, which have stimulated the development of a variety of cropping and food systems (urban agriculture) in the cities and their surroundings, mainly specialized in the production of fresh vegetables, eggs, and chickens as expressed by most study participants. Urban agriculture in Mabvuku suburb acts as a safety net for low income households and helps to absorb some of the negative impacts on the unstable socio-economic environment in Zimbabwe. Despite the fact that UA act as a safety net as confirmed by the findings of this study it is still seen as illegal and is excluded from the city planning systems. This echoes Lefebvre's theory of ‘the right to the city’ which regards the city is a space of political engagement with those in power such as the city council, the Environmental Management Agency being powerful when it comes to land use issues which exclude other people such as the urban poor, the disadvantaged people in terms of access to space (urban land). Exclusion of farmers from the urban planning systems and land allocation is a reflector of the illegality of urban agriculture leading to land use conflicts between urban authorities and urban farmers. From the

interviews and FGDs done during data collection it can be confirmed that urban agriculture is illegal through its exclusion from the legal frameworks, urban planning systems on land uses. The illegality of urban agriculture is the reason urban farmers are engaging in urban land use conflicts with the council who base their power on legal and institutional frameworks. UA has not been recognised as a city activity since long back. This concurs with the idea of Lefebvre (1991) in his works “the right to the city’s critique of the neoliberal ways of governing and planning urban cities which views urban agriculture as illegal and Lefebvre in his works ‘the right to the city’ of 1991 seeks post-neoliberal insights so as to address these issues of exclusion of the poor urban farmers from benefiting from the city resources and enjoying being in the city having all their rights. Therefore, Lefebvre’s stance was to try and influence change in cities through addressing urban injustice focusing on the right to the city. Therefore clearly bringing out the gap of inclusivity in relation to urban agriculture within the city of Harare justifying what has been found and presented in the reviewed literature.

6.2 Differing Perceptions of Urban Land Use

There are differing perceptions concerning urban land use between urban farmers and the urban authorities. All these different views and beliefs of urban land uses take place in the social arena, in the urban areas where the urban farmers and the authorities operate and interact. These differing perceptions are based on what the two different groups, with differing interests see. This concurs with Lefebvre (1991)’s argument that the issue of urban space is not an even, undifferentiated plan where an investment can just unfold, but it is rather a set of complicated, interlocking physical and social relations, patterns and processes between different interested groups of people in the urban space or land uses (Lefebvre, 1991). This therefore leads to the argument by Lefebvre (1991) that space is a social product resulting from a mixture of the legal, political, economic, and social practices which then results in different perceptions of the urban spaces and urban land use. This even justifies why the urban farmers are involved in fights and urban land use conflicts with the municipalities. The different perceptions and urban land uses take place in the social arena characterised by legal frameworks, those in power and the social practices (such as urban farming) where the urban farmers and urban authorities (council, EMA) have different world views concerning urban land use and construct the urban spaces differently which cannot be avoided. According to Lawson (2008) the conflicts can be seen as spatial conflicts characterised by different ideas of urban land uses and what it should become. This therefore

results in a clash of interests concerning urban space and urban land use resulting in urban land use conflicts which are happening.

