



Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Public Management - Peace Studies

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April 2021

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis herewith submitted for the PhD: Public Administration – Peace Studies at the Durban University of Technology is my own work except where otherwise noted and has not been previously submitted for a Degree at any other university.

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We hereby approve the final submission of this thesis

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Acknowledgements

I firstly want to acknowledge my supervisor, Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris, for his advice, patience and support in working with him throughout this thesis, without which it would not be possible to complete it. Special mention too goes to Dr Sylvia Kaye who also worked with Professor Geoffrey Harris during the course of this project.

My sincere gratitude goes to the following:

- My fiancé Elizabeth Rutendo Masenhu who understood the importance of this thesis in my career development and afforded me time to research and write this thesis.
- My mother, children (Tamuda and Tashinga), brothers and sisters who also supported me in this endeavour.
- My academic colleagues, Donwell Dube, Kumbirai Ngwaru, Tobias Guzura, Professor Mediel Hove, Enock Ndawana, Doctor Norman Chivasa, Peter Madziwanzira, Darlington Mutanda, Vincent Chenzi, Tawanda Zinyama and others who I could not mention for encouraging me to soldier on despite the tough economic conditions in the country.
- Durban University of Technology for funding my studies.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to everyone who made it a success.

Abstract

Street vending has become the major source of livelihood, not only in Zimbabwe but in most of the third world countries, owing to declining economies and the lack of formal employment. Despite this, urban authorities have been at loggerheads with street vendors insisting on preserving law and order in city centres. This study was carried out in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe where running battles raged on between the city council and street vendors who engage in cat and mouse games. The Harare city council accused street vendors of operating at undesignated vending points, causing congestion in the city centre, the rise in crime levels, and health hazards and saw the need to remove them from the streets to create order in the streets of Harare city centre. On the other hand, street vendors argued that street vending remained one of the few alternative forms of livelihood and removing them from the streets worsened their socio- economic situations and was not the solution. Therefore, violent conflict between street vendors and Harare city council manifested, prompting this thesis which sought to transform these violent relationships through dialogue.

This thesis applied Action Research Design in conjunction with Galtung's Transcend Dialogue, aided by Saunders' Sustained Dialogue in pursuit of the possibilities of transforming relationships between street vendors and the Harare City Council using a small sample of participants. The research found out that dialogue and increased interaction between the conflict parties could transform relationships positively. When people dialogue they create spaces, listen to each other, understand and share stories. The thesis was also guided by Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory which blended well with Galtung's Transcend Dialogue and Saunders' Sustained Dialogue. The main aim of conflict transformation is to go beyond conflict resolution by transforming relationships between and among the conflict parties. The study used qualitative research approach which included semi – structured interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions in collecting data. Data collected was analysed through interpretive, phenomenological and discourse analyses. The study showed that relationships between street vendors and HCC can be transformed when dialogue is given space to flourish. For relationships to be transformed there is need for sustained contact and dialogue. However, the processes of transformation of relationships should involve all actors that are affected by the activities of the main conflict parties in this study.

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Acronyms	
ADB	African Development Bank
AR	Action research
BMA	Bangkok Metropolitan Administration
CBD	Central business District
CPA	Conflict Perspective Analysis
CUMTCC	Central Union of Mongolian Trade and Consumer Cooperative
DDR	Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration
EJWP	Economic Justice for Women Project
ESAP	Economic Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
GPA	Global Political Agreement
GNU	Government of National Unity
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
G40	Generation 40
IEEA	Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act
HCC	Harare City Council
OECD	Organisation For Economic Cooperation and Development
MCTIC	Mongolian Cooperative Training and Information Centre
MDC- A	Movement for Democratic Change Alliance
MDC- T	Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai
NAVUZ	National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe
NSSA	National Social Security Agency
NSO	National Statistics Office
PAR	Participatory Action Research
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programs
SI	Statutory Instrument
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations

UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank
VISET	Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNSA	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Background

Street vending is a major economic activity in many countries due to a number of factors such as the global economic crisis, which resulted in fewer employment opportunities in the formal sector, the unattractiveness of economic rewards in formal employment and ever increasing rural- urban migration in search of employment. However, the movement of people into urban centres has not been matched by the absorption of these people into the formal employment sector, which leaves the majority of them without a choice but to be in the streets as street vendors. In Zimbabwe, the informal sector employs the greatest number of working people which is approximated to be 76% (Zimstats 2019). However, despite the growing importance of street vending in Zimbabwe's mainstream economy, it has received negative attention from the government and urban authorities. In Zimbabwe, street vending was previously perceived as an unlicensed activity carried out by uneducated people who cannot fit into the formal employment sector and an activity that should be stopped from operating and expanding. However, such perceptions are changing because even the graduates from universities and colleges have failed to secure employment in the formal sector, leaving them with the only choice of joining the informal sector as vendors in order to make a living. The huge influx of people into towns coupled with limited opportunities in the formal sector as well as deindustrialisation of the country resulted in congestion in urban centres caused by street vendors, which prompted urban authorities to take action against unregistered street vending taking place in their areas of jurisdiction. As a result, relations between local authorities and street vendors were characterized by running battles, confiscation of vendor's goods, suspicion and harassment.

The study was an action research that sought to identify the nature, causes, manifestation, extent and consequences of conflict between Harare city council and street vendors, with an ultimate view to develop and implement an intervention that promotes the transformation of relationships in a peaceful and inclusive way. The research was informed by Conflict Transformation Theory by Lederach. This was complemented by Galtung's Transcend conflict transformation and Harold Saunders' Sustained Dialogue conflict resolution methods in promoting, sustaining and transforming relationships among various conflict parties. Conflict Transformation

sought to transform relations beyond conflict resolution, whereas the sustained dialogue sought to promote prolonged dialogue among the parties to maintain co-operation and contact which is important in transforming relationships. The qualitative nature of research objectives required a qualitative research methodology employing research instruments such as semi- structured interviews, focus group discussions, observation and discourse/ document analysis. Qualitative methodology was suitable in this study as it allowed an in- depth investigation of the street vending phenomenon. The study was carried out in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital city.

1.1 Context of the Research

There are more than one million people living in Harare, which is the country's capital city (Zimstats 2017:20). Harare is home to people from all corners of the country but the majority of the people living there are of Shona origin, the main ethnic group in the country. Harare has the biggest concentration of street vendors in the country who have migrated from various parts of the country to look for formal employment over the years since the country attained independence in 1980. There has been a gradual increase in the number of informal traders in Zimbabwe's major cities. In 1980, Zimbabwe's informal economy stood at 10% but by 1986 it had grown to 20% (McPherson 1991:1). This increase was necessitated by the removal of such colonial laws as the Vagrancy Act of 1960 which prohibited the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas (Patel 1988:22). The removal of the law after independence saw huge movements of people from rural areas to urban areas looking for employment. At the same time, in the 1980s, the government introduced a socialist economic model which was based on consumption of resources without generating income for the government. This had the net impact of lack of industrial expansion where the number of people who migrated into the cities from rural areas did not match the industrial expansion which resulted in unemployment increasing and people resorting to informality as a means of economic survival.

In the 1990s, the government introduced neo- liberal economic policies in order to increase its revenue to finance its activities. However, it resulted in economic structural adjustment where companies laid off workers as they rationalised their activities. Even the government laid off some workers resulting in many people losing their jobs. The people who lost their jobs resorted to the informal sector to make living. In July 1997,

war veterans demonstrated against the government over their unpaid allowances which were allegedly looted by government officials (Meredith 2002:135). This forced the government to award them gratuities on 14 November 1997 which had not been budgeted for and resulted in the country's currency losing value in what is regarded in Zimbabwe's economic history as the 'Black Friday'. The country's currency lost 72% of its value against the United States Dollar on this day (Herald Business 14 November 2014). As if that was not enough, in 1998, the government, without consulting its parliament made another terrible economic decision to intervene in the DRC conflict which further weakened the country's economy as the government financed the war which it had not budgeted for. It is estimated that the DRC intervention costed Zimbabwe at least US \$1 million per day (Meredith 2002:148). It can be argued therefore that the economic crisis in Zimbabwe was caused by the payment of unbudgeted war veterans' gratuities in 1997, military backing of the government of Laurent Kabila in DRC facing invasion from Rwanda and Uganda in 1998 and land reform programme which was started in 1999 by war veterans (Mlambo 2017, Hove *et al.* 2019:2). These misguided economic policies by the Zimbabwean government resulted in high number of unemployed people in the urban areas which increased the government's unpopularity which ultimately led to the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change to challenge ZANU PF's hold to power.

Beginning the year 2000, the number of informal traders in cities surged at a faster pace owing to the unavailability of formal jobs and the retrenchment of people from closed industries due to an economic crisis in the country caused partly by 'targeted-economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by United States of America and European Union in 2001 and 2003 respectively. Sanctions against Zimbabwe resulted in the blacklisting and closure of targeted companies that did business with the government of Zimbabwe. They were unable to do business with other countries which ultimately forced them to close and in the process rendering many people who worked for them jobless. Nyoni (2019:2) argued that Zimbabwe's economy is battling for life due to sanctions imposed by the USA and the EU. The Herald (2019) also added that sanctions affected the manufacturing industry in Zimbabwe to such an extent that in the 1980s, manufacturing industry's capacity utilisation was 76% but had declined to 8% in 2008. The number of informal traders continued to increase such that a study carried out by Zimbabwe Statistics Agency quoted by Ndawana (2018) revealed that

94.5% of a working men in Zimbabwe were in the informal sector (2015: 82). To see the seriousness of the problem, Daily news (15 November 2016) as quoted by Hove *et al.* (2019:2), reported that in 2016 there were 20 000 street vendors operating in Harare city centre, the majority of whom were unregistered street vendors.

Faced with the reality of going back to the rural areas to become subsistence farmers, the majority of former industrial employees became street vendors as. Due to the high volumes of people and the limited vending space, the majority of street vendors were unlicensed, and operated at undesignated and prohibited sites. Urban authorities, including the city of Harare, operate with by-laws that prohibited vending in certain places. The objective of the urban authorities was to control vendors from operating at undesignated sites and to encourage the regularization of street vending. However, this resulted in bad relationships between vendors and the Harare City Council (HCC) characterised by chasing each other, the confiscation of vendors' goods, and arrests as the urban authorities tried to maintain order on the streets. With street vendors seeking to defend their only source of living and HCC seeking to create order by evicting street vendors from undesignated selling points, relations deteriorated to low levels. It is these strained relationships which this study sought to transform.

1.2 Background

Street vending is not a new occurrence in Zimbabwe. It has existed and has been growing since independence in 1980. Street vending has become the biggest employer not only in Zimbabwe but in most developing countries (Mitullah 2003:1). In recent years, since the turn of the millennium, Harare and other towns experienced rise of unlicensed street vending due to many factors raised in the context of the study in the previous section. Vending is an economic activity that traditionally was confined to those who did not have the relevant skills and qualifications to qualify for formal employment. It was treated as a part-time activity by many, and was mostly undertaken by older women to supplement their husbands' earnings. In recent times, street vending has been gradually changing, becoming the major economic activity in developing countries for both men and women, young and old, educated and uneducated. Vending has become the only game in town, which offers an avenue for economic survival for those who failed to secure formal employment in the developing

world. Street vending is no longer limited to lower social groups who enter the trade because of lack of skills to join formal employment (Mitullah 2003:4). An increasing number of street vendors have undertaken the trade as the only available option due to SAPS (the structural adjustment programmes) introduced in the 1990s that resulted in the retrenchments of workforce in the formal sectors across Africa as a way of reducing their budgets (Mitullah 2003:4). However, despite street vending becoming the major source of income for the majority of city residence, urban councils continue to perceive it as an illegal activity that must be discouraged and or prohibited. This negative view of street vending led to conflicts with urban authorities over undesignated vending places of operation and non-compliance with taxation.

From independence in 1980 until early 2000, street vending had not received the attention that it is receiving now. Street vending is considered as part of the informal sector in Zimbabwe. The informal sector in Zimbabwe developed after independence in leaps and bounds. Ever since the beginning of 2000, street vending grew significantly to become the major source of employment and living in Zimbabwe (Ndawana 2018:259). This was necessitated by a number of developments but mainly the dwindling of employment opportunities caused by the crippling economic situation in the country. The economy experienced massive lack of investment and low levels of employment. There are a number of complex issues which led to the collapse of the economy, a development which forced many people to venture into street vending. For example, in the 1993, the government shifted its ideology from Socialism to capitalism through the adoption of Economic Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) which encouraged economic job cuts leading to slow growth of manufacturing sector, the rise and growth of the informal sector (Brett 2005). As a result, ESAP negatively affected the livelihoods of the majority of people through social services commercialization, downsizing private business workforce, reducing workers' salaries and removing food subsidies, raising the costs of basic commodities. The effects of ESAP started to be felt in the late 1990s and early 2000s when many people who had been retrenched from formal employment went into the informal sector to eke out a living.

In 1997, war veterans were awarded hefty pay-outs by the government which resulted in the Zimbabwean dollar losing its value. The government had to print out the money to pay to the war veterans as it was not budgeted for. It is estimated that the

Zimbabwean dollars lost approximately 50% of its value in November 1997 due to the printing of money by the government to pay war veterans. As if that was not enough, the government decided to join the DRC war in 1998, helping the government of Laurent Kabila who was under siege from rebels. It is estimated that the Zimbabwean government spent 200 million US dollars in the two years that it was involved in the DRC war (Panafrican News Agency, 31 August 2000). This further negatively affected the Zimbabwean government's economy as this money was not budgeted for. The government printed money to finance this war which further increased the country's inflation. Many people questioned the government's rationale to intervene in the DRC war when the country was faced with economic challenges.

The decision of the government to embark on land reform in the year 2000, which targeted farms occupied by white people, further resulted in some devastating effects to the economy that far surpassed those of ESAP. The land reform process was carried out in a chaotic and disorganised manner such that it destroyed the agricultural sector which used to be the backbone of the country's economy. Commercial agriculture was negatively affected as were commerce and industry, resulting in more industries closing down and retrenching people. The impact of the land reform in Zimbabwe was also documented by Richardson (2005) who argued that since the land reform in the year 2000, agriculture was now contributing 14% of the economy where it used to contribute more than 60%. The retrenched people resorted to vending to survive. As a result of a combination of these ill- advised government policies as well as 'targeted' sanctions by the west, it is estimated that GDP fell by about 26% between 2000 and 2002 (Economist Intelligence Unit 2003).

Critics also argued that the land reform was used by then President Mugabe as an election tool to win his waning electoral support. This chaotic land reform was also followed by years of drought which further reduced the country's agricultural output from being a net exporter of grain to an importer. The little foreign currency that the country generated was used to import food, leaving the country's balance of payment negative. Western countries responded by imposing 'targeted' economic sanctions against the country's leadership for human rights abuses including murder and torture of opposition supporters as well as white commercial farmers who resisted eviction (EU 2003, ZIDERA 2001). This worsened the already dwindling economy as farm

workers lost their jobs in the farming sector. This also helped to increase the number of informal workers such that, by 2004, the urban informal sector was estimated to be employing more than 76% of the urban workforce (Gumbo and Geyer 2011). Similar to many developing countries, employment rate in Zimbabwe's formal sector continued to be limited which compelled people to seek a living through street vending (Njaya 2014c:271). By 2013, the informal sector was estimated to be employing approximately 90 % of able bodied people in the country (Finscope 2014). The number of vendors in the country's towns, led to collision with urban authorities who were bent on maintaining city status and cleanliness.

As a result of the failing economy since 2000, vendors flooded the streets of Harare seeking to make a living. Resultantly, they occupied areas that are prohibited from trading according to the city by-laws, leading to a clash with the City Council. City by-laws require vendors to sell at designated points and in return they pay rates to city council. The failure by street vendors to abide by city by-laws have also affected formal shop operators who are no longer attracting clients who prefer to buy cheap same products from street vendors who do not pay rates to city council. Street vendors have allocated themselves trading sites within the (CBD) without any official allocation, and often, they have rejected sites allocated outside the CBD, because they are not convenient to their clients. As alluded to by Mitullah (2003:7), the majority of street vendors in African cities operate from undesignated sites resulting in confrontation with urban authorities. The Harare City Council has reacted to unlicensed street vendors by chasing them from the streets and confiscating their goods. The forced removal of unregistered vendors from undesignated selling points has led to violent clashes, with property being destroyed and people injured. Street vendors have resisted the Council directives to leave undesignated selling sites, arguing that vending was their only source of livelihood and that removing them from the streets was as good as taking away their lives (Mananavire 2017). The Council has accused unlicensed street vendors of causing congestion, crimes and filth in the city, and vowed to clear them from the streets; hence the violent clashes between the two.

Notwithstanding the fact that street vending is the only alternative source of living for many people, local authorities' attitudes and behaviour towards street vending have remained negative, and relations between urban authorities and street vendors are

frosty and require intervention; hence this study. Vendors have suffered losses at the hands of the HCC, facing brutal eviction, confiscation of their goods and arrest on allegations of operating without licences, occupying undesignated selling points and pavements, thereby causing congestion and health hazards such as typhoid and cholera in the city centre. In January 2017, two deaths were recorded in Harare due to typhoid, and 150 people were affected by the disease. Owing to health concerns, efforts to drive out street vendors were conducted by the HCC in conjunction with the ZRP (Mananavire 2017). It is within this context that this study as an action research sought to transform these frosty relations through transcend dialogue as a conflict resolution mechanism.

The study was based in Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory. The theory emphasises creative changes in relationships, attitude, behaviour and contradictions for sustainable peace to exist in society (Source). It differs from conflict resolution in the sense that the latter ends with resolution of underlying issues, whereas conflict transformation goes beyond that to transform relationships among the conflict parties. The study culminated in the designing and implementation of an action plan which promoted dialogue and peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two conflict parties along the similar model as the South African one where there is an agreement on the operations of street vendors between various municipalities and vendors associations without confrontation. In South African cities, street vending is well organised and street vendors sell at designated sites where they pay rates to the city authorities.

The research was carried out in Harare city centre where there is a large concentration of street vendors whom the Council has been trying forcefully to evict with little success. Harare is the country's capital city and, over the years, has witnessed a surge in the number of people arriving in the city from other places where industries have closed, resulting in congestion and massive unemployment. This has forced people into street vending as the only option for making a living. It is believed that there are more than 50 000 street vendors in Harare today, although there are no official statistics (Kadirire 2017). It is key to note that the challenges of unregistered street vending are not limited to Zimbabwe only but have negatively affected all developing countries in their post- independence period.

1.3 Problem Statement

Street vending is an economic activity which provides goods for sale to the public at low prices operating from an open place with no permanent structure (Bhowmik 2005). Street vending has gained momentum in many countries worldwide due to many factors which vary from country to country. In most developing states it has become the major employer and economic activity. For instance, Mramba (2015:123) noted that, by 2014, there were approximately one million street vendors in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the number continues to grow. Despite this, street vending continues to be viewed negatively and attempts have been carried out to prohibit and stop it. Mitullah (2003:10) noted that most local authorities in Africa discourage the development of the informal sector, and use outdated colonial by-laws to continue to control and regulate the growth of informal sector. The restrictive by-laws designate street vending as illegal and a public nuisance. They outlaw street vending in the CBD. This has caused conflict as street vendors see more opportunities in the CBD than anywhere else. The conflict between street vendors and urban authorities revolves around policies on operating space, paying tax, health issues, and noise pollution. Most, if not all, vendors do not adhere to these. Mutami and Gambe (2015:124) argue that the huge occupancy of the city of Harare by vendors has created headaches for the city planners as they were caught unaware, without adequate preparation to handle such high volumes of vendors in the city. They argue that the increase in vendors was caused by the economic challenges that have been witnessed in the country.

People are driven into vending because there are no formal economic activities and vending remains the only option available. In the end, because of a lack of space, vendors have occupied undesignated sites rendering them unlicensed vendors. This has set them on a collision course with the City authorities. Mitullah (2003) notes that most of the trading sites used by street vendors are illegal, have no tenure, and are not authorised and approved, leading to conflict with urban authorities. This point is relevant to my study as it gives a background to the conflict between street vendors and urban authorities. However, the point of departure is that the above-mentioned authors discuss the conflict from an economic perspective, whereas my study discusses this from a peace-building perspective.

The problem emanates from a lack of formal employment, forcing many into street vending that results in congestion, disease outbreaks, pavement invasion, collision with urban authorities, lack of proper communication, and violent relations between street vendors and the HCC. The relations are a cat-and-mouse affair, characterized by chasing each other from the streets, running battles, confiscation of goods, arrests and harassment. The majority of street vendors in Harare operate without licenses at undesignated sites in the CBD, which is prohibited by HCC. This sets them on a collision course, with the Council occasionally confiscating their goods. Previously, there was neither dialogue nor consultation between the two conflict parties or their representatives. The Council viewed street vending as a nuisance, and was determined to drive street vendors from the CBD. On the other hand, the economic situation forced many people into street vending resulting in a collision with the city authorities (Kadirire 2017). Street vendors refused to operate in areas they were allocated by the Council which, they argued, were inconvenient and far from customers. Some also operated illegally to evade tax. The council introduced a US\$7.00 application fee. This took less than seven days to be approved, after which a vendor was allocated space from which to operate and was then charged US\$1.20 per day (Interview with vendors 2018). However, most vendors rejected this proposal and argued that the places allocated are not accessible to customers, and the daily charge was too much. They ended up abandoning their allocated spaces without paying the proposed rates and moved into the CBD from where they operate illegally. Street vendors complained about the lack of consultation on vending sites and the tax proposed by the Council, arguing that these were simply imposed upon them. Therefore, this study sought to promote dialogue between the two parties from the theoretical perspectives of Conflict Transformation Theory, Transcend Conflict Transformation for a peaceful world, and Sustained Dialogue conflict resolution perspectives.

