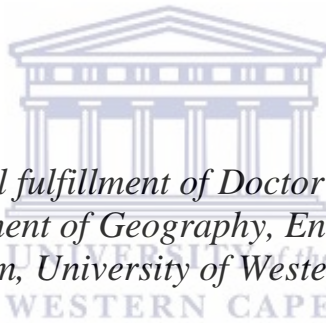# UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE

Informality and Right to the City: Contestations for Safe and Liveable Spaces in Masvingo City, Zimbabwe

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography, Environmental Sciences and Tourism, University of Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor D.S.Tevera

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Dedication

To my loving wife Rufaro, who toiled long hours of separation and our three kids who missed me.
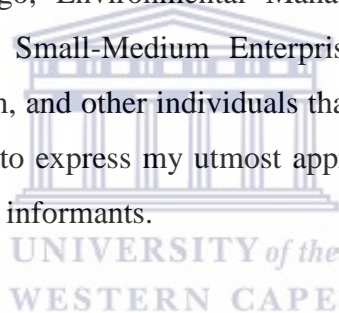
Declaration

By submitting this thesis, I declare that this work is entirely my product from the conceptualization of the thesis to carrying out of the research and writing the final product. Therefore, the entire work is originally mine unless otherwise expressed so. I also declare that this work was not submitted elsewhere for obtaining a qualification.

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WESTERN CAPE

Abstract

Informal sector operators in many cities of the global South face extensive harassment, criminalization and restricted access to public spaces despite the important role the sector is playing in urban development.

Using Lefebvre's theory of right to the city the study aimed to investigate how the city of Masvingo has embraced urban informality. The study also examined how informal sector operators in the city of Masvingo have been accessing –urban space and creating opportunities for the informal sector to access such space. The study also examined how the provision of essential services in the city has been extended to the people in the informal sector as a way of granting them their right to urban social and infrastructural services.

The research took a survey design where a cross section of Masvingo city, including the city centre, residential areas and industrial areas, was sampled for the study. Methodologically the research used a mixed method approach to data collection and analysis, where both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. A questionnaire survey constituted the quantitative component of the study and it was administered to the informal sector operators, In-depth interviews and field observations were at the core of the qualitative methods that were used in the research. In-depth interviews were done with key informants in the city and these included officials in the city council, government ministries, and leaders of informal sector associations and civic groups in the city. Field observations were done in areas where the informal activities were carried out to assess the provision of services and the environment in which informal activities were operating. Data collected through interviews and field observations was analysed qualitatively and the SPSS was used for quantitative data analysis.

The research found that informal operators in the city of Masvingo are being disenfranchised of their right to the city in various ways. They are not afforded the right to express their lives in the city centre as the city authorities are determined to flush out all informal structures and activities from the city centre in line with their modern city goals. The planning system in the city does not recognise informal activities as approved land user in the city centre and they do not plan for them in new spatial development projects. However, informal activities continue to occupy contested spaces, where they are in direct contravention of existing regulatory framework and this has been used to marginalise them and deny them of their right to the city. Right to the city calls for all urban residents to have access to the city centre and that

access to city space should be based on use values rather than exchange values (Lefebvre 1996). Also, informal sector operators based at various sites in the city are generally denied access to essential services such as waste collection, provision of water and sewer services.

Chapter one: Introduction

Cities of the global South are dynamic places where transformation is the result of political, economic, social and spatial processes. As a result of these transformations cities such as Johannesburg, Rio de Janeiro and Harare in the global South have become centers of contestations, tension, complexities and encounter (Huchzermeyer 2011, Kamete 2013). They are facing growing dilemmas of unemployment, poverty, wage cuts, and drastic reduction of quality of social services, (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Houghton 2010, Montag 2009). These cities have therefore, been characterised by widespread incidences of poverty. The poor in these cities are, therefore, experiencing living conditions that are constantly militating against building positive livelihoods, hence negatively impacting on their quality of life, (Parnell and Robinson 2012). In Zimbabwean cities, the situation has been exacerbated by the economic meltdown that has been experienced at the turn of the century, (1999 into 2000), when the country adopted the fast track Land Reform Program that resulted in the international isolation (Ncube 2000).The isolation resulted in massive de-industrialisation and retrenchments in the country where the industrial utilisation went down to as low as six percent in 2009, (UN-Habitat 2010c). The accelerated inflation which peaked at 213million percent (UN-Habitat 2010a) also eroded the real incomes of the urban population and pushed the majority urban population into poverty. These people were no longer able to survive on one livelihood strategy, so they have to diversify their livelihoods by entering into the informal sector for survival. Also coupled with the massive de-industrialisation was the massive drop of the Gross Domestic Product of the country which effectively dropped by 50.3 % in 2010, (UN-Habitat 2010c; Taru 2013). This reflected on the government's ability to generate employment and spearhead development in the country. Unemployment peaked to over 84%, meaning that the majority of people in the cities of Zimbabwe were without employment and they are surviving on the informal sector, (Chidoko, 2013). The formal sector was shrinking at a rapid pace that left a lot of people in the urban areas without livelihoods and they had to turn to informality for survival, (Kamete 2017; Chidoko 2013; Muza 2009). The majority of the urban households were in poverty and to avert the situation people have to engage in informal activities for them to survive. So the increasing incidents of poverty pushed people into informality as they were searching for livelihood strategies that would avert poverty. The informal sector has therefore developed to be the main driver of the city's economy and these people are demanding their space in the city. The growth of the

sector is facing stiff resistance from a planning and management system that does not recognise them, thereby creating contestations.

Parnell and Robinson (2012) argue that the high rates of urbanisation experienced in cities of the global South are associated with a governance system that is characteristically traditional and religious which has resulted in a high prevalence of informality. Informality in the cities of the global South has been growing at an unprecedented pace due to the failure of the formal sector to provide sustainable livelihood strategies, (Miraftab 2009). Many of the cities in the global South have been experiencing stagnant economic development and rapid de-industrialisation that has pushed a lot of the urban people into the informal sector, (Turock and McGrananhan 2013).The urban population in the global South is expected to double by 2030 with Africa and Asia expected to hold the majority of these people (UN-Habitat 2010a). The UN-Habitat (2010b), further argues that this rapid urbanisation process is associated with increased slum dwellers, and the majority of them will be housed in the global South.

All these urbanisation problems associated with the cities of the global South have combined to create a three pronged city problem. This three-pronged city problem (unemployment, poverty and informality) exists in neatly woven form of causality, where inability of the formal sector to generate enough employment has caused urbanisation of poverty and the widespread poverty has caused the informalisation of economy as people search for survival in these hard times. Figure 1.1 shows the cyclical relationship between the informality, de-industrialisation and unemployment.

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informality

deindustrialisation
formal sector

Unemployment
and poverty
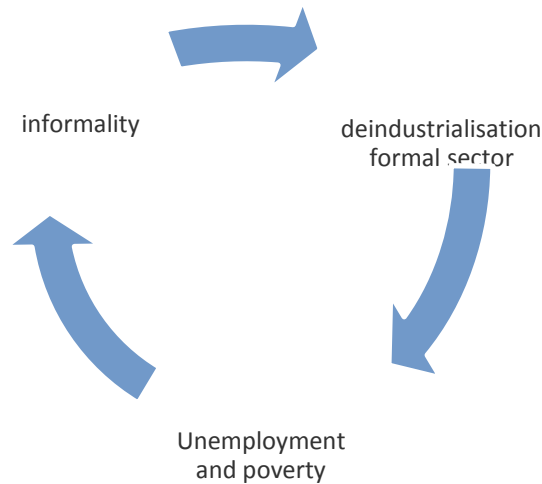
Figure 1. 1: The nexus between de-industrialization, urban poverty and informality

Informality therefore, has grown to be an urban problem, where urban authorities have struggled to integrate it into their traditional planning systems. The problem has been further constrained by the need to create world class cities in the global South. Such moves have been the major drivers of the marginalisation of informal activities in these cities because the informal sector is regarded as outcasts, (Romanathan 2006, Devas 2001, Jerome 2016, Feitosa et.al. 2011). The drive to create world class cities has resulted in marginalisation of the urban poor because these policies do not have space for the poor. Rather they alienate the urban poor from using the urban space. For example, in Zimbabwe, during the period when they were supposed to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in 1991, they relocated all the street vendors and the homeless people from the city of Harare to a site that was 40km outside the city,(Kamete 2007, 2013, Potts 2008). In South Africa, the poor faced the same fate towards the hosting of the World Cup in 2010, where the slum dwellers in N2 were relocated to sites 40km outside the city so as to create a city image that does not depict existence of the poor in the city, (Huchzermeyer 2011). Kamete (2017a), in his studies of informality in southern Africa, realised that in South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe informal activities were suffering various forms of marginalisation that include; employment, lack of work places and poor service delivery. However, informality has grown to be the livelihood strategy for the majority of not only the urban poor

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but also the middle class and even the high income. They have been however suffering all kinds of discrimination as cities of the global South are striving to create world class cities. This has disenfranchised the people in the informal sector of their right to the city, especially their right to a source of livelihood and their right to build a city according the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2008, 2003, Lefebvre 1996). They have been denied access to the city centre.

Neo-liberal urbanisation processes in cities of the global South have been a major driver of urban poor out of the city centre and into poverty because their policies are responsible for consolidating inequalities in urban areas resulting in gated cities where there is high concentration of services for a few in these gated communities while the rest of the city are going without services, (Parnell and Robinson 2012, Gulsoni and Pedroni 2011). Parnell and Robinson (2012) further argue that neo-liberal urbanisation policies and the associated Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are also responsible for the decimation of the social provision systems in cities of the global South and this in turn has triggered governance and poverty crisis in these cities. The poor have been living in areas where they are in perpetual circles of poverty because of lack of essential services such as water, sanitation and shelter, (Kamete 2017a). These neo-liberal policies have resulted in most governments in the global South rolling back their involvement in provision of economic and social services, allowing the private sector to take such responsibilities. This resulted in massive retrenchments and the shrinking of the formal sector and people resorted to the informal sector for survival. However, the informal sector has been growing behind the background of unchanging city regulations and management frameworks, which has resulted in continued marginalisation and stripping of informal practitioners of their right to the city.

The need to develop cities that can attract global funds has remained too elusive and daunting; hence the implementation of most of the neo-liberal urbanisation policies have been yielding very little in terms of development especially among the urban poor, (Houghton 2010). Failure of these policies also means limited livelihoods for the urban poor and wide spread poverty. So to get out of this poverty people have to look for other livelihood strategies and the only available alternative in most cities in the global South was the informal sector. Neo-liberal urbanisation policies have therefore, placed many cities of the global South in economic crises, where the majority of its population relies on informality for survival.

In his assessment of Africa, Kamete (2013) estimated that the informal sector was contributing 75% of the basic needs of the majority, 75% of the non-agricultural work force and 40% of the Gross Domestic Product of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Further to their need to create world class cities, most of the cities in the global South have not been able to create conditions that will attract the much needed global finances that will support the neo-liberal urbanisation processes. These international finances have remained foot-loose because of the stringent economic environments, which most cities of the global South have not been able to meet. Therefore, issues of poverty and unemployment in these cities have remained perennial problems with no permanent solution in the near future.

To effectively deal with problems of poverty and unemployment in the cities of the global South there is need for a radical shift in policy orientation, where they stop transplanting policies from the global North but focus on pro-poor development initiatives which are development interventions that focus on improving the well-being of the poor, (Houghton 2010, Ellis 2000, Chambers and Conway 1991). These neo-liberal growth policies hardly address the needs of the urban poor hence, are responsible for the widespread poverty, crimes, housing shortages, and poor service delivery especially among the urban poor, (Houghton 2010). They are actually pushing the poor out of the city centre (Huchzermeyer 2011).

Zimbabwe is one of the countries that adopted the neo-liberal economic policies in the late 1980s when its previously robust economy started to show signs of negative growth. These economic policies induced a rapid deceleration of economic growth and its rapacious effects included shrinking of the formal, widespread retrenchments and the growing informal sector, (Kamete 2007; Potts 2008). The Zimbabwean industries are now estimated to be operating at below35% capacity, (Basera 2013). The international isolation further compounded the Zimbabwean problem as its economic activities were derailed by lack of funds from international financiers, who imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. The height of industrial decline was experienced in the period 2000-2008 when the contribution of the industrial sector to economic development dropped from 20% to 10%, (Government of Zimbabwe 2012a). The shrinking of the mainstream economy saw the exponential rise of the informal sector and currently it is estimated that 80% of employment in Zimbabwe is from the informal sector, (Government of Zimbabwe, 2012; Basera 2013; Nyanga et.al. 2013; Kamete 2007). The informal sector has developed to be the major driver of the Zimbabwean economy to the extent that the informal economy has been referred to as the economy of the country

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since even the formal institutions, such as the Reserve Bank of the country, were at some time also relying on the informal sector for their foreign currency requirements, (Jones 2010). He further argues that by the year 2000 the Zimbabwean economy had been turned into an informal economy as nearly everyone was into the informal sector to supplement the ever dwindling source of livelihood and the sector is no longer regarded as the sector for the marginalised groups and youth. (Kamete 2007, Jones 2010, Potts 2008).

Adoption of neo-liberal urbanization policies, such as, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) resulted in the urban poor being denied right to the city as the local authorities tried by all means to create clean cities without activities of the informal sector, (Huchzermeyer 2011). She further argues that the urban poor are pushed out of the city to areas that have no urban services, have limited access to public spaces and are usually denied access to vital city services such as housing and employment, they are also marginalised indecision making processes that shape the cities they inhabit, (Huchzermeyer 2011). In Zimbabwe, the removal of street vendors and relocation of informal settlements in and around Harare and other major cities was aimed at restoring Harare's status as the shining city, (Kamete 2007, Potts 2006, 2008). This happened in total violation of these peoples' right to the city, especially their right to express their being in the city and their right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2008, 2003, 1996). When people are moved to sites that are out of the city centre and away from their sources of livelihoods, it's a serious violation of their right to the city. Every citizen has the right to be in the city centre and at all places that will allow them to do business, (Lefebvre 1968, Harvey 2008, Marcuse 2013).

In Zimbabwe the economic meltdown experienced in the past decade has fueled the growth of informal activities in an environment that does not explicitly embrace the development of such activities. The state and quasi-government organisations are ready to suppress the development and growth of the informal sector. The spread of informal activities has ushered in new land uses that demand new urban management strategies, which most cities are trying to grapple with. Traditional planning and management systems have not been able to deal with issues of growing poverty, informality, exclusion and spatial segregation because of their insistence on the traditional planning approaches, which rarely acknowledge the new economic activities that are coming into the urban landscape. This is not sustainable and is contrary to dictates of right to the city and the attainment of a just city.

Right to the city argues that all urban inhabitants have an unalienable right to city services. However, in the global South, they have been grappling with problems of rapid urbanisation, urbanisation of poverty, the inclusion of urban diversity in planning and addressing the needs of new urban land uses such as informality (UN-Habitat, 2010a, 2010b, 2005, Ness 2001, Watson, 2007, Kamete 2013, 2017). Most of the development interventions in cities of the global South have been hinged on neo-liberal development interventions, which have been failing to address the needs of the urban poor hence, have been responsible for widespread poverty and marginalisation of the urban poor, (Huchzermeyer 2011). This has disenfranchised the majority of the urban poor from development programmes in the city thereby, denying them their right to develop a city according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2008). The urban poor in most cities of the global South are therefore, experiencing limited access to the vital spaces in these cities for example limited access to the city centre, open spaces and vital city services such as housing and employment, (Marcuse 2009, Lefebvre 1996, Miraftab 2009, Turok and McGrananhan 2013).

There also has been poor service delivery among the urban poor resulting in them suffering environmental injustices as most of the urban poor are found in the periphery of the town where city services are rarely received, (Taylor 1998, Wang 2000, Gerometta et.al.2005). This is unjust and does not augur well with the dictates of right to the city. Right to the city, according to Harvey (2012) argues that the marginalised people of the city should demand better living conditions and access to privatised spaces. Social justice is therefore, the bedrock of any democratic society and inclusive city where citizens are allowed to freely participate in the affairs of their city, (Fainstein 2005, Harvey 2003, 2008). This promotes the principles of a just city where there is fair treatment and fair distribution of urban services, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998).

Cities of the global South have been unable to deal with the emerging urban land uses especially those associated with the livelihoods of the poor. The urban poor have been alienated and disenfranchised in many aspects of urban life and this has resulted in struggles and contestations between the poor and city authorities. In many cities, the urban poor have responded by asserting their right to the city by forcibly occupying urban spaces but the urban local authorities have been employing various tactics to push them out of the city center. This created contested urban spaces which is not good for a just and sustainable city. Most urban local authorities continue to create urban centers that do not accommodate livelihoods of the poor as they strive to create world class cities, (Huchzermeyer 2011,

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Harvey 2012, and Marcuse 2009). However, in many cities of the global South, marginalised groups have been striving to access urban spaces and have been agitating for their space in cities where policy and planning frameworks are exclusionary (Huchzermeyer 2011, Kamete 2007, Potts 2006, and Brown 2001). In Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, Kamete (2007, 2013) and Potts (2006, 2008) have described in detail how local authorities have been making frantic efforts to wipe away all vestiges of informality in their quest to make Harare world class city.

However, the phenomenon of informality has shown a lot of resilience as it has been growing despite the harsh regulatory frameworks. The 'street livelihood strategies' of the poor have become more visible even in situations where municipal authorities have been repressive and unyielding to their demands. The increasing phenomenon of urbanisation of poverty in many cities of the global South has made informality and livelihoods of the urban poor an urban imperative rather than an exception. However, traditional planning and management systems are yet to grapple with the phenomenon, hence the contestations for legitimacy and recognition in these cities, which are fighting for their exclusion and marginalisation.

Right to the city as propounded by the French sociologist Henry Lefebvre in 1968 was mainly against marginalising and exclusionary urban development policies that have been depriving some groups of urban inhabitants of their right to essential services offered by the city, such as, housing, employment and environmental justice. His arguments were informed by the way migrant workers have been marginalised and excluded from important services despite their contribution to the economic development of cities. Lefebvre (1968) argues that a city is an *oeuvre, i.e.*, cities are an expression of urban life and in this way they are supposed to be expressing an urban life in its totality and not just a component of it. In this way he recommended that city spaces should be accorded use values rather than exchange values so that all city inhabitants are allowed access to city space regardless of gender, citizenship or economic status. Lefebvre (1968) realised that developments in most cities of the global North were mainly concerned with the process of industrial revolution which was the dominant economic development paradigm shaping cities during that time. This development paradigm overshadowed all other development considerations such as social and environmental considerations. According to Lefebvre (1968), regarding a city as an *oeuvre* ensures that the totality of urban life is considered in the development process and also allows for restoration of the importance of use values of the urban space rather than the exclusory exchange values. He further argues that contemporary planning practices that

focused more on the industrial organisations and the global economy are shifting away from the important issues such as the habitat and this has effectively squeezed out the possibility of creating an inclusive urban society and as a result has been defeating the concept of a city as an *oeuvre*.

According to Lefebvre (1968), the right to the city is therefore, a call for urban life and this does not entail mere visiting right but a right for a complete urban life. He added that right to the city should give city inhabitants the right to access important city space such as the city centre, which gives them right to places of encounter, and right to places of exchange, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996). The whole bundle of right to the city should give people the right to fully use urban places at all times and this right should come without any encumbrances. In his analysis therefore, Lefebvre (1968, 1996) does not see a divided city, but he envisions a city where all the inhabitants are treated equally in all aspects of the city. This means that the right to the city should afford all city inhabitants use right to the city space not the exchange values that will lead to exclusion of other city inhabitants. Lefebvre (1996) added that there is no urban reality without right to the city centre, which is city space that gives access to spaces of encounter where people gather together to allow interaction of city objects and subjects.

Using studies from post-apartheid South Africa cities, Simone (2005) added that right to the city should make it possible for citizens to pursue their aspirations at a particular time and in a particular way of living, it is not just the right to maintain or house the people. He argues that the youth in South Africa have been contained in cities where they are only allowed to be in but they are marginalised in many aspects such as employment, development and the political process of these cities. He is also against the use of rigid management instruments such as the policies and governance regulations that stifle individual flexibility. He viewed cities as arenas for natural belonging and facilitators of social cohesion.

In his studies of American cities, Harvey (2008) observed that city residents have invested extensively in building the city according to dreams of their hearts and it is on this basis that they should be allowed to enjoy life in the city. Studies by Harvey (2012) observed that urban authorities put more emphasis on urban entrepreneurship rather that urban management and this was driven by exclusionary urban policies. He argues that these urban authorities are more concerned with issues of urban economic development and economic growth and they have shifted their focus from the primary roles of provision of essential services to all

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inhabitants of the city and redistribution of resources. This has caused exclusion of other urban inhabitants from receiving services provided by these cities and the most affected are the urban poor. Such practices are travesty to the provisions and dictates of the right to the city

The right to the city is therefore, the main theoretical framework that this study used to analyse how the informal practitioners in the city of Masvingo are being treated. Using this theoretical optic of right to the city, this study investigated the multiple dimensions of informality in the city of Masvingo in Zimbabwe. The study examined the following issues; political (politics of patronage and abuse of the poor), social (creating a safe and livable city to the informal sector, ionisation of relations between the formal and the informal as they compete for urban space), economic (widespread informalisation of the economy), spatial and environmental ramifications of activities of the informal sector were also examined. The study also tried to examine how inclusive urban development policies are in the city of Masvingo, with special focus on how they express the needs of the urban poor in light of fulfillment of their rights to the city. It also examined how city authorities have responded to contestations that have been developed as a result of growing informal activities in the city. In light of the city, what therefore, are the new contestations that might arise from the uncomfortable relationships between authorities and the informal sector, with regard to the latter's quest for access to space in the city? The study contributes to the debates on informality and the contemporary city in the global South.

1.1 Informality in Zimbabwe: A policy overview

The Zimbabwean case of informality presents a unique picture, where the government of Zimbabwe has exhibited an oscillating behavior towards the phenomenon of informality. The government has exhibited a denial behavior then partial acceptance and then total denial and back again to acceptance, (Potts 2006). Just after independence the government adopted the British engineering type of planning that tolerated nothing outside the formal planning systems, which meant that all informal activities were deemed illegal. In major cities, such as Harare, the local authorities were reported to have carried out periodic slashing of illegal agricultural activities that were carried out by the informal urban agriculturalists. All informal trading that were carried out in the city center were deemed to destroy the sunshine city status of cities of Zimbabwe, hence were deemed illegal and these practitioners were often involved in raids from the city authorities.

After the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the late 1980s the government of Zimbabwe realised that there were widespread retrenchments in the formal industries and most of the retrenched turned into the informal sector for survival. The government then took a deliberate stance to allow the operations of informal activities in urban centers. This was the only viable source of livelihood not only to the retrenched and the unemployed but even the employed as they also turned to the informal sector to supplement their meager resources. At the height of economic melt-down, i.e., the period starting in the late 1990s into the year 2000, the government adopted a completely different attitude towards the informal sector. They regarded the sector as the source of all evils that caused the downward spiral of economic development, thus they embarked on an attempt to eradicate all informal activities in an operation they called Operation Restore Order. This operation destroyed all forms of informal activities and called all urban local authorities to revert to proper planning systems so that all activities that were outside the operating plans were to be destroyed. Then after the Operation Restore Order, the government again tried to embrace the activities of the informal sector and they established a full ministry to take care of the informal sector and an Act of Parliament was enacted to legalise the operations of the informal sector.

Some scholars trace the origins of the informal sector into the colonial period, where the colonial government believed in a more centralized economy. As a result, there were so many repressive laws that adhered to stringent planning laws that had a strong bearing on the British planning practices (Brown 2001; Potts2006). Such borrowed engineering planning standards had very little space for the livelihoods of the poor. In those difficult times people tried to participate in the economies through informal activities. They engaged in activities such as beer brewing, prostitution, market gardening and other small businesses, (Jones 2010; Musoni 2010), so as to earn a living in a situation where there was very little recognition of the urban poor. The economic regime pursued by the colonial government was therefore, at variance with the African culture, hence had very little relevance to the livelihoods of the poor (Brown 2001). The capitalist economy that the colonial government was promoting had very little room to respond to the needs of the urban poor; hence the informal sector had to be creative in order to survive in such hostile environments. However, the government of the day did not turn a blind eye to such operations as it responded by promulgating more stringent by-laws aimed at curbing operations of such an informal nature, (Musoni 2010).

The informal sector, therefore, operated as a parallel economy for a long time and some called it an underground economy. The colonial government failed to fully put a stop to the operations of the informal sector and the new independent government that came into power in 1980 then adopted a parallel economy. Soon after independence, the government of Zimbabwe adopted the British planning standards which never tolerated the operations of the informal sector and tried to curb its growth. In major cities, such as Harare and Bulawayo, there were reports of running battles between municipal police and operators in the informal sector whose trading places and settlements were frequently demolished by the government.

From the late 1980s into the 1990s the new government reported a sharp decline in economic performance and as a result the national economy could no longer absorb an estimated 200 000-300 000 school leavers that were expected to join the labour market annually (Brown 2001). The government had to then shop for economic strategies that would revive the economy and the international financial institutions, IMF and World Bank, persuaded the government of Zimbabwe to adopt an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) as a means to revive the economy. The adoption of the ESAP spelt doom for the Zimbabwean economy as it never managed to meet any of the set economic growth targets (Musoni 2010, Kamete 2007). Rather there was a conspicuous negative growth as shown by companies down-sizing and others closing down shops, which resulted in massive retrenchments in all public and private companies. The 1990s recorded an unprecedented shrinking of the Zimbabwean economy, as over 750 companies closed down, (Musoni 2010). The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was associated with a raft of economic reforms that included removal of subsidies on consumers, deregulation of the economy to open it to private sector competition and reduction of government expenditure. All these changes had a profound effect on the lives of the urban people especially the urban poor (Tevera 1995). The programme left most of them without livelihoods and they had to turn to the informal sector for survival. (Brown 2001,Potts 2006, Kamete 2007). The shrinking economy was now unable to absorb the ever increasing volumes of school leavers that were released from schools and for those who were still in employment the escalating rate of inflation was eating into their wages such that their real wages could not sustain them (Potts 2006). This forced most of the people into the informal sector as they sought sustainable means of survival. The government, on the other hand, had accrued a soaring debt that was eating too much into its Gross Domestic Product and as a result, could not engage in meaningful activities that could expand its economy. At some point the debt repayment

constituted 71% of its Gross Domestic Product, (Brown 2001). This problem coupled with the 200 000- 300 000 school leavers being released into the job market, resulted in escalating rates of unemployment and as a result, people had to find other means of survival in these hostile economic environments and they had no other way but the informal sector (Brown 2001; Musoni 2010). The rising rate of unemployment and the declining real wages due to the escalating rate of inflation all worked to disproportionately damage the livelihoods of the urban people especially the urban poor. They were left with no other option for survival other than engaging in the informal sector. According to Brown (2001), the Structural Adjustment Programme had a debilitating effect on the lives of the urban poor in Zimbabwe as it resulted in removal of subsides and the deregulation of the economy saw soaring consumer prices and poverty became an indelible mark of the urban population in nearly all the urban areas. Research showed that in the late 1990s, poverty had reached 72% in all urban households, of which 51% households were deemed very poor, (Potts 2006). Potts (2006) further argues that the increasing poverty levels in Zimbabwe's urban households were directly related to the increasing informality in the economy of the country. There was a strong correlation between the increasing poverty levels and the informalisation of the economy. Households that were depending on the formal sector dropped to a mere 15% , (Potts 2006), and by the late 1990s the economy had been driven into real depression as job opportunities became really scarce and the trends became even steeper as we moved into the new millennium, (Potts 2006).By 2000, the Zimbabwean economy had been turned into an informal economy as activities previously regarded as those of the marginalised and downcast classes were now livelihoods for the majority of the urban population, even the educated, (Jones 2010). The economy that was once regarded as the jewel of the African economy was down-graded to an informal economy where activities such as street carpentry, welding and selling of vegetable were the major activities giving livelihoods to the urban population. The formal economy had been brought to a virtual standstill while the informal sector was flourishing. For example, vendors were recording booming and brisk business in front of empty shops and supermarkets. The de-industrialisation that was being experienced throughout Zimbabwe's urban areas was now replaced by production at every corner of the streets where people were producing furniture, bricks, soap, window frames and door frames, (Jones 2010). The informal sector took over the tradition sites of production and it developed not only into a dominant and preferred economy but it became the necessary economy, (Jones 2010). It is no longer an economic sector for the poor and the marginalised groups such as the women and the youths but it has become the economy for everyone, the poor, the civil servants and even the bureaucratic

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institutions. For example, at the height of economic crisis bureaucratic institutions such as the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe had very strong links with the informal sector for supply of foreign currency, (Jones 2010, Potts 2006).

The turn of the century was also met with rising political temperature in Zimbabwe as people, especially those in urban areas, were frustrated by the ruling party and its economic policies that had reduced everyone to mere economic spectators. The rate at which the economy was being degraded could not allow anybody to carry out a meaningful formal business. The rate of inflation was now galloping and the real wages were completely eroded and the environment of doing business was the most debilitating one (Potts 2006). As people's frustration continued to rise, the legitimacy of the ruling party was also severely eroded and new political dispensations were taking strong roots especially in urban areas. The growth of opposition politics reached fever height in the mid-2000s, which resulted in an embarrassing loss of elections by the ruling party in nearly all the urban areas. The ruling party swiftly responded by turning to the informal sector as the source of their political problems. They decided to get rid of all informal activities in a guise to clean up the city. They embarked on the notorious Operation Murambasvina which was roundly condemned by all organisations, including the United Nations. The operation was aimed at restoring the sunshine city status of Harare, and deal with the rising cases of crime, squalor and landlessness in order to bring back order, dignity and prosperity, (Musoni 2010, Jones 2010, Potts 2006, Kamete 2007). While that was the purported purpose of Operation Murambasvina, it was to do away with the illegal activities; the deeper political aim of the operation was to neutralize the dominance of opposition politics in the urban areas (Potts 2006, Bracking 2005). The need for cleaner urban areas was just a smoke screen for motives aimed at reducing the growing influence of popular uprisings that were taking place in urban areas, (Musoni 2010, Potts 2006). The post-election activities marked an about-turn by the government of Zimbabwe, which had adopted a tolerance attitude towards the informal sector (Potts 2006). They were now calling for a zero tolerance to activities of the informal sector. The operation was done at a scale that attracted even international attention. It was done from the capital city to small towns and growth points and had massive ramifications on the operations of the informal sector, (Potts 2006, Bracking 2005). Potts (2006) further argues that the operation was done with total disregard for the needs and rights of the people affected, the majority of which were the urban poor eking a living in the informal sector. Kamete (2007) added that the process was done in a manner that resembles a spineless, negligent and cold hearted government. By the end of July

2005 an estimated 65000-700 000 people had lost their livelihoods or homes and in some cases both, (Potts 2006).

However, this operation despite its magnitude did not signify the end of the informal sector in Zimbabwe. The government embarked on another operation to restore order in cities, where it developed houses for the displaced people without proper services such as water and sanitation. The operation was now called Operation Restore Order where make-shift structures were built by the government through the Department of Works in the Ministry of Local Government and Urban Development. They decided to involve the Department of Physical Planning, which was tasked to properly plan for the informal sector. However, the planning and implementation of these plans fell far too short to rectify the damage caused by Operation Murambasvina (Bracking 2005, Potts 2006, 2005).The people in these structures resemble squatter settlements because of lack of essential services.

 The government of Zimbabwe then took again a soft stance towards operations of the informal sector. The government realised that the informal sector was the backbone of their economy since the formal economy had been decimated to irreparable conditions. They then decided to pick up the pieces after Operation Murambasvina and saw it fit to establish a ministry to look into the needs and issues of the informal sector. The ministry is now up and running and an Act of Parliament has been promulgated to legalise the operations of the informal sector. The government also came up with a policy document that helps in directing operations of the informal sector. Local governments are then supposed to incorporate these policies in their development initiatives and see to it that the activities of the informal sector are mainstreamed into their economies. Now that such policies are in place and Acts of Parliament have been passed, the big question that follows is that are these policies being followed by these local governments?

1.2 Study Area

Map 1.1: Masvingo from a national setting
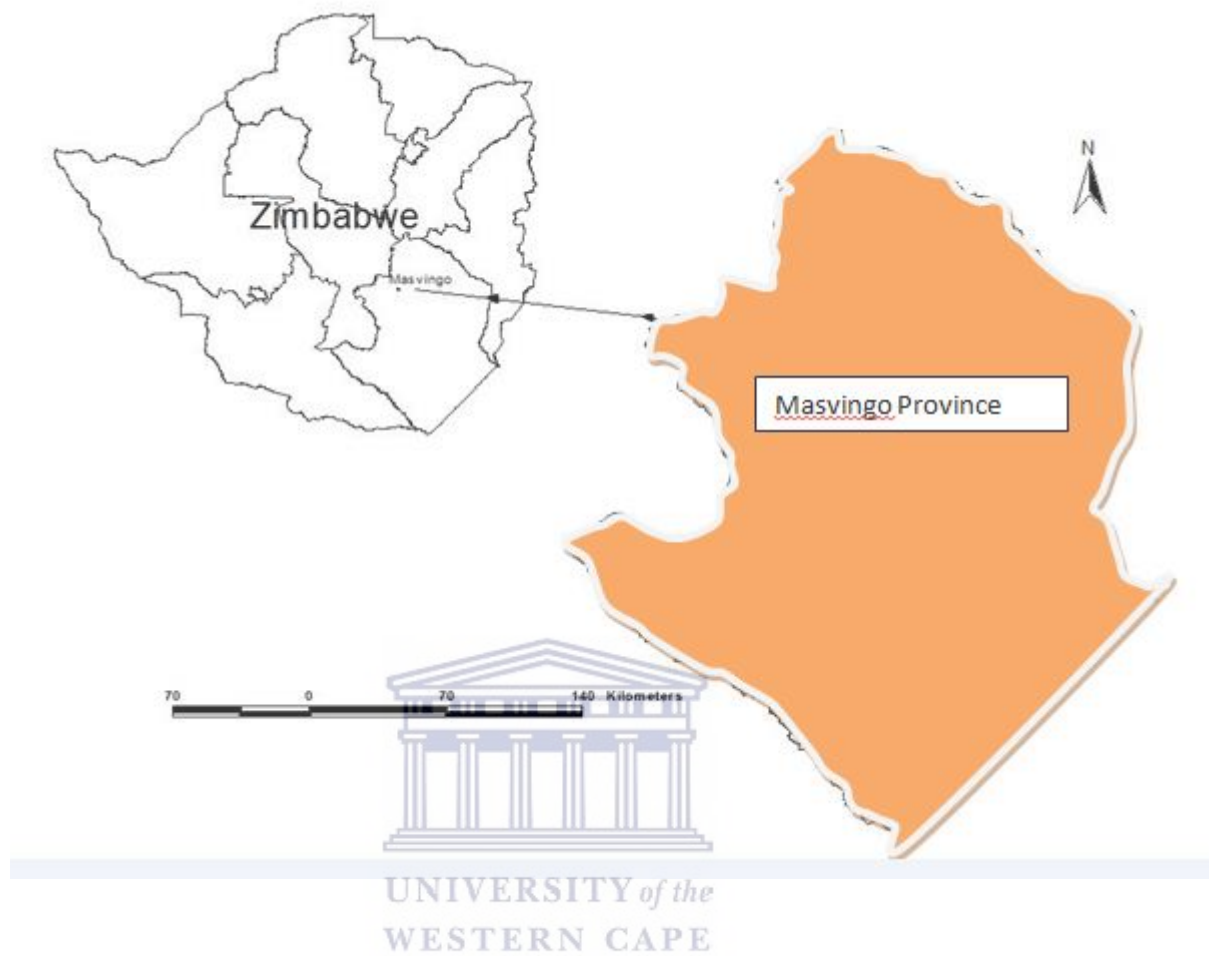
Map 1.2: Masvingo City and its environs
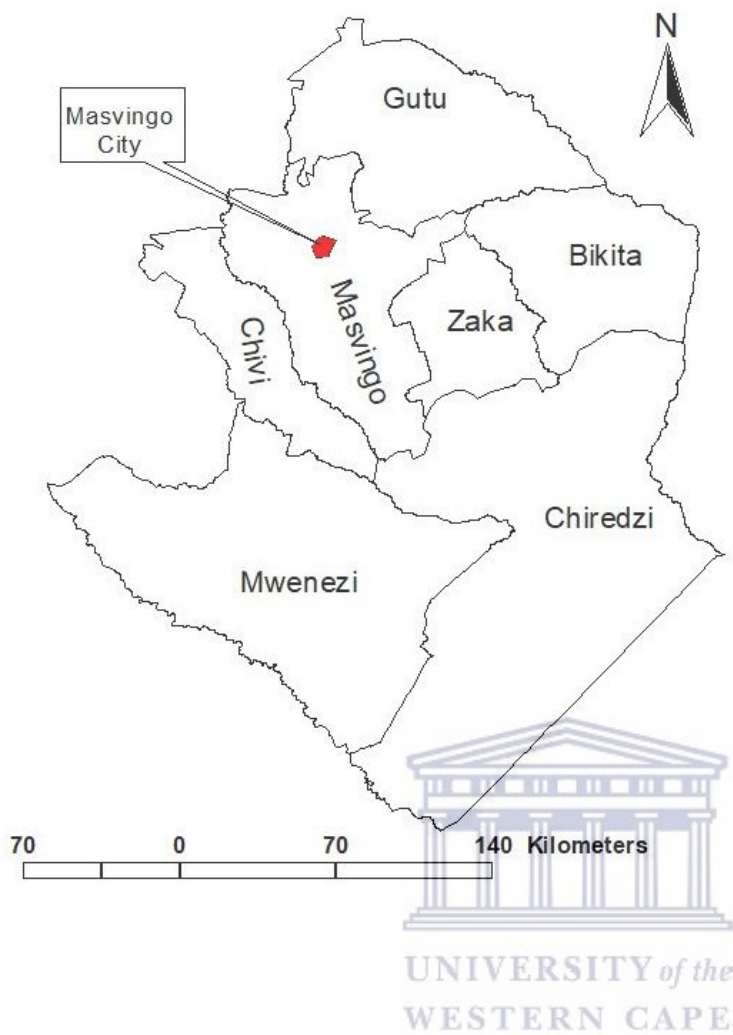
Map 1.3: Masvingo City and its land uses
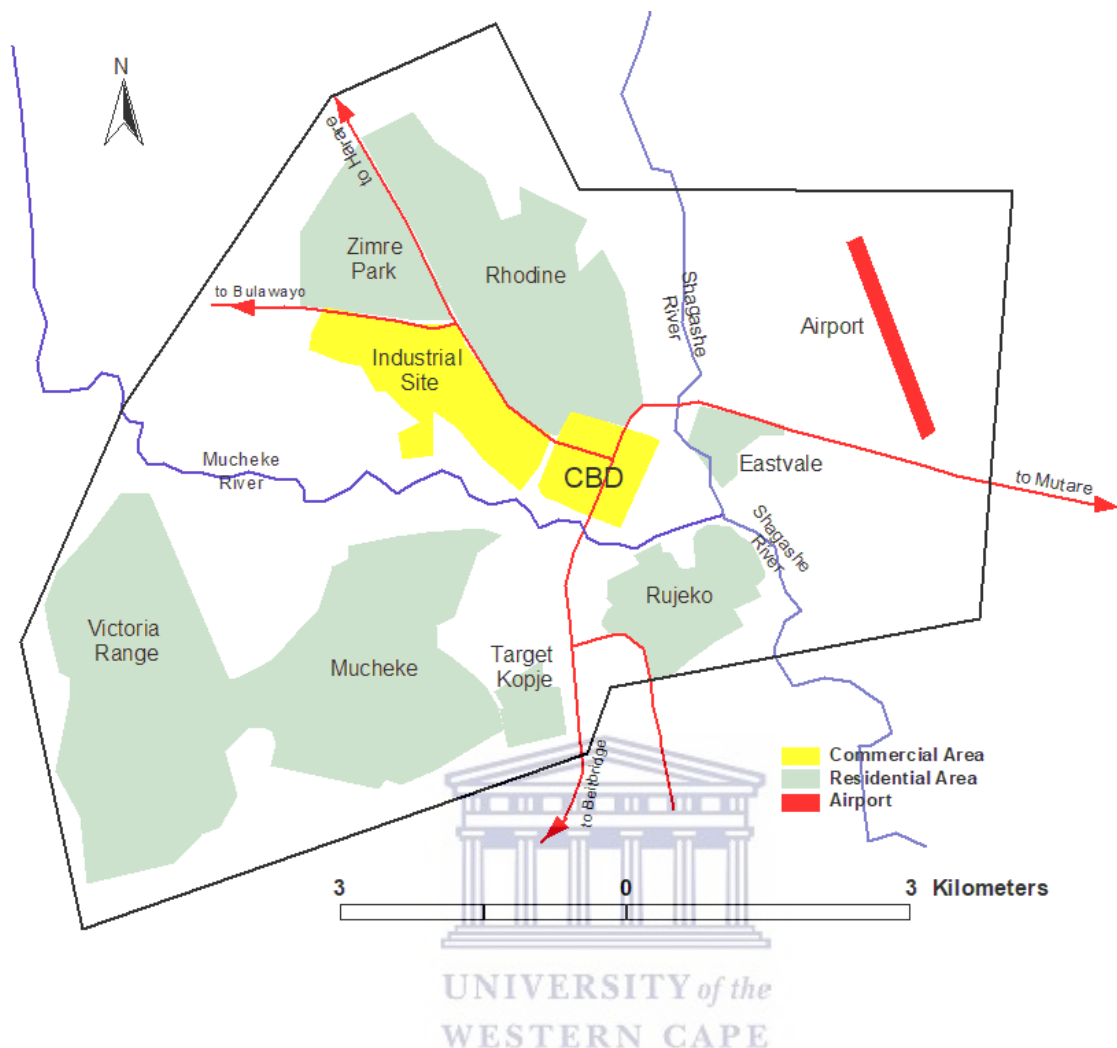
Masvingo is one of the oldest cities in Zimbabwe that was established by the pioneer column as Fort Victoria in the late 1890s. It later changed its name to Masvingo soon after independence in 1980. The name is derived from the famous world heritage site, Great Zimbabwe which is a place of great historical and tourist importance. The population of Masvingo urban, according to the 2012 census, is estimated to be around 88 554 people and its estimated growth rate is 1.2% (Zimstat 2012).

The Great Zimbabwe is a designated World Heritage Site and is one of the major tourist attractions in the city and is one of the important and thriving industries of the city. Regionally the monuments are the largest and south of the Sahara and in Africa they are second from the Egyptian pyramids. Tourism therefore, is one of the major industries with relevance to the economy of the city and the province. Other tourist sites which are also important to the economy of the city are the ragged and rocky shorelines of the biggest inland dam, the Mutirikwi dam, the second largest national park, Gonarezhou National Park and the

wildlife conservancies of Malilangwe and Save Conservancy. Agriculture is the second biggest industry driven by the sugar cane plantations of Hippo Valley, Triangle and Mkwasine.

The city of Masvingo does not have a wide industrial base. Notable manufacturing industries include the iron and steel company and a leather manufacturing company, (Zimtrade 2011). The majority of the industries are in the service sector which is dominated by bus operators and a few distribution centers. Other industries supporting the economy of the province are; mining and in this sector only two major mines are functional; the lithium mine in Bikita and the gold mine in Renco, but these are outside the city of Masvingo. There are however small-scale alluvial mining activities that are happening throughout the province but these are mostly in the informal sector.

The economic meltdown that started in the late 1980s and continued into the 1990s reached fever height in the late 1990s into the years 2000s had detrimental effects on the economy throughout the country and Masvingo city was not spared, (Dube and Chirisa 2012). The downward economic spiral dismantled the formal sector and saw the widespread proliferation of the informal sector. This economic meltdown exposed a planning challenge to the city, where the city wanted to continue planning for the ever shrinking formal sector at the expense of the ever increasing informal sector. The increased informalisation of the economy demanded a paradigm shift because the ever increasing livelihoods of the poor demanded attention and space in the city, (Nyanga et.al. 2013). Most of the operations of the informal sector were deemed detrimental to the environment as they disregarded operating environmental management regulations, (Chazovachii et.al. 2013). People in the informal sector in Masvingo were reported to be working under very deplorable conditions mainly because the owners of enterprises were not investing in improving the conditions of their workers, (Basera 2013).

1.3 Statement of the problem

Cities in Zimbabwe like other cities in the global South are grappling with issues of informalisation of economies as cities experience rapid urbanisation and wide spread poverty. The rapid urbanisation in most of the cities in Zimbabwe has been associated with increasing levels of unemployment because the formal sector has not been able to create enough jobs. The shrinking of the economy has been associated with the proliferation of livelihoods of the poor and informality has developed to be the most common strategy to cushion the poor

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against the effects of poverty. Informal sector, therefore, been a result of increasing poverty in the urban areas. The growing incidence of poverty has brought with it new land uses that are giving livelihoods to the poor such as informality. However, these land uses are finding it difficult to be integrated into the operating city legislative frameworks. This failure to integrate these livelihoods of the poor has resulted in serious urban governance problems such as exclusion of some sections of the urban society in the running and delivery of services in the city. In the city of Masvingo, issues of informality have been a major problem as the people in the informal sector have been marginalised on various fronts. The city has been struggling to provide for this sector resulting in the majority of the informal people struggling to access working spaces in the city. Some are working in very fragile environments and most of their areas do not receive urban services such as water and sanitation. This has also given rise to the problem of exclusion of other sections of urban communities thereby, violating their right to the city. The urban poor have been experiencing limited access to vital city services such as jobs, housing and even access to the city centre (Marcuse 2009, Lefebvre 1996).This study examined how the right of the urban poor, especially those in the informal sector, have been incorporated in the management of the city of Masvingo. While previous studies on right to the city have focused on rights of the poor to access the city centre, (Harvey 2003, 2008,Lefebvre 1968, 1996), the right of the poor to receive city services (housing, jobs, water, sanitation and housing), and to live in good environmental conditions, there have been limited studies focusing on how right of people in the informal sector have been addressed in cities of the global South. Previous studies on the right to the city have been informed by experiences from cities of the global North, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996; Harvey 2003, 2012; Marcuse 2009), therefore, cities of the global South have been contributing very little to the body of knowledge on right to the city. This study strives to put forward the right to the city perspective from the experiences of the cities of the global South and informality in the city of Masvingo was used as a case study. Issues of urban environmental planning and management in the informal sector were examined to see how safe and livable spaces occupied by people in the informal sector are.

1.4 Aim and specific objectives

1.4.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to examine the space contestations between the Masvingo City Council and the informal sector.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

i) To examine how the economic meltdown has fueled the growth of the informal economy in the city of Masvingo.

ii) To investigate contestations over space between policymakers/planners and informal sector in the city of Masvingo.

iii) To examine how informal sector operators are asserting their right to the city in Masvingo.

iv) To assess service provision in the informal sector in light rights to service delivery by the people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo

1.4.3 Research questions

The research was directed by the broader question that sought to examine how the city of Masvingo has been giving the people in the informal sector their rights to the city and also examine the contestations that arise due to the need for space by people in the informal sector. The specific research questions are:

i) How has the economy of the city of Masvingo been affected by the economic meltdown?

ii) How has the city of Masvingo responded to the phenomenon of informality?

iii) What services are offered to the informal sector by the city of Masvingo?

iv) What is the informal sector doing to assert their rights in the city of Masvingo?

v) How is the phenomenon of informality conflicting with city's regulatory framework?

1.5 Justification of the study

Zimbabwe at the turn of the century experienced economic meltdown which resulted in shrinking of the economy and massive retrenchments in the formal industrial sector. The continued downward spiral of the economy resulted in unprecedented growth of the informal sector. The dominance of the informal sector in the economies of cities of the global South

warrants a study that examines the contestation created by this emerging urban phenomenon and how the right of the people in the informal sector is being incorporated in the city management and governance. While there are many studies that were done on the informal sector, most of them have been focusing on the nature of the informality, the contribution of the informal sector to the economy, there has been very little study on examining how right to the city of people in the informal sector have been addressed by urban local authorities. The study examined how the phenomenon of informality has created contestations in the city space and how integration of the informal sector has been achieved in the city of Masvingo. The study contributes to the debates on informality by looking into the issues of informality from the rights perspective. The focus on the city of Masvingo informs the concept of right to the city from experiences of cities of the global South. Most of the literature on the right to the city has been dominated by experiences of large cities in the global North; hence this study will make a contribution to the perspective of the global South by focusing on an intermediate size city. Informality has developed to be the form of urbanisation in most cities of the global South; hence the people in the informal sector should be accorded their right to the city like any other city inhabitants. Local authorities, according to the provisions of the theory of the right to the city, are expected to extend urban services to every inhabitant of the city in a way that will lead to total enjoyment of the city's services. The study also examined how the local authority is embracing the idea of the informal sector into their planning and management systems.
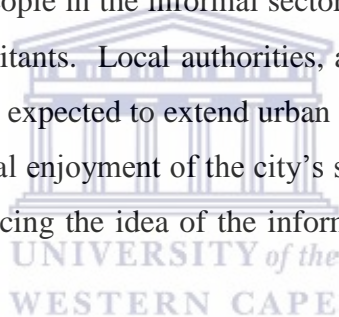
Most of studies have focused on how the informal sector contributes to the economy at both the local and national level, some studies focused on the characterisation of the informal sector, while others focused on the need to integrate this sector into the mainstream economy, (Sen 2000, Roy 2005, 2009, Meshram 2007, Demba 1999). Some focused on trying to justify the existence of the informal sector, (ILO 2000, 1972), others on the nature of the informal sector where they have tried to define what constitutes the informal sector (ILO 1972, 2000, Hassan 2003), while others have written on how to improve the contribution of the informal sector to the main economy through improving the skills, education and access to credits to the sector, (Nurul Amin. 2002, Roy 2009, Meshram 2007, Gondwe et.al. 2011, Dhemba 1999). There are however limited studies focusing on the informal sector from the right perspective, to see how the right of people in the informal sector have been incorporated in urban local authorities and examine the contestations brought by the integration of the informal sector. The provision of important urban services to the informal sector is very

critical in city governance and management and the enjoyment of right to the city. It is a critical issue in environmental justice and sustainability of the city. The dominance of the informal sector in cities of the global South demands that the informal sector be treated with some respect in these cities because it is providing livelihoods to a lot of the urban poor. For example, in Zimbabwe, the whole economy has been informalised as more than 80% of jobs are generated by the informal sector (Brown 2001; Jones 2010), and the sector is also significantly (60%) contributing to the Gross Domestic Product, (Musoni 2010). This makes it imperative that the people in the informal sector be accorded their right to the city, especially the right to access city space, the right to receive city services and the right to environmental justice. The need for good environmental planning and management services in the informal sector was therefore also examined. Like most of the cities in the global South, the city of Masvingo has been unable to deal with issues of informality because the planning and management systems that do not recognise informality as a legal land use. Instead city managers and planners are determined to eradicate informality in the city. The increasing phenomenon of urbanisation of poverty in cities of the global South calls for new planning and urban management systems that will see the incorporation of livelihoods of the poor such as informality and giving the people in the informal sector their right to the city so that they enjoy city life like any other city inhabitant. Informality as a livelihood of the poor has been penetrating the urban landscape hence the urban authorities should be flexible enough to incorporate them by giving them space in the city so that they enjoy their right to the city.

Improving the environmental conditions under which the people in the informal sector are operating from will go a long way in creating a socially just city and giving the people in the informal sector environmental justice, which are fundamental tenets of the concept of the right to the city. This will also create safe work places and liveable communities for the people in the informal sector, which are also fundamental tenets of a sustainable city. This again will be a step towards creating smart cites and the provision of right to the city to these seemingly marginalised groups. A well-managed urban environment is a panacea to creation of smart cities but a poorly managed environment is fertile ground for the spread of communicable diseases and, according to the smart city concept, it will reduce the economic competitiveness of the city, which is the spring board to economic vibrancy in the global economy.

1.7 Outline of the research

1.7.1 Chapter one: Introduction

This chapter provides the research problem, study justification, research questions and the research objectives. .

1.7.2 Chapter two: Understanding the informal sector

This section gives definitions of the phenomenon of informal sector. It examines the various scholarly views of informal sector in order to give a wider view of it. Various theories associated with the emergence of the informal sector were also examined to give a general understanding of informal sector.

1.7.3 Chapter Three: Theoretical and conceptual underpinnings

This chapter presents the theories that form the foundations on which the research was premised. Theories such as the Right to the city by the French sociologist will be explained and related to the issue under study, the phenomenon of informal sector. Other supporting theories such as theories of informality and the theory of sustainable development will also be examined.

1.7.4 Chapter four: Research methodology

This chapter outlines the research design, the research methods employed and the sampling procedure.

1.7.5 Chapter five: Integrating the informal sector in city planning in Masvingo
This chapter analyses the planning process in the city of Masvingo and examines how it is affecting informal sector..

1.7.6 Chapter 6: Managing the environment in the informal sector in Masvingo

This chapter examines the management practices that are being employed in Masvingo and how these practices are informal sector. The management instruments that are being used by the city were also examined here to see how they are incorporating the informal sector.

1.7.7 Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendation

This chapter provides conclusions and recommendations that are based on the research findings.

Chapter two: Theoretical Foundations

2.1 The right to the city: Its tradition and new trajectories

The theory of the right to the city was first propounded by the French sociologist Henry Lefebvre in 1968 after realizing the disenfranchisement of some sections of the urban society in the management and running of cities. His main concern was that there are some marginalised groups in urban areas that were not involved in the shaping of the city. Their livelihoods and ways of life were not allowed in the city centre despite contributing significantly to the economies of these cities. Lefebvre (1968) therefore, coined the 'theory of the right to the city' arguing that all urban inhabitants have the right to access the city centre and use it for their benefit. The management systems in these urban areas were widely accused of failing to serve the majority of the urban inhabitants as they were just concentrating on some sections of the urban society especially the few privileged elites. In most of the cities there has been conspicuous marginalisation of some social groups in areas of housing, employment, and environmental justice; this prompted scholars like Lefebvre (1968) to advocate for inclusion and involvement of these peoples in the management and running of cities as a way of giving them their rights to the city.

The theory of the right to the city tries to uplift and recognise the rights of the marginalised groups in cities they live. According to Lefebvre (1968), right to the city is a call for all city inhabitants to have unencumbered rights to city services with strong emphasis on the right to access the city centre. The theory of 'the right to the city' as propounded by the French sociologist, Henry Lefebvre (1968), calls for the urban authorities to offer their services to all inhabitants of the city so that they enjoy the services offered by the city and the involvement of all people's ideas in shaping the city. He further argues that a city is a collective artwork of all city inhabitants therefore, cities should reflect that, (Harvey 2003, 2008, Marcuse 2009).This position was taken after realising that urban authorities were not able to offer services to the totality of their citizens. In many cities there was conspicuous disenfranchisement of some people of their rights to enjoy urban life especially the right to express their life in the city centre and access to services such as housing, labour and good environmental conditions. In many cases people such as migrants and people of colour, were not allowed to enjoy urban life the same way other urban inhabitants did because they were limited in accessing some of the city spaces and services. Right to the city, therefore, calls for all city inhabitants to enjoy city life the way they like it, hence urban authorities have to

desist from practices that are segregatory and discriminatory. It therefore, means that practices that were experienced in many French cities, where migrant labourers were not able to access city space, the job market and housing services were a serious violation of these people's right to the city.