6.3 Reaction of the Urban Authorities to urban Agriculture

6.3.1 City Council Officials

From the findings almost all of the officials were of the view that urban agriculture is hazardous urban farming is usually seasonal, occurring mostly during the rainy season. People mostly grow maize and other food crops such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, sugar cane, and watermelons. Residents utilise almost every available piece of land without much regard for anything else. Any unused piece of land is a target during this time, whether surveyed or serviced awaiting development. People farm along roadsides, on hilltops, steep slopes, on wetlands, along stream banks, dumpsites and under electricity lines. The urban authorities argued that citizens either are not aware of the impacts of their actions or regard environmental degradation and other risks as secondary to meeting their food requirements. Hence the urban council reacts to this illegal use of urban space by urban farmers through slashing and destroying these farmers' crops. This is why Lefebvre (1991) maintains that, there are different meanings of space in land use planning, human attachment to specific location and idealised images highlighting areas of contradictions and tensions. Thus Lefebvre (1991)'s spatial analysis as he advocates for the right of every person in the city particularly recognises the social production of space. This has been confirmed by some of the respondents who participated in the research study who had their crops slashed by the city authorities. Some have been given warning to stop their activities. Urban Council has also placed 'NO CULTIVATION' signs on the open spaces and un-built residential stands so as to avoid urban farmers from using the space to do their activities, however, despite the councillors' reactions, warnings, destruction of crops urban farmers are continuing with their agricultural practices. Therefore, it can be noted that urban agriculture as part of the urban land use is different from many other urban land uses as it is fraught with diverse power struggles that range from the socioeconomic, cultural and political spheres which makes it difficult for urban farmers to participate freely. This is where there are inherent, multiple social meanings of space and the spatiality of all human activities (Lefebvre, 1996). Therefore, justifying the existing conflicts pertaining to urban land use in relation to the practice of urban agriculture. Hence the urban authorities are safeguarding the urban lands they monitor from being used for unplanned, illegal activities such as urban agriculture according to the bylaws these authority officials use. Thus the right over urban space

according to Lefebvre (1992) lies within a larger struggle to transform social, economic relations and the concentrated power structures which govern urban spaces and land use. There is politics of urban space intensifying the urban land use conflicts between the authorities and urban farmers. This clearly brought out how excluded urban farmers are and the gap of inclusivity in the existing city structures.

6.3.2 EMA and the Need to Preserve Wetlands

EMA is concerned about environmental management and preservation of wetlands. From the study which was carried out it was shown that there are against wetland loss and wetland degradation. EMA as a local board of environmental management is known for its punitive measures and penalties to degrading activities, including a jail sentence. So the need to conserve the environment and initiating wetland protection projects and monitoring illegal extension of farming plots is influencing EMA officials to have conflicts with the urban farmers who are doing their farming activities in a way that will cause wetland loss through their cultivation and tilling methods. Also the use of agrochemicals by urban farmers which are harmful to the environment is shunned by EMA. As much as the urban farmers view wetlands as suitable for farming than anywhere else, they are a threat to the environment. Thus Prain (2006) augments that, environmentalists have become increasingly vocal against urban farming to preserve wetlands. He also posited that, the Environmental Management Agency is against and fine people for cultivating on stream bank, wetlands, hilltops, and steep slopes as a board that was established to ensure sustainable utilisation and protection of the environment. Due to EMA's objective and mandate to manage the environment, this board has posed a blind eye towards urban agriculture. This justifies the urban land use conflicts between the EMA officials and urban farmers because these two parties have different world views concerning wetlands (urban farmers see wetlands as suitable for farming and very productive). This concurs with Lefebvre (1991) who argued that, there are different meanings of space in land use planning, human attachment to specific location and idealised images highlighting areas of contradictions and tensions.

UA is not environmentally sound. This is because urban farming has long been and is often stigmatized because of the widespread use of wastewater and pesticides, which are likely to affect the environment, as well as consumers' and farmers' health. The status of urban agriculture in Harare, for example, has been guided by public and official views that urban agriculture poses a threat to the environment, and research has attempted to establish the extent of this threat (Mbiba, 2000). From the current research, it was found out that urban

farmers are not threatening the environment in any way since they do not use a lot of organic manure. Their farming activities are just for home consumption and not for large scale commercial purposes which might be alleged of harming the environment. It is just the fact that in the minds of officials since long back it has been inscribed that urban farming is not environmentally sound yet they do not consider the level of farming taking place in a particular area like Mabvuku suburb. This can be explained quite well by Lefebvre (1991)'s argument of the right to the city where he challenges the kind of urbanism, which is discriminatory, segregatory and not inclusive. Hence, due to the discriminatory bylaws it is inscribed in urban councillors' minds that urban farming is not part of the urban land uses. These all lead to an unconscious acceptance of the urban land uses and hierarchies resulting in exclusion of the urban farmers. Poor urban farmers are excluded from the urban planning systems, are not given space as other land uses which is one of the basis of the urban land use conflicts since urban farmers are farming illegally in a bid to earn a livelihood. The urban farmers are excluded from the city and its urban land uses which is the basis of the conflicts arising. This exclusionary nature of cities is what Lefebvre (1991) is questioning and he presents a radical vision in which users manage the urban space for themselves beyond the control of both the state and capitalism (Purcell, 2001). Hence Lefebvre's works can serve as a guide and inspiration for action towards inclusive cities and bridge the gap of inclusivity in cities leading to the formation of wayward cities.