Lederach's transformation theory (2003) sought to change relationships, attitudes, behaviour and contradictions, creatively viewing conflict constructively rather than destructively. The focus is not to blame and punish each other but to create a new and attractive reality beneficial to all conflict parties. Saunders' Sustained Dialogue (Saunders 1999) and Galtung's Transcend Conflict Transformation (Galtung 2007) are conflict resolution mechanisms that brought participants from different groups together

in repeated efforts for the constructive resolution and transformation of conflicts. The main parties to the conflict, in this case the street vendors and the HCC managed to engage in mini- dialogue and listened to each other's needs and expectations.

Previous research in other countries has acknowledged the poor relations between the two conflict parties owing to the indifferent attitude adopted by urban authorities towards street vendors. These studies have pointed out the need for governments and local authorities to design strategies that would benefit them from revenue collection from street vendors, such as allocating them operating space in the CBD, easing some of the requirements needed to register a street vending business, and charging reasonable fees that allow street vendors to remain in business. In the majority of cases, local authorities allocate space without consulting street vendors and their organisations. For example, Mitullah (2003) notes that most local authorities studied in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, use outdated and colonial policies that restrict vending in the CBD. In this case, street vendors are perceived to be posing a variety of problems in the CBD and need to be removed than as important actors that sustain families in the mainstream economy. In Zimbabwe, the HCC allocated some vending space outside the CBD for street vendors, but the latter rejected the spaces allocated and reverted back to undesignated selling points, further entrenching the conflict. They cite lack of consultation during the allocation, and the lack of business at designated spaces.

In this study, conflict between street vendors and the HCC was identified as a problem that needed to be addressed as it had degenerated into chaos and violence. Therefore, this study was carried out to transform relationships between street vendors and the Council. In the same vein, this study was prompted by the words of Clements (1997:1) who contends that,

The world needs some new ways of thinking about old problems and new ways of acting if we are to survive in the 21st Century. It is vital that students of peace and conflict work out ways of harnessing the creative imagination of everyone so that all peoples can envisage a political future and ways of realizing that future... What is missing in most social sciences and in much of our work in conflict analysis and resolution are the opportunities to hear what the voiceless, the marginalized, the excluded

have to say... We need dialogue between the so-called learned and the unlearned.

Thus, this study sought to promote dialogue between street vendors and the HCC in order to curb the culture of violence that had come to characterise their interactions.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The overall aim of the study was to transform relationships between street vendors and the Harare City Council through dialogue.

This thesis has the following specific objectives:

- To explore the nature, causes, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and the HCC.
- To identify and evaluate efforts made so far in resolving the conflict between street vendors and the HCC
- To design and implement an intervention model aimed at transforming relationships between street vendors and the HCC, thereby dealing with the current conflict, and
- To carry out an interim assessment of the outcome of the designed and implemented intervention aimed at resolving the conflict.

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations

This thesis is grounded on action research which sought to transform the existing social status and thus effect social change through action oriented research. Action research is a process which allows action and research to be achieved simultaneously (Dick 2002). It is a web of learning steps consisting of planning, action, evaluation and re-planning more action based on the results of the assessment of action undertaken. However, the active involvement of the researcher in action research can increase researcher bias. Hence, the study used a number of methods to minimize such bias (Robson 2002). Moreover, action research can produce a feeling of involvement and ownership of results among participants, which raises their esteem and confidence regarding their capacity to change their situations (Bloor and Wood 2006:12). This 'feel good' effect usually occurs at the end of a once-off intervention as carried out in this study. However, in some circumstances this can produce wrong end results for

action research. To minimize this, the evaluation was continuously carried out after the intervention. Again, although there were resource limitations in carrying out the intervention, as well as an unwillingness on the part of some major participants, I continued to persuade them to a dialogue process which was instrumental in changing relationships. Even after the intervention, I continued to interact with all the major players in the conflict to make sure that the intervention is sustained.

Although it is important to consider the impact of the intervention on a long term basis, it is outside the scope of this thesis which is a research project meant to evaluate the short- to medium term effect of the intervention. The assessment of the intervention was also limited to a small geographical area which is Harare central business district.

1.6 Terminology

It is important to define some of the terms which are mostly used in the discourse of peace-building. These are defined below:

1.6.1 Peace-building

The term peace-building gained international momentum in 1992 when Boutros Boutros-Ghali, defined it as post- conflict actions that are undertaken to avoid relapse into violent conflict (Boutros-Ghali 1992:5). Post-conflict peace-building was introduced as one of the tools UN could use towards attaining peace alongside preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping. For peace-making and peace-keeping to be successful, they must include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which tend to consolidate peace. These may include carrying out Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, restoration of order, security sector reform (SSR), returning displaced people, improving and capacitating governance. Peacebuilding has evolved to include pre-violent conflict which is commonly known as preventive diplomacy which seeks to prevent violence and post – violent conflict peace –building which prevents a recurrence of violence (UN 1992).

1.6.2 Peace

Peace has been defined negatively as the mere lack of war or violence (Galtung 1969:168). This situation is regarded as a condition of negative peace. Peace is difficult to define and is often seen by its absence (Webel and Galtung 2007). A new

definition of peace was proposed which is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice and the absence of exploitation and deprivation. This is the more holistic definition of peace than simply the absence of direct violence. This condition is regarded as positive peace. The unequal dominance of one group over others demonstrates that there is no peace, even if there is no direct violence (Webel and Galtung 2007).

1.6.3 Conflict Transformation

Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory guided this study. Conflict Transformation is the changing or restoration of relationships to what they were before the conflict after a conflict has been resolved. Conflict Transformation is an improvement in relationships (Lederach 1995). Parties to the conflict might be happy that the conflict has been resolved and violence has stopped but may still have negative attitudes and mistreat each other and this is where conflict transformation fits in. Boege (2007) notes that this is where conflict transformation comes in to build and rebuild relationships damaged by conflict. Forgiveness, healing and reconciliation are the hallmarks of conflict transformation. According to Lederach (1995), the emphasis in conflict transformation is on relationships. Miall (2004) also emphasises that conflicts are embedded in societal structures and conflict transformation should aim to change these structures. Lederach (1995) notes that peace is rooted in the quality of relationships and this is where change should occur. Lederach further notes that the transformation transcends conflict elimination and conflict management to transform or change relationships and systems that created the initial conflict. If conflict structure and relationships are not addressed, violent conflict could have recur. Therefore, conflict transformation demonstrates a different way of understanding conflict where the images of self and of others could transform the conflict from harm to good. Conflict transformation replaces a culture of violence with a culture of peace.

1.6.4 Street Vending

Street vending can be defined as street entrepreneurship or informal trading (Bhowmik 2005). It is the selling of goods in which the owner is actively involved in starting and owning their own business in the streets. Such people offer goods for sale to the public on the streets without having any permanent built up structure

1.7 Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of nine chapters as explained below

Chapter One: This chapter presents the introduction to the study, research motivation, problem statement, aims and objectives, limitations, delimitations and definition of terminology used in the thesis

Chapter Two: This chapter presents the main peace theory which guides this thesis. Conflict transformation forms the basis of the main theoretical framework and was discussed alongside other conflict handling mechanisms like conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and dialogue.

Chapter Three: Examines worldwide literature on street vending

Chapter Four: The Chapter examines the history of street vending in Zimbabwe tracing back to independence, what causes people to embark on street vending in Zimbabwe, the causes, nature, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and urban authorities in Zimbabwe, strategies put in place to regulate street vending by urban authorities in Zimbabwe, the effectiveness of strategies put in place by urban authorities in Zimbabwe in dealing with street vending.

Chapter Five: This chapter discusses research design and methodology.

Chapter Six: Explores and analyses the relationships, attitudes and behaviour of various parties in the conflict.

Chapter Seven: This chapter discusses the implementation of action research interventions which include training of participants on nonviolence and dialogue with participants

Chapter Eight: Evaluates the short term outcome of the intervention.

Chapter Nine: Includes the summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: Conflict Management, Conflict Resolution, and Conflict Transformation

Although attempting to bring about world peace through the internal transformation of individuals is difficult, it is the only way (Dalai Lama in Thich Nhat Hanh 19991:vii).

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main peace theory which informs this study. This study used Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory. Lederach initiated the departure from international peacebuilding towards local peacebuilding where local actors play important roles in both peacebuilding and conflict transformation. Lederach's conflict transformation theory was complimented by conflict resolution mechanisms such as Saunders' Sustained Dialogue and Galtung's Transcend Conflict Transformation model. These are important elements in peacebuilding as they complement each other. However, it is important to discuss such peacebuilding mechanisms as conflict prevention, management, resolution and transformation as they are often subject to controversy among peace practitioners who have a tendency to use the terms interchangeably. Each mechanism suggests a larger scope of action, and each is discussed here separately beginning with conflict prevention, which is often left out in the peacebuilding continuum. Nevertheless, differences between these concepts are difficult to draw as they are often used interchangeably by authors to suit their needs.

Building peace is one of the most difficult endeavours of human beings. There are a number of theories, models and schools of thought that have emerged, each with its own way of thinking and specific terminology. This has made it difficult to draw the dividing lines between different approaches of conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation (Paffenholz 2009:1).

2.1 Conflict

The term conflict is difficult to define and scholars defined it differently. Burton (1990b) defined conflict as struggles or disputes that arise when human needs are not met or

fulfilled. For Burton, conflict can only be resolved when these unfulfilled human needs are fulfilled. On the other hand, Mitchell (1981:18) defined conflict as the situation in which parties think that they have mutually different or divergent goals or a situation where there is no agreement between social values and the social structure. Conflict is a universal feature of human society. To emphasise the pervasive nature of conflict, Morris *et al.* (2004) notes that intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict characterise human condition and that conflict is inevitable. Conflict originates in economic inequalities and competition for limited resources (Wallensteen 2007:15). Conflicts become overt through the formation of conflict parties who are perceived to have mutually incompatible goals. Conflict parties often fight over scarce resources, unequal relations, competing values, among other issues. Conflicts are not static but are ever- changing, dynamic, they increase and decrease their intensity, occasionally change their level, issues and actors. Conflicts comprise an interplay of attitudes and behaviours (Galtung 1969). Contradictions, which are what the conflict parties are fighting over, are part of every conflict. Galtung further notes that contradictions are formed when two people want the same thing which is scarce and cannot be shared between them. He termed this scenario a dispute and, in other instances, contradictions are formed when one person wants two things and is in a dilemma over the choice. Deutsch (1973:248) noted that some conflicts are destructive while others are constructive. Destructive conflicts are to be avoided, but constructive conflicts are necessary and valuable aspects of human creativity. Constructive conflicts are also valuable aspects of social change. Lederach (2003) noted that conflict cannot be avoided in human relationships but can act as a motor of change.

Burton (1990a) distinguishes between conflicts and disputes. He notes that conflicts are more intense than disputes and are deeper struggles for unsatisfied human needs that require resolution. Disputes, on the other hand are less intense and require settlement. Conflict can be referred to as circumstances in which conflict parties believe that they have divergent objectives. Galtung (2007: 22) suggested that conflict could be presented as a triangle that comprises contradiction, attitude and behaviour. Contradiction refers to the problem that the conflict parties have differences over. In this study, the issue is about sites of operation of business between vendors and HCC. Vendors are operating at undesignated sites which HCC believes should not be used

for such purposes, hence the attempts to remove vendors from undesignated sites. Attitude refers to way in which the parties in conflict view themselves and others. Parties may view themselves positively whilst viewing others negatively, which may further fuel the conflict. Attitudes are influenced by fear, anger, bitterness and hatred.

Behaviour is the third component outlined by Galtung (2007:22) in his triangle of conflict. This refers to actions which are verbal or non-verbal that signify co-operation or enmity. Violent behaviour is signified by threats and coercion. Galtung (2007:22) argues that contradiction, attitude and behaviour must be present together in a full conflict. He regards conflict to be a dynamic process in which structure, attitude and behaviour are ever-changing and influencing each other. Conflict emerges and manifests as parties develop hostile attitudes and behaviour. Conversely, to resolve conflict, there must be changes in behaviour and attitudes. In this study, the conflict between street vendors and the HCC is characterized by threats, coercion and destructive attacks; hence, the need for an intervention to transform these attitudes, behaviours and contradictions from hostility into cooperation. The study sought to transform relationships from coercion into conciliation through action research.

Conflict prevention is based on the perception of threat or the actual occurrence of conflict; hence, it was necessary to address the concept of conflict before focusing on how to prevent it. The concept is derived from the belief that it is always better to prevent a conflict than cure it. Conflict should not be seen as only violent attitude or behaviour, but must also include the pursuit of different issues or positions by different actors in a conflict (Czempiel 1981). This definition means that conflict does not necessarily relate to conflicts in the traditional military sphere but conflict is also based on behavioural dimensions. According to Galtung (1969) quoted by Mitchell (1981), the conflict structure consists of attitudes, behaviour and situations – that interact to create conflict between actors. The following statements by Mitchell (1981:55) illustrate how these dimensions engage each other to produce conflict:

- **The situation impacts the behaviour.** Behaviour is the expression or gesture of one's position or interest. It can be verbal or non-verbal. Failure to achieve goals generates aggression. This results in negative behaviour towards one's situation or towards others who are perceived to be the causes of failure.

- **The situation impacts attitudes.** Attitude is the perception and misperception of each other's goals and objectives. Incompatible goals increase suspicion and distrust between the parties.
- **Behaviour impacts the situation.** Success and lack of success can introduce new questions on the conflict as demands increase and change.
- **Behaviour impacts the attitudes.** Destruction, violence and negative behaviour increase hatred and the notion of 'them' and 'us', whereas success can increase group cohesion.
- **Attitudes affect the behaviour.** Negative perception and misperception lead to negative behaviour and intensification of conflict. Expecting previous enemies to attack a group will affect the planning and preventive actions. De-escalation of conflict can result from changes in perception and misperception among actors in conflict which increase the likelihood of negotiations and peaceful resolution of conflicts.
- **Attitudes impact the situation.** Negative views between and among the actors in conflict perpetuates the conflict, while positive views reduce suspicions and help to increase trust among the actors in conflict which increase the likelihood of agreement in resolving the conflict. (Mitchell 1981:55).

However, Mitchell's model is limited by the fact that conflicts are often caused by a variety of motives which may not be openly displayed by conflict actors. They have both co-operative and competitive goals, and Mitchell's model neglects this multifaceted and complex dimension of conflict. It is the competitive dimension that creates violent conflict, whereas the cooperative element paves the way for negotiations and agreement. Moreover, there are studies which argue that conflicts do not occur only where there are incompatible goals, but even where the involved parties pursue similar objectives. Therefore, conflict has been defined generally as a situation in which two or more seek to access similar limited resources at the same time (Wallensteen 2002).

Perception is a central concept in conflict, since conflict is defined according to subjective perceptions. If the involved parties perceive it difficult to reach an agreement, or one party believes the other to be unreliable, the chances of resolving

conflict diminish. But changes in perceptions among conflict parties will also result in changes in the intensity of the conflict. For the purposes of this research, Mitchell and Galtung's definitions of conflict were used.

2.1.1 Conflict Prevention

Chalmers (2007:2) argues that preventing conflict before it turns into violence is cost effective in terms of finances and human resources. It is debatable whether it is feasible or desirable to prevent conflict, since there is consensus that conflict is an unavoidable aspect of human endeavour. Therefore, there is a contention that when conflict prevention is discussed, what is discussed in essence is the prevention of conflict turning into violence. Peace and conflict authors agree that conflict is natural and not necessarily bad and, at times, serves as an agent of social change. What should be prevented at all cost is violent response to conflict because once conflict becomes violent it leads to destruction of property, infrastructure and life. Conflict prevention is mostly used before the escalation of violence, but can also be used even after violence has ended as measures are put in place to prevent a recurrence of violence (Chalmers 2007:4). This activity is usually termed 'post-conflict' peace-building. Conflict prevention is an early warning mechanism that is implemented before the conflict has become open. It can be used to prevent a conflict from intensifying in the first place, or to prevent a conflict from re-escalating in a post-conflict phase after a violent conflict has ended or has been resolved. Conflict prevention measures are effective before a conflict manifests.

However, there are two most important conflict prevention measures which are mostly applied in conflict prevention. These are which are structural and direct conflict preventive measures. Structural preventive measures relate to transforming structures of the society to make them inclusive and just. These are applicable in stable peace phases before the conflict is manifest, and aimed at addressing specific marginalised or minority group concerns or situations such as resource distributive justice, political participation and economic development, autonomy, control and cultural identity, among others (Chalmers 2007:7). Implementing structural measures before conflict manifests enhances high chances of acceptance and low probability of misperceptions by those affected. If measures are implemented at an early stage,

they reduce the risk of escalating conflict into the levels of violence which, in the long run, reduces costs. Once conflict manifests into violence, it becomes costly to prevent, manage and resolve. However, structural preventive measures on their own are not enough. They are often complemented by direct preventive measures (Chalmers 2007:10).

In the unstable peace phase, preventive measures are aimed at short term goals, such as managing tension between the actors. Direct preventive measures can be formal or informal workshops dealing with issues that are likely to cause violence. Direct preventive measures can also include reduction in military expenditure, problem-solving workshops, and peace-keeping operations, among others. However, it should be noted that there is a thin line between structural and direct preventive measures as they often overlap (Chalmers 2007: 11).

Despite a wide array of definitions, there is little agreement among scholars on the meaning of conflict prevention. Lund (1996: 37) noted that conflict prevention can also be termed preventive diplomacy, which he defines as action taken to avoid the threat or use of armed force to settle conflicts that can arise from negative effects of economic, political and international change.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1996) cited by Cahill (1996:18) defined preventive diplomacy as the use of negotiations to prevent disputes from arising, escalating into armed conflict, and to prevent the armed conflict from spreading. The two definitions by Lund and Ghali have limitations as they relate to top hierarchy and exclude measures undertaken at lower levels of society or the participation of lower level groups in conflict prevention such as distributive justice and inclusive development. The term preventive diplomacy could be narrow and problematic, since it defines only the role of top leadership and their diplomatic efforts in preventing conflict in the early stages of conflict. These efforts are normally carried out without the participation of the majority of the people who belong to the lower tiers of society. On the other hand, conflict prevention is a set of preventive measures of which preventive diplomacy is merely one aspect. However, some authors do not always differentiate between the two. Lund (1996:37) provided a wider definition of conflict prevention when he noted that it is,

Any structural or intercessory means to keep intrastate or interstate tension and dispute from escalating into significant violence and use of armed forces to strengthen the capabilities of potential parties to violent conflict for resolving such disputes peacefully and to progressively reduce the underlying problems that produce these issues and disputes.

This definition covers both short-term strategies and long-term conflict prevention strategies. It takes into consideration measures aimed at preventing violent conflicts while strengthening the capacity of actors involved in conflict to reduce violent conflict. Conflict prevention can be viewed holistically which includes the role of both states and individuals. Both individuals and states are considered in the broader definition of conflict prevention because both are threats to peace and security.

The broader approach to conflict prevention recognises the importance of economic and social development and other institutional or structural issues that affect peace in many societies. These are important elements of conflict prevention, whose effectiveness has been a result of some of these measures. International organisations such as the World Bank has also acknowledged the importance of conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction measures as critical to their poverty reduction strategies. The World Bank Report on Breaking the conflict trap; Civil war and Development Policy paper (2003:79) acknowledged that, in most poor countries, there is a vicious cycle where poverty causes conflict and conflict causes poverty; hence the need to reduce poverty as a preventive measure against the outbreak of conflict.

Similarly, the United Nations, under Kofi Annan, spearheaded the culture of prevention from a culture of reaction where he implored the organisation to be proactive in preventing violent conflicts than reacting to violent conflicts (Annan 2001, UNSC 1999). Likewise, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has promoted the culture of prevention in development cooperation and foreign policy of member states (OECD 2001: 31). The organisation argues that the international community could effectively implement the culture of prevention if it analyses conflicts and understand its impact on the structural stability of a country (OECD 2001:31). Furthermore, the OECD urged the international community to be

aware of the political effects of any activity and to understand how its aims, design and implementation may interact with the political and economic dimensions in that society.