Lefebvre (1968, 1969) was fighting against such practices by calling the right of these people to be reflected in city management. He was against systems that marginalised city inhabitants from accessing city space. Lefebvre (1968) called for all city inhabitants to participate in the public spaces of their cities as a way of expressing their right to the city. This participation is very critical if citizens are to realise and enjoy their right to the city and can only be realised if there is restructuring of systems that manage cities, (Lefebvre 1968, Boer and de Vries 2009). Lefebvre (1968) called for a revolutionary movement where the oppressed people in cities should rise up and fight against the dominance of propertied people over the property-less people. Lefebvre (1968, 1996) argues that right to the city is radical revolutionary urban politics that seeks to transform and renew urban life, taking away from the influence and domination of the state and capitalist instruments to give the city inhabitants the right to enjoy urban life and not a selected few to define urban life for them. Right to the city is, therefore a call for all city inhabitants to influence all decisions made on city space, (Lefebvre 1996, Boer and de Vries 2009). According to Lefebvre (1968, 1996), cities are a collective artwork of all city inhabitants and users, where every citizen has the right to participate in shaping the urban area they live in according to the desires of their heart, (Harvey 2003, 2008 Lefebvre 1996, 1968). Lefebvre (1968, 1996) was fighting against the dominance of state capitalists who have dominated the whole facet of urban life in a way that was sidelining the poor to be just forced consumers of urban products. He argues that urban inhabitants should not just be consumers of what has been produced by the city and state elites but they should challenge these systems to demand their aspirations from the city authorities and be allowed to make urban areas of their choice, (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2008, Simone 2005).

Simone (2005) further argues that right to the city is not right to be just contained in a city but they are rights to demand the needs of citizens from the city authorities. These arguments were developed after realising that the poor and other marginalised groups of the urban society can contribute to the shaping of the urban space and the future of the city hence should be afforded their right to make a city according to the desires of their heart, (Harvey 2003; Lefebvre 1996). Right to the city therefore, is unallienated right and is like human rights, which should be enjoyed by every citizen of the city. However, state capitalists have

institutionalised the disenfranchisement of the urban poor as they have institutions that operate to sideline the urban poor and other marginalised groups in making their contribution to urban life. The most common instrument used is the use of exchange values of land that work to push the urban poor out of the city because the poor are priced out of the city space and hence most of the urban poor are usually found on the periphery of urban areas where most of the urban services do not reach.

The urban poor, according to the theory of the right to the city, should actively participate in a city's public and economic life. Lefebvre (1968, 1969), opinioned and advocated for the use-values of urban space rather than the exchange values so that the urban poor and the marginalised groups can access and use urban space. This will allow the urban poor and their livelihoods to be recognised and be respected as users of urban space by urban local authorities. This again will go a long way in democratising urban space by opening it for use by all citizens. Giving use-values to urban space will see the urban poor fighting the exclusionary tendencies of capitalist and neo-liberal urban planning policies that have been working to effectively exclude the urban poor from accessing and using urban space and facilities for their benefit, (Wang 2000, Boer and de Vries 2009, McCann 2002). Such disfranchisement has resulted in the urban poor living in very hazardous environments characterised by poor housing and poor muddy roads, (Wang 2000). The capitalists and their urban policies give urban space exchange values that effectively alienate the urban poor from active participation in the urban life because they are denied use of the urban space since it is priced beyond the reach of many urban poor.

Right to the city, according to Lefebvre (1968, 1996), views a city as an *oeuvre,* i.e. a city as an expression of urban life, which means that all city inhabitants have the right to participate and, appropriate urban space. A city is therefore, viewed as a collective work of all the city inhabitants that are allowed to express their lives in the city centre. In this way, a city is seen as composed of different kinds of people who are leading different ways of life and hence it should express this totality and allow all these people to enjoy urban life and participate in shaping these cities. All the people should be allowed to define the public realm in their cities as they are allowed to access such public spaces. In his view of a city as an *oeuvre,* Lefebvre (1968) envisages a collective city rather than a singular city. Lefebvre (1968), therefore, opinioned that right to the city is not visiting rights, but they are permanent rights to urban life, which in turn should give people rights to access city space including places such as the city center, which are regarded as places of encounter and places of exchange. In this way

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right to the city should therefore, give people right to full usage of urban space at all times. Lefebvre's (1968) idea of promoting use-values rather than exchange-values resonates around the idea that use-values enable citizens, especially the urban poor, to enjoy city streets, squares and monuments just like any other citizen. Cities under the neo-liberal urbanisation policies, according to Lefebvre (1968), have pursued urbanisation processes that do not give all city inhabitants their rights to urban life, (oeuvre), but they focus on some narrow issues of urban life such as industrial organisation and the need to achieve global city status. Such policies effectively squeeze out of the city centre the urban poor and therefore, deprive them of their right to realise urban life and the right to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts. This therefore, effectively defeats the concept of a city as an *oeuvre,* where a city is regarded as an expression of urban life in totality.

2.2 Rights to the city and neo-liberal urbanisation policies

Neo-liberal urbanisation policies are policies that shape the development of urban areas according to capital seeking tendencies. All their urbanisation processes are driven by capital accumulating tendencies hence; they rarely have policies that cater for the poor in development of urban areas. They seek to promote development initiatives that drive capital accumulation and have no space for the poor. Capitalist and neo-liberal policies therefore, result in selective and exclusionary spaces which exclude other peoples' interests and other groups from enjoying the right to the city, (Waterhout et.al. 2013). Urban design has been used in many cases as a tool to produce and reproduce urban spaces that exclude other groups in the city. They are producing urban spaces that are not inclusive because they do not accommodate the urban poor and other marginalised groups of the society. These spaces have therefore, lost their publicness since most of them have developed to be private public spaces, (van Deusen 2002). These spaces are usually given exchange values that most of the urban poor cannot afford this therefore effectively excludes most of the urban poor from accessing and using them. These spaces are usually associated with the gentrification process, (Lefebvre 1996; van Deusen 2002). Such spaces are mainly focused on economic growth because of its ability to drive the competitiveness of the city. However, such development policies effectively alienate the urban poor and drive the city away from the distributive issues of urban management and this is the major cause of urban inequalities, (Waterhout et.al. 2013).

The desire to create a global city has also been adopted by cities of the global South as the panacea to development and attracts global financial services. The cities of the global South

seem to be too obsessed with issues of clean, orderly and competitive cities and this has effectively driven the urban poor out of their cities, (Huchzermeyer 2011, van Deusen 2002). In her studies of cities of Harare, Abuja and South Africa, Huchzermeyer (2011) observed that cities are more interested in creating world class cities by plastering under their development initiative all vicissitudes of the urban poor in a process she called anesthetisation of poverty. Public spaces are increasingly becoming closed spaces especially to the urban poor and this has reduced the publicness of these spaces because other sections of the urban society are not allowed rights to access and use that space. Van Deusen (2002) further argues that public spaces are no longer public but they are now private public spaces mainly because of their exclusive use by some sections of the society. These spaces are regarded and recognised as spaces for economic development.

The urban poor have in the process been facing repeated experiences of relocation and demolition of their places of stay to pave way for capital seeking enterprises denying the urban poor the right to use that space. The right of the poor to the city has been thrown to the dust bin due to the quest by cities for creating a world class city that can attract global funds which can be used by capital seeking enterprises. This world class city obsession, according to Huchzermeyer (2011, p.90), has led to cities ripping-up and plastering over any form of informal settlement. The lives and livelihoods of the urban poor have been pushed to the periphery of towns and cities to allow neo-liberal urban policies to take roots and dominance in the city thereby denying the urban poor their right to the city. These urban poor have not been allowed to make any expression in cities of today due to neo-liberal urbanisation policies.

In Zimbabwe, there has been repeated relocation of squatter settlements in their quest for a world class city that can be used as an investment destination by international investors. The notorious Operation Restore Order was aimed at ridding the towns of all informal activities and restoring the city's 'sunshine city' status, (Potts 2006; Kamete 2007; Jones 2010). A city, according to the theory of right to the city, however should be seen engaging in practices that advance and reflect inclusivity by embracing the diverse nature of urban society, especially the inclusion of the urban poor in the governance of the city, (Castells 1993, Omuta 1986, Forester 1998, Fainstein 2005). Lefebvre (1968, 1996) stressed this idea by saying that cities should be viewed as collective artworks of all inhabitants and users of the city. This means that all the city inhabitants should be heard and considered to participate in all efforts used to shape the future of the city. Lefebvre (1968) further argues that right to the city should enable

city inhabitants to appropriate urban space and time, where city inhabitants are given unallienated right to access and use urban space at all times. Appropriation, according to Lefebvre (1968) should allow urban inhabitants to access, occupy, and use urban space. In addition to this, city inhabitants should also be allowed to reproduce urban space according to the desires of their hearts so as to meet their needs (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008).

In most cases the urban poor have not been allowed to define the urban space they want because the livelihoods of the poor have not been allowed expression in the city centre. Urban local authorities have been so obsessed with building a city that matched world standards and in so doing they have been disenfranchising the poor from participating in shaping the city according to the desires of their hearts. The urban poor have been perpetually forced to consume urban space that have been defined by a few privileged urban elites who have been monopolising the role to shape the city's development and definition of urban space. It is therefore, the lives and livelihoods of the few privileged elites that have been allowed to be part of city history. Lefebvre's (1968, 1996) notion of right to the city can only be achieved by fighting against the dominant powers and structures of capitalism and state elites that have been dominating decision making processes of the city. This is a direct challenge to the social, economic and political constructs that are associated with capitalism and capital accumulation that have been responsible for disenfranchisement of city inhabitants especially the urban poor, of their right to the city. This right has been continuously trampled upon by their capital seeking tendencies. According to Lefebvre (1968, 1996), rights to the city cannot be given on a silver platter but it is a fight and a radical approach which should result in restructuring of social, economic and political relations in the city. Such deconstructs should result in demolishing the structures that are responsible for subordination of the urban poor by capitalist and state elites and construct new structures that are more emancipatory to the oppressed and disenfranchised urban poor. It will result in the democratisation of urban space where everyone is allowed access and use of urban space at all times and in the way they like. The restructuring process should result in moving centers of powers from the few that are producing urban space to allow other city inhabitants to define the city space. The users and inhabitants of the city should be given powers to produce urban space according to the desires of their hearts (Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1996). This therefore, pushes for new urban development trajectories, where practices that relegate the urban poor and their livelihoods to the periphery of the city are dismantled and new frontiers are embraced where all city inhabitants are given the chance to contribute to the shaping of

the city. Lefebvre (1968, 1996) further argues that the diversity of urban inhabitants is not reflected in the spaces produced by the state elites and the capitalists in their neo-liberal urbanisation policies. Their spaces are too exclusionary, for example, the Clinton Square in the United States of America, was designed in such a way that it is exclusively for urban elites and its name was strategically chosen to show its exclusivity. The poor are not allowed in the square and their livelihoods are also not allowed. Such spaces are so closed to the outside world and hence very exclusive that they do not allow any other uses that reduce their exclusivity. This does not auger well with the dictates of the right to the city and contemporary urban planning and management practices, which encourage incorporation of multiple values and interests in the urban life and the inclusion of every city inhabitant in the shaping of city space, (Morgan and Cole-Hawthorne 2016, Lefebvre 1996, Simone 2005, Feinstein 2005). Harvey (2012) further argues that in the cities of today the capitalist processes have dominated city planning and management to the extent that the city has become a contested area where the bourgeoisie and the working class are in a constant power struggle to control the city space. Such struggles however have been felt more by the urban poor who always find themselves disposed of their right to the city.

2.3 Rights to the city and city diversity

Contemporary cities have grown to be so diverse that it is no longer possible for the traditional planning and management practices to carry out their responsibilities as usual, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998, UN-Habitat 2010a. 2010b). Fainstein (2005) is of the opinion that the planning systems in the contemporary cities have failed to reflect the diversity of the city inhabitants; rather they have been responsible for the social ills that have characterised the city of today where the majority of the urban poor have been excluded in accessing and benefiting from the city. Such practices reflect social injustices perpetrated on the urban poor because they are not allowed to enjoy their right to the city, especially right to access and benefit from the provisioning of the city. In addition to this, Coggin and Pieterse (2012) argue that there are no rights to the city if other citizens, especially the marginalised groups of the society are not allowed a presence in the city and public spaces. Right to the city therefore, according to Coggin and Pieterse (2012), should give all citizens right to be present in the city, to experience the city and make full use of the city. Thus, the city should reflect the total diversity of the city in line with Lefebvre's (1996) argument that a city is a collective artwork of all citizens of the city. Morgan and Cole-Hawthorne (2016) added that urban life is a reflection of collective aspirations of all urban inhabitants and therefore, cities

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should ensure that this diversity is expressed so as to ensure their inclusivity and sustainability. A hegemonic value system, where certain values are allowed to dominate over other values does not empower citizens; rather these are fertile grounds for power struggles between the dominant groups on one side and the oppressed and subjected groups on the other side. Such practices are also the sources of all inequalities that exist in urban areas. The dominant groups often take advantage of their influential positions to manipulate the planning and management systems to their advantage, which often results in suppression of the desires of their groups in the city. Such practice disenfranchise these marginalised groups of their right to make an expression in the city, which in turn creates power struggles because the oppressed will be fighting for their right to the city, (Morgan and Hawthrone 2016; Harvey 2008). Right to the city therefore, should usher in a new planning and management paradigm where urban space is produced by all and for all city inhabitants hence should be used by all urban inhabitants. To achieve this, Lefebvre (1969), proposed that urban spaces should be given use values rather than the economic values. He argues that economic values are capitalist instruments of exclusion that are used to alienate and disempower city inhabitants of their right to use urban space. In his experience in French cities and many other European cities, Lefebvre (1968, 1969), witnessed some urban inhabitants, especially migrant workers being denied access to the city center, city street and public spaces. These people were excluded from vital urban spaces, whose use and access was reserved to just a few privileged elites. These elites were the only ones allowed not only to enjoy access to city spaces but also to define these urban spaces. According to Lefebvre (1969), the city center is the epicenter of social interaction and human creativity which should be enjoyed by all city inhabitants through having an unallienated access to it. Lefebvre (1996) further argues that there is no urban reality without access to the city center. It therefore, means that urban centers that exclude other groups in their daily lives are not only denying these people access to them but they are also denying them right to express their life in the city.

The theory of the right to the city, therefore, as propounded by Lefebvre (1968, 1969), takes a radical and confrontational approach to empowerment of the urban poor, because it advocates for wrestling of power from the existing oppressive and disempowering structures. In his opinion therefore, right to the city is not God given, neither is it a natural right, rather it is a result of political struggles and collective claims made through mobilisation and agitation of citizens to claim their right to the city from the few privileged ones. This view of the right to the city put the urban space at the center of spatial politics and contestations. Urban spaces

become contested areas in the sense that the poor had to take up upon themselves to fight for their right to the city, which is often located in the hands of just a few privileged. Citizens are therefore, supposed to be agitated and radically activated to takeover governing functions of the city and withering away the powers of the state elites and capitalists. The right to the city from the planning perspective calls for a departure from taxonomic and straight jacket approaches to city planning and development led by the ineffective rational comprehensive planning paradigm, which is widely accused of uninformalising the urban population, which fails to recognize the diversity of the urban population and is roundly condemned as undemocratic, (Fainstein 2006, 2005). It is dominated by state elites and capitalists, whose values and interests are elitist and do not recognise other urban space users, especially the urban poor. Their insistence on exchange values of urban space rather than the user values keep the urban poor out of the city space, (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2003, Huchzermeyer 2011). The needs of the poor therefore, have no space in the rational comprehensive planning whose aim is to create global and orderly cities. Such cities are therefore, exclusive and work to effectively marginalise the urban poor.

Huchzermeyer (2011) also buys into Lefebvre's ideas of the right to the city when she added that the right to the city should be seen defending the existing right of city inhabitants from being dismantled by the dominant sectors of the city. She is against tendencies that promote capital accumulation as championed by the neo-liberal urbanisation process at the expense of the needs of ordinary people. In line with Lefebvre (1968, 1996), she argues that ordinary citizens should claim their citizenship, hence, should be seen fighting against norms and practices that marginalise them. In her opinion, neo-liberal urbanisation process is a norm against the attainment of the right to the city by the majority of city inhabitants due to its insistence on the destructive and exclusive place making urbanisation policies. Such practices effectively erode and disenfranchise citizens' power to influence policies that shape the urban life in cities they live. Neo-liberal urbanisation policies, in her opinion, have no space for the urban poor and their livelihoods as they are not regarded as part of the urban space users and are usually relegated to the periphery of the city where no city services reach. Neo-liberal urbanisation processes are therefore, responsible for the entrenched poverty in urban areas and are also responsible for consolidating urban inequalities, (Gulsoni and Pedroni 2011). They are mainly focused on achieving economic competitiveness of urban areas and these policies are responsible for driving the urban poor out of the city because they insist on exchange values of urban space rather than the use values of urban space, (Lefebvre 1996,

1968, Harvey 2003, Gulsoni and Pedroni 2011). Lefebvre (1996), however, advocates for use-values of urban space as a way of allowing other urban space user to access and use urban space. The insistence on exchange values of urban space has restricted the neo-liberal urbanisation processes in their ability to provide space to the wider generality of urban users because they promote the needs of a leaner and meaner urban geography, which is against collective urbanism, (Lefebvre 1968, 1969, Fainstein 2006, Sandercock 1999). Neo-liberal urbanism promotes only activities that advance the global competitiveness of the city and such activities are normally of international brands which can easily out-compete local initiatives, which are normally livelihoods of the urban poor. This therefore, means that local initiatives are not given priority in urban development and are only relegated to the shadows of the city in open denial of their right to the city. In a quest for world class city status, cities are coming up with urban designs that are too exclusive, such as, shopping malls with global brands, water-fronts that are commercialised, theme parks and sports arenas that are constructed to host mega events. All these initiatives, according to Huchzermeyer (2011), have resulted in alienation of the urban poor from the city thereby, denying them their right to the city.
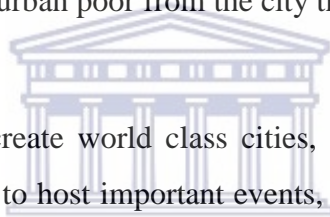
The drive by African cities to create world class cities, which are competitive enough to attract global funds and the need to host important events, has given legitimacy to restrictive and oppressive planning that has effectively alienated the urban poor from the city. For example, the need to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in 1991 by the Zimbabwean government led to massive relocation of squatter settlements in Harare to a location that was outside the city. Similar activities were also experienced in South Africa towards the hosting of the World Cup games in 2010, where informal settlements along the N2 road were demolished and settlers were relocated somewhere away from the country's entry point. The major aim was to portray a city without slums but in a way they were violating these people's right to the city. Neo-liberal planning policies are therefore, responsible for the polarization of cities that have characterised modern cities as the haves and have-nots fight for resources and survival in the city, (Jackson 2014). Neo-liberal urbanisation has effectively disenfranchised the poor of their right to the city because of its insistence on achieving the economic competitiveness of the city which pays very little regard to the impact of such policies on the needs of urban poor and their livelihoods. Planners with an inclination to neo-liberal urbanisation policies, plan urban areas that are exclusive and such practices are responsible for polarisation of urban communities.

Huchzermeyer (2011) added that cities with neo-liberal urban policies have evolved to be militaristic and technocratic, which effectively ignores the social fabric of the city and the rights of other urban space users.

In some extreme cases, cities are too obsessed with gentrification and exclusion of some urban groups to the extent that they employ tight security measures to deal with unwanted elements of the city. In this case the poor are forcibly pushed out of these gentrified urban spaces, for example, the Clinton Square in the United States of America is so exclusive and any activity that does not match its status is kept out of that space. Neo-liberal urbanisation processes employ urban management methods that avoid pro-poor development interventions and creation of an inclusive city. These policies therefore, have worked to effectively deprive urban poor of their right to the city, especially their right to access city space and use it the way they like. They have created cities that are characterised by contestations, tensions, complexity and encounter, (Huchzermeyer 2011). Such practices are ushering in a new planning paradigm, where planners and urban managers are being moved away from their traditional roles of creating and connecting people to livelihoods and creating networks that reduce social exclusion to pro-growth development interventions, (Jackson 2014). Planning was formerly responsible for creating communities that are socially balanced and promote equitable access to social, economic and cultural opportunities, (Huchzermeyer 2011).

Simone (2005) believes that cities are far from reflecting the totality of their diversity. They are responsible for marginalising some groups of the urban community, thereby, depriving these groups of their right to the city. He argues that right to city is a call for a collective city, a city that takes care of all the groups of the urban society. However, according to Simone (2005), in many cities right to the city of the youths are not upheld. In his studies of South African cities, he found that youths are finding it difficult to participate in various sectors of urban social life, such as, employment, politics, viable social reproduction and development. In his view, right to the city for the youths, especially in cities of the global South, has always been a nightmare as they find it difficult to access certain services of the city. Areas of politics, employment and development have been difficult for youths to participate because they find themselves marginalised. These areas have been perennial problem areas for the youths in cities of the global South and this has deprived the youths from enjoying their right to the city. Simone (2005) further argues that right to the city goes beyond just staying in the city but should allow citizens to express their lives in the different ways they like. He said the right to the city is not the right to be maintained or housed and serviced but is a right for the

city inhabitants to realise their specific changing aspirations without being recomposed into some characteristic in terms of what has been defined by the city authorities. He therefore, somehow agrees with Lefebvre (1968) and Harvey (2003, 2008), that people should be allowed to express their lives in the urban area, Lefebvre (1968, 1996) views a city as an *oeuvre,* a place where urban life is expressed. Simone (2005) added that right to the city should allow citizens to pursue their specific aspirations at a particular time and in their particular way. City space, according to (Simone 2005, Fainstein 2006, Sandercock 1998), has an important function of interacting with different performers in a way that should build the confidence of different performers to self-fashioning. Cities should therefore, allow all citizens to express their different ways of life in the city because they are important conduits for realising different aspirations in a divergent way. This means that all city inhabitants have the right to make a city of their liking, which means that their ways of life and their livelihoods should find space and expression in the city life, (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008). Cities which plan for social exclusion are, therefore, working against the dictates of right to the city because they exclude some groups of the urban community, (Jackson 2014). Such practices perpetrate hegemonic value systems which are fertile ground for polarised urban communities, (Waterhout et.al. 2013; Jackson 2014). Right to the city should allow city inhabitants to pursue multiple aspirations and to achieve this; these cities need to have gone through some changes that will see their governance systems and planning practices being changed to accommodate the diverse expression of urban life. Cities of the global South are characterised by strict adherence to fixed blueprints in the planning of urban spaces and this has limited their operation to serve a very narrow urban society, which is far too shot of reflecting the totality of urban life (Chirisa and Dumba 2013; Fainstein 2005). The Blueprint approaches to planning are restrictive in terms of their exclusion of other sections of the urban society and allowing just a small section to shape the development of the city. They actually fix people and resources for a long time to a particular urban life with very little flexibility. This is undemocratic, technocratic and full of modernist disillusions, (Watson 2007, Kamete 2007, Fainstein 2006, 2005).Cities are therefore, increasingly becoming too fragmented due to the neo-liberal urbanisation policies and the youths are mostly affected, (Simone 2005, Jackson 2014). Youths have therefore, been forced to become refugees in cities that should give them social cohesion, arenas of natural belonging and domains for publicity, (Simone 2005). Cities have alienated youths right to the city by maginalising them in areas such as politics, employment and are not available in institutions. Cities, therefore, should establish institutional frameworks that enable their heterogeneous residents to express

their mutable aspiration in a varying degree of realisation, (Simone 2005; Passidomo, 2014). Right to the city, therefore, according to Simone (2005), should not only allow people to express their life in cities, but they should also allow them to express it in changing ways depending on their temporal and spatial changing desires. Passidomo (2014) further argues that in some urban societies instead of creating institutional frameworks that promoted city cohesion, there are institutionalised structures that marginalised other sectors of the city to enjoy their right to the city. These other sectors are deprived of important services such as social services and employment.

2.4 Urban design and rights to the city

Urban design is frequently being used by cities of today to plan urban spaces that exclude other people from enjoying public spaces. Public spaces are being designed with standards that erode their publicness, thereby, contributing to degradation of peoples' right to the city, (Van Deusen 2002). Urban design has been employed to exclude various urban space users in the city from using city spaces, which is a departure from its founding principle that calls for designs that work to embrace the heterogeneity of urban communities, (Jerome 2016). This heterogeneity should be expressed in the city's public places such as streets squares and parks. It should allow urban inhabitants tangible access to territories and geographical spaces in a way that expresses peoples' right to the city. Jerome (2016) further argues that access to all city space by city inhabitants is an expression not only of their right to the city but also an expression of human right and social justice because right to the city is equally important as other bundles of human rights. The right to the city, therefore, should allow several claims to be expressed; it should provide space for diverse urban social groups to express their lives and also enjoy city life, (Jerome 2016, Fainstein 2005, 2006). A city which gives its people their right to the city expresses its cosmopolitan character where diversity is celebrated rather than suppressed. This is in line with Harvey's (2003) notion that right to the city should allow people to enjoy the city according to the desires of their hearts. This therefore, means that urban space should allow people platforms to express their ways of life. A right to the city therefore, is not accepting what the urban authorities are giving you, rather should allow people to express their different ways of life, (Fainstein 2006; Harvey 2003; Lefebvre 1996). The urban authorities should, therefore, plan to create space for every social group in the city.

Urban spaces designed with exchange values have the tendency to exclude certain groups of people and such spaces are associated with the gentrification process, (Fisher et.al. 2013). Van Deusen (2002) further argues that modern cities exhibit exclusionary design qualities

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because of their focus on the ability of urban spaces to generate profits and these design approaches are used as justification to exclude other social groups, such as, the homeless, to access and use these urban spaces. Places such as shopping malls and open spaces are often designed in a way that they do not allow use values to certain groups of people but are designed for specific exchange values suitable only for a small section of the urban society, (Van Deusen 2002, Lefebvre 1991). According to Lefebvre (1991), urban designers often make designs that are associated with certain consumption levels, which effectively erode the right to the city of certain groups of people, as these people are allowed diminished access to these places. Such urban planning and outcomes are often driven by neoliberal urbanisation processes that have taken center stage in the development of many cities and this has worked to effectively disenfranchise the right to the city of the urban poor especially their right to access public spaces when they are given exchange values. Such practices make these places increasingly become closed to certain groups of people. Public spaces in many cities are, therefore, planned as nodes for capital investment and accumulation and are effectively acting as frontiers for entrenchment of interests of elites, thereby disenfranchising the urban poor, (Van Deusen 2002). He further argues that urban designers and planners are at the forefront of justifying and reproducing urban systems that reproduce social exclusion. Urban planning is swiftly moving away from its noble roles of providing and building a just city, (Fainstein 2005). Provisions of a just city are closely linked to right to the city because it strives to allow all citizens to enjoy uninterrupted benefits from the city. These benefits include employment, cultural expression, living a decent life and living in non-life threatening environments, (Fainstein 2005). van Deusen (2002) further argues that urban designers with their neo-liberal development ideologies are, therefore, instruments to deny people their right to access city space and enjoy urban life. These policies have largely resulted in hegemonic global political and economic relationships that have worked to exclude the poor from accessing and using public spaces in favour of rights of the elites. This is grossly unfair to the marginalised people who are denied their right to be where things are happening, i.e. the city center. The advancement of neo-liberal policies has created contested urban spaces, where the propertied and the property-less are continuously in confrontation, (Coggin and Pieterse, 2012). The marginalised are fighting for their rights to access the denied urban spaces, whereas the propertied people are fighting to have exclusive privileges to these urban spaces. The city is, therefore, seen as a melting pot, i.e., site of encountering difference, therefore, according to the theory of the right to the city, cities should be places where differences live, and hence urban life should support the diversity of activities. Right to

the city can, therefore, only be enjoyed when urban inhabitants exercise their presence in public spaces of the city. Coggin and Pieterse, (2012) agree with Lefebvre (1968, 1996)and Fisher et.al (2013), that the marginalised groups of the city should be allowed physical presence in public spaces and that they should be allowed to claim use values of urban public spaces. They should be able to, inhabit and share urban space. This resonates with Lefebvre (1968)'s appropriation and participation right that he said should be given to every citizen of the city. Participatory right should allow citizens to take part in the decision making processes and the processes that produce urban space, (Lefebvre 1968, Fisher et.al 2013). Appropriation right should give the city inhabitants the use values of city space and this can be achieved by challenging the capitalist structures and processes that marginalise other people. Fisher et.al, (2013), call for the marginalised and disenfranchised groups of the society to be actively involved in the shaping, designing and operationalisation of these use rights. He further argues that right to the city should see resources being transferred from capitalists to the city inhabitants so that the marginalised city inhabitants are allowed to fully benefit from the provisions of the city. This way the marginalised groups will be empowered to play an active role in city affairs. Resources play a critical role in operationalising right to the city; without supporting resources all endeavors to operationalise right to the city are in vain. Therefore, the planning system should avail resources from the city for use by all citizens.
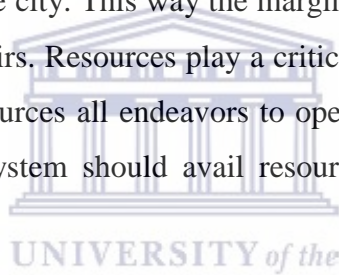
Fisher et.al. (2013), argue that right to the city should deliver among other things: land to the people not to the speculators; economic and environmental justice; freedom from police and state harassment; services and community institutions; democracy and participation. These rights however have been denied to the majority of urban inhabitants mainly because of neo-liberal urbanisation policies which are planning only for the small groups of urban elites who are also given the exclusive rights to shape and develop urban spaces and such processes have been responsible for massive gentrification processes which have been displacing the urban poor out of the city. Such experiences were common in American cities of Los Angeles, Miami and Virginia, (Fisher et.al. 2013). These policies have been promoting privatisation of urban spaces at the expense of the needs and fundamental requirements of the urban poor. The poor have been denied their right to housing, transportation, education, urban public space and culture and this heavily erodes their right to the city, (Fisher et.al. 2013, Pereira 2008, Connor 2015, Lem 2013). The neo-liberal urbanisation policies emphasised on the dominant role of finance in shaping and defining urban space and this has been

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responsible for the perpetual exclusion of the poor in the city (Gulsoni and Pedroni 2011, Connor 2015). Gulsoni and Pedroni (2011) further argue that neo-liberal urbanisation policies have done very little to plan and alleviate the condition of the poor; rather they have worked to consolidate urban inequalities because of their skewed redistribution mechanisms. They have been responsible for excluding other social groups, poor distribution city resources, and prioritisation of economic values, (Marcuse 2012, Lefebvre 1969, 1991). Connor (2015) further argues that neo-liberalism institutionalises gentrification, privatisation and suburbanisation of urban spaces, which are all instruments of exclusionary policies. This has crippled the collective functions of the city, as a collective body politic because they no longer plan for all their citizens, (Parnell and Robinson 2012). Connor, (2015) also added that right to the city is a fight against capitalism and its exclusionary development approaches and calls for a city that promotes public politics, expresses and amplifies the will of the city' diverse inhabitants. He further argues that neo-liberalism has been responsible for the wide spread failures, where government and its institutions are failing to plan and provide basic services to the totality of its people, especially the urban poor who always find themselves priced out of city services.

Parnell and Robinson (2012) added that neo-liberalism has been responsible for the creation of gated cities, which have high concentration of services for just a few people excluding the majority. This is also supported by Harvey (2012) when he posits that neo-liberal globalisation has created fragmented cities along class struggles, where the bourgeoisie and the working class are in constant struggles. In the struggle, the poor always come out the worst victims of the process because they do not have resources to influence the decision making processes. They are, therefore, pushed out of the city in direct contravention of their right to the city. The bourgeoisie are always struggling to conquer the urban space and the working classes try to fight against the disposition and exclusionary practices of neo-liberalism that push them out of the city. Harvey (2012) further argues that neo-liberal urbanisation is a creative destruction of the urban elites that has resulted in disenfranchisement of the urban masses of their right to the city. It has resulted in privatisation of most urban facilities, which is a direct result of its exclusionary urbanisation policies and the need to develop infrastructure for capital accumulation. All these processes have resulted in displacement of the urban poor to pave way for capitalist interests, thereby disenfranchising the displaced people of their right to the city. Right to the city, therefore, according to Harvey (2012) is a revolutionary movement by the urban poor, aimed at

regaining right to the city by fighting against displacement from the city center. He further put forward that, cities of today have devised cunning ways of displacing people from the city center, where people's right to the city has been sold under the guise of urban development programmes such as suburbanisation, environmental catastrophe or health problems. The aim of these programmes is actually to create world class cities that have very little or no space for the marginalised and the urban poor. The final process of such programmes will be elimination of the urban poor from the city centre in total violation of their right to the city. Right to the city, therefore, according to Harvey (2012), should see the marginalised people demand right for better conditions of life and access to privatised urban spaces like the gated cities and public spaces. It is the fight against the dominant exchange values given to urban spaces that has been used to deny the urban poor their use right to urban spaces, (Huchzermeyer 2011, Harvey 2012). Huchzermeyer (2011) added that cities like Yaoundé in Cameroon, Harare in Zimbabwe, Abuja in Nigeria and Johannesburg in South Africa, employed some notorious programmes to rid their cities of the urban poor in attempts to create cities without slums. For example, in Zimbabwe, the Operation Restore Order/Murambatsvina destroyed all informal activities in the urban areas of Zimbabwe in an operation that affected more than over 4 million people, (Potts 2006, 2008). The result was the disenfranchisement of a lot of the urban poor of their right to the city.

Neo-liberal urbanisation processes have devastated cities of the global South, where reforms have been continuously done to decimate the social service provisioning and productive and reproductive capacities of people in these cities, thereby denying the affected people's right to the city. Harvey (2012, 2003), therefore, urges these people to fight against those that discriminate against them from service provisioning systems of the city. In the fight they should call for cities for all, whose policies and practices promote inclusion of all city inhabitants, where all city inhabitants are afforded equal opportunities and treatment, especially the marginalised and the disenfranchised urban communities. Huchzermeyer (2011) further argues that right to the city should give city inhabitants their citizenship and should defend the rights of all inhabitants from being trampled upon by the privileged few. Right to the city are, therefore, is based on the need for social justice and equality in the governance of cities. This means that marginalised groups such as the migrants and the people of colour have the right to enjoy city services such as housing, employment and access to the city centre. Denying such people this right is a fundamental breach of their right to the

city. Migrants and people of colour are often regarded as second class citizens who are not allowed to enjoy the rights that were enjoyed by other citizens.

Boer and de Vries (2009), in their study of Barceloneta, a section of the Spanish city of Barcelona, argue that right to the city should usher in a new dispensation of city governance, which reflect the new realities of the city. They argue that cities are a composition of a variety of people and all these people should enjoy equal access to the city functions and services. They were against the monolithic view of the cities where a few urban elites dominated the functions and policy making processes of the city, and advocate for a more open view of cities, which regard cities as collective artworks of all the city inhabitants and users, (Harvey 2003, 2008,Lefebvre 1968 1996). Boer and de Varies (2009)'s approach to the concept of the right to the city was a slight departure from the radical and militaristic approach of Lefebvre's (1968, 1996) and Harvey (2008, 2003). Their approach to the right to the city was more of reformist. Boer and de Vries (2009) argue that it is not good and limiting to regard urban people as citizens of the city because this generally results in omission of other important users of the city space. They should be appropriately called city inhabitants as this is more inclusive than citizens. This allows the city to plan for all its inhabitants. When they are called city inhabitants there is no way one is alienated in the city because it allows for all city inhabitants to be considered in the city. Right to the city, therefore, according to Boer and de Vries (2009), give unallienated right to use the city space by all city inhabitants at all times. They further argue that neo-liberal urbanisation processes have been responsible for over commercialisation and gentrification of the city space, which has been responsible for disenfranchisement of some urban inhabitants of their right to use urban space. The urban poor have been denied access to some city space, which is very critical for their day to day activities and livelihoods, (Lefebvre 1996; Harvey 2003, 2012). The redevelopment of Barceloneta resulted in a massive gentrification process as the city aspired to develop a globally competitive city in its bid to get the chance to host the 1992 Olympic Games. This resulted in a lot of the urban poor suffering from neo-liberal urbanisation processes. The massive restructuring of urban space was found to have nothing to do with the improvement of conditions of the urban poor but was in favour of the interests of the private sector who were gearing themselves to gain from processes of capital accumulation. The gentrification process destroyed all the gains that were acquired through collective activities of the city inhabitants that resulted in improved social services delivery in the area. The need to redevelop the city in line with its repositioned role to boost tourist arrivals in the

city resulted in displacement of the urban poor from the city centre in a clear violation of their right to the city. This resulted in increased intolerance of the life of the poor and their livelihoods, especially with respect to the dwelling forms, such as, the squatter settlements and the homeless. The swift movement towards commercialisation of neighbourhoods pushed the poor out of the city, into areas that were life threatening in a clear deprivation of city services. The gentrification process was also associated with diminishing influence of the poor in decision making processes where the displaced people's ideas were rarely considered in shaping the city they live. The city's aggressively restructured urban space was in most cases in favour of the private interests, resulting in denial of the poor's right to shape the city they live in. The city, therefore, ceased to be a collective artwork of the city inhabitants as propounded by Lefebvre (1968, 1996) but is a product of a privileged few. According Boer and de Vries (2009), right to the city should see all city inhabitants taking great influence in the running of the city. In most incidents, Boer and de Vries (2009) agree with Lefebvre's (1968, 1969, 1991) idea that the city inhabitants should appropriate the urban space. Their notion of appropriation of urban space also resonated with that proposed by Lefebvre (1968) but they added that the appropriation process should challenge economic values of land as given by the neo-liberal policies. They should demand the escalation of use values rather than the economic values of urban space as this would allow the urban poor to use urban space according to what they desire. This will effectively allow the livelihoods of the poor to use urban space. According to Boer and de Vries (2009), the neo-liberal urbanisation process is not democratic as it decreases the democratic right to participate in urban issues; it increases inequalities and social problems. Right to the city should see escalating levels of participation of the urban poor in city affairs and the appropriation of urban space, where city inhabitants are given a chance to exercise influence decisions on urban space. The city inhabitants should rather be participants in defining the urban space the way they want, (Harvey 2003, 2012). Mustafa and Liette (2002), added that it is the responsibility of all local authorities to consider all their citizens as equal by giving them equal access to city utilities and services, which should afford them a condition of life that affords them, among other things, the ability to flourish, achieve life to the fullest and to be free from hazardous environments. Therefore, according Mustafa and Liette (2002), the ultimate goal of the right to the city is to plan environment that promotes social cohesion rather that segregation. Their plans should reflect the diversity of the city by providing for the diversity the services that allow them to enjoy their right to the city. City planners should strive to produce cities that tolerate multi-culturalism and inclusivity, (Fainstein 2006, Sandercock 1998). Urban local authorities in

their attempts to give city inhabitants their right to the city should, therefore, strive to establish city structures and processes that promote equality in terms of access to public utilities (Mustafa and Liette 2002). All these claims should not remain idealist and optimistic, rather they should be actualised with the city inhabitants receiving the services produced by the city and the processes and structures formed should go beyond just window dressing to produce city spaces that are actually enjoyed by all city inhabitants. This is not a mean fit achievement as city planners and policy makers who are interested in producing plans and policies that reflect inclusivity are often trapped by traditional processes that continue to reinforce exclusionary practices (Beebeejaun 2012). Right to the city is not just window dressing and lip service to the idea of the right to the city but it is actual delivery of these rights to the city inhabitants and they should be seen to be enjoyed by these citizens. There is, therefore, a need for total transformation, which should start with reforming the processes that reproduce the exclusionary practices (planning) to see to it that it caters for all the city inhabitants. The best way to achieve right to the city is through participatory planning because such an approach can empower city inhabitants to have input in shaping the city and, if done properly, it will include even the minority groups in shaping the affairs of the city. This process has a greater chance of involving all city inhabitants in shaping the city; as a result, the livelihoods of the poor will be part of the history of the city. This, therefore, becomes a departure from the traditional planning practices that are often manipulated by capitalists to only reflect their ideologies and desires at the expense of the majority of the citizens who are usually the poor, (Waterhout et.al. 2013).

In their quest for a new view of a city that is enjoyed by all its inhabitants, Mustafa and Liette, (2002) argue that right to the city is a departure from the monolithic view of urban centers where the privileged few or the wealthy and propertied people are the only ones that are given the right to shape the city. Mustafa and Liette (2002) argue that a city that gives people their right to the city is regarded as a polis, a political collectivity and a place where public interests are defined and realised. The monolithic view of a city is, therefore, a denial of the diverse realities of urban centers. According to them, urban areas are areas of cosmopolitanism, where the diversity of people and social systems exist; it is a place where there are diverse social categories. In light of this, cities should be able to reflect, through their planning and management of the city, the diverse services they offer to different city inhabitants. The notion of right to the city is a run away from the general practice found in many urban centers where there is rampant marginalisation of the disadvantaged groups in

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cities. In such cities, right to the city is restricted to a small group of urban elites who dominate the political and economic spheres of the city, (Harvey 2012). The general practice in such cities is that the needs, voices, claims and preferences of the urban poor are rarely reflected in city plans and the urban poor are often regarded as having no claim in cities where they stay, (Marcuse 2009, Mustafa and Liette 2002, Harvey 2012). In some cities, especially those of the global North, where the idea of right to the city is well embraced, planning is used to produce social cohesion and inclusion by focusing on the vulnerable groups of the society, (Waterhout et.al. 2013).

Mustafa and Liette (2002) further argue that the marginalised populations of the city are in perpetual struggle over city injustices mainly due to the influence of processes of globalisation, where resources for upliftment of their lives are not availed by the city structures and processes. The demands of globalisation have, therefore, resulted in widespread inequalities in the urban areas, where the poor and the disadvantaged groups have been denied access to city services. The right to the city, therefore, is a conscious attempt to try and work against these injustices that are prevalent in our service delivery systems and try to work towards abolition of all forms of economic, political and social segregation, (Mustafa and Liette 2002). Real right to the city go beyond belonging to just mere territorial space, but should enable inhabitants to produce and reproduce social relationships that define them and allow them to participate in them. People should be given their right to the city by allowing them to enjoy city services. Cities, therefore, should avail to their inhabitants resources to meet their basic needs. Right to the city is a fight against exclusion and all forms of discrimination and repression. This demands cities to move out of their traditional approaches to doing business to form new ways of doing things that will see all city inhabitants included in the planning and governance of the city. There should be a paradigm shift where cities work towards giving all citizens the right to enjoy city services especially access and use of the city center. People should be able to express their citizenry in the city centre and be respected as such (Mustafa and Leitte 2002, Leitte and Mustafa 2008, Marcuse, 2009). Lefebvre (1996) further alluded that the right to the city is more than just being accepted as a member of a city, but it should give citizens right to articulation, claiming and renewing their group rights. It is a claim for a place in the urban areas by the previously marginalised and alienated groups of urban areas. The city should, therefore, strive to provide the needs of these people and in so doing, they will be discharging justice, equity, democracy and development of human potential (Marcuse 2009).

2.5 Whose right to the city matters?

Marcuse (2009) in his studies in American cities tried to answer the question 'whose right matter most in the concept of right to the city? He argues that it is the right of those oppressed those in want and those whose needs are not fulfilled, (e.g. the poor, homeless, racially and religiously persecuted) that are of paramount consideration when looking on the issues of right to the city. This is not to say they should take precedence in all matters but because these people have been in deprivation for a long time, so it is worthy to give them preference in dealing with issues of right to the city. These people in most cases find themselves deprived of their right to the city. In addition, it is those who are oppressed socially, those with unfulfilled hopes and those with constrained opportunities who require to access and exercise their right to the city. He further argues that the right to the city is not a cry for the gentry, the intelligentsia or the capitalists rather it is the right of the disenfranchised that need to be promoted so that they are also allowed to enjoy urban life. It should be realised that right to the city cannot be claimed in partiality but in totality where the diverse population of the urban inhabitants are afforded a chance to enjoy city life fully. This should include, among other things, the ability to enjoy access to information, use of multiple services offered by the city, and the right to express their ideas of space in the city, (Lefebvre 1968, Marcuse 2009). These bundles of rights are in most cases a pipe dream to the marginalised, especially those that are economically alienated, but are mostly a privilege to those that constitute the elite class of the city. A right to the city is, therefore, a fight for the city according to one's heart, a city that meets the material and basic needs of its city inhabitants and users, including the urban poor, (Marcuse 2009, Harvey 2003, 2008. 2012). It is a cry for justice, democracy, equity and full development of human potential and capability from the city. Right to the city is a way of opening up city space to everybody including the poor, thereby democratising city space (Harvey 2012). The process however does not come on a silver platter, but the urban poor and the marginalised need to stand up and claim it; they should actually wrestle it from the privileged few masters and in that way claim their presence in the city (McCann 2002, Lefebvre, 1968, Harvey 2003). Attoh (2011) added that in the process of democratisation of city space it is not easy but a fight against operating systems that are entrenched to exclude other sectors of urban inhabitants from enjoying city services. According to him, the chief instruments that are used to exclude other people are the traditional urban planning practices. These practices are inherently undemocratic as they exclude the poor in their development priorities. They promote the needs and development priorities of the business sector and the wealthy inhabitants of the city in direct contrast to the

provisions and principles of an inclusive city, which calls for even the poor to be included in the provisioning of the city.

An inclusive city should allow the whole city's population a chance to have a say in issues to do with shaping and use of the urban space by allowing the public to participate in the shaping of the city. As a result, right to the city call for the reframing of city practices to counteract the exclusionary policies of urban planning, (Attoh, 2011, Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1996, Fainstein 2006). These planning approaches and policies should include the poor in their policies and planning systems. The exclusionary urban policies are a result of unreformed urban planning practices directed by neo-liberal urban planning ideologies which continue to plan without the urban poor and the marginalised groups of the urban society. This ideology and practice is only furthering the interests of a small group of urban elites and the private sector at the expense of the majority poor. It has resulted in interests of only the private sector dominating the development landscape of the city where elitist development interventions are followed. Such practices, however, are not democratic and are against the provisions of the theory of right to the city that sought to fight marginalisation of the urban poor and their values and livelihoods. Democratisation of city space through giving the urban poor their right to the city helps to open up city space to democratic principles, which will allow the city to extend the limits of political spheres and decision making processes. It allows the whole spectrum of city inhabitants to participate in shaping the city according to the liking of all city inhabitants rather than just a few elites, (Harvey 2003). It therefore, affords equal practices of citizenship in the city, (Liette and Mustafa 2008, Attoh, 2011). However, this is rarely attained in cities that follow neo-liberal urbanisation processes and ideologies because these processes disenfranchise democratic citizens through the use of market forces in their transactions. The use of market forces usually transfers control of urban space from citizens and their elected governments to international organisations and their institutions, such as, the World Bank, the International Monitory Fund and the World Trade Organisation (Purcell 2002). Such institutions have dominated the development landscape and their economic hegemony has marginalised the interests of the urban poor where their views have never been used to shape the cities they live in, (Purcell 2002, 2003).

Right to the city should fight against the growing decline of democratic practices and the continued disenfranchisement of the poor in urban areas due to the hegemonic processes of globalisation. Globalisation has effectively resulted in the transfer of state functions to non-state entities and this results in disenfranchisement of the urban poor, especially in decision

making, (Bhan 2009, Purcell 2002, Simone 2008, Huchzermeyer,2011). Globalisation has restructured cities and their institutions in view of achieving global competitiveness in order to attract global funding. This has resulted in reorientation of development policies outside the city with the aim of creating cities that aim to attract outside resources for their development, especially global finances. They gear the cities to compete in the global market for such resources; however, these policies have effectively disenfranchised the urban poor of their rights to the city. The poor have been pushed to the periphery of the city where they enjoy very little of the city services. Globalisation development initiatives have the greater tendency of excluding the urban poor because such development initiatives are not informed by the national or sub-national policies but by international institutions which have very little interest in the local people, (Purcell 2002 2003, Huchzermeyer 2011). Orientation of local interests in the hands of outsiders creates a lot of sustainability problems because most of the international organisations are foot loose because of their capital seeking tendencies, hence they cannot be relied upon for development. Relying on local initiatives makes development more sustainable as they will be using local resources, (Chambers and Conway 1991 1996). When decisions on development issues are made by development actors that are not directly accountable to the city inhabitants and whose priority is profit making at the expense of the local people's interests it will create sustainability problems in the city where the development needs of the local people are not addressed. In the process of globalisation these outsiders have been given unrestrained responsibility to champion development in these cities and the result is that interests of local people have not been given the priority they deserve. It has resulted in disenfranchisement of local people's right to shape the city they live in, especially the urban poor. Such initiatives have, therefore, denied the urban poor their right to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2003). Right to the city, therefore, fight against such exclusionary practices and aim to create an inclusive and just city, where inhabitants are involved in decision making processes that shape their city. The use of local resources will enable development policies to be informed by local initiatives and this is a good receipt for sustainable development and can result in effective poverty alleviation (Ellis 2000, Chambers and Conway 1991).

Right to the city, therefore, offer an alternative to the neoliberal governance systems in urban areas where the urban poor are allowed to make a contribution to the development of the city. It provides the chance and fertile ground for democratisation of cities as it provides a system of governance that challenges the neoliberal model of governance that disenfranchises the

urban poor of their right to make a contribution to the development of the city, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012, Purcell 2013a). It provides a road map to a radically different urban society which is beyond the state and capitalism. If properly executed, right to the city should lead to the development of power of the proletariat, where cities are governed by decreasing power of the state and capitalism but by the owners of the city who are predominantly the urban poor (Purcell 2013b). This should lead to creation of an urban society where urban space is no longer ruled by property rights and exchange values but by city inhabitants who have appropriated urban space, in the sense that they have taken it and are making use of it to meet their basic needs. This will lead to deepening democracy. However, the democracy is not an attained desired end but is an aspired situation because you will never say you have fully attained it. It is like a move towards a horizon. The right to the city concept, therefore, allows cities to move towards the horizon of democracy; it does not lead to attainment of democracy,(Purcell 2013a). The increased outsourcing of government functions from some complex mix of relationships has resulted in exclusion of citizens from decision making processes because these partnerships do not include the urban poor. Right to the city encourage urban policies that promote justice, sustainability and inclusion in the city by including the urban poor in decisions that shape the city.

In his later work on the right to the city, Purcell (2013b) gave a critical examination of the concept of the right to the city, where he argues that the right to the city is a struggle between the property rights and the rights of the city inhabitants. He realised that the majority of urban inhabitants have limited access to city space; hence right to the city should strive to augment the rights of the urban poor against property rights that always disenfranchise them of their right to the city. The capitalist systems that are operative in cities are hegemonic as they are solely responsible for producing space that can be used by a few urban elites. These elites also enjoy overriding and uninterrupted rights to define and use urban space in processes that alienate the majority of the urban poor from urban spaces. Right to the city call for urban inhabitants to appropriate urban spaces and put them to use that supports their livelihoods, (Purcell 2013b, Lefebvre 1996). Appropriation rights according to, (Purcell2013b) should reorient urban space from its role as an engine for capital accumulation to one that generates social relations among urban inhabitants. To achieve this, use values and needs of the city inhabitants should be given to urban space and natured among urban inhabitants, (Lefebvre 1996, Purcell 2013b). In this way right to the city, therefore, envision a city as an arena for

engagement by city inhabitants, where they play, learn and connect with each other, (Mitchell and Heynen 2009).

In their studies in North American cities, Mitchell and Heynen (2009) discovered that the urban poor are exposed to the brutality of capitalist policies where they are exposed to increasing incidents of homelessness, hunger and poor provision of urban services in direct contravention of their right to the city. The capitalist systems operating in these cities do not only create structures for capital accumulation but have gone further to develop legal structures that criminalise the lives and livelihoods of the urban poor. For example, laws were made that criminalise sleeping in the park, panhandling and tending to body needs. The aim of such a legal instrument was to make the lives of the urban poor illegal and impossible in the city. As a result, it pushed the poor into the shadows of the urban areas where city services rarely reach. Such kinds of policies are genocidal in that they are aimed at eliminating the urban poor from city spaces. This does not augur well with the provisions and dictates of the right to the city, which calls for all city inhabitants to be provided and guaranteed the conditions for habitats that afford a humane socialisation. Right to the city should give the city inhabitants the right to be part of the city and afford the urban poor and the marginalised a chance to participate in making the city according to the desires of their hearts (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012, Lefebvre 1996). Mitchell and Heynen (2009), therefore, were against the prevailing practices in cities of North America where the poor were denied access to public spaces, such as, parks and streets. Right to the city allow for the poor to access and use such spaces according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). Mitchel and Heynen (2009), further argue that right to the city is necessary right not contingent right, hence they should be enjoyed by everybody in the city. Right to the city should also allow the poor the right to appropriate urban space where they are allowed to access, occupy and use urban space and reproduce that urban space in a way that meets their needs and provide full usage of the space, (Purcell 2003, Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2012).Purcell (2003) also accuses neo-liberal urbanisation for the disenfranchisement of urban democratic citizens. Their policies have also resulted in economic transformation where issues of social exclusion and economic polarisation have taken centre stage, thereby moving away from their resource redistribution functions, (Castells et.al. 1996).

Bhan (2009) gives the rights to the city perspective from an Asian cities experience. He argues that neo-liberal approaches to urban development are responsible for the conditions of the urban poor. Their insatiable appetite for   world class cities characterised by the need for

global competitiveness, privatisation and capital accumulation, has caused untold damages on the lives of the urban poor. Such development policies have no space for the urban poor as they have only helped to create cities with economic and social reforms that are non-poor. They are dominated by interests of the private sector at the expense of the urban poor. As a result, the poor find themselves pushed out of the city in a process the called aesthetisation of poverty, where spaces of the poor are beautified by neo-liberal development initiatives. Habitats of the urban poor are being appropriated by the rich to pave way for development of areas that attract tourists or world class shopping centers. The massive gentrification of urban space, where poor neighbourhoods are commercialised and restructured to satisfy the interests of the private sector, has pushed the poor out of town, (Boer and de Vries 2009, Bhan 2009). These neo-liberal policies view the poor's built environment as characterised by poverty, filth and fragility, hence, it has an image that cannot be tolerated. According to Bhan (2009), the neo-liberal urban development policies perceive the environment for the poor as flat, without history and character, hence, devoid of those living in it. This view contradicts with the perceptions of right to the city as given by Lefebvre (9168, 1996) who argues that all the city inhabitants have the right to make a city according to the desires of their hearts and that a city is a collective artwork of all city inhabitants. So when other sections of the city inhabitants are denied the right to express their life in the city, it is denial of their right to the city. Boer and de Vries (2009) further argue that urban centers are a sum total of all the inhabitants and users of the urban space and their artworks shape and define the city. Experiences of the poor in the capital city of India Delhi were that the poor and their activities were not allowed in the city centre is a direct violation of these people's right to the city. The municipality of Delhi introduced a blanket ban on activities of the poor, such as, rickshaws, street food vending and hawking. The domination of private interests was backed by a political system which has no tolerance to the urban poor and their livelihoods. They were regarded as economically unviable, environmentally harmful, criminal, hence, have no space in the world class city.