6.4 Persistence of Urban Agriculture

The benefits of UA to the households involved in the practice are influencing urban farmers to persist with the practice of urban agriculture. From the study it was found that, urban agriculture enhances food availability, food security, and access to fresh vegetables as much as gaining income through selling some of the agricultural produce. Urban agriculture has created and is creating employment for the unemployed poor urban dwellers practising it. This is supported in literature by Tefere (2010) who argues that urban agriculture has gained popularity because it contributes to better livelihoods of the urban poor by providing food and incomes. Tefere (2010) indicates that it is the main source of supply of fresh products such as vegetables; fruits and fresh vegetables. This is supported by Prain (2011) in literature that half of the vegetables are from farms and gardens of the urban farmers. In Sub Saharan Africa where food security is a challenge, urban agriculture has enhanced food security to a greater extent (Prain, 2011). Cofie (2003) states that, through urban agriculture in Kenya (Nairobi) urban farmers produce 20-30% of food requirements. In Tanzania it is estimated

that about 28% of urban households get their incomes from agricultural production. Tefere (2010) states that in Kenya, Nairobi almost three hundred thousand households translating to 1, 8 million people depend partly on urban agriculture for food and income. Mashoko (2010) states that, in Zimbabwe urban agriculture provides families with maize the staple food. This justifies the fact that urban agriculture enhances food security and urban dwellers are exercising their right of the city of habitation (to live in the city and use its facilities) as they use the urban open spaces on plot and off plot for farming to farm their food . They are also taking full advantage of the economic opportunities provided by cities such as easy access to markets to sell some of their agricultural produce so as to earn income which is their right as noted by Lefebvre (1996) in his works on the right to the city. This implies that the urban farmers have to enjoy the benefits of being in the city and the opportunities the city creates for them rather than being excluded from the city by the bylaws which are not inclusive of UA. Thus Lefebvre (1991) advocates for wayward cities, socially just cities where everyone will enjoy the full rights to the city, maximise its resources such as unused space for urban agriculture which is being done by urban farmers because within the city and through UA the ordinary people (farmers) are able to produce their own food. Hence they should be given a proper place in the city to do their activities.

Furthermore, it was revealed from the study that, open-space vegetable production in urban areas appears to be a dynamic, viable and resilient bright spot, supporting the livelihoods of especially poor urban dwellers. The major reason urban farmers continue to practice urban agriculture despite the prohibitions, the urban land use conflicts with the urban authorities is because they are trying to cope with the economic challenges they face in cities they are living. According to Lefebvre (1991) urban space or land is allocated according to class, and social planning which reproduces the class structure. This is either because of an abundance of space for the rich and too little for the poor and because of uneven development in the quality of places, or indeed both. So the scarcity of space or urban land for the poor is pushing them to practice urban agriculture on unauthorised areas which is leading them to engage in conflicts with the urban council which is responsible for monitoring the urban land uses. Thus, according to Lefebvre (1991) the political economy of space is based on the idea of scarcity for the poor and abundance for the rich classes. Due to the fact that urban land is allocated according to class and social planning which produces class structure, urban farmers therefore allocate pieces of land for themselves on open spaces, un-built stands, wetlands, roadsides so as to do their agricultural activities no matter the scarcity of land when

it comes to the poor people's livelihood activities. The other reason for the persistence of urban agriculture no matter its illegality, scarcity of land to practice it on and how by laws do not support it is that, the people know that they have a right to the city no matter how they are not accepted with their activities. Thus the way urban farmers are acting is influenced by their attempt to affirm their right to the city without taking into consideration the institutional reactions. Taking it from Harvey (2008)'s argument on the 'right to the city' in his support of Lefebvre it can be argued that the urban farmers, the majority who are the urban poor should have the right to the city and shape the process of urbanisation, make and even remake the cities rather than to continue being seen by the urban authorities as 'nuisance' within the cities (Lefebvre, 1992).