2.1.2 Conflict Prevention versus Treatment

There is consensus among conflict practitioners that preventing a war and intervening when a war has already broken out do not cost the same. Fischer (2006:13) gives an example of Romania in the 1980s, where there were strong fears that the country could degenerate into a civil war because of its ethnic composition which comprised of the majority Romanians (23 million), minority Hungarians (1.6 million) and other small minorities. There was mutual distrust and suspicion among these ethnic groups, and especially between Hungarians and Romanians who had been sworn enemies since World War 1. It was a time bomb waiting to explode. However, Allen Kasso and others were able to facilitate meetings for the ethnic groups which were instrumental in giving the minority Hungarian the right to officialise their language in schools and local newspapers (Fischer 2006:13). The Hungarians, in return, promised not to seek secession. This prevented a looming civil war in the magnitude of the former Yugoslavia, in which thousands of people were killed and much infrastructure was destroyed.

Fischer (2006: 13) further argues that it takes years for international peacekeepers, thousands of troops and substantial amount of resources to end a conflict once war breaks out. Even with tens of thousands of peacekeepers, some wars cannot end. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, 20 000 United Nations peacekeepers failed to stop the violence and massacres. According to Fischer (2006:13), the costs of a peacekeeping operation are approximately one million times expensive than that of mediation. Peacekeeping operations cost billions of dollars, whereas it requires just a few thousand dollars for a few logistics such as a meeting place, some air tickets and food for the mediation team and conflict parties. The 1991 Gulf war against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait cost an estimated amount of US\$100 billion, notwithstanding infrastructural destruction caused by the war (Fischer 2006:13). Moreover, many lives can be saved if a conflict can be prevented before it breaks out as highlighted by Fischer.

In 1995, Johan Galtung met the President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad over a long-standing territorial dispute with Peru. Ecuador and Peru had engaged in occasional wars over a strip in the Andes Mountains, and were about to engage in another war when Galtung decided to mediate before the war broke out (Fischer 2006:13). Each country claimed ownership of the watershed. Galtung considered arguments from both Presidents, and proposed to them the possibility of joint administration of this strip. The two presidents accepted Galtung's proposal, with some concessions from both sides which resulted in the signing of a peace agreement in October 1998 (Fischer 2006:13). The cost of this mediation by Galtung was estimated to be approximately USD 200 for Galtung's stopover in Ecuador and a few extra person costs such as accommodation and meals (Fischer 2006:14). It is assumed that the costs incurred by Galtung's mediation were insignificant compared to the costs of peacekeeping that could have been incurred, had the two countries opted for military engagement.

Fischer (2006:14) further illustrated that, in contrast, the USA spent billions of US dollars in 1999 to launch an attack against Milosevic's Yugoslavia. These billions could have been saved had the American administration agreed to give opposition leader Milan Panic funds he had demanded to outsource an independent radio station so that he could address voters directly, since he had not been allowed access to public broadcast by the Milosevic government. The granting of Panic's request could have avoided the war over Kosovo and saved human lives and billions of dollars. Fischer (2006:14) suggested that peace practitioners who have knowledge and experience in conflicts should be given opportunities to negotiate and mediate with various potential conflict parties and help them find peaceful solutions to a conflict as illustrated by the potential violent conflict between Ecuador and Peru which was peacefully resolved by Galtung with firing a single shot. The costs of mediation are far less than peacekeeping as shown above. Therefore, more resources must be channelled towards conflict prevention. This is also relevant to this study because the current skirmishes between street vendors and the HCC, for which monetary resources are used to drive vendors off the streets, could be saved if there was dialogue between the conflict parties.

Moreover, to highlight the importance of conflict prevention, former Russian President, Gorbachev (1987) proposed the formation of a comprehensive international peace and security system to redress both structural and direct threats to peace and security threats (Fischer 2006:15). He argued that most governments do not have early warning systems to warn them on the impending peace and security threats, hence they wait until a problem has reached crisis proportions where it is no longer possible to prevent the crisis from occurring. Gorbachev concluded that it is effective to prevent wars through skilful mediation instead of waiting until conflicts erupt and then send troops (Fischer 2006:15). There is therefore consensus among peace practitioners that preventing conflict before it spreads is better than managing and resolving a conflict. Fischer (2006:16) supported conflict prevention and noted that waiting for conflict to occur was like driving during the night without lights, waiting until one hits an obstacle. He advocated for proactive approach in preventing conflicts as the costs of conflict prevention are far less than the costs of managing conflicts.

2.1.3 Conflict Management

It was important to define conflict management in this study so that the correct approach in dealing with this conflict could be applied. Like any other term, conflict management has been defined differently by authors. Miall (2004) noted that the overall aim of conflict management is to manage conflict without necessarily ending it. Paffenholz (2009:3), on the other hand, argues that conflict management is the oldest approach in the discourse of peacebuilding, which seeks to end violent conflicts through different political negotiations or initiatives. Peacebuilders, according to the conflict management paradigm as identified by Paffenholz (2009:3), are external personnel and experts from bilateral and multilateral organisations who then identify and bring the leaders of the conflict parties to the negotiating table where the main focus is the short-term regulation of armed conflict. Conflict management centres on those in power because there is a commonly held view that these are the initiators of violence and have the ability to bring it to an end when they are engaged through a negotiated settlement.

Harris and Reilly (1998:18) defined conflict management as the constructive handling of differences. Conflict is dealt with in a constructive way when opposing parties are

brought together to design a practical and cooperative system that manages their differences constructively. Tanner (2000) asserted that conflict management is the limitation, mitigation and containment of a conflict without necessarily solving it. Zartman (2000) highlights that conflict management is limited to eliminating violence, yet leaving the conflict to be dealt with on the political level. However, Zartman's definition has been criticised as being too political, and leaving no room for other actors such as non-governmental organisations, academic institutions and other informal bodies that can influence conflict management.

For Wallensteen (2002:53) conflict management implies a change from destructive to cooperative modes of interaction. Wallensteen, in particular, argued that conflict management typically focuses on the armed aspect of a conflict. On the other hand, Swanstrom (2002:298) argues that conflict management does not only apply to an armed conflict but as soon as conflict manifests parties must be able to implement measures to manage conflicts before they become militarised as it becomes more expensive to manage or regulate a conflict once it becomes militarised. As noted in the above section on conflict prevention, it is easier to change the mode of interaction from destructive to constructive in the early phases of the conflict. It can be argued from this definition that there is a very thin line separating conflict prevention from conflict management, as they both involve preventing conflict from escalating into violence. It has also been noted that conflict management can be carried out both by formal and informal institutions, and best results have been achieved by combining informal and formal conflict management techniques but varies with the context of the conflict. Confidence building measures are an important element in the conflict management process as they increase trust between the actors. Leung and Tjosvold (1998) have asserted that conflict management is a stepping stone for effective conflict resolution.

However, the Western view distinguishes conflict management from conflict resolution by highlighting that the former manages or regulates short –term conflicts while the latter resolves long- term underlying structural conflicts. The two concepts operate at different levels but are related. Conflict management operate at a much lower level to conflict resolution. Conflict practitioners argue that conflict management is not

sustainable as compared to conflict resolution. The major weakness of conflict management is its concentration with top leadership diplomacy while neglecting low level facilitation (Lederach 1997). Conflict resolution seeks to address the underlying causes of conflict, whereas conflict management does not (Hoffman 1995). The western approach has been adopted by HCC in dealing with street vendors where it has been using force to drive vendors from the streets, hence the failure to resolve the conflict. HCC has also been holding high level meetings with government officials on how to tackle the challenge of street vending but has ignored informal institutions such as vendor organisations and vendors themselves who have tried to engage with the HCC in trying to resolve the problem of street vending without success. This leads to the next section, which looks at conflict resolution.

2.1.4 Conflict Resolution

Conflict management and conflict resolution are terms that are often confused and used interchangeably. Miall *et al.* (2002) asserts that conflict resolution addresses the underlying issues or incompatibilities between or among the parties, in which the parties accept each other's existence. Although conflict resolution seeks to resolve the underlying incompatibilities, conflict management seeks to manage the conflict than resolving it. Zartman (2000) argues that both conflict management and conflict resolution belong to the same line of the peacebuilding continuum. While the former aims at managing or limiting the conflict so that it does not result in violence or escalating into violence, the latter aims at resolving the long term underlying structural issues through win-win solutions. Lund (1997:3-4) argues that conflict resolution,

... focuses on efforts to increase co-operation among the parties to a conflict and deepen their relationship by addressing the conditions that led to the dispute, fostering positive attitudes, allaying distrust through reconciliation initiatives, and building and strengthening the institutions and processes through which parties interact.

A number of western scholars claim that the difference between conflict management and conflict resolution concerns the short-term and long-term perspectives, and managing the current problem or the long term problem respectively. While the two concepts might differ, but they are closely inter-related dealing with similar conflict at

different stages and levels. Mitchell (2002:2) notes that conflict resolution involves the discovery of mutually acceptable and sustainable solution by the parties in conflict with the help of third parties or mediators. Conflict resolution focuses on the content and substance of the problem. In short, conflict resolution is content centred. In this study, conflict resolution was used as one of the strategies to resolve the issues between street vendors and HCC. In particular, conflict resolution mechanisms such as transcend dialogue were also used to promote an understanding and peaceful resolution of the conflict herein.

The next section looks at some of the preferred conflict resolution mechanisms; transcend and sustained dialogue, and how they were used to resolve some seemingly intractable conflicts in the world. Their application in this study will also be discussed.

2.2 Dialogue

Dialogue is a conversation between two or more people characterized by honesty, openness and genuine listening (Ropers 2004:6). It emphasises the relationships of the people involved, mutual understanding, and aims to identify mutual ground. Dialogue fosters engagement which promotes contact. With the use of dialogue, O'Malley (2000: 12) asserted that when he mediated in Northern Ireland and South Africa in 1997, he realised that it was possible that societies emerging from war could co- exist, shed their distrust and transform relationships but the problem was that everyone thinks that their conflict is unique.

2.2.1 The Importance of Dialogue

Dialogue is an all-encompassing process which brings together a different set of voices (Ropers 2004: 6). For sustainable change, people have to feel included and own the process of addressing their problems. In this study, dialogue helped to bring together street vendors and the HCC in trying to jointly address the challenges that affected their relationships and finding mutually acceptable joint solutions.

Dialogue involves learning and is more than just talking (Blunck *et al.* 2017). Dialogue is a process which does not involve people simply sitting around tables, but it is about transforming the way people talk, view and communicate with one another.

Participants in dialogue must be willing to resolve the underlying causes of a conflict, not only the surface symptoms. Dialogue should not merely seek to end the violence, but to change the relationships between the actors, which this study sought to achieve, that is, to transform relationships between street vendors and the HCC. Chapter 7 in this study evaluates the impact of dialogue in transforming relationships between street vendors and HCC.

Dialogue seeks to recognise humanity in one another (Ropers 2004). Participants in dialogue must be willing to express compassion towards one another, acknowledge that although there might be differences with one another as well as areas of common ground but the most important thing is to demonstrate capacity for change. For example, are street vendors ready admit that they have different objectives with HCC, are they ready to recognise that they have areas of common ground with HCC and have the capacity to change their attitudes toward HCC for the good of humanity and *vice versa*? This augers well with the aim of this study to transform the attitudes of the actors so that they could engage each other amicably and to recognize each other's humanity.

Dialogue stresses a long term perspective (Brown and Isaacs 2005). For dialogue to foster a sustainable solution, it requires time and patience. This study was carried out over a period of four years, but for the duration of this period, the parties were able to meet regularly to discuss their challenges. However, the researcher was patient enough working together with other actors to create a platform for dialogue between street vendors and HCC. Sometimes, the process was slow, and seemed for a time impossible. Efforts and calls for dialogue were sometimes spurned by one of the parties, and at other times, both parties saw no value in dialogue. Eventually, though, they agreed to dialogue.

In dialogue there are no winners and losers (Ropers 2004). The aim of dialogue is not for the conflict parties to compete with one another or for one party to prevail over another but for the parties to mend their differences, to share their experiences and to learn from each other so that in the process they discover new ideas from each other, something they would not have discovered without dialogue.

2.3 Sustained Dialogue

The main aim of this study was to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC through the use of transcend dialogue complimented by sustained dialogue as a conflict resolution mechanism. Sustained Dialogue is a conflict resolution strategy which was built from the experiences of Harold Saunders in resolving conflicts in the Middle East and Tajikistan (Saunders 1999). Dialogue involves interaction where people listen to each other deeply enough to learn in order to be changed from that they would have learnt from each other (Saunders 1999:18). According to Reychler (2001:453), dialogue is process oriented. It assumes that when people work together, they can design solutions that are acceptable to them because they own the process. Dialogue is a valuable and effective strategy of resolving destructive and dysfunctional relationships which characterise most social conflicts. Sustained dialogue involves the behaviour of conflict parties when they meet in dialogue repeatedly over time. It is expected that when the space is created for conflict parties to meet repeatedly over time, they are likely to change their negative perceptions and stereotypes of each other resulting in them resolving their differences. Moreover, in sustained dialogue, parties in conflict learn and work together to confront challenges they face. In learning and working together, they transform relationships.

Sustained Dialogue has been used in many conflicts, both intra- state and inter- state conflicts. Sustained dialogue brings participants from different backgrounds together to inclusively find solutions to issues affecting them. In this study, attempts were made to bring together street vendors through their representatives and the Harare city authorities to discuss and find solutions to issues affecting them.

Saunders (2007) contends that relationships are characterised by components which include interests, identity, power, perception, and patterns of interaction. These elements of relationships are related with Burton's non-negotiable human needs such as identity, security, participation, and development, among others (Burton 1990b). According to Burton, instability and protracted social conflicts in society are inevitable results of failure to fulfil these needs. However, through dialogue, parties have the capacity to develop trust, compassion, and peace because there is sustained contact and listening to each other. Steinberg (2013: 40) notes that such interactions should

be maintained over time to provide sufficient time and conditions to transform the parties' perceptions and misperceptions of one another. When interactions are repeated and sustained for months or more, social political and cultural barriers are dismantled. It is also assumed that, in this dialogue process between street vendors and the HCC, there will be sustained and prolonged interactions as new issues and challenges emerge with each passing day.

Steinberg further notes that for intergroup conflicts to succeed, time, repeated or sustained contact and age of participants are important considerations. When participants spend time together, they understand one another. Time spent together can vary from a few hours, days, months and even years of uninterrupted and intensive interactions. The essence of sustained interaction is to open the possibilities for dismantling socio- political and cultural barriers, thereby reducing fears and suspicions. Mitchell (2011:96) supports Steinberg by asserting that young participants are more active agents of social change than adults, hence emphasis of sustained dialogue should be on young participants. Adults are closed-minded and difficult to transform their perceptions. Steinberg (2013: 40) further avers that transforming young men is sowing seeds of future peace. The study worked with young men and women as an action group to equip them with the ingredients of future peace. In this case, the study sought to facilitate and promote dialogue between street vendors and the HCC as a sustainable way of resolving their conflict rather than violent confrontation which, over the years characterised their relations. With the use of sustained dialogue as a conflict resolution strategy, this study anticipates to benefit from repeated and sustained interactions which can change attitudes.

Sustained dialogue has been used in a number of cases with some measure of success. It was used in the Arab-American-European dialogue in 2005 in improving the way the two groups of people viewed each other. The dialogue culminated in a series of meetings that discussed the sources of conflicts between European and the Arab representatives. This engagement was a direct contrast to the disjunction and arrogance seen in Europe, where some countries vowed that they will not negotiate with terrorists. It is suffice to say that sustained dialogue has been used in international and national armed conflicts. In this study, dialogue was used to find

understanding and contact between street vendors and the HCC. The lack of dialogue in the past failed to resolve the conflict; this is the gap that this study sought to fill.

2.3.1 Difference between Dialogue and Debate

The preferred method used in this study to resolve and transform the conflict between street vendors and HCC was dialogue over debate. Schirch and Campt (2007:9) highlight that the reason for preferring dialogue is that there is cooperation and mutual understanding of the problem and solution. By contrast, debate is competitive, where the conflict parties try to prevail over each other. In dialogue, parties are attentive to one another so that they are appreciative of one's position, comprehend and work together to find joint outcome, whereas in debate, one listens with the intention to find faults and oppose the other. Dialogue increases and most likely alters a participant's view, whereas debate insists a participant's point of view over the other. Dialogue calls for the temporary suspension of one's beliefs, while in debate, a participant whole heartedly invests in his or her beliefs. Dialogue compliments other participants without alienating or offending them. On the other hand, debate refutes different positions and may disparage other participants and their views. Moreover, dialogue assumes that answers to a problem are not held by a few privileged individuals in a dialogue but many have answers and it is only through working together that can lead to workable and acceptable solutions. By contrast, debate assumes that one party already has a single right answer. Lastly, dialogue remains open-ended, whereas debate demands a conclusion and a winner. On the whole, dialogue seeks to establish a link between the parties. The end goal of dialogue is not winning or losing but building a collective outcome. Debate, on the other hand, is more confrontational, and seeks to produce winners and losers. It is a winners- take all approach to conflicts which characterised conflict between street vendors and HCC over the years. This study chose dialogue because neither party is better than the other. The following section presents differences between dialogue and debate diagrammatically

Table 2. 1 Differences between debate and dialogue

	Debate	Dialogue
Goal / Purpose	The goal is to win the argument by affirming one's own views and discrediting other views	The goal is to understand different perspectives and learn about other views
Participant's approach	<p>People listen to others to find flaws in their arguments</p> <p>People critique the experiences of others as distorted and invalid</p>	<p>People listen to others to understand how their experiences shape their beliefs</p> <p>People accept the experiences of others as real and valid</p>
Dealing with others' views	<p>People appear not to be determined to change their own views on the issue</p> <p>People speak based on assumption made about others positions and motivations</p> <p>People oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong</p>	<p>People appear to be somewhat open to expanding their understanding of the issue</p> <p>People speak primarily from their own understanding and experience</p> <p>People work together towards common understanding</p>
Role of emotions	Strong emotions like anger are used to intimidate the other side	Strong emotions like anger and sadness are appropriate when they convey the intensity of an experience or belief

Source: Lisa Schirch and David Campt (2007:9)

2.3.2 Dialogue and Trust in the Context of Social Conflict

Maoz (2000) notes that the use of dialogue processes at the grassroots level is to build trust and peaceful relations. Trust is an important element in the peacebuilding process. The importance of trust in social and economic development is renowned. Varshney (2002:46) points out that communities characterised by inter-group and inter-communal civil society networks have the capacity to create inter-group dialogue and increase the level of trust at the local level. This is essential for this study because, without trust between street vendors and the HCC, the conflict will not be resolved and transformed. Lack of trust and suspicion have characterised relations in the past up to this point, and it has been difficult to come up with a sustainable solution. A study carried out in Ethiopia on trust indicated that sustained dialogue meaningfully enhanced trust by reducing the perception of the parties towards each other which resulted in the increase in the level of trust in others. A sustained dialogue programme created positive relationships with participants who comprised different ethnicities than non-participants did. The study further found that projects such as sustained dialogue have the capacity to influence parties' attitudes even in dire situations characterised by political violence and ethnic hatreds. The finding that sustained dialogue creates positive relationships with others augers well with the study by Nannestad *et al.* (2008:626) on non-European migrants in Denmark, where cooperation was found among the migrant groups which resulted in close relations among different groups. It was found out that there was positive social capital bonding among the five immigrant groups in Denmark. However, the study concluded that involvement in sustained dialogue programmes alone is not adequate to change the behavioural aspects of the participants. The study recommends the need to develop programmes that are able to change the actions of individuals towards each other.

Another important element in relationships and peacebuilding is contact. Allport (1954:766), in his contact hypothesis, proposed that misinformation results in bias between groups. However, the more people increase contact with each other, the more they are likely to gain more information about each other and develop positive attitude towards each other. The contact hypothesis has been exposed to wide-

ranging research, and the majority of studies have reported positive contact effects. This hypothesis is important in this study because it is a fundamental part of the dialogue process where continuous interactions help to remove suspicion and create trust, thereby creating peaceful relations and transformation of relationships. Sustained dialogue resonates well with the contact hypothesis where there are a series of consultations over time. Saunders (1999:82) further supports the use of sustained dialogue in conflicts by asserting that sustained dialogue changes relationships between conflicting parties by dealing with core issues causing tension, in order to end the conflict and build peace. It is hoped that, through increased contact and sustained dialogue between street vendors and the HCC, they will be able to find each other, to understand each other's positions and interests better, and to come up with a lasting solution to their conflict.

However, the contact hypothesis has gaps. Pettigrew (1998) noted that participants in inter-ethnic dialogues have high likelihood of recording positive changes in their relationships. On the other hand, those who do not participate in inter- ethnic dialogues are likely to remain partisan with reduced contact, thereby remaining entrenched in their negative perception status. However, the impact of contact on relationships is yet to be scientifically proven but studies show that it indeed has a positive impact on people's attitudes and behaviour towards one another.

2.4 Galtung's Transcend Conflict Transformation as a Conflict Resolution Mechanism

Galtung (2007:14) noted that like- minded participants result in increased levels of peace. By contrast, the security approach which is still dominant even within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), views other parties as threats to be dissuaded or eradicated. In this approach, there is less focus on refining relations. The peace approach depends on the transformation or alteration of relations between the parties (Galtung 2007:23). Therefore, conflict transformation must be based on peaceful change to prevent future violence.

This study sought to transform violent relations between street vendors and HCC through peaceful or non-violent means; hence, the relevance of Galtung's transcend conflict transformation approach as a conflict resolution mechanism. This entails

transcending the objectives of the parties by creating a new environment where the parties can live and develop together.