These policies do not have space for the poor because of their quest to attain world class city status. Bhan (2009) calls for right to the city as a way of bringing in a new democratic dispensation where the right of the poor is protected from being trembled upon by the rich and the wealthy classes of the city. The urban poor should be allowed to demand their legal right and where the poor and the marginalised have access to legal services that enforce their claim for public performance. Economic growth initiatives that are hinged on norms and

ideals of world class cities and a planning system that aims only to achieve order are all development initiatives against pro-poor, hence, are barriers to attainment of right to the city. This is unjust, unethical and a reflection of bad governance, (Mayer 2009). Pro-poor development calls for the urban poor and other vulnerable groups of the urban society to claim their position in the development of the city. However, Mayer (2009) and Boer and de Vries (2009) recognised that right to the city is not easy to achieve as they involve power restructuring, which usually is associated with political struggles and confrontations and the poor might not be able to survive the contestations without the help of others. The whole terrain of right to the city is, therefore, a contested area which requires mediation that will modify the political content and open up the space for the urban poor and allow them to enjoy their rights to the city.

In his latter contribution to the concept of the right to the city, Purcell (2006), gave a critical view of the concept, where he argues that right to the city need to be handled with care so that we do not fall into what he called the local trap. He was in total agreement with the concept of right to the city as given by Lefebvre (1968, 1996) but urged policy makers to be weary of the local trap. By local trap, he meant that it is dangerous to take the needs of a few locally affected people and prioritise them (say a neighbourhood in a city) at the expense of the needs of the wider public. However, he is in agreement with the principles of the concept of right to the city as enunciated by Lefebvre 1968, especially the idea that use values of urban space are more important than exchange values in creating a city that is inclusive of all urban inhabitants in the shaping and defining of urban space. Right to the city set the stage for power struggles between the state apparatus and capitalist agencies on one hand, and the urban poor on the other hand, who have been disenfranchised for a long time. The state elites and the capitalists have been monopolising decision making processes that have been used to shape urban areas.

In his study of an American city called Seattle, Purcell (2006) found that the rights of the poor are always trampled upon, usually sacrificed on the altar of competitiveness. In this city, the need to attract investment in the biotech industry resulted in gentrification of the city and eventual squeezing out of low income people. This happened despite widespread resistance by the urban poor to the gentrification process. Right to the city, therefore, according to Purcell (2006), should give the urban inhabitants right to decide on public investments that flow into the area. If urban inhabitants are allowed to participate in decisions that shape the processes and forms of their cities, it will result in implementation of economic

strategies that suit their needs, (Castells, 1993). Right to the city should jealously guard against disenfranchising the urban poor of the use rights of urban space in preference to exchange rights because use values allow more people to use urban space (Lefebvre 1968).

Right to the city is a denial of dominance of a few urban elites who usually dominate in the shaping of a city's development agenda. It does not mean merely accepting what is available or what had been provided by city planners and policy makers, rather it should allow people to change what is available towards the desires of their hearts (Harvey 2003; Simone 2005). There is a great disparity on what the state planners perceive of city space and what the urban poor need. The state planners usually have distorted views and biases against the urban poor. Their understanding of social-economic issues (especially those that benefit the marginalised), might be at variance with what the urban poor prefer, hence, the poor should be afforded space to define urban spaces according to their liking. In this way, the right to the city is regarded as a tool for empowering the marginalised, (Harvey 2003). The poor should be allowed to call for changes that will see city space giving them a meaning and provide them with the enjoyment they associate with that urban space, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Harvey 2003, Simone 2005). Right to the city is, therefore, a challenge to the status quo and a demand for expression in the city space by the marginalised and the poor. The poor should be allowed to express their culture, ideas and livelihoods that support their lives, (Harvey 2003). Right to the city, therefore, goes beyond mere territorial affiliation to include production and reproduction of social systems of production according to the liking of the city inhabitants. In this way, right to the city recognises that cities are producers and reproducers of social relationships and that people should be allowed to participate in them, (Harvey 2003, Leitte and Mustafa 2008). The result will be a move beyond mere territorial belonging to include substantive and structural reformations, where urban authorities change to show acceptance of the diversity of urban life, especially the embracing of the urban poor and their livelihoods.

Harvey's (2008) approach to right to the city was a moved away from the radical approach of Lefebvre (1968,1996). He calls for reforms to be instituted in the form of social movements that should help to redress these repressive urban policies that have driven the poor out of the city and marginalised them in decisions that shape the cities they live in. These movements if successfully administered will result in democratisation of the management of urban surplus. The right to the city, therefore, according Harvey (2008), has the potential of democratising and extending the limits of politics by including the urban poor who are often left out in the decision making processes of the city. In addition to this, it can be used to expand the

decision making process and control, (Purcell 2003). Right to the city is, therefore, a call for cities to democratise city resources.

The theory of the right to the city recognises that the poor have a role to play in the making of the city and, therefore, should be allowed to express that in the cities they live in. Cities are an expression of total work produced by the contribution of labour and daily action of those living in them; hence everybody should be afforded space to express his/her life style in the city. Right to the city give the city inhabitants the right to produce urban life and the right to inhabit the city in unfettered and unencumbered terms. This can only be achieved when use values of urban space are given more prominence than exchange values. Right to the city can be used to reframe urban politics and form fronts of confronting the politics that marginalises and excludes the urban poor from the day to day running of the city. Policies that advocate for interests of the private sector and business over the majority should be abolished in favour of those that allow the diversity of urban inhabitants to express their interests. Right to the city is a right to political space, right to occupy and design public space and right to autonomy in the face of the state's urban policy (Attoh 2011).

2.6 Rights to the city: A political slogan or an emancipatory movement?

Despite the wide acceptance of the concept of right to the city as a way of creating just and democratic cities, there are other scholars with the opinion that the notion of right to the city has been over-used and abused by politicians and other like-minded people in furthering their political interests. It has been converted into a slogan used to pursue personal interests just the same way other emancipatory social movements did (Lopez de Souza 2012). He argues that cities are growing at unprecedented rates into huge metropolitan cities which are now devoid of urban life and where citizenship is strongly declining mainly because of the livelihoods of the poor. The needs of the poor are in sharp contrast with the needs of the capitalist; hence, it is very difficult to reconcile the two. For example, in a situation where the poor might prefer to occupy the derelict inner city so as to take advantage of its closeness to their work places and markets for their goods and services, the capitalist on the other hand will be seeing it as an opportunity for revitalisation of the city, which is a major expedient for creating new urban frontiers for capital accumulation. Therefore, there is always this incompatibility between the needs of the poor and those of the rich. This notion however, seems to justify the poor living conditions of the poor. If the poor have been planned for they would not occupy other people's spaces but because they have not been planned for, they find

ways of providing space for themselves. Right to the city, therefore, does not prefer some social group over the other but calls for equal treatment of all urban inhabitants.

Other scholars are of the opinion that opening up the city to everybody under the guise of the right to the city will further divide the city and destroy the notion of public space, (Rogerson 2004). He argues that because of the stereotypes and the stigmatisation associated with the poor, where they are associated with rampant crimes and delinquencies, this usually forces the rich to formulate their own means of separating themselves from such behavior. They usually established themselves in self-contained spaces such as fortified enclaves, thereby disconnecting themselves from the general fabric of the city. This, according to Rogerson (2004, 1996), further exacerbates injustices, inequalities and alienation in urban public spaces. The poor, because of stereotypes and stigmatisation, are often regarded as social groups that do not merit human life. This is usually used to legitimise their exclusion from the city life. This kind of thinking is, however, outdated and out of sync with the ideals of sustainable development, inclusive and just cities, which calls for integration of the poor and the marginalised into the whole fabric of the city. These should be the main focus of development to try and uplift their conditions.
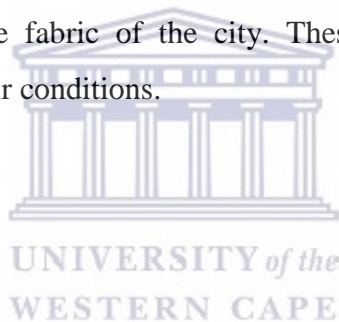
Chapter 3: Informality: The contestations and the politics of marginalisation

3.1 Definitional contestations of Informality

The phenomenon of informality has been understood from various stand points and this has created varying responses to issues of the informality. The phenomenon was first coined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), (1972) in the studies of African economies and, they defined informality as all economic activities that were operating outside the state regulated systems. The ILO (2018) added that informality include all activities taken by workers or units of economy that are not covered by formal organisation. The concept was then adopted with varying adaptations in various parts of the world. Some scholars call it the unincorporated or the unregulated private enterprises owned by individuals or households, (Henley et.al. 2006, Malte 2008, Hart 1973). Other scholars define it along legal lines and regard informality as enterprises that cannot be regarded as separate legal entities independent of their owner, (Hussmann, 2004, ILO 2000, 1985).

Henley et.al. (2006), defined the informal sector based on the economic status of individuals participating in the sector. They said informal activities are economic activities which are characterised by self-employed, own account workers, domestic workers or small scale employers who are involved in sole trading or micro enterprises. They added that informal sector enterprises are such small activities with a workforce size ranging from one to six. However, the definition based on this size of employees is not shared by various scholars as there are various sizes of informality. Some say informal activities are of the size of less than five employees, (Cohen and House 1996 in Hensley et. al. 2006); others put the size at between five and 10 workers (ILO, 2000, Nurul Amin, (2002) and others put it at less than 20. Hussmanns, (2004), however, remained too general and did not want to give a specific size; he only said informal activities can be identified by employing few, regular and paid employees without giving the actual size. He, however, emphasized that informal activities are predominantly non-agricultural in nature. However, in some countries the size of informal activities can be more than 20 as some recorded a workforce of up to 50, especially in developed economies, (Moyi and Njiraini, 2005). Brown and McGrananhan (2014) defined informality as all economic activities by works and economic units that are not covered or are insufficiently covered by the formal arrangements. In their opinion informal activities have grown into over proportions because it is the sector that the majority of urban populations are engaged in. They further argue that the informality phenomenon has grown in importance to

be the sector where the majority of the world's production and trade is taking place. In their definition of informal activities, Brown and McGrananhan (2014), observed that informal activities are charascterised by three identities, which are:

i) Legality which refers to activities that are not registered in the company registers and is subject to health and security problems.

ii) Illegality in terms of their failure to pay taxes.

iii) The labour market is such that they do not comply with the official regulations that guide the labour market because they do not have the social security and fringe benefits that are found in the formal labour market.

In economies which are well developed informal activities remain in small sizes, as such, activities remain suppressed by systems that mostly favour formal industrial activities. However, in developing countries, where informal activities are mostly proliferating, they can employ more people. The definitions that continue to regard informal activities as small enterprises grossly underestimate the size, volume and the contribution of the informal activities in economies especially of cities of the global South. In some countries the informal sector has been the major source of employment creating between 80% to 90% of new jobs, (Walther 2011, Potts 2008, Kamete 2013, 2017), (and in other countries it has been able to manufacture goods and services for the export market. In Zimbabwe the informal sector has grown to be the major source of employment in the face of the shrinking formal sector (Kamete 2007, Potts 2005, 2006, Roy 2005, Brown and McGrananhan 2014). The ever growing activities of informality have been associated with the increasing urbanisation of poverty, especially in cities of the global South. The cities of the global South have been grappling with the increasing incidence of poverty and the livelihoods of the poor. Roy (2005) observed that the increasing incidence of poverty in Zimbabwe, which once peaked to 80%, resulted in a corresponding rise in levels of informalisation of the economy. Jones (2010) also added that the economic meltdown that was experienced in Zimbabwe resulted in informalisation of the economy as by the year 2000 the greater part of the economy was informalised.

Naik (2009) defined informal activities according to production sizes and he argues that informal activities are production units that produce goods and services at low production levels with very little division between labour and capital as their factors of production. He

argues that informal enterprises operate at a very low level of organisation, where labour relations are mostly based on casual employment or kinship relations and they operate at a personal level. He, therefore, argues that informal activities are unorganised as they do not show any form of organization. They are, therefore, not included in the industrial surveys neither are they documented in any national industrial documents. He added that these enterprises are owned by individuals or households and they do not constitute a separate legal entity independent of their owners. However, the view that informal activities are unorganised entities has been disputed by many progressive scholars, who have managed to identify some well organised networks in the informal sector that have helped the sector to survive even in very hostile economic environments. According to the ILO (2000), the informal sector exhibits a very high degree of organisation and it is well structured with networks that offer financial support, training, marketing and welfare schemes that act as safety nets for the poor.

Some scholars want to define informality with reference to formal activities; hence, they define it as unregistered enterprises, which mean that they are not recorded in the national company registers and the national official statistics and accounts, such as, the Gross Domestic Product and the Gross National Product, (Hassan, 2003; ILO 1972; Brown and McGrananhan 2014). They are, therefore, regarded as activities that do not pay taxes and are not regulated by national instruments that regulate operations of formal companies. This perspective can be argued as being responsible for fueling contestation between the formal sector and the informal sector and also between the local authorities and the informal sector. The local authorities always regard informality as unwanted activities that do not fall under the city regulatory frameworks, hence regard them as city nuisance, (Tendler 2002, Kamete 2013, 2017, 2007). This perspective is responsible for the militaristic relationship that always exists between the practitioners in the informal sector and urban authorities who maintain that all informal sector activities are unplanned, hence, are illegal. In Zimbabwe, during the Operation Restore Order/Murambasvina in 2005, all informal activities were regarded as unwanted filth which needed to be eradicated and this was done through the Operation Murambasvina, (Kamete 2017, 2013, 2007, Potts 2008, Jones 2010, Huchzermeyer 2011). The local authorities will, therefore strive to eradicate the informal sector and build cities without informality, (Roy 2009, 2005, Huchzermeyer 2011). However, the illegality status of informal activities in most cases is not an issue out of their making but it is a result of failure by local authorities and their rigid regulatory frameworks that do not recognise, plan and

provide for this sector. Most planning approaches in cities are driven by the neo-liberal urbanisation policies that do not recognise the livelihoods of the poor because those are exclusive and only cater for the few privileged elites. Faced with such exclusive processes the informal sector normally is found operating outside the existing regulatory frameworks; they will plan for themselves and in a way providing things that are substandard. This, therefore, means that the problem of informality might not be the problem of existence of informal activities, but the failure by the city authorities to plan and provide for the informal sector. If they fail to plan for them they will plan for themselves and this is bound to create contestations with management in the city. Most urban authorities have not been able to plan for the urban poor, (Brown 2001; Kamete 2007; Potts 2006). Their approach to informality is, therefore, militaristic where urban local authorities always fight to eradicate informal activities. For example, in Harare, Zimbabwe, the city authorities have been fighting to create a city without informality by relocating informal activities outside the city, (Kamete, 2007, 2013, Jones 2010, Potts 2008, Huchzermeyer 2011). Huchzermeyer (2011)observed that informality is always at risk of being plastered under by neo-liberal urbanisation processes in a process called anesthetisation of poverty because they do not want the history of poverty to be part of their urban sphere. Urban local authorities that are driven by neo-liberal urban development ideologies always focus on creating global cities and these drives have created no space for livelihoods of the poor, such as, the activities of informal sector.

In his studies in Indian cities, Gerxhani (2004) observed that in most cases local authorities will be acting under pressure from the operating capitalists who are determined to eliminate the informal sector from the market as they accuse it of taking their market share. These capitalists are better placed to influence urban policy so that urban local authorities formulate policies that will marginalise the informal sector. He further commented that these capitalists take advantage of their influential position both in politics and the economy to influence policies and instruments that suppress informal sector activities. In so doing, urban local authorities will marginalise the informal sectors, thereby depriving them of their rights to the city. Urban planning in many urban local authorities has been accused of excluding other sectors of the urban society, especially the urban poor. Kamete (2013), in his studies on informality in Harare, observed that the city authorities applied double standards in their treatment of the poor and the more affluent during the Operation Murambasvina. This Operation saw the demolition of all informal activities in most areas of the low income residential areas. The operation was meant to bring back the 'sunshine city' status of Harare

and other cities. When the operation was supposed to be shifted to high income residential areas the operation was quickly halted and those in these affluent areas were allowed to regularise their informal activities, a chance that was denied the informal activities in the low income residential areas.

Another definition of the informal sector relates the informal sector to enterprises that do not comply with established judicial, regulatory and institutional frameworks operating within the country or local authority. This group of scholars is usually referred to as legalist and they refer to the informal sector as activities whose use, ownership and purpose of land cannot be fixed or mapped using any regulatory or operating laws, (Roy 2009, Hassan, 2003, Moyi and Njiraini, 2005, Klein and Tokman 1993, Bornstein 1992). The International Labour Organisation (2002) also expressed a similar legalist perspective as they refer to informality as all economic activities that are not covered or are insufficiently covered by the formal legal arrangements. They further argue that the informal sector is, therefore, characterised by easy entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership, and operating on a small scale and are labour intensive. Bornstein (1992) who shared the same legalist perspective added that the informal sector operates outside the boundaries of the known, rationally ordered and comprehended systems. According to him informal activities include activities such as street vending, unpaid women workers, self-help housing schemes and all the underground economy. However, this legalist perspective seems to push the idea that informal sectors are a result of their own making as they are regarded as economic activities that operate outside established existing regulatory frameworks. Rather, in most cases, informal sector activities are found operating in environments that do not recognise them. The existing operating legal frameworks were crafted before poverty was a real urban phenomenon, hence these instruments do not recognise the existence of these activities of the poor. It therefore, mean that it is these legal instruments that that are not in sync with the new realities of our urban areas, hence they need to be changed so that they reflect these new realities. When such changes happen these city regulatory instruments will be able to cater for all city inhabitants and in so doing they will be creating an inclusive city, a city where every inhabitant feels a sense of belonging. They also help in developing a culture of tolerance among users of urban space, where there is no stereotyping and stigmatisation of other groups, especially the urban poor, (Rogerson 2004).

There also exist varied explanations on the emergence of the informal sector and these views vary according to the theoretical inclinations. Portes and Castells (1989) and Breman (1980)

shared a common understanding that the informal sector is a temporary phenomenon that symbolises the stage of economic development. They argue that the informal sector is the formative stage of industrial development and, according to this school of thought, these industries are supposed to disappear once the industries fully develop. In fact, they regard informal activities as being a result of low industrial productivity where industries are failing to create enough jobs for the economically active population, hence the surplus workforce will engage in the informal activities in order to earn a living (Portes and Castells 1989). This school of thought further regards the informal sector as a temporary phenomenon in the development of the city's economy, which should phase out as the economy develops into a fully industrialised economy, (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987, Castells and Portes 1989). However, contrary to these postulations, the informal sector has proved to be a permanent feature of most urban economies and is also proving to be a growing phenomenon which is even penetrating economies of cities of the global North. Brown and McGrananhan (2014) argue that despite the notion that informal activities are going to disappear when industries fully industrialise, the scale of informal economies has grown to be so huge and is showing signs of ever growing. Informality, therefore, needs to be planned and provided for in our cities and these cities need to reflect the realities in them, (Roy 2005, 2009, Kamete 2013, 2017, Jones 2010). Roy (2009) further argues that there is actually a need for a new urban theory, a theory that realises the informal sector as an indispensable part of the urban economy, hence should be planned for.

The notion that the informal sector is a temporary urban phenomenon is based on the nature of business activities that are usually found in the informal sector. Their businesses are characteristically traditional petty trade, small scale production and casual labour, (Chen 2012). Their temporariness, according to him is as a result of their failure to withstand the competition of the free market economy. He argues that in a free market economy the informal activities can be easily out-competed by the formal activities. According to Chen (2012), the informal sector is, therefore, regarded as peripheral activities that have been pushed to the periphery of mainstream the economy because they are not competitive enough to core-exist with the mainstream economy. Although he realises that the informal sector has the enormous capacity to generate income, he still maintains that informal activities are principally a marginal and peripheral economy with no link to the formal economy. However, the idea that the informal sector has no link with the formal sector is false because there are a lot of linkages that have been seen to exist between the economies. In several occasions the

informal sector has been seen to exist as a workforce reservoir for the formal sector and in some cases the latter has been seen to subcontract the former, thereby creating linkages between the two sectors. The informal sector has also grown to be a part of the market chain of many goods and services from the formal sector and in such situations the two sectors have been seen to depend on each other.

Tokman (2007) further argues that the informal sector is a result of pressure exerted by bottled surplus of labour in the job market. He argues that when good jobs are scarce in the market people will resort to low productive and low income solutions for survival in the form of informal activities. He further argues that the globalisation process and changes in the international division of labour have resulted in firms decentralising their production systems in an attempt to position themselves in the fluctuating demands of the global economy. These changes in the global economy have also resulted in increased precariousness of labour, thereby creating fertile grounds for the emergence of the informal sector where companies are restructuring, moving away from mass production to smaller production units that can easily adapt to the changing macro-economic environments of the globalised economy. The changes in the global economy demand new structures of industries, which are more decentralized and flexible than the mass production systems (Chen 2012; Standing 1999 in Chen 2012. Chen (2012) further argues that the process of globalisation has heavily contributed to the informalisation of the economy. According to him, the informal sector is a result of the restructuring processes in the industrial sector in response to the globalisation process, which has brought in a very volatile situation that requires industries to be very strategic and the only way to be strategic is through informalisation.

Tokman's (2007) position differs with Castells and Portes' (1989) position that the informal sector is a temporary phenomenon representing an early stage of industrial development. Tokman (2007) viewed the informal sector as a permanent feature of the urban economy and argues that the informal sector is showing signs of ever increasing in terms of its size and its contribution to job creation. Contrary to the views that the informal sector is going to disappear when the economy fully industrialises, Tokman (2007) noted that by 2003 the informal sector was already contributing half of the world employment figures and most of the jobs appear to be real. According to him, for every 100 jobs created since 1980, about 60 of them were in the informal sector, signifying the important contribution the sector is giving to the economy. Such a contribution can never be trivialised, especially in a situation where the formal sector is showing signs of shrinking and the informal sector is taking a lead in

providing livelihoods to people in cities. Brown and McGrananhan (2014) also observed that the informal sector is making a significant contribution to the economy. Alijev (2015), in his studies in Russian cities in the post-communist period, observed that informality is the new form of modernity that needs to be embraced. He commented that informality is not mere ad hoc measures and they are not in any way transitory but they are activities that are to stay in cities. The regulatory authorities should, therefore, move away from the confrontational and militaristic relationship that characterised their contacts with the informality to the one that embraces informality as a critical sector in the development of the economy. The regulatory frameworks should, therefore, engage the sector so that they plan for them and involve them in the planning and management of the city. In so doing they will be giving the people in the informal sector their rights to the city, especially allowing them to be part of a system that creates a city of their choice, (Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1996). This, therefore, marks the departure from the hegemonic urban governance system that marginalises them from building a city according to the desires of their hearts. The informal sector being part and parcel of the urban inhabitants has the right to be part of the architects of their cities, (Harvey 2003, 2008, Huchzermeyer 2011, Kamete 2017). The people in the informal sector need to be recognised and acknowledged as legitimate users and inhabitants of urban space, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Huchzermeyer 2011). Their rights to enjoy use of urban space and to have a stable livelihood and access to other public spaces should be enshrined in the governance systems of cities. There is also a need to give people in the informal sector access to land which is compatible with public transport systems so that they can perform their economic activities just like any other city inhabitant, (Tokman 2007).

Viewing the informal sector as a temporary urban phenomenon has a likelihood of developing a negative perspective towards the sector which will also result in lack or poor service provision to the sector. Such behaviours can be accompanied by development of a militaristic and hostile response to the needs of the people in the informal sector. For example, in South Africa, toward the hosting of the World Cup in 2010, there was massive relocation of people in the informal settlements to sites that were away from the city (Huchzermeyer 2011). In Zimbabwe, similar activities were experienced towards the time of hosting of an international conference for the (CHOGM), where informal settlements in the city of Harare were all rounded up and relocated more than 40 kilometers outside the city, (Potts 2005, 2008; Kamete 2007, 2013). All these local authorities regarded informality as unwanted activities of the city; hence their rightful place was outside the city, (Huchzermeyer

2011). Kamete (2007) argues that in Harare, informal activities were regarded as unwanted filth during the Operation Restore Order/Murambasvina. Such practices emanate from the belief that activities of the informal sector are not permanent but a temporary phenomenon that will soon pass away. The treatment of such temporary activities is usually characterised by relocation out of the city and non-provisioning of the sector. However, informal activities have been seen as part of the cityscape for a long time now and they are now regarded as the new urbanisation process, (Roy 2009, 2005, Alijev 2015, Kamete 2013). It, therefore, calls for a new planning approach that integrates informal activities in the urbanisation process. The informal sector has lived in the cities facing the risk of eviction and demolition in an attempt to eradicate it and portray city without informal activities, (Huchzermeyer 2011). The informal sector is, therefore, always finding its space in the urban periphery and the shadows of the city and being denied the right to enjoy the right to access and use of the city centre. The spaces usually occupied by the people in the informal sector are characterised by deplorable environmental conditions, which is a serious violation of their right to the city, especially their right to environmental justice.

The informal sector can also be understood when viewed parallel to the formal sector. This view is referred to as the dualist perspective of the informal sector. In this view, the informal sector is regarded as the parallel economy or the informal economy, (Onyenechere, 2011). Some call it the people's economy because they see the informal economy as the economy where the majority of the people are working, (Nural Amin, 2002, De Sotho 2000). In this regard, the informal sector is referred to as an economic system that serves the majority of the poor and marginalised. They produce goods and services for the poor who are often crowded out of the formal capitalist economy because of the exclusionary behavior of the formal sector. The International Labour Organisation (1972) adopted this dualistic perspective, as they regard the informal sector as a separate economic sector operating side-by-side with the formal economy, but are not linked in anyway. The informal sector is, therefore, regarded as an economy for the poor who are involved in marginal economic activities, mainly to provide livelihoods to the urban poor and they also act as safety nets for the poor who cannot participate in the capitalist mode of production. However, Chen (2001, 2012) is of the view that the informal sector performs the same role as that of the formal sector but is only differentiated by the working conditions and the lack of regulating systems. Their working environments are characteristically poor and hazardous. He further argues that the informal sector can be involved in production of goods and services that can penetrate even the export

market just like the formal sector, but it often remains marginalised because of its informal nature. In some cases, the informal sector has performed much better than the formal sector in terms of both the production of goods and creation of employment. Sonobe et.al. (2011) observed that the Juakali (informal activities in Nairobi) have been able to produce goods that were sold in wholesalers and some have been producing goods and services that attracted even those quality conscious customers. So it is not always true that the informal activities operate on the margins of the formal sector but the informal sector can be producers of goods and services that can match the formal sector. According to Kamete (2007) and Jones (2010), the informal sector in Zimbabwe, at some time, was producing goods and service for the formal sector. Jones (2010) argues that by the year 2000 the larger part of the Zimbabwean economy was informal where most of the production and trade was taking place. Therefore, to regard informality as a sector for the poor is somewhat derogatory and misplaced and does not reflect the role the sector can play in the economy. Kamete (2013) observed that the informal sector was contributing over 75% of the basic needs of the people in the sub-Saharan Africa and 75% of its non-agricultural workforce.

Other dualists are of the opinion that economies always exist in a dual form where there is the mainstream economy operating alongside the unobserved informal economy, (Portes et. al. 1989, NALEDI 2003, Bill and Bruce 1994). According to them, the mainstream is urban based economies characterised by the capitalist market economy. The unobserved economy is the unrecorded and unregulated economy which they called the informal sector. Romatet (1983) also adopted the dualistic view of the economy and argues that the informal sector is a sector of predominantly new urban migrants who usually find it very difficult to penetrate the formal job market, and these disgruntled job seekers enter the informal sector, thereby creating a dual economy characterised by the formal and the informal. The informal sector, according to Romatet (1983), is the entry point into the job market for the majority of the urban migrants. According to him, however, the informal sector is not a transitory sector rather it is a permanent feature of urban economies. Romatet's (1983) perspective on the informal sector is the one that trivialises the operations of the informal sector. He regards the informal sector as an economy that operates parallel to and on the periphery of the mainstream economy. This view does not recognise the growing importance of the informal sector in terms of its contribution to the livelihoods of the urban people and creation of employment in the face of a shrinking formal sector. It has been very critical in the cities of the global South, especially in improving the economic wellbeing of the urban poor. In

economies that have been experiencing real income depreciation the informal sector has been used to augment the meager wages of urban inhabitants and as a result the informal sector has been a sector that is very important and even the educated and skilled people have been involved in the sector to generate livelihoods, not only in cities of the global South, but even in cities of the global North, (Alijev 2015).

Sethuraman, (1981), defined the informal sector as small scale units engaged in production of goods and services at the micro level. These include all the activities that are not involved in contractually and legally regulated employment. Dilek, (2009), added that the informal sector is regarded as illegal or marginal economies and they are referred to as home industries. Okeke, (2000), classified informal activities as small retail trading, cottage industry, urban agriculture, utility services and financial networking, such as, rotation savings and credit associations, money changing and pawn brokers. He further argues that informality represents a very important fabric of the urban system, which reflects a revolutionary spirit of people from below, i.e. the poor and the marginalised. People in the informal sector have displayed an unparalleled entrepreneurial and tactical operation that allows them to survive under harsh economic environments in urban areas, (De Soto, 2000, Okeke 2000). The sector therefore presents a planning challenge, where there is a demand to come up with a planning strategy that integrates the informal sector into the mainstream economy which will go a long way in creating sustainable cities, (Roy, 2009, UN-Habitat 2005, 2010c). In order to achieve this, there is a need for a new planning paradigm, which is a move away from the traditional physical planning approaches to adopt an embracive and more participatory approach that will see urban planning addressing other social issues, such as, urban poverty. This will result in inclusive and just cities (Fainstein 2005).

It is, therefore, clear that there are varied definitions of informality that range from size based definitions, legal based definitions, structural based definitions and definitions based on reference to the formal /informal divide. Tokman (2007) commented that the multiplicity of definitions of the informality reflects lack of a common ground in the understanding of issues on the informal sector phenomenon and this has a likelihood of limiting the development of a comprehensive strategy that helps to address the problem of informality. According to him, this diversity of definitions is reflected in the different strategies and different perceptions and interpretations with no commonly shared development strategy towards the phenomenon of informality. It therefore, reflects informality as an area that is still highly contested in terms of the understanding of the phenomenon and in terms of interventions that are

undertaken to address the phenomenon. A shared vision will, therefore, likely usher in a common understanding which will lead to a common strategy in dealing with issues of informality throughout the world.

3.2 Theories on the emergence of informality

The emergence of the informal sector has been grounded in various theoretical assumptions that try to explain how the informal sector originated. Watson (2007), in her studies of the informal activities in the sub-Saharan Africa postulated that the emergence of informal economies in the region was a direct result of the hegemonic global economic processes that were responsible for the decimation of the domestic production systems. The process of globalisation, especially the effects of the World Trade, has been calling for the rolling back of the government's responsibilities as the provider of formal employment and the producer of primary goods and services. This, according to Watson (2007), has resulted in people having limited livelihood strategies and finding it extremely difficult to survive in the economic world characterized by competitive market systems. This pushes them out of the world economic systems to adopt livelihood strategies outside the formal economy. These global economic processes resulted in massive movement of people into self-employment or casual employment as a response to the harsh economic environment caused by the globalisation process. As a result of these globalisation processes, people have been finding it difficult to survive in economies that marginalise the poor and offer limited employment opportunities. As a result, the marginalised people have to resort to the informal sector for survival. Watson (2007), further argues that as survival in the cities becomes increasingly precarious and difficult, rural resources and rural livelihood strategies assume greater importance in cities which, in turn, result in ruralisation and informalisation of urban economies.

Another body of scholarship on the emergence of the informal sector is based on the modernisation theory. This was adopted from Rostow's modernisation theory and was propounded by Portes et.al. (1981). They believe that for development to occur, traditional economies need to be transformed into modern methods of production, characterised by use of modern technologies and mechanisation. The modernisation of economies will enable then to acquire modern values such as capitalist modes of production, modern institutions and political systems. The end result of the modernisation process is the adoption of a market based economy. The informal sectors, therefore, according to this scholarship, are the remnants of the traditional economies and the pre-capitalist mode of production or are just

isolated subsistence modes of production practiced by the rural people, (Portes et.al. 1981). According to them, the informal sector does not develop into the mainstream economy but it is a problem to be solved. They alluded that informal sector is, therefore, of no importance as nothing can be harnessed or promoted from it. Brown and McGrananhan (2014), however, are of the opinion that the modernisation theory does not offer a sufficient explanation of the emergence of the informal activities because despite the ever growing industrialisation process, the informal sector has failed to be removed from economies of cities. Brown and McGrananhan (2014) said the informal sector is not going to be removed from the economies of cities but rather, this sector is a reservoir of entrepreneurships and training. They further argue that the view that informal activities are transpositions of the rural subsistence in urban areas is also wrong because informal activities are activities that have assumed a great role in the globalisation process. These activities have grown to mean the poverty reduction strategies.

The modernisation school of thought, therefore, trivializes the role the informal sector can play by regarding it as ruminants of the industrial development process, which are to disappear when the industries fully develop. This therefore, does not augur well with the role the informal sector has played in various parts of the world. In some countries the informal sector has been regarded as the industry of the country, (Kamete 2007, Jones 2010) and in others it has been responsible for employing more than 85% of the jobs in the country,(Kamete 2013, Roy 2009, Sonobe et.al. 2011, Jackson 2012). In Zimbabwe, even formal institutions, such as, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), were relying on the informal sector for their foreign currency supply, (Jones 2010, Kamete 2007). Jones (2010) further argues that by the year 2000 the whole of the Zimbabwean economy had been turned into an informal economy, meaning that the Zimbabwean economy was now being driven primarily by the informal economy. This, therefore, tells a lot on the role the informal economy can play in the economies of, not only cities, but nations.

Some supporters of the modernisation theory, (Tokman 2007), added that informal sector activities are just economic activities existing outside the main capitalist economy. They are, therefore, mere transpositions of rural subsistence activities into urban areas. This notion reflects the informal sector as useless remnants of the main economy, which again contradicts with some widely accepted view that the informal sector can be a dominant feature of the economy, especially in economies of most cities in the global South. According to Rogerson (1992) in Watson (2007), the informal sector is responsible for generating about 93% of all

additional jobs in African cities. Despite their sizes, such small scale activities are very important in sustaining development and promotion of exchange, (Sen 2005). They are very useful in poverty eradication and increasing incomes among the poor. According to Chambers and Conway (1991), such small activities, if nurtured by the right spirit, are important building blocks of the economy and are very important in attaining sustainable livelihoods mainly because they use local resources. The fact that they are livelihood strategies by local people means that if they are supported very well they have the capability of improving the well-being of these local people, and this is a very important tenet for sustainable development.

Contrary to the general view by Romatet (1983) that the informal sector only acts as a reserve for workers of the formal sector, Fields (1990) is of the opinion that people in the informal sector actually come from the formal sector, where they have acquired enough experience and money to start their small businesses in the informal sector, where there are more improved and flexible working environments. Romatet (1983) argues that the dual economy is composed of the upper circuit that has advanced technologies and this is represented by the monopolies. This circuit is also characteristically capital intensive. Below this upper circuit is a circuit that is characterised by small-scale industries, mainly by the urban poor, forming the informal sector. The informal sector, according to Romatet (1983), has linkages with the formal sector as it acts as a reserve for labour and a market for goods produced in the formal sector. He, however, expressed concern on the exploitative relationship that sometimes exists between the two sectors. In some, if not all cases, the goods and services from the informal sector are sold at very low prices, which can only allow them very marginal profits. Again most of the contracts given to the informal sector are sub-contracts and payment for services rendered by the informal sector to the formal sector is appallingly low. These exploitative relationships, mainly caused by capitalist ideals, usually force the informal sector to be a marginalised sector.

Haris and Todaro (1970) in Supriya (2011) also advance the notion of a dual economy as a reason for the emergence of the informal sector. They developed this theory in view of the existence of a dual urban economy that is characterised by a capitalist economy and a non-capitalist mode of production. According to them, the capitalist mode is predominantly urban and the non-capitalist is rural. The capitalist mode has better rewards for their labour, hence has the capacity to attract labour from the rural areas into urban areas. This drive, is mainly anchored on expected better living conditions in urban areas because of better remunerations

from labour, will eventually lead to oversupply of labour, resulting in unemployment in the capitalist economy. The unemployed labour will create residual workforce for the formal sector and this residual workforce will usually engage in some economic activities outside the capitalist mode of production in order to earn their subsistence; these activities are normally in the form of informal activities. The capitalist economy has exclusionary effects due to its competitive nature and this is responsible for high income inequalities that exist in the global economy, (Castells 2000). The informal sector, therefore, becomes the only place where the urban poor can earn a living because they have failed to create livelihoods from the formal capitalist system. Castells (2000), further argues that the economic hegemony associated with the process of the globalisation process is responsible for the growing inequalities that characterise the global economy and this has brought in huge suffering in human kind due to shrinking livelihood strategies. The informal sector, therefore, plays a very important role in reducing unequal income distributions caused by capitalism by offering livelihoods for those that fail to make livelihoods from the formal sector, (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987, Supriya 2011). The informal sectors, though they exist as small scale economic activities, are very important in promoting exchange and building prosperity among the poor, (Sen 2005). Promotion of these activities make the urban poor develop livelihood strategies that offer better chances for accelerating poverty reduction and increase incomes among the poor. According to (Sen 2005), any policy that promote business and economic activities of the poorest people has the greater likelihood of attaining sustained development. Gupta (1993) also argues that the informal sector is a result of the formal sector's inability to absorb all the prospective job seekers, so the redundant job seekers will join the informal sector as an immediate solution to avert destitution in the urban areas. He views the informal sector as an indispensable part of the urbanisation process which serves a very important purpose in providing livelihood strategies to the poor, hence there is a need to support the sector in the form of capital subsidies, price subsidies or/and policy.

Other scholars however, totally reject the dualism view of the economy, where the informal sector is said to exist alongside the formal economy and they argue that the informal sector is part of the mainstream economy and, therefore, needs to be integrated into it. They rejected the notion that the informal sector is a sector of the survivalist and operates at the margins of the main economy. They contend that there are a lot of linkages between the formal and the informal, (Alford and Feige 1989). They argue that the marginalisation of the informal sector has created serious economic distortions in economies of cities of the global South because

when economic statistics exclude the informal sector's contribution, they create statistical illusions that reflect a stagnant economy. Rather, there are a lot of activities that are going on unrecorded in the economy and these unrecorded activities are activities in the informal sector. Gerxhani (2004) added that the informal sector is an urban reality characterised by its own rules, conditions and modes of production and serving a purpose in the urban economy. He further argues that the creation of a dual economy is a false one; rather, the informal sector should be regarded as an integral part of the urban economy. He rejects the view that the informal sector is a phenomenon of the developing countries as this phenomenon also exists in cities of the global North. He also rejects the dual and autonomous relationship between the formal and informal economies. He believes that there is domination and subordination between the formal and the informal sector. He, therefore, argues that there are a lot advantages that can accrue from the integration of the informal sector into the formal sector because these two sectors depend and complement each other.

According to Bill and Bruce (1994), economies that have limited capital are fertile grounds for the proliferation of informal sector activities. They argue that operations in the informal sector are not profitable. They barely return an average rate of profit if evaluated at the prevailing wage levels. Informal activities are, therefore, activities that cannot be carried out by capitalists because of their limited profit margins. Bill and Bruce (1994), therefore, argue that if economies have enough capital to allow people to do their business profitably, there would be no informal sector mainly because the sector is not economically viable. They argue that informal activities are not capitalist activities; neither are they activities of workers due to their low profit margins, which can sometimes be of negative profit. They believe that the global economic crisis that has been experienced in the past decades has resulted in the shrinking of financial capital that helps to do business resulting in the proliferation of the informal sector. This phenomenon is most prevalent in almost all developing countries, (Bill and Bruce 1994). Therefore, according to these scholars, the informal sector cannot be regarded as the seed bed for economic development as propounded by De Soto (2000); they cannot stand the competition in a classical competitive economy where they can be easily stunted, (Bill and Bruce 1994). The informal activities cannot, therefore, be confused with the dynamics of industries in their early stages of development but they are a characteristic of underdevelopment. This perspective, therefore, trivialises the operations and role of the informal sector and it also fails to explain the existence of the informal activities in developed countries, where such activities are said to be generating over 130 million Euros annually

(Gunsilins et.al. (2011). Bill and Bruce (1994), however, contend that people can only enter the informal sector as a result of the capitalist development, whose regressive tendencies in the distribution of incomes push people into marginal activities such as the informal sector. They further argue that if people fail to get remunerative employment in the formal sector they will resort to the informal sector as the sole means for survival. Bill and Bruce (1994) however did not recognise any potential of growth in the informal sector, which contradicts other scholars , (Gunsilins et.al 2011, Chen 2001, Walther 2011, UNDP 2012, De Sotho 2000), who believe that the informal sector is the driving force of the economy. The informal sector is the urbanisation process in the cities of today, (Roy 2009; Brown and McGrananhan 2014; Alijev 2015; Kamete 2017).

Frey (1989), provides a more simplistic view of the formation and proliferation of the informal sector when he argues that the informal sector is a direct result of the democratisation of the economy. According to him, in democratic systems of decision making, each individual would pursue his own utility. Those who chose to enter the informal sector, therefore, do that out of their own self-interest. This school of thought differs from others in that they do not see any force other than self-motivation to enter into informality. The formation and proliferation of the informal sector is just out of free will. Rather, as alluded above, there are various factors that push people into the informal sector and these factors can be in the form of economic factors that play a very critical role in pushing people into the informal sector. Renooy (1990), pointed out that there are structural and opportunistic factors that are behind the formation and proliferation of the informal sector. The structural factors include; financial pressure, socio-psychological pressure and institutional constraints, while the opportunistic factors include; free choice, individual background, skills, education, contacts and living situations. According to Renooy (1990), the multiplicity of these opportunity factors also explains the diversity of informal economic activities. He added that government and its governance systems also can push people into the informal sector. He pointed out that when people lose trust in the government and are of the opinion that the government no-longer supports them, this usually pushes them into a twilight economy, where they will be moonlighting to supplement their meager resources. He added that in situations where there is political discontent, the informal sector acts as a safety valve, where people will be running away from the planned economies to get respite in the informal sector. Renooy (1990) went on to say that an over-regulated market economy, characterised by taxes, labour regulation and legislations relating to labour conditions and

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quality of labour, creates incentives to move into the informal sector as people will be moving away from the over-regulated systems into the more appealing informal sector, which has low transaction costs. Feige (1990), also supported the same idea in his studies of the informal sector during the Second World War, where he argues that when tax regimes were so high, coupled with price controls and food rationing, this fuels firms and individuals to participate in the informal sector and the black market.

Institutional economists, such as, Fiege (1990), are of the view that the non-conformity of the informal sector to the operating rules and regulations of the country is a result of ways in which rules of the game are defined and implemented. There is a growing notion among institutional economists that institutions are not neutral but have a substantial effect in promoting or hindering economic development, (Feige 1990). Institutions are a combination of both formal and informal rules that are always operating in a society. In most societies, the governing people are more concerned with formal institutions and they are always changing them to suit their needs. Very little is done to also change the informal institutions. These changes, according to North (1997) in Gerxhani (2004), are one sided and have a greater likelihood of creating clashes between the formal and the informal institutions, leading to non-compliance behavior. Therefore, according to institutional economists, the non-compliant behavior of the informal sector is a result of how rules and regulations are defined and implemented.

The proliferation of the informal activities can also be explained using the public choice theory, (Mueller 1989). In this theory the informal sector is related to issues of state, voting patterns and rules, voter behavior, party politics and bureaucracy. He regards people as rational maximising agents and in a system of governance; government can set instruments so as to achieve their own goals especially in a way that enhances their chances of being re-elected. The formal and the informal sectors are a result of the self-interest decision making processes that aim to pursue their own utility. A government, according to the theory of public choice, has to make a very clever decision that will enhance their chances for re-election. They can choose to relax their regulating system in order to win votes or they can decide to over-regulate in order to gain more material and political power, (Gerxhani 2004). However, if they decide to over regulate their economies they will run a risk of losing votes from the informal sector. The informal sector is the major source of votes for politicians; hence they may not be interested in fighting them through over regulating the sector. In such situations the informal sector can operate without much regulation from the government and

the ruling elites. This situation, though ideal, is not tenable in most circumstances, mainly because the informal sector is in competition with the formal sector which is controlled by capitalists who happen to be drivers of the mainstream economy. They can influence the political and economic process; hence they can influence the regulatory systems to enforce regulations that suppress the operations of the informal sector. They usually threaten to boycott the payment of taxes if the operations of the informal sector continue uncontrolled and this will force the political system and the regulatory authorities to enforce regulations that suppress the operations of the informal sector, because they do not want to risk losing their material and political power. The operations of the informal sector will then be exposed to very strict regulations that will suffocate and stunt its growth.

However, according to Bill and Bruce (1994), it is very difficult to suffocate the informal sector as any action against them will stimulate another action from the informal sector that will fight for their existence. Even if the formal sector tries to reduce prices so as attract demand for their goods and services, the informal sector usually will respond by readjusting their prices accordingly and continue to encroach into the market share of the formal sector. The more they regulate the economy the more the informal sector will proliferate. According to Portes and Shauffler (1993), in Peru the proliferation of the informal sector was a result of over regulations that created barriers to participate in the mainstream economy. In an overregulated economy, therefore, the only way people can survive is to move out of the regulated formal sector to operate well above marginal levels that allow high productivity in the informal sector, (De Sotho 2000). Portes and Shauffler (1993) further argue that the only way the informal sector can survive is by breaking the state induced barrier in the form of regulations and rules that stifle the flourishing of small entrepreneurship.

Despite the varied definitions and academic discourse generated around the definition and emergence of informality, there is a general convergence around issues of typology of the informal enterprise, and status of labour. The type of labour is characteristically unprotected by standing labour laws, is self-employed, own account workers and in most cases, uses family labour, (Nurul Amin, 2002). They are, however, characteristically diverse, labour intensive, and variable. Castells and Portes (1989) argue that the informal sector is characterised by existing outside the regulatory systems and their heterogeneity. Their heterogeneity is in the form of the nature of their activities, which include trade, collection, service provision and even manufacturing. They also exhibit heterogeneity in the nature of

employment where they include self-employment, paid labour, unpaid labour and disguise the wage worker.

The notion that the informal sector operates outside the existing regulatory systems as viewed by legalists assumes an earlier version of the informal sector which was dominated by the urban poor. These urban poor could not penetrate the formal job market but could relegate themselves to low productivity activities and low paid jobs. These activities, according to Klein and Tokman (1993), could not observe operating regulations mainly because of their nature of employment. They argue that the informal sector was predominantly of the urban poor, who could not penetrate the formal job market but resort to low productivity and low paid jobs. In such situations, following the operating regulations will be costly to their operations; hence they will prefer not to observe operating regulations. Operating outside these regulations was, therefore, a bargaining strategy as they regard regulations and government intervention as barriers to their economic development (De Sotho 2000, 1998). However, Klein and Tokman (1993) are of the opinion that the informal sector of the 21st century cannot afford to operate outside the existing regulatory frameworks, mainly because they want to get access to some important services and also they want to minimise costs associated with illegality. They further argue that while they cannot afford to fully comply with the regulations, they somewhat strike a balance by operating between underground and legality. However, operating outside the regulatory frameworks, according to ILO (2000), is due to non-applicability of the existing legal frameworks to the conditions of the poor. Most of the legal instruments were drawn well before the informal sector was accorded economic status, hence do not take cognisance of the conditions of the poor. These legal instruments, therefore, need to be repealed to take into account the new realities of urban life. Some legal, instruments still criminalise activities of the informal sector where there is need to incorporate their activities.

3.3 Informality and economic development

Discussions about the role played by the informal sector in economic development have generated a lot of debate with some scholars arguing that the sector has only played a peripheral role, while others argue that the informal sector has played a critical role in the development of economies, especially economies of the global South. There is now growing evidence that the informal sector is an important facet in the cities' economies and the impact is not only felt in cities of the global South but also in the global North. Early studies by the International Labour Organisation (1972) restricted the informal activities to cities of the

global South, (Hart 1973, ILO 1972), but now there is enough evidence that informal activities are even in developed economies, (Gerxhani 2004, Rogerson 2018).

According to Onyenechere (2011), the informal sector has been a source of employment to a number of people throughout the world and is responsible for employing, on average, 50% of the work force in sub-Saharan Africa. The sector has been very crucial in providing employment to the majority of first urban migrants, who find it usually difficult to penetrate the formal job market due to their inferior skills qualifications. The contribution of the informal sector to employment has been evidently growing and most of the jobs created in the informal sector are appearing to be valid jobs, even though they are offered in unacceptable conditions of job insecurity, (Tokman 2007, Brown and McGrananhan 2014, Roy 2009, Jackson 2012, Potts 2008). In Nigeria, in 1970, the informal sector was responsible for 27.3% of its urban workforce and by 1989 the figures had gone up to 38.2%, (Onyenechere, 2011). World over, there were about 4.1 million workers in the informal sector by 1993, but by 2004 the figures had reached 5.1 million (Malte, 2008). Recent studies reveal an increased contribution of the informal sector in creation of employment as 95% of new jobs were said to be created in the informal sector and the sector's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product has been recorded to as high as 60%, (Walther 2011). This phenomenal growth of the informal sector has been fueled by the continued shrinking of the formal sector, where companies have been downsizing, retrenching or even shutting down in response to the restructuring of the global macro-economic fundamentals. The restructuring process has resulted in retrenchments and the retrenched people have nowhere to fall back to other than the informal sector. The informal sector is no longer dominated by the urban poor and survivalists as propounded by early studies (see Rogerson 2004, ILO 1972) it is now a source of livelihood to a variety of people who include; the skilled, semi-skilled, educated and uneducated. The informal sector has grown to become a real urban phenomenon, giving livelihoods to a significant number of people in the urban areas (Jelili and Adedibu 2006, UN-Habitat 2018). According to Walther (2011), the informal sector in sub-Saharan Africa has been the entry point into the job market for the majority of the young people. He further argues that between 80% and 90% of youths in the region have gained training in various trades from the informal sector and this has allowed them to penetrate the world job market. These skills acquired in the informal sector have proved to be of relevance to allow them to secure employment in the formal sector. He further argues that the training offered in the informal sector has been of greater relevance, especially to the economic environments of the

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African cities and he rated it as being more relevant than training offered by most African schools and universities. They offer on-the-job training, which is a very important component in skills training and is not found in many formal training institutions. Even university graduates have been making use of the informal sector to get the much needed experience that allows them to enter the formal job market. According to Walther (2011), in Central Africa, more than 60% of the university graduates get their work experience in the informal sector, which they use to enter the formal job market.

Contrary to some scholarly views that the informal sector activities are not recorded in the national economic statistics, there is growing evidence that the informal sector contributes significantly to the Gross Domestic Product, (GDP), where in some countries its contribution to GDP has been as high as 60%, (Walther 2011). In his studies in cities of the sub-Saharan Africa, Kamete (2013), observed that informality is the main source of basic needs and it was contributing 75% of the non-agricultural workforce and 40% of the region's GDP. Rogerson (2000) also argues that the informal sector was playing a critical role in cities of the global South where the majority of the population are struggling to live under limited livelihood strategies. He argues that in the majority of the southern African metropolitan cities there is widespread unemployment and most of the population in these cities (80%) is surviving on informal activities. In Europe, studies by Gunsilins et.al. (2011) also showed that informal sector activities are no longer activities of cities of the global South only, but are now worldwide activities to include even cities of the global North where the informal sector has been generating huge profits of up to 130 million Euros annually. However, despite this huge contribution by the informal sector on the economy, it has never been accorded its rightful space in urban areas and has since been operating from the periphery of the city where it is exposed to poor environmental conditions. It has also continued to suffer from poor service delivery and their jobs have remained very precarious and insecure as they are not covered by any form of social security system, (Gunsilins et.al. 2011, Richmond et.al. 2018).

Trends world over, are that the formal economies have not been able to generate enough jobs to absorb the ever increasing job seekers and, in some severe cases, the formal sector has been shrinking, thereby creating a very bleak future for job seekers (Weeks and Mosley, 1996). In such situations, the informal sector has been very handy as it has been the only option for job seekers, hence it has been absorbing most of this surplus labour on the market and providing livelihoods and preventing them from being redundant in the city, (Skinner, 2009, Muraya, 2004, Rogerson 2018). In some cities, such as Nairobi in Kenya, the informal

sector has even out-grown the formal sector in terms of their contribution to both employment and the national economy, (Ikiara and Ndung'u 1997). In the slums of Bombay in India, the informal sector has been producing goods and services that match international standards and these products have been penetrating the global market, contrary to widely held views that the informal sector activities are operating in the margins of the formal sector, (Hall and Pfeifjer 2000). It is, therefore, evident that the role played by the informal sector can no longer be underestimated as this sector has developed to be the major source of livelihood, not only to the urban poor but the majority of urban inhabitants. It has been more important to the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, who could otherwise have been redundant because of their failure to penetrate the formal job market (Onyenechere 2011;Dilek 2009). In some countries the contribution of the informal sector to employment has been very significant, for example, it contributes 70% in Dhaka, 87% in Manila (Joshi, 1999), 95% in Benin (ILO 1985), 80% in Addis Ababa (Baudouin et. al. 2010),65% in Indonesia (Firdausu 1995) and 75% in the sub-Saharan Africa region (Kamete 2017).

The recognition of the informal sector as an important source of livelihood, particularly for the urban poor, was first recognised by the ILO starting in 1972 in their studies of cities in Ghana. They argue that informal sector is a source of livelihoods for millions of urban inhabitants. Similar experiences were also recorded in many cities of the global South where the informal sector has now grown to the extent of drawing the attention of many development agencies, scholars and policy makers, (Van Dijk 1996). He further argues that the sector has grown into dynamic systems and has shown a remarkable ability to sustain economies and livelihoods especially those of the developing economies because of its significant contribution to production, employment, incomes and even revenues for the local authorities, (Van Dijk, 1996, Rogerson 2018, Darbi et.al 2018).

However, despite this widely accepted view that the informal sector contributes significantly to economic development, there are other scholars, especially those with neo-liberal inclination, who still believe that the informal sector is a peripheral economy with very little contribution to development. This school of thought regards the informal sector as a sector for new urban migrants who have failed to adapt to the urban environments and, therefore, resort to semi-urban environments, which can be referred to as the shadow economy, (Portes and Shauffler, 1993, Romatet 1983, Lopez 1982 in Fields 1990). They regard the informal sector as primarily a peripheral economy operating on the margins of the formal economy and are mostly a characteristic of developing economies such as those in Latin America,

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Africa and Asia, (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987, Bill and Bruce1994). They also regard the informal sector as a refuge for the urban poor who are running away from the vagrants of destitution. They, therefore, categorically call it a sector for the poor. However, the ILO (2000, 2018) argues that while the informal sector is generally composed of the majority of the poor, the phenomenon is not synonymous with poverty. The sector is highly heterogeneous where a mixture of poor, very poor and highly profitable activities is involved. Therefore, to regard the informal sector as a sector involving only the urban poor no longer holds water because the economic hardships and the urbanisation of poverty in many cities has eroded the real income of urban inhabitants to the extent that even those n formal employment are not able to sustain their lives on wages alone but have to supplement these meager wages with activities from the informal sector. For example, in Zimbabwe, the hyper inflationary regime that was experienced in the period between 2000 and 2009 eroded the real incomes of the majority of the workers to the extent that they were forced to diversify their livelihood strategies by engaging in informality to survive. The informal sector can also produce high quality goods and services that can penetrate the global market, (Chen 2001, Hall and Pfeifjer, 2000). Some workers in the informal sector are earning even more than the minimum wage and some are even earning higher than those in the formal sector (Fields 1990, Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987).