6.5 Urban Land Use Conflicts and the Right To The City

Urban land use conflicts are there because some people (the urban farmers) are deprived of their right to the city. So in trying to take their place in the city and exercise their right, they are having conflicts with the city authorities because their activities are not recognised as a proper urban activity and not part of the urban plan. According to Lefebvre's notion of 'the right to the city', the right to the city should be understood as a collective right over urban space within a larger struggle to transform social and economic relations concentrated power structures (Lefebvre, 1992). Due to the urban land use conflicts which are there within cities between city municipality and urban farmers, one can argue in terms of Lefebvre (1991)'s view where the city is a space of political engagement. Above all the right to the city entails an argument for not being excluded or displaced and full political participation in the making of the city (Mitchel and Villaueva, 2010). The fact that the collected data from the field shows that urban farming is not embraced entails that the poor urban dwellers who are unemployed, poor, who have insufficient salaries and depend on urban agriculture for a living are excluded. Urban agriculture does not allocate land for legally just like other urban land uses. Hence the urban farmers are denied their right to the city. It can be noted that it is not just about realising particular rights of the lower urban groups such as access to land specifically meant for urban agriculture but there is more to that. The urban land use conflicts in particular to urban agriculture, however represent a challenge the poor and low income urban dwellers have to access land for agriculture and these urban land use conflicts serves as mechanisms for struggling against the dominance of the only valued urban land uses such as land for housing stands vis-a-vis urban agriculture. Thus Lefebvre (1991) saw the 'right to the city' as part of a project to dismantle the existing economic and political

system because of its inherent and exclusionary character and its failure to give ordinary people a proper stake in the city (Marcuse, 2009).

6. 6 Implications for Social Justice

Urban farming has gone forth as one of the most practiced ‘informal’ activity in the City of Harare in the case of Mabvuku suburb. The majority of the urban poor in Harare (Mabvuku) continue to rely on urban agriculture for survival as formal sector work has since collapsed as a consequence of severe economic challenges being seen in the nation. Nevertheless, the City of Harare has continued to criminalise urban agriculture and study it a trivial activity in the urban scheme. The Council officials have at some point slashed maize crops planted in open areas in residential suburbs such as Mabvuku (Chimedza , 2015). There is no social justice which can lead to fair cities, inclusive cities and equitable cities. The Harare city is not socially just and inclusive because according to Cleobury (2008) an inclusive city is one that provides every citizen with decent public services, as well as protecting citizens’ rights and freedom so as to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens. In the same vein Beall et al. (2010) augments that Lefebvre’s argument was for a more systematic engagement of today’s cities such as Harare, which is the contextual city of this study and for city authorities to have an understanding of the right to the city as involving democratization of land use and urban spaces. Therefore there is need for the restructuring of the Harare city and move towards the new urban agenda with the focus of inclusivity. Henceforth, the right to the city which Henry Lefebvre (1991) advocates for is closely linked to the notion of socially just cities (inclusive cities).

6.7 Harare, An Exclusionist City.

The city of Harare is not sensitive to the needs of the poor and their emerging responses to poverty as shown by research findings of this study. Respondents who participated in the research argued that, there is exclusion of farmers from the urban planning systems and land allocation. This is the other cause of urban land use conflicts since farmers are not allocated land formally and are not even supported by any legal institution. From the interviews and FGDs which were done by urban farmers, it was shown that urban farmers who engage in UA neither have any degree of power nor any power bases for practicing it. These farmers are excluded from the legal frameworks, urban planning systems on land uses. This is the reason they are engaged in urban land use conflicts with the council who base their power on legal and institutional frameworks. According to the reviewed literature, Byerly (2010) is of