The transcend approach functions like a medical model for individuals and collective diseases (Galtung 2007:14). There is need for diagnosis, which is the critical examination or investigation of the causes and circumstances of the illness. There is also need for prognosis to explore the past experiences of the disease, its causes, manifestation as well as the interventions necessary and adequate to prevent undesirable outcomes or consequences.

In this study, it was important to analyse the type of disease (conflict) as well as the condition and its causes. A prognosis was then carried out to explore the history or the process of the conflict between street vendors and HCC. It was important to explore the past to find out what, if anything, was done then to deal with the conflict, and to find out what could have been done better to resolve it? Lastly, the study sought to provide therapy that would list the interventions necessary and sufficient, such as dialogue and other peaceful methods of conflict resolution to prevent unacceptable consequences.

Galtung (2004) observes that, since the end of the Cold War, the need to transcend war and its various institutions has not weakened but has been strengthened with the emergence of new types of conflicts which differed from Cold War conflicts. He further noted that to transcend conflict dialogue is important. He stressed the need for the participation of a variety of actors not limited to top echelons of power but at the local level as well. His transcend methods draws a great deal from Lederach's conflict transformation which also stressed the need for participation of low-level actors in conflict transformation. Similarly, this study sought to engage a variety of actors at the local level in dialogue to resolve the challenges that they faced. The actors in this study include street vendors (both licensed and unlicensed), the Harare City Council, Local Government (the Ministry under which the Harare City Council falls), formal businesses, and pedestrians who are affected by street vending. Galtung (2004) also stressed the importance of low-level actors in conflict resolution, and argued that, if mediation and conflict resolution are limited to political elite, then such efforts buttress the tiered gap between the elite and the general populace. Hence, according to

Galtung (2004), for there to be effective mediation of conflict resolution, there must be active participation of those who are perceived to have power to make and implement decisions, as well as those who occupy the lower levels of society.

In this study, urban authorities and government departments have for years been implementing decisions without consulting street vendors and other perceived low-level actors. The result has been the perpetuation of violent conflict because some actors felt that decisions have been imposed on them yet the decisions affect them. Of particular note is the conflict between street vendors and the HCC over operating space in the CBD where street vendors have shunned designated space often on the outskirts of the CBD, noting that they were not consulted, and that the designated places are not suitable and viable for their businesses. According to Galtung (2007:18) such a division locates people into the role of onlookers, encouraging feelings of powerlessness, diverged and indifference, and may serve to alienate people from the peace process. Therefore, it is important that all groups from every level of society are brought into a dialogue for peace, so that the fears and suspicions of exclusion are removed, and any peace process attained is owned and supported by everyone.

Galtung (2004) further stressed that conflicts must be transformed so that parties can live creatively and non-violently. This is the thrust of this study, which is to transform relationships between street vendors and the HCC. Hence, Galtung's transcend conflict transformation was relevant to this study and was useful in transforming the relationships mentioned above. The conflict parties had to break down the polarisation within themselves and between them. However, there are three useful reminders in Galtung's work. These are: the need for creativity, the need for a future orientation, and the continuing impact of deep psychological and cultural factors.

2.4.1 The Need for Creativity

Galtung (2007) avers that what is needed for transcendence is the ability of parties to be resourceful. The problem is that conflict parties tend to be overwhelmed by strong emotions and are always tied to the past which prevents them from moving beyond the present into the future. In the process, they emphasise a destructive orientation which usually paralyses creativity. Therefore, what is needed is the creation of something new that is acceptable and sustainable. However, the new institutions and

attitudes must not worsen the conflict or transform the conflict downwards. The creation of a new environment should always be done to improve the existing structures and attitudes.

2.4.2 The Need for a Future Orientation

The transcend approach is necessarily future oriented (Galtung 2004). Transcendence is based on optimism which is located in dreams of a progressive future. Galtung (2007) noted that one fundamental hypothesis of the transcend approach is that people are better able to deliberate the source of a problem when they feel that there is a solution to the problem. This means that, when people have hope for a new positive constructive future, they are in a better position to discuss the root of a problem. In this study, the relationships between street vendors and the HCC could be transformed using the transcend approach because what was needed was to cultivate the sense of hope and vision of a positive constructive future between the conflict parties so that they could discuss the root of the problem in a creative and constructive manner.

2.4.3 The Impact of Deep Psychological and Cultural Factors

Galtung (2004) further noted that there is need for peacebuilders to acknowledge that there are deep unconscious perceptions and actions resulting from history and culture that influence conflicts. These patterns drive the parties subconsciously into violent conflict. Such profound constructions of a philosophy keep people looking at a problem in a polarised way. Negotiations can easily degenerate into a verbal slanging match and, under such conditions, it is likely to block creativity. However, no conflict is unresolvable. There is greater need to promote dialogue in such situations which are marked by a deep-seated history of conflict. In this study, the conflict between street vendors and the HCC has been going on for more than a decade and, as a result, there is polarisation where both sides perceive themselves as victims of the conflict and, therefore, look at the conflict in one way. As the researcher, it was my objective in this study to transform the conflict from such violence into peaceful co-existence.

2.5 Conflict Transformation Theory

“Conflict transformation is a way of looking as well as seeing” (Lederach 2003:9).

Miall (2004:4) defined conflict transformation as a process that aims for change in important relationships, social structures and circumstantial settings that led to conflict in the first place. Miall (2004) further notes that conflict transformation is an adjustment in the aims, organisation and participants or environment of the participants which eradicates the conflict at its core. Unlike conflict resolution which is concerned with solving the immediate problem, conflict transformation seeks to create a structure that is responsive to the content, context and the structure of relationships. Transformation is inspired by the need to generate positive change through conflict. Conflict transformation visualises social conflict as life-giving opportunities that reduce violence, increase justice and respond to real life problems in human relationships. This approach seeks to bring violence to an end and to alter adverse interactions between parties in conflict. It aims not only to end violence between the conflicting parties, but also to alter the socio- political and economic arrangements that cause such destructive relationships.

Lederach (2003:2) asserts that conflict transformation is a set of lenses through which people view social conflicts. There are three sets of lenses: first, a lens to see the instant situation; second, a lens to see beyond the immediate problem, the underlying configurations and third, the abstract framework that holds these configurations together, and which permits the connection between immediate problems and deeper interpersonal aspects. The lenses have different but interrelated functions that help to bring things at a distance into focus, things that could perhaps be blurred. No one lens can bring everything into focus and, therefore, multiple lenses must be used to bring different aspects into focus.

According to Lederach (2003: 1), all the lenses are held together in a single frame and each lens is different from the others. Yet, each lens must be interrelated with others. To give an example: in this study, there are conflicts at face value between street vendors and the HCC over the use of space in the CBD. This is the conflict that one sees at face value; on the surface. However, if one takes a closer look at the conflict, there are so many other dimensions to it. For instance, what has been happening in

the past, what is currently happening and what is likely to happen in future? The current clashes between the two parties represent the first lenses in Lederach's transformation series. In most cases, people find solutions to the presenting problem, but the underlying challenges remain unaddressed. If these underlying challenges are not addressed they are likely to result in violent conflict in future. Conflict transformation lenses suggest that one looks beyond the current clashes between street vendors and the HCC to see the perspective of the relationship of the parties involved, and to look back on what has happened in the past to arrive at the current conflict. Conflict transformation seeks to create a settings that changes the content and structure of the relationship. Conflict transformation creates beneficial processes of change through conflict. It provides a chance to learn about forms of relationships, and to transform relationship arrangements while offering tangible solutions to long term and short term challenges.

Lederach (2003:1) highlights that a transformational perspective is built upon two foundations. First, a capacity to envision conflict in a constructive manner or positively, as a natural phenomenon that creates potential for constructive growth. Second, a willingness to respond in ways that maximise this potential for positive and constructive change. Specht (2008:6) added that the main difference between conflict resolution and conflict transformation is that, whereas conflict resolution mainly focuses on changing perceptions and improving relationships between the conflicting parties, conflict transformation focuses on changing the context as well. In this study, the focus was not only to change attitudes between street vendors and the HCC but also to improve relationships and change the context as well by engaging the parties in a positive way rather than destructively which characterised the relations in the past.

Conflict transformation emphasises on the transformation of intractable armed conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a positive understanding of peacebuilding. Conflict transformation represents an extensive set of analysis of how conflict arises, develops as well as changes in the structure and relationships of the parties. Using these lenses also develops creative responses that promote peaceful changes within those dimensions (Lederach 1997:83). Lederach sees the long-term need to reconstruct damaged interactions through indigenous actors by focusing on

reconciliation. His approach identifies middle-level individuals and groups as the appropriate group to build peace and to support reconciliation processes in society. The empowered middle-level individuals and groups presumably influence peacebuilding at the higher level as well as at the lower levels. Lederach divided society into three levels that have different peacebuilding strategies. The top level consist of political leadership and involves the use of negotiations by statesmen and political leaders. The engagement of negotiations at this level is known as Track One diplomacy in the conflict resolution discourse. The largest contribution of the conflict transformation approach to the study of peacebuilding is its change in emphasis from the global conflicts to the local level conflicts. Level two represents middle-level leadership such as prominent individuals in society and non-governmental organisations. It is often regarded as Track Two diplomacy, and can be accessed through problem solving workshops operating together with local people. The third level, according to Lederach, refers to the grass-roots level or Track Three, which represents the low level majority of the population that use peacebuilding approaches such as local peace commissions and community courts.

Paffenholz (1998:213) offers a strong critique to Lederach's middle-level approach to peacebuilding. First, she notes that the connection between the three different levels is not sufficiently explained. She says that Lederach under-conceptualized conflict management. Second, the role of external actors should not be limited to supporting local insiders directly, but should also encourage peacebuilding through other actors such as regional and global organisations (Paffenholz 1998:215). Third, civil society can play an important role in conflict management as demonstrated by the role of the church in the Mozambican peace process (Paffenholz 1998: 215). Fourth, the integration of traditional values and local voices in Lederach's three level peacebuilding approach may be questioned in today's globalised world as these values may be transformed by forces of globalization (Paffenholz 1998: 215). Fifth, the main emphasis on the middle level might be limited and chances are that it might not work in some societies leaving the option to work directly with the grassroots in a bottom-up community peace-building approach as the only viable approach.

To add on, Varynen (1991:4) stressed the need for a vibrant theory of conflict transformation that goes beyond conflict settlement. Miall (2004) stresses that, “the bulk of conflict theory regards the issues, actors and interests as given and, on that basis, makes efforts to find a solution to mitigate or eliminate contradictions between them. Yet the issues, actors and interests change over time as a consequence of the social, economic and political dynamics of societies.” Varynen (1991:4) proposed that conflicts can be transformed by four types of change: The emergence of new actors and change in existing actors; change in actors’ interests and objectives; change in the values affecting the actor’s interactions, and a change in relationships between the actors. The environment in which the conflict manifests influences the conflict, the dynamics in the conflict, and the way the actors view each other. Changes in setting may also change goals on the part of the conflict parties who may seek new goals under new circumstances. These changes may also have significant impact on the perceived incompatibilities between the conflict parties. Parties continue to change as circumstances also change. Because of the changing dynamics, parties develop new interests and goals as circumstances change. Therefore, conflicts may be transformed when new contexts, actors or institutions emerge, and such changes alleviate distrust between formerly hostile actors.

Another important element in conflict transformation is the modification of goals that influence the differences at stake in the conflict issues. The creation of new goals and approaches is an incessant process for parties faced with fluctuating circumstances. The way the parties view their actual situations or perceived situations is critical to the meaning of a conflict, and re-evaluation of their goals becomes an important part of discussions to end the conflict. In the conflict between street vendors and the HCC, the parties may change their goals depending on the changing circumstances. The city council may be determined to clear vendors from the streets, but that goal may change due to the realisation that vendors have nowhere else to go. On the other hand, vendors may begin by avoiding tax, but may come to a realisation that they can only work in the streets if they follow the rules and regulations set up by the urban authority such as paying taxes to the council and operating from designated sites which they had been rejecting citing lack of access to clients.

2.5.1 Conflict Transformation: A Circular Journey with a Purpose

Maiese and Lederach (2009:7) note that as conflict emerges, communication between the conflict parties becomes more difficult, actors in conflict find it hard to express their insights and feelings. If an outsider or a third party seeks an explanation from the conflict parties about the issues or incompatibilities in the conflict, the initial explanation will be outlined in terms of the exact issues which the parties are grappling with, that is the immediate problems or the content of the conflict which must be determined through different approaches that range from problem solving to negotiations, among others. These approaches are situated within the conflict resolution approach. However, the conflict transformation approach which is the main theory in this thesis addresses this situation differently. The transformational approach provides lenses through which people understand conflict (Maiese and Lederach 2009:7). There are basically three functions of lenses in a transformational approach. Firstly, lenses are used to see the immediate situation. Secondly, they used to view the deeper relationship designs that form the background of the conflict beyond the immediate challenges. Thirdly, lenses are used to predict a structure that holds these lenses together and creates a stage to take care of the content, the context and the structure of the relationship. Creative responses and solutions to the conflict are drawn from the third lens.

In the conflict between street vendors and HCC which is discussed in this thesis, the context represents the socio- political and economic environment in which the conflict takes place. All conflicts are shaped by the context in which they manifest. Currently the environment is characterised by economic crisis and political polarisation. This environment influences the relationships in a number of ways which are discussed in chapters 6 and 7. Responses to these conflicts as well as solutions to the conflicts must be sensitive to the context as argued by Lederach (2003). Peacebuilding interventions and mechanisms must be constructed within the confines of the context of the conflict. Street vendors are operating in an environment characterized by high unemployment and economic challenges. Any attempt to resolve the impasse between street vendors and HCC should take into account the economic challenges facing street vendors and vending business not as a choice but a necessity.

The structure of the relationship between street vendors and HCC should be considered in coming up with a sustainable solution based on conflict transformation. For example, how do street vendors view the city council and how does the city council view street vendors? Who is more powerful than the other? Who has more influence than the other? These questions must be addressed in trying to design interventions or solutions to the conflict. Conflict transformation attempts to bring answers to these questions.

2.5.2 Conflict Transformation Map

In any conflict situation before intervention, it is essential to develop a plan that helps to evaluate a conflict (Lederach 2003). The plan will help to envision the construction of an approach which transforms a conflict constructively. The transformational approach consists of three mechanisms which are critical in the development of a constructive and sustainable intervention to conflict:

- **Presenting the situation**

The movement from an undesirable situation into a desirable one is not an obvious one but an interchange of creativities that initiate social transformation and generate a constant stage to pursue long- lasting transformation. Presenting the situation is the first point of inquiry, and offers a chance to consider the content of the conflict and the forms of relationships in the environment in which the conflict occurs (Maiese and Lederach 2009:8). The transformative approach to conflict raises two important questions. First, what are the manifest problems or the symptoms of the problem that need to be solved? Second, what is the overall environment that needs to be transformed in order to alter damaging patterns into creative and constructive ones? In this study, the problems that have manifested themselves relate to violent confrontation between street vendors and HCC over the use of urban space. Street vendors have vowed to stay put in the streets, yet the urban authorities have been determined to drive street vendors from the streets citing a number of challenges presented by unregulated street vending. Street vendors have argued that driving them off the streets is like taking food from their mouths because that is where they derive their livelihoods from. At the same time, the

authorities are determined to drive the street vendors from the streets because they accuse them of causing congestion, creating health hazards, and being responsible for other various vices in the urban centre. Hence, there is a deadlock between the two conflict parties. These are the manifest problems that need to be solved, and the question is: How can they be resolved and transformed in a peaceful manner that satisfies both parties?

Additionally, presenting the situation connects the present with the past. The history of the conflict and the past relationships between the parties have been provided as a context in which issues in dispute manifest. The ability to acknowledge, understand and amend past relationships provides possibilities for change and create new institutions and ways of relating in the future.

- **The horizon of the future**

Maiese and Lederach (2009:8) noted that the horizon of the future represents the vision or the image of the future that people want to create and envision. However, this is not a linear process of moving from the fractured past into the desired future, but involves a variety of processes of change that may arise. The process of change is also long term which may take more than a decade. Along the way, there may be regression of the process and many challenges. The transformational process can be both circular and linear.

- **Development of change process**

This is the crafting and provision of adequate support for processes of change. Change processes should not concentrate on encouraging temporary solutions, but also provide opportunities capable of promoting permanent and sustainable socio- political and economic transformation (Maiese and Lederach 2009:8). They should be able to address both the short term problems and long term challenges. This requires a capacity to create responses that address real life issues by seeing beyond the immediate challenges. Transformational processes have two dependent characteristics. These are flexibility and purpose. Transformational processes can either follow a direct and predictable path or can follow a round path which is not obvious or direct. Direct or

predictable path means that things move rapidly from one point to another in a rational or coherent way.

However, in the social arena, things do not move swiftly. Nor do conflicts transform in a linear way. The transformational process in the social setting assumes four experiences. First, there are times in life when we feel confident the change we hope for is beckoning, and what we anticipate is in sight. Second, at other times, change seems to be facing obstacles. There is little or no progress and passageways seem to have been blocked. Third, sometimes it seems as if all the past successes are being reversed. Lastly, it appears as if there is a total collapse of the whole progress made in the past. This is a miserable experience which is often followed by attempts to start all over from scratch. All these experiences are the reality of change processes which must be expected in peacebuilding and conflict transformation discourses. Central to the conflict transformation discourse is creation of a structure that produces responses that are adaptive to the immediate and future drivers of conflicts (Maiese and Lederach 2009:10).

However, there are areas where processes of conflict transformation do not apply. In such situations, a quick resolution of the immediate conflict is most suitable. This is so in disputes where parties do not have an important relationship. For example, as Maiese and Lederach (2009:10) showed business dispute between two people who hardly know each other is not suitable for transformational approach. However, a mere resolution approach may be too narrow in situations where the parties enjoy an extensive past and have the possibility for future relationships. The conflict between street vendors and HCC has a history, and looks set to extend into the future. This requires conflict transformation responses rather than short-term resolutions, hence the need for a transformational approach which deals with not only the immediate conflicts that the two parties are currently engaged in but also a transformation of the socio- economic and political context.

2.6 Conflict Analysis

Conflict analysis refers to an organised and planned process of investigating the conflict profile, the actors involved and their standpoints, the causes of the conflict, and the dynamics of how these features interrelate (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium 2012). Conflict analysis is a vital tool that is used by experts working in the peacebuilding, humanitarian and development fields (Africa Peace Forum *et al.* 2004). It assists experts working in these fields to gain a better appreciation of the environment in which they work and their role in that environment; it helps them to appreciate the usefulness of their involvement in a conflict; prevents further deterioration of the conflict; helps to decide fundamental needs for the development and implementation of programmes in conflict areas (United States Peace Institute 2015; Sandole *et al.* 2008). Conflict analysis can help practitioners to identify and design suitable actions to take at each stage of the project or programme cycle. These stages include planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

At the planning stage, conflict analysis helps practitioners to design new interventions and to apply a conflict-sensitive approaches to new interventions. In the implementation stage, analysis helps to monitor the interface between the intervention and the environment. In the monitoring and evaluation stages, it helps to measure usefulness of the intervention (Africa Peace Forum *et al.* 2004). There are various conflict analysis tools or frameworks that can be used to analyse conflicts, with each having different strengths and weaknesses. However, they supplement each other on the conflict dynamics and context. Conflict analysis can involve: (a) checking the extent to which parties are dealing with the conflict, (b) Deciding the boundaries of the conflict (c) Using the information gathered and appropriate tools to design intervention approaches.

Conflict analysis cannot be carried out in isolation. It is important to ensure the participation of local civil society that is affected by the conflict. A participatory process that makes use of indigenous knowledge facilitates ownership of the analysis process by those who are affected by the conflict. A participatory approach has the capability of transforming conflict analysis into a vigorous process that can invest in locals' creativity (Garred *et al.* 2015). In this study, the methods that are used for conflict

analysis include desk analysis, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions, dialogue, observation and workshops with relevant actors such as street vendors and HCC, among others.

Conflict analysis is influenced by different world views. There are three approaches to conflict analysis; the Harvard Approach, Human Needs Theory, and the Conflict Transformation approach:

- **The Harvard Approach** – This approach highlights the differences between positions which are those things that people claim that they want and interests which represent factors that justify why people want what they claim they want. This approach was popularised by Fisher *et al.* (1991) and argues that conflicts can be resolved when actors focus on interests instead of positions, and when they develop jointly accepted criteria to deal with these differences. However, Fisher *et al.* argued that it is not an easy and straight forward process to distinguish positions from interests. They advocated for another actor to ask why the other wants what it says it wants but this must be done in a manner that does not challenge the position of the other actor but must be done in order to understand the other actors' needs, fears, desires and hopes (Fisher *et al.* 1992:44). This understanding is crucial in exploring another actor's interests and design strategies of meeting these interests while at the same time seeking to ensure their own interests are catered for simultaneously. This approach was relevant to this study in the sense that in designing intervention strategies, the researcher held interviews with the actors and explored not only the positions but the interests. The researcher sought explanations from the actors as to why they said they wanted what they wanted? The justifications of the actors' positions and interests are found in the subsequent chapters.
- **The Human Needs Theory** – This approach argues that conflicts are a result of basic needs that are not satisfied. For conflicts to be resolved, the needs should be analysed, communicated and satisfied (Burton 1990b:150). These needs include recognition, identity, security, values, among others (Burton 1990b:150). These needs are fundamental and basic to the survival of a human being and are not traded or negotiable. Any successful resolution of the conflict must include the fulfilment of these needs in the conflict resolution strategy.