The informal sector activities are proving to be resilient to the exploitative capitalist mode of production that aims to stunt their growth. There are showing signs of improvement in size and scope, (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1989). The informal sector is now offering better remunerative opportunities in flexible working conditions that have helped to attract people from the formal sector. Studies by Peattie (1981) in Portes and Sassen-Koob (1989), have shown that people in the formal industrial sectors, such as footwear, garments, leather and textiles prefer to work in the informal sector than the formal sector. The informal sector has developed to be an integral part of the mainstream industrial activities. Fields, (1990) also added that the informal sector offers a diverse of income earning opportunities due to a diversity of activities that individuals and firms can venture into. Gerxhani (2004) further argues that conditions, such as, a chance for early retirement, reduced working hours and the existence of supportive social systems are other factors that drive the growth of the informal sector. The sector has, therefore, grown in importance to the extent that the formal sector is now depending on the informal sector for its survival because the informal sector is now offering a very big market for goods and services produced in the formal sector. It is part of

the supply and marketing chain of goods and services from the formal sector, thereby creating strong linkages between the formal and the informal sectors. It is now being used as the distribution network of the formal industries and in this way it has helped in reducing costs that have been incurred by these formal industries in maintaining permanent sales teams. The sector has, therefore, grown to be a mode of urbanisation and a source of livelihood to millions of people especially in cities of the global South, hence it calls for recognition as a new user of urban space and it is now an indispensable part of the governance system of urban transformation, (Baudouin et.al. 2010, Kamete 2017b, Alijev 2015, Brown and McGrananhan 2014, Jackson 2012).

3.4 Informality and urban governance

The informal sector has been suffering from poor service provision and this has been responsible for its existence in appalling environmental conditions and stunted growth. This has been due to the exclusive urbanisation policies that have been driven by neo-liberal policies. Such exclusive urbanisation policies have been contributing to unequal development and unsustainable city development. Local authorities should be seen incorporating all citizens of the city in the running of city affairs so as to ensure environmental justice, (Schlosberg 2004, Yaw 2007). They should be seen supporting the growth of the informal sector by availing services that will allow the sector to grow and grow in safe and liveable urban spaces, (Kamete 2011). The informal sector has developed to be an important economic sector in the urban areas, especially in developing economies, such that the local authorities should appreciate the important contribution the sector is making, especially in job creation and even its contribution to the GDP and should work towards integration of the informal sector into the mainstream economy, (Alijev 2015, Brown and McGrananhan 2014, Jackson 2012, ILO 2000, Sen 2005, UN-HABITAT 2010a, 2010b, Onyenechere, 2011). This paradigm shift should result in social justice, equity, democracy, inclusion and participatory governance, which marks a departure from the exploitative and exclusionary neo-liberal practices.

Schlosberg (2004), stressed that urban areas should be seen making strides towards addressing the distribution of economic and social inequalities that are prevalent in urban areas. However, most urban societies are characterized by skewed distribution of benefits where the urban poor and other marginalised groups suffer the worst social and environmental injustices. The shift towards pro-poor development initiatives should start with changing the planning practices that have for long been characteristically taxonomic and

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exclusive in their practices and have the instruments used to create social injustice in urban areas. There is a need to adopt a new planning paradigm, which is more communicative, participatory and inclusive (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998). Communicative planning can result in inclusive, empathetic and open planning, (Watson 2007 Sandercock 1998). It considers the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups such as the urban poor and thus, has a better chance to ensure sustainable development in the city (Gondwe et.al. 2011, Roy 2005, Huchzermeyer 2011, Gerometta et.al. 2005). Gerometta et.al. (2005) further argue that cities should be instruments for social cohesion but what is happening in modern cities is that they are used as instruments for social disenfranchisement, where the urban poor are always found concentrated in large 'sink estates'. Sustainable development calls for the promotion of the needs of the marginalised groups of the society and ensuring that development benefits are targeted at the needy people of the society, (Ellis 2000, Chambers and Conway1991). There is, therefore, a need for inclusive development, where the marginalised groups are given a chance to take part in the development process and their needs are used to inform development initiatives. This will also allow the poor to benefit from the development interventions, (UNDP 2012, World Bank 2010). In so doing therefore, development initiatives will be addressing the deeper issues of sustainability by addressing the inequalities that are characteristic of economies of cities of the global South. It will also expand the capabilities and opportunities of the poor, thereby availing to them livelihood strategies that will enable them to improve their well-being, (Berdeque 2005, Chambers and Conway 1991, Cozzen 2010, Gerometta et.al. 2005). Cozzen (2010) further argues that pro-poor development initiatives, which are development interventions that are targeted at improving the well-being of the poor, are more effective strategies for reducing inequalities and poverty. Planning for sustainable development should, therefore, be hinged on promoting the needs of the disadvantaged and marginalised groups of the society through creating environments that enable them to help themselves. To achieve this, it is, therefore, critical to create institutions that strengthen participation of the marginalised groups of the society in the development interventions, (Schlosberg 2004). He further argues that such institutions can open up space for the marginalised and disadvantaged groups of the society to participate in decision making processes and this is critical in achieving environmental and social justice. It empowers communities by allowing them to participate in development and be part of the development process, hence diversity of development ideas.

Planning, therefore, should respond to these new development challenges to include issues of inclusivity, participation and interconnectedness in their development approach, (Miraftab and McConnell, 2008). A planning paradigm of the 21st century should recognise the values of ethnography; promote inclusiveness, and participation of all stakeholders, (UN Habitat 2010a, 2010b). Planning practices of the 21st century, therefore, call for a move away from the illusions of the scientific rational comprehensive planning, which is very taxonomic, top-down, supply driven, ineffective and unresponsive to the needs of the majority, especially the poor, (World Bank 2010, Sandercock 1998, Fainstein 2005). It should go beyond the provisions of rationality to allow communities to participate in decision making processes that affect them. Participation, according to Schlosberg (2004), ensures recognition of the various groups in the society, which is fundamental in achieving distributional justice, especially in ensuring environment justice. Forester (1998) added that this will facilitate redistribution of resources to ensure equity, inclusivity and sustainability in development.

The current planning practice is accused of mainly focusing on issues of physical planning which have very little to address other aspects of development, such as, social justice, equity, environment and governance, which are critical in attending to the problems of the urban poor, (Gondwe et.al.2011, Fainstein 2006). It should recognise that urban societies are diverse socially and culturally, hence the need to cater for the diversity, (Loukaitou-Sider 2012, Sandercock 1998, Watson 2007). Most problems in cities of the global South which include physical disorders, unsustainable urban growth and environmental problems are, therefore, a manifestation of failure by the city planning system to recognise and incorporate disadvantaged groups such as the informal sector into the urban system, (Jelili and Adedibu 2006, Roy 2009, 2005). Such behaviours and practices are no longer tenable in view of the new forms of urbanism that calls for rights to the city and inclusive urbanism. City planning systems can no longer afford to ignore the role played by the informal sector in the city economy, (Brown and McGrananhan 2014). They should realise that informality is a real urban phenomenon and, hence deserves space in the spatial distribution and development of the cities, (Alijev 2015, Kamete 2013, 2017). The informal sector is a very important sector in cities of the global South as it is providing livelihoods to millions of the urban people. Cities can only realise its full development potential if it is supported and provided for in the city service delivery system. Hence, planning for the informal sector should create environments that promote the growth of the informal sector, (De Soto, 1989, Taylor 1998, Fainstein 2005, Wang 2000).

One of the most important factors that have been used to keep the informal sector out of the urban landscape are planning standards adopted by officials in cities of the global South, whose intention is to make it difficult for the informal sector to participate in development activities of the city. These standards are only best suited for developed economies, hence are not reflective of economic realities of cities of the global South. Most of the standards are beyond the reach of most urban poor who are predominantly in the informal sector, (Fjeldstad et. al. 2005). In the global South urban local authorities do not seem to appreciate the critical role played by the informal sector, hence is not taking any meaningful steps towards integrating the sector into their mainstream economies and are also not providing for the sector. In this way they are, therefore, failing to create safe and liveable cities for all city inhabitants and users, (Carmel, 2002, Adeyinka et.al, 2006). This, again, is a violation of these people's rights to the city, especially their right to receive services from the city they live in. Improving the conditions of the urban poor will go a long way in poverty reduction, improving food security, and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, (Carmel, 2002). Schoenfish and Johnson (2010) added that this will also help in removing the poor and disadvantaged groups from the hazardous environments that they find themselves working in. They further argue that this is also fundamental in giving environmental justice to the urban poor. All urban citizens have the right to live in healthy and safe environments which is a fundamental right for every citizen (Schoenfish and Johnson 2010). Carmel, (2002) also argues that environmental justice can only be achieved by providing physical infrastructure (roads, shelter, water and sanitation, solid waste management), provision of social infrastructure (health, education, recreation and cultural centers) and facilitation of local economic development through development and nurturing of environments that permit investment and economic development. However, such provisions are lacking in areas that most of the urban poor live and work and this exposes them to very risky environments
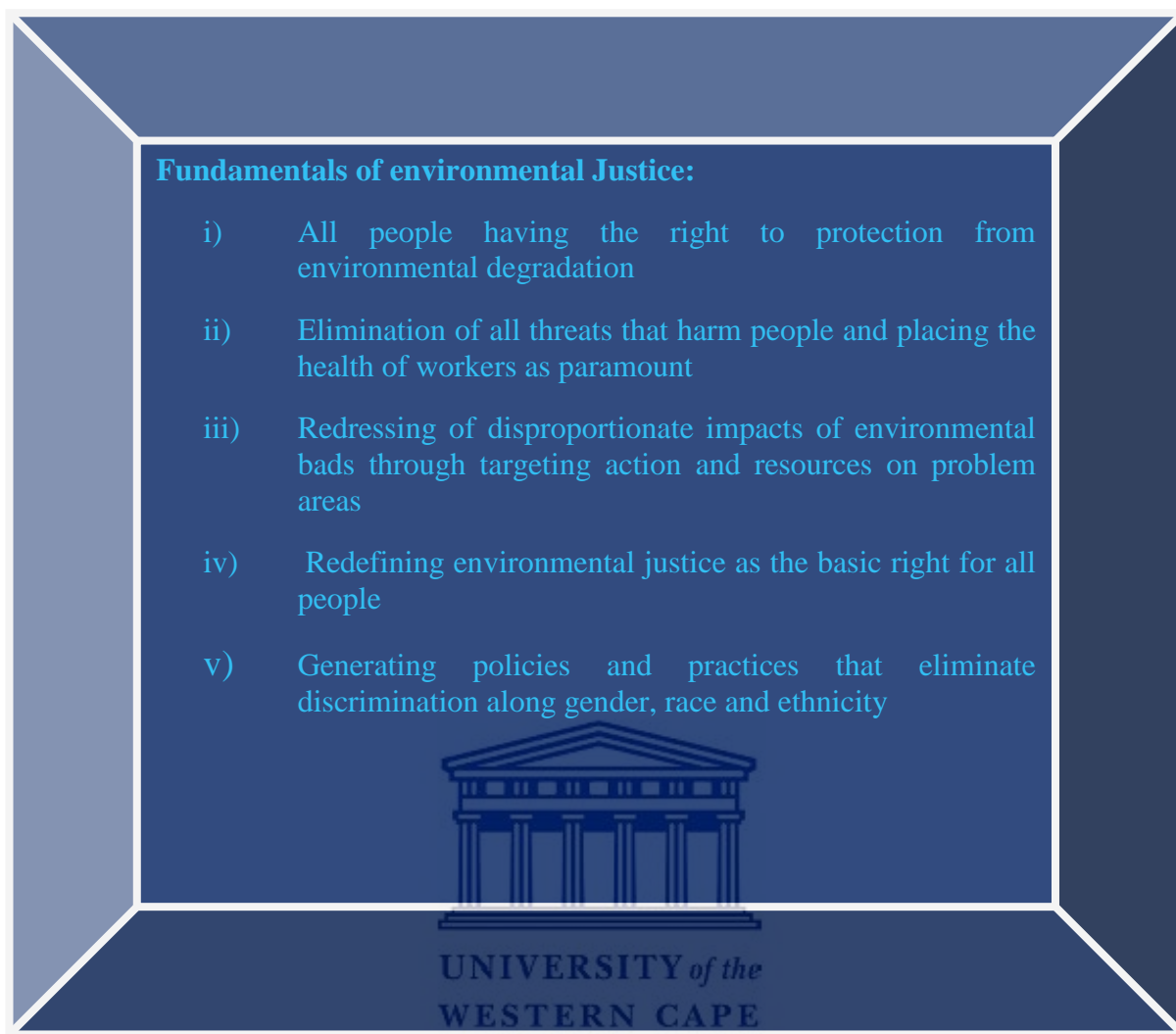
Box 1. 1: Fundamentals of Environmental Justice

Source: Bullard (2000)

Agyeman and Evans (2004), in their contribution to the debate on environmental justices, argue that among other things environmental justice should ensure that all people including the urban poor are protected from environmental pollution, there is need for a proactive approach in the distribution of environmental goods to make sure that all city inhabitants have a fair treatment on environmental issues. Environmental justice should address climatic justice and the question of social needs and welfare to ensure that the distribution of environmental 'goods' and 'bads' are fairly distributed among city inhabitants. According to Laurent (2011), environmental justice is when everyone in the city enjoys the same degree of protection from environmental health hazards and it also ensures that everybody has access to

decision making processes that shape the city. He further argues that environmental justice should ensure that no group of people in the city bears the disproportionate share of negative environmental consequences. These environmental factors are critical in addressing environmental justice and also coupled with it is the need to afford all people access to information, an opportunity to participate in the decision making processes and access to the justice systems.

In many occasions, the development of the informal sector has been hampered by failure by the local authorities to develop a clear informal sector policy. This has resulted in informal activities operating in a haphazard and unplanned manner. They are usually found in contested, very fragile and hazardous environments, (Komollo, 2010, Hassan, 2003). These sites exhibit all traits of environmental discrimination as they are usually locationally disadvantaged in that they are far away from their supply chains and the traders operate in very insecure areas with very little or no infrastructure and services, (Schoenfish and Johnson 2010, Dreiling 1998, Carmel 2002, Komollo, 2010, Muraya, 2004, Dhemba, 1999, City of Cape Town, 2003, Prakash, 2007). Portes (1983) further argues that the areas occupied by the informal sector suffer a lot of deprivation characterised by poor environmental quality, limited access to employment, low earnings and consumption patterns. These deprivations make people in the informal sector to be alienated from the day- to-day running of the city and expose them to hazardous environments in open violation of their right to the city, (Schoenfish and Johnson 2010, Padgett and Imani 1999). This is against the dictates of environmental justice, which strongly emphasises the protection of all people from environmental degradation. Schoenfish and Johnson (2010) further argue that environmental justice calls for all people to have the right to work play and live in safe and healthy environments.

Dhemba, (1999), also pointed out that areas occupied by the informal sector do not have provision for expansion and the players have no security of tenure on the areas they are operating on. He further argues that despite all this, the informal sector, because they are inhabitants of the city, deserves access to the prime land, such as, those near heavy human traffic, areas with easy accessibility or areas with direct supply of water and electricity, however in most cases people in the informal sector do without most of such essential provisions, (Moyi and Njiraini, 2005, Hassan, 2003). They also require other ancillary services, such as, skills training and upgrading, business counseling forum, information on marketing and market development services, (City of Cape Town 2003). They added that

they also require training in financial management, which should allow them to successfully run their businesses. However, most of these services are non-existent in the informal sector and this has resulted in poor performance of enterprises in the informal sector.

To facilitate cooperation and maximise results of environmental justice there is a need to include players in the informal sector in the planning, implementation and management of activities that concern them. In the city of Durban, South Africa, the cooperation between the informal sector and the city authority produced a very successful informal sector relocation, integration and upgrading when the people in the informal sector were closely involved in the integration process, (Skinner, 2009). The process is more empowering because the people in the informal sector are widely consulted and they are made participants in the process. In Nairobi, Kenya, the integration process was done in a participatory manner and the result was a very inspiring integration of the informal sector into their mainstream economy. The local authorities managed to provide suitable space for the informal activities and they also constructed operating sheds that best suit their operations, (Muraya, 2004). Participation and active involvement of people in the informal sector creates respect and recognition among the informal practitioners and this augurs well with the tenets of social and environmental justice, (Schlosberg 2004, Agyeman and Evans 2004). However, all these initiatives need the backing of political will because without it there is a great likelihood that the process will yield nothing, (Achmad 2011).
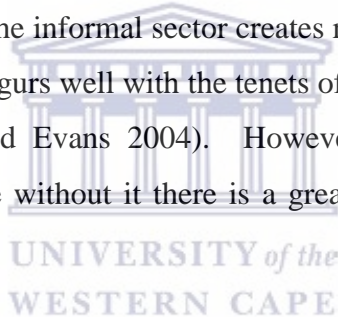
3.5 Conclusion

The issue of the informal sector has generated a wide range of contestations, starting from its definition, where there have been burgeoning literature offering varying definitions of the informal sector. Some want to define it according to the sizes of enterprises, some on conformity to the operating legal frameworks and others on the basis of structures that form informality. There is also another school of thought that wants to define the informal sector by relating it to the formal sector. These regard the informal sector as the parallel economy that runs on the periphery of the formal sector. They argue that the informal sector is the residue of the formal sector composed of those people who have failed to enter the formal sector either due to inferior skills or because of failure by the formal sector to absorb all job seekers. However, with in this school of thought, there exists also another form of contestations, where another school of thought that argues people in the informal sector are those that have been in the formal sector but because they are tired of the stringent working conditions in the formal sector, they chose to work in the informal sector. There is also

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another school of thought that supports this line of argument, it argues that people in the formal sector are the ones that move into the informal sector because they would have gained enough experience and finance which will allow them to start their own small businesses.

There is also widespread contestation on how the informal sector emerged and this issue has brought in a lot of theories that try to explain its evolution. Some schools of thought argue that the informal sector is a result of the capitalist economy that is driven by the process of globalisation. This theory argues that the competition generated by the process of globalisation has destroyed the production system leading to massive retrenchments and those retrenched are the ones that form the informal sector as a way of earning a livelihood in the urban areas.

Another area that has generated contestations is on the role of the informal sector. The dualists argue that the informal sector is a peripheral economy that is made up of petty trading, therefore, its contribution to the mainstream economy is very marginal. Their line of argument is that the informal sector is associated with low productivity, goods are sold below the market price, and therefore, it has very little contribution to the economy. They further argue that informal sector employment cannot be regarded as employment because of the low remunerations and some of the employees are unpaid. However, others are of the opinion that the informal sector is the new way of urbanisation where the majority of people are employed and is now contributing significantly to the Gross Domestic Product. In terms of employment, there are varying figures that are put forward as the contribution of the informal sector. Some say it is between 30% and 50%, others say it is below 20%, yet another group say in some countries, the contribution can be as high as 95%. Goods and products produced in the informal sector are said to be penetrating the world market as the informal sector is producing goods and services that can match international standards.

Despite the varied opinions held on the phenomenon of the informal sector, there is a general agreement from the point of view of urban governance that there is a need for involvement of all urban stakeholders in the planning and management of urban areas. This, according to principle of urban governance, is going to make urban areas governable as it will result in plans and development initiatives that are legitimate, cost effective and have a greater chance of bringing the desired results. Involvement of all urban stakeholders means also that people in the informal sector are supposed to be included in the decision making processes

concerning the city. This will help in creating a just city that gives rights to the city to its inhabitants.

Chapter 4: Methodological approaches and instruments for data collection

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the research design that was used in the research, the methodological approaches used and the specific methods that were employed. It also outlines how research respondents were chosen and the methods that were used to analyse the data.

4.2 Research design

The study employed a survey research design to collect data in which mixed methodologies were utilised. A survey is collection of data for research purposes from a large population using samples that will be representative of the population or the organisation under study, (Gable 1994; Kelly et.al. 2003).The research data was collected from the whole range of the city of Masvingo and samples were taken to represent all the sectors of the informality in the city of Masvingo. Due to their wider coverage of the population, data collected in surveys will enable the researcher to make inferences that reflects the population and such inferences are therefore made with greater confidences because they truly reflects their population, (Gable 1994). He further argues that such data can be easily generalised with great confidence leading to relatively superior deductibility. Fenton et.al. (2001), in their research on measuring sexual behavior concluded that survey research can provide robust estimates of prevalence of behavior and their determinants. Pinsonneault and Kraemer (1993) added that surveys can provide a wider view of issues from a variety of natural settings, thereby allowing the researcher to identify possible causal inferences with confidence. In this research, data collected from the cross section of informal activities in Masvingo will show how informal activities are operating in the city. Pinsonneault and Kraemer (1993) further argue that surveys can easily establish the temporal aspects of the inquiry.

Surveys will also allow the research to give a real world observation, hence empirical data because of its breath, which will produce data that is more representatives, (Kelly et.al. 2003). The survey that was employed in the research covered the whole city of Masvingo, where samples were taken from the city Centre, high density areas and even the low density areas. Samples were also taken to represent the industrial sectors, such as, manufacturing, service, trading and repairs.

4.3. Research methodology

A mixed methods approach to data collection was used where both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used. A mixed methods approach to research is when researchers are going to mix or combine qualitative and quantitative research techniques, methods, concepts, or language in a single study or set of related investigations, (Johnson et.al. 2007). It also refers to mixture of theoretical and technical aspects of quantitative and qualitative research in a particular study, (Rocco et.al. 2003). Also adopting a somewhat similar view to mixed methods are Ivankova et.al. (2006), who argue that mixed methods approach to research is the procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing or investigating both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a research process within a single study. According to Johnson (1989), mixed methods approach to research is increasingly being recognized as the third research paradigm after the warring research paradigms of positivists and interpretivist. It some-what takes the middle between the positivist and the interpretivist, thereby taping on the best of the two to come up with a more neutral methodological approach to research. A mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods will be employed in this research, which will help in enriching the research. Qualitative methods such as observation and in-depth interviews were used to enrich and explain quantitative data collected using questionnaires. This allowed methodological triangulation where qualitative and quantitative methodologies were employed and this went a long way in validating data. Validation of data was achieved because; mixed methodologies allow data to be synthesized from different interpretations of paradigm approaches, (Feilzer 2010). In this way the research capitalised on the advantages of the qualitative and quantitative methodologies to help remove biases that are associated with employing one methodology to research. So the data that was collected from in-depth interviews and field observation was used together with the data from questionnaires so that the weakness of one methodology would be cancelled by the strengths of the other. Denscombe (2008) further argues that mixed methods approach to research is a pragmatic approach to research which helps to bring about research's practical relevance. The mixed methods approach to research is a realisation that relying on one methodology is not enough to get reliable and robust data. So mixing the methodologies will break the research paradigm wars and remove the purported methodological superiority. The mixed methods approach has, therefore, developed to be the third research paradigm bringing to an end the paradigm wars. Pragmatism, which is a virtue in the mixed methods approach, according to Feilzer (2010), helps to free research from mental and practical constraints that come with forced choice between the dominant research dichotomy of qualitative and

quantitative paradigms. In this way therefore, proponents of the mixed approach argue that a new dispensation was ushered in the 20th century where research methodologies are coming together to help improve the quality of research. Proponents of the mixed methods approach to research argue that the approach is a more useful approach of research and has high probability of reflecting accurately the reality of issues under investigation, (Denscombe 2008; Creswell and Pianno-Clark 2007;Feilzer 2010). It brings about a very important component of research, that is, utility, which is brought about because of its ability to plug off gaps that might arise in methodologies (e.g. qualitative and quantitative), (Feilzer 2010, Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007). The mixed method approach provides flexibility in research which in turn provides research credibility through the use of different research approaches, a thing that cannot be achieved using the mono-method research design, (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2009). Feilzer, (2010), further argues that quantitative methodologies may be used to measure some aspects that need precision and qualitative methodology can be used to explain aspects that cannot be quantitatively measured. In this way, mixed methods will be integrating the two methodologies, thereby allowing researchers to view issues from different perspectives. In this way, rather than wasting resources fighting the paradigm wars, the research methodologies will be complimenting each other and in that way helping to give more valuable data. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), further argues that combining qualitative and quantitative methods in a research will allow researchers to combine the empirical precisions and the descriptive precisions, thereby giving the research a more comprehensive picture of the inquiry. This also enables expansion of the breath and range of inquiry. Borkan, (2004), also agrees with the point that the mixed methods approach to research allows methods and methodologies to complement each other and this will allow the researcher to tap advantages on both methodologies. He further argues that while the quantitative methods can establish correlation associated with variations, the qualitative approach will provide insights into processes and events that lead to the observed variation. According to Borkan (2004), the mixed methods approach to research has the ability to integrate, mix and relate research data at some stage in the research process. This will enhance enriched inquiry in various ways as it will enable validation and cross-validation of research data, which in turn will increase accuracy of inferences, (Sale et. al 2002, Feilzer 2010, Borkan 2004, Hussein, 2009, Bouchard, 1976, Denzin, 1978). It will also allow unearthing of multiple realities that are very difficult to reveal using one methodology, (Tobin and Begley, 2004, Rohner, 1977, Denzin 1978). The mixed methodology approach allows research to address issues from different perspectives and allows methodologies to

inform and supplement each other. This will produce a more complete picture of issues under investigation, thereby avoiding biases that come with use of one methodology, (Feilzer 2010, Denscombe 2008, Collins et.al 2007). Ivankova et.al. (2006), argue that the mixed methods approach to research came as a result of realization that no one methodology can sufficiently capture trends and details alone. Combining the methodologies will, therefore, allow methodologies to complement each other, thereby producing a more robust analysis, which takes advantage of the strengths of the other methodology. Mixed methods approach to research provides a fluid approach to research where the researcher is allowed to move back and forth between the two methodologies, thereby allowing adductive reasoning to the logic connecting theory and data. In this process the researcher will be converting observation into theory and then assessing how these theories fit into practice, (Feilzer 2010). According to Morgan (2007) in Feilzer (2010), this fluidity cannot be achieved when one is using a single methodology. When both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are used in a research, new and deeper dimensions of issues under investigation are unearthed because methods such as in-depth interviews can bring out more questions that cannot be achieved by say, tick the answer question, (Feilzer 2010, Collins et.al 2007, Rocco et.al 2003). In this way, the research gives the researcher a wealthy, deep and wider understanding of issues under enquiry as the mixed methodologies will complement each other in giving research data, thereby giving results with higher inferences, (Ivankova et.al. 2006,Feilzer 2010, Denscombe 2008, Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007, Creswell, 2002, Yeasmin and Khan 2012, Collins et.al 2007). Collins et.al (2007), further argue that mixed methods approach to investigations rely on best explanation of one's understanding of results, therefore, it gives adductive logic to the research. Data can, therefore, be interpreted from a multi-dimensional perspective which will allow in-depth discussions of data, (Feilzer 2010; Borkan 2004). As a result, it will give the researcher more confidence in the data as it will give him more in-depth understanding of phenomena, (Jick 1979, Yeasmin and Khan, 2012). Most importantly, this approach will allow the weakness of one method to be nuetralised by the strengths of the other methods and this will give the researcher better research results, (Collins et.al 2006, Hinds, 1989, Rohner, 1977, Yeasmin and Khan 2012). According to Collins et.al. (2006), the complementary character of the mixed methods approach to research comes as a result of the ability of quantitative methods to establish cause-effect relationships and the qualitative approach's ability to explain the why and how phenomena and aspects behave that way. This will allow the research to combine empirical precision and descriptive precision, (Onwuegbuzie and

Leech 2007). In this way mixed methods produce research data that can effectively inform practice.

Mixed methods, according to Borkan (2004), allows for research rigor because the researcher is allowed the chance to examine the practical issues and policy issues from both a quantitative approach and qualitative approach. It, therefore, allows the use of both narratives and numbers to give insights into the issues under investigation and it is the best research paradigm when investigating complex issues. Use of a single methodology limits the research process and, therefore, its analytical insights. Borkan (2004), further argues that mixed methods approach to research is a research approach that expands the research tool box, which allows for synthesis of research traditions. It, therefore, gives an additional perspective and insights that can rarely be achieved by relying on a single technique. Use of a single methodology can hardly allow researchers to generate precise generalisation and contextual interpretive relevance, but the mixed methods, because of their rich and deep descriptions that even enter the living reality of the subject through the use of qualitative methods, and the use of statistical reliability through the strengths of quantitative methods, will allow generalisation that reflects reality.

Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), further argue that mixed methods approach to research allow a bicameral approach to inquiry, where two lenses are used (qualitative and quantitative), which allows zooming into microscopic details and also zoom out to indefinite scope, thereby enabling the researcher to combine the micro and macro levels of investigation. It is very flexible and offers a holistic approach to inquiry, which allows the researcher to address a range of complex research questions. They further argue that mixed methods approach to research can enhance interpretation of significant findings because it can probe into datasets to enable understanding of meaning and verify findings stemming from other research methods. In their further contribution to mixed methods, Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009), added that mixed methods approach to research provide credibility to research by providing examples of research designs that are markedly different from mono-methods designs. Mixed methods, therefore, provide research findings that assist in providing flexible organizational structure.

The mixed methods approach to research allows initiation of new models of thinking, which come due to its ability to attend to paradox that might arise from analysis of the two data sets, (Collins et.al. 2006). This triangulation can produce thicker and richer data that gives the

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researcher confidence in the interpretation of research results because of its ability to explain contradictions, verify data, and testing of competing theories, (Collins et.al 2006, Jick 1979, Rocco et.al 2003). Rocco et.al (2003) and, Greenne and Caracelli (1997), further argue that when methods are mixed, they provide researches that are stronger since they enable researchers a fuller understanding of phenomenon under investigation. They also agree that mixed methods can allow plurality of interest, voices and perspectives to be exposed. This will also allow different understanding of realities and knowledge to be unearthed, (Greene and Caracelli 1997, Rocco et.al. 2003).

In this research the kind of triangulation that was used was both the between and the within triangulation where initially both qualitative and quantitative methods were used, (the between triangulation), and then in the within triangulation, two qualitative methods were used. The questionnaire was the quantitative method that collected quantitative data and this data was used to compliment data from qualitative methods, such as, observations and in-depth interviews that were used to collect qualitative data. Questionnaires were administered to the practitioners in the informal sector and in-depth interviews were done with key informants in the city and these include; officials in the city council, government ministries and civic organisations associated with activities of the informal sector.

4.4 Sampling procedure

Sampling, according to Jones (1955), is the selection and studying a relatively small number of individuals or items in order to find out some phenomena about the population from which they are drawn. The idea is to discover some characteristics from the small sample that can be inferred to the population. The rationale behind sampling is that it is impossible to study the whole population due to cost factors that are very high. A sample, if properly selected, will provide sufficient data with the required accuracy, (Frankel and Frankel 1987, Jones 1955). Frankel and Frankel (1987) further argue that this data from samples is objective, efficient, and valid and can reflect the characteristics of the entire population. In this research two sampling methods were used in choosing respondents. There were a total of 683 stands that were taken over by the informal sector in the city of Masvingo and these stands were at Mucheke, Pangolin, Zvigayo, city centre and Hillside. Out of these 89 respondents were selected using a simple random sampling procedure. The other 11 respondents were conveniently selected from various places in the city centre. These areas included TM PicknPay supermarket, Spar super market, Croco motors, OK Supermarket. The simple random sampling method and the convenient sampling were used to choose respondents for

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questionnaires. A total of 100 respondents were chosen for the questionnaire. The sample size of 100 was chosen so that a sample size of a minimum 10% was achieved so that the sample was representative of the population. Respondents in the informal sector were put in stratus according to the nature of their informal activities (i.e. manufacturing, repairs, trading and services). Different stratums were identified and members were numbered according to their places of operation. A stratum for repairs was at Pangolin, that of manufacturing were made at Mucheke home industries, Pangolin and *Zvigayo* home industries, those in services and trading were in the city centre and *Chitima* market. At the Mucheke home there were 333 stands that were considered for selection and 44 were selected in simple random selection criteria. The stand were numbered and 44 and put in a hat for selection. Out of that 33 were males and 11 were females. The same process was repeated at Pangolin were there were 90 stands and 11 were selected for the research. There were 8 males and 3 females selected. At Zvigayo there were 180 stands and 19 were selected for the research again a simple random selection was done in which 12 males and 7 females were selected (See Table 4.1). In the city centre there were 26 respondents that were selected for the questionnaires these were selected again using the same methods of simple random sampling method? There were 80 stands for flea market in the city centre and out of this 15 were selected in a simple random selection. The other 11 were conveniently selected from those who were trading at various shop frontages in the city. These were selected using convenient sampling method because it was difficult to put them in any form of order and also some of them were not ready to participate because they fear that the researcher could be a police agent who might end up arresting them. The selection criteria allowed the researcher to get a representative sample of the participants in the areas as the sample was always above 10% at each site, which gave an average of 13%.

Table 4. 1:Gender Profile and Sample Size of Respondents in the Research

Site	No. Males	No. Females	Total No.
Mucheke Home Industry	33	11	44
Zvigayo home Industry	12	7	19
Pangolin home industry	8	3	11
City centre	20	6	26
Total	73	27	100

Source: Survey 2016

This method of selecting respondents minimised bias as it gave all members of the population a chance to be selected into the sample at a particular time, (Scott and Smith 1975, Jones 1955, Johnstone 1989, Marshall 1996). Random sampling, if performed in the right manner, will produce true and justifiable data that can allow correct inferences to the population, (Johnstone 1989, Godambe 1982, Scott and Smith 1975). Johnstone (1989) further argues that random sampling can allow the researcher to make correct conclusions that are justifiable. Godambe (1982) added that data from random sampling is robust against possible departure from the model and has minimum biases and variances. The method, therefore, allowed efficiency in making inferences which are precise and optimal. Randomisation also allows the researcher to produce data that has greater validity to analysis and this allowed for good inferences, (Johnstone 1989). Randomisation also ensures representativeness of the data as it ensures that the sample drawn from the population does not belong to any relevant subset whether recognised or otherwise, (Johnstone 1989, Marshall 1996). Marshall, (1996), further argues that randomised selection of respondents will provide the best opportunity to generalise results to the population.

Respondents of in-depth interviews were chosen using the purposive sampling method, where respondents were carefully selected targeting those regarded to be information rich so as to give a wealth of data to the research. These people included leaders of organisations, such as, local authorities, community organisations and government ministries. Purposive sampling was preferred in this case because in qualitative research choosing respondents at random will not give the desired results, (Marshall 1996). He further argues that in qualitative research some people are information richer than others hence they provide more insights and understanding of issues and phenomena under inquiry, (Palinkas et.al. 2013). Palinkas et.al. (2013), added that purposive sampling tries to find people that are available and willing to

participate and have the ability to communicate their experiences and opinions. In this way, purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select members that formed the most productive sample to answer the research questions. According to Marshall (1996), choosing someone at random for a qualitative research is like randomly asking a passer-by to repair a car; it is rather good and provident to go for a garage mechanic. So people with information were targeted and these were the people that lead organisations. In-depth interviews, therefore, were done with government officers leading provincial offices in ministries, such as, the Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises, Ministry of Local Government and Urban Development; leaders of civic organisations, such as, Masvingo Resident and Rate Payers Association and Masvingo Informal Sector Association.

4.5 Methods of data collection

In the two methodologies used in data collection, questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data and semi structure interviews and observations formed the qualitative methods employed.

4.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

A semi structured interview is a qualitative method that affords a researcher insight into participants' opinions and experiences, (Denscombe 2010). According to Denscombe (2010), there are four approaches to interviews; the formal conservation interview, the interview guide, the standardised open ended interview and the closed question interviews. However, Fontana and Frey (1994) argue that there are only three; the structured, semi-structured and the unstructured interviews. Structured interviews are pre-established questions with given response options. They are also called closed questions (Denscombe 2010). Unstructured interviews have questions asked following the response given by the interviewee and there is no specific order to be followed. Questions are asked as follow-ups to provide in-depth information about issues under investigation. They usually provide a greater breath of information. Semi-structured interviews comprise pre-set question but with options to ask more questions as follow-ups or further probing questions.

In this research semi-structured interviews were used. They were done with key informants in the city and these included; the town planners, city administrators (mayors, town clerks), and heads of different service delivery departments in local authorities (i.e. engineering, housing and community development, health, treasury and the councilors). Data collected from these key informants included; the planning regulations of the city, their policy on informal sector,

methods of planning, city by-laws, city policies towards informality and plans that are in place to create environmentally conducive work places for the informal sector.

The semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of issues as it gave the researcher an opportunity to probe more from the interviewees on issues that needed more information and explanation (Bhattacherjee, 2012, Denscombe 2010). It also allowed the interviewees to express their ideas in their own way, thereby giving the research a wider perspective of issues under inquiry, rather than imposing ideas on them through structured questions, (Denscombe 2010). Key informants from different sections gave their opinions on varying issues in the city, i.e., those from the health, planning, administration and those from civic organisations representing the informal sector and even the government's point of view as given by various ministry representatives in the city. In this way, it gave the interviewees a platform to express their views. Another very important component of semi-structured interviews that the research utilised was the chance to extract important information from the interviewee's gestures, voices and emotions. The researcher took note of any gestures that were expressed by the interviewees and this added meaning to what they were saying. These are very important in adding meaning to the verbal answers that were provided by the interviewees, (Opdenakker, 2006). Notes were taken during the interviews and the researcher asked for permission to have the interview recorded so as to enhance correct reporting. Some agreed but the majority preferred to speak off the record for they were not sure how the information would be handled later. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to challenge some assumptions, claims, and purposes that were coming up in the interview, thereby allowing the researcher to explore more meaning and verify issues. However, Qu and Dumay (2011) call for caution when using interviews and advise that there is a need to develop understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee. It is important to understand the language and the meaning of words. They further argue that even when the language is the same, words might mean different things among social groups and in different settings. In this case, when such situations arise the researcher should not take issues for granted; he should further probe to get what exactly the interviewee is saying. It is also important to remain neutral in the interview so that the researcher does not disturb the transmission of data from the interviewee to the interviewer or lead the interviewee to certain viewpoints, (Qu and Dumay 2011). However, despite being cautious of the method, Qu and Dumay 2(011) are of the opinion that semi-structured interviews are a very important research tool as they allow the researcher to explore issues

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from different theoretical perspectives and this enriches the research. It is a very flexible research tool capable of disclosing very important and often hidden facets of human phenomenon. Its flexibility comes from its ability to move back and forth in the interview process, thereby allowing the researcher to probe further. This will provide the researcher with means to draw complete narratives and responses contingents to the traits of the interviewer, (Qu and Dumay 2011). They further argue that interviews provide situated responses which are provided from different individual points of view and grounded in specific interactional episodes.

Other in-depth interviews were carried out with civic organisations representing the cause of people in the informal sector, such as, the Masvingo Informal Sector Association(MISA), the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises, and the Small to Medium Enterprise Development Corporation, (SEDCO), to try and establish what these various stakeholders are doing to improve the living and working conditions of people in the informal sector and to establish policies that are in place to improve and integrate informality in the city.

4.5.2 Observations

An observation is another qualitative method that was used in the research. According to Baker (2006), observation is the study of people or phenomena that involves a systematic recording of observable behavior or phenomena. He further argues that because the method can study issues in their natural social environments, it enables the researcher to have an inside view of issues which is a reflection of reality. The research did interfere with the daily operations of people in the informal sector but observations were made in a neutralist way through the employment of a non-participant observation. Baker (2006) further argues that non-participant observation allows the researcher to study issues in their natural and native settings and further argues that this will enable them to understand things from people's perspective. The research employed a non-participant observation so as to minimize disturbance of the natural and native environments of the people under study. The researcher moved around sites of informal activities without telling or alerting people that there was a research going on. The researcher was taking down notes on issues that he was observing as he was making transact walks in these sites. To help with collection of data an observation guide was used to record all the observable issues that were of interest to the study. Data of all observable things and phenomena was recorded on an observation guides. The research also captured some information on camera but care was taken not to disturb people by

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attracting their attention during photographing. Non-participant observation allowed the researcher to be detached from the study group so as to collect data from them in their natural setting. The informal sector participants were allowed to go on with their business as usual while the researcher was documenting the way they were operating. According to Baker (2006), non-participant observation allows the researcher to be involved with the study group but remains detached so as to study their behavior in a natural environment. The non-participant observation allowed the researcher to remain detached from the study group so that information on the operations of the informal sector was collected and interpreted from the researcher's point of view. This method is non-intrusive, hence allows the researcher to observe from an entirely different environment. Baker (2006), however hinted that for effective observation and correct recording of issues, the researcher needs to have a deep understanding of things in their natural environment. In this research things were made easy because the research was done in the researcher's home town where he is very familiar with issues in the city. As the researcher was making the transact walks in these sites he took down notes detailing what the informal sector was doing, and the environments in which they were carrying out their activities. These notes were scrutinised and interpreted using the stated theoretical framework. Cameras were also used to capture information on photographs which were used to describe and explain the environmental conditions found in various workplaces where the informal sector practitioners were operating. Some observations were captured concurrently during interviews. Also captured were the waste disposal systems, the infrastructure of disposing waste and the type of waste found in the area. Observations were also made of sites where these activities are being located to assess their suitability for human settlement and assess the infrastructure provisioning which would ensure environmental safety. Observations were also done to see how compatible the informal activities were among themselves and among other established activities.

The researcher also observed the various activities that were taking place at various sites and tried to see how these relate to other surrounding uses. This helped to establish how these informal activities ensure harmonious existence of activities. Holmes and Bloxham, (2007) agree that observation is a useful research tool as it can capture issues in their naturalistic state and there is very minimal interference from the researcher. They further argue that it allows the research to capture data on issues that might otherwise be left out by interviews or questionnaires. Therefore, observation is a useful complimentary research tool that allows complete capture of data for effective analysis. It also allows data to be interpreted from the

viewpoint of the observer rather than rely on the interviewee as it allowed researchers to see for themselves, (Denscombe 2010). It emanates from the realisation that there are different realities in life, so observation allowed the research to be interpreted from the viewpoint of the researcher and he could compare this with what came from the interviews and questionnaires. The method enriched the depth of inquiry as the researcher was able to observe social issues, group norms and certain behaviors that influence certain environmental practices.

4.5.3 Questionnaires

The questionnaire was the main quantitative research tool that was used in the research. A questionnaire survey allowed the use of the same research instrument over a wide range of people, which allowed the researcher certainty about whether differences between answers were due to real differences between the respondents, (Krosnick 1999). This is in view of the fact that some differences might be due to techniques used in collecting the data. They, therefore, ensure stability of measurement which helps in producing reliable data, (Wentzel-Larson et.al. 2011). Wentzel-Larson et.al. (2011), however, cautioned that questionnaires should not be too long as this will induce fatigue on the respondent which will, in turn, reduce reliability of the data. The questionnaires were administered to selected respondents in the informal sector. Respondents were divided into four sectors, i.e., manufacturing, retail, repair and services; 25 participants were chosen using stratified random sampling. Participants were grouped according to their sectors and then numbered so as to allow stratified random selection. The choice of the questionnaire as the right instrument to collect data came from the realisation that questionnaires are reliable research instruments that can effectively measure the internal consistency in a reproducible manner, (Cameron et.al. 2010; Guindon et.al 2010). Since the same questionnaire was administered in all sections it enabled the researcher to measure consistently the issues under investigation. Its ability to measure internal consistency comes from the ability to measure a single concept to provide a consistent response, (Guindon et.al. 2010). Cameronet.al. (2010), also added that questionnaires' high internal consistency can ensure content validity of data collected. Questionnaires are also a fast and efficient method of a collecting large amount of data with a broad range of information, (Smith et.al. 1979). So, by sampling respondents in the city of Masvingo, the instrument enabled the researcher to reach a cross section of respondents that covered informal activities in town, residential areas and other undesignated places were informal activities were happening. Smith et.al (1979) also commented that with a right

sample and a good response rate, questionnaires can produce data that is representative and can be easily generalised to the population. Due to its ability to cover a wider range of areas and issues, a questionnaire can, therefore, collect large amounts of information at a relatively low cost, (Smith, et.al. 1979). However, Smith et.al. (1979) highlighted that respondents in a questionnaire can provide data that has some biases and subjectivity but this was controlled by combining questionnaire surveys with other verifying methods such as interviews and field surveys. In this case, data from the field observations and interviews was used to test the reliability and authenticity of all data. This helped to reduce these biases. The questionnaire used in this research was mainly of open-ended questions. This allowed people to express their ideas and capture the variety of such ideas. Open-ended questionnaires gave the respondents freedom of choice in terms of expressing responses in their own words and this allowed them to volunteer responses, thereby contributing to comprehensive answers, (Krosnick 1999). Gable (1994) also opinioned that open-ended questionnaires will lead to representativeness, which will provide objective and testable results. The questionnaire also enabled collection of data from a large population and from a number of variables, which allowed the researcher to make conclusions with external validity, (Bhattacherjee 2012). The questionnaire was used as the main data collection tool and all other tools were used to ground truth from data collected by it. This tool was found to be more ideal as it enabled collection of wide ranging data that include personal, business, environmental, economies as well as all data relating to their operations.

4.6 Pilot Study

After completing the construction of research instruments, i.e., the questionnaire, semi-structured interview guide, and the observation guide, these instruments were tested on a few selected participants to test their applicability and suitability, (Forza 2002, Hunt et.al 1982). Pre-testing research instruments enabled the researcher to judge the length of time needed to complete the research instruments, improve on the layout of the research instruments and adjust on sequencing of the research questions (Hunt et.al. 1982). In this research the time taken to complete a questionnaire was ranging from 35 to 55 minutes. The time then averaged 45 minutes after familiarisation and gaining of more experience. The research instruments were tested on eight participants (four interviews and four questionnaires). It also helped in ascertaining some interpretations given to the questions. This is in view of the fact that some questions might be miss-understood because of terminological mix-ups. However, in these research instruments, such issues were not recorded. In the pilot survey, attention was also

given to issues such as comprehension of difficulties and also tests of participants' emotional reaction to some e of the question in the questionnaire. In this research a lot of respondents did not show emotional attachment to the questions; they were giving responses freely. Issues such as resistance, hesitation, uneasiness and other clues were noted in the pre-testing exercise and these were used to improve the questionnaire. Forza (2002) added that piloting the research instruments will allow the researcher to pre-test procedures for handling missing data, non-responses and also help in data cleaning. It will also assist in testing whether the research instruments will manage to accomplish the study objectives. These issues are essential in improving the final research instrument. Pre-testing research instruments will go a long way in highlighting potential pitfalls that both the researcher and the interviewee might fall into and in the process help to avoid such problems, (Hunt et.al. 1982). According to Boynton (2004), piloting a research instrument will help to perfect the research instrument. He further argues that a pilot survey has twin advantages of taking note of the time needed to complete a questionnaire and drawing attention to areas that draw confusion. Krosnick (1999) also agrees with Boynton (2004) and added that piloting research instruments will help to clear confusing questions because pre-testing research instruments will help to identify questions that respondents find difficult to understand or interpret. He further argues that these difficult questions might be badly phrased; hence call for rephrasing or modification. This will improve on the clarity of the questions which will lead to collection of the right information.

The questionnaires were tested on randomly selected informal sector practitioners. These were categorised according to their business sectors i.e. the manufacturing, the service and repair and the retail sectors. Four respondents were chosen at random to test these research instruments. Interview guides were tested on four key informants who again were chosen randomly.

4.7 Ethical considerations

To ensure that the research is done in a professional manner a number of ethical issues were strictly adhered to. The first ethical consideration was that of informed consent. This is where the researcher carefully and truthfully informed the participants about the research. They were assured that their participation was voluntary and they had the right to discontinue if they saw their right being violated. This allowed respondents to participate without fear of non-participation. An informed consent form was signed by the participants and the form clearly spelt out that the participants had the right to withdraw their participation. The

informed consent also gave participants the right to know that they were being researched and the purpose of the research so that the research could not raise unnecessary expectation, (Gilbert 2008). The consent form clearly told the respondents that the research was purely academic and no financial or other benefits were coming from the research.

Another ethical issue that was highly considered in the research was that of ensuring the respondents' right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. This was ensured by protecting the identity of participants in the research. Assuring the participant that confidentiality and anonymity would be highly regarded in the whole exercise gave respondents confidence to give research data truthfully without fearing for their future or well-being, (Bhattacherjee 2012).

The researcher also upheld the ethic of disclosing to the participants the purpose of the research, which is a reason behind carrying out the research and the expected outcome of the research. Thus, the researcher cleared any doubt or curiosity that could have been generated by the research. The researcher upheld a strict professional approach to the research, where the research data was reported as it was without tempering or changing it to suit pre-conceived ideas. Results found after the research were not to have space or influence on the report.

4.8 Data Analysis Methods

Data collected in all these ways was analysed using various tools. The quantitative data was analysed using (SPSS) computer package. Data was coded and entered into the SPSS data analysis programme. The programme analysed data to create frequency tables, cross tabulations, graphs and charts. The data collected using qualitative methods was analysed qualitatively to establish conceptual knowledge arising from the data, values, trends, system behaviors and linkages between various issues. Qualitative data analysis involves transformation of data into succinct statements that describe, explain and /or predict something about what the researcher has studied, (LeCompte 2000). He went on to say that qualitative data analysis involves organisation of data to create interpretations that portray the original phenomenon under study. Data from verbatim recordings and transcribed notes from observations and interviews can be analysed to give a very rich amount of data, (Popeet.al. 2000). Data from qualitative research was categorised into analytical categories as they emerged from the research instruments and then indexed by grouping familiar terms and the unfamiliar terms. This allowed the data to be categorised into analytical categories,

(Popeet.al. 2000). The qualitative data was analysed using Popeet.al.'s(2000) proposed five stages. The first stage was the familiarization stage where the researcher got to know the data. This is called immersion with the raw data, (Pope et.al.2000). The researcher studied his research notes and recordings so as to know the type of data he had collected. This helped to list key issues and recurrent themes from the data. This was followed by identification of thematic frameworks, which involved identifying key issues, concepts and themes by which data could be examined and refereed. The third stage was data indexing, which involved applying thematic frameworks to the data. It also involved making short notes to elaborate index headings. Charting was the fourth stage which involved rearrangement of data into appropriate thematic frameworks. The fifth and last stage was the mapping and interpretation stage, where concepts were defined mapping the range and nature of the phenomena. While Pope et.al. (2000) are of the opinion that qualitative data analysis involves five stages; LeCompte (2000) is of the opinion that it involves only four stages, which are:

a) The tidying stage where data is arranged into files according to type of data, e.g., interview data, questionnaire data, observation data etc.;

b) the second stage involvers finding items from the data, where data is assembled according to units of analysis. LeCompte (2000), called this stage, the sorting and sifting stage, which involves reading of interview notes to identify items relevant to research questions;

c) The third stage involves creation of stable sets of items where items identified from the data are categorised into groups to enable comparison and contrasting of items. This will enable clumping together of similar things;

d) the last stage involves creation of patterns by identifying how the clumps can be formed.

However, Trotman and Jeffre, (2007), are of the opinion that qualitative data analysis can be done in three main stages, which are:

a) Data reduction stage which is mainly capturing field notes and interview transcripts;

b) The data display stage, which produces charts, graphs and matrix networks;

c) Conclusion and verification which is the process of testing validity and reliability. This process involves giving explanations to observed trends and giving evidence that confirms observations.

Qualitative data analysis also involves creation of typologies, associations and variations between themes in order to explain research findings. This will ensure rigor in the research because it focuses on coherent lines of inquiry, (Pope et.al. 2000). Qualitative data analysis allowed data to be related to the research objectives and the emerging themes. When the whole process is carefully done, it will ensure enough rigor to data analysis, which is systematic and labour intensive, but ensures very rigorous data analysis. It produces rich descriptive data that are interpreted through identification, coding, sorting and sifting of themes and texts, giving important findings that can contribute to knowledge and practice, (Chowdhury 2015). He further argues that the strength of qualitative data analysis is the power of language to display a picture of the world in which people discover something about themselves. Figure 4.1 below shows the schematic flow of qualitative data analysis.

Schematic Flow of data Analysis
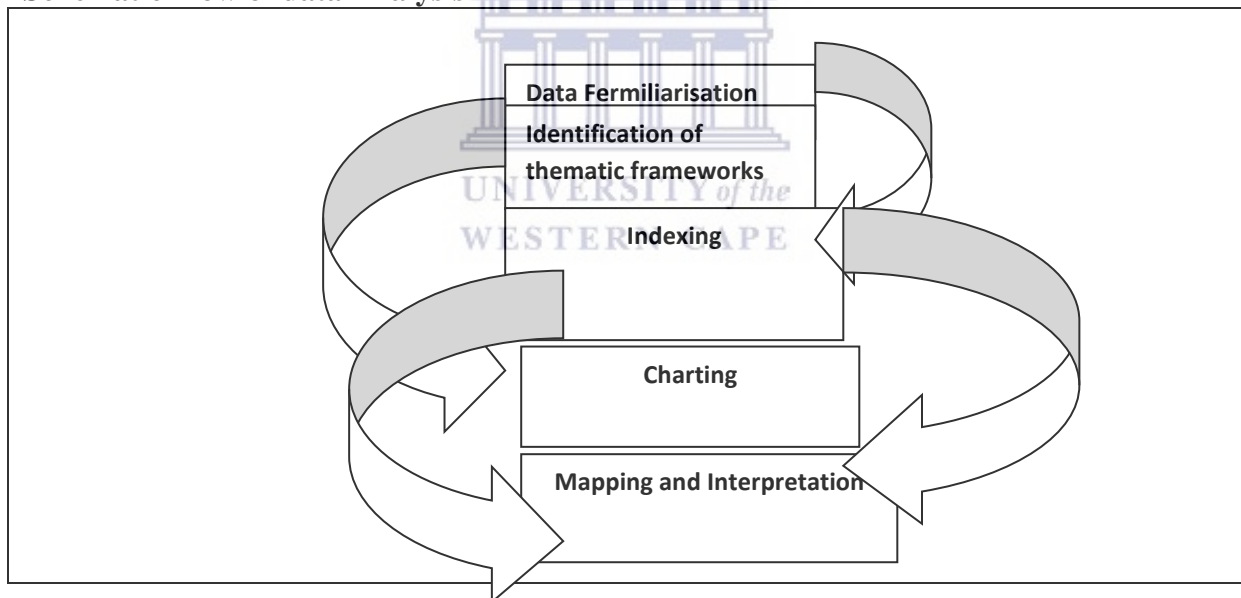
Figure 4. 1: Schematic Flow of Data Analysis

Adopted from Pope et.al. (2000)

4.9 Methodological Challenges and Opportunities.

The research was designed to select respondents for questionnaire using the simple random sampling method, where the each respondent was selected from each sampled stand. The most preferred respondent was the owner of the site. However in some cases it was difficult to identify the owner as most of them were tenets. Faced with such a challenge we will ask for the tenets to select one who will answer the questionnaire. There was no problem with that as the tenets could usually quickly agree to a certain individual to do that. Each of the randomly selected stands was therefore represented by the sample. Another problem that was faced in the research was on the respondents that were selected in hot places where the activities of the informal sector are in total confrontation with the police. It was difficult to apply simple random selection because it was difficult order them. To collect data from them we applied the purposive selection where respondents which were available and willing were selected for the research. Some of those that were conveniently selected in the city centre, it was difficult to convince them that this research was purely an academic research, so some of them were not willing to participate. In such a case the researcher will look for another willing respondent. A lot of persuasions were also applied to convince respondents that were purely for academic purposes. The research was enriched by the application of the mixed methods approach where qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to complement each other in the inquiry. The in-depth interviews allowed the research to collect a lot of data from the inquiry.