the view that a planned urban environment generally considers urban agriculture as a non urban activity. However, it is high time the cities must become inclusive of everybody enhancing every citizen to access resources equally. Moreover, the United Nations have indicated that the promotion of urban agriculture is one of the key strategies to address the Millennium Development Goals (Mougeot, 2005). This is supported by Earle (2016) who argues that, the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development goals 2016-30 (SDGs) are in support of inclusive cities. The Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) 11 in particular provides a framework through which nation states are encouraged to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (Earle, 2016). This SDG 11 is supported by the recently launched New Urban Agenda Of 2016 through providing a framework and a roadmap for the development of cities that can serve as engines of prosperity and centres of cultural and social well-being while protecting the environment (Turock, 2016). Hence at the heart of inclusive cities is the issue of providing services to all citizens equally which impacts on access and equality within urban spaces. According to Muchadenyika and William (2016) the fight against exclusion is supported by the SD Goal 16 which dictates that there is a need to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”. Therefore, the city of Harare which has been seen to be an exclusive city in the research done should integrate urban farming, an important mean for the integration of disadvantaged people or social groups (immigrants indigent or left women, unemployed, elders, disabled) since it promotes and ease their participation in the social texture and provides them with better living conditions (Murphy, 2004) which will then make it an inclusive city. One is justified to argue that there is the gap of inclusivity from the study findings and literature which needs to be addressed in Zimbabwe.

Integration of urban agriculture into the city has emerged from the research study to be the best way forward and the only resolution to urban land use conflicts and an exclusionist city. Formulating and implementing land policies which accommodates urban agriculture will address the problem of urban land use conflicts and exclusion. Rigid policies has been identified by the researcher as barriers that hinder integration of urban agriculture in the city such as the Environmental Management Act of Zimbabwe (CAP 20:27 of 2002), Part XII, Section 113, subsection (2), which advocates for the protection and conservation of wetlands in the country and prohibits activities that may degrade wetland resources such as urban agriculture. Hence it is prohibited. This is confirmed in Literature by Mbiba (2000) who

observed that in Lusaka (Zambia) urban agriculture has been marginalized and not fully integrated into city planning. Many restrictive measures on urban cultivation continued to be enacted such as the Public Health Act 13 of 1994 and CAP 295 of the Laws of Zambia under the Prevention and Destruction of Mosquitoes which prohibited the growing of crops within the city. This concurs with Armar-Klemesu and Maxwell (2000) who are of the view that there is a general lack of tolerance towards urban farming in Sub Saharan Africa and these countries have no urban laws that accommodate urban farming. Hence it is against this backdrop, there is no integration of urban agriculture in cities and this justifies urban farmers' engagement in conflict with the urban authorities. Thus Henri Lefebvre (1991) calls for concrete action by the urban authorities and urban residence collectively to change the cities of today because the time has come to reconsider everyone in cities in order to nuance the fractured cities (Beall *et al*, 2011). Therefore, the above discussion has brought out a policy gap since the research and literature has shown that there is no specific policy governing urban agriculture. The practice is excluded in a way.

6.8 Land Tenure Issues and Politicisation of Urban Space

Urban farmers are practicing their agricultural activities on unauthorised open spaces and in areas not legalised for urban agriculture. They do not own any piece of land for agricultural purposes. The urban planning systems do not allocate land for urban agriculture in their plans and the activity is left out. Hence, they do not have land tenure rights and security of tenure. It can be argued that, as much as Lefebvre (1991)'s notion of 'the right to the city' presents a vision for a city in which users manage urban space for themselves beyond the control of both state and capitalism, this study have shown that urban farmers do not have any influence over urban land neither do they influence the operations in which urban land is allocated. This is supported by literature where Tevera (2000) is of the view that most agricultural activities in African cities occur on informally occupied public land, other than in a few cities, such as Mbabane in Swaziland and Mekelle in Ethiopia, where important policy shifts in support of urban agriculture have been made at both national and local levels. Tevera (2000) is also of the view that, some urban farmers cultivate public (government) and privately (commercial firms, individual lease holders) owned land. In a study that was done in Ethiopia the farmers generally have explicit use rights extending over an agreed time period, during which tenants also act as 'caretakers' (Binns and Laynch, 1998). Cultivation on informally occupied land accounts for a large proportion of urban agriculture in Kenya and Tanzania (Ruwanza, 2007). However, farmers under this tenure arrangement

face a constant threat of land repossession, crop destruction, and even violence from state officials (Mbiba, 2000). For example, cases of crop slashing have been reported in Zimbabwe's capital city, Harare (Mbiba, 2000). Hence, one can argue that urban farmers have no land tenure rights, and they do not have access to agricultural land for such land use is not planned for. Hence such an activity is not recognised by the urban authorities as an urban activity in Mabvuku area. Thus Lefebvre (1991)'s notion of the right to the city comes in and should be embraced by the cities of today challenging the neo-liberal urbanism urban systems which are not inclusive of everyone in their planning and allocation of urban space or land within urban areas. This justifies the exclusive nature of the city and brings to the fore the existing gap of inclusivity within the city in relation to urban agriculture.