Likewise, the needs of the parties in this study must be fulfilled for conflict to be resolved.

- **The Conflict Transformation Approach** – This approach is based on the view that the way in which conflicts are handled or addressed constitutes the destructive or constructive nature of conflicts. Conflict involves the interaction of opposing and collaborating energies. This approach stresses the transformation of relationships and the social structure in which the conflict is embedded. This approach is a long term approach to analysing conflicts.

Once one has decided that the situation prevailing is a conflict, there is need to act on boundaries of the system. For example, what issues does one want to focus on? The focus can be on several structures. All conflicts are sub-systems of a larger whole system. Thus, when analysing conflicts, one must take into consideration the boundaries of the system and reflect on how these boundaries relate to the context in which the conflict is located. While the approaches are complementary, this study was largely informed by the Conflict Transformation approach, which sought to deal with conflicts constructively by changing the perceptions and relationships of the actors through dialogue. The boundaries have to be revised periodically and, after setting the boundaries, one can use the following tools to deepen understanding into various aspects of the conflict:

2.6.1 Conflict analysis tools

- **Conflict wheel:** This consists of several dimensions which are key in conflict analysis. These include the dynamics, actors, causation, structures, issues, and options/strategies. It introduces the overview of a conflict before examining precise aspects of the conflict (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation 2005).
- **Actor/relations:** Actors consist of people, organisations, or countries who involved in different capacities in the conflict. If they are directly involved in the conflict, they are called conflict parties. If they are involved in trying to resolve or transform the conflict, they are called third parties. In this study, street vendors and HCC are the main conflict parties. Other parties include formal shops, the Zimbabwe Republic Police, the Zimbabwe National Army, Council

(Municipal) Police, National Vendors' Association, Government, and pedestrians. Stakeholders are influential and have different interests in the conflict and its results but may not be directly involved. The Government, through the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, vendor organisations, and political parties (ruling party ZANU PF and main opposition party MDC Alliance) are all stakeholders who have an interest in this conflict.

- *Issues*: These are the things that parties fight over; they are the incompatibilities or differences that separate the parties. They are also termed contradictions (Galtung 2007).
- *Dynamics*: These are the fluctuations that occur in conflict, the acceleration or de-acceleration levels of the conflict, or the amount of the interface which comprise various phases in conflict such as deadlock, de-escalation, negotiations, settlement among other stages (Jones and Metzger 2016:1).
- *Context or Structure*: The conflict context is the socio- economic and political environment where conflict occurs. The socio- economic and political environment influences relationships among the actors, the conflict itself, dynamics of the conflict and the constructive transformation of the conflict. For instance, power relations between and among the conflict parties and stakeholders can lead to structural violence. A transformative approach to conflict should be able to address the challenges posed by structural and contextual impediments to peace (Beckett 1997:78). This point also informed this study about the need to address the structural and contextual challenges to relationships between street vendors and HCC in an effort to transform their relationships from hostility into cooperation.
- *Causation*: Conflicts always have multiple causes, with many interactions of various systems and structures. There is no one single cause of conflict.
- *Options or Strategies*: This stage analyses how the conflict can be dealt with, the methods that can be employed by either the conflict parties themselves or by mediators to reduce the intensity of violence. They include peaceful negotiations or the use or threat of use of force by mediators who are often termed mediators with muscles.

- **Conflict Tree:** It analyses the link between the root causes of conflict which are often structural and long term, the contradictions among conflict parties or the issues that the conflict parties have against one another and the signs of the conflict or the consequences and outcomes of the conflict (Fisher *et al.* 2000).
- **Conflict Mapping:** Focuses on actors and their relationships. It presents a good tool in analysing a conflict. The sizes of circles represent power relations (Fisher *et al.* 2000). Animosity and alliances are symbolized with lines. This tool was used in this study to analyse conflict between street vendors and HCC. A full description of the conflict map and its use in this study is found in Chapter 6.
- **Glasl's Escalation Model:** The model describes the escalation and de-escalation of the conflict as well as to fit the conflict intervention strategies that are applicable to each level. The level and intensity of the conflict has its own unique intervention strategy. For example suicide bombers may require a different approach as compared to peaceful demonstrators. The two groups of actors would require different and suitable intervention strategies to address the conflict (Glasl 2002). The model consists of different conflict levels which include difference, contradiction, polarisation, violence, war, ceasefire, agreement, normalization and reconciliation. The suggested interventions include peacekeeping, peace-making, peace enforcement, cultural peacebuilding, and structural peace-building, among others.
- **INMEDIO's Conflict Perspective Analysis (CPA):** Stresses the differences in perspectives or viewpoints of the parties. The model compares the perspectives of the parties to identify the differences and similarities and then act on the differences. Although the model considers the stages of mediation, it disregards the structures or the context of the conflict (Ljubjana 2004).
- **Needs Fear Mapping:** There is not much difference between needs fear mapping and CPA but the latter's emphasis is on actors' interests, fears, needs, fears, strategies and choices. Actors' similarities and differences are presented in form of a table (Gunther 1999).

- **Multi Causal Role Model:** This model suggests that there is no single cause of conflict but conflict is caused by many issues in which some are short- term or immediate, mid- term and long- term causes. These causes are influenced by various dynamics such as the actors, the context or structure and the issues at hand (Mason and Rychard 2005).

The aforementioned conflict analysis tools complement each other and were applicable in this study though they were not applied. This study used the conflict mapping tool which analysed the actors, the relationships and power dynamics between the actors, as well as the dynamics and issues of the conflict between street vendors and HCC. The analysis is found in Chapter 6 of this study. Below are some of the most important elements in conflict analysis.

2.7 The Conflict Chart

It consists of six main components which are as follows: (a) Parties in conflict, (b) History of the conflict, (c) Context of the conflict (d) Orientation of the Parties, (e) Dynamics of the conflict, and (f) Intervention of the conflict (Bright 2004). The choice of intervention in the conflict is influenced by the information gathered about the other components. The following section explains the various components and their importance in informing the intervention guide or model:

2.7.1 The Conflict Parties

The first important thing in analysing a conflict according to the conflict chart is to identify the conflict parties (Bright 2004:1). Most conflicts have many parties which makes it difficult to identify their roles and values. Conflicts consist of different types of parties depending on their roles in the conflict. Primary parties or active parties are in contradiction and whose goals are opposed to each other. In this study, the primary parties are street vendors and HCC. Secondary parties are indirectly involved in the conflict. They can evolve into primary parties depending on the dynamics of the conflict or may remain secondary parties for the duration of the conflict until it is resolved. In this study, the Government of Zimbabwe, shop operators, vendor organisations and pedestrians are secondary parties to this conflict. There is another group of parties called 'other parties' which are also referred as third parties. They can actively

participate in the resolution of the conflict through mediation (Wilmot and Hocker 1985).

It is important to note that, when identifying these various types of parties in a conflict, the relationship among them must also be analysed (Bright 2004:1). This is done to identify the source, manifestation and the changing aspects of their relationships, which helps to provide an outcome that is fair and acceptable to all the concerned, however difficult it may be to satisfy all the parties. Another important element when analysing parties is to assess their access to power and resources which, in most cases, can affect their relationships. The manner in which symmetric and asymmetric parties interact is different and this affects their relationships. The amount of power and resources each party possesses affects relationships and often results in conflict. Therefore, it is important to assess the access to power and resources among conflict parties as this might be the source of conflict. Redistribution of power and resources may be the solution, but it is a difficult process which may need to be dealt with carefully as there is often resistance from the powerful party that would naturally feel threatened by the equalisation of power and resources.

2.7.2 Conflict History

History is always part of the present and the future (Bright 2004). In order to comprehend and fully appreciate and assess the manifestation of a conflict, previous interactions of the parties need to be explored. Relationships are comprised of stages which move in a continuum as follows: co-operation, competition, tension, conflict and crisis. Relationships among parties move back and forth on this continuum. If the parties have a long history together, their relationship may have changed on this continuum. Relationships among the parties are often shaped by the events that could have happened before and along the continuum. It is therefore important to identify the past relationships and analyse how they may have influence on the current relationships. Past unresolved issues must also be identified as these may influence the current relationships. In this study, past relations between street vendors and HCC are analysed, and an inference of the past relationships is drawn into the current relationships. An intervener should always recognise the importance of past events and, if there are any unresolved past events, they must be resolved so that the parties

find closure before they can deal with the current issues. If there is an aggrieved party from past experiences, their issues must also be considered so that there is closure and a feeling of justice being done.

2.7.3 Conflict Context

Conflict occurs at many different levels. The individual level consists of conflict within an individual and between individuals. The societal level consists of ethnic identities, racial groups and class, among others (Sandole 1999). The international level includes both national intra- state and interstate conflicts which often attract international attention. All conflicts are located in one of these levels, and some conflicts are so complex that they are found to have more than one level. When determining the level of a conflict, context of the conflict should be identified and understood (Wilmot and Hocker 1985). Owing to the complexity of modern conflicts, it is important to note that determining the socio- political and economic context is key as they are mutually inclusive; hence their inclusion in the analysis. Therefore, an analysis of how socio-political and economic context affect the conflict parties is a necessity.

Culture is also an important aspect when analysing the context of the conflict (Avruch 1998). Culture influences parties' behaviour, attitudes and meanings that people value in their interactions. Cultures differs among different societies, religious groups, and gender, social and economic class. The interaction between two different groups belonging to different cultures might result in miscommunication and conflict. Asian and African cultures are mostly high-context, indirect and reserved cultures. Most European and North American cultures are low-context, open, direct and more assertive cultures.

Some cultures are more dynamic and future-oriented while others are resistant to change and change slowly. These differences affect their goals, priorities, mutual understanding, interaction and values. If one party possesses a chosen trauma, such as an historical injustice, communication with another party which is future-oriented may be inhibited, and the future-oriented party may fail to understand why the other party dwells so much in the past orientation.

Various conflict theories may be used to explain the context and behaviour of parties in conflict. One such is the Relative Deprivation Theory.

Relative Deprivation

This was propounded by Tedd Gurr (1971), and argues that violence between parties occurs when there is a discrepancy between expected outcomes and achieved welfare. Violence can also result when parties fail to match their aspirations with their actual achievements and competences. Huntington (1968) notes that this can occur in four ways outlined as follows:

- When ambitions rise, but abilities are constant
- When ambitions and abilities rise, but abilities rise at a slower pace than ambitions
- When ambitions are stagnant but abilities decline
- When ambitions and abilities rise, but abilities then decrease.

Tedd Gurr (1970) gave five conditions that give rise to the condition of relative deprivation. These are:

- When person A feels deprived of object X
- When person A wants object X
- When person A does not have object X
- When person A knows of other people with object X
- When person A thinks that it is realistic to have object X.

Given these two scenarios by Huntington and Gurr, conflict is likely to result in societies where abilities are unequally distributed among the different social groups. In these situations, some people's ambitions are increased because they see an increase in other's abilities, which is condition number four on Gurr's five conditions that lead to relative deprivation. Therefore, it is important when analysing a conflict to consider relative deprivation between and among conflict parties, and to assess the distribution of capabilities and aspirations as well as how parties are reacting (Gurr 1970). This theory can be instrumental in explaining causes of conflict in this study where street vendors have aspirations to make a living from the streets but those aspirations are not matched by capabilities which are curbed by HCC.

Frustration Aggression

Another theory related to relative deprivation that can be used to analyse the causes, context and dynamics of the conflict in this study is the frustration–aggression theory (Dollard *et al.* 1939). They proposed that frustration causes aggression, which is caused by interference by others in the realisation of an objective. The interference is in the form of an impediment, and the bigger the impediment, the more effort needed to overwhelm it. Since large amounts of efforts are required to counter the barrier, this tends to generate hostility in the form of damaging behaviour with the goal of attacking and destroying the barrier. This inevitably causes conflicts to escalate to dangerous levels. This theory is important and useful when analysing the causes of conflict in this study taking into consideration the frustration that street vendors face when they are prevented from achieving their objectives by the city of Harare, hence their aggressive behaviour which results in violent clashes with HCC.

2.7.4 Party Orientation

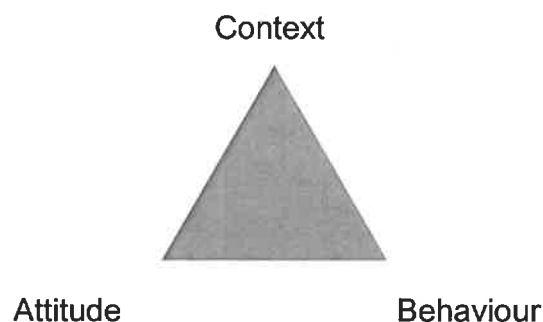
This process refers to identifying contradictions between the parties in conflict and placing them within the context of the conflict. Moore (2004:190) termed these contradictions contributing factors, and include structural, relationship, value-oriented and interest-related. According to Moore, some conflicts are more intractable and take long to resolve than others. Value and structural conflicts take long to resolve because they involve structural changes which are difficult to change and negotiate. It is very difficult to change people's beliefs and ideologies as these would have been accumulated over long periods of time and are entrenched in people's lives. However, other variables in conflict such as relationships can be compromised and negotiated, hence they are easy to resolve.

The Basic Human Needs theory can also be used to identify causes of conflict. This theory is based on the view that there cannot be peace in society unless fundamental needs are fulfilled. According to this theory social conflicts occur when society fails to satisfy basic needs such as identity, security, recognition, and control, among others (Burton 1990b). These basic needs are considered to be universal, and every collective group demands their satisfaction. They are not open for negotiations or bargaining. Violent behaviour is inevitable unless and until these needs are satisfied.

Groups differ on the ways they perceive their needs and their satisfaction. Identity is one of the widely considered needs that have been attributed to violent conflicts in many societies, especially multi- ethnic societies. Groups usually use violence to protect their identity. Needs are often tangled with emotions, and cannot be bargained. In this study, street vendors have needs that they want to be fulfilled. They make a living out of vending, and any attempt to disrupt this way of living results in violence. Efforts by the HCC to drive out vendors from the city centre was met with resistance and violence because street vendors considered their needs to be under threat. Any resolution of the conflict should consider their needs, without which violence is inevitable.

Another model may also be used to frame party issues. The situation-attitude-behaviour triangle model may be used to frame party issues. Attitude, which represents the parties' perceptions and misperceptions of each other, may affect behaviour, which represents the actions of the parties towards one another which, in turn, affects a situation or the context (Galtung 1969).

Diagram 2.3



Source: Galtung (1969)

In a conflict situation, contradictions or incompatible goals arise between parties, and their behaviours determine how these issues are resolved. The outcome of the conflict depends on the behaviour of the parties. The behaviour of the parties determines whether the conflict is resolved peacefully or violently (Webel and Galtung 2007:131). The perception of others' behaviour and their issues affects the handling of the contradictions.

Parties may not explicitly express their goals and objectives, but may express them implicitly. Third parties who wish to intervene may need to read between party's demands to understand their messages. Third parties also need to have a better understanding of the conflict parties and the socio- economic and political context of the conflict. However, in order to accurately decode the messages, an intervenor must have an in-depth understanding of the conflict's context as well as extensive knowledge of the parties. The levels of conflict also need to be located, whether the conflict operates at local, regional, community or international level. This process of locating conflict within these various conflict levels assists in determining the complexity of the conflict and the number of actors; hence, informing the intervention design.

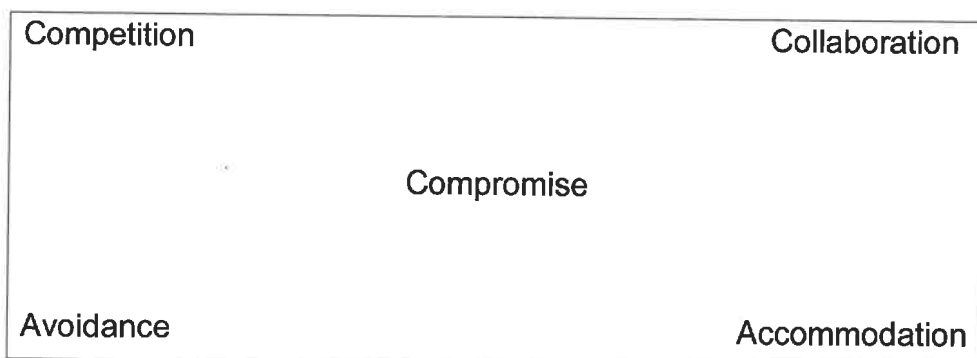
2.7.5 Classical Approaches / Responses to Conflict

What determines party action are conflict styles or conflict handling styles. Some conflict practitioners call them classical approaches to conflict. These emphasise parties' response to conflict. The following are some of the main conflict styles which include: competition, collaboration, compromise, accommodation and avoidance. Each style or response can be represented graphically using two categories or dimensions; regard for self and regard for others (Wilmot and Hocker 1985).

Diagram 2.4

Concern

**For
Self**



Concern for others / Interest for others

Source: Wilmot and Hocker: 1985

- **Competition or contending approach.** The approach is characterized by lack of cooperation between the conflict parties. There is a competitive mentality adopted by the conflict parties, 'the winners take all' mentality, I win/you lose phenomenon. There is no regard or concern for the other, yet a high concern for self-interests. Parties that fall within this conflict style are classified as having a *realpolitik* worldview or classical realism. Such parties have a negative and pessimistic view on human interaction and collaboration. They believe that parties only collaborate to further their own interests. They further believe in the use of violence in achieving their objectives (Wilmot and Hocker 1985). In this study, there is competition between street vendors and HCC over the use of urban space. The parties are not willing to listen to what the other is saying. The city council maintains its position that street vendors should use designated points to sell their goods, while on the other hand, street vendors want to sell their goods anywhere they feel there are clients. For both parties, it is a win or lose affair.
- **Avoidance** is also often called withdrawal. There is little or no concern for either self or the other. It is also characterized by reluctance to resolve the conflict by withdrawing or abstaining from conflict resolution.
- **Accommodation** is often referred to as yielding. It is unassertive but cooperative. It neglects one's own concern at the expense of the concern of the other. It could take the form of considering other people's interests and viewpoints while subordinating your own viewpoints (Wilmot and Hocker 1985). In this study, neither party is ready to accommodate the other. They feel that their actions are justified. Street vendors feel that, for them to survive, they need to sell anywhere where there is space and is viable in town. On the other hand, the city council felt that there were designated sites for selling in town and, therefore, should street vendor want to sell, they needed to get a licence from the council to sell at these designated sites. This lack of accommodation between the two parties resulted in confrontation and conflict, which this study sought to transform through dialogue.
- **Collaboration** is assertive and cooperative. It is the opposite of avoidance. It is an attempt by the conflict parties to work jointly towards a solution that is

mutually acceptable. It is regarded as the most difficult approach to conflict as most conflict parties are not ready to consider the concerns of others. It also involves an in- depth analysis of the underlying issues of all the parties involved. This type of conflict style results in a win-win situation because parties collaborate in finding a solution that both caters for all parties' interests (Wilmot and Hocker 1995). Fisher *et al.* (2000), termed collaboration enlarging the pie, in which each party enjoys a portion of the pie. This is what this study sought to achieve, whereby the two main groups would engage each other and find a lasting solution to the issue of street vending, which has been affecting their relations so much that there are always running battles as the two seek to outmanoeuvre each other. Unfortunately, so far, at the time of the study neither party was ready to collaborate with the other.

- **Compromise** is intermediary in decisiveness and cooperation. It stands in the middle ground between competition and accommodation. The parties in the conflict are prepared to lose some of their interests to attain mutual gain in the process, but does not explore issues in much depth as collaboration (Wilmot and Hocker 1995).

These styles of conflict are important elements in the dynamics of conflicts. The response by one party directly influences a response by another party.

2.8 Designing an Intervention Model

Designing an intervention model that is mutually acceptable by the parties in conflict is the end goal of any intervener in a conflict. Using the information gathered about the parties, the context, and the dynamics, an intervener begins to formulate possible interventions. Three models are instrumental in designing intervention tools. These are:

- **Relationships Model** – This model is found in conflict history (Bright 2004:4). When choosing a type of intervention, it is always crucial to know the stage of interaction between the conflict parties because interventions vary and must be appropriate in accordance with the stage of the parties' relationships.

- **The level of conflict** – Interveners must identify the level of the conflict whether it is local, national, or international. Conflicts with many levels are more complex and require sophisticated intervention (Bright 2004:4). In this study, the conflict is located at the local level but has also become a national issue because all major cities throughout country are facing a similar challenge.
- **Dugan's level of conflict** – A conflict which is approached from many levels which include underlying issues, relationships, sub-systems and system levels, is likely to be resolved permanently and sustainably (Dugan 1996).