Chapter 5: Integrating the informal sector in the City of Masvingo

5.1 Informality and the economy in Masvingo

Cities of the global South have been grappling with the ever increasing cases of informality and the growing incidences of poverty. The Zimbabwean economy is one of the ailing economies in the sub-Saharan Africa region and has been in that state for over a decade now. The economy has been on the downward spiral for a long time and this trend has been associated with an upsurge of informal activities. The once jewel of the African economy and the bread basket of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)took a downward turn towards the turn of the century, when the government of Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in the late 1980s;this resulted in massive retrenchments throughout the country. The situation was exacerbated when the country embarked on the infamous Land Reform Programme that resulted in the international isolation of the country. The economic embargo that was imposed on the country resulted in the drying out of all forms of economic support that the country used to enjoy. This, in turn, accelerated the economic downward spiral that was characterised by shrinking of the formal sector due to massive retrenchments. The Zimbabwean industries are currently operating at a very minimal capacity (20-35%), and this has seen the mushrooming of the informal sector throughout the cities of Zimbabwe as people are looking for alternative livelihood strategies. The informal sector is the only sector that can provide the alternative sources of livelihoods.

The situation in the city of Masvingo is reflective of the state of the economy nationwide where the economic meltdown has forced many people into informality. Table 5.1 shows the opinions of people in the informal sector on the relationship of the state of the economy and the proliferation of informality in the city.

Table 5. 1: People's perception on the state of economy and proliferation of informality in Masvingo

Opinion	Percentage	Frequency
Positive	97	97
Negative	3	3

Source: Survey (2016) (n =100)

The majority (97%) of people are of the opinion that the economic meltdown that was being experienced in the country has been the major driver of people into informality. There were massive retrenchments in the industries due to the adoption of the neo-liberal economic policies, such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in the late 1980s. The economic meltdown caused downsizing of industries and, in some cases, closure of industries and it also resulted in job losses and loss of livelihoods. This then pushed people into the informal sector as people were looking for other livelihood sources. The trend was seen to be similar in all the sectors of informality because there is a general thinking that the economic melt-down is causing proliferation of informality, see table 5.2 below.

Table 5. 2: Sector perspective on economic meltdown and informality in Masvingo

Informal Sector	Did economic meltdown cause upsurge of informality		Total (%)
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Repairs	22	1	23
Manufacturing	23	0	23
Retailing	35	3	38
Service	17	0	17
Total	**97**	**3**	**100**

Source Survey 2016   (n =100)

 In Masvingo, the massive deindustrialisation shrunk the economy to between 20%-30%. The massive deindustrialisation in the city of Masvingo happened in a situation where the industrial base was very thin; therefore, it worsened the situation. The Figure 5.1 shows the economic performance of Zimbabwean industries from 2009-2013.

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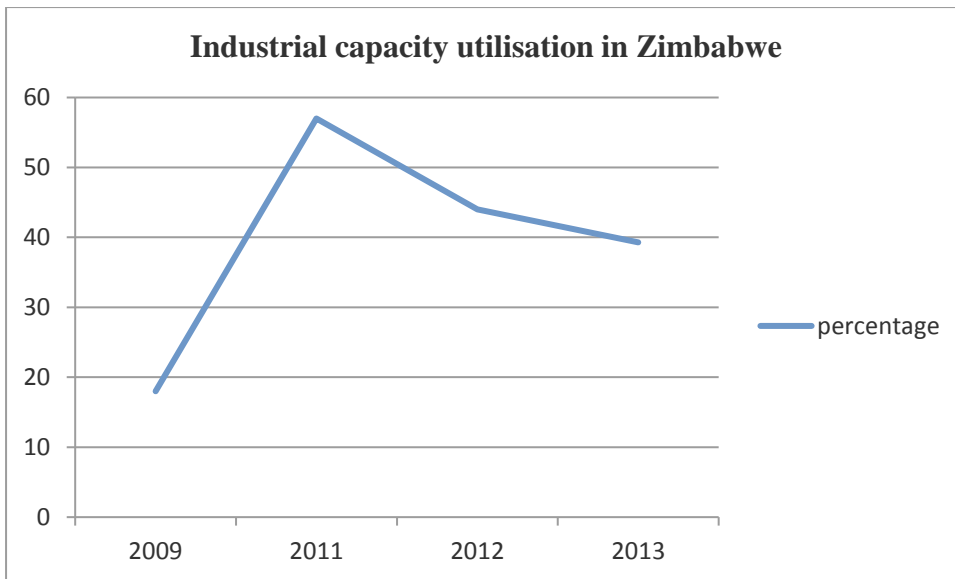
Figure 5. 1: Industrial capacity utilisation in Zimbabwe

Source: Survey (2016).

The eonomic meltdown therefore resulted in massive retrenchments and by 2011, 80% of the people in Zimbabwe wereemployed in the informal sector, (Zimstat 2011). The economy stabilised in 2009 when the country adopted the multi-currency economy in the unity government that was formed after the much disputed 2008 elections.Industry's capacity utilisation started to pick up and now is currently between 35% and 40% and in the city of Masvingo it is between 20% and 30% (Field survey 2016). All these negative economic trends have been responsible for pushing people in the informl sector. Table 5.3below shows the respondents' views on the impact of economic meltdown on Masvingo's economy. The major highlights of the economic meltdown are industrial downsizing, industrial closure, job losses and dwindling levels of incomes.

Table 5. 3: Impact of the economic meltdown in the city of Masvingo

Impact of economic meltdown	Percentage	Frequency
Industry down sizing	97	97
Loss of jobs	95	95
Low income levels	96	96

Source Survey (2016)(n=100)

The industries downsized and others closed down and this resulted in a lot of people moving out of formal employment. The industrial capacities utilisation at one time went down to as low as below 6% in 2009 and the Gross Domestic Product was reduced by 50.3%, (UN 2010). This resulted in the shrinking of the formal sector and loss of sources of livelihoods to the majority of the people. The shrinking of the formal sector saw the rise of the informal activities as people searched for new forms of survival outside the formal sector.

The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme triggered the shrinking of the formal sector and by 1990 the informal sector was employing more than1.5 million people and was already surpassing the employment figures in the formal sector which was pegged at a meager 1.2 million, (Saungweme et.al. 2013). Recent figures show that the majority (85%) of people in Zimbabwean cities are now employed in the informal sector, (Zimstat 2011). In Masvingo the informal sector is contributing 80% of employment and claiming to occupy between 85% and 90% of the city space, thereby showing that informality is taking up the most of the economic space in the city and is becoming the economic activities driving the economy. The industry in the city of Masvingo is also said to be operating on average, 20% where some are below 10%. Most of the industries that were major sources of employment in the city, which include; Steel Makers, Steam Team, Cold Storage Commission and Wallen, have since completely folded their operations and most of the workers who were employed in these companies are into informal trading.

The international isolation of the country and the resultant drying of international sources of finance created a very hostile and volatile economy in the country, exacerbating the economic melt-down, characterised by galloping inflation, which at one time peaked at 213 million percent in 2009 (UN 2010). This galloping inflation eroded real incomes of the working

majority in Zimbabwe and this pushed people into diversification livelihood strategies by moving into informality as a way of improving their well-being. The level of inflation experienced in Zimbabwe could not allow people to survive on a single source of livelihood, so even people who were formerly employed were also involved in informal activities as they were supplementing their eroded incomes.

In Zimbabwean cities, poverty levels reached an unprecedented level as it peaked to over 80% (Roy 2005). The unprecedented level of poverty and the shrinking formal sector forced the majority of the people in Zimbabwean cities into informal sector as they searched for alternative livelihood strategies. All the above factors combined to force people in cities of Zimbabwe, including Masvingo, to engage in informal activities for survival. The majority of the people in Zimbabwean cities are into the informal sector as more than 80% of Zimbabwean jobs were informalised, (UN 2010a). Faced with these debilitating effects of poverty and with no sign that the formal sector will be revived soon, many people have to engage in informal activities for survival. According to this research, the majority of people in the city of Masvingo were forced into informality because of factors which include; lack of employment, retrenchment, good working environment and the need to supplement dwindling incomes (See table 5.4below). In the city of Masvingo, the formal sector is now only accounting for a mere 20% of employment and the rest of people are either into the informal sector or unemployed.
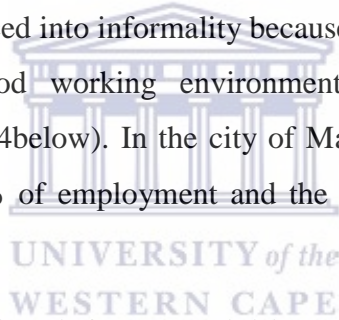
Table 5. 4: Reasons for getting into informal activities by sector of informality

Reason	Sector of informality				Total (%)
	Repairing (%)	Manufacturing (%)	Retailing (%)	Servicing (%)	
No employment	17	22	33	11	**83**
Retrenchment	2	1	2	1	**6**
Good working environment	2	0	1	6	**9**
Supplement income	2	0	0	0	**2**
Total	**23**	**23**	**36**	**18**	**100**

Source: Survey (2016) (n =100)

The city of Masvingo has failed to generate economic activities that can drive the economy as shown in Table 5.4, which shows that the majority of the people in the informal sector

have failed to get employment in the formal sector, hence they have resorted to the informal sector for their livelihood. The informal sector has, therefore, appeared to be the only source of livelihood for most of the urban people. The city of Masvingo like any other city in Zimbabwe and the sub-Saharan Africa region has failed to generate employment opportunities that will give its citizens livelihood strategies that are more sustainable. According to Kamete (2017b), cities in the sub-Saharan Africa region have not been able to create employment opportunities for their citizens and this pushed most of the people into informal activities. Cities of the global South have also been facing a tumultuous economic environment that forced most of the city inhabitants into informal activities, (Kamete 2013, 2017b, Roy 2005, Potts 2008, 2006). Johnston-Anumonwo and Doano (2011) added that most cities of the global South are reeling under heavy debt that has stunted their economic growth and this has pushed a lot of people into the informal sector. Johnston-Anumonwo and Doano (2011) further argue that the economic situations prevailing in most cities in the global South have been a result of the neo-liberal economic policies that have been used to drive economic development in these cities. Such policies, they argue, are not accommodative to the needs of the poor as they do not have economic activities that can improve the conditions of the urban poor. According to this research, Masvingo city is not an exception as most people have shown that they have been forced into the informal sector due to two main factors; lack employment opportunities and retrenchment due to the economic meltdown (See Table 5.4.).
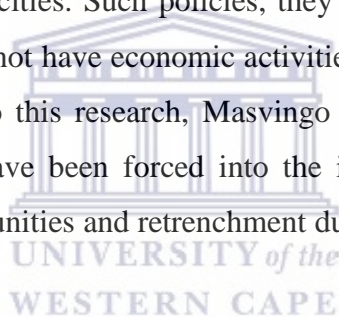
The failure by the economy of the city of Masvingo to create employment has been felt by all citizens across the gender divide as it has forced both the males and females into informal activities for survival. This has resulted in the elevation of informal activities from being activities of survivalists to be the livelihood strategy in the city. Early scholars on informality regarded informal activities as activities of the marginalised groups (i.e., the women and children), (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987, Rogerson 2004, Romatet 1983); however in the city of Masvingo males are dominating (73%) the informal sector. Table 5.5below shows the gender composition of people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo.

Table 5. 5 Gender composition in various sectors of informality

Gender	Nature of informality				Total (%)
	Repair (%)	Manufacturing (%)	Retailing (%)	Service (%)	
Males	22	21	24	6	73
Females	1	2	13	11	27
Total	23	23	37	17	100

Source survey (2016)(n=100)

The informal sector is now dominated by males who are involved in various informal activities that range from manufacturing, repairs and service provision. The informal sector has developed to be the main economic activity for the majority of the urban dwellers as it is providing livelihoods to the majority of the people. One of the representatives of the informal sector commented on the nature of informality in the city of Masvingo and said...

The informal sector has developed to be a strong sector today because it is no longer a sector for women and the aged but consists of even the highly educated people and the leaders in various sectors in the city of Masvingo...... even the who is who of Masvingo are in the informal sector.

The representative of the informal sector also revealed that the informal sector in the city of Masvingo is quite heterogeneous in nature as it is made up of people of different backgrounds and more importantly the very important people in the, city such, as the leaders of various sectors, such as, the police, the city council, government ministries and the private sector are all involved in informal activities. This also illustrates that the informal sector has developed to be a sector that is providing a source of livelihood to the majority of the city dwellers,(Potts 2008, Kamete 2017a, 2013, Yaw 2007, Devey et.al. 2006, Portes and Shaufler 1993).

The informal sector is no longer a sector for the rural migrants who have failed to secure employment in the formal sector but it is a sector that is providing livelihoods to the majority of the urban dwellers, (Kamete 2007, Potts 2008, Roy 2005, 2009). In his studies in the cities of Ghana, Yaw (2007), found that the informal sector in Ghana was playing a very important

role in the creation of employment and the government moved in to help in the development and growth of the informal sector by providing skills that would allow unemployed people to start their own enterprises, thereby allowing the informal sector to contribute to the development of the country.

In cities of the sub-Saharan Africa region the informal sector has been the major source of employment contributing an estimated average of 75% of the non-agricultural workforce, (Jackson 2012). In South Africa, the informal sector has been seen to be the panacea to employment creation and a solution to growth problems and they have taken a deliberate policy through their white paper to provide incentives to stimulate growth in the informal sector, (Valodia 2001). The South African government has put forward a suite of initiatives that are aimed at stimulating development of the informal sector and these initiatives included provision of financial support services to the informal sector, provision of access to government procurement systems and provision of other non-financial support that is needed for the development of the informal sector. All these initiatives were aimed at promoting the informal sector after realising that the sector can play a very important role in their economy, especially in employment generation. In Masvingo, the situation is not all that rosy for the informal sector because there are no measures that are in place to promote the development of the informal sector despite the huge prevalence of informal activities.

In cities where the informal sector was given enough support the sector proved to be very successful to the extent that they were able to produce goods and services that matched international standards, for example, in Nairobi, Kenya, the informal activities were producing goods that managed to penetrate international markets, (Sonobe et.al. 2011, Meijer and van de Krabben 2018). Meijer and van de Krabben (2018) further argue that in de Achitehoek a region in the Dutch nation, the inclusion of informality was enhanced by changes in the planning system that adopted a more participatory approach. However in Masvingo this has not been fully utilised because the city is dominated and directed by neo-liberal urbanisation policies. These policies, are responsible for much of the deindustrialisation processes that, in turn, have caused wide spread poverty in the city. The urban populace in the city responded by entering the informal sector for survival. The informal sector in most cities of Zimbabwe has been a result of increasing incidents of poverty in the country. According to Potts (2006), by 2003 poverty levels in Zimbabwe's cities had reached unprecedented levels, where more than 72% of urban households were

regarded as poor and 51% of them were regarded as very poor. Such levels of poverty pushed most of the urban people in the cities of Zimbabwe into the informal sector.

The shrinking of the formal sector saw the corresponding rise of the informal sector as the retrenched workers were employing their skills to earn a living outside the formal sector. In the city of Masvingo, the informal sector has virtually taken over the city space because they are now regarded as the industry of the city in the wake of massive deindustrialisation. The Fig. 5.2 and 5.3 below show the prevalence of informal activities in the city centre of Masvingo and the residential areas of Mucheke, Pangolin, Hillside and Runyararo. Table 5.6shows the estimated numbers of people in the informal sector at various points in the city of Masvingo.

Figure 5. 2: **Prevalence of Informality in Masvingo**

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 5. 6: Composition of informal activities in the city centre of Masvingo

Area	Type and number of informal activities			
	Traders	Manufacturing	Street vendors	Pirate taxis
Croco Motors bus stop	-	-	66	22
OK Supermarket	-	-	56	36
Pick and Pay Supermarket	-	-	135	49
Spar Supermarket	-	-	35	15
Civic Centre	-	-	55	-
Flea Market	160	-	75	-
District Admin offices	-	-	49	20
Post Office	30	-	57	-
Open spaces	122	17	7	-

Source: Survey (2016)
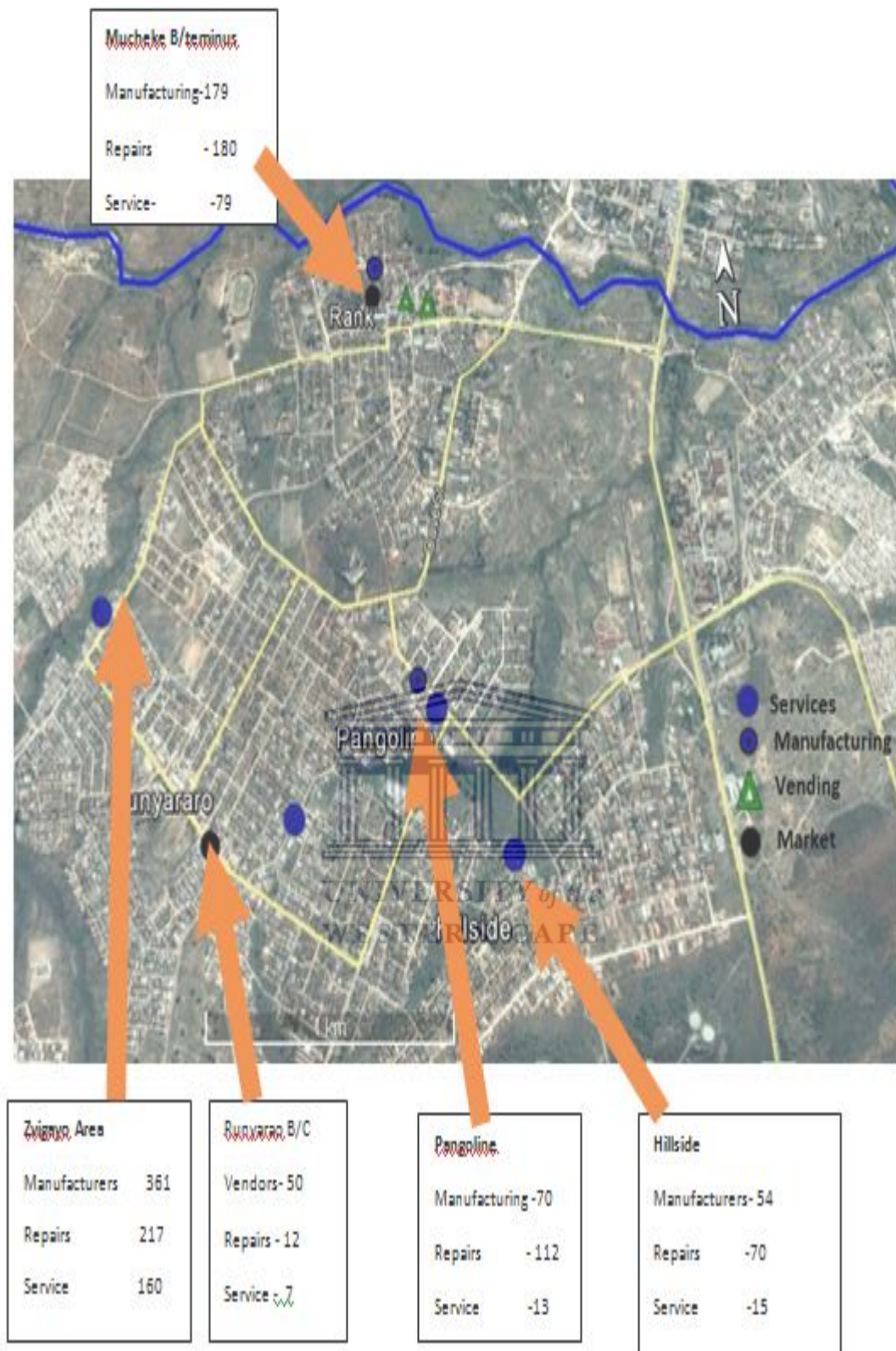
Figure 5. 3 : Informality at different sites in the high density residential area

According to several key informants in the city, the informal sector has moved in to take the gap that was created by the folded formal industries. The informal sector has even moved into the city to take much of the prime spaces in the city. One of the key informants asserts…

that the folding of the formal sector has created opportunities for the informal sector to occupy prime space in the city.

He further argues that approximately 80%-90% of the city space is now been taken over by the informal sector because the formal sector has either been folding up or downsizing and also most of the surviving economic activities in the city have not been able to utilise all their spaces. As a result, most of these spaces have been taken up by the informal sector. However, the coming in of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo has created planning and management problems in the city. For example, the city center is purely a commercial zone but some manufacturing activities are now done in the city centre, thereby creating a poor mix of uses, which in turn, creates a planning problem. However, the city is not taking any action against these practices but they are a potential management problem as the city's service does not cover such activities in the city centre. The planning in the city is not doing anything to integrate these new space users in the city.

The informal sector in the city of Masvingo has also developed to be one of the cash cow of the city in the face of massive deindustrialisation that has been experienced in the city. The city's industrial capacity utilisation is ranging from 20% -30%.The people in the informal sector, by virtue of taking up spaces in the city, are the ones that are helping the property owners to pay rates to the council and also allow them to continue to receive revenue from their properties. These properties could otherwise be vacant because the formal sector has not been able take utilise them. Directly, the city council is also collecting from the informal sector, a daily levy of US$1.00 from every informal practitioner, to allow them to carry out their activities at the *Chitima* market and some other places in the city. It is estimated that there are more than 30,000 vendors in the *Chitima* market alone and each vendor is charged a daily levy ofUS$1.00. This translates into US$30,000.00 going into the city council coffers every day. This could be a very good source of income if properly managed. One of the informal practitioners in the *Chitima* market commented that.....

we are contributing a lot of money to the city council .... more than $30 000.00 a day to the city council but we are still operating in open spaces and we do not have recognised land rights to spaces that we are operating.... worse still we do not have ablution facilities here.

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It is clear therefore that the role the informal sector is playing to the economy of the city of Masvingo cannot be over emphasised. The informal sector has also been playing a critical role to the city in terms of creating employment to the people that might otherwise be redundant due to economic difficulties. It is estimated that more than 80% of the people in the city of Masvingo are into informal activities.

The informal sector has been used to diversify livelihood strategies that can go a long way in improving the well-being of the city inhabitants, especially the urban poor, who are in most cases the worst victims in times of economic crises. Their livelihoods are easily affected by the economic crisis; hence the diversification of livelihoods can help a lot in improving their well-being. In most Zimbabwean cities, due to the economic meltdown, the informal sector has grown to become the economy of the city because of massive deindustrialisation and downward spiral of the economy, (Jones 2010, Kamete 2007, 2013, Potts 2008, Fields 1990, Gurpegui and Robertson 2018). The informal sector has developed to an economic safety net that is helping to address economic ills such as unemployment and economic under performance that has been experienced in cities of the global South, (Gurpegui and Robertson 2018). In other cities of the global South, the informal sector has been well natured and they have created smart linkages with the formal sector and in that way, the two economies have been complementing each other in development, (Alford and Feige 1989). Alford and Feige (1989) further argue that the informal sector is a very important sector in economies of the cities of the global South, where their omission in the national statistical record has created some statistical illusions that economies of the global South are in a terrible state. They further argue that mainstreaming the informal economy will make a big different in economies of the global South. Jackson (2012), in her studies of informality in cities of Ghana, observed that the informal sector is a very important sector of the economy, which can no longer be regarded as the activities of the poor and the disadvantaged, but it is a sector that even the highly educated people are participating in and she also observed that some practitioners in the informal sector are earning wages that can match and sometimes surpass those in the formal sector. It is, therefore, evident that the informal sector is a critical economic mover component that can contribute to the growth of the economy. Therefore, in the city of Masvingo, where the majority of people are into informality, the provision of support to the sector will go a long way in creating environments that permit growth of the informal sector, which will, in turn, lead to the growth of the economy of the city. Interventions such as these will provide fertile ground for development and growth of the

informal sector and will also help in empowering the urban poor because they will develop the much needed skills that will improve their human capital.

In situations where the informal sector has been developed well, it was also observed that it can be a good source for earning the much needed foreign currency because they can produce goods and services that can even match international standards. For example, in Nairobi, Kenya, the *Juakali* informal activities are able to produce goods that penetrate the international market (Sonobe et.al.2011). In so doing, they can contribute a lot in the development of the country and the city. Cities of the global South can no longer afford to put up development initiatives that shun activities of the informal sector because informality is the new way of urbanisation (UN Habitat 2010a, 2010b, Roy 2005, 2009, Kamete 2013, Sekhani and Kaushik 2018, Mahendra and Seto 2018). Kamete (2013) further argues that informality is now the alternative developmental initiative because the formal sector has failed to generate enough employment for the ever growing job seekers. Sekhani and Kaushik (2018) added that informal integration is a critical dimension in an inclusive city because so many people are now involved in the informal sector so which warrant their inclusion in city governance. Cities of the global South, therefore, need a paradigm shift by adopting the urbanisation processes that are inclusive and reflective of the activities that are happening in their cities, rather than using the traditional planning methods that exclude the majority of the urban poor.
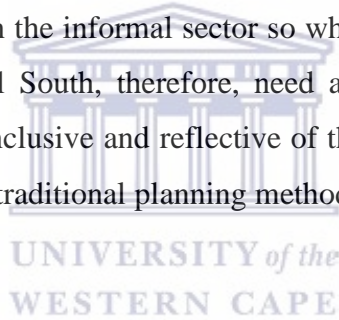
5.2. Informality and policy: The nexus and disjuntures in Masvingo City
5.2.1. Informality in Zimbabwe: a historical perspective

The government of Zimbabwe, after the international isolation, has realised that the informal sector can contribute significantly to the economy of the country and has made a deliberate move to craft a policy that promotes the growth and development of activities of the informal sector in the country. The government has realised that the informal sector can play a critical role not only to the economies of the cities but also to the national economies. It is the government of Zimbabwe's acknowledgement that the informal sector can make meaningful contribution to employment generation, economic empowerment and poverty reduction, where the sector has been able to generate more than US$7.4 billion annually, (FinScope 2012, Government of Zimbabwe 2002b). It is, therefore, a government policy that the informal sector be developed to become the nerve centre for sustainable economic development and growth in Zimbabwe. As such, broad based measures were introduced by

the government of Zimbabwe to try and support the informal activities so that a vibrant, strong, sustainable and dynamic informal sector is developed and integrated into the mainstream economy of the country.

The move towards integration of the informal sector is a noble one especially in view of needs for inclusive city and giving the people in the informal sector their right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts. This also augurs well with widely the held view among cities of the global South that the informal sector is the new way of urbanisation and the need to embrace it, (Roy 2005, 2009; Potts 2006, 2008; Kamete 2011, 2013, Mahendra and Seto 2018, Sadikoglu and Ahsen 2018). Sadikoglu and Ahsen (2018) further argue that urban transformation cannot be adequately said without the issues of informality.

The government of Zimbabwe has also realised that it was futile to continue to marginalise the informal sector, especially in view of the contribution it has been making to the economy in terms of creating employment and reduction of poverty. The shrinking formal sector and its failure to create enough employment for the thousands of school leavers have made informality an urban imperative. Urban areas are like melting pots because of their cosmopolitan nature in terms of the diversity of people living them. There are various groups of people who live and use urban areas and these people have diverse needs and characters which need to be catered for by city authorities in terms of addressing their needs. According to Harvey (2003, 2008, 2012), city authorities in the 21st century need to move away from catering for only a few elite groups to address the diverse groups of our cities. The various groups in the urban areas need to enjoy the privilege of making cities according to the desires of their hearts just like any other citizen of the city, (Harvey 2003, 2008). All city inhabitants have the right to be part of the collective effort to make a city they live in, (Lefebvre 1996, 1968; Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). However, that being the principle as espoused by the theories of the right to the city, inclusive city and sustainable city, the informal sector remained marginalised in various sectors of the city's business in the city of Masvingo as the city has not been able to support the growth and development of the informal sector.

The policy on informality in Zimbabwe was crafted by the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises and it is called the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise Policy of 2002. The policy was made after realisation that the small, micro and medium enterprises were contributing over 60% of the Gross Domestic Product and more than 50% of employment, (Government of Zimbabwe 2002b). The opportunities for economic development that are

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offered by the informal sector are, therefore, real and can be of benefit to the city and the national economy. In sub-Saharan Africa, the informal sector has been recorded to be contributing more that 75% of the non-agricultural workforce, (Kamete 2017; Jackson 2012, 2014; Roy 2009). In some countries in the global South, even higher contributions have been recorded, for example, in Ghana the informal sector is contributing 89% of employment and in Kenya it is accounting for 71% of the skills development, (Jackson 2012). In Zimbabwe the contribution should be higher by now because of the deindustrialisation process that has been experienced in the country and the increasing incidents of urban poverty where unemployment is estimated to be between 80%-94%, (UN 2010a). According to a recent survey by FinScope (2012) on small, micro and medium enterprises in Zimbabwe, the informal sector has grown because more than 5.7 million people in the country are involved in informal activities and they have been generating over US$7.4 billion annually.

The government has, therefore, proposed a wide range of activities to try and mainstream the informal activities into the mainstream economy. They have realised that the informal sector can be a critical sector in driving the economy of Zimbabwe, which has been suffering from years of deindustrialisation. The adoption of these economic reforms resulted in decline of the Gross Domestic Product by 37% between 1998 and 2006, and in the same period more than 72% of the population was living below the poverty datum line, (UN-Habitat 2010a). Ever since the adoption of the economic reforms, the economy has been bleeding as a lot of people were retrenched and a lot of companies downsized and some eventually closed down. Employment figures plummeted from 1 241 800 in 1998 to 1 012 900 in 2002 and it is estimated that more than 80% of the manufacturing sector either closed down or downsized, (UN-Habitat 2010a). The massive retrenchments that were experienced throughout the country left many of the urban people with very limited livelihood strategies; as a result, they turned to the informal sector for survival.

The proliferation of informal activities in most urban areas was at first met with stiff resistance from the urban local authorities as they regarded these activities to be unregulated and, therefore, were operating against the pursued neo-liberal urbanisation policies. In the early days of independence, cities in Zimbabwe were adhering to the strict British engineering planning standards that gave no room for any unplanned activities in the city, (Kamete 2007, 2013; Potts 2005, 2006, 2008). These planning principles never tolerated the activities of the informal sector (Potts 2005, 2006; Kamete 2011, 2013). The people in the informal sector were not allowed in the city, hence there were numerous raids and

confiscations of goods of informal traders in the cities, (Kamete 2007, 2011, 2013). This attitude towards the informality denied the people in the informal sector their right to earn a livelihood in cities they live in and also denied them the right to contribute to building a city according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2003, 2008; Lefebvre 1996). Lefebvre (1968), in his studies of French cities, argues that every city inhabitant has the right to appropriate city space and use it according to their lifestyles. He argued that, appropriation of city space means that the city inhabitants (which include the urban poor) are accorded the use values of city space rather than the exchange and profit values that usually deny other sectors of the urban society access to city space. Allowing people in the informal sector access to city space will not only give them a source of livelihood but will go a long way in giving them economic justice, (Fisher et.al. 2013). Harvey (2012) further argues that it is important for all the city inhabitants to be afforded the claims to urban space and this can only be done when they are allowed to enjoy unallienated rights to contribute to building the city that is more after the desires of their hearts. Therefore, policies that deny people in the informal sector a chance to undertake their activities in the city center deny them their right to the city, especially the right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts. Such policies are, therefore undemocratic, repressive and restrictive, (Huchzermeyer 2011). Cities need to adopt urbanisation policies that include all the city inhabitants so that all the people in the city enjoy the same privileges regardless of the gender, economic background and social status (Harvey 2003, Lefebvre 1996).
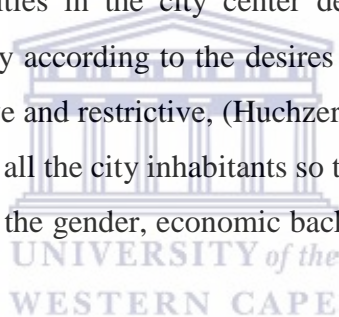
The adoption of British types of planning systems, therefore, resulted in disenfranchisement of the majority of the urban poor in using urban spaces. It meant suppression of all activities that existed outside the purview of the operating plans; as a result, all informal activities were prohibited in most urban local authorities. However these restrictive laws failed to contain the mushrooming of informal activities as they continue to grow regardless of the hostility and prohibitive environments, (Potts 2005).

After adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes, the government of Zimbabwe was in a policy dilemma and adopted a sympathetic attitude towards informal activities because they could not continue with the neo-liberal economic policies that have been responsible for massive retrenchment and they now wanted a new policy that could address the effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. As a result, the government and the local authorities just turned a blind eye towards the operations of the informal sector, (Potts2005, 2006). Though there was no clear policy legalising the

operations of the sector they seemed to be accepting their operations but there was no instrument that regularised and legalised informal activities. City authorities did not promulgate any by-laws that regularised the operations of informal activities. They just allowed them to operate even though the existing city regulations regarded them as illegal activities. In some cities, local authorities such as the Municipality of Gweru, were even renting out small pieces of land to the informal agricultural activities and people were chargedUS$1.00 every agricultural season. Such behaviours seem to accept the operations of informal activities but there was no legal instrument or policy framework that supported the operations of informal activities. This put the operations of informal activities in a very precarious position as they continued to live facing the risk of being evicted because of their illegality.

This risk of operating without a policy or legal support system was finally experienced in 2005 when the government revoked the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act that criminalised all operations of informal activities. Equipped with this piece of legislation, the government ordered the demolition of all informal activities in the urban areas in an operation code named Operation Restore Order/ Murambasvina. All activities that were operating outside the approved master and local plans were erased to the ground. This resulted in massive suffering of the people as they lost their accommodation and sources of livelihoods, (Kamete 2007, Potts 2005, 2006, Jones 2010). The events leading to the Operation Murambasvina were a total disregard to the right of the people in the informal sector to use urban space. They were denied the right to use urban space, which was contrary to the dictates of the theory of the right to the city, which calls for all citizens to enjoy access to the city. They were denied their right to shelter and the right to make a livelihood in the city, which are fundamental basic human rights. Fundamentally, they were denied their right to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts, which is a critical right for every city inhabitant, (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012, Lefebvre 1968. 1996). In addition, the right to the city allows city inhabitants to demand what they want from the city authorities. According to Simone (2005) the right to the city should go beyond just consuming what the city authorities provide or just to be maintained and serviced in the city, but they should demand realisation of specific changing aspirations that should allow these citizens to pursue aspiration that arise at particular times. So when the people in the informal sector are devising livelihood strategies that offer them sustainable livelihoods they should be allowed to pursue such livelihood strategies. When people in the informal sector are forced to conform to

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certain standards or recomposed into certain characteristics, it is a violation of their right to the city because they are denied the right to pursue their changing aspirations, (Simone 2005). According to Kamete (2017b), this forced recomposing and conformity to stated standards is called pernicious assimilation because people in the informal sector are forced to adopt standards that are difficult to adhere to and these efforts are meant to destroy all vestiges of informality. Huchzermeyer (2011) added that most cities in the global South are in continuous attempts to plaster-under all forms of informality in their quest to build world class cities and in pursuit of neo-liberal urbanisation policies, but all efforts have proved to be in vain as informality has grown to be the new urbanisation process and there will never be a situation where there will be cities without informality.

After Operation Murambasvina, the government realised that it had made a serious blunder in its pronouncement of the anti-informal sector policy. There were massive sufferings that were inflicted on the affected people as most of them were sleeping in the open and their livelihoods were destroyed. Approximately, more that 2.4 million people were affected by the Operation Murambasvina, (Potts 2005). This forced the government to make an about turn on the issues of the informal sector and they decided to revisit the shelved proposed policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises of 2002. The policy was taken to be an important development policy as they tried to recollect the critical role that the informal sector can contribute to the economy. The government proceeded to establish a Ministry of Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises and it was tasked with the responsibility of spear-heading the development and integration of the informal activities into the mainstream economy. In the policy the government and its stakeholders were to provide all the needed incentives for the integration of the informal sector into the mainstream economy. The policy was meant to address constraints that were being faced by the people in the informal sector so as to allow for the development and growth of the sector. The policy included interventions, such as, provision of work spaces to people in the informal sector and provision of necessary infrastructure and institutional mechanisms that could facilitate the development of the informal sector. As a result, an Act of parliament called the Small Enterprise Development Corporation Amendment Act (chapter 24:12) was enacted in 2011, which was supposed to work together with the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise Policy to create the right environment for the development and growth of the informal sector. Apart from providing work spaces and institutional support the policy also advocated for the provision of infrastructure that will allow the informal sector to work in more safe and liveable spaces. So

the government and its supporting agencies (which are local authorities) were supposed to provide water and energy infrastructure, build business incubators, industrial parks, factory shells and innovation hubs that would allow the development and growth of the informal sector. The entire array of interventions was supposed to support the development and integration of the informal sector into the mainstream economy. So, it is the government policy at national level that the activities of the informal sector are permissible in the urban and rural local authorities. What remains to be seen is how the informal activities and the policy are received at the sub-national levels, i.e. the local authority level. The coordination of such national policies is very critical if their success is to be realised. Strategies need to be in place that will see the cascading of such policies from the national level to the sub-national level.

5.2.2. Situating Masvingo City's informal sector in the national informal policy framework.

Masvingo, as a city, despite the availability of a national policy on the informal sector, does not have a documented city position on issues of informality. The city operates on piece meal basis that does not give a clear position of the city on the issues of informality. This places the issues of informality as peripheral developmental issues in the city because there is no policy that drives and directs the development of informality. It is a national policy that the government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and Cooperative Development and the various stakeholders that include, the private and quasi-government organisations that they should strive to create an enabling environment for the growth of the informal sector. The situation on the ground in the city of Masvingo shows a policy discordant between what is expected at the national level and what is happening at the sub-national level. While the policy at the national level calls for embracing and integration of informal activities, a completely different thing is happening in the city of Masvingo. The city does not have a policy that legalises informal activities neither do they have strategies to operationalise the national policy on informality at the local level. The only instrument that the city has is a by-law that is supposed to regulate the operation of the informal activities but there is no instrument that can be used to develop and grow activities of the informal sector. The by-law is rather a repressive instrument that is meant to suppress and stunt the development of informality. The city seems to be operating on a reactionary basis rather than being pro-active and forward-planning to address the phenomenon of informality. For example, the city council has to establish a temporary site to house the informal traders that

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were trading at the railway station in the downtown areas of the city. The identified place is not a good site because it fails all tests of site analysis for human settlement. The area is just like a dumping area for informal activities because the area can hardly be serviced. It is difficult to build infrastructure on that land. According to operators in the informal sector, the city of Masvingo has never made any attempt to plan for the informal sector but people in the informal sector have for long been agitating for access to urban space in the city with no satisfactory response from the city authorities. The fights for the cause of people in the informal sector are met with stiff resistance from the city authorities who are determined to push all forms of informality out of the city centre.

People in the informal sector have been occupying vacant spaces in the city but the city council has never made any attempt to regularise their operations or provide services in most of the areas in which these people are operating. The city council has, however, been involved in running battles with people in the informal sector and has been confiscating their wares in an attempt to drive them out of the city. The running battles are a result of the provisions of the operating pieces of legislations that do not allow informality in the city. For example, the provisions of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (RTCP Act) do not allow any operator in the city to carry out any business without a permit from the local authority. Therefore, all informal operators, who operate without a permit, are always on the run from the municipal police who are trying to enforce this legislative instrument. This piece of legislation is also supported by one of the city by-laws that were crafted by the city council to deal with issues of informality, which categorically disallows any unlicensed activities in the city. However, legislations are made by people and for the people, which means that the council should be flexible enough to accommodate the emerging livelihood strategies especially considering that informality is an urban reality (Roy 2005, 2009). The informal sector is claiming they are now occupying between 80-90% of the city's space, which therefore means that the city should do something to promote these activities that are driving their economies. It is also provided in the national policy on small to medium enterprises that local authorities, which are important stakeholders in the integration of informal activities, should create an enabling environment for the development and growth of the informal sector. It is, therefore, of no use to continue to stick to legislative instruments that do not auger well with the new realities in the city. Informality is now the new form of urbanisation, hence it should be embraced and integrated in the city and the integration should allow them to access space in the city centre.

According to one interviewee in the informal sector, the city council has never shown the willingness to implement the national policy on informality. They seem to be agreeing to the policy in principle but they have never shown actions that reflect that they are implementing the government policy on informality. Despite cities being key stakeholders in the policy, the city of Masvingo has not moved an inch towards fulfilling any of the provisions of the policy that enables the development of the informal sector. One of the key informants commented that.....

the city council has never shown willingness to embrace informality. They are just paying leap service to the issue of informality .... in meetings they agree to embrace the issue of informality but in practice there is nothing they are doing to show that they embrace informality as pronounced by the national policy. ...... plans that the government made to construct vending shell, and development of incubator factory shells for people in the informal sector have been shelved ever since 2005despite the fact that people in the informal sector have been operating in the open and on make-shift structures.

The idea of giving space to people in the informal sector has been viewed by the city council as political machinations of some people who want to gain political mileage by supporting the cause of these people. Viewed in this political discourse, the people in the informal sector are, therefore, viewed as opposition and pressure groups that are only bent on stifling the neo-liberal developments in the city. The city is, therefore, ready and fully equipped to oppose any move towards development of informal activities in the city centre of Masvingo. This view point, according to most people in the informal sector, is the one that is causing most of the contestations that are arising between the informal sector and the city of Masvingo. As a result, the people in the informal sector do not trust the city council because they have never fulfilled their promises. One of the practitioners in the informal sector commented that..... *all the meetings that we have held with the city council have just happened to be talk-shows because after promising us a lot, nothing has been put into action or materialised from such meetings.... they are just promises up to now.*

One of the issues that remain unresolved is the land that was set aside for informal activities long back in 2005 after the Operation Restore Order/ Murambasvina, which has failed to develop despite the fact that the government contributed some inputs for the development of such infrastructure. The majority of the people in the informal sector continue to work in open spaces exposed to all vagaries of the weather but developments to that allocated land

remain at stand still up to now. The layout plans have been approved and some of the building materials for infrastructure development have been put on the site. In addition, most of the sites where informal activities are operating are without essential services, such as, water and sewer and waste management an issue that the people in the informal sector feel is injustice perpetrated on them. It is also a negation of the provisions of the national policy on informality that calls for all local authorities to provide requisite services to the informal sector. Some argue that there has been a lot that has been agreed upon in meetings to try and operationalise the government policy on informality but there is virtually nothing on the ground that has been put in practice. The people in the informal sector said that they have been called to several meetings, some of them were very expressive, but so far nothing has been implemented. One of them said.....

we have been sent on tours to other operating informal activities in several other African states and even visited other cities in the global North but all these have yielded nothing because the city council has not been willing to implement the informal sector policy, .. all the good ideas that we have acquired from the tours have resulted in nothing because we have no space to do our business.

The city council also acknowledged that the city has been running for some time now without a clear policy on informality but failed to give reasons as to why it has taken them so long to craft one when the government has given all local authorities the institutional framework to integrate activities of the informal sector. It seems there is a deliberate ploy to sabotage the growth of informal activities in the city of Masvingo because of their insistence on neo-liberal urbanisation policies. They also continue to use colonial pieces of legislation that criminalise informal activities in the city. For example, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act section 26, subsection (i), which does not allow the operation of any activity that does not have a council permit to carry out business in the city. This has been the instrument that the city council has been using to criminalise operations of the informal sector. The city, principally, does not tolerate any form of informality in the central business district; as a result, they are involved in sporadic raids on vendors in the streets of Masvingo as they try to enforce the exclusionary piece of legislation. Figure 5.4 shows the municipal truck doing rounds in the city centre clearing the streets of street vendors.

Figure 5. 4 : Municipal police on surveillance along Hughes streets of Masvingo City

Source: Survey 2016

However, such activities are happening despite the council's assurance that they embrace informal activities as agreed in their council meetings, thereby showing that what the city is saying is just a lip service. The entire city's deliberations portray that they embrace informality but in their operations they remain guided by the neoliberal policies that are antagonistic and disenfranchising pieces of legislations that continue to marginalise the informal sector in accessing city spaces. What remains unclear is why they remain so rigid and unaccommodative to the new realities of the urbanisation processes. They should walk their talk by putting their words into action so that the people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo can enjoy the right to use city space. According to Simone (2005), the right to the city is not a mere right to be contained in the city but it is the right that allows city inhabitants to express their own lifestyles and to demand certain aspirations from the city. The people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo have been disenfranchised of their right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts because informality has been denied space to make an expression in the city. They have also been denied a chance to demand certain changing aspirations that reflect their changing lifestyles. The city council

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seems intolerant to informal activities in the central business district as they remain obsessed with issues of order and modernity in their city, which push all informal activities out of the town. According to Kamete (2013), cities that are more into issues of modernity and order have very little to offer to the urban poor because they have very little understanding of the urban poor. He further argues that modernity planning is characteristically unilateral, centralised and notoriously top-down. Hence, such planning approaches are far removed from the socio-economic dynamics of the urban areas. The informal sector as citizens of the city of Masvingo have the right, like any other city inhabitant, to use the city space, however, when the city does not realise and allow informal activities to operate in the city, these people are disenfranchised of their right to the city especially the right to access space in the city centre. Lefebvre (1996) argues that there is no right to the city when people are not allowed to access the city centre because this is the city space that allows interaction of the people. According to Harvey (2008), the right to the city is not a preserve of small political and economic elites but is a right for all city inhabitants, especially the poor and disadvantaged, who should also be allowed to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts.

It is the Zimbabwean government's policy that the government together with local authorities shall work to mainstream activities of the informal sector and agitate for the provision of infrastructure and work spaces to the informal sector. It is also the government's policy that local authorities should make land available for operations of informal activities. However, despite these clear policy directions, the city of Masvingo has never taken any moves to adhere to such policy directives. People in the informal sector are operating from undesignated areas outside the city centre, thereby creating tensions and open clashes with property owners and city authorities over access to spaces to carry out their business activities in the city centre.

After the Operation Murambasvina the city made an attempt to plan for the informal sector and they set aside land for informal activities, a layout was done and approved but the plans are just shelved since 2005. The national government through the ministry of local government and urban development gave some building material for the development of infrastructure for the informal sector but up to now the material has been vandalised and the developments are still in limbo. The area remains undeveloped and there seems to be no plan to implement those plans. This is obtaining against the background of a lot people in the informal sectors operating from open spaces and crowded rented accommodation. Some are operating from the streets and others from makeshift structures such as those made of plastic

paper and card board boxes, which exposé them to all vagaries of the weather. Figure 5.5 and 5.6 shows a street shoulder in the city of Masvingo that has been converted into work space by informal traders as people fight for space in the city of Masvingo. The delay is not good for the for people in the informal sector who need spaces in the city centre and proper vending structures for their operations. Their merchandises are stocked in the dusty street shoulders and some have made makeshift structures to protect their goods from the effects of the weather but these make-shift structures paints the city as shanty town. The demand for space in the city centre is, therefore, very high for the people in the informal sector such that they are taking up almost every open space in the city for informal activities. The high demand for space by the people in the informal sector should be a wake-up call to the city authorities to find ways of providing work spaces for these emerging land uses. Failure to realise such imperatives will reflect a type of city management that segregates other sectors of the urban space users in the city. That kind of management is exclusive and does not augur well with the dictates of the right to the city which calls for all urban space users to be accorded access to city space and use the urban space. All city inhabitants should be accorded the right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts, (Harvey 2003, 2008; Lefebvre 1996, 1968). Lefebvre (1996) succinctly said cities are a collective artwork of all their inhabitants, which means that all the city dwellers have the right to express their way of life.

Figure 5. 5: Street Vendors selling ware along road shoulders along Takawira Street in the city Centre

Source: Field survey (2016)

Figure 5. 6. Manufacturing and display of wares in the streets of Mucheke Industrial area in Mucheke High density Suburb.

Source: Survey (2016)

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 above further illustrate the dire need for urban space in the city of Masvingo because informal manufacturers are converting streets into work space. Figure 5.5 is a street in the city centre where the people in the informal sector have occupied the road shoulder for informal activities and Figure 5.6 is the whole street in the Mucheke light industrial area that have been turned into work place. People in the informal sector are also using streets as spaces to display their products. This creates conflict between human and motorised vehicles, where in some cases the whole street in impassable. The demand for space is therefore very high to the extent that some informal traders are incurring extra expenses in renting out two sites in the city, one for manufacturing and the other for selling or storing their wares because they cannot do these activities at one site because of the shortage of space. This is an unnecessary expense in a properly planned environment because the plans should provide for both their work places and the storage facilities.

The denial of people in the informal sector access to urban spaces is not only a violation of the operating national policy on informality but is also a denial of these people's right to access and use urban space. This is characteristic of most cities of the global South, where development plans do not cater for activities of the informal sector because they adopt development initiatives that do not reflect the realities of their cities. Urban planning in the

cities of the global South has since reneged on its principal roles of addressing the pressing issues in urban areas and this has left most of the urban poor living and working in environments that are hazardous to their lives, (Corburn 2004). Informality is now regarded as the new urbanisation process in most cities in the global South, (Roy 2005, 2009), which, therefore, calls for embracing of these activities into the mainstream economy of cities. These cities, therefore, need to embrace these emerging land uses and the new urbanisation processes, which are said to be the drivers of economies of cities of the global South (Kamete 2007, Roy 2005, 2009, Roopnarine 2018, Sarmiento and Tilly 2018, Mahendra and Seto 2019, Sekhani and Kaushik 2018). Urban planning has to take new paradigms of planning that reflect the diversities that are in these cities. According to Therkildsen et.al. (2009), governance and planning in cities of today has to moved away from the simplified physical view of urban issues to embrace other emerging urban issues such as the increasing socio-cultural diversities that are becoming major issues in our cities. Issues of informality are common in many cities in the global South as informality is a source of livelihood to millions of people in these cities; as such they now demand attention and space in the planning and governance of the cities of the global South. However, despite this imperative, people in the informal sector continue to be marginalised in various areas which include access to space and decision making processes in the city. They are also marginalised in issues that deal with important resources that give livelihoods to the majority of the urban poor. This marginalisation is a violation of their right to the city. The planning system, therefore, continues to plan cities for a few privileged elites leaving out the majority of urban poor, which is a failure to realise the diversity of the city, (Harvey 2008). Urban planning needs to open up to serve the diversity of the cities of today, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998, Jackson 2012). The cities of today are no longer homogenous communities but are a collection of different people with different livelihood strategies. Planning, therefore, should strive to plan for the diversity of the city by building positive livelihoods to all and this will go a long way in reducing vulnerability, especially on the urban poor, (Parnell and Robinson 2012, Harvey 2012, Gross 1998). The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo, where the informal sector is not planned for and the city is making all efforts to get rid of informal activities in the city centre, continues to expose the vulnerability of the people in the informal sector and the denial of their right to the city.

The government of Zimbabwe's policy towards the provision of workplaces and other support infrastructure to the informal sector is to provide an enabling legal and regulatory

framework that can be used by local authorities and other stakeholders to develop and integrate informality in the mainstream economy. The government through the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise Policy has persuaded all local authorities to provide physical infrastructure and utilities to the informal sector as a way of promoting the growth and development of the sector. This means that local authorities have been given the responsibility to provide important services such as water, energy, roads, serviced land and infrastructure to the informal sector. This is supposed to create work spaces that are safe and liveable to them. Such initiatives and policy pronouncements are pointers towards positive interventions that will result in extending city services to the previously marginalised groups in urban areas. They are likely to result in the provision of access to urban spaces to the marginalised groups of the urban society and by so doing they allow these people to appropriate urban spaces, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996). In Harare, such initiatives are starting to bear fruits, where there is a good cooperation between the city of Harare and the private sector. This cooperation has resulted in the construction of an informal sector mall where various activities of the informal sector are sheltered, which is a positive move towards the integration of the informal activities. Plans are also on foot in the same city to turn some of the empty buildings in the city centre into informal malls. Allowing these people, who were previously marginalised, to appropriate urban space will go a long way in allowing them to enjoy use values of urban spaces, (Lefebvre 1968). This will also result in a transformative city where there is redistribution of resources and also helps to redress power relationships, where the previously marginalised groups are empowered by allowing them to participate in the economic activities, (Marcuse 2012). The disenfranchisement of some sectors of the urban society of their right to access city space is not only a violation of their right to the city but also of their human rights. According to Jerome (2016), the marginalised groups of the urban society should be allowed tangible territorial and geographical spaces as a way of expressing their human rights and social justice. He further argues that all people in the city must be able to create and control their own image in the city as a way of expressing the city's democratic principles. However, in the city of Masvingo, there is really nothing of this kind and they are operating in complete defiance of the pronouncements of the national policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises. The municipality has failed to provide any infrastructure and support services to the informal sector, as most of the people in the informal sector are operating from makeshift structures and some in the open.

In some formal spaces that have been taken over by the informal sector, the available infrastructure does not provide any services because such services have been long discontinued and the informal activities operating in such places are doing so without important services, such as, water and sewer. This exposes these operators to the risk of contracting diseases that will also put the whole city at a risk of disease out breaks. During the outbreak of cholera these were the most affected areas. Provision of such services is very important as it is a way of satisfying some of the basic human needs, (Connor 2015). The urban poor always find themselves being the worst affected in situations where there is poor environmental management. Sembiring and Nitivattananon (2010) argue that most cities in the global South have a negative attitude towards informality; hence they rarely plan for their good. They observed that informality is always associated with unhygienic environments, which is an injustice perpetrated on these marginalised groups. Cities and their governance systems should be able to plan for the diversity of the city so that every city inhabitant is included and is allowed to enjoy development benefits. In this way, all the citizens will be accorded their right to the city and this is good for the social justice of the city. This can only be achieved by adopting a new planning paradigm, whereby old strategies that focused on the needs of a few privileged elites are discarded and new planning strategies that encompass multi-culturalism are adopted, (Sandercock 1998 Fainstein 2005; Harvey 2008). In this way, planning will be used to empower the oppressed and marginalised groups of the urban society, (Watson 2007).

Allowing these vulnerable groups to suffer from environmental effects is a violation of their right to the city, especially their right to access important urban services. Provision of essential services will not only allow these people access to basic services but will also go a long way in reducing poverty among the vulnerable groups and help in addressing the equitable and efficient development in the city. (Houghton 2010). Provision of such important services to these marginalised groups is also a realisation that these people are part of the urban society and that they also have the right to access these services. It also reflects a city's democratic and inclusive principles, and also the pro-poor development initiatives. Such cities are also likely to experience sustainable development, (Mitchell 2003.) It will also facilitate social justice, social cohesion and natural belonging, (Simone 2005; Houghton 2010, Purcell2013).