There is increased politicisation of public space and now the Harare city is a resemblance of 'contested spaces'. Different parties are always having conflicts and clashing over urban land uses as well as the management and control of these urban lands and public spaces are concerned. This becomes difficult for the players in the urban informal sector such as urban farmers to access and enjoy their right to the city. Therefore, the notion of moving towards a renewed perspective of 'a fair shared' city cannot be achieved. This is generally an obstacle and a barrier to the effective and meaningful spatial democracy. This can be augmented by Lefebvre (1992)'s argument in his spatial analysis of the production of urban spaces that, there are inherent and multiple meanings of space and the spatiality of every human activity. However, the urban poor, including the urban farmers as much as they have attached a meaning to other open urban spaces as their farm lands they are denied their right by the urban authorities who have power and rely on the inherent meanings of space within the urban governing systems. Hence forth, the urban poor are most severely affected by the erosion of spatial justice and exclusionary citizenship that is accompanied by urban development activities (Lawson, 2008). There is increasing conflict on the use of public space in Harare where city dwellers such as urban farmers are having conflicts with the urban authorities for farming on unauthorised open urban space and even practicing urban agriculture without the permit of doing so, using wetlands for agriculture without the licences. It can be argued that, the ever increasing evictions of these farmers from their small farming lots as well as the increasing urban land use conflicts between Harare municipality and these urban farmers is a violation of the citizens' right to the city. Urban residents are entitled to live and enjoy the benefits that come with urban life without fear of being intimidated and harassed.

6.9 Conclusion

The research study has shown that the gap of inclusivity is a reality through exploring the urban land use conflicts in an analysis of urban agriculture. The study recognised that the urban land use conflicts are as a result of the segregatory policies crafted long back which can no longer suit the cities of today where almost everyone is living within the city through engaging literature and the study findings. This is therefore justified by Lefebvre (1991) the radical activist against exclusive cities, discriminatory and segregatory cities and advocates for socially just cities, equitable cities through his concept of the right to the city. This concept of 'the right to the city' was used as a theoretical framework for this study and through it the main study objective on urban land use conflicts, their causes and urban farmers' experiences in their multiple land uses have been explained very well. The research has brought out that, the land use conflicts are caused by the lack of land ownership, land tenure and security of tenure as urban agriculture is still regarded by the urban authorities as not an urban activity. This has been justified by the urban policies used to govern urban land uses which are glaringly silent about urban agriculture. Therefore, this shows that the urban planning systems do not include urban agriculture in their planning activities. Hence, all the policies used to govern urban land uses are silent about urban farming activities which is the reason why the urban farmers are involved in conflicts with the city authorities (urban council and EMA) as a result of their land uses for agricultural purposes which is illegal to the authorities. Furthermore the different perceptions on urban land uses between urban farmers and the authorities is another source of urban land use conflicts since urban farmers see every open space, unused area as suitable for farming regardless of it being a wetland, steep slope or not. The perceptions of the authorities concerning urban land use differ from those of urban farmers as land uses should be according to the urban plan, ownership of land and anything not along these lines is illegal, a nuisance to the city. Thus, urban land use conflicts results between authorities and urban farmers as evidenced by the destruction of crops on roadside, jail sentence to wetland farmers without permits.