However, there are various aspects of analysis that are important when choosing an intervention method. These may include choosing a suitable level or method intervention. There are several levels and methods of intervention. Lederach (2003) identified nine tracks or levels of intervention. Track One is mostly high-level, official government diplomacy, such as government-to-government interaction or negotiations. Track Two comprises conflict practitioners in the realm of conflict resolution (Lederach 2003). The other seven tracks include business, private persons, research, training, education, media, religion, and advocacy. With all these mechanisms for resolving conflicts, it is incumbent upon the intervener to choose the most appropriate intervention design based on an analysis of the conflict actors, contradictions, complexity of the conflict, the socio-economic and political context and available resources. In this study, the intervener chose research, training and dialogue as methods of intervening in the conflict between street vendors and HCC, where the intervener emphasised dialogue between the conflicting parties with the intention of transforming relationships from hostility into cooperation.

The second consideration pertains to the types of peace the intervener is seeking to achieve. There are basically two types of peace, namely negative peace and positive peace. Dealing with conflict at the issue level creates negative peace, but dealing with peace at multiple levels creates positive peace, which is the cessation of antagonisms as well as the abolition of injustices and underlying causes of the conflict. The third important consideration is timing and sequencing (Dugan 1996). These are key when

first undertaking an intervention design. The intervention must be systematic and well timed.

The type of intervention is another important consideration in designing an appropriate intervention which is likely to be accepted by the conflict parties (Dugan 1996). It is also key to ensure that there is participation of conflict parties in designing the intervention. Types of intervention include among others prevention, management, settlement, resolution and transformation. An analysis of the conflict will help the intervener with the best type of intervention. This study sought the resolution and transformation of conflict between the two parties.

Another important feature of intervention design is giving attention to the conflict setting, which is identifying the parties in the conflict, and those that are likely to be part of the intervention if it is to become successful (Wilmot and Hocker 1985). In this study, there are a variety of actors which include street vendors, HCC, ZRP, ZNA, formal business owners, the Government of Zimbabwe, and Vendors' Associations. The researcher together with some of the conflict parties held mini- dialogue as a way of finding a permanent solution to the conflict. More details of the mini- dialogue are found in chapters 6 and 7

The next step in designing an intervention is the intervener's role (Wilmot and Hocker 1985). An intervener's role is based on the type of intervention and the chosen scene. An intervener should be aware of how their own culture, behaviour and attitude influence other conflict actors and the subsequent consequence of an intervention. In this study, the intervener used action research to involve the parties to devise a solution to the problem. Action research involved training a vendor action group on non-violent resolution of conflicts and dialogue with the city council to resolve the impasse.

After these steps, the intervention design menu must consider activities to be carried out by participants and skills of the intervener (Bright 2004:6). The intervener must choose which activities to carry out in an intervention. The activities are key in directing communication among the parties involved, while the effectiveness of the activities influences the outcome of the intervention. The success of any activity is also affected

by the intervener' skills, as the intervener is responsible for managing and facilitating communication between the parties.

Lastly, designing the intervention involves the evaluation of satisfaction (Bright 2004:6). Here, the satisfaction of the parties by the intervention is key. If the parties are not satisfied with the intervention, the ultimate goal of resolution and transformation will not be achieved.

2.9 Summary

This chapter looked at conflict as a general concept. The chapter found that conflict is an unavoidable feature of human reality. Conflict is generally defined as a situation in which two or more parties hold divergent views. Conflict originates in economic differences, competition for scarce resources and mutually incompatible goals. Conflicts are not static they change from one level to another. They comprise an interaction of contradictions, attitudes and behaviour. Various conflict terms that are normally used – and often interchangeably – in the study of conflict were defined and differentiated. Conflict prevention was defined as an action taken to avoid violent conflict. There is consensus among conflict practitioners that preventing a war before it has already broken out is less costly than peacekeeping. The costs of a peacekeeping operation can be one million times more than that of mediation. Conflict management was defined as attempts that are made at all levels of society to regulate and contain violent conflict, without necessarily resolving it. Conflict resolution was defined as addressing the underlying causes of violent conflict. Sustained dialogue was defined as sustained and continued interaction of the conflict parties by listening and understanding each other. Conflict transformation refers to a process that goes further than conflict resolution and aiming for a change in all societal conditions that cause conflict.

The main aim of this study was to transform relationships between street vendors and the HCC through dialogue as the main conflict resolution strategy, and using conflict transformation as the main theory guiding the study. Dialogue was used as the most important tool in facilitating transformation of relations between the two actors. However, the dialogue also involved other actors involved in the conflict. The next chapter looked at a review of literature mainly focusing on street vending in general.

CHAPTER 3: Literature Review: Empirical Studies

Relationships between street vendors and urban authorities around the world

“Street trade is rampant and a source of employment and income for many urban dwellers” (Mitullah 2003:3).

3. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on street vending around the world and identified a number of relevant literature from across the whole world that share similar experiences and levels of economic development. Some definitions of street vending were provided in this section. The reasons for people resorting to street vending were reviewed and as well as theoretical foundations of street vending and perceptions of street vending by the state and urban authorities. A review of the causes, nature and extent of the conflict between street vendors and urban authorities was also done. This was followed by responses by city authorities to the rising challenges of street vending. Lastly, the effectiveness of such responses was reviewed. From the literature reviewed in this chapter, it was realised that in general street vending was confined to the lower classes of people in society who are not educated and unfit to find employment in the formal sector. It also emerged that there is increasing incidences of street vending offering the only alternative to making a living in countries that are facing economic challenges. Literature further revealed that relationships between urban authorities and street vendors were poor as they have contrasting objectives. The majority of countries reviewed here showed that urban authorities view street vendors as a nuisance and therefore should be evicted from the streets with the use of force. Chapter 4 looked closely at street vending in Zimbabwe and in Harare in particular.

3.1 What is Street Vending?

Bhowmik (2005) defined street vending as a business undertaking that is informal and sells goods to the general public from a temporary structure. The informal sector refers to activities that are not regulated or that fall outside government regulation, the majority of whom operate illegally (Sindzigre 2006). Ayres (2017:90) defined informal economy as economic activities that are not formalised by government policy. Street

vendors are an example of informal sector whose economic activities are not regulated by the state. Lyons and Msoka (2009) define street vending as all non- criminal economic activities which use public space to conduct their business. Some vendors operate from fixed locations which are often allocated to them by urban authorities while others do not have fixed locations and move from one place to another selling their goods (Bhowmik 2005).

Street vendors use different structures depending on the type of business they undertake. Some sell their products from tables, wheelbarrows, cars, baskets, or buckets while others carry their products on their shoulders. Street vendors are mostly situated in highly populated areas such as a bus terminus, high human and vehicular traffic roads, football grounds, and worship centres, among other highly populated areas. These areas are often undesignated for such activities according to urban authorities. Furthermore, these areas are not suitable for commercial activities for a variety of reasons which will be explored in this study.

This study used both definitions of street vending offered by Bhowmik and Lyons and Msoka. However, Lyons and Msoka (2009) provide a comprehensive definition when they suggest that street vendors can trade from fixed locations and non-fixed locations (hawking). Street vending is a common urban economic activity for the majority of informal traders in many countries both developing and developed countries. It is usual to witness frequent acts of violent conflicts between street vendors and urban authorities most cities around the world, although it is more intense in developing countries where formal employment is less rewarding and scarce. The following section discusses the theories of the emergence, nature, manifestation and consequences of the informal sector.

There are several theories that have been advanced to explain the development of the informal sector in urban areas. These are: the Romantic, Parasitic, Dualist, Structuralist, Legalistic and Social Relations perspectives. The following sections briefly look at these:

3.1.1 The Romantic View

This view holds that the informal sector is similar to the formal sector in many respects. The only distinction is that the informal sector exists in the informal environment. The

informal sector could perform similar to the way in which the formal sector operates if government can regulate its policies, capital and skills (Granstrom 2009). Porter and Shleifer (2008) assert that if the informal sector is provided with property rights, support by government policies and increased government funding, it can develop to become an engine of growth in many economies. Given such kind of support, informal business could record the same productivity as formal business. In general, this view avers that the informal sector is similar in many areas to the official one. This view is supported by many authors such as Mitullah (2003) and Mramba (2015), especially in the developing economies where the informal sector is now the biggest employer. A study by Mramba (2015:120) shows that 55% of Sub Saharan Africa's GDP and 80% of its labour force come from the informal sector. Many studies prove the ability of the informal sector's contribution to employment creation and poverty reduction.

A study by Misati (2010) in Kenya showed that the informal sector contributes a large percentage of wealth creation and reduction of poverty in sub-Saharan Africa through employment generation. The study recommends that governments and urban authorities in developing countries should include informal sector in their planning and policy making processes and improve legislation governing the operations of the informal sector.

Kar and Marjit (2009) in India examined the role of the informal sector in poverty reduction and their findings showed that the growing wages in the informal sector had the capability of reducing urban poverty. Yeboah's (1998) study in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that governments should actually encourage informal trade activities by providing them with financial support rather than discouraging them as they had the capacity to contribute immensely to their economies.

In Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises was created to support the informal sector financially and in other areas where the informal sector is lagging behind (Njaya 2014c:270). This was after a realization that the informal sector contributes more than 60 percent of the gross domestic product, and employs more than 50 percent of the workforce in the country. However, due to lack of funding the ministry has not been able to finance the informal sector adequately. According to Medina and Schneider (2018:23), 60, 6% of Zimbabwe's economy belongs to the

informal sector, which makes Zimbabwe the third largest informal economy in the world after Georgia with 64, 9% and Bolivia 62, 3%. With such large percentage of the population operating informally sector, it is expected that Zimbabwe embrace the informal sector as an essential sector that provides employment to the majority of its population.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that street vending provides a decent way of living for many people in Zimbabwe, it is often regarded as counter-productive to urban economic development. Street vendors are often associated with human and vehicular congestion, filthy in the city centres, crime and tax evasion. Critics have argued that it is very difficult for many governments and urban authorities to control the informal sector which has resulted in loss of revenue. The majority of people working in the informal sector do not have permanent structures which makes it difficult for urban authorities to manage their activities. This negative perception of street vending is grounded in the parasitic paradigm discussed below.

3.1.2 The Parasite View

This view regards informal sector as illegal and benefiting unfairly against the formal sector (Porter and Shleifer 2008). It views the informal sector as surviving at the mercy of the formal sector. The parasite view holds that the informal sector should remain underdeveloped so that it does not affect the growth of the formal sector. Moreover, according to this school of thought, informal firms hurt economic growth of the formal sector because of the unfair competition that it provides to the formal sector. This view recommends that urban authorities put measures to avoid tax evasion by the informal sector and tightening by- laws so that it discourages the growth of the informal sector. This view dominates the relationship between urban authorities and informal business in the majority of the developing economies where informal traders are viewed negatively as benefitting unfairly from non-payment of rates and taxes, thereby affecting the growth of formal business. The important role that the informal sector plays in reducing poverty and offering employment is not recognized by this view, despite evidence that the informal sector employs more people than the formal sector in most developing economies.

To further support this parasitic view of the informal sector, Mitullah (2003) notes that most urban authorities and governments regard street vendors as a nuisance, and so the process of obtaining an operating licence is cumbersome, with most urban authorities issuing limited vending licences to maintain a small and manageable number of vendors in their areas of jurisdiction. As a result, most traders operate without licenses, and this has contributed to poor relationships that exist between street vendors and urban authorities. Bromley (2000) argues street vendors are regarded as dangerous to cities' public appearance because they are influenced by modernist understanding of informal activities. Steck *et al.* (2013:146) highlights that urban authorities' emphasis on clean and internationally recognised standard cities in a bid to attract investment has seen them clashing with street vendors. This parasitic view is upheld in Zimbabwe where formal businesses have threatened the government and urban authorities that, if they do not deal decisively with unlicensed street vending, they will be forced to refuse to pay taxes (Hove *et al.* 2019:9). They argue that street vendors are not paying tax and are stealing their business as they sell goods at much cheaper prices. This point reinforces the view that most urban authorities and formal businesses view informal sector as parasitic and should be stopped from expanding, hence the conflict which this study sought to resolve and transform with the active participation of the conflict parties.

3.1.3 The Dual View

The dualist view argues that there are few linkages between the informal sector and the formal sector and the two operate from the opposite ends of the economy (Chen 2007). Harris and Todaro (1970) further support this view, arguing that informal firms lack efficiency and have little impact on the operations of the formal sector. Porta and Shleifer (2008) concurred with Harris and Todaro when they noted that the informal sector contribute nothing to economic growth which is powered by competent formal sector. Although these views are still relevant in some countries where urban authorities and governments have failed to align the informal sector into their mainstream economies, these views might have been overtaken by events, with the authors not having envisaged the importance of the informal sector in the future. Their views might have been informed by the prevailing situation especially for Harris and Todaro. The 1970s was a period that was dominated by economic growth in most of

the developing world, spearheaded by oil and mineral production. Formal employment was abundant, and the informal sector was in its infant stage in most of the developing economies, most of which had gained independence. It is not known what influenced Porta and Shleifer to come up with such miscalculations on the importance of the informal sector at the time they came up with their proposition but the important point in this discussion is that the informal sector has gained much ground in terms of its contribution to the economic growth of many countries.

However, Ademutsi (2009) disagrees with Porta and Shleifer (2008), and argues that the role of the informal economic activities such as street vending cannot be undermined as they compound economic growth and development through job creation, empowerment and poverty reduction in an economy. For Porta and Shleifer (2008), the informal sector thrives on illegality and gain an unfair advantage to the formal sector. Wadzanai (2011) as quoted by Mramba (2015:122) supports the growth of the informal sector because it contributes to poverty reduction and this can be witnessed not only in Zimbabwe but in many developing countries where socio-economic conditions of informal traders have improved. Wadzanai further notes that in sub-Saharan countries, where formal employment is dwindling or almost non-existent and the level of education among the youth is low, informal sector could become an important alternative source of employment, further discrediting the dualist and parasitic views of the informal sector.

A study by Misati (2010) in Kenya concluded that the informal sector is largely responsible for the creation of wealth and poverty reduction in sub-Saharan Africa through employment creation. Despite being looked down upon as not contributing to the growth of the economy, evidence reveals that the informal sector is, instead the engine of economic growth in many countries through the provision of employment and poverty reduction.

3.1.4 Structuralist Perspective

This perspective regards the development of the informal sector as a by-product of the economic crisis which results in the informalisation of the formal economy where retrenched people from the informal sector are forced to join the informal sector in order to survive (Chen 2012). This perspective was mostly applied to industrialised

countries that underwent economic crisis, but recently it has become applicable even to less industrialised countries like Zimbabwe which has experienced rapid urbanisation since independence and lately economic crisis. The structuralist perspective is very much relevant in the development of the informal sector in Zimbabwe which saw the phenomenal increase in the informal sector since the late 1990s when the economy began to experience some challenges owing to a number of factors, some of which the mismanagement of the economy by government and poor populist economic policies such as land reform and economic indigenisation policy which scared away foreign investors and chased those already operating in the country. As a result, the number of people migrating to the cities and formal employment creation did not match which resulted in people engaging in informal trading.

3.1.5 Legalist Perspective

This perspective argues that people resort to urban informality due to stringent conditions that are required to formalise businesses, since the majority of them cannot meet these conditions. One of the critics of the structural perspective discussed above was the failure to acknowledge that stringent conditions to formalise businesses resulted in the development of the urban informal sector. Gumbo and Geyer (2011) highlight that stringent regulations for registering and operating a business discouraged people who were interested in establishing businesses from formalising their businesses. As a result, they choose to operate informally where they are not exposed to taxes and rates. They also enjoy informality flexibility, autonomy and freedom in the informal sector. This is applicable to this study because most informal traders do not want to pay rates and taxes, so they avoid formalising their businesses. However, what is important to realise is that the informal sector increasingly provides employment and livelihoods for many people in urban areas.

3.1.6 Post- colonial perspective

This perspective is based on the view that people engage in informal economic activities to help kin and family and not for economic reasons or gain (Moyo *et al.* 2016). This can be applicable in this study as most people engage in informal economic activities to look after their immediate and extended families. Moyo *et al.*

however, question the view that informal traders engage in informal economic activities for non- economic gain. They argued that informal traders instead engage in informal trade for economic gain so that they can help their families from the economic gains derived from their informal activities. They provided an example of African migrants' informal activities in Johannesburg, South Africa, where they engaged in informal trading so that they can support their families in their countries of origin. It can be argued therefore that the above six perspectives help to understand why people have resorted to informal trading.

3.2 Why People Resort to Street Vending

Street vending is universal especially in developing countries. There are various explanations given as to why people choose to vend. The causes of street vending differ from country to country. Aryeetey (2009) notes that the general explanation is that low employment generation in the formal sector, low agricultural outputs, and migration to urban places in search of formal jobs and formal sector retrenchments have forced many people into vending. Many street vendors come from poor families who are not educated to compete in the formal sector (Bhowmik 2005). This point is key in this study, as it reveals some of the causes of street vending. Yet, there are many more causes of street vending than mentioned here. Also, street vending is not confined to the youth as the author here suggests, as recent experiences have shown that vending is not confined to age – even the elderly are involved. Chen (2012) notes that the slow rate of economic and the faster rate of population growth results in labour surplus that the job market cannot absorb. The growth of industry, especially in the developing world, is surpassed by the population growth, and so, when industry fails to provide employment opportunities to the unemployed population, street vending becomes an alternative source of income. Carr and Chen (2002) observed that there has been an increase in street vendors worldwide. Wadzanai (2011) as quoted by Mramba (2015:122) highlights that in sub-Saharan countries there are limited formal employment opportunities coupled with low levels of education among the youth and as a result informal business becomes an alternative source of employment. However, recently the majority of vendors especially in Zimbabwe are educated people who have had limited employment opportunities.

Mitullah (2003) notes that street vending used to be reserved for those who could not fit into formal employment due to lack of skills needed to qualify for formal jobs. But lately, Mitullah (2003) continues to argue that street vending has increasingly become an option for many citizens and, often, the only one. It is no longer reserved for people without skills to qualify for formal employment, but has become the only option available due to massive retrenchments in formal employment as both private and public companies sought to rationalise their workforce under the structural adjustment programme which began in the late 1990s. This point corresponds well with what has been happening in Zimbabwe where street vending is no longer confined to the lower social classes who have little education. Njaya (2014b:72) argues that increasingly, street vending has become a safe haven for even the educated and university graduates (8.3%) who cannot find formal employment. According to Njaya (2014b:73) this represents a gross under employment in the country in which university graduates have to resort to informal ways of getting a decent living.

In most developing countries, the informal economy has become the major employer. The African Development Bank (2014) quoted by Mramba (2015:120) estimated approximately 55% of sub-Saharan Africa's GDP comes from the informal sector which contributes 80% of the labour force. Maliyamukono *et al.* (2012) quoted by Mramba (2015:120) estimated that Tanzania derives 48% of its economy from the informal sector. Lyons and Msoka (2009) noted that the majority of street vendors in Tanzania are less educated and poor. This point reiterates the common general assumption held by many authors that street vending is confined to the less educated and poor. However, this study showed that in Zimbabwe, the informal sector, mainly street vending is no longer a preserve for people without skills and education. In contrast, this study established that in Zimbabwe, even college and university graduates have been found practicing street vending as it has become the only economic activity and means of survival owing to the lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector.

In contrast, in Thailand, street vending was found to be a result of people making choices between street vending and formal employment (Rupkamdee *et al.* 2005). Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005:41) further asserted that even the educated middle class were

attracted to street vending in Thailand because of higher earnings that it brought which often exceeded formal employment earnings. They also considered street vending as a way of becoming self-determining where they made independent choices on what to sell and when to sell. It was unlike formal employment where they were expected to strictly observe time to start work and do not make independent decisions. Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005: 45) concluded that, "street vending is no longer an economic activity among the urban poor, but serves as an economic choice for other classes as well." It can be noted that in Zimbabwe some people especially public servants left their jobs and opted to vending because there are higher earnings in vending than in formal jobs.

Nirathron (2006) notes that, during the economic recession of the late 1990s, Thais were encouraged by their government to undertake informal businesses for alternative sources of income. This resulted in the increase in the number of street traders, mostly food vendors, increasing from 310,500 in 1997 to 390,600 in 2000 (National Statistics Office 1997, 2000). One third of respondents who were interviewed confirmed that they earner high enough income through vending than the middle class in Thailand (Bonnet 2016:31). Therefore, most street vendors earn more than formal employment, and many people prefer street vending; it is not the only option. This points to the fact that there are different factors in different countries that drive people into the informal sector as street vendors but these factors may cut across many different countries. In Zimbabwe, street vending is one of the very few options available for people to make a living, and they are driven into street vending by the low performing economy and lack of formal employment opportunities, though others shun the public sector preferring to vend because of the relatively low salaries in the public sector. This is especially so for the young university and college graduates.

Nirathron (2006) divided street vendors into mobile and fixed street vendors. The study by Nirathron showed that the majority of street vendors approximately 85 percent had received formal education of less than six years in their lives, which means that the majority of them were not educated and could not fit into the formal sector where higher education is a requirement. There was upward mobility for street vendors as 70 percent of fixed vendors had once worked as mobile vendors before. Moreover,

Nirathron's study showed that, contrary to previous studies, women no longer dominated street vending. My study also assessed and confirmed that indeed there was an increase in the number of men who have entered the trade as street vendors in Zimbabwe. Women no longer dominate the field of vending as before. However, my study was mindful of the variable factors that cause different findings, as societies and the elements that influence such activities as street vending differ from one society to another.