The broader framework of integrating informal activities in the city of Masvingo is available as provided by the national policy and strategy on, Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises.

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The policy clearly says that the government and its implementing partners, who are the local authorities, shall work towards the integration of the informal sector in the mainstream economies through the provision of conducive and enabling environments for the development and growth of the informal sector. However, while structures have been provided at the national level, what is happening at the sub-national level is a completely different thing, especially with reference to informal activities in the city of Masvingo. The city has failed to operationalise the structures that have been put in place at the national level. The city of Masvingo has not yet created structures that will promote the development and growth of informal activities in the city. The people in the informal sector have been, generally, left out in the development of the city and their views have been excluded in shaping the development of the city. This means that the informal sector has been denied the chance to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts. Their ideas have been excluded from the development of the city of Masvingo. Table 5.7shows the level of consultation and engagement that has been going on between the city of Masvingo and the people in the informal sector on issues that concern the development of the city of Masvingo and the development of the informal sector in the city.

Table 5. 7 Consultations in various sectors of informality in Masvingo

Sector of informality	Is there consultation by city authorities		Total (%)
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Repairs	0	23	23
Manufacturing	0	23	23
Retailing	1	16	17
Service	0	17	17
Total	**1**	**99**	**100**

Source Survey 2016(n=100)

The Table 5.7 above shows that there is virtually very limited involvement of the informal sector in the planning of the city. This shows that the people in the informal sector have been denied their right to contribute to the development and shaping the city of Masvingo according to the desires of their hearts because they are not consulted in the development of the city. The majority of the informal sector (99%) said that their contributions in the development of the city have not been inputted because of poor consultation between them and the city authorities. This is a denial of their right to build a city according to the desires of their hearts (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). The city is carrying out its development without the people in the informal sector, hence there has been very little that has been offered for the development and growth of the informal sector in the city, which is a denial of their contribution to the development of the city. The activities of the informal sector have, therefore, remained peripheral in the city. City of Harare, has incorporated informal people in the running of the city, is seem to be doing something towards the integration of informal activities. According to Harvey (2003, 2008, 2012) and Lefebvre (1996), city inhabitants should be allowed to build a city according to the desires of their hearts. Harvey (2012) further argues that right to the city give the city inhabitants the right to change and invent a city according to their liking. The contributions of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo, to shape the city has been denied, which is a serious violation of their right to the

city, (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012; Lefebvre 1996; UNDP 2012). Lefebvre (1996) further argues that all city inhabitants have the right to contribute to the shaping of the city they live in. This is good for a democratic society and augers well with the principles of a sustainable city and an inclusive city (Agyeman and Evans 2004, Fainstein 2005, UNDP 2012, Harvey 2008). Inclusivity gives even the marginalised groups the chance to be respected and recognised as citizens of the city, (Scholesberg 2004). The right to the city is predicated on two fundamental principles of participation and appropriation, (Munya et.al. 2015). They further argue that the right to participate gives the city inhabitants a central role in decision making processes that shape the city and produce city spaces. Therefore, the situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo, where the people in the informal sector are neither involved in the decision making processes of the city nor are part and parcel of the structures that define city space, is a negation of the dictates of the right to the city, which call for all city inhabitants to express their lives in the city. The city should create structures and processes for the participation of the informal sector in development of the city and their contributions should be used to shape the development of the city. Right to the city calls for cities to embrace the city's diversities and see to it that all the social groups in the city are given equal chances and opportunities to express their lives in the city. The city is no longer for the formal sector alone but because of urbanisation of poverty, the city is developing new forms of land uses that accommodate the livelihoods of the poor. A city with this diverse population should, therefore, show that all the people in the city are included in the development and building of their city. According to Lefebvre (1968, 1996) a city should show that all people's livelihoods and lifestyles area represented and expressed in the city.

The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo, where the informal sector is not given the ground to participate in shaping the city of Masvingo through none participation in the development process of the city, is therefore, a denial of these people's right to shape the city they live in. Such practices deny the people in the informal sector and other marginalised groups of their right to enjoy full citizenship in the cities they live and allow their rights to be trampled upon by the operating urbanisation policies. Urbanisation policies that offer people their right to the city should make sure that these rights are not enjoyed by a section of the city inhabitants but by the totality of urban inhabitants, (Harvey 2008). In the city of Masvingo, there are no structures that are in place to operationalise and integrate informality into the mainstream economy as pronounced by the national policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise Development. One of the interviewees commented that …

…the city has no clear policy on informality neither has it taken a conscious effort to restructure the old colonial regulations and regularise the operations of informal activities. The city still regards the people in the informal sector as hawkers as defined by the colonial legal instruments which refer them as illegal rural traders trading their agricultural products in the city.

The people in the informal sector, therefore, remain on the margins of the city's development process because of the operating legal structures. The informal sector has developed to be a significant sector in the development of the economy so that there is need to embrace issues of informality as an urbanisation process. The city should create a structure that allows the people in the informal sector to participate in the development of the city. The people in the informal sector should be allowed to take their rightful place in the development process of the city. This can only be achieved when they reform the old colonial legal instruments which continue to criminalise activities of the informal sector. One of the key informants said that: *.... the informal sector has never been given it rightful place in the development of the city of Masvingo and this has limited the contribution the sector to the development of the city.... Acceptance of informality in the city of Masvingo remains just a lip service because there is really nothing that the city is doing to integrate and develop the informal sector.*

The city does not have space for the informal sector to take part in its development because of the discriminative legislations that continues to sideline informality in development. It does not have, even a desk in the city council that deals with issues of the informal sector. Some cities, such as, Harare have moved a step forward by creating a committee in the city council that deals with issues of informality. In this way, the city can be seen to be making attempts to integrate informal activities in the city. In Masvingo, if people in the informal sector need to have their issues to be deliberated on in the council meeting they resort to informal ways, like telling friendly councilors, with the hope that they will present them in the council meetings. This makes the people in the informal sector second class citizens because they are disenfranchised of their right to contribute to the development of the city.

The city of Masvingo has, therefore, remained controlled and managed by colonial pieces of legislation and neo-liberal urbanisation policies that do not recognise informality and this has perpetuated the marginalisation of the informal sector in the running and development of the city. The colonial regulations such as the Hawkers license that continue to refer to informal traders as rural traders do not reflect the role and the nature of informal activities in the city.

It also trivialise their contribution to economies of development. Such regulatory instruments are no longer relevant in the management of the city activities especially those of the informal sector because the present day informality has by far changed from the perceived mere rural traders. They are now producers of goods and services; some of the goods can be traded on the international markets. The city's planning system is still guided by the need for order and cleanliness in the city and insistence on such regulatory instruments and practices creates fertile grounds for exclusionary urbanisation processes where some groups of people are not allowed to carry out their business in the city, (van Deusen 2012). In Masvingo, such legislative instruments create policy discordance between what the central government is advocating and what the local government is practicing. The new thinking in the government is that informality is a very critical sector in the development of economies and is the seed bed for economic growth, not only of cities but also of the nation at large. Informality is also becoming critical, not only in cities of global South, but even in the global North where the sector has been contributing millions of Euros, (Alijev 2015). The central government has, therefore, been advocating for the integration of informal activities into the development interventions but the city of Masvingo has remained locked up in the restrictive and prohibitive legislations that marginalise informality and in the process denying the people in the informal sector their right to shape the city according to the desires of their hearts. The central government has played its part in terms of creating the ground for the integration of informal activities throughout the country by providing the required legal and regulatory environments for the development and growth of informal activities. However, such initiatives have not been complimented at the city level in Masvingo, where the provisions of the informal policy have not been implemented and there are no structures in place that have been created to implement the policy.

It is very important for the informal sector to participate in the development of the city because it gives them the right to constitute the form, meaning and operations of the city, (Coggin and Pieterse. 2012, Lefebvre 1996). However, where there are no structures and processes that could allow these people to participate in the development process these rights remain a pipe dream.

Participation should go beyond mere acceptance in the city to challenge for space in the decision making processes so that they are in a position to influence significant events in the city, (Boer and de Vries 2009 Simone 2005). The urban processes have for long been dominated by a few privileged elites who have been allowed to shape the city at the expense

of the majority. This is unjust and unsustainable. A just city is the one that recognises the diversity of the city and plan to cater for all regardless of their gender and economic status. The right to the city calls for city inhabitants to demand their participation in city issues, i.e., all city inhabitants should be allowed to imagine the city and constitute its form, meaning and operations, (Coggin and Pieterse 2012). This will result in, not only a sustainable city but also a socially just city (Fainstein 2005; Sandercock 1998). Excluding other sectors is tantamount to disenfranchising them of their right to contribute to the development and shaping of the city; including them will go a long way in deepening the democratic processes of the city, (Purcell 2013, Harvey 2012, 2008, Lefebvre, 1996, 1968).The city of Masvingo still has a long way to go in terms of integrating the informal activities and giving these people their space in the development and governance of the city. They should put in place structures for integration that will allow the informal sector to be legally accepted in the city and these structures should be equipped with processes that will allow the informal sector to take an active role in development and governance of the city. The present situation in the city of Masvingo where the city does not have meaningful processes for informal integration, e.g. not even a policy, that allows the informal sector to take an active role in the economic development of the city means that activities of the informal sector remain peripheral to the development of the city. This is very futile and does not auger well with the dictates of the right to the city, which calls for every city inhabitant to participate in the development of the city, (Harvey 2008, 2012, Lefebvre 1996, 1968). The informal sector has been making enormous contributions to the development economies, not only of cities of the global South, but even in the global North. Table 5.8, shows the people in the informal sector's view on the available platform for communication between the Masvingo City council and the informal sector.

Table 5. 8 An overview of communication between the city and the informal sector

Responses	Percentages	Frequency
No Communication	81	81
Informal Communication	17	17
Communicate through Meetings	1	1
Communicate through Media	1	1

Source survey (2016) (n =100)

Table 5.8 shows that there are no communication channels that can allow good and fluid interface between the informal sector and the city of Masvingo and this blocks all forms of communication, which means that there is no room for the people in the informal sector to interface with the city of Masvingo, thereby blocking out the contribution the sector can give in the development of the city. It therefore, means that the people in the informal sector are denied the chance to be part of the decision making processes in the city. One of the key informants questioned that...

... for a city that claims to embrace issues of informality why is it that up to now they do not have even a desk in the city council that caters for the people in the informal sector that will act as a structure set aside to deal with issues of informal sector?

The people in the informal sector are, therefore, not involved in the development of the city neither is they consulted on issues that concern them. The city council is just planning on their own in a top-down kind of planning, which makes it difficult for the people in the informal sector to give their contribution. For example, the site for the *Chitima* market was just chosen without any consultation with the people in the informal sector and the site lacks very important features that promote business for the informal sector because it is out of the city centre, away from human traffic, which makes the place difficult to make good business. According to Kamete (2013), the top-down nature of planning, which is characteristic of modernity planning, has been responsible for the untold suffering that most of the urban poor are experiencing, where the urban poor have been finding it difficult to work and live in cities whose economies are market driven. The economy has not created space for informal sector to operate because the informal sector have been out competed by the formal sector in accessing space in the city. Kamete (2013), further argues that places offered by these cities for the informal sector and other activities of the urban poor are like detention camps where

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the people in the informal sector live in special confinement where their rights have been completely stripped (Kamete 2017b).

The lack of communication platforms between the city council and the people in the informal sector means that the informal sector remains sidelined in the development of the city and this is a negation of their right to the city, (Harvey, 2003, 2008, 2012, Lefebvre 1996). Most of the communication that has been happening between the council and the people in the informal sector has basically been confrontational and top-down because in most cases the people in the informal sector have just been taking instructions from the city council and they have not been part and parcel of the decisions made.

The informal means of communication that were alluded to above are communication channels that are done through the local councilors but these communications are done outside the city structures of communication as they are done in beer hall or on the streets when they meet their councilors. There is no guarantee that these concerns will be deliberated on in the council chambers. One of the interviewees in the informal sector commented that….

.If we want to put forward our issues in the council we have to smuggle them through some sympathetic councilors but we don't know if they are going push for our cause in the council meetings.

It therefore, remains a mystery whether the councilors will truly represent their cause in the council's deliberations because they do not have any representative who will stand for their cause in the meetings. Lack of communication has created a militaristic relationship between the city council and the people in the informal sector. There is an ionised relationship between the people in the informal sector and the city council because the people in the informal sector always think that the council is against their operations and are always bent on destroying them. For example, the council muted an idea to increase the daily rentals from US$1 to US$2 so that they could build vending sheds in the *Chitima* market, but because the idea was just brought to the people without prior consultation, the idea was roundly denied and its implementation caused a lot of scuffles between the people in the informal sector and the city council. The matter was even escalated to the resident minister who made a decree to the city council not to increase the daily levies. The hostility in the relationship between the municipality and the people in the informal sector was highlighted by one of the interviewees who said

….This place is a no go area for the director of housing and social service.... he is not welcome here, everyone is calling for his head…… he has never set his foot here … he only sends his junior officers…… he always makes unilateral decisions that pain the people in the informal sector.

This shows the level of ionisation that characterises the relationship between the informal sector and the management at the town house. These people do not see each other eye to eye. Such relationships are not good for the development of the city. There is a need to develop structures that will see the integration of the informal sector into the mainstream economy of the city and space being created for engagement between the council and the informal sector. The city council needs to realise that in the cities of the global South, the informal sector is the new way of urbanisation, hence there is a need to embrace it and nurture it for economic development. Roy (2005, 2009) argues that cities need to develop a new planning theory that recognises and plans for the livelihoods of the urban poor because urban poverty is a reality in the cities of the global South. She further argues that informality is not a transitory phenomenon but it is a reality in all cities as it is providing livelihoods to millions of people such that planners and decision makers need to acknowledge this role (Romatet 1983, Portes and Schaufler 1993).

The marginalisation of the informal sector in the development of Masvingo has negatively affected the operations of informal activities in the city. One big problem associated with of lack of participation of the informal sector in the development of the city has been the poor prioritisation of issues concerning the informal sector. The city council has not been seen to actively support the activities of the informal sector in the sense that they are not planning for the sector. This is mainly due to the missing voice of the informal sector in the deliberations of the city business. People in the informal sector are hungry for working spaces but the city council has not been responding to provide such spaces. For example, as alluded to earlier, the approved plans for activities of the informal sector have not been implemented since 2005 and no other space has been set aside for the operation of informal activities and the new developments that are taking place in the city have not shown integration of informal activities. There is glaring evidence that allocation of places for informal activities are done on a piece-meal approach just as a way of pretending to integrate activities of the informal sector. There is a need for an integrated approach that will show that informal activities are integrated in the development of the city. Denying the people in the informal sector access to working spaces denies them the chance to make a living in the urban areas they live in. It also

shows that the city is denying space for the new forms of urbanism that are coming up in response to the increasing prevalence of urban poverty, (Roy 2005, 2009). According to Roy (2005), cities of the global South are experiencing new forms of urbanisms which are in response to the increasing levels of urban poverty and these new forms are demanding space in the urban areas. Cities of the 21st century are facing a plethora of problems and chief among them is the need to address the increasing incidence of urban poverty and the livelihoods of the poor, (UN-HBITAT 2005). They further argue that urban planning in the cities of the global South can no longer afford to do business as usual but need to be proactive so as to create cities that are liveable for all citizens by offering opportunities for all to make a living. UN-HABITAT (2005) also realises that the informal sector has the potential to make a meaningful contribution to the economies of cities of the global South; hence local authorities should make conscious efforts to tap resources in this sector for economic development. The informal sector can make a significant contribution in the eradication of poverty and addressing environmental problems in these cities.

Other problems that have been said to be as a result of lack of communication between the city of Masvingo and the informal sector are shown in the Table 5.9 These problems include poor prioritisation of issues of informality, poor service delivery and poor planning for the informal sector.
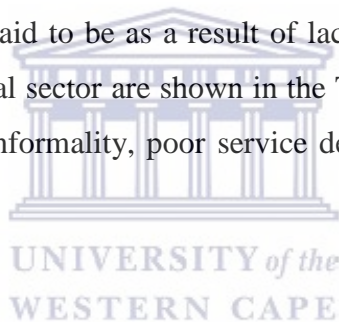
Table 5. 9: **Problems associated with lack communication by Sector of Informality**

Sector of informality	Problems associated with no Communication			Total (%)
	No planning for the sector (%)	Poor prioritisation (%)	No Provision (%)	
Repairing	2	15	5	**22**
Manufacturing	0	8	15	**23**
Retailing	4	20	13	**37**
Servicing	1	4	13	**18**
Total	**7**	**47**	**46**	**100**

Source: Survey (2016)   (n =100)

One of the reasons for policy discordance between the national and the sub-national level in the city of Masvingo can be attributed to political polarisation that exists between the national and the sub-national level. In Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), which is the ruling party, forms the government and it is the ruling party that has been in power since independence in 1980, but most of the urban local authorities including the city of Masvingo are now mainly dominated by the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The MDC has been in control of the city of Masvingo since 2002. The two governing organisations have completely different economic ideologies. The government and the ruling party, are more of the socialist ideology, hence are championing policies that are more appealing to the poor. On the other hand, the MDC, which controls most of the local authorities are of the neo-liberal urbanisation policies because of their externally oriented policies. They are championing the market based urban development policies which are in complete contrast with what the government is pursuing. Given these policy dis-junctures it is, therefore, very difficult to coordinate the national policies at local level. The two governing agencies are always in opposition to each other and is one of the cited reasons for poor implementation of the national policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise in the city of Masvingo.

 In so many cases the government was forced to make decrees to the city council to force it to accept the activities of the informal sector. The city's neo-liberal economic policies do not

have space for the informal sector hence the city continues to operate without a policy on the informal sector. This is unlike the cities of Harare and Bulawayo where, they have made deliberate efforts to integrate informality by creating committees in the council that look into the issues of informality. They also have a policy on informality; hence they have made some significant in-roads in implementing the provisions of policy on informality. While the government has abandoned the market based economic policies because of its hostile relationships with the Briton Woods Institutions and other international organisations, it has since refocused its economy internally to see how it can revitalise its economy through the local resources. They believe that the informal sector can be the launch pad for economic development. The city of Masvingo, on the other hand, has its focus on international development agencies that they aim to attract to the city so that they bring foreign direct investment. The city, therefore, has remained guided by neo-liberal urbanisation policies aimed at developing a world a class city, a city that can be able to attract global financial services. These policies, therefore, do not tolerate the phenomenon of informality and the livelihoods of the poor. Such development initiatives are more to do with the entrepreneurial management and are a move away from the regulatory and distributive functions of urban planning and management, (Therkildesen et.al. 2009). Most of the neo-liberal urban planning and management systems are more to do with issues of modernity and technological advancement and such development thrusts suppress the development and growth of the informal sector, (Potts 2008; Kamete 2011).

However, pursuing neo-liberal urbanisation policies will most likely result in marginalisation of issues of informality because such policies have no space for the urban poor and their livelihoods (Potts 2008, UN-Habitat 2010 a, 2010b). Their drive to create a world class city usually marginalises the urban poor and in that way, they will be denying them their right to the city. Neo-liberal urbanisation policies have the tendency of concentrating power to control urban space on the wealthy and propertied people and in this way they will be disenfranchising the urban poor who are in most cases the majority of the urban inhabitants, (Purcell 2003, 2009,Marcuse 2009, Harvey 2008, Lefebvre 1968, 1996). The focus on these mobile and foot loose investors who are only interested in capital accumulation and will pay very little attention to the needs of the poor is likely to continue the marginalisation of the urban poor. This is against the principles of the right to the city, which calls for reformation of the cities to allow all urban inhabitants including the poor to have the right to participate in

the development of cities they live in and appropriate city space, (Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012, Marcuse 2009, Lefebvre 1969, 1996).

The city of Masvingo, though not expressed in black and white that their policies are not pro-poor (their action speaks louder), does not have policies on informality and they do not tolerate the activities of the informal sector in the city centre. They also continue to plan their city without informality because most of the new developments that are taking place in the city do not have spaces for the informal sector neither are they reforming their urban policies to include activities of the informal sector. The people in the informal sector continue to operate as illegal land users in the city of Masvingo. The city is dragging its feet when it comes to issues that deal with the integration of the informal sector. They are not giving services to the informal sector neither are they providing them with access to urban space, which is a violation of their right to the city. Lefebvre (1996) argues that there is no urban reality without access to the city centre. The city has failed to provide urban space to the informal sector, for example, the city has been dragging its feet to implement plans that were approved for informal activities long back in 2005. The people in the informal sector have been calling for the city to offer them this space so that they can develop it but the calls are falling on deaf ears. Several initiatives were offered by the people in the informal sector, which include; entering into partnerships with the city, where the city provides the land and the informal sector develops the land but all such initiatives have not been taken into consideration. The people in the informal sector have also threatened to occupy those places by force but the city authorities have remained unmoved. They have tried to occupy that land in the *jambanja style*, (forced grabbing of land like in the fast track land reform) but they were dispersed by the riot police and up to now that land has not been serviced.

The demand for land among the operators in the informal sector is very high but the supply has been very limited, thereby failing to adhere to the provisions of the national policy on the informal sector, which calls for local authorities to give working space and build infrastructure to the people in the informal sector as a way of promoting the development and growth of the sector. Most informal operators are operating in crammed spaces, some operate on the road's shoulder and in some worst situations some have invaded the roads and converted them into work spaces. Some of the operators were saying that space shortage has been stalling their operation because they cannot install their machinery in the open for fear of vandalism on their equipment. Figure5.7 below shows the amount of space required by people in the informal sector as compared to the space they are currently using.

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Additional space required
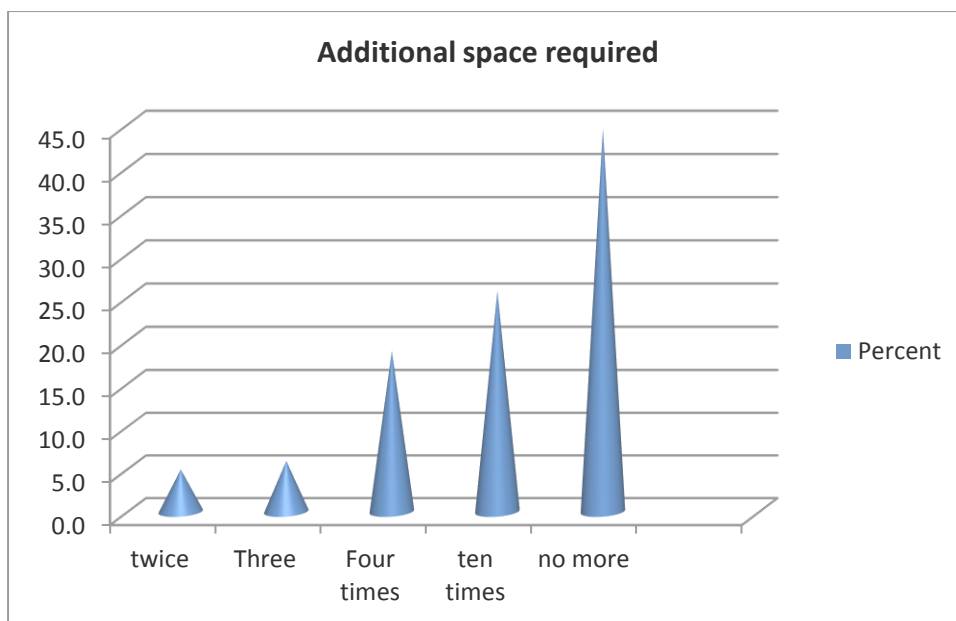
Figure 5. 7: Additional space requirements in the informal sector

Source:Survey (2016)   (n =100)

The Figure 5.7 above shows that the land demand for the people in the informal sector is very high as the majority (over 75%) still require more than four times the space they were using. For example, people in the retail sector were operating from spaces averaging two square metres and these people require upto $20m^2$ of vending stalls. In these bigger spaces theycan cary out their business, dispaying their wares and even store their wares. The smaller spaces could barelyallow them to caryout business as most of the mechandise are kept in bags and to make matters worse these spaces are not developed as people carry out their business in the dust. It exposed these operators to all vagrants of the weather and the situation is worse in the rainy season when most operators are forced to close their operations and seek shelter elsewhere where there is proper shelter.

The demand for space is even worse for the informal practitioners in the manufacturing sector because,as alluded above,they do not have space to both do their production and to display their products. Some are forced to work on one space and then display their products at another site. This will force them to employ another person who will mann the other site. This usuallyinvolves another cost which will increase overheard expenses in their bussiness and, therefore, eat into much of their revenue. Some are forced to rent other spaces where they can store their goods and this again is an additional cost ot them. Some people, especially those in retailing, are forced to employ security guards to keep their goods

overnight because the spaces where most of the informal activities are taking place are not secure. They are just makeshift structures. They, therefore, incur a lot of expences to secure their goods. Some rent for overnight storagetheir good from established businesses. This,however, is creating another form of business to established businesses who are in the habit of charging these people for overnight storage and also the informal people in the push carts businessfind brisk bussiness in the morning and in the evening transporting these goods to their places of storage. One of the practitioners commented that

....   *every morning it is brisk business for the push carts guys who are hired to transport our goods to our work places and this is a costinformal traders have to incur every day.*

The result is that the informal practitioners are going to have too many overheard expenses that will eat into their profits. This situation could be addressed by building permanent structures where these people can work and store their goods, like what happened in Harare where the infrastructure is allowing the informal traders to do their business and secure them overnight at the same place. If there are permanent structures they can safely lockup their goods overnight without renting spaces for overnight storage or hiring overnight security to keep their goods. In this they will save a lot of money which they can reinvest to grow their bussinesses.

The planning system in the city of Masvingo, therefore, does not seem to embrace the growing phenomenon of informality because in all their plans they continue to plan the city without the informal sector. The activities of the informal sector seem to exist outside the normal planning system and are more of a reaction than a proactive plan to issues of informality. Planning of the 21st century needs to respond to the new demands of urbanisation that promote inclusivity and the heterogeneity of urban societies, (Miraftab and McConnell 2008).Urban planning in the 21st Century is taking new trajectories, moving away from the simplistic physical planning of cities to embrace strategies that foster and encourage diversity in cities, (Marshal 2000,). The growth of the informal sector in Masvingo has been stunted by urban planning policies that criminalise operations of the sector and this has been the major stumbling block in the development of the informal sector in most cities of the global South, (Potts 2008). She further argues that most governments have not developed strong policies on the informal sector, hence this has made the sector live in vulnerability for a long time as the practitioners are often victims of the shifting government policies.

5.3. Informality and land rights in the city of Masvingo

Land rights are very critical as they define the ownership of land and ability to do business in the city. The land rights held by people in the informal sector is another area in of view of giving the people in the informal sectorthe right to the city. People in the informal sectorhave insecure rights to the landwhich do not allow them to do meaningful bussines. They donot haveany meaningful rights to the land they are occupying. Most of them have no legal rights to the land as a result, they are always involved in running battles with the city authorities who are determined to remove them from the city centre. Table 5.10below shows the land rights that are held by the people in the informal sector in various sectors of informality in the city of Masvingo.

Table 5. 10: Land right held by people in the informal sector in Masvingo

Nature of informal activity	Land rights			
	Freehold (%)	Lease (%)	Communal (%)	No recognised right (%)
Repairs	5	10	0	8
Manufacturing	0	22	0	1
Retailing	1	12	1	23
Service	0	11	1	6
Total	6	55	2	38

Source: Survey (2016)   (n =100)

As can be seen from Table 5.10 the majority of the people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo donot hold any real rights over the land they are using, showing that the city of Masvingo has been doing very little to empower the people in the informal sector. Only 6% have freehold rights over the space they are using and the rest have rights that that make informal operators vulnerable. For those that have the real rights, it is not because they were granted by the local authority but these were formal operators that have down-graded themselves into the informal sector because they had found it difficult to operate as formal operators. They were allocated these spaces as light industrial activities and now, because of

economic melt-down, they have downgraded themselves into informality. There is noone who started as an informal operator who was allocated space by the city of Masvingo to carry out their informal activities. Therefore, most of the people in the informal sector have no real rights over the spaces they are using and the city council has not done anything to give these people real rights to the land as a way of empowering themand giving them their right to acces city space. This is despite the fact that the informal sector is claiming to occupy between 80-90% of the city space. The Regional and Town Planning Act,however allows local authorities to regularise activities that might be operating outside the working master and local plans. Regularising activities of the informal sector will allow the activities of the informal sector tobe mainstreamed into the main economy and also allow them to contitute to the form of the city. The city could also give the people in the informal sector some leases so that they can occupy these spaces legally. If the city of Masvingo is serious about mainstreaming activities of the informal sector they could evoke the provision of Regional and Town Planning Act and regularisethe activities of informal sector so as to allow them to legally operate in the city. This is not the first time such provisions of the Act have been evoked for the legalisation of informal activities. It happened during the operation Murambasvina in 2005, when informal activities in the affluent areas of Harare were affected by operation Murambasvina,but they quickly raised an alarm and the city regularised all informal activities in that area and were spared from distruction, (Kamete 2007). If it is the urban elites who were affected the citypromptly regularised these activities but if it is the poor that are affected they will not act. If that is the case, then it shows how exclusive the cities are in terms of discharging theircity business. All the city inhabitants have the right to receive service from the city.

In the *Chitima m*arket, which is a site for informal activities in the out skirts of the city where the city council purports to have given spaces to the informal sector, no onehas secure tenure in the areas. They only survive by paying a daily levy of US$1.00 to allow them to work in the areas. They don't have even a month's lease or a longer lease that can allow them to have long term plans for their business. They also do not allow them to carry out meaningful economic activities and this keeps them vulnerable to the raids of the city council. They are also not allowed to erect permanent structures on the spaces, which again shows that the city still regards informality as a temporary urban phenomenon. Informality is, however, the new form of urbanism,hence it needs to be planned for in the cities, (Roy 2005, 2009, UN-Habitat 2005,Richmond et.al. 2018). Richmond et.al (2018) further argue that the planning system in

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most citie of the global South are rigid hence are not flexible enough to catter for the new livlihoods of the poor that are mushrooming. The rightsheld by people in the informal sector are only secondary rights, which can be withdrawn any time the principal wishes to do so.

In most of the spaces rented by thepeople in the informal sector are merely on the basis of a gentlement's agreement than a real lease agreement because they do not have a signed lease agreement.There are just verbal agreements which can be changed anytime the landlord wishes. As a result,the people in the informal sector do not have control of the space they are using and in most cases these spaces are congested, thereby exposing them at risk of easily contracting diseases in case of disease outbreaks. Themassive overcowding barely allows these people to carry out their activities such that most of them carrying out their activities on the streets. The lack of a formal lease agreement makes these spaces insecure as it again exposes them to therisk of unschedulled rental increases in case there is an offer of higher rentals from competing users. Those with higher incomes can easily buy out those with lower incomes. Therental reviews are done haphzardly without any procedure being followed.

In cities where local authorities are pursuing neo-liberal urbanisation policies and are geared to create world class cities there is increased privatisation of urban spaces.As a result, the people in the informal sector are likly to lose their rights over land. The moerdenist approach to urbanisation has a greater likelihood of squeazing the urban poor out of the city centre, (Huchzermeyer 2011). Insome cases, it is done in total disregard of these people's rights and is a move away from an inclusive city, (Huchzermeyer 2011,Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998). The unsecure land rightsthat most of the people in the informal sector are holding expose themto the machinations of the city's elite groups because they are just pushed anywhere anyhow. For example, during the Operattion Murambasvina all informalactivities were destroyed to the ground without any compansation and the activities leading to the hosting of the World Cup in South Africa saw the relocation of informal settlers along the N2 road leading to the Cape Town international airport. These people were relocated to areas that are outside the city in an attempt to potray a city without slums, (Huchzermeyer 2011). These desire to create world class cities in most cities of the global South is like an obsession and in most cases it is the urban poor who are affected as they are pushed out of the city and disenfrashised of their right to the city. If these people had real rights they could have a recourse through the legal systems to stop the relocation or to call for compansation. Giving the people in the informal sector secure land rights can empower them because it will give them a voice in the planning and management of the city. It will also allow them to be

included in the running of the city. Real rights to land can also be used as resources for the development and promotion of their economic activities because real rights can be sold and the proceeds can be used to recapitalise their business.Some people are just occupying vacant land ilegally and these people are even more vulnerable than those who are renting because they can be evicted anytime the city choses to do so. These are the people that are always involved in running battles with the city authoritiesand their goods are often confiscated by the municipality police. These people include those operating on the streets,on road shoulders and other open spaces that are found in the city. Their right to the city has often on several occasions been violated by the city authorities as that are chased out of the city. If these people were given real rights to the land they could legally claim their right from the city authorities.

5.4 The pains of formalising the informal sector in the city of Masvingo

Developments in cities of the global South are such that they cannot afford to rely on linear development approaches but there is a need to diversify their development strategies so that they take care of the diverse populations in the city. It therefore, calls for both the formal and informal sectors to complement each other so that there is sustained development in the city. In the city of Masvingo, there is no space for informal activities hence they are denied the chance to contribute to the development and shaping of the city according to the desires of their hearts. This is futile, not only for the economic development of the city but also the development of the nation as a whole. Such small contributions from the informal sector are very important because they help to accelerate poverty reduction and increase incomes among the poor, (Sen 2005). The rapid shrinking of the formal sector in Masvingo also demands that the activities of the informal sector be integrated into the mainstream economy so that it will meaningfully contribute to the development of the city and also help in the reduction of poverty. In order to achieve this, there should be policies in place that promote the activities of the informal sector.

However the informal sector in Masvingo is taking its own initiatives to claim space in the city. They have moved in the city to take over all the spaces that have been left by the shrinking formal sector. They have also taken over the formerly designated spaces for light industrial areas which was predominantly the transport industry of the city. However, despite the fact that the informal sector has moved in to take over these urban spaces that were almost derelict, the city has not taken meaningful steps to regularise their operations, hence they are working under very difficult economic conditions. The informal activities being

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carried out in the former light industrial areas are still being charged commercial rates that were charged for light industrial activities and this has been stunting the growth of the informal activities because they are too high for them. The city council has not recognised that there is change of use in the area, where the light industrial activities have been totally replaced by informal activities. The majority of the informal operators in these areas are finding it difficult to pay for such a service and most of these informal activities are, therefore disconnected from supplies of important services such as water, electricity and sanitary services. Some of the water bills have been accumulating to over US$8,000.00 and any attempt to repay these bills is a pipe dream for the people in the informal sector. This situation is obtaining because the city has failed to recognise change of use that has taken place in this area, where the informal sector has taken over the light industrial area. It was prudent for the city authorities to revise their charges so that the charges will be in line with the economic situations of the people in the informal sector. The city is still in the denial mode; they cannot accept that the informal sector has taken over the space. The informal sector has therefore been forced to operate as the formal sector and they are being charged rates that are commensurate with light industrial activities. Such treatment of the informal sector is pernicious and is likely to stunt the growth of the informal sector, (Kamete 2017b).

The city council could have regularised the operation of the informal sector in these places and reviewed their rates considering that such spaces are no longer the light industrial activities but are now operated by the informal sector, which constitute the urban poor of the city. Most places occupied by people in the informal sector, have the infrastructure for water and sewer reticulation but there are no services being provided by such infrastructure because they were disconnected long back due to affordability problems. The Table 5.11 shows the informal operators that are connected to water reticulation systems in the city of Masvingo.

Table 5. 11: Informality connected to water in various sectors of informality

Sector of informality	Connected to water		Total (%)
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Repairing	12	11	23
Manufacturing	15	7	22
Retailing	30	7	37
Servicing	13	5	18
Total	70	30	100

Source: Survey 2016   (n = 100)

Table 5.11above shows that there are a lot of people (70%) in the informal sector that are not connected to the water reticulation system and just a few (30%) are connected. However a closer look into the problem showed that the few that claim to be connected to water reticulation, are only talking about the availability of infrastructure but this infrastructure is virtually reticulating nothing because services have been disconnected. All the people in the informal sector are not connected to water. It is therefore, true that most of the informal operators are not connected to water reticulation. The majority of them are bringing water from their homes and others are using communal taps like the one in the civic centre and the other at the Mucheke bus terminus.

Some have been operating without water and sewer for close to 20years now because the city has disconnected water provision in the area. This is a reflection of the modernity planning approach where issues to do with the poor are given very little priority. Attention and focus of development is centered on issues that promote the life of the affluent groups of the city. According to Kamete (2013) spaces occupied by the people in the informal sector and the urban poor are always regarded as places of spatial deviance, hence are not planned for and are denied critical services. They are regarded as city parasites that are only there to enjoy city services for free. The poor are therefore not accorded the same privileges as those who are more affluent because they are regarded as second class citizens while the affluent are regarded as citizens and are accorded full civil rights (Kamete 2011). This disenfranchises the informal sector and the urban poor of their right to the city because the right to city allows all citizens to be accorded the same services, (Harvey 2012, Lefebvre 1996). Figure 5.8shows the reasons for lack of water connections at the informal sites in the city of Masvingo.
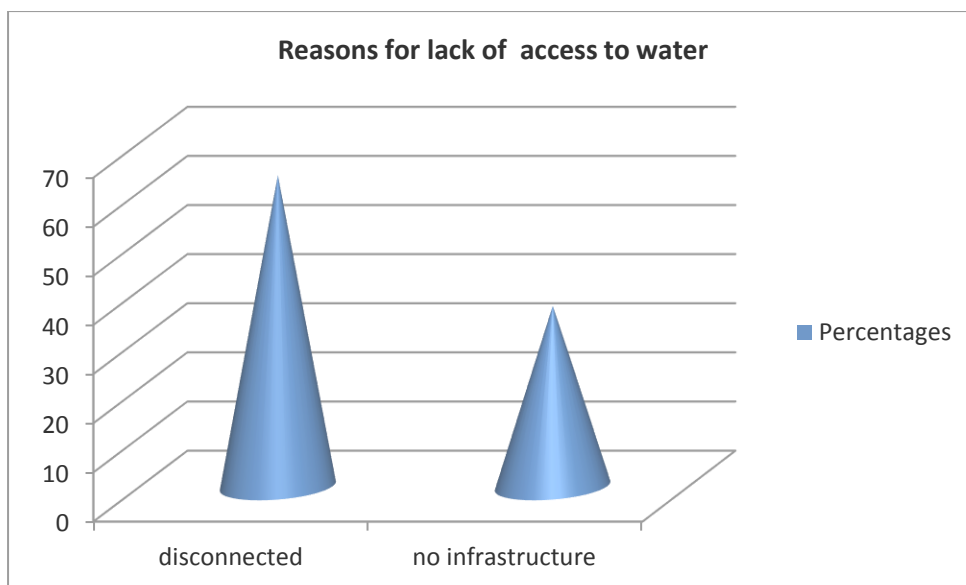
Figure 5. 8: Reasons for lack of water supply

If the city of Masvingo was recognising the informal sector as new users of urban space they should have planned for them and provided services that are commensurate with the conditions prevailing in the informal sector. To force them to painfully adopt the light industrial rates cannot allow the informal sector to develop, it rather stunts their growth because they will be exposed to economic conditions that suffocate their growth. Other industrial activities in the city are enjoying the provision of water and sewer services all the times and are charged rates that are commensurate with their activities. This has allowed these industrial activities to grow. The city of Masvingo is therefore exclusive in their operations because they are not treating all the citizens equally. They are not applying their policies fairly across all city inhabitants. As a result, some sectors are disenfranchised of their right to the city because they are denied important services that will allow them to live in better environments, (Gerometta et.al. 2005). The poor are in most cases are the majority living in areas that are outside the boundaries of municipal services where municipal services rarely reach, (Devas 2001; Romanathan 2006). This deprives them the right to access services that are offered by the city, which in turn is a violation of their right to the city. There is a need to adopt inclusive management systems in the city of Masvingo, where services provided by the city are allowed to reach every city inhabitant including the informal sector. They should adopt planning that takes care of the diversity of the urban society, which should see the reconnection of the poor neighbourhoods to the wider city's society so that it reduces inequalities and social exclusion in the city, (Jackson 2014).

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5.6 Informality and the planning framework in Masvingo City

Planning for sustainable cities calls for pro-poor development initiatives where the needs of the urban poor are given special attention to try and promote their needs and involve them in development. Pro-poor development initiatives are those that prioritise the needs of the poor in their intervention. It is when the poor are taking a lead and are at the centre of development initiatives that results in sustainable development. According to Chambers and Conway (1991), pro-poor development initiatives are those development interventions that involve the poor in such a way that the poor are the architects and engineers of development. Addressing the needs of the poor will help to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich in cities of the global South and will help to create just and inclusive cities (UN-Habitat 2005, 2010a, 2010b. Fainstein2005). It is the basis of sustainable development, (Ellis 2000). The unequal development that exists in cities of the global South is a direct result of marginalisation of the urban poor where the development landscape is dominated by prioritising the needs of the a few elites.

Some of the environmental problems that are found in the cities of the global South are a result of failure to deal with the problems of the marginalised groups of the urban society, where the needs of the poor do not form the development agenda of these cities. This has been exacerbated by the urbanisation of poverty and the proliferation of livelihoods of the poor, (Roy 2005, 2009). Cities of the 21st Century should realise that there is now great diversity in cities, as a result, they should move away from traditional planning systems that are so elitist and only providing services to just a few privileged societies. There should be a paradigm shift to adopt inclusive planning approaches that seek to include the diverse range of people in urban societies. The planning system should, therefore endeavor to create cities that work for all citizens, (UN-Habitat 2005, 2010a, 2010b, Jackson 2012). Jackson (2012) further argues that planning should be inclusive so that they serve all the urban communities. The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo, where the city is not involving the people in the informal sector in their planning, is therefore, disenfranchising them of their right to participate in the development processes of the city and as a result, it is a denial of these people's right to the city, (Harvey 2008, 2012, Lefebvre 1996).

A good planning approach is the one that reconnects the poor neighbourhoods to the wider urban community in a way that reduces social exclusion. UN-Habitat(2005) further argues that the planning imperative of the 21st century is to address the vulnerability of all citizens with special attention to the urban poor. So the informal people in the city of Masvingo

should be assisted to generate livelihoods that will allow them to lead a decent life. The continued harassment that the people in the informal sector are experiencing from the municipal police and the Zimbabwe Republic Police is a denial of these people's right to the city especially the right to live in the city without harassment from police. Masvingo is also failing to offer good environmental planning to the people in the informal sector which further compounds the environmental problems of the city. UN- Habitat (2005), contends that most of the environmental problems in the cities of the global South are a result of failure to come to terms with the idea of informality. These cities' provisioning systems rarely find their way in the areas occupied by informality and as a result most people in the informal sector are found working in areas where city services do not reach. If these cities could embrace the issue of informality, they will plan for them and allow their services to reach these areas which will minimize the environmental problems that are found in areas where the informal sector are working.

The planning system in the city of Masvingo is showing glaring signs of exclusivity when it comes to issues of informality because in most of their activities they do not involve informality. The informal sector is not included in their plans for service delivery, as a result, most areas where the informal sector are working do not have services and in some areas where services were previously provided prior to occupation by the informal sector such services have since been discontinued. The people in the informal sector are, therefore, working without critical services as already alluded to above and the reasons for lack of such important services in the city of Masvingo include; perceived inability of the informal sector to pay for services, failure by the city to plan for the informal sector, poor prioritisation of issues of the informal sector by the city and difficulties associated with planning for the informal sector. See Table 5.12

Table 5. 12: Reasons for not providing services in the informal sector in Masvingo

Reasons	Percentage	Frequency
Inability to pay	25	25
Failure to plan for informality	49	49
No budget for informality	22	22
It is difficult to plan for informality	4	4

Source: Field Survey (2016)   (n =100)

The majority as shown in the table 5.12of the respondents (71%) said that the city of Masvingo is not putting up plans that help to develop the informal sector, because they are not planning for the informal sector and there is also poor prioritisation of activities of the informal sector, especially in their budgeting as their budgets do not include activities of the informal sector. For example, it took so long for the city of Masvingo to build an ablution block at the *Chitima* market despite several calls from the people at that market for such a facility, which included staging a demonstration to force the city council to provide such a facility. To add on to that, the city has also failed to come up with plans that caters for the diverse informal sector. They have only provided one site for a flea market which caters for those in the trading section of the informal sector leaving out the rest of the other informal activities. There is a variety of informal activities that are not provided for by the city. The city has, therefore, adopted the muddling through approach to planning for informal sector. Their treatment of issues of informality is on an *ad hoc* basis without any approved policy, or local plan to guide the development of the informal sector. They have adopted a reactive approach rather than a pro-active approach to issues of informality.

The fact that the people in the informal sector are not able to pay for the service offered by the city council was roundly refuted by people in the informal sector. The majority of them said that they are able to pay for their services; however they were quick to mention that these services need to be correctly priced so that the people in the informal sector could afford to pay for such services. Table 5.13shows the response on the ability of the informal sector to pay for services provides by the city.

Table 5. 13: Ability of the informal sector to pay for services provided

Sector of informality	Ability to pay for services		Total (%)
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Repairing	22	0	22
Manufacturing	23	0	23
Retail	36	1	37
Servicing	18	0	18
Total	**99**	**1**	**100**

Source: Survey (2016)   (n =100)

The majority (99%) of the people in all sectors of the informal sector have shown that they have the ability to pay for services provided they are priced correctly. To achieve the correct

pricing it should start from the planning stage where the city council should correctly categorise the activities of the informal sector and come up with pricing regimes that suite the people in the informal sector. Currently most of the activities of the informal sector are regarded as either light industrial activities or commercial light industrial activities and they are paying such rates; hence their services have been priced beyond their reach. It therefore, means that the city is forcing the people in the informal sector to either assume light industrial status for those in the light industrial areas or commercial light industrial status for those operating in commercial zones. This is pernicious assimilation, according to Kamete (2017b), where the informal sector is forced to shed off their attributes of informality to adopt a defined attribute. The informal sector is, therefore, forced to mimic other formal sectors and this has an effect of killing the life blood of informality (Kamete 2017b). This is usually as a result of poor planning where the city has failed to understand informality in terms of their nature and needs. Good planning will be based on a sound understanding of the nature and needs of the informal sector, so that plans are formed to suit their needs. The ad hoc planning which is usually the one done when planning for informal activities usually results in poor plans that do not fit activities of the informal sector. The city of Masvingo should have realised that the former light industrial area is now being occupied by the informal sector; hence there is now a need to reduce rates in the areas so as to make it affordable to the informal sector. The continued charging of the same rates has suffocated the growth of the informal sector. As a result, the informal sector has not been able to pay these rates and the city has discontinued providing services in these areas. If the city had properly planned for the informal sector, they would have planned with correct understanding of the nature of business in the informal sector and a corresponding pricing regime that suits the informal sector could have been drafted. This can create a win-win situation where the city will be collecting revenues from these people and the people in the informal sector will be receiving services from the city. They need to proactively approach the issues of the informal sector by having a long term plan for the sector which will give directions on the development of the informal sector and a broad based way of integrating informality in the development of the city. Failure to do so gives the city a piece-meal approach to issues of informality. Such an approach is not sustainable as it continues to keep the informal sector on the periphery of development.

None compliance by the informal sector to pay the regulated taxes is therefore due to the nature of the tax regimes that are charged by the regulatory authority (Gerxhani 2004; ILO

2000; Portes and Shauffler 1993). If the tax regime is unfair in terms of their levels vis-à-vis the level of business output in the informal sector it will stunt the growth of informal activities; as a result, they will not be able to pay for such services. Such conditions are fertile grounds for non-compliance, (Gerxhani 2004). He further argues that in some cases the nature of the taxing system is too complicated such that it promotes evasion of taxes and operation outside the regulatory systems. For example, in Zimbabwe the informal activities are required to comply with several requirements from different sectors that include the Companies Act, the taxation requirement and the environmental requirements. To fulfill these requirements is usually too cumbersome and a toll order for people in the informal sector.

In some cases the informal sector operates outside the regulatory system because of lack of a proper legislative framework that deals with informal activities, (ILO 2000). This is because informal activities were previously regarded as activities of the poor and were usually associated with activities of people who failed to penetrate the formal sector, hence local authorities did not bother to include them in their regulatory framework, (Klein and Tokman 1993). However, in cities of today the informal sector has grown in both proportion and significance to become drivers of economies, especially in the cities of the global South, (Gunsilins et.al. 2011, Potts 2008, Yaw 2007, Devey et.al 2006, Jackson 2012). Therefore, failure to plan for the informal sector is a failure by the city council to realise the contribution of the informal sector and also a failure to recognise the diversity of the urban community, (Fainstein 2005). Cities are no longer homogeneous societies but they are becoming so diverse due to the development of new land uses that are coming up due to the high prevalence of poverty in urban areas. Cities of today have developed to be so diverse such that the notion of universal citizenship no longer works for cities of the 21st Century, (Sandercock 1998). She further argues that the diversity of urban societies is a result of the different ethnic groups, different races, gender and social lives. These differences need to be celebrated rather than oppressed in cities of the 21st century. This, therefore, calls for a planning approach that plans for this diversity so that the needs of the different people in the city are recognised and facilitated (Watson 2007).

However, most cities are directed by neo-liberal urbanisation processes which do not realise this diversity as they insist on the destructive world class cities and the place making urban policies, which are so exclusive and do not cater for the majority of the city, (Huchzermeyer 2011, Rogerson 2018). Rogerson (2018) further argues that informal sector is usually excluded from the city development but has a potential to provide livelihoods to thousands of

people. This exclusion does not auger well with the dictates of the right to the city, which calls for recognition of all the diverse people in the city with their different ways of life in the provisioning of the city. Right to the city calls for expression of urban life not in its singular and homogenised way but in their diversity, (Simone 2005, Lefebvre 1996). The urban people should not be recomposed into some universal characteristics but should be allowed to enjoy their different aspirations, (Simone 2005). He further argues that cities of today need to be developed into conduits of realising certain aspirations in a divergent way. In this way they will be giving the diversity of people their right to the city. Right to the city, therefore, according to Simone (2005), means that people are allowed to use cities as arenas for realising mutable aspirations in varying degree. Therefore, activities of informality by virtue of them being carried out by people in the city should be allowed to access different services offered by the city and also allowed to express their activities in the city. Cities, therefore, need to embrace informality as a way of urbanisation because informality is a reality of urban societies and they need to be served by the city, (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987, ILO 2000, Gunsilins et.al. 2011, Roy 2005, 2009). Failure to plan for the informal sector is, therefore, failure to give these people their right to the city particularly their right to enjoy the services offered by the city authority and also realise their individual aspirations and creating a city according to the desires of their hearts, (Simone 2005,Harvey 2008, 2003, 2012). The situation where the informal sector is hormoginised into some planning forms to suite the neo-liberal urbanisation process does not allow the informal sector to express their informality in the city.

The city council of Masvingo is also accused of failing to understand the nature of informality and this has been the cause for failure to plan for them. One of the reasons for failing to provide services to the informal sector is that the informal sector is too heterogeneous in nature and their operations are difficult to comprehend and compose into a plan in their traditional planning processes. The city of Masvingo is alleging that activities of the informal sector are ever changing in response to the changing economic environment. For example, the informal activities in the transport sector have been ever changing, hence giving them no room to properly plan for the changes. For example, the transport industry was initially dominated by the public transport in the form of conventional buses that were provided by the government but the informal sector came in with the commuter omin buses and the city council reformed their transport regulations to open up the transport sector to allow these commuters omin buses to operate. They changed some spaces in the city centre

into termini to accommodate them. However, the sector has been going through further transformations and now there are smaller vehicles which they call *Mushika-shika*, which are primarily unregistered pirate taxis which do not have a designated place to pick or drop passengers. This form of transport is small and very flexible in their routes and charges. They operate all over the city targeting areas where there are high volumes of human traffic. This *Mushika-shika* type of transport does not follow any defined route or gazette fares but they will respond to the demands and needs of people. They are, therefore, fast since they do not wait for a long time to fill up on average they carry 6-5 people per trip. They actually operate all-over town and they cause real transport jungles in the city, especially in places where there are high human traffic volumes, such as, at major supermarkets. This heterogeneity in the nature of the informal sector in terms of their different sizes and types of informality gives the city problems in planning long term issues for the informal sector in the city. Informal activities normally respond to the changes that are happening in the economy. They adopt activities that are more profitable at a particular time and space, hence are ever changing and, therefore, it is difficult to plan for the sector. The planning systems in the city have, therefore, failed to keep pace with the developments in the informal sector, hence have found it difficult to include them in their plans. Urban areas of the 21st century are said to be so diverse in their nature, which calls for a planning approach that is more flexible rather than rigid so that they can effectively respond to the changing environments, (Chirisa and Dumba 2011, Dube and Chirisa 2012, Richmond et.al. 2018).

Planners in the neo- liberal urbanisation process are chiefly responsible for the exclusionary behaviours that most cities are experiencing mainly because of their insistence on issues of place making in the city, where cities are planned as centers for accumulation rather than centers for use by city inhabitants. Such development initiatives are geared to make the city economically competitive so that they can attract global finances. In that way such planning approaches remove the use values of city spaces and give them exchange values that exclude other urban users in using city space, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996). They also pay very little attention to the externalities caused, especially, by the exclusion of the majority of the urban people that are in the lower income bracket in using the urban space, (Jackson 2014, Waterhout et.al. 2013). Waterhout et.al. (2013), further argues that this has been responsible for class struggles that are dominant in cities of the 21st century where the propertied people and the marginalised groups are always involved in power struggles. Urban areas are increasingly being more heterogeneous, hence urban planners need to realise that and respond

for that diversity, (Miraftab and McConnell 2008, Jackson 2014, Darbi et.al. 2018). Planning in the 21st century needs not to do business as usual because urban areas have changed so much and these changes need to be catered for, (Roy 2005, Simone 2005). The diversity in cites of today, according to Roy (2009) demands a new planning theory that will see the diversity of urban areas being included in a city's plans. There are multiple values that are coming up in urban areas and these multiple values need to be included in the planning of the city. Morgan and Cole-Hawthorne (2016) argue that planning in contemporary cities needs to encourage the diverse values that are in cities so that they reflect the collective aspirations. There is a need for a new planning theory that takes into account the city's diversity, especially the diversity brought about by the proliferation of informal activities in urban areas, (Roy 2005, 2009, Richmond 2018).The insistence on the narrow neo-liberal urbanisation process, like what is happening in the city of Masvingo, leaves a lot of urban inhabitants unserved by the city. Urban planning needs to move away from the illusions of comprehensive planning models that compel urban plans to be modeled and homogenised around certain uniforms but they should, rather plan for the diversity that exists in urban society. Planners should be able to make plans in those diverse situations and come up with plans that express this diversity and most importantly, allow the marginalised people to take part in the economic developments of the city, (Sandercock 1998, Watson 2007, Harvey 2003). The informal sector has developed to be a critical feature in urban areas, which requires recognition as a user of urban space, (Twigg and Mosel 2018, UN-Habitat 2018). It is essential to include the informal sector in the development of the city as it ensures inclusivity and sustainability in the city, (UN -Habitat 2018, Rogerson 2018, Abu-Orf 2018). Planning for the marginalised is the main thrust for new urbanism and sustainable development, where development in the city is driven by pro-poor development initiatives that support the livelihoods of the poor. Pro-poor development initiatives should be driven by the need to improve the well-being of the poor and marginalised groups of the society. However most local authorities have not made that paradigm shift as their planning systems are still focusing on physical planning and they have not changed their capacities to plan and manage the new forms of urbanism, such as, poverty and other social problems, (Farnner et.al. 2006). The physical planning approach to planning is unnecessarily rigid and can hardly respond to the changing environments and new demands, especially those brought about by the worldwide globalisation process and the urbanisation of poverty, (Sembiring and Nitivattananon 2010; Chirisa and Dumba 2011).