It can also be concluded that, there is a policy vacuum in Zimbabwe as there is no clearly laid down policy on urban agriculture. This is supported by the narrations from the urban councillors who were of the view that they engage in these urban land use conflicts because urban agriculture is not an urban activity which is being practiced illegally on areas not planned for urban agriculture. Hence, the city planning system does not cater for urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is therefore to some extent viewed as illegal since it is not

backed up by any statutory instrument (Marongwe, 2003). Of all the policies such as the urban Councils Act, Chapter 29:15, Regional Town Planning Act, Chapter 29:12, Environmental Management Act, Chapter 20:27, Public Health Act, Chapter 15:09, Forestry Act, Chapter 19:05 which are believed to be governing urban land use according to the urban authorities who participated in the research study none is clear about urban agriculture. Hence, among these bylaws, there is no clarity and specificity about urban agriculture. Therefore, perpetuating urban land use conflicts. Furthermore the policy vacuum was noticed in places where urban agriculture is being practiced where those in position use the power they have to produce social space and exclude others as in the case of the urban council who use the inherent laws which are discriminatory in nature excluding urban farmers from the practice of urban agriculture in the suburbs as it is illegal according to the bylaws. This can be supported by Lefebvre (1991)'s overarching argument that, the recent policies, bylaws on neo-liberalism should be revised in order to create an intellectual space for the alternative ideas that may be more relevant to cities where the majority of the urban population now lives. This therefore brings out the policy vacuum and showing the discriminatory character and nature of the existing bylaws. Hence, this is a call for the Harare city to be inclusive of everyone.

Therefore, basing on Lefebvre's argument on the right to the city this research study was a call for inclusive cities in Zimbabwe with the restructuring of the policies including everyone in making and remaking of cities without any forms of exclusion because every citizen should enjoy full right to the city. These rights include right to participation, right to make and reshape cities and right to access and make use of the economic opportunities provided by the cities. It should be understood by those in authority that cities are not about individuals, but the city in its sense is a collective unity of all urban citizens and it can only be understood through the consideration of the way in which opposing aspects, differing perspectives of the urban authorities, the rich and the poor citizens of the city. If these people's perspectives are articulated together rather than emphasising one or the other cities will become inclusive.

6.10 Recommendations

The researcher recommends that, there should be restructuring of the policies to be inclusive thus including everyone in making and remaking of cities without any forms of exclusion because every citizen should enjoy full right to the city. These rights include right to participation, right to make and reshape cities and right to access and make use of the

economic opportunities provided by the cities. It should be understood by those in authority that the city in its sense is a collective unity of all urban citizens. Thus the need for urban farmers to be considered by allocating space to them.

The policy vacuum in Zimbabwe should be addressed as there is no clearly laid down policy on urban agriculture within the country. The city planning system should cater for urban agriculture and include it as part of the urban plan which will avoid these urban land use conflicts in future. This is because of all the policies such as the urban Councils Act, Chapter 29:15, Regional Town Planning Act, Chapter 29:12, Environmental Management Act, Chapter 20:27, Public Health Act, Chapter 15:09, Forestry Act, Chapter 19:05 which are believed to be governing urban land use according to the urban authorities who participated in the research study none is clear about urban agriculture. Hence, among these bylaws, there is no clarity and specificity about urban agriculture which is perpetuating urban land use conflicts. Therefore a specific policy for urban agriculture should be crafted.

All in all, there should be social justice in Harare which can lead to a fair city, inclusive city and equitable city where everyone is considered and recognised by the bylaws in terms of urban space and the different uses of space. Therefore there is need for the restructuring of the Harare city and move towards the new urban agenda with the focus of inclusivity. This will create a socially just city (an inclusive city).

Future research should test if these regulations actually do give residents greater freedom in practicing urban agriculture. Results from this study are encouraging in that some municipalities embrace urban agriculture for social reasons and this translates into support for a broader variety of urban agriculture ordinances. This future work would also continue to address the question of urban land use conflicts broadening the scope to different study areas in Zimbabwe. In a similar vein, it would be useful to expand the study to include other types of regulations in order to make sense of the larger policy environment in relation to urban agriculture.

Furthermore, future researches should explore a range of perspectives apart from urban agriculture when determining the inclusiveness of cities. Therefore, they can focus on how urban citizens access opportunities and the extent to which poor residents can share equitably in the socio-economic benefits of city life. This is one way which can be used to develop a common understanding of strategies to promote inclusivity.

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