Studies carried out in Mongolia on street vending by the Mongolian Co-operative Training and Information Centre (MCTIC) and the Central Union of Mongolian Trade and Consumer Co-operatives (CUMTCC, 2006) have revealed that street vending became popular in the 1990s due to the weakening of the state centred and dominated economy and people started to open individual private businesses. A research that was carried in 1999 showed 13.3 percent of the total GDP came from the informal sector. In 2005, another survey was conducted by the Mongolian National Chamber of Commerce and Industry which revealed between 17-20 percent of the Mongolian GDP was contributed by the informal sector. The study noted that people actually preferred to become street vendors because, at the time, public officers earned 2.6 times less than the informal sector. The same could be the reason why many people are now employed in the informal sector in Zimbabwe. A teacher earns an average salary of 150 USD a month, which is an amount of money which an informal trader can raise in a week. Further, in Mongolia, another factor that pushed people from the formal sector into the informal economy was the liquidation and closure of manufacturing industries as the economy weakened. Some former herdsmen came to the city centres to become street vendors having been pushed by severe weather conditions that caused the loss of animals and, having no skills to compete for jobs in the formal economy, they settled for street vending. Therefore, there are various reasons as to why people resort to street vending. The factors range from country to country and from time to time. In most countries, people resort to street vending because it is the only option available to eke out a living due to a non-performing economy and the closure of industries. However, in a few cases, such as in Thailand, people practiced vending out of their own choice, having been attracted by the need

to be independent and the huge profits accrued from the streets rather than from formal employment.

Sonawane (2017) noted that, in India, due to urbanization and industrialization, there is a rapid acceleration of migration from peripheral areas into towns. As a result, town centres where people are flocking into from peripheral areas are incapable of offering decent jobs to all the workforce, compelling many to find an alternative in the informal sector. With this increasing movement and the struggling formal sector, street vending becomes the only option available to earn a living for the low ranked groups in India. It has become an important source of living for this group because it does not require sophisticated skills and huge financial input. Mumbai has the largest concentration of street vendors numbering two and half million (Sonawane 2017). Sonawane thus confirms the point made by others that street vending has emerged not only as an alternative source of living but the major contributor of GDP to many economies due to the dwindling opportunities in formal employment and the unattractiveness of the wages and salaries paid by the formal sector.

3.3 Conflicts between street vendors and urban authorities around the world

A number of studies have been carried out in a number of countries, both developed and developing regarding street vending and the challenges that arise from the activity, especially conflict with urban authorities. However, none have been carried out from a peacebuilding perspective but, rather, from a political economy perspective. Nonetheless, these previous studies form a starting point in analysing street vending from a peacebuilding perspective which is a gap that this study sought to bridge. Mitullah (2003) highlights the nature, extent and consequences of the conflict between city authorities and street vendors when she highlighted that urban authorities occasionally invade street vendors without warning. During the invasions, traders lose their goods, with some suffering the loss of their business after forfeiting their capital goods. Accordingly, Mitullah concludes that relations between street vendors and city authorities in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Zimbabwe and others from the developing world are generally poor. In contrast, she gave the example of South Africa which has made policy changes supporting informal traders, and the creation

of interaction platforms between street vendors, urban authorities and other development partners.

Although Mitullah's (2003) study is valuable to this study, it did not provide the solutions which this study sought to do by carrying out an action research, designing and implementing an action plan or model that will be favourable to conflicting parties. Mitullah (2003) further notes that most urban authorities have inconsistent policies regulating informal businesses, and have a generally hostile view towards vendors who they perceive as a nuisance. As a result of the shambolic licencing policies, most street vendors operate without licences occupying any place they think has the potential to generate revenue. This has contributed to the hostile relationships between street traders and urban authorities. A conflict ensues here because of incompatibilities between the two. On the one hand, there are street vendors who are trying to make living through street vending but cannot get licencing from the urban authorities who, on the other hand, view them as a nuisance and are trying to prevent them from trading. Hence, negative perceptions develop between these conflicting parties resulting in strained relationships. This is what my study sought to transform through dialogue. Mitullah (2003) further comments that, in many countries, conflicts between the two are regular. They arise mainly from the sites of trade as most vendors operate from undesignated points. They shun designated points arguing that they are not strategic as few customers visit these places. Street vendors further argue that their business depends on the volume of people, and they have to operate where there is high volume of customers. Concurrently, urban authorities would want to maintain orderliness in the urban centres, and the operations of the street vendors are not in tandem with their city plans. As a result, there is confrontation and arrests, and the confiscation of goods becomes inevitable.

Various authors who include Anjaria (2006), Milgram (2011), and Skinner (2008a) have highlighted that due to the nature of their activities, street vendors from across the world have been hostile to city authorities. This was supported by Austin (1994), who noted that the two have contradictory interests. As a result of these contradictory interests, conflicts have erupted from time to time. Conflicts have flared up over the rights of vendors to use public space in an environment where there are limited formal

job opportunities. This often contradicts and undermines the ability of urban authorities to manage public spaces (Drummond 2000).

City authorities have always viewed street vending negatively as causing congestion and upsetting the attractiveness and gorgeousness of their cities. Ayeh *et al.* (2011:21) asserts that in African cities, street vendors are perceived by city authorities as a nuisance and destroys the aesthetic quality of urban settlements. Similarly, in other developing cities in South America and Asia, street vendors are perceived as violent and unlawful invaders who constrain the ability of urban centres to revolutionise in order to achieve global status (Crossa 2009). Street vendors are perceived to be creating chaos. Rajagopal (2001:94) further explains that, in Mumbai, India, “street vendors are seen as offensive, inconvenient and illegitimate ... a symbol of metropolitan space gone out of control.” Moreover, most of the challenges affecting street vendors and urban authorities are a result of the lack of consideration of street vendors in the process of urban planning.

Rajagopal (2001) also avers that street vending has been negatively portrayed by the media which also resulted in the public expressing negative perception against street vending. Ackah (2007) reveals how the print media in Ghana has influenced negative perception of street vending in the public sphere where journalists have described vendors as having taken over, flooded or invaded the streets in Ghanaian city centres. Carrieri and Murta (2011) cite instances where print media such as newspapers report in favour of city authorities while denigrating street vendors to the public. As a result of negative perceptions in the media, there is a general negative view of street vending causing congestion, poor sanitation and illegality.

Sonawane (2017) supports Rajagopal, noting that any structure that obstructs the free movement of people in the streets of Bombay will be liable for removal by the municipal commissioner, according to the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act of 1950. Hawkers are also evicted under sections 102 and 107 of the Act, which stipulate that anyone who prevents traffic from flowing smoothly can be subjected to arrest and removal. Karthikeyan and Mangaleswaran (2013) argue that, in most urban cities in India, street vendors are harassed by police officials when they occupy traffic junctions as well as operating at sites that are not allocated to them.

In Bogota, Columbia, street vendors have also affected the functioning of shop owners who view them as nothing short of bringing disorder, filth, and the risk of crime and theft (Donovan 2008). They are also perceived with hostility and presenting unfair competition for formal businesses because they sell counterfeit goods at lower prices than formal businesses (Mitullah 2003). Similarly, formal businesses in Mumbai, India and Bogota, Colombia have been vocal against street vendors. They have been displeased by the fact that that street vendors provide unhealthy competition as they do not pay rentals and taxes which they themselves pay resulting in them recording reduced income levels (Donovan 2008). However, it is important to note that the perception of street vendors may differ according to different economic periods. For example, in Bangkok, Thailand, municipal authorities encouraged people to venture into street vending as a source of livelihood due to the financial and economic depression in 1997 that affected formal employment and the general economy as a whole (Chung *et al.* 2010). Harper (1996) cited by Donovan (2008) noted that due to the economic depression in the 1990s, more vending licences were issued and more areas were opened for vending in Kuala Lumpur.

Mitullah (2003:17) notes that conflict in urban centres is not only confined to urban authorities and street vendors, but street vendors and shop owners and banks have also been involved in conflict with street vendors as happened in the city of Kampala in Uganda. The conflict resulted in shop owners and banks threatening to stop paying taxes, citing lack of business and revenue due to the operations of street vendors on the streets. Subsequently due to these complains, the Kampala Municipal Council embarked on an operation code named "Operation Clean City" on 1st April 2002 (Mitullah 2003:17). This shows that conflicts between street vendors and urban authorities are complex, and end up involving many actors. Similarly, Kadirire (2017) notes that, in Harare, shop owners refused to pay tax over vending issue, arguing that the influx of street vendors into the city centre – the majority of them unlicensed – had affected their businesses due to unfair competition. Shop owners argued that street vendors were eating into their profits as the vendors could afford to sell their products cheaply because they did not pay any tax or licence fees; as such they were unregistered, and operating illegally (Hove *et al.* 2019: 9). They wanted the vendors driven off the streets so that they could resume paying tax and rates to the council.

Asiedu and Mensah (2008) note that street vendors are constantly harassed, assaulted and their goods seized by police and local government authorities. This shows the extent of the relations between street vendors and urban authorities, which are often characterised by hostility. Street vendors are trying to make a living from the streets and the urban authorities are seized with making the cities clean. The authorities reckon they can only make the cities clean if they drive the vendors off the streets. This sets both parties on an inevitable collision course – but it is not beyond resolution.

Crossa (2009) points out that, in Mexico, running battles between police and vendors were sometimes fatal but a regular feature. Bhowmik (2005) highlights that the majority of street vendors around the world carry out their business with fear of confiscation of their goods because urban authorities rarely recognise their operations. Bhowmik (2005) further notes that, in the majority of countries in Africa and Asia, street vending is regarded as illegal and street vendors are treated as criminals, with only the exception of South Africa and India.

Gupta and Gupta (2014) contend that, in 2014, the Indian President signed a bill approved by Parliament entitled, “Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending Act, 2014”. The Act made it a right to every vendor to undertake vending activities in the vending zones allocated to them and were compelled to act in accordance with the terms and conditions as specified in the vending certificate. Gupta and Gupta further note that India is the only country that legally protects vendors for carrying out their vending business. Therefore, other governments should take a leaf from India, and develop mechanisms to include street vendors in the mainstream economy, while taking into account the current problems facing vendors. This study sought to do that within the Zimbabwean context.

Despite large volumes of literature reviewed so far pointing out the bad relations between street vendors and urban authorities and other actors, there is evidence that, in some countries, good and amicable relations have developed, and the presence of street vendors in the streets have served and have prevented the commission of various crimes on city streets (Anjaria 2006). For example, in Mumbai, street vendors have occasionally protected women from getting sexually harassed. In Durban, South

Africa, Skinner (2008b) noted that street vendors have collaborated with police in fighting against crime in the streets. Police has trained street vendors to monitor and report any suspicious criminal activities on their streets. Skinner (2008b) reports that, due to such collaborative activities between the police and street vendors, there has been a significant reduction of crime in the inner city areas of Durban. The bulk of the literature reviewed here also pointed out the frosty relations between street vendors and formal businesses, where the latter accuse vendors of reducing their profits through selling goods illegally. However, there are instances where formal businesses perceive street vendors not as threats to their business per se but rather as partners for business development. For example, Crossa (2009:55) reports that in Mexico City, there is a special alliance that exists between street vendors and shop owners where the former sell products on the streets on behalf of the latter.

In Zimbabwe, because of the cash crisis, some shop operators have also entered into an unholy alliance with street vendors, whom they give their products to sell at reduced prices in the streets, but on a cash basis. This is done to provide shops with cash which they then sell on the black market to those who require cash at rates that range up to 50% or more of any amount required (Interview with vendors 2018). The losses that the shops encounter for selling their products at reduced prices are then covered by selling cash on the black market.

3.3.1 Responses to Street Vending by Urban Authorities and Others

The most common ways in which urban authorities respond to street vending is through controlling the number of people – that is issuing a limited number of permits and licences; allocating street vending zones or locations; and building and then relocating public marketing places to vendors. But these strategies have different levels of success. Urban authorities have carried out evictions and relocations to clean up cities and maintain their attractiveness (Anjaria 2006; Donovan 2008; Milgram 2011). In some cases the evictions have been violent where bulldozers have been used to destroy illegal structures put in place by vendors. Such activities by urban authorities have been regarded as heavy handedness by outsiders but urban authorities often justify such actions as necessary to maintain sanity in city centres (Rajagopal 2001). Similarly, in Zimbabwe, urban authorities working with government

embarked on Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. It was an operation to clear filth in urban areas. Thousands of properties of informal traders and informal urban dwellers were destroyed and 700 000 people were evicted from their homes and lost their sources of livelihood (UN Envoy, 22 July 2005). Many other similar evictions and destructions were carried out in subsequent years to try and maintain order in urban areas. In any social setting, those who are in need of something are usually prevented by the actions of those who have power over them to satisfy their needs (Fine 1984).

Most urban authorities have designated spaces from which street vendors can operate. However, the majority of street vendors shun these designated places as not viable for their business. Some designated places have no infrastructural facilities such as toilets and shed to prevent direct sun and rain. As a result, vendors shun these designated places and occupy undesignated places which they allocate themselves. Urban authorities have often demonstrated their power over street vendors by evicting street vendors from these undesignated sites accusing them of occupying the sites illegally. Mitullah (2006) supported this argument when she said that urban authorities' eviction of street vendors from busy city centres demonstrates power relations as urban authorities wield power to remove street vendors from city centres preferring to allocate the space to powerful businesses because of the negative perception of small scale businesses by urban authorities. Street vendors are frequently subjected to eviction by force, their stands destroyed as they are perceived to be illegal and goods confiscated, demonstrating the extent, nature and effects of power held by urban authorities (Rajagopal 2001). Sonawane (2017) notes that, as a way of regulating street vending in Mumbai, the Municipal Corporation only granted 14,000 licences, and has stopped issuing new licences.

In Mongolia, (MCTIC and CUMTCC 2006) documented that the laws and regulations were not clear on who was in charge of managing street vendors. Despite this lack of clarity on who was responsible for managing the streets, small shops located near bus stops were closed down by city authorities. A flat rate was also charged on small traders and vendors who did not have a known income at the time as specified by a law on income tax. The study by the MCTIC and the CUMTCC (2006) concludes that, the majority of vendors did not pay tax, with only 31.7% paying taxes. This was

because the vendors did not have a permanent place from which they sold their goods, which made it difficult for the authorities to collect taxes from them. It is important to note that street vending was not explicitly prohibited in Mongolia. However, vendors needed to be registered, and the registration process was cumbersome, time consuming and costly (MCTIC and CUMTCC 2006). By and large, they remained illegal, harassed, extorted and evicted by police. Similarly, in Zimbabwe urban authorities have faced the challenges of taxing vendors who do not have permanent places and as a result most vendors evade taxes. Efforts to introduce taxes on street vendors by the Harare city council resulted in many vendors evading tax (Interview with HCC, 2018). Nyamwanza *et al.* (2014) noted that there is a general non – compliance to paying taxes in Zimbabwe based on the study they carried out. They further concluded that informal traders evaded paying tax but instead bribed officials who kept two separate records, relocated to new places without informing the responsible authorities and closed businesses during compliance blitz.

Kusakabe (2006:29) asserted that in Cambodia, the policy direction about street vending was not clearly articulated in the national development policy and urban development. It was assumed that those who chose to come to the streets in urban areas were responsible for their own fate. Those who remained in the rural were given attention and priority instead. The urban poor were given low priority, with street vending being defined as illegal, yet street vendors paid taxes legally. They were made to pay police and market committees to secure places to sell their goods despite paying taxes legally. The places in and around the public market places were managed by the market committee which together with the district which managed other streets made decisions on street regulations and fees without the participation of street vendors.

However, some street vendors have tried to regularise their businesses so that they avoid confrontation and harassment by police and urban authorities. Still, as in most cases reviewed so far, it is burdensome to regularise their business because the requirements are just too cumbersome. To get an operating licence, they required that street vendors must be in possession of a hygiene certificate, certificate of registration at tax office and many other requirements for operating an outlet. The majority of street

vendors failed to fulfil these requirements, resulting in them operating illegally without licences. The cumbersome procedure in Cambodia shows the lack of public policy to regularise street vendors which is a common feature in many countries. Obtaining a licence is expensive (18,700 MNT or 5 USD) for obtaining permits and takes a long time – more than a month for those operating small shops and kiosks and a week for those intending to operate on street corners (Kusakabe 2006:21). Moreover, Kasakabe (2006:21) contends that street vendors were given one month valid licence terms, three months for temporary selling points in the streets and one year for small shops. This partly explains why street vendors were reluctant to obtain licences because they spend a long time trying to obtain one, only to be given one month to operate. Without permits they become victims of police and council harassment.

Mitullah (2006) highlights that most street vendors in Africa operate at undesigned selling points which they assign themselves, resulting in them being evicted by urban authorities. The authorities limit the number of vending sites within CBDs, citing a variety of reasons such as the need to maintain cleanliness and free movement of human and vehicular traffic. In most African cities, vending sites are allocated on the outskirts of CBD and vendors refuse to occupy them citing poor access to clients who mostly frequent the CBD.

Mitullah (2006) further noted that local authorities in Africa are the major impediments to the development of the informal sector. Most of them use old-fashioned and limiting colonial policies which were meant to stifle the growth of local enterprises. Studies in Africa by Mitullah (2006) also showed that there is lack of participation of vendors in the planning and management of urban development despite paying taxes to urban authorities. The relations are hostile with no dialogue taking place to mend relations and are instead characterized by constant threats and corruption. Rheinlander *et al.* (2008) added that the Ghanaian case provides a classic example of hostile relations between urban authorities and street vendors, when they asserted that policies and regulations in Ghana are uncoordinated between the private and public sectors. While private firms collect taxes from food outlets run by female vendors, urban authorities inspect health facilities of these outlets, something which could be well coordinated and administered under one institution. Owing to poor co-ordination between the two

institutions, women end up failing to operate after failing to meet health standards but having paid operational fees. They are then forced to bribe urban authorities in order for them to continue operating.

In Kenya, Mitullah (2006) comments that few traders have licences to operate due to the cumbersome nature of obtaining a licence. Most urban authorities in Kenya issue a limited number of licences and, generally perceive street vending negatively. Only those who pay bribes and those who have personal links with urban authorities or ties obtain operating licences. However, even after obtaining a licence, they still have to get approval for selling points having fulfilled health requirements and agree to operate on specific trading times. They have to trade in approved or designated sites, and observe certain health requirements and trading times. Failure to observe these requirements often results in cancellation or confiscation of licences, which then renders the street vendors illegal. Mitullah (2006) further notes that, in most African countries, especially Uganda and Kenya, the main mode of interaction between street vendors and urban authorities is harassment. In some situations, vendors respond to these through bribing urban officials, which often leaves them in perpetual poverty.

In New York City and Boston, the relations between urban authorities and vendors are better as compared to those found in the developing world. The process is better organised and coordinated where it is a requirement that vendors should obtain a general vendor licence before they can provide services in urban public places (New York city.gov, City of Boston.gov). However, demand for licences often far exceeds supply. In other cities such as Hong Kong, street vending is confined to specific geographical urban areas with little or no regulatory enforcement and taxes (McGee 1974). In most circumstances, the presence of street vending is perceived as underdevelopment, and its absence is viewed as development and progress. Even in developed cities, such as Beijing, there are occasional crackdowns on street vendors by urban authorities. This shows the pervasiveness of street vending as an economic activity and the response of urban authorities to vending.

3.3.2 Vendors' Responses to Evictions and Relocations

Street vendors have responded to evictions and relocations by city authorities through various strategies that reflect that they are not powerless in these power games. This

section provides some of the approaches that street vendors have used, whether in groups or as individuals, in accessing convenient vending sites in urban areas. First, vendors have undertaken negotiations with authorities at a macro-level. Second, some negotiations have taken place at a micro-level between individual vendors and urban authorities.

Macro level negotiations and the power of street vendors

For street vendors, it is their right to occupy the streets, whether legally or otherwise since they derive their livelihoods from the streets. Rajagopal (2001) reported that some street vendors in Mumbai, India have gone to the extent of defending their rights to vending in court against urban authorities and have been eventually granted rights to use specific public urban spaces for vending. In Bogota, Columbia, Donovan (2008) noted that vendors successfully negotiated with urban authorities after threatening to take legal action against eviction emphasising their right to work and earn a living from the streets. In addition to using their negotiating tools, some vendors as a group have used their votes as a leverage with politicians and urban authorities, especially where the number of vendors has been significantly huge to influence election results (Donovan 2008). In Mexico City, Donovan (2008) asserts that vendors nominated and voted their own individuals into power who allowed them to vend in the city streets. Donovan (2008:35) further notes that, “vendors secured licences in exchange for political support during elections.”