The city of Masvingo is also saying that they do not have enough funds to extend services to the informal sector. This is because of the dwindling revenue base that has been caused by the economic meltdown resulting in the closure of many businesses in the city. Most of the industries in the city have either downsized or closed down their operations and this has reduced the revenue base of the city. This has been compounded by the inability of government to support local authorities with grants that they used to provide through the Public Sector Investments (PSI). These government grants were used for infrastructure development in local authorities, but the drying out of such sources meant the local authorities are supposed to look for alternative sources but these sources were difficulty to come by hence the cities are not able to provide additional infrastructure in the city. The city councils are therefore operating from shoe string budgets, where they were relying only on the revenues collected from their rates and this is making the city of Masvingo unable to budget for the development of the informal sector. They cannot therefore fund any new capital projects.

However this does not give the city of Masvingo excuse for failure to provide infrastructure and services to the people in the informal sector because as long as the people in the informal sector are citizens of the city they have the right to receive services from the city like any other citizen. The city is failing to be innovative because other cities, such as Harare, have been innovative enough by creating partnerships with the private sector, which is, coming in to build infrastructure for the informal sector. They are also setting aside some money collected from the informal sector to build infrastructure for the informal sector. The informal sector of Masvingo should demand a fair share of treatment in the city. However, when comparing the infrastructure needs in the formal sector and those of the informal sector, it is much cheaper to provide infrastructure in the informal sector than the formal sector because most of the infrastructure in the informal sector are shared. For example, at the *Chitima* market, it is sufficient to provide three ablution blocks to serve the whole community of over 30,000 people. So, they should be able to put up some structure for use by the people in the informal sector. They have a genuine right to claim such services from their city authorities because right to the city calls the disenfranchised people in the city to claim from their society resources necessary to meet their basic needs and interests, (Mustafa and Leitte 2002). The neglect of the urban poor has resulted in most of them being excluded in accessing facilities and benefits, which also has resulted in their exposure to environments that are very risky, (Wang 2000). It is the role of the city to ensure that the economically

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marginalised groups of the society have access to urban services that will allow them to enjoy urban life, (Ramanathan 2006, Lefebvre 1968, 1996). Despite this norm the urban poor are, however, left out in the provisioning of urban services and this has exposed them to live in life threatening areas. In some cases these people are found in areas that are beyond the municipal boundaries and for this reason, the city councils have justified their inability to extend their services to such areas, (Devas 2001.Romanathan 2006). However, in the city of Masvingo, the informal sector is operating within the city boundaries and some of them have even invaded the city centre but they are excluded from accessing some city services. The city seems to believe that the phenomenon of informality is just a temporary thing that will disappear when the economy of the country stabilises. However, informal activates are not a temporary phenomenon in cities of today, but it is the way of urbanisation, (Roy 2005, 2009, Huchzermeyer 2011).There is, therefore, a great need to embrace these forms of urbanisation for sustainable urbanisation.

The city of Masvingo has only managed to put up temporary sheds along one street in the city centre. These structures are very small; their size is less than two square meters and they are not safe as they expose their merchandise to the effects of the weather. Traders also have to look for overnight accommodation for their goods at other places because the make-shift structures built by the city council are not secure they only provide shed. Other informal activities in such as manufacturing, repairs and service provision have not been allocated space by the city council to carry out their activities in the city. Most of the operators in these sectors are operating in undesignated areas, which lack vital services; therefore, the informal sector has been working in very hostile environments. Space remain in critical shortage thereby forcing people in the informal sector to even use roads and road shoulders as work spaces and some are invading vacant spaces in the city. In some places the whole road was converted into a work space. Some informal operators are operating in open spaces and they are forced to look for spaces elsewhere to keep their goods overnight.

The role assumed by the informal sector in the modern day economic development is by no doubt very critical in terms of its contribution in providing employment and livelihoods to the urban poor, (Roy 2005,2009, Potts 2008, 2006, Kamete 2007, Yaw 2007, Devey et.al. 2006). The sector, therefore, deserves support from the city authorities so that they will develop into signficant economic drivers. The lack of planning and provisioning for the informal sector that is happening in the city of Masvingo is not only defying the official working position of the government of Zimbabwe, but they are also defying the principles of the right to the city

in that the people in the informal sector have been denied the right to claim their space in the city of Masvingo. The city has not taken any conscious step to plan for the informal sector because no development plan in the city of Masvingo has incorporated issues of informality. The right to the city calls for all city inhabitants to enjoy services provided by their city authorities,(Lefebvre 1991, 1996). The growth and contribution of the informal sector to the economic developement of cities of the global South has been so tremendous such that these cities need to recognise them as users of urban spaces and plan for them. Lack of infrastructure in the informal sector is a major cause for concern because by virtue of them being inhabitants of cities they deserve that right and denying them this right is a violation of their right to the city. The informal sector in Masvingo are lacking various types of infrastructure depending on the nature of their activities. Table 5.14below shows the types of infrastructure that are on demand in the infromal sector in the city of Masvingo.

Table 5. 14: Infrastructure demanded in various sectors of Informality city of Masvingo

Infrastructure needs	Nature of informality				Total (%)
	Repairing (%)	Manufacturing (%)	Retailing (%)	Servicing (%)	
Workshops	14	2	5	1	**22**
Vending stalls	21	0	2	0	**23**
Water and sanitation	5	25	2	5	**37**
Power Utilities	4	6	8	0	**18**
Total	**44**	**33**	**17**	**6**	**100**

Source: Survey 2016   (n =100)

Lack of critical infrastructure can force the informal sector to operate in environments that are life-threatening. For example, most of them are found operating in make-shift structures or in the open, thereby exposing them to all harsh weather conditions. The informal sector in Masvingo is however proposing various ways that can be used to provide this infrastructure and some of the ways are very viable and economically sustainable. These options include schemes such as; Build Operate and Transfer (BOT), partnerships between the informal sector and the city council, and /or providing shared infrastructure. All these schemes can be affordable to the informal sector as they are cheap approaches to infrastructure provision. The people in the informal sector are therefore willing to enter into partnerships with any other stakeholders to provide important infrastructure to them. For example, they were calling for the city council to provide them with land with secure tenure so that they can develop it by building infrastructure that is appropriate to their operations. They were, therefore, calling

upon the city council to give them land that was set aside during Operation Restore Order/Murambasvina for them to build industrial shells and the factory shells. However, all these options have not been explored by the city of Masvingo and the issue of access to land has remained problematic in the city. They are claiming the land that was given to the informal sector during Operation Restore Order is still undeveloped but could have been developed if the city had operationalise the plan. The people in the informal sector claim that they could have incrementally developed that land, such that, by now all the infrastructure could be up. It seems the city council has no capacity to carry out such capital projects; hence entering into partnerships would have gone a long way in providing infrastructure to the people in the informal sector. Provision of such infrastructure will also go a long way in improving the working conditions of people in the informal sector who are working in the open and some are working from make-shift structures. All these ideas are pointers to the fact that the people in the informal sector are more than willing and ready to participate in the development of the city. However all these brilliant ideas are never taken into consideration by the city of Masvingo. What is, therefore, missing is the platform for these two entities to come together to share their ideas for the development of the city. The city and the informal sector have failed to create such spaces for interface in the interest of developing of the city. There seems to be a warring relationship between the city council and the people in the informal sector, where the city council is fighting to suppress activities of the informal sector and the people in the informal sector are fighting for access and use of urban space for the betterment of their livelihoods. Such relationships are detrimental to the development and progress of the city. The people in the informal sector strongly think that the city council does not embrace the issue of informality because it is not taking any initiatives to plan for the informal sector in the city. They argue that the existence of informal activities in the city of Masvingo is an initiative of the people in the informal sector and their resilience in the aftermaths of hostility perpetrated by the city authorities. The city is fighting for a city that is orderly planned and modern in their pursuit of neo-liberal urbanisation policies. Planning, according Kamete (2007),is predicated on the desire to improve the living conditions of urban inhabitants but in so doing, there are a lot of externalities that are involved, especially on the lives of the marginalised groups of the society who are always found disenfranchised of their right to receive services from the city authorities.

The Masvingo city's informal sector is fighting every day for their existence in the city because there are always involved in running battles with the municipal police in their

attempt to push the informal sector out of the city. City space in the city of Masvingo has therefore remained an arena of contestations as these two entities are fighting every day. Fighting for their right to the city is what Lefebvre (1996) is advocating for when he said the urban inhabitants should stand up to challenge the social relations that determine the exclusive definition and distribution of urban space. He argues that cities' space is controlled by a few capitalists and state elites. These elites are the ones that dominate decision making processes that produce urban space. He further argues that enfranchisement is not the privilege of a few elites but it is the right of all urban inhabitants so, the disenfranchised should fight to claim their space in the city. The right to the city, according to him, therefore, should allow all city inhabitants to appropriate city space and this should allow them to access, occupy and use urban space the way they want. Lefebvre, (1968, 1996, 1991) further argues that the right to the city does not come on a silver platter, it is a right that people should stand up and claim from those who are denying them. He further argues that right to the city is not God given but it is a result of struggles against the exclusive policies that disenfranchise the marginalised groups of the urban society. The right to the city is a fight for a city that is according to ones' heart where citizens' material and aspirations are met, (Marcuse 2009, Harvey 2003). Boer and de Vries (2009) share the same notion of gaining right to the city and they added that rights to the city are fought for and they are a result of direct confrontations and struggles. These fights should be directed towards those who monopolise decision making powers over the definition and use of urban space. Those monopolising systems or structures have strong roots in the capital seeking tendencies of neo-liberal urbanisation policies that tend to commodify city space, which in turn denies the generality of urban inhabitants to use urban space.

However, (Purcell 2013, 2003) does not advocate for a fight for rights to the city but believes that they should be negotiated through engagement, playing, learning and connecting with each other between city inhabitants. Rights to the city, according to Purcell (2013), cannot be acquired in a win or lose kind of arrangement but it is a gradual movement towards a certain horizon of urban society where space is not ruled by property rights and exchange values but by appropriation of urban space for use by all urban inhabitants. Therefore, according to him, there is no situation that people can say we have full rights to the city but they should strive to continuously negotiate and move towards acquiring mutating aspirations. The right to the city is, therefore, a continuous negotiation to give city inhabitants their right to the city. Mustafa and Leitte (2002) also share the same approach to acquire rights to the city. They

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said it should allow all citizens access to the city and its services and this should be done through reforming the processes and structures that produce urban space. These changes should be in the areas such as the use of market forces and exchange values as forces that define urban space to adopt use values so that all citizens are accorded the right to use city space (Lefebvre 1968). The approach taken to acquire rights to the city might also determine the result that might come out. Direct confrontation might not give the best result because it creates frictional relationships between the warring parties because there is a win and lose situation. A win and lose situation is going to further divide the city because the losers will continue to fight for their cause. What is obtaining in the city of Masvingo is not the best that we need for the promotion and integration of informality in the mainstream economy. If the process was negotiated there was a possibility of reaching a common understanding and this could have produced some desired results in a win-win situation. Fights can produce some emotional scars that will take long to heal and this will affect the relationships. For example in the city of Masvingo, one of the raids that was launched by the city on informal traders resulted in fatality when the municipal police ran over a sleeping baby and this strained the relationship between the city authority and the people in the informal sector. It is important, therefore, that the city council creates structures that will allow the marginalised people to take part in the decision making process in the city. Failure to do so might result in people taking the law in their hands and adopting aggressive ways to express their needs. Participatory decision making allows for sharing of ideas and the vision of the city. However the city of Masvingo does not have such a structure and platform for the interface between informal sector and the city council. The city council, therefore, stands accused of using a top-down kind of approach to disseminate their information and their decisions to the informal sector. The provision of platforms for negotiation through participatory planning where issues were brought to a negotiating table could have resulted in people in the informal sector buying the idea. However, because the issue was just brought as a resolution it was received with a lot of resistance. The council had a very noble idea that if they increase the levies they could allow them to improve the structures that these people are operating from, but because the issue was never negotiated, the issue was just rejected as one of the strategies that the city council had devised to boost their revenue collection.

Chapter 6: Informality and the fight for rights to the city in Masvingo

6.1 Informality asserting their rights to the city in Masvingo

The informal sector in the city of Masvingo is facing a suite of problems that militate against their means of generating meaningful livelihoods. There are no structures and processes that promote the development and growth of informal activities in the city; as a result, there has been a struggle for space between the informal sector and the city authorities. In such a situation it is, therefore, imperative for the people in the informal sector to work extra hard to demand use rights in the city space. The city of Masvingo is being accused of lacking the will power to activate processes that promote the growth of informal activities despite the availability of a legal framework that tries to provide the directions for the development and growth of informal activities throughout the country. Despite the availability of all these initiatives by the government, there are no conscious and tangible moves that are on the ground in the city to promote the development of the informal sector; hence the city has not done anything meaningful to integrate the informal sector in its development agenda. As one of the respondents in the informal sector alluded

...... the city council has no plans to develop the activities of the informal sector .... What they have successfully managed is to restrict the development of the sector.

The growth of informal activities and the role the sector has been playing in the development of economies, especially in cities of the global South, no longer warrants a negative and restrictive attitude towards informality. Cities in the global South have been grappling with the ever increasing incidence of poverty and the mushrooming of livelihoods of the poor, which calls for a paradigm shift in terms of the way they are doing their business, (UN Habitat 2010a, 2010b; UN Habitat 2005). There is, therefore, a need to embrace the new land uses that are coming up in these cities due to urbanisation of poverty so as to embrace the diversity of the city and reflect the inclusivity of the city. Cities in the global South should go out of their way to innovate ways to integrate livelihoods of the poor, such as, activities of the informal sector (UN Habitat 2012, Miraftab and McConnell 2008).The informal sector has proved to be playing a very a critical role in the provision of employment and livelihoods to millions of urban inhabitants (Gunsilins et.al. 2011, Romatet 1983, Fields 1990, Therkildsen et.al. 2009). Romatet (1983) further argues that the informal sector is no longer a temporary urban phenomenon but it is a permanent feature in urban areas and has proved to be the way of urbanisation in cities all over the world. It is providing numerous jobs, especially to the

marginalised groups of our urban society, hence needs to be integrated in the development process of urban areas. However, the city of Masvingo seems to be slow in moving towards integration of informal activities in their development agenda.

Despite the neglect of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo, the people in the informal sector are innovating ways towards demanding their right to the city, especially the right to access city space to earn a livelihood. They are pushing from various angles for their cause to force the city authorities to acknowledge and recognise their presence in the city. They are employing several tactics to demand and claim their space in the city. One of the strategies that has been used and has proved to bear fruits to them was to seek political support from the government and the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). This is the party that spearheaded the struggle against colonial rule in the country and has been in power since independence in 1980. The party and the government are believed to be championing development strategies that favour the poor. One of the development thrusts is the promotion of development and growth of informal activities throughout the country. After realising that the government and the ruling party support the development of informal activities, people in the informal sector decided to align themselves with them. Masvingo as a city has been in the hands of the opposition party for more than a decade now but they have been pursuing neo-liberal urbanisation processes. The people in the informal sector, as a result, have been supporting the ruling party because of their development thrust that supports the cause of the people in the informal sector. Most of the people in the informal sector are, therefore, supporters or sympathisers of the ruling party and have connections with the government and the ruling party officials. So, it has been very easy for them to seek audience with people in the government and the party and they have been getting the much needed support. The people in the informal sector, therefore, believe that it is the support from the government and the ruling party that has seen the survival of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo up to today. Otherwise, there has been a determined effort to wipe out all activities of the informal sector from the city. The city of Masvingo is believed to be against the development of the phenomenon of informality because the policies they are following are neo-liberal and against the poor.

Whether the marriage between the government and the informal sector in the city of Masvingo is a genuine one, is another area for further investigation. In most cases such marriages are done for political expedience where the poor are exploited for political gains. Gerxhani (2004) argues that the informal sector is a major source of votes for politicians such

that politicians sometimes behave in such a way that they do not fight them in order to buy their votes. The governments and public bureaucracies may behave in ways that promote the activities of the informal sector as a way of protecting their political interest. According to Gerxhani (2004), politicians are rational beings that try to maximize opportunities that might arise and they might show support which is not supported by any legal framework, which is another recipe for disaster. To avoid exploitation and manipulation of the people in the informal sector, it is therefore, important and prudent to have the political support that is backed by the legal instruments that legalise their operations.

The government of Zimbabwe has managed to put in place the legal framework that supports the development of the informal sector, but it is the enforcement of the structures that is a problem in the city of Masvingo. Local authorities are believed to be semi autonomous agencies; hence it has been difficult for the government to directly manage their policies in their areas of jurisdiction. The government through the Ministry of Local Government and Urban Development only plays a supervisory role over local authorities. Why the government does not want to enforce the provisions of an Act of parliament that legalises the operations of the informal sector, is another big question that casts doubts on this marriage. Such an Act of parliament should force the city of Masvingo to embrace government policies because an Act of parliament supersedes city by-laws. The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo, where there is no clear policy on informality, paints a gloomy picture on the marriage between the informal sector and the public bureaucrats. It is therefore, important for the government and the ruling party to force the city to take deliberate moves that show that they embrace the issue of informality, e.g. forcing them to implement the national policy on informality. This will create a legal support system that will allow people in the informal sector to legally take part in the development and shaping of the city. In this way, they will be giving the informal sector the legal framework to claim their rights to the city because the people in the informal sector as citizens and inhabitants of the city of Masvingo have the right to be involved in the development of the city. It is therefore, also their right to participate in the development of the city because as city inhabitants they have the right to appropriate urban space and develop the city according to the desires of their hearts, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). Appropriation of city space according to Purcell (2013) is when city inhabitants have taken city space and are making use of it to meet their basic needs. Therefore, the situation obtaining in Masvingo, where people in the informal sector do not have access to spaces in the city is a negation of their rights to the city. Rights to the city can

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only be enjoyed when the city space has been given use values rather than the exchange values, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996), which allows every city inhabitant to use city space. So the people in the informal sector need to have access to city space in Masvingo and use that space to further their livelihoods as a way of enjoying their rights to the city. They should claim city space from city authorities because in some cases rights to the city are not God given, people have to fight for them, (Lefebvre 1968). Politicians and the government agencies, therefore, should help these people to access their rights to the city.

However the marriage between the informal sector and the central government in Masvingo seems to be somewhat beneficial because the central government has on several occasions stood up in support of the operations of the people in the informal sector in the city. For example, the government at some time went out of its way to make declarations that forced the city council to climb down from their position of hike daily rentals at the *Chitima* market. These hikes were believed to be a ploy to drive out the poor people operating in the *Chitima* market because most of them were likely to default the payments due to affordability problems. The people in the informal sector, therefore, strongly opposed the initiatives and went on to seek the involvement of the resident minister who was quick to make a decree to the city authority to stop the proposed hikes and up to now they are still paying the US$1 per day levy. The move to increase the charges in the *Chitima* market from US$1 to US$2 was seen as an unnecessary move because the site has no services and proper structures. Hence, there was no justification for rental increases. The people in the market also thought that the matter was unilaterally declared by the city authorities without any justification as the people in the informal sector were not consulted. So the intervention of the resident minister, who is the highest political figure in the province made the city council to shelve their plan to hike daily levies.

The people in the informal sector also sought support from the first lady, , who is believed to be sympathetic to the cause of people in the informal sector. The first lady is well known for her pronouncements in the city of Harare in support of the people in the informal sector to operate from the streets of Harare, where she declared that the people in the informal sector has the right to trade in the streets of city of Harare. The city of Harare had made a declaration to drive out all informal activities out of the streets of the city but the First Lady made an intervention that led to the city reversing their decision. She declared that everyone has a right to make a livelihood in the city, so the city authorities have no right to force all informal activities out of the streets of the city. The first lady was also regarded as the pseudo

president of the country because all her utterances were regarded as the presidential voice. Her pronouncement forced the city of Harare to reverse its decision to drive out informal activities from the streets of Harare. She called the municipal police to desist from harassing the vendors in the streets of Harare and the police stopped forthwith. Such precedence were well received by the informal sector throughout the country and one of the associations of the informal traders, the Association of Cross Border Traders commented that the first Lady was doing a good thing by making it possible for people in the informal sector to do their work, (New Zimbabwe 2015). The First Lady's pronouncement made the city of Harare to make a u-turn on the way they treat informal activities in the city. They started to plan for the informal sector and as of now there is a very successful partnership between the city of Harare and the private sector in building infrastructure for the people in the informal sector. They have also produced an informal sector policy for the city of Harare, which is directing the development and growth of informal activities.

It is the position of the First Lady towards the informal sector that the people in the city of Masvingo are trying to align with in anticipation that the impact that was made in Harare can also be replicated in Masvingo. Such a stand point gained overwhelming support from the informal activities in the city of Masvingo and as way of showing their support to the First Lady's position on informality they renamed the *Chitima* market to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre. (see Fig.6.1). The renaming of *Chitima* market to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre was not a mere coincidence but a strong political statement to show that the people in the *Chitima* market were in support with her position on the rights of the people in the informal sector to have access to space in the city. The banner was also meant to silence all other opposing voices especially from the city council, which was well known for its position against the development and growth of the informal sector. Pulling the banner down or closing the market would mean serious political statements against the ideals of the First Lady on informality. The council as a quasi government institution would not dare express that and as a result this has allowed the informal activities at the *Chitima* market to live to this day. So the city council allowed the informal activities to operate in the *Chitima* market. The area is the hive of activities by the informal sector.

Figure 6. 1: Rebranded Chitima Market to Dr. Grace Mugabe Trade Centre

Source: Survey (2016)

The people in the informal sector have also been supported by the government which has softened its stance on informality. Their militant attitude shown during the Operation Murambasvina is now softer and more engaging as they try to use the informal activities to stimulate economic development in the country. At present the government has crafted a policy on activities of the informal sector aimed at supporting the development and growth of the informal sector throughout the country as alluded above. However, there are some contestations in the city of Masvingo where they have maintained a heavy presence of their municipality police in the city centre to drive all informal activities out of the city. The city council has maintained an intolerant attitude towards informality because they have remained guided by their neo-liberal and modernist approach to planning, which does not tolerate any form of unplanned activities in the city.. Such modernist approaches do not favour the development and growth of informal activities as they call them unwanted and filthy, (Kamete 2013, 2017a). The city has therefore, maintained a strict policy on no informality in the city centre. However, in some areas such as the margins of the city and in the residential areas they have allowed them to operate. Such restricted access to city space does not augur well with the dictates of the rights to the city, which call for city inhabitants to have access to the city centre, (Harvey, 2003, 2008; Lefebvre 1968, 1996).Denial of informal activities in the city centre is a complete violation of these people's rights to the city because as

inhabitants of the city of Masvingo they have the right to access the city centre. According to Lefebvre (1996), access to the city centre is a right that should be enjoyed by all city inhabitants. According to him, there is no right to the city when city inhabitants are not allowed access to the city centre. He further argues that the city centre is the place of encounter, where most of the city's business is done; hence there is a need for everyone to enjoy access to such places of encounter. The right to the city regards a city as a political collectivity and a place where public interests are defined and realised, where the needs and aspirations of even the marginalised groups of the urban society such as the informal sector are realised, (Simone 2005). These aspirations are, however, not given on a silver platter but the people in the informal sector need to claim such rights from the city authorities, (Mustafa and Leitte 2002).

The Ministry of Youth, Employment Creation and Indigenisation is also offering spaces to the party youths to carry out their informal activities in the residential areas of Mucheke. These people were given open spaces that have been lying idle in these areas and they have been operating in strong defiance of municipal directives. However, because they have the support of government officials, they continue to occupy them. The politicisation of informal activities is also seen in the allocation of spaces in these areas, where people who are known to be in support of the government and the ruling party are given preference than those from the opposition. The allocation is on party lines so that the party builds and maintains its support base. So, most of the people in the *Chitima* market and many other idle open spaces are strong supporters of the ruling party and the government and most of them are actively involved in the structures of the ruling party. They know the processes to follow when they want to escalate their problems to higher offices of the government and party. The survival of informality in the city of Masvingo is, therefore said to be due to the politics of patronage. The people in the informal sector have been getting a lot of sympathy from the ruling party mainly because informal sector have been the project of the government and the ruling party. This has allowed the informal activities in the city to survive and operate with minimum interference from the city authorities. The city council has allowed them to carry out their activities but outside the city centre.

The informal sector is, therefore, thankful to the ruling party ZANU PF and government who have been supporting the development and growth of informal activities both at the national and local levels but the city council has never complimented these efforts hence the growth and development of the informal sector has been greatly stunted in the city. One of the reason

why they say so is that the city council has for long promised them that they are going to allocate them a piece of land that was designated for informal activities in 2005 but up to now they have not taken any action to service that land. Such delays do not reflect the level of demand for workspaces by the informal sector and the conditions most of them have been operating from for a long time in the city. One of the respondents in the informal sector said that

….   *If it was not for ZANU PF we could not have been operating even in these spaces outside the city because the city council does not want informal activities.*

However, most of the informal activities in the city prefer to operate in the city centre because they say that is where they can make good business. The city centre and the areas around the long distance bus terminus in Mucheke are the most preferred places for informal activities but these areas, especially the city centre, are prohibited areas for people in the informal sector, because the municipal police and, sometimes in conjunction with the Zimbabwe Republic Police, are on the lookout to flush all informal activities out of the city centre. They are determined to keep the city centre clean and orderly and they regard the city centre as the commercial centre of the city and informal activities are relegated onto the out-skirts.

The city council has been evoking their by-laws that criminalise these operations. For example, the Masvingo traffic by-law of 2005 (Statutory Instrument 105 of 2005) prohibits unauthorized vehicles to carry passengers in the city centre. According to this by-law all passenger carrying vehicles should have a route permit which allows them to carry passengers in the city centre and they should pick and drop passengers at designated points. However, the para-taxis have no route permits and do not pick and drop passengers at designated pick and drop points but they are all over the city. This, therefore, creates contestation with the city authorities who are always involved in running battles with them. Another by-law that governs the operations of vendors and other street traders is the Statutory Instrument 241 of 2015, which criminalises vending without a license. It does not allow any unlicensed business to be carried out in the city centre. Therefore, all vending activities which by nature are unlicensed are always involved in running battles with the city authorities. The Statutory Instrument 241 of 2015 also empowers the city council to confiscate and sell by public auction all goods and merchandise that is found being traded on undesignated areas. All these operations are aimed at pushing informal activities out of the city centre and keep

the city centre clean and orderly in line with their neo-liberal ethos of creating a world class city.

Such behavior, therefore, is in total defiance of the rights to the city for people in the informal sector, which calls for all city inhabitants to access the city centre for their livelihoods. The right to the city advocates for the promotion of use values of the city space rather than the exchange values rights, which tend to commodify city space, thereby excluding other users of the urban space, (Lefebvre 1996, 1968, Harvey 2008, Gross 1998). The commodification of urban space results in the displacement of income generating activities of the poor away from the city centre to make way for more economically competitive activities to take place. Squatters and vendors are, therefore, evicted from the city centre onto the periphery of the city in the name of order and modernity, (Gross 1998, Kamete 2013). This is a denial of their right to carry out their income generating activities in the city centre and is a total injustice, undemocratic and an injury of the civil liberty of the people in the informal sector, (Mitchell 2003, Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1968, 1991).

The proliferation of informal activities in the city of Masvingo has, therefore, been a result of political influence of the government of Zimbabwe and the ruling ZANU PF party because the city council has never made deliberate moves that show acceptance of informal activities in the city. The informal activities have, therefore, remained confined outside the city centre. The only flea market that was designated in the city centre is a project of government and the ZANU PF party and they have stood with these people for a long time. The city council has been forced through government agencies to allow them to operate at this site but without essential services, which again is a violation of their right to the city because as citizens they have the right to receive services from the city that will allow them to work and live in safe environments. They have the right to claim for such services and the city authorities have an obligation to provide such services to them without discrimination if it is an inclusive city, (Lefebvre 1968, Mitchel 2003). However, because of neo-liberal urbanisation policies pursued by the city there has been class homogenisation that has resulted in exclusion of the poor from accessing urban space and services, (Mitchell 2003, Simone 2005). Right to the city allows all city inhabitants to appropriate urban space and this appropriation should allow them to access, occupy and use urban space, (Lefebvre 1968, 199, Mitchell 2003).

People in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo have also been getting support from sympathisers in the legal fraternity, who has voluntarily been offering legal advice and

services to them to protect their rights. These lawyers have been advising people in the informal sector on their legal rights to the city and the implications of some of the city's pronouncements. For example, on the ongoing friction between the city council and the operators in the *Chitima* market, where the city council has been proposing some levy hikes and issuing threats to repossess vending stalls for those who fail to pay the proposed levies; the lawyers intervened and talked to the city council on behalf of these people and the threats to repossess the stands was stopped. The involvement of lawyers in support of the cause of informality has also forced the city council to refrain from wanton confiscation of their goods and repossession of their vending stalls knowing that they now have legal support. One of the key informants argue that

> *…informality is no longer a sector for the poor but a lot of well-to-do people of Masvingo have been involved in issues of the informal sector.*

All these initiatives have been helping the people in the informal sector to assert their right to the city especially the right to access urban space and have allowed them to constitute the form of the city of Masvingo. The legal support has also been used to fight against neo-liberal urbanisation processes in the city that are aimed at suppressing informal activities and the livelihoods of the poor in the city of Masvingo. The city's regulatory framework, which was crafted to support the neo-liberal urbanisation processes, does not allow informal activities and other activities that militate against the creation of an orderly and modern city. However, such practices are aimed at keeping the urban poor sidelined in the development and provisioning systems of the city, thereby denying these people their right to participate in the development and shaping of the city of Masvingo according to the desires of their hearts. Such practices are exclusionary and do not augur well with the dictates of the new forms of urbanisation that seek to establish inclusive urbanism and celebrate urban diversity and pluralism, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998, Harvey 2012,). They are also against the principles of a just and democratic city that calls for social justice and involvement of all city inhabitants in the running of the city, (Mitchell 2003). Cities of the global South have been suffering from the damaging effects of uneven development because of their insistence on neo-liberal urbanisation policies, which have been responsible for spatial and social inequalities, (Dilek 2007, Boer and de Vries 2002). This has resulted in the urban poor living in perpetual economic crisis because the neo-liberal urbanisation policies insist on issues of modernity and order in the city, which have no space for the livelihoods of the poor. The livelihoods of the poor have, therefore, been sacrificed on the altar of capital accumulation

and modernity, where the needs of the poor have not been given space in the neo-liberal order. The need to develop cities that can allow capital accumulation has taken centre stage in the development agendas of most cities of the 21st century, who are fighting to attract global finances. However, these development initiatives have rarely benefited the urban poor, (Potts 2008, Marcuse 2009, Bracking 2005, Brown 2001). Urbanisation in the new urbanism framework calls for inclusive urban policies that recognise and promote the needs of all urban inhabitants with special attention on the needs of the marginalised and the disadvantaged, (Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1996, 1968, UN-Habitat 2005). The insistence on neo-liberal urbanisation policies has also resulted in widespread government failure, where provisioning of essential services especially among the marginalised and vulnerable groups of the urban society has been very poor, (Connor, 2015).

The informal sector in the city of Masvingo has also been employing a militant approach to assert their right to the city. Some have been forcing themselves on the spaces of the city in a military way, where operators in the informal sector have been bold enough to occupy some of the vacant spaces in the city centre by force. However, they have also been facing an equally militant response from the city council that is determined to clear all city spaces of informal activities. The city council has been on the lookout for any illegal occupation of the city space and they are ready to flush them out at whatever cost. The informal sector has been moving into the city centre to occupy vacant spaces in the city centre, which are mainly undeveloped spaces in the city but they are always on the lookout for the municipal police and other law enforcement agencies. They have therefore crafted survival strategies to survive these running battles with the city authorities. For example, they will only keep just a few items with them while the rest of the goods are hidden somewhere, so that in case the municipal police raids them they can quickly go underground and then resurface when they are gone. The situation is typical of a cat and mouse game, where the people in the informal sector are always on high alert for the municipal police and ready to run into hideouts during police raids. One of the informal practitioners commented and said…

Pane bhutsu yemupurisa ndipo pane mari tinopadavo (These guarded places are the most lucrative business sites we also need them for our business).

However the chasing of informal sector from the city centre is a violation of their right to the city because according to Lefebvre (1968) there is no urban life without access to the city centre. The city centre is the place of encounter where everybody should have access to.

Some of the informal vendors have resorted to occupying the streets and the open spaces after hours when the municipal police have finished their daily duties. So at around half past four in the evening informal operators who will have been operating in the out-skirts of the town and other undesirable spaces will quickly move into strategic places to do their business until around eight or nine o'clock in the evening. Some of the people said that they can generate more revenue in the 3-4 hours they trade in the evening than the whole day they would have spent in the periphery of the city. Fig. 6.2 A and 6.2 B show the situation of one of the open space in the city centre during the day and the situation during the evening. During the day it will be deserted because the municipality is always on the surveillance to keep the streets of Masvingo free of informal vendors and during the evening it will be a hive of activities.

Figure 6. 2 A: **Day Situation** and B: **Evening Situation at Cnr Takawira and Hellet Street in Masvingo**

Source: survey (2016)

The prohibition of informal activities from accessing the city centre has therefore forced the people in the informal sector into nocturnal methods of doing their business in order to evade the municipal police. Instead of doing their business during the day some daring informal operators are coming to the city centre afterhours when the municipal police have knocked off.. The places that are most frequented at this time are those with high human traffic, such as, near big supermarkets like OK, TM PicknPay and Spar. These are strategic spaces because they allow brisk business to the extent that for the little time they will be in these places they can make good business. Some come into the city centre during weekends and

on holidays when the municipal police will be off duty and they can enjoy doing business without harassment from the city authorities. Rights to the city do not allow some people to get limited access to the city space but all should be allowed access to the city every time of the day, (Lefebvre 1968). According to Simone (2005) rights to the city should allow citizens to pursue their aspirations at any time and in any way. He further argues that city space should be conduits for realising people's aspirations not in a homogenised but a divergent and diversified way which reflects the city's composition. According to Simone (2005), therefore, rights to the city give all city inhabitants the chance and right to pursue multiple aspirations in cities where they live. All people in the city should have access to the city. The obtaining situation in the city of Masvingo where people in the informal sector can only access the city centre during the weekends, holidays and after hours negates the dictates of the rights to the city. The city should allow them to operate not in a haphazard way but they should plan for them to operate in the city.

Such practices do not augur well with the dictates of the right to the city and an inclusive city which call for all citizens to have access to city spaces every time. It also shows that the city does not embrace the issue of inclusive urban governance systems as some of the sectors in the city are not allowed total rights to the city, (Harvey 2003, 2008; Lefebvre 1996, 1968; UN-Habitat 2005). The demands of the new urban governance require city authorities to embrace informality as the new way of urbanisation, (Sherifat 2011, Roy 2005, 2009, Alijev 2015), hence the informal sector should be allowed right to access city space for their livelihoods every time of the day.

The effects of the economic meltdown that are being experienced since early 2000 have also given the informal sector the chance to assert their right to the city by creating opportunities to take up some prime spaces in the city of Masvingo. The economic melt-down resulted in the formal sector in the city center failing to fully utilise the spaces in the city. The industrial capacity utilisation in Zimbabwe isaveraging39% (Saungweme et.al. 2014), which means that most of the industries in the country are not able to operate at full capacity. In Masvingo the capacity utilisation of industries is well below that as it ranges from 20%-35%. Some of informal activities have been so brave to come forth to take up some of these under-utilised spaces in the city centre. They are entering into negotiations with property owners and getting leases that enable them to use that space for their operations. They then organise themselves into small groups so that they can share the space and rental in a more sustainable way. In this way the informal sector has been able to take up space in the city centre and

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carry out their business. Figure 6.3shows a former super market that has been changed into an informal mall.

Figure 6. 3: A former supermarket converted into an informal mall along Hellet Street in Masvingo

Source: Survey (2016)

In all these cases the informal operators have been using their resources to claim the use rights of these city spaces and some of the spaces are in the prime region, which is the commercial centre of the city. In such a situation the informal operators organised themselves into groups and they subdivided these spaces into small and manageable spaces so that each one will be paying his space according to the size they are occupying. Such arrangements have allowed the informal operators to access land in the city center and carry out their business just like any other city space user. This also gave them access to spaces that are lucrative for their business and they are managing to break even just like any other. These prime spaces were previously the preserve of the formal business operators but because of the economic meltdown the informal sector has taken over such spaces. According to some key informants the informal sector in the city of Masvingo is now using between 80 and 90% of the city space and therefore they are the major economic drivers in the city.

Arrangements such as forming small groups to rent out city spaces have allowed the informal sector to operate without any hassles from the city council because these arrangements are usually done with property owners. Such arrangements have allowed them to operate just like any other lease holders in the city. This has also allowed these informal activities to enjoy the same privileges just like the formal sector because they are operating in spaces that receive

services from the city council. They are, therefore, operating in safe and liveable spaces. This again has allowed them to be active participants in the development of the city of Masvingo. They are helping in the creation of the much needed employment in a city that is suffering from shrinking formal sector. They have also moved in to occupy space that could have been vacant and derelict, thereby keeping the cityscape active. Although the majority of the activities of the informal sector are operating in very precarious conditions, (Gunsilins et.al. 2011), some of the activities especially those that have taken up spaces from the formal sector are enjoying good service from the city council because the city council is offering their services as usual.

These informal activities that have managed to take up spaces that were formerly occupied by the formal sector have demonstrated that the informal sector, though regarded as activities of the poor, can be very profitable ventures because they are managing to match the rents demanded in the city centre. In this way, they support the notion that informal activities can match or even surpass the performance of the formal sector, (ILO 2000). ILO, (2000) further argues that the informal sector is not a disorganised sector but is a sector that has shown a very high degree of organisation where it has managed to set up networks of financial services and training programes that have managed to sustain their activities. In the city of Masvingo such levels of organisation are visible, where they have managed to organise themselves into groups so as to take up spaces in the city centre and they have also managed to solicit legal services from private legal institutions because of social networks that they have established. It therefore, shows that the informal activities can be organised to levels that are very high. These high levels of organisation have helped them to claim their right to use urban spaces, for example, the support from the legal fraternity has enabled them to survive harassment from the municipal police and other law enforcement agencies. Figure 6.4 is another picture of a town house that also has been taken over by a consortium of informal operators who are involved in various activities, such as, typing services, dress making, motor car repairs and manufacturers of school furniture and other repairs.

Figure 6. 4: Former town houses occupied by a group of informal operators to manufacture school furniture at the edge of city centre

Source; Survey (2016)

According to the town planning zoning, these activities are industrial but they are now being carried out in the city centre, which is primarily a commercial zone. These industrial activities are proliferating in the city centre and the city council is not doing anything to control them. Activities, such as, vehicle repair and metal fabrication are slowly creeping into the city centre, thereby creating conflict of use as the mixture of commercial and industrial is not usually harmonious.

In some cases, the people in the informal sector have organised themselves into coherent groups of resistance, where they form solidarity movements to assert their right to access city space and resist movements by the city council to evict and victimise them. For example, the city council has been issuing threats to evict informal operators at the *Chitima* market because they have refused to pay the adjusted levies of US$2.00 per day, but the people in the informal sector mobilised themselves to resist such moves. They demonstrated at the *Chitima* market, singing revolutionary songs and calling the government to intervene. They marched to the resident minister's office and handed in their petition. The resident minister responded by giving a directive to the city council not to effect any levy increase. The council adhered to the directive and up to now they are paying US$1.00 per day. The resistance has been militaristic and confrontational to the extent that some city council officials are now afraid to interact directly with the informal people in the *Chitima* market. They also demonstrated for the provision of an ablution block at the *Chitima* market and the city responded by providing one and plans are also on foot to provide similar facilities at other sites such as Rujeko, Pangolin and Hillside. The people in the informal sector have realised that rights cannot be

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given on a silver platter, they need to fight for these rights and the fights have been yielding results as in some cases the city authorities have been forced to respond to the needs of the informal sector.

The informal operators in para-taxis are the most militant groups in the city because every day they are involved in running battles with the municipal police and the Zimbabwe Republic Police who are fighting to stop their operation. This, however, has not deterred them from operating because they always devise ways of evading them. Some of the ways include bribing these law enforcement agents to buy their way into the city centre. One of the para-taxi operator said they have to go out of our way to get permission to carry people ….. *It's so hard to survive…. we need to go an extra mile to survive and bribing is a common way out because in these hash economic environments we all want to survive …. Kana tikarega ivo nesu tose tinofa nenzara (failure to do this the police and us will all die of hunger).*

They have, therefore, managed to establish networks with these law enforcement agencies to the extent that in some cases where they do not have the money for the bribe the law enforcement agents will allow them to operate and then pay their bribes latter in the day when they have accumulated generated some income. They fight every morning to find their way into town even risking having spikes thrown at them and their vehicles being impounded by the municipal police. The municipal police are so determined to flush out these para-taxi operators because, according to the city by-laws, the informal sector is not following the laid down procedures in the transportation of passengers in the city.

The city of Masvingo needs to take a deliberate policy to integrate and regularise the activities of the informal sector in the development of the city in order to fully take advantage of the contribution of the informal sector to the development of the city. The informal sector has the potential to sustain the development of cities and, according to some researches, the informal sector has developed to be the new urbanisation process not only in the cities of the global South but also in the global North, (Sherifat 2011, Roy 2005, 2009, Alijev 2015). Alijev (2015) further commented that informality is now regarded as the version of modernity, hence needs to be embraced by all cities. Embracing informality will allow the people in the informal sector to enjoy user rights to city space because the city spaces have been given the use values rather than the exchange values that exclude other urban space users from accessing urban space (Lefebvre 1968, 1991, 1996). Informality has developed to be the new form of urbanisation to the extent that it is no longer tenable to suppress it or to

imagine a city without it, (Roy 2005, 2009, Huchzermeyer 2011,UN-Habitat 2005, 2010a,2010b). They are no longer a transitory phenomenon in urban areas but permanent features in cities, especially in cities of the global South, (Alijev 2015; Romatet 1983, Potts 2008, Kamete 2013, 2007). It is also playing a critical role in the provision of employment and sustenance of economies; hence the planners and decision makers should recognise this and assist them to play their roles (Kamete 2013, Romatet 1983, Fields 1990). Informality is an urban reality, (Gerxhani 2004, Alijev 2015, Roy 2005, 2009), and in some cases it has developed to go beyond survivalist activities of the poor, to play a very important role in job creation and development of the city, (Portes and Shauffler 1993).

The informal sector has also been seen to be the means that can accelerate poverty reduction in cities because of its ability to generate and even increase incomes among the urban poor. It is against this background that the activities of the informal sector should be promoted and protected, (Sen 2005). The urbanisation poverty in cities of the global South demands that city authorities to adopt a paradigm shift in the way they do their business and take steps to embrace new land uses such as informality that has been offering livelihoods to millions of the urban poor. These livelihood strategies are helping the poor to survive in urban areas where the formal sector has been failing to provide livelihoods (Kamete 2013). Despite the importance of these livelihoods of the poor to the urban poor, some cities have not been able to cover them in their operating regulatory framework and they have been operating in very hazardous environments, thereby limiting their right to the city. It therefore calls for a paradigm shift in the way cites are running their business so that they embrace these emerging land uses and provide for them.

Most cities in the global South still believe that their cities are for the affluent and the poor's rightful place is the rural areas hence their planning and regulatory frameworks do not cover the urban poor, (Huchzermeyer 2011). This is a denial of the urban poor's right to the city because, according to the provisions of the right to the city, every city inhabitant has the right to access the city center and to receive services that will lead to a healthy life. Huchzermeyer (2011) further argues that cities are in constant attempts to eradicate activities of the informal sector by relocating them outside the city where there are no services in complete violation of these people's rights to the city. Planning in these cities, therefore, need to recognise the city's diversity and plan for it in order to produce cities that are more inclusive and just, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998, Miraftab and McConnell 2008, Watson 2007). The right to the city calls for an urban management that caters for all its inhabitants and special

attention being given to the marginalised and disenfranchised groups of the urban society who should be given preference in their service delivery, (Fisher et.al. 2013, Harvey 2012, 2008, 2003, Lefebvre 1991, 1996, 1969). The right to the city also gives the city inhabitants the right to freedom from the police and state harassment. The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo where the municipal police and, in some cases with the help of the Zimbabwe Republic Police, are involved in running battles with informal operators, para-taxi operators and other street vendors, driving them out of the city centre is a gross violation of their right to use urban space. These people, as city inhabitants have the right to use the city centre for the fulfillment of their different aspirations, (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012, Simone 2005). Para-taxi operators, street vendors, vegetable and fruit vendors have the right to use the city centre for their business and this is fundamental to all city inhabitants. Lefebvre (1996) further argues that there is no right to the city without access to the city centre.

6.2. Service delivery in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo.

The growth of informal activities in cities of the global South is associated with a lot of problems, most of which are to do with the management and delivery of services. In most cases the informal sector is found to be operating in areas where city services do not reach, as a result, most informal activities are found operating with minimum or no services. The neo-liberal urbanisation policies pursued by cities of the global South are said to be responsible for the marginalisation of informal activities in cities' service delivery. Most of the cities of the global South are managed by rigid regulatory frameworks that take very long to reform in order to accommodate new land uses that are coming up due to urbanisation of poverty, (Chirisa and Dumba 2011). Most of the management systems in these cities are transplants from developed countries who happen to be their erstwhile coloniser with no experience of the phenomenon of informality, (Potts 2008, Kamete 2007). For example, Zimbabwe has borrowed the engineering type of planning from the British type of planning and this type of planning does not tolerate any unplanned activities such as the informal activities. Despite the fact that informal sector has grown to be the major drivers of the economy of cities of the global South, the planning system in Zimbabwe and other cities in the global South have remained unreformed and unaccommodative of activities of the informal sector (Kamete, 2007, 2017a, 2013, Potts 2006, 2008, Yaw 2007, Devey et.al. 2006).

The city of Masvingo has been found to be struggling to embrace the activities of the informal sector in their provisioning systems. Despite some of the informal activities being in formally planned areas, the services that were enjoyed by the formal sector have been discontinued. For example, the area at Mucheke bus terminus, Pangolin and Zvigayo, were formerly designated for the light industrial area with a full complement of services such as water, sewer and refuse collection. Now that the area has been taken over by the informal sector, such services have been stopped. The situation is even dire in areas where the informal activities have just occupied vacant places because the city council has never attempted to extend essential service to these areas. Most of informal activities are, therefore, operating without essential services such as water, sewer reticulation and refuse collection, thereby exposing them to the risk of contracting diseases. They are forced to bring water from their homes for use in their operation. The most affected activities are those which use water in their operations, such as, informal activities that are into spray painting, panel beating, and car washing. These activities require a lot of water and they have to bring water from their homes in buckets. Such working environments are not only dangerous to the people in the informal sector but the city as a whole as it puts it at the risk of disease out breaks. If some sections of the city are not healthy it therefore impact negatively on the sustainability of the whole city. In order for the city to be sustainable it should be able to cater for even the marginalised groups of the city. Failure to provide services to these marginalised groups does not go well with the demands of environmental justice, which call for environmental justice to be afforded to every citizen including the marginalised groups of the society, (Schlosberg 2004, Agyeman and Evan 2004). A city can only enjoy environmental justice if everyone in the city enjoys the same degree of protection from environmental and health hazards, (Laurent 2011).The need for safe and liveable spaces for the informal sector is often neglected by many city authorities who are accused of preferring to provide services to the more affluent groups of the urban society. However, according to the dictates of the right to the city and environmental justice, every city inhabitant has the right to receive services so as to allow them to access basic needs (Laurent 2011).

The city of Masvingo has also been failing to offer waste collection services in areas occupied by the informal sector. Table 6.1 shows the frequency of collection of waste in areas from which the informal sector operates.

Table 6. 1: Waste collection frequency in informal areas.

Frequency of waste collection	Sector of informality				
	Repairs (%)	Manufacturing (%)	Retailing (%)	Services (%)	Total (%)
No collection	23	13	30	4	60
Weekly	0	0	0	14	14
Monthly	10	10	6	0	26
Total	33	23	36	18	100

Source: Survey (2016)   (n =100)

Table 6.1 shows that there is poor waste collection in most areas of informality because over 60% of the respondents said there is no collection in their areas and these areas include Mucheke, Pangolin, Runyararo West and Hillside areas. Only 14% expressed that the collection is done on weekly basis and these are informal activities working on the only planned site in the city centre. There is also a section of informal areas where refuse is collected only once a month and these constitute 26% and these are areas that include the Mucheke home Industries near the Mucheke bus terminus and the *Chitima* market. The sites of informal activities which are receiving no or minimum service delivery are mostly located in the low income residential areas. The only planned informal site, which is in the city centre, is only receiving waste collection once a week. However, the place also does not have water and ablution facilities and they are forced to use the one in the civic centre. They are also forced to use communal a water tape in the civic centre, which does not have water every time as sometimes it will be closed. In comparison, other formal areas such as Mucheke bus terminus, the City centre, Mucheke high density areas, Industrial areas and Rujeko high density areas are receiving waste collection services on average three times a week, and other areas such as the Mucheke bus terminus is receiving waste collection nearly every day including on weekends. In contrast an area occupied by the informal sector that is just behind Mucheke bus terminus is receiving waste collection only once a month showing that the city does not treat the informal sector the way they treat the formal areas in the city. Table 6.2 compares the waste collection services in areas occupied by the informal and formal activities. There is glaring evidence of bias towards the formal sector than the informal sector

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in their delivery of waste collection services in the city of Masvingo and this does not augur well with the dictates of environmental justices, which calls for fair distribution of environmental bads and goods in the city. For example, the only site that is designated for informal activities in the city centre only receive waste collection once a week while the rest of the city centre receives the same services five times a week. This is despite the fact that this site is right in the city centre and also just abating the municipal offices.

Table 6. 2: Formal and informal waste collection frequency in Masvingo

Area	Formal	Informal
City centre	5times a week	Once a week
Mucheke high density residential area	5 times a week	Not collecting
Industrial area	4 times a week	Once a month
Rujeko high density residential area	4 times a week	Not collecting
Mucheke bus terminus	6 times a week	Once a month

Source: Survey (2016)

The *Chitima* market is an area that has heavy human traffic because it houses the biggest agricultural produce market and other traders. However, the market only receives waste collection at least once a month while the Mucheke bus terminus, which is now defunct bus station because most of the long distance buses no longer prefer to use it but it is receiving waste collection six times a week, including on weekends. The practice shown by the city of Masvingo is so rigid and unfair on the part of the informal sector because they are not offering the same services as those offered in the formal sector and even the events indicate that areas occupied by the informal sector demand more service, they are not ready to adjust. Such practices are common in cities in the sub-Saharan Africa, because where people in the informal sector are forced to live there are minimum services and are mostly confined in areas without important services, (Kamete 2017a). According to Kamete (2017b), people in the informal sector are always found in spartialised enclaves where the rights of the inhabitants are completely stripped off to resemble people in a detention camp. The planning

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systems in these cities do not have a budget for provision of services in the informal sector and such actions, according to Kamete (2017b), epitomises the drama of the rights of the people in the informal sector to receive services from the city authorities. This has resulted in most informal activities operating and living in conditions that are sub-human and this is contrary to the provisions of environmental justice which calls for fair distribution of environmental goods and bads.

However, the informal people in the city of Masvingo are doing whatever is in their capacity to at least create better working and living conditions in areas they are working. They are employing various initiatives to clean their areas and these initiatives include burning of waste, recycling material (for those in metal and wood industries) or just heaping waste outside their working spaces. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show some of the ways that the people in the informal sector were using to dispose their waste.

Figure 6. 5: Openly dumped waste at Pangolin and Hillside Shopping areas

Source; Field Survey (2016)

Figure 6. 6: Dumped scrap metal and burning waste in Mucheke

Source Survey (2016)

The figures above show some of the rudimental environmental management practices that are undertaken by the people in the informal sector in their attempts to keep their environments clean. These methods are, however, likely to cause further environmental problems in the city because activities such as burning are likely to create more green house gases that damage the ozone layer, thereby exacerbating problems of climate change. The heaped scrap metal in Mucheke home industries is very close to the residential area (less than 8m) and this exposes these people to other risks because these heaped scrap metal can be home to disease carrying agents such as rodents and mosquitoes and other dangerous animals such as snakes. The people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo are, therefore, working in environments that are a threat not only to their lives but to the lives of the rest of the city. Therefore, failure to provide services to the informal sector is not only exposing people in the informal sector to the risk of disease outbreaks but the whole city is facing the same risk. This is a denial of their right to receive services from the city they live, which has an obligation to serve the diversity of its citizens.

The city of Masvingo needs to recognise the operations of the informal sector as new citizens of the city who have the right to receive services from it so that they can plan and extend their services to these areas. They need to plan for them by allocating them spaces that are well serviced just like any other urban space user so as to solve the social injustices that are being perpetrated on this sector due to poor service delivery. Cities in the global South need to adopt pro-poor development initiatives, where there is promotion of development interventions that lead to upliftment of the welfare of the poor. The negative perception that most cities in the global South have towards informality has resulted in most of the activities

of the informal sector being carried out in areas that rarely get services from the city authority, (UN-Habitat 2010a, 2010b, Kamete 2017a). This violation constitutes environmental injustices because, according to right to the city, every city inhabitant has the right to work, play and live in safe and liveable spaces,(Ageyman and Evan 2004). Also, according to principles of environmental justice, every citizen has the right to receive environmental protection. Denying the people in the informal sector good working environments is therefore denying them their right to city services, which is a right for every city inhabitant. Right to the city, according to Fisher et.al. (2013), aims to deliver among other things environmental justice and access to city services. This right is not offered selectively but each and every city inhabitant has to enjoy them and special attention should be given to marginalised groups of urban communities who should be proritised in giving city inhabitants their rights to the city (Lefebvre 1996; Harvey 2003, 2012). When the marginalised people of the society are included in the development initiatives of the city through initiative that uplift their welfare, this will result in sustainable development (Chambers and Conway 1991). Environmental injustice often experienced by the urban poor is a result of unfair distribution of environmental bads and goods, where the urban poor are forced to live in areas characterised by vulnerable ecological environments due to poor services while the affluent groups of the city are the only ones that enjoys the environmental goods (Masika and Joekes 1997, Ageyman and Evan 2004). Usually the exclusionary planning approaches adopted by the city are responsible for poor servicing in the communities of the urban poor. These planning systems are elitist, because they encourage the city to only insist on regulations and standards that benefit only the affluent groups and ignore the needs of the disadvantaged groups, which is likely to cause class struggles as the disadvantaged people strive for social justice. This is a denial of the urban poor's right to receive good services from the city authorities just the same way every other citizen. Such planning approaches also create an urban underclass, which is a group of people that have been denied access to mainstream opportunities and services, (Wilson et.al. 2008).

The other initiatives that are undertaken by the people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo to clean their work places include organizing themselves into groups and assigning each other duties to clean areas they are working in. The people at the *Chitima* market and those at the only designated flea market in the city centre have been cleaning their work places but they are just heaping the waste outside their work places, thereby creating another nuisance and environmental disaster. Some informal operators are producing wastes that

require special collection methods; these include those in car breaking, and those in production of aluminum pots. These people incur huge financial costs in hiring trucks to carry their waste and dump them away from their work places. This is causing further environmental damages to the whole city. Mucheke River and areas along it have been the preferred dumping places and the river is now heavily polluted to the extent that it can no longer support any aquatic life and the area along the river is unsightly. Although the people in the informal sector are taking it upon themselves to provide some services it is proving to have even further environmental problems to the city because they are dumping the waste everywhere. The environmental threat that has been caused by poor waste management especially on Mucheke river and its environs should be a wakeup call to the city authorities to try and plan for improved service delivery in the informal sector, especially service that involves waste collection and disposal. This will not only improve the working environments of people in the informal sector but has a wide ranging impact on the sustainability of the whole city.

Environmental management is a very critical component in the sustainability of the city; hence the city should devise environmental management systems that cater for every city inhabitant, including people in the informal sector. Table 6.3 shows some of the initiatives that are employed by the people in the informal sector to create safe and liveable work space.

Table 6. 3: Initiatives taken by the informal sector to create safe and liveable workspaces

Initiative	Percentage	Frequency
Use own trucks to ferry waste away	8	8
Just through waste way	36	36
Organise ourselves to carry waste to dump sites	5	3
Recycle our waste	51	51
Total	100	100

Source: Field Survey (2016)   (n =100)

The people in the informal sector are therefore doing whatever they can to create better working environments in their work spaces. Recycling is the most popular way of reducing waste in the informal sector, where people, especially those in the metal and wood carving industries, are recycling most of their waste so that they reduce the amount of waste metal at

their work places. The rest of the scrap metal that is not recyclable is just dumped outside their work places. Some people in the informal sector used to recollect these scrap metals for resale but because of the closure of industries they are no longer doing so and the scrap metal is just left to accumulate in and around the city especially in areas where there are informal activities. The recycling was very useful in reducing the waste that is left to accumulate in the city without being collected. These scrap metals now remain dumped in these areas, thereby exposing the people in the informal sector and the city at large to threats of disease outbreaks (See Figure6.7).

Figure 6. 7: Waste metal in residential areas at Mucheke home Industrial area

Source: Field Survey (2016)

The initiatives taken by the people in the informal sector to help in the management of waste is a very noble initiative that can be adopted by the city council to involve the informal sector in waste management of the city. If these initiatives could be supported by injecting resources either from the private sector or from the local authority this could go a long way in creating safe and liveable work places for people in the informal sector. This is also likely to lead to a more sustainable management of the environment in the city. This is because it promotes participation of locals in the management of waste, which is more sustainable because it will be using local resources, (Chambers and Conway1991; Ellis 2000). The people in the informal sector can be critical players in waste management and their participation in is an essential component for sustainable development, (Hahn 2009). Hahn (2009) further argues that there are great opportunities in involving the urban poor in development initiatives but these opportunities are often neglected and this has resulted in unsustainable urban development. Sustainable development means that all the people are given the chance to contribute their ideas in development. In this case the people in the informal sector have initiated a lot to address problems of waste management in the sector but their initiatives are

not complimented by the city of Masvingo, hence they have remained rudimental and ineffective. For example, the people in the informal sector have managed to collect the waste at some points, the council can then bring their vehicles to transport this waste to designated dumping areas rather than leaving it dumped everywhere. Complementing these efforts creates partnerships with the people in the informal sector in waste management. Such partnerships will help to create safe environments not only for the people in the informal sector but also for the city as a whole. In addition, such efforts will go a long way in giving the people in the informal sector their rights to environmental justice and access to city services (Fisher et.al. 2013).

As already alluded to above, waste collection in areas where the informal sector are operating, is done at least once per month and in some areas such services is not available and there is no plan that the city will extend such services to them. This is unlike the areas where formal activities are done, where the schedule for collection of waste is at least three times a week (industrial areas) and in some areas such as the city centre and the Mucheke bus terminus services such services are provided every week day including the weekends. Such practices show discrimination in the way the formal and the informal sectors are treated in waste management. The most affluent people are preferred in the delivery of services while the people in the informal sector, who represent the urban poor, are going without such services. (See Table 6.2 above).The best serviced areas in the informal sector are only getting such services only once a week while most areas are getting it once a month and the some of the informal sites are not receiving the services. There should be an equitable share of environmental ills and risks in the city in order to achieve environmental justice, (Schlosberg 2004; Wilson et.al. 2008). The urban poor are however always found in environmentally hazardous places and this place a special burden on them because the poor environments add a cost on the way they do their business. Staying in such hazardous environments is a violation of people in the informal sector's right to safe environments, which is a right that should be enjoyed by every citizen of the city of Masvingo.

Other unorthodox means of environmental management practiced by the people in the informal sector, such as burning, cause further environmental problems. Figure 6.8 shows an environmental disaster that has been caused by burning waste at *Chitima* market, where a cloud of smoke was engulfing part of the city centre from burning of waste at the *Chitima* market. The greater part of the city was engulfed by a cloud of smoke exposing the city to respiratory diseases.

Figure 6. 8: A cloud of smoke engulfing the *Chitima* market and Pangolin Business centre in Mucheke high Density area.

Source; Field Survey (2016)

Such working environments are not good, not only for the people in the *Chitim*a market but also to the broader city environment because the gases produced from burning of such waste can exacerbate the effects of climate change. Environmental justice calls for reduction of such environmental impacts and elimination of all environmental threats that harm people, (Schoenfish and Johnson 2010). Schoenfish and Johnson (2010) further argue that environmental justice is for all citizens and environmental discrimination exposes the discriminated people to a high risk of harm. Reduction of such risks will go a long way in improving the lives of the poor who always find it difficult to access important city services or are working where important services are inadequate, (Rocha 1997, Satterhwaite et.al 2018). According to Wilson et.al. (2008) the urban poor are always found working and living in risky landscapes where they are exposed to environmentally hazardous environments such as air pollution and urban decay; such practices do not augur well with the dictates of environmental justice which call for fair distribution of environmental goods and bads. This also does not augur well with the dictates of sustainable development, which call for poverty alleviation efforts among the poor and the vulnerable groups through improving the living conditions. Environmental justice is a right for all urban citizens; it calls for protection from environmental degradation and advocates for every citizen to live, work and play in healthy environments, (Schoenfish and Johnsen 2010; Agyeman and Evans 2004). This is again a critical component for an inclusive city which calls for all citizens to be included in the city's provisioning systems as it allows for social inclusion and social justice.

However, there is a very big disparity in service delivery between the formal and the informal sector in the city of Masvingo where there is preferential treatment of the formal sector,

which is a direct violation of the principles of the right to the city and environmental justice. Rights to the city call for all the city inhabitants to be accorded the same treatment in terms of service provision, while environmental justice calls for fair distribution of environmental goods and bads. It therefore, means that the discrimination of the informal sector in service provision in the city of Masvingo is a denial of these people's right to the city and an environmental injustice perpetrated on the informal sector. Coggin and Pietersen (2012) argue that such practices divide the city between the propertied and privileged on one hand and the property less and the underprivileged on the other and this is not healthy for a city as it creates class struggles. Cities of the 21st century should celebrate urban diversity where all city inhabitants are given equal treatment in service delivery. Coggin and Pietersen (2012) further argue that the right to the city does not promote divisions in the city, it endeavours to dismantle all structures that produce exclusionary practices in the city by allowing every citizen access to city services. The city of Masvingo therefore, needs to acknowledge and recognise the people in the informal sector as citizens of the city and hence provide the important services that they need for them to enjoy environmental justice. Denying them these important services is a denial of their rights to the city. The city is not only for the propertied and the affluent people but it is also a city for the poor, as such, those in the informal sector, deserve the right to receive city services, (Harvey 2008). A city is a political collectivity and a place where public interests are defined and realised, (Mustafa and Leitte 2002). It therefore, means that all the people in the city, including the people in the informal sector, should be allowed to realise their interest in the city and some of the interest include access to safe and liveable urban spaces in the city of Masvingo. Failure to embrace urban diversity is sometimes blamed on the insistence on neo-liberal urbanisation policies, which are usually characteristically old and rigid regulatory frameworks that exclude other urban space users from using urban space. These urban policies need to be reformed so that they embrace the new forms of urbanism, which embraced urban diversity, (UN-Habitat 2010a, 2010b; Roy 2005, 2009; Chirisa and Dumba 2011). These restrictive urban planning policies have failed to cater for the urban poor because they have failed to embrace livelihoods of the poor and such practices promote segregation in urban societies, (Potts 2008; Fainstein 2005; Coggin and Pietersen 2012; Chirisa and Dumba 2011). Traditional planning systems have long been overtaken by events of 21st century urbanism, which demand an urbanisation process that caters for the urban poor. There is realisation that urban poverty is a reality, especially in cities of the global South, (Roy 2005, 2009); hence there is a need to plan for alleviation or even eradication of poverty. The new land uses that are giving livelihoods to

the informal sector need to be catered for by providing services that will allow practitioners in these sectors to enjoy urban life.

6.4. Informality in the city of Masvingo: The integration question

The people in the informal sector do not believe that the city of Masvingo embraces the phenomenon of informality. There is a strong feeling among the people in the informal sector that Masvingo is just paying a lip service to issues of informality, because they just agree in principle on informality but in practice they are not taking any steps to show that they embrace the phenomenon. Such behaviour is seen by the way the informal sector is neglected in terms of providing essential services that will make their spaces safe and liveable. The city has failed to provide various services which include provision of working space to the informal sector, provision of important services, such as, water, sewer, waste collection and sanitation. They have also failed to improve the deplorable and hazardous environments under which the informal sector is working. The city is also accused of employing a militaristic approach in dealing with the people in the informal sector where there is always a cat and mouse game between the people in the informal sector and the city authorities. They deploy their municipal police, sometimes with the help of the Zimbabwe Republic Police, to chase out of the city centre all informal activities. In some cases they employ very dangerous tactics such as throwing spikes to moving pirate taxis, thereby exposing everybody to dangers of accidents. This militaristic approach shows that the city does not tolerate the activities of the informal sector but the people in the informal sector are fighting for their right to use urban space. The city of Masvingo still believes in an orderly and modern city and such behaviour excludes other urban land users from enjoying the use rights to urban space, (Harvey 2003, 2008, Lefebvre 1991, 1996). According to Sembiring and Nitivattananom (2010), the informal sector in many cities is suffering from exclusionary urban policies that are seen to be against the needs of informal activities. These policies promote the needs of a few affluent and wealthy classes of the city at the expense of the marginalised and the poor. Such policies are against the dictates of the right to the city, which call for all city inhabitants to be afforded the right to use urban space and enjoy urban services offered by the city; (Lefebvre 1968, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012).Table 6.4 shows the informal sector's perceptions on how the city of Masvingo has embraced the informality phenomenon.

Table 6. 4: Masvingo city's perception on informality by sector of informality

Perceptions	Nature of informality				Total (%)
	Repairing (%)	Manufacturing (%)	Retailing (%)	Service (%)	
City embrace informality	0	1	6	4	11
City does not embraces informality	6	3	7	5	21
City just pay lip service	15	17	21	9	62
City is at war with informality	2	2	2	o	6
Total	23	23	36	18	100

Source; Survey (2016) (n =100)

The majority (89%) of the people in the informal sector seem to converge on the notion that the city does not have any meaningful policies that can advance the development and growth of informal activities in the city. They pointed out that the city is either just paying a lip service or is doing nothing and some are of the opinion that the city is actually at war with informality. The city therefore seems to be lagging behind in terms of embracing the issues of informality because the demands of the people in the informal sector in terms of spaces and environmental justice have not been met by the city of Masvingo. This is obtaining despite the generally observed view that informal activities especially in cities of the global South are the main drivers of economies and the growing call for embracing of activities of the informal sector for economic development. In some cities, the informal sector has been responsible for over 90% of the new jobs created in their cities, (ILO 2000; Devey et.al. 2006; Jackson 2012) and in other cities the informal sector has been producing goods and services that are exported to other countries, thereby generating the much needed foreign currency, (Yaw 2007; Sonobe et.al. 2011), In sub-Saharan Africa the informal sector has been contributing more than 45% of the country's Gross Domestic Product, (Kamete 2013). Such contributions demands that the informal sector be embraced and provided for in urban areas. In Zimbabwe, the informal sector has been regarded as the main economy of the country because the formal sector has collapsed, (Musoni 2010, Jones 2010, Potts 2006, Kamete 2007). It therefore, strengthens the idea that informal activities should be integrated in the mainstream economy and be allowed to benefit from the services that the city is providing. Masvingo city is, however, failing to benefit from all these potential economic benefits because of their exclusionary urbanisation policies that do not fully embrace the phenomena of informality. This has a dual effect of economic stagnation and disenfranchising the people in the informal sector of their right to develop a city according to

the desires of their hearts. Despite the fact that the informal sector is believed to be using between 80-90% of city's space in Masvingo, the city remains unmoved and continues to marginalise the informal sector in their development. By integrating informality in the mainstream economy the city will give the people in the informal sector their right to participate in the development of the city and also allow the city to benefit from the economic potential offered by the integration process. These include; creation of employment, provision of livelihoods and creation of cleaner environments. Marginalising the informal sector like what is happening in the city of Masvingo is a refusal of the role that the informal sector can play in the economy and a denial of their right to the city. This is likely to lead to exclusion of economic contribution the sector can have to the development of the city. However, right to the city allows for all city inhabitants to have access to city space and access to city services for their livelihoods. Failure to provide such services is travesty of justice to the marginalised people of the city and a denial of their right to the city. It therefore, means that if the city of Masvingo is serious on the integration of informal activities they need to show that by offering services that will allow the informal sector to live and work in safe and liveable spaces.

The situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo where only eleven percent think that the city embraces the issues of informality cements the fact that the city is doing very little to promote the development and growth of informality in the city. Their insistence on old and colonial regulatory instruments that do not recognise the activities of informality has continued to see the marginalisation of activities of the informal sector in the city. The city has various pieces of legislation that have been used to suppress the development and growth of the informal sector e.g. the Hawkers Licence which refer to informal activities as predominantly rural traders who come to town to sell their agricultural products There is need for reformation of such legal instruments so that there are instruments that support the development of informal activities. This will give the informal sector space in the city and allow them to enjoy their right to access the city centre to do their business.

The city of Masvingo has never moved an inch to reform such instruments to reflect the new thinking towards informality and the reality of the city. This is obtaining despite moves by the government to promote informal activities by promulgating an enabling regulatory framework that include a policy pronouncement and an enactment of legislative instruments that promote informal activities. Some cities in the global South have embraced informality and are reaping a lot because this sector has been the major source of employment in the face

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of a shrinking formal sector. Informality is a reality in urban areas, hence the city of Masvingo should take steps to repeal some of repressive legislations and come up with new regulatory frameworks that reflect the current situation in the city. For a city whose economic base is only 20% formal and the informal sector is said to be occupying more than 80% of the city's space, they should surely reform and address the integration of the informal sector.. Other cities, such as, Bulawayo have closed some streets and has given such space to the informal sector as a way of trying to integrate informal activities in the city. This is not only an economic empowerment of the informal sector but is a way of democratising the urban space by giving the people in the informal sector access to city space. It is travesty of economic justice for the city of Masvingo to continue to regard the informal sector as temporary rural traders as defined by the Hawkers License while the sector is occupying the majority of the city space. They are citizens of the city who are involved in various activities that range from manufacturing, repair, service and street vendors. It therefore, calls for another look on such pieces of legislation so as to create enabling environments for the operation of informal activities in the city and the integration of the sector in the mainstream economy. Every citizen has the right to develop the city according to the desires of their heart, (Harvey 2008, 2012)

The Regional Town and Country Act (chpt. 29:12)is another piece of legislation that has been used to discriminate informality in the city of Masvingo as it calls for all urban space users to obtain a permit from the city council for them to be permitted to operate in the city. Failure to do so, the act empowers the local authority to confiscate all the goods being traded. People in the informal sector are, therefore, frequently raided by the municipal police and their goods confiscated and such acts are a total violation of people's right to use city space. They are not allowed to do their business in the city centre. The informal sector like any other city inhabitant s has the right to the city centre because according to Lefebvre (1996) there is no city without access to the city centre. There is a need to consider the provision of the Regional Town and Country Act (chpt. 29:12) so that they create instruments that can regularise activities of the informal sector. There are provisions in this act that allow the city to regularise activities that they deem to be operating outside the regulatory framework. For example, according to section 27 of the Regional Town and Country Act, local authorities can regularise activities that are operating outside the provisions of the act. Such provisions have, however been ignored by the city authorities who concentrated on sections that criminalise the informal sector. Regularising these activities can go a long way in integrating

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the activities of the informal sector and in this way they will be mainstreaming them in the economy of the city and giving them, their right to the city. The call for regularisation is in line with the contribution the informal sector can make to the economies of cities of the global South in general and Masvingo in particular. If the city could regularise these activities it will iron out all the clashes and the violence that characterise the relationship between the informal sector and the city council. This regularisation can also give the city council power to plan for the informal sector and this will help to provide services that will improve the working environments in the informal sector thereby giving them their right to the city. Regularisation will also allow people in the informal sector to have unallienated rights to access and use urban space, (Lefebvre 1968, 1996; Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). According to the UN-Habitant (2005), there is a need for legal instruments that support the right to the city of the urban poor because without it is very difficult for the urban poor to enjoy their right to the city.

The operating pieces of legislations in the city of Masvingo have therefore, been long overtaken by events of the 21st century, because new forms of urbanism are calling for embracing of urban diversity and for a planning system that caters for this diversity. However, the existing pieces of legislation in the city of Masvingo are only used to criminalise the operations of the informal sector and their criminalisation means that they are left outside the provisioning system of the city. However, environmental justice is predicated on the principle that all people in the city must have the right to protection from environmental degradation and environmental protection is regarded as a basic right, where all people have the right to live, work, and play in safe and healthy environments, (Schoenfish and Johnsen 2010, Wilson et.al. 2008). The informal sector, because of the contribution it is making to economies of cities of the global South, demands a special attention from the city authorities to try and embrace it as a new form of urbanism, (Roy 2005, 2009). Roy (2009) further argues that the traditional planning systems are failing to provide for urban societies, so there is a need for a new planning theory that will reorient town planning systems so that they will plan for the urban poor and the diversity of the urban society.

In South Africa, the government has taken a deliberate policy to promote small enterprises by giving incentives that stimulate development and growth of informal activities, (Valodia, 2001, Devey et.al. 2006). They have pronounced a suite of policy reforms that are aimed at developing informal activities and these measures include; provision of financial assistance,

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advisory services and training facilities to the informal sector. All these initiatives were done after realising that the informal sector is an indispensable part of the urbanisation process in contemporary cities and the informal sector can be the solution to urban poverty. These are also positive drawn from integration of the informal sector in the mainstream economy. In some countries such as Ghana, Kenya and Uganda, the informal sector has been well developed and the governments have been supporting the sector such that it has been developed to be a sector where people enter as a career choice, (Jackson 2012). This has gone a long way in assisting economic development and alleviation of poverty and above all giving the people in the informal sector their right to the city. The support has also been instrumental in employment creation, (Yaw 2007; Devey et.al. 2006). In this way, cities will also be planning for an inclusive city by catering for a wider range of urban inhabitants including the marginalised and vulnerable groups of the society. Such interventions are very critical in creating a sustainable city and are fundamental for creating an inclusive city, (UN-Habitat, 2005, 2010a, 2010b). Box 6.1summarises the instruments that are used by the city of Masvingo criminalise activities of informal sector.
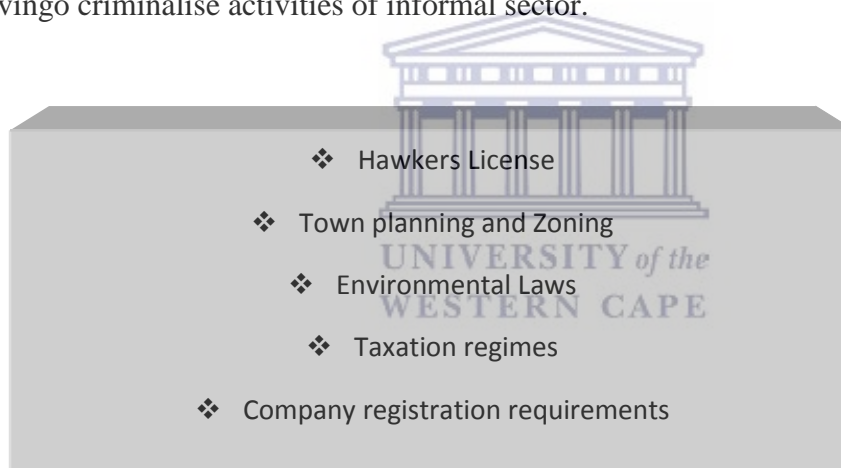
Box 6. 1: Instruments for criminalisation of informal Sector

Source; Field survey (2016)

The question of whether the informal activities are legal or illegal depends on the existing regulatory instruments. The ILO (2000) argues that the illegality of informal activities is a result of the non-applicability of existing regulatory systems where the operating regulatory framework has been overtaken by events to the extent that they do not reflect what is currently obtaining on the ground especially in cities of the global South. Klein and Tokman (1993) added that the illegal status of informal activities is a result of an inadequate

legislative framework and inefficient bureaucracy that delays the legalisation of informal activities. Most of the legal systems do not recognise the existence of informal activities because it is a new form of urban land uses that are coming up as a result of urbanisation of poverty. Informal activities are, therefore coming up as a result of urban people responding to the increased prevalence of poverty in urban areas. Informality is, therefore, a new form of urban land use that has grown to become the form of urbanisation in today's' cities, (UN-Habitat 2005, Roy 2005, 2009). Hence it demands space in cities of today. The systems that are regulating urban areas are, therefore, old, inappropriate, inadequate and inefficient to deal with the phenomenon of informality, (UN-Habitat 2010a). These systems, therefore, need to change so that they embrace these new forms of urbanism, (Chirisa and Dumba 2011). Informality is no longer a livelihood for the marginalised neither can it be regarded as activities of low productivity and petty trading; rather the informal sector is an urban reality that has proved to be the main driver of economies of cities not only in the global South but also in economies of cities of the global North. According to Roy (2005,2009), cities of today need a new planning theory that will accommodate the new forms of urban land uses especially those that are coming as a result of urbanisation of poverty. Cities can no longer afford to develop sustainably without the informal sector because informality has developed to be the form of urbanisation. The restrictive and segregatory legislative systems in cities are, therefore, limiting the growth of informal activities, especially in cities of the sub-Sahara Africa, (Potts 2008, Kamete 2013).
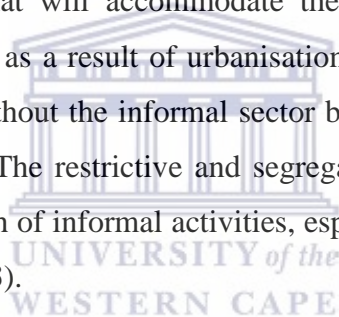
The need for modernisation and development of world class cities that has been the major policy driver in development of cities in the global South has resulted in suppression of growth of informal activities. There is increasing need for gentrification in these cities, which has resulted in increasing vulnerability of the urban poor because the gentrification process does not foster social mix and social cohesion in these cities, (Lees 2008). In the process of gentrification of neighbourhoods the poor are more likely to suffer the brand of deprivation as the city authorities focus on creation of world class cities neglecting the needs of the poor. Cities of today, therefore, need to go through some legislative reformation that will create legal frameworks for operation of the informal sector and support the livelihoods of the poor. This will help cities to reflect the prevailing diversity in these cities and democratisation of city space. When there is such legal framework, the city authorities will be compelled by the operating legal framework to provide for such new land uses and integrate informality in their development agenda. In this way cities will be giving the urban poor their right to the city.

The prevailing situation in the city of Masvingo, where there is no legal instrument that supports the growth and development of the informal sector, paints a gloomy picture of the development and integration of the informal sector in the city. It therefore means that the right to the city of the informal sector will remain marginalised for a long time.

South Africa has a 1996 constitutional provision which compels South African authorities to improve the quality of life for all citizens including the informal sector. This initiative sets the tone for an inclusive legislative framework that calls for embracing of all the city inhabitants in the development of the city and giving the urban poor their right to the city. The right to the city is therefore, a move towards dismantling all the exclusionary social structures and practices that disenfranchise other city inhabitants of their right to the city, (Coggin and Pieterse 2012). It is a call for reformation of the city and it's structures that produce urban space to produce an urban system that enables people to claim from their society resources that will allow them to meet their basic needs, (Mustafa and Leitte, 2002). Therefore, in a society that has a legal framework that ensures inclusivity, all city inhabitants will be covered so that they are protected from hazardous effects of the environment; but in situations where there are exclusive social structures the marginalised will continue to exist outside the provisioning systems of the city, which is a denial of these people's right to the city. The right to the city regards cities as centres which discharge justice, equity, democracy and development of human potentials, (Marcuse 2009; Mayer 2009). However, most cities, especially in the global South, are still being run by unresponsive and rigid institutions that rarely respond to the demands of globalisation and rapid urbanisation, (Chirisa and Dumba 2011).

Contemporary cities have developed to be so diverse, which makes it difficult for traditional planning systems to cater for such diversity. Cities, therefore, need to change the way they do their business so that they catch up with the ever-changing nature of our cities. Contemporary city planning, therefore, needs to embrace this city diversity, (Fainstein 2005, Sandercock 1998, Roy 2009). The right to the city calls for cities to offer several claims to both individuals and social groups, (Jerome 2016, Lefebvre 1996, 1968, Fainstein 2005, Simone 2005). Simone (2005) further argues that cities should be able to cater for the ever changing aspiration of the city inhabitants. However, most cities of today, whose developmental initiatives are directed by neo-liberal urbanisation policies, have developed to be instruments of social disenfranchisement because of their segregatory policies. These policies are failing

to provide for the urban diversity because the urban poor and other marginalised groups are not catered for. In these cities small groups of urban elite communities are dominating the defining and use of urban space and it is their interests that are protected by the regulatory systems, (UN-Habitat 2005, Wilson et.al. 2008). This planning system has, therefore, failed to reflect the diversity of urban society in these cities in terms of providing all city inhabitants with services that allow them safe living. It has also failed to give the urban poor and other vulnerable groups their right to the city. This is not sustainable as it violates the neglected people's right to the city, (Lefebvre 1969, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008, 2012). All city inhabitants, according to the dictates of the right to the city, should have unallienated rights to use urban space and enjoy city services, (Lefebvre 1969, 1996, Harvey 2003, 2008). The UN-Habitat (2005), further argues that cities in the 21st Century are faced with a lot of challenges, hence they need to be pro-active in their planning so that they take care of the emerging issues, such as, poverty and rapid urbanisation. They need to create cities that work for all citizens by creating opportunities for both the urban poor and the rich. Informality, according to the UN-Habitat (2005), has been contributing significantly to the development of economies; hence the planning systems in urban areas should plan to tap the vast resources that are in the informal sector for economic development. Planning for the emerging land uses will create cities that are sustainable and inclusive. The urban poor, like any other citizen, need to be provided for so that they live, work and play in environments that are safe and liveable. This augurs well not only with human rights but also with environmental justice.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions from the research findings that were discussed in the document. It shows how the research objectives were answered in the research and it also gives some suggestions on policy recommendations that are necessary for upliftment and development of informal sector in the city of Masvingo.

7.2 Conclusions

There has been proliferation of informal activities throughout the cities of Zimbabwe and Masvingo city has not been spared. The informal sector in the city of Masvingo has been growing to the extent that it is the major driver of the economy in the city. It is now the major space occupier in the city. The major reason for this is the economic meltdown that the country has been experiencing in the past decade. The economy of Zimbabwe has been experiencing a downward spiral ever since they adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in the late 1980s. The adoption of these economic reforms was aimed at liberalising the economy of Zimbabwe, which the international financiers (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) thought was strongly run by the government and was, therefore, inefficiently run. They advised the government to roll back its involvement in the running of the economy to allow the private sector to run the economy. This move resulted in massive retrenchments throughout the country as companies downsized and others eventually closed down production. All the retrenched workers were left without any other source of livelihood and have to resort to informal activities for their survival. The industries in Zimbabwe were also unable to generate enough jobs for the ever growing job seekers and thousands of job seekers were left with no other source of livelihood but the informal sector.

The situation in the country was further compounded by the adoption of the fast *Track Land Reform Program* in the late 1990s when the government embarked on the massive land redistribution programe to try and silence the voices of land hungry people throughout the country. The way the programe was done disrespected the rule of law and led to the international isolation of the country and the imposition of economic sanctions on Zimbabwe. These economic sanctions led to further drying out of financial support that was needed to drive the economy and this also accelerated the country's economic downfall. The whole

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economy was triggered into serious economic crisis, which further brought the country to an economic standstill as the industrial capacity utilisation plummeted to below 6%. There were also massive closures of industries and by 2009 the country experienced a debilitating inflation, which peaked at 213 million percent (UN-Habitat 2010c), which almost wiped the real incomes of the people in Zimbabwe. The rate of inflation made it worthless for an individual to live on a salary or wage alone because their wages or salaries were severely eroded. The galloping inflation and the massive retrenchments left people with no other sustainable source of livelihoods and they have to engage into the informal sector for survival. The informal sector grew rapidly in cities of Zimbabwe including Masvingo and the sector proved to be the only sustainable livelihood. In Masvingo the formal sector by 2011 was only contributing a mere 9.62% of employment, the rest was provided by the informal sector, (Zimstat, 2011).

Therefore, the majority of the people in the informal sector have been pushed into such activities because of the poor economic environment that affected all the cities in the country. Masvingo as a city was not able to generate new jobs for the growing population of job seekers. People were therefore left without livelihoods and the informal sector was the only option. The informal sector in the city of Masvingo has developed to be the major source of livelihood in the city and they are growing to be the major space occupiers in the city, where it is claimed that the sector is occupying between 80-90% of space in the city but the city is failing to recognise this sector as an official space user. They still remain guided by neo-liberal urbanisation processes that marginalise the urban poor in the city. They still insist on clean and orderly city that appeals to world class cities. The informal activities are now everywhere in the city including the city centre, the industrial area and the residential areas. They have taken over the light industrial area, which has been deindustrialising due to poor economic performance. The poor economic environment in the city is playing a critical role in the proliferation of informal activities because the informal people cited problems, such as, company closures, retrenchments and lack of employment opportunities in the city as the major drivers of people into informality. The economy of the city of Masvingo has not been in a position to generate enough employment opportunities for the ever growing number of job seeker such that people are resorting to informal activities for their livelihoods. The informal sector has therefore developed to be the major economy of the city because the informal sector is dominating the occupation of city space. This therefore calls for recognition of the sector as a user of urban space hence they require to have their rights to the

city recognised. In giving the people in the informal sector the user rights of urban space the city will be allowing these people to exercise their right to the city by affording them the chance to access city space.

Previously, the informal sector was believed to be activities for women and other marginalised groups of the urban society but the situation obtaining in the city of Masvingo is that the males are not only involved in informal activities but they are dominating the sector. They constitute over 75% of the actors in the informal sector and they are not only dominating in the male sectors such as manufacturing and repairs but also previously female dominated sectors such as petty trading and servicing. Males are now found selling tomatoes and fruits and airtime in the streets of Masvingo, trades that were previously dominated by females and the aged. It therefore, means that informal activities are no longer activities of the marginalised in the city of Masvingo but they are activities practiced by the majority of the people in the city of Masvingo. It therefore, calls for the city of Masvingo to make a paradigm shift in terms of the way they treat informality. They need to embrace the activities of the informal sector by recognising their existence in the city and give them a chance to carry out business in the city. In this way, the city will not only be giving these marginalised people their rights to the city but they will also be giving them a chance to contribute to the economic development and shaping of the city. The proportion of the informal sector in the city no longer warrants marginalisation of the sector, but is a pointer towards embracing and integration of informal activities in the city for economic development of the city. The state of the economy in the country that has shown a continuous tendency towards the shrinking of the formal sector has also resulted in unprecedented levels of proliferation of the informal sector. This should also encourage the city of Masvingo to be tolerant to the activities of the informal sector. The city can, therefore, support these small enterprises as the surviving economic activities of the city. These informal activities have been the driver of the economy of the city during the period when the economy is on a downward spiral. It therefore, becomes a logical development to support these activities, which have been the economic drivers when the formal sector was under-performing. They need to plan for the sector such that they become recognised space users in the city and also provide important service to the sector such that people in the informal sector are given their right to receive service from the city authorities. The city's planning system is elitist therefore only takes care of just a few urban citizens. In this case they are disenfranchising the majority of people in the city who are predominantly the urban poor of their right to the city. Right to the city does not allow

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that because it is premised on the notion that all city inhabitants have the right to contribute to the development of the city. They also need to reform their legislation such that the activities of the informal sector are recognised by the city. As of now the operating legislations (especially the Regional Town and Country Planning Act and city by-laws) do not recognise that activities of the informal sector hence they are regarded as illegal despite constituting the major economic activities of the city. The informal sector in Masvingo is no longer temporary phenomenon in the city but it is permanent and hence deserves to be accorded their right to participate in the development of the city. Other countries, such as, South Africa, Ghana, and Kenya have put in place initiatives that support the growth and development of informal activities and they are reaping a lot from such initiatives where the informal sector is said to be contributing a lot to their Gross Domestic Product and employment creation

Informality in Zimbabwe has been brought to the fore by the national policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises that aims to support the informal activities throughout the country. The policy, among other things, seeks to provide an enabling environment for the growth and development of informal activities in Zimbabwe. This policy thrust was developed after realising that the informal activities are playing a critical role in the development of the country, especially in employment creation. The policy aims to provide infrastructure for informal activities so that they can operate in safe places. The central government and its implementing partners who are predominantly the local authorities throughout the country are supposed to build vending stalls, incubator industries and factory shells that will provide work places for skills development and work spaces for the people in the informal sector. It is also pronounced in the policy document that the central government and local authorities shall create an enabling regulatory framework aimed at supporting the development and growth of the informal sector.

The central government has played its part by creating the enabling environment for the development and growth of the informal sector through the informal policy. It has also promulgated an Act of Parliament, The Small-Medium Enterprise Development Act and established a ministry that has been tasked to spearhead the development and growth of the informal sector. All these developments have been supported by a national policy on Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises that gives government's perspective on the development of the informal sector in Zimbabwe. It is therefore, clear from the central government that it is ready to give the people in the informal sector their right to city, especially their right to

participate in the development of cities throughout the urban Zimbabwe. The central government has provided the required impetus for development and growth of the informal sector.

However, the city of Masvingo seems to have a different development agenda, where their economic development thrust does not include activities of the informal sector. The city has not taken any meaningful action to implement the informal sector policy as expounded by the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise Policy. There are no spaces set aside for the informal activities neither are there plans and policies in the city of Masvingo for activities of informal activities because most of the informal activities are still operating without infrastructure. Most of the informal activities are operating in the open and others are in makeshift structures. The shortage of working spaces has forced the people in the informal sector to invade open spaces in the city and some are even operating in the streets due to shortage of working spaces. Even some manufacturing activities are being carried out in the streets of Masvingo, showing a serious shortage of space for informal activities in the city. The proliferation of informal activities in various spaces in the city of Masvingo has created a militaristic relationship between the informal sector and the Masvingo city authorities as the city authorities are in constant attempts to clear their streets of informal activities. The city authorities are in constant surveillance in the city looking out for people operating at undesignated places and are ready to confiscate their wares and flush them out of the city's streets. This is in total disregard of their right to the city because as city inhabitants, the people in the informal sector have the right to access city space and use it for their livelihoods. However, the informal sector is on constant lookout for the municipal police and will always get into hiding whenever they are advancing towards them. So, there seems to be a cat and mouse game between the city authorities and the people in the informal sector as the people in the informal sector fight for their rights to the city. The people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo have refused to be pushed out of the city. They are fighting for their existence in the city. Despite the continued attempts by the city authorities to push informal activities out of the city, the informal activities have fought to live another day in the city of Masvingo. As citizens of the city they have the right to constitute the form of the city but the city has not taken strides towards integration of the informal sector in the city.

However the city of Masvingo, seems to be fighting a losing battle because their attempts to get informal activities out of the city is not only proving to be a toll order but it will be futile since it is going to result in unprecedented and catastrophic levels of poverty because the

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informal sector is where the majority of people in the city are involved. It is no longer a sector for the unemployed alone buy even those in the formal sector is involved in informal activities. If the city insists on removal of the informal sector from the street of Masvingo, a lot of people are going to be left without livelihoods and those few who are formally employed will also be forced to survive under unsustainable livelihoods because their remunerations from the formal employment will not give them sustainable livelihoods. The city of Masvingo is, therefore, pursuing a futile path of development where they think they can economically develop without informal activities. They, therefore, need to embrace the activities of the informal sector by planning their development with informal activities being part of their development agenda. They need to develop their informal sector policy taking from the national policy. This will result in inclusive development and also give the people in the informal sector their rights to develop a city according to the desires of their hearts. This will also result in broadening the democracy of the city as various urban space users will be allowed to use the city space. A city's informal policy will also create the institutional framework for inclusion of informal activities in the development of the city. This, other than providing right to access city space for people in the informal sector, it will also provide the development direction that will allow for an inclusive and just city.

Despite the lack of policy that directs the development and growth of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo, this has not stunted the growth of the sector in the city. The people in the informal sector are taking several strategies to assert their rights to the city. One of the biggest rallying points is the use of political influence to force the city of Masvingo to allow informality to exist in the city. The people in the informal sector are using the government and influential political figures to take up space in the city. Political figures such as the resident minister in the city of Masvingo have been on several occasions roped in to address the city fathers on issues of informality. These important figures are using their political influence to force the local authority to give people in the informal sector space in the city. This is however without supporting legislative instruments; it is only the political power that is used to force the city authority to allow the informal sector to access urban space. On several occasions politicians have been called to make statements to the city council to force them to climb down on some of the decisions that were so adverse for the survival of the informal sector. At one time the resident minister was called to make a decree to the city council to abandon one of their resolutions that was made to charge exorbitant daily levies for informal operators at the *Chitima* market. In another incident the resident minister was again

called to the rescue of the informal sector when the city council had decided to push out all informal traders at the *Chitima* market under the guise of reorganization of the activities in the market. This move was strongly opposed by the traders in the *Chitima* market as they thought this was a deliberate move by the city council to dispossess the traders of their trading stalls in the market. The informal traders demonstrated against the move and questioned the logic of the city council involvement at the time when it had not been supporting the informal sector. They were of the opinion that they have their structures within the informal sector that was responsible for allocation of vending stalls. Another important political figure who supported informal operations was the First Lady of the country Dr. Grace Mugabe. She is well known for her stand against the removal of informal activities in the streets of Harare and the people in the city of Masvingo decided to align themselves with her view and renamed the *Chitima* market, Dr. Grace Mugabe Trading Centre, to show that they support her stand point against the forced eviction of informality in the city centre. However the political support without reforms in the legislation is not enough to legalise the activities of the informal sector. There is need to put reforms that will allow them to access city space legally. In this way it will be sure that their rights to the city are guaranteed especially the right to constitute the form of the city.

Some of the people in the informal sector are also taking the challenge to take up space in the city of Masvingo just like what people in the formal sector do when they want space in the city. They are renting spaces from the landlord in the city just like any other tenant and these informal activities have managed to organise themselves in order to pay market rentals just like any other tenant. They are managing to occupy prime land in the city. These people usually group themselves into small groups and approach property holders to occupy their space. They then divide that spaces among themselves and rentals will be paid according to the space one holds. Utilities are also paid on this basis and this has allowed these informal activities to enjoy city services just like any other city inhabitant. These informal activities have, therefore, managed to take up space in the city centre and are, therefore, enjoying their rights to the city. However this has the potential of removing their informality because they are forced to be formal players in the city, which might be difficult for some because informal activities by nature cannot perform as formal entities. There is therefore need to provide spaces that are dedicated for informal activities in the city centre so that they are given user rights to city space. In this way they will reduce the contestations that usually arise between the informal sector and the city authorities.

Some of the informal activities have been accessing city space by force and these people are in constant fights with the city authorities. Informal activities such as the para-taxi operators and street vendors have been in the city centre by way of forcing themselves in these spaces, which the city authorities do not want them to exist. They are always in a cat and mouse game with the city authorities who are always on surveillance to keep the streets of Masvingo clean and orderly without informal activities. However, these people have formed a good network among themselves to alert each other whenever the city authorities are pouncing on them. They have developed a unique code that alerts everyone of the impending raid by the city authorities. Whenever that code is raised every informal activity will go into hiding until the danger is over. As soon as the danger is over they will be back on their trading places and carrying on with their trades. This has been the way of survival for many informal activities in the city. This has perpetuated the contestations between the city authorities and the people in the informal sector, which is characterised by sporadic raids. Informal activities have also been mobilizing themselves into community resistance groups to fight for their rights to the city in the city of Masvingo. These community groups have developed to be forces of resistance to oppose any move by the city authorities to suppress the activities of the informal sector. These groups have been used to assert the rights of the informal sector to the city. These groups are also the reason why the *Chitima* market is still surviving today. They have been opposing all the city's machinations to evict them from that place but the traders in the market have been standing firm against such moves and up to now they are still doing their business in the area. These are some of the strategies that have allowed the informal sector to survive up to this day.

Despite the several strategies that the people in the informal sector are putting to assert their rights to the city, the city's position remains clear that informal activities are not part of their development agenda. The city needs to change their perception on issues of informality. The sector can significantly contribute to the economy of the city; therefore, the city should find ways of integrating the informal sector into its economy. The city requires an informal sector policy that will spearhead the integration and development of informal activities in the city. This will influence the way they plan their development to see them including informality in their development. The militaristic relationship that characterises the relationship between the operators in the informal sector and the city authorities is not good for the development of the city and its economy. The city needs to develop a more inclusive city development strategy where all the city inhabitants are allowed to take part in the development of the city. In this

way, the city will be allowing all the city inhabitants to build a city according to their hearts. In this way, they will also be giving these participants their rights to the city. It will also allow all the city inhabitants to make an expression of their lives in the city because a city is an expression of urban life not an expression of just a section of a privileged few. Cities of the 21st century have developed to be so diverse because people of different backgrounds are now living in cities of today. So cities should be expressing that diversity. The way the people in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo are asserting their rights to the city shows that the city has not been embracing the issue of informality because most of the ways they are asserting their rights are confrontational and this is not good for the development of the city. There is a need for engagement between the city authorities and the people in the informal sector to create a good ground for integration of the informal sector so that the people in the informal sector can be allowed to enjoy their rights to access and use city space.

A good starting point is the acknowledgement of the critical role the informal sector can play in the development of the city. This will force the city to craft a policy for the development of the informal sector. This policy will act as the stepping stone towards the integration of the sector in the mainstream economy and this will be a crucial step in the city because the formal sector in Zimbabwe has for the past decade and half been failing to fully perform. So the informal sector can be the right sector to support for economic development. The Harare city has set the tone for informal integration by developing an informal sector policy. This has seen even the private sector coming in to help develop the sector and the provision of spaces in the city centre for operation of the informal sector. This has gone a long way in integration the sector into the economic fabric of the city and allowing the sector to enjoy the right to the city.

The provision of services in the informal sector is another aspect that shows that the city of Masvingo has not given the people the informal sectors their right to the city. The sector is poorly serviced and the environments in which most of the informal activities are operating is life threatening. Service provision in the informal sector is so appalling because in most of the areas where informal activities are found there is no delivery of important services, such as, water, sewer, waste management and power. The people in the informal sector continue to operate in areas where city services do not reach and in some areas where such services are being delivered, the informal sector receives second class services because the quality of such services do not match that which is offered in the formal sector. For example, waste collection in some planned areas is done on nearly every working day (Monday to Friday),

but the informal sector in the same area is only receiving such services once a week or no service. This shows that the people in the informal sector are not given the same services as those in the formal sector, which is a denial of these people's right to equal treatment in the city. All city inhabitants should be allowed to constitute the artwork of the city and allowed to express their lives in the city without being homogenised into some forms. They are, therefore, denied the chance to enjoy environmental justice in the city. Environmental justice calls for a fair distribution of environmental bads and goods among all the city inhabitants. Environmental justice is against a situation where some sections of the city enjoy good environmental conditions while the other section is exposed to environmental hazards. The situation obtaining in the informal sector in the city of Masvingo, where some activities of the informal sector are not receiving services such as waste management at all and others are only receiving the same services only once a month, is a violation of the people in the informal sector's rights to the city because like any other city inhabitant they have the right to receive services from the city authorities that will allow them to live, work, and play in safe environments.

Water and sewer services are the other two services that are not adequately provided by the city of Masvingo to the people in the informal sector. Some of them have to bring water from their home for use in their activities and others have to endure long distances to collect water from communal water tapes that are dotted around the city. At these communal tapes water is also not always available because the city council rations water at these places. Water is only available early in the morning and the rest of the day the tapes will be running dry. Poor service delivery in the informal sector is not good for sustainable development because sustainable development principles call for improvement of conditions of life to the marginalised groups of the society. It is also not good for a just city which calls for equal treatment of all city inhabitants. Equal treatment of city inhabitants will results in redistribution of resources, which is critical in reducing social inequalities in the city.

The city of Masvingo, therefore, needs a paradigm shift where they are going to adopt a more embracing planning and development policy which includes the informal sector. This planning shift should afford the people in the informal sector to enjoy their right to the city because they should feel included in the development of the city. These people should enjoy these rights not only because they are the city inhabitants of Masvingo but in addition to that they are playing a critical role on the development of the city. The city should therefore not just accept them as city inhabitants but as critical factors that are driving the economies of the

city. This study therefore tried to demonstrate that the informal sector has the right to the city and this right needs to be recognised by the city so as to demonstrate their inclusivity. This is good for an inclusive and just city, which plans for the diverse population of the city and, as already alluded to above; this will go a long way in addressing the social injustices that are prevalent in the city. Equal treatment of all city inhabitants is paramount, especially in addressing the environmental injustices that occur in cities of the global South.

The research has tried to show the concept of right to the city from the experience of cities of the global South using Masvingo city of Zimbabwe. It has shown that there are a lot issues that cities of the global South need to do in as far as embracing the concept of right to the city is concerned. They need to incorporate the needs of the marginalised groups of the cities. The informal sector is a group of the urban poor that has been marginalised for a long time and this is not good for an inclusive and just city. Cities of the 21st Century need to embrace the diversity of urban areas by offering services to the diversity of the urban population and this is good for inclusive city. The research has also tries to contribute to the growing literature on informality which is an issue that is affecting cities of today. A lot has been written in the area of informality but this research has tried to weigh in on issues of informality from the point of view of the right to the city. These people as citizens of the city have the right to enjoy the city services and access to city space. Cities need to plan for this sector as this sector has been seen to contribute significantly to provision of livelihoods to millions of people and can be used as way of fight the prevalence of poverty in urban areas.

7.3 Policy Recommendations

➤ The city of Masvingo needs to change the way it treats informality, Informality has been playing a significant role in the development cities in the global South. It is a source of employment to thousands of the urban poor. The formal sector has been offering very limited opportunities for livelihoods of the poor but the informal sector has been playing a critical role in providing livelihood opportunities. This calls for integration of the informal sector rather than marginalisation as it is happening in the city of Masvingo.

➤ There is no need for militaristic relationship between the informal sector and the city authority. Integration will result embracing of issues of informality this should reduce the militaristic relation between the informal sector and the city authorities. The city should find ways of integrating the informal sector in the city economy. This can be

done through a regularization process where the city will formalize the operations of the informal sector. The integration should result in gaining economically from the operations of the informal sector. The city is lagging behind towards integration of informality in the economy hence its losing out in terms economic development

➤ The city can emulate the central government that has done its part in terms of creating instruments for supporting the growth and development of informal sector. A local operationalisation of the national policy on informality will create the ground for integration of the informal sector in the city of Masvingo.

➤ The informal sector development is stunted by rigid institutional framework that does not want to recognise informality. The operating pieces of legislations do not recognise the activities of the informal sector so there is need to reform the operating legislation so that they come with by-laws that allow for integration of the informal sector. As of now the ground is not conducive for growth of the informal sector because there are no supporting legislations.

➤ The informal sector is working in environmentally hazardous spaces because they lack very essential services from the city. The city should come up with a working plan that improves service delivery in areas of the informal sector. Most of the activities are operating in formerly formal sites, which mean that there is infrastructure for service delivery. The only need now is to create charges that are commensurate with the business of the informal sector so that the charges are affordable to the people in the informal sector. As shown by the research the people in the informal sector are willing to pay for the services but the charges are so prohibitive. Lack of services poses an environmental danger to the whole city, hence for environmental sustainability they need to provide these essential services to the people in the informal sector.

Conclusions

Informal sector in the city of Masvingo is an urban reality. There has been rapid increase of informal activities in the city to the extent that the sector has been the largest occupier of city space. This drive to informality has been chiefly a result of the poor performance of the economy at the national level, which is also manifesting in various forms at city level. However despite this reality that informality is driving the economy of the city of Masvingo, the city has not been moving towards realisation and acknowledgement of the important role the informal sector has been playing but integrating the sector into its mainstream economy.

The sector has been operating as a parallel economy ever since and this has stunting the growth and development of the city's economy. The city needs to reform it institutions so that the informal sector is allowed to operate in the city. There is need to reform the legislation that governs the city, which were promulgated long back when the informal sector was not an urban issue. Reforms should come up with integrative and inclusive pieces of legislations that will allow the informal sector to grow in the city. The approach to planning in the city should also be changed to allow a more participatory approach, which is more inclusive so that issues of informality will be included in the city's planning framework. This inclusivity will also allow service delivery to be extended to the people in the informal sector, where the city will be providing important services such as water, waste management, roads and most importantly infrastructure and space for operation of informal sector. In this way the city will be giving the people in the informal sector their right to the city.

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Annexure 1: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Informality and Right to the City: The Contestations for Access to Safe and Liveable Space in the City of Masvingo, Zimbabwe.

Preamble

This research is purely academic undertaken as a part fulfillment of a PhD programme with the University of Western Cape. The research will strictly observe the confidentiality of source of information therefore feel free to provide as much information as possible.

 Annex 1 Questionnaire

Demographic information

Age………..

1)   Gender   ☐ Male   ☐ Female

2)   Nature of Informal activity ………………………………………………………………….

3   Where in Masvingo are you based?..

4)   Give the main reasons why you decided to operate in the informal sector
....
....
....
....

5) How long have you been operating in the sector?...

What is the you level of education ☐ no education   primary education ☐ secondary education ☐ tertiary education

5). What skills do you have?
……………………………………………………………………………………………….

5b).How did you get these skills ?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……

         ……………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………….

Water and Sanitation

6)   Are you connected to
water?…………………………………………………………………………………………………
……

7)   If Yes how many times do you access it per day (Hour/ day)?
…..…………………………………………………………………

8)   If no where do you get the water you are using here?
……………………………………………………..

………
……..

What are the problems that you face regarding access to water?
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            …………………………………………………………………………………………………
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What is the municipality doing to alleviate water problems
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9)   Do you have a toilet at your premises?

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10)   If yes what kind

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11)   If no do you relieve yourselves

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12 How often does the municipality collect your refuse

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13. What form of refuse do you produce here

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14. Does it need special collection methods

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15) If yes does the municipality provide such services

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 If no how do you dispose such material

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16)   What is that you want the city council to do for you so that you as to improve your working environments

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Informal Activities

17)   What kind of activities are you operating here

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18)   How did you get this place you are using
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19)   What rights do you hold over this place
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How did you access the land you are using
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20. How much space are using for your activities
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21) Is the place enough for your operations

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22) If not how much space do you need

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22a) How much space are using for your activities

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23 In your operations what problems are you facing with the municipality?

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24 What is it that you want your municipality to do for you in order to help your operations?

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25) Dou you see yourself expanding your business

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26 If no what problems are you facing in your expansion initiatives

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27. Comparing your operation with those in the formal sector what service do you think should also be extended to your sector

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28)   In your opinion why is the municipality refusing to offer you such services
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29)   Does the city council provide other waste collection for your company
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30)   If yes does it adequately collect your waste
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31)   If no how do you deal with these uncollected
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32)   Comparing your service with other established industries what services are offered in
the formal industry that are not offered here
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33)   In your opinion what do you think is the cause of these discrepancies

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34)   What infrastructure do you need to effectively manage the environment at you
workplace …

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35. If you are offered such infrastructure will you be able to pay

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34. If not what proposals are you making that will make it affordable to you ?
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Governance issues

36. Do you think the informal sector is making any influence in the city governance?
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37 If yes how has the city council reflecting the needs of the informal sector
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37 If no, what do you think are the problems of lack of engagement
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39. What are you doing In the struggle to make informal activities part of the urban activities?
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40. In the planning of the needs of the informal sector what form of consultations were made with the informal sector……

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41. If no consultations were made what proposals would you put forward to improve the conditions of the informal sector

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42. What platforms does the local authority use to communicate with people in the informal sector. ………………

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43. Does such communication reach the informal sector

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Annexure 2: Interview Guide

Annexure 2 Interview Guide

1. How is the City council supportive or unsupportive of the informal sector operations in this area?

1b) Are there any policies in place to promote the informal sector in the city?

2. Are there statutory instruments that the city council is using to promote activities of the informal sector?

3. What problems are they facing with the integration process?

4. Environmentally what problems are associated with the informal sector in the city?

5. How are you addressing these problems?

6. What environmental management instruments you are using in the city?

6b) How they operate in the city in general and the informal sector in particular)

7. Is there any amendment that is needed so that they could work effectively in the informal sector?

8. How have the informal sector been reacting to the existing environmental management instruments?

9. What activities are in place for the conservation of the environment in the city?
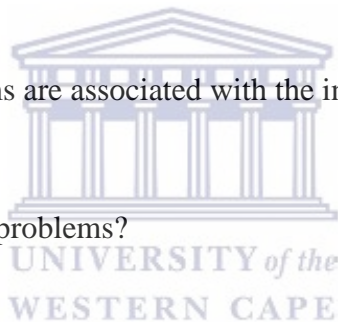
10. How is the informal sector enhancing them?

11. What are the available plans to integrate the informal sector into your economy?

12. How have you been planning the city to integrate the informal sector?

13. How has been the informal sector involved in the planning process?

14. What processes are in place to allow the informal sector to participate in the planning processes?

15. What platforms are in place to involve the informal sector in the governance of the city?

16. How has they been taken by the informal sector?

Annexure 3: Observation Guide

Informal sector site ……………………………………………………………..

1.What are the general site characteristics ?

2. What are the planning issues that are of concern to the site?

3. What are the activities being carried out and how are they core existing?

4. What are the possible manmade Hazards associated with the area?

5. What are the possible natural hazards associated with the area

6. What is the quality of space (appearance and general health issues)

7 What is the Infrastructure provided in the area and what needs to be added?

8. What are the environmental dangers associated with the site?

9. General cleanliness of the place, How is the place being managed to provide general cleanliness.

10. Environmental management infrastructure that is available (type of refuse disposal, whether on site or off site)

11. Security of goods and services at the site

12. Waste management issues at the premises and the surrounding areas (waste collection, waste collection infrastructure and waste disposal methods)