In Zimbabwe, vendors have sometimes used the vote card to avoid harassment by urban authorities. For example, in Harare, vendors appealed to the former first lady Grace Mugabe against harassment by HCC, who ordered the urban authority to let the vendors conduct their business without interruptions (Matenga 2015b). She intervened and cautioned the urban authorities that they should allow the street vendors to vend because they were trying to make a living since there were few formal jobs. There are also allegations that, for one to secure a licence to be able to sell without harassment, one must be known to support the ruling party, ZANU PF, for which one must produce a party membership card (Ndawana 2018:265). Further, vendors allege that known ZANU PF supporters are not harassed, even if they operate illegally in the streets. Hove *et al.* (2019:7) added that for people to secure a vending

licence and space at the ever- busy Copa Cabana market place in Harare CBD, they had to use politics and political structures. Since most urban councils, including Harare, are run by the opposition MDC, vendors also threatened not to vote in the municipal or national elections if the harassment continued. The frequency and intensity of the raids and harassment then declined after vendors made the threats. Hence, street vendors have used their votes as a negotiating tool against harassment by the urban authorities in Zimbabwe and other countries as highlighted from the above discussion.

In the Philippines northern city of Baguio, street vendors voted for people into city councils whom they believed would not harass them once they get into power, individuals who would defend the rights of vendors to engage in street vending (Milgram 2011). Street vendors have used their votes as a negotiating strategy to change policies in their favour. Milgram (2011) further revealed that in the Philippines, prior to May 2010 council elections, city councillors delayed introducing new bye- laws that prohibited vending in city centres until elections were held fearing that the introduction of these bye- elections could threaten their re-election chances. Likewise, in Zimbabwe in October 2017, the then President of the country, Robert Mugabe, ordered street vendors across the country's urban centres to be regularised, and those without relevant documents were ordered out of the streets (Razemba 2017). There was resistance and outcry from vendors who argued that the government should provide them with formal employment if they wanted them off the streets. Vendors threatened to vote for the opposition if the President continued his onslaught against them. Their threats seemed to have worked as neither the government nor the urban authorities which comprised the opposition MDC harassed vendors prior to the 2018 harmonised elections.

In Malawi, Kayuni and Tambulasi (2009:88) highlighted that street vendors had an authoritative voice through councillors whom they supported to get into office. The councillors would inform street vendors in advance if the urban authorities planned to raid them so that they get prepared for the raids. Therefore, vendors have used their voting power as a strategy to access public space which is convenient for them with minimum harassment by urban authorities. In Zimbabwe, where all urban authorities

are controlled by opposition party MDC, vendors have threatened to vote for the ruling party if they continue to experience harassment by urban authorities. These threats have been taken seriously by urban councillors who on numerous occasions have instructed their urban authorities against harassing vendors for fear of losing support from this constituency.

Street vendors have also used public demonstrations as a strategy of registering their displeasure at their harassment by urban authorities. Street vendors march on urban centres and hand over their petitions and demands to urban authorities highlighting their grievances. This strategy has been used successfully by vendors in Durban, South Africa and in the process preventing eviction (Skinner 2008b). Sometimes, vendors become violent during demonstrations as was experienced in Mexico City in April 2002, where according to Crossa (2009), vendors became violent, overpowered the police, sprayed teargas on police and beat them with sticks after the police tried to evict them from the city centre.

In Zimbabwe, the National Vendor's Union of Zimbabwe has on numerous occasions demonstrated against the eviction and harassment of street vendors by the national police force working in conjunction with the urban authorities (Hove *et al.* 2019:10). In some cases, vendors have organized themselves and hit back at police and urban authorities who confiscate their goods, and these running battles have turned violent with casualties on both sides. In some instances, Bass (2000) notes that street vendors have sought peaceful and open forums with urban authorities and governments to register their concerns through their representative associations. This study recommended that street vendors in Zimbabwe should also be afforded such opportunities and open such forums where they can engage the government and urban authorities on matters that affect their operations.

Mitullah (2006) comments that, in some countries, vendors have responded to urban authorities' harassment through strikes and demonstrations. But these have not been successful, especially in Ghana and Zimbabwe, because vendors rely on selling in the streets for their livelihoods, and embarking on demonstrations and strikes will mean that they would lose their income for that particular day of a strike or demonstration. Moreover, vendors associations are still new, with little bargaining power to influence

urban authorities and national governments despite paying revenue to urban authorities. In some cases as in Zimbabwe vendors' associations are accused of being captured by the government and have failed to protest against government calls for unlicensed street vendors to vacate the streets. However, service delivery for street vendors in most urban authorities is poor as urban authorities often argue that vendors are not licensed, hence they do not deserve good service delivery. This is despite the fact that in many cities, street vendors pay daily rates for services which are poorly provided (Mitullah 2006). For example, in Kenya, as in many countries, spaces allocated to street vendors are peripheral and outside CBD where there are poor services characterised by heaps of uncollected garbage, which pose a health hazard not only to vendors but to the general public. Similarly in Harare, street vendors have been allocated some sites where there are no services such as toilets and water, putting the health of both street vendors and consumers at risk.

Micro level negotiations and street vending

As has been discussed from the preceding section, there are a variety of strategies and approaches used by street vendors to access vending sites without getting evicted. Street vendors have also developed a sophisticated communication and networking system to warn each other when urban authorities invade them. Crossa (2009) notes that, for instance, in Mexico City, some street vendors are primarily responsible and get paid for monitoring and watching the police and then inform others when police raids them through the use of walkie talkies. In Harare, street vendors whistle to each other to warn of the impending or on-going police raids coming their way. Crossa (2009) noted that a similar strategy of whistling is used in Mexico City to alert vendors of the police activities and impending raids. Vendors may also send phone messages informing each other of the approaching council police. Steel (2012) indicated that, in Peru, street vendors running from a raid or eviction may warn others at other places of the approaching urban authorities. Similar strategies have been recorded elsewhere, and Steel has termed it a "social security network", which is important for their well-being and continued survival in the streets.

In some instances shop owners have also provided a hiding space to vendors evading arrest and confiscation of goods. Crossa (2009) writes that, in Mexico City, shop owners provided refuge to street vendors escaping raids by police or urban authorities. In return, vendors enter into an agreement with shop owners to sell their products on their behalf in the streets where they sell faster than in formal shops. Therefore, vendors have opened these social networks as strategies for them to be able to survive in the streets where they are not wanted.

Street vendors operating under hostile conditions have also modified their operating mechanisms, without which they would not survive and sustain their economic activities in the streets. One of the strategies has been for the vendors to be mobile and carry only a few items while they hide the rest of the items at a place only known by them. They only bring out the items in cases where clients want more items than the ones carried by the vendor. They have survived life on the streets using this strategy which has made it easy for them to escape urban authorities and ensured minimum losses in cases of raids by urban authorities. Milgram (2011) noted that, in Baguio City in the Philippines, vendors spread a few of their goods on a sheet in the streets or pavements. If they are pursued by the police or urban authorities, they simply grab the four corners of their sheets and run away to prevent their goods from being confiscated. This practice is also common in the busy streets of Harare. Carrieri and Murta (2011) also confirm the use of this practice, revealing that street vendors in Brazil carry few goods with them to be able to escape fast in the event that they were raided by inspectors. This strategy has also been reported among vendors in other countries such as Ghana, Mexico, and Peru.

Another strategy used by street vendors to minimize losses and to survive in the difficult economic and operating environment characterized by harassment and confiscation of goods has been to avoid selling in the streets during times when they are likely to be raided by urban authorities. Milgram (2011:277) noted that, in Baguio City in The Philippines, the best times for selling in the streets when they are not likely to be raided are from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m., 12 p.m. to 1 p.m., and 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. These are the times when urban authorities are not likely to be actively working. Similarly, Carrieri and Murta (2011) highlight that street vendors in Belo Horizonte, Brazil,

operate very early in the morning before city authorities start work. Vendors in Harare have also adopted this strategy, where they increase their visibility in the streets between 5 p.m. and 10 p.m. when city regulators have dismissed from work. Ironically, this has become the most congested time in Harare. Some, selling fruits in scotch carts, have gone to the extent of blocking some vehicle lanes along Robert Mugabe Street and other busy streets. Steel (2012:1018) added that vendors in Peru have also adopted this strategy where they vend during lunch time and in the evenings when there is no control from the urban authorities and the state.

Vendors in other countries have paid bribes or daily tokens to urban authorities to continue operating unlicensed. Rajagopal (2001: 104) noted that, in Mumbai, India city workers demand these bribes more than once a day from street vendors who do not have a choice but to pay to enable them to continue operating in the busy city areas. They receive threats from city workers three or four times daily, paying them up to 4500 Rupees (59 US dollars) a month to avoid harassment. In Malawi, Kayuni and Tambulasi (2009: 92) wrote that the police are bribed MK500.00 (0.68 US dollars) or more to allow unlicensed vendors to continue selling their goods but discreetly. Mitullah (2006) notes that this is a common practice among vendors in other African countries. Through the payment of bribes, rules and regulations are violated, depending on the quality of relationships. Thus, vendors retain their sites in the streets, managing to withstand the pressure from urban authorities to evict them. The same practice has also been reported in Harare where vendors interviewed in later chapters in this study confirmed that they paid bribes to council police as well as national police for them to be allowed to operate in the streets of Harare CBD without licences.

As discussed above, street vendors can use a variety of strategies including political threats to remain in the streets despite harassment from urban authorities.

3.3.3 The Effectiveness of Various Ways of Dealing with Street Vendors

Urban authorities throughout the world have introduced various instruments and approaches in dealing with the increasing phenomenon of street vending. These range from hostile to cooperative responses, and differ from country to country. This section of the study analysed the effectiveness of various instruments introduced in different countries in dealing with street vending. Mramba (2015:124) notes that, in the

majority of countries in Africa and Asia, with the exception of India, street vending is considered illegal. In 2014, the Indian parliament passed a law which was approved by the President which empowered street vendors to conduct their business in areas allocated to them (Gupta and Gupta 2014).

Mitullah (2006) encouraged African countries to implement policies that support the revision of bye laws in order to cater for the current challenges facing street traders. In Tanzania and Zambia, the authorities took some initiatives to assist street vendors in terms of business locations. The Tanzanian government built the Machinga Complex which accommodated 10 000 street vendors in the capital, Dar es Salaam as a way of decongesting the city centre (Mramba 2015:124). However, vendors refused to occupy the building citing a number of reasons which included lack of access to customers, high rentals and payment of tax which vendors were not used to. However, this approach has not been successful, as the traders have failed to support attempts to regularize them. Hence, the vendors have shunned the construction and designation of trading places. This view was also supported by Ndhlovu (2011) who, in his study of street vending in Zambia's largest city Lusaka, established that the most important consideration for street vendors was accessibility to customers. He noted that vendors often strategically locate themselves where they do not pay rent, taxes and licences. Therefore, there is need for street vendors and urban authorities to increase their cooperation so that they find ways of designating trading places that are convenient to both street vendors and the urban authorities. It is important for urban authorities to consider customer accessibility when designating vending sites, and to charge vendors affordable rates. Vendors often reject designated trading sites citing lack of consultation by the government and urban authorities, which often results in violent clashes.

Hansen (2010) noted that in 1993, the Lusaka City Council in Zambia, with the help of the police and military, carried out an operation to remove vendors from the streets. They clashed with vendors who rioted against the operation to remove them from the streets. They managed to drive vendors off the streets but, after a few days, the vendors returned. Hansen (2010) further noted that in 2009, the Zambian government constructed the Soweto market which was allocated to vendors as way of

decongesting the city centre. However, this was done without the consultation of vendors who refused to occupy the allocated sites within the market and continued to operate on the streets, citing high rentals and that the vendors had not been consulted (Hansen 2010). The key lesson here is that governments and urban authorities should consult vendors on matters that affect their operations. It is this increased cooperation between urban authorities and street vendors that this study sought to achieve.

In Uganda, Mitullah (2003:17) notes that there was conflict between street vendors and owners of shops and banks in the city of Kampala. The conflict culminated in the intervention of the urban authority as shop owners refused to pay rentals and taxes citing lack of business due to the presence of vendors on the streets. These threats were followed by the Kampala Municipal Council's 'Operation Clean City' in April 2002 to get rid of the street vendors. The Kampala Council designated alternative sites for relocation around the CBD, and some particular days were set aside for trading in specified sites within the CBD. The problem seems to have been resolved fully, and this Ugandan case provided some insights into the solutions that could be tried in Zimbabwe. However, what is important in the Ugandan case is the involvement of the Kampala Trader's Association, which represented its members in this reallocation exercise. The solution could also be replicated in other countries as well, which could provide some good lessons on how to resolve such challenges.

In Kenya Mitullah (2006) notes that conflicts between street traders and urban authorities are not uncommon. Violent confrontation and removal from the streets did not deter street vendors who continued to defy urban authorities. In recent times, the University of Nairobi, through the Institute for Development Studies facilitated negotiations between the two. This necessitated the review of some bye-laws on street trade which were considered to be outdated. Luckily, vendors agreed to be relocated outside the CBD and confrontation between them and the authorities has been reduced and the business environment has improved. This case study also provides important insights into the conflict between street vendors and HCC. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that some solutions may not be transplanted and implemented in other areas. From the examples discussed above, relocating street vendors from the CBD may not be the best solution, as street vendors thrive in

the CBD where there is high volume and movement of people who have the potential to buy their goods. In Zimbabwe, such relocations have been tried but they failed as vendors rejected relocation outside the CBD.

Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005) note that, despite street vending playing an important economic role in urban areas, city bye-laws often limit vending activities. Vendors are accused by policymakers of causing a variety of urban problems ranging from congestion to crime levels and dirty. In Thailand, Kusakabe (2006:12) reported that several acts were put in place to regulate street vending. For example, the Cleanliness and Order and Order of the City Act was issued in 1992 and it prohibited vendors from selling goods on public roads and public areas. However, vendors were allowed to sell in certain areas and at particular times and days. Section 20 put some conditions for vending which included that vendors should not sell on Wednesdays or any other day announced by the government, they needed to be registered for them to operate, cleaning their places of business, among other conditions set for them. It is however, important to note that policies and laws regarding street vending have always been changing in Thailand. Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005:17) contend that at the time of the recession between 1979 and 1982, the government of Thailand encouraged street vending as a solution to the problem of unemployment. However, during economic stability, street vending was regarded as a threat to cities' neatness.

In 2002, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) instituted changes to improve the orderliness of the city, introduced registration and issued licences. However, this had a negative impact as officers tasked with collecting fees engaged in acts of corruption. The administration in Bangkok did not have strategies to address the challenges of street vending or incorporating street vendor in the management of the city. Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005:22) argued that the administration was mainly concerned with orderliness in the city while ignoring other administrative issues affecting the operations of street vendors. However, the problem for vendors was that policies that affected them were not consistent, and they were often caught off guard. For example, the 'No Vending Day' was changed from Wednesday to Monday without the vendors being informed. Such a lack of communication resulted in the harassment of vendors by urban authorities.

Authorities have instituted some strategies in trying to address the challenges in the urban centres. Rupkamdee *et al.* (2005) presented three scenarios. The first scenario allowed vendors to manage themselves with lesser regulations and management from the BMA. In the second scenario, individuals apply to the ministry which owns the area to establish a private market in which the owner is responsive to vendors' problems such as the provision of amenities. In the third scenario, which is almost similar to the first one, a private company organised and managed a market in a private company estate. However, the only disadvantage was that private managed market charged high rentals but this also had advantages in that the standards of hygiene, orderliness and security were high. At first, vendors were not happy with the rentals but, through persuasion by company managers, business began to pick up, and this attracted vendors to the premises though on a small scale. Relocation was completed and the market flourished. Few vendors who managed to utilise the premises were willing to pay high rentals for the premises. This experience shows that relocations can be successful if there are consultations and negotiations on payment of rentals between vendors and private companies who own premises that are used by vendors for their trade. The lesson learnt here is the extent to which private companies who own properties used by vendors can listen and accommodate the plight and needs of vendors. This experience could be used in this study in trying to reach a common understanding between street vendors and HCC to resolve their long standing conflict over the use of space in the CBD.

In one of the few success stories of normalization of relations between street vendors and urban authorities in developing countries, Kumar and Singh (2013) reported that, in the case of Bhubaneswar in India, a vendors' survey facilitated a number of issues such as allocation of vending space, issuing of identity cards and vendors were given the responsibility to keep their vending sites clean, failure of which they would be removed from the sites or fined by the urban authority. The close relationships between private sector and community harnessed through municipal authorities necessitated private- public partnerships that facilitated the spreading of costs among the stakeholders.

In Cambodia, studies by Agnello and Moller showed that the increase in the number of street vendors was recorded throughout both economic boom and crises periods. Agnello and Moller (2004) further highlighted that the informal sector contributed 95 percent of the country's employment and 80 percent of the country's GDP. This showed the importance of the informal sector as the largest contributor of economic well-being in Cambodia. However, despite the informal sector being biggest employer, respondents complained that they were harassed by police and their goods confiscated. The unclear legal status of vendors led to these harassments and questionable fees. Agnello and Moller (2004) quoted in Kusakabe (2006:18) showed that there were policy inconsistencies in Cambodia with regards to vendors. For example, the Sub-Decree on Public Order defined street vending as illegal, but the Business Operation Tax Book clearly specifies tax payable by vendors. As a result, street vendors duly paid tax while their activities were regarded as illegal. The lack of policy consistency and clarity regarding vending made them vulnerable to the corrupt urban officials who demanded bribes and harassed vendors. Even though street vending has proved to be an important source of livelihood for many urban dwellers, vendors have not been able to participate in urban planning policies. Street vending is still regarded as a negative economic activity which must be prevented from growing.

Kusakabe (2006:18) further noted that in 1994, a Vendor's Association in Cambodia was organised to increase interaction and build relationships among vendors. As a result, members of the association showed sense of cooperation and mutual help as compared to non-members. Kusakabe's study suggested that forming associations provided one of the means in which vendors in Cambodia strengthened self-governance. In Zimbabwe, as in other African cities, such associations are still in their infancy and are weak with allegations of being captured by the state or urban authorities. They cannot effectively stand for vendors' rights to trade despite street vending becoming the major economic activity in Zimbabwe. Also, the vendors have refused to pay affiliation fees, which makes it difficult for the associations to represent them whenever they are in conflict with the urban authorities or government as revealed in an interview with one of the leaders of a vendors association. In Zimbabwe, there is the National Vendor's Union of Zimbabwe (NAVUZ) and the Vendor's Initiative

for Social and Economic Transformation (VISET). Both argue that they have been on a collision course with the authorities trying to defend the rights of street vendors but vendors allege that they do not represent vendor's interests but their own self interests.

According to Kusakabe (2006: 30), in Mongolia, street management is carried out by private investors. However, the infrastructure and other market facilities managed by these private players are in bad conditions because of lack of investment and vendors have to operate in those conditions as they have little choice. Kusakabe (2006: 33) notes that by contrast, the study in Bangkok revealed that some of the street vendor management systems have been successfully managed by street vendors themselves. Lessons learnt are that where urban authorities listened to street vendors and when vendors were involved in the governance of the streets, it resulted in a win-win situation.

However, although most policy approaches in many countries have not been able to create trust between vendors and urban authorities, the Cambodian case showed that street vendors can create trust and be ready to engage with urban authorities when they form associations (Kusakabe 2006:31). This became one of the recommendations to street vendors for this study: that they needed to strengthen their associations so that they can be able to bargain with the authorities in airing their grievances. The relocation of street vendors to designated sites has not been successful, has suffered high desertion rates and, in many cases, has failed altogether. The site of new locations preferred by urban authorities, unfortunately tend to be unsuitable for vendors, who often decry the lack of business and consultation with urban authorities. Thus, Cross and Morales (2007) argued that public markets are often placed in outlying areas as far from the downtown stores as possible. Yet, these are the most strategic and appropriate areas where street vendors feel they make more business because of the volume of human traffic.

3.4 Summary

This chapter reviewed literature from Africa, Asia and South America on the nature, causes, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and urban authorities. The literature supports the view that street vending is universal, especially

in global south. It also showed that there are various factors that influence the growth of street vending, the main ones being the lack of formal employment, low productivity in agriculture, retrenchments, low economic growth, and rapid population growth as compared to employment creation. Street vending is no longer confined to the less-educated and the poor, but is increasingly becoming an economic activity for the educated college and university graduates also. Street vending has become the only available alternative for many able-bodied people who can no longer be absorbed into formal employment. However, in some countries, such as Thailand, street vending became attractive over formal employment as it paid more than formal employment and promotes independence for the vendors. The literature reviewed showed that street vending is no longer dominated by women as was the case before. Also, despite street vending becoming the dominant economic activity in most developing countries by providing a source of livelihood for many people, urban authorities continue to suppress the activity. This has resulted in occasional clashes, raids, harassment and confiscation of vendors' goods, as most vendors operate without licences, and at undesignated vending zones. Urban authorities have tried to implement a number of strategies to regulate the number of street vendors, and to maintain order in cities, but without success due to their inability to cater for the sheer number of vendors requiring licences and vending sites.

CHAPTER 4: Street Vending in Zimbabwe

“Politics affects everything. Sometimes, politicians use vendors to gain popularity and, in return, vendors get favours, such as not getting arrested” (Interview with vendors, 2019).

4. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on street vending in Zimbabwe with a view to analysing relationships between street vendors and HCC. The chapter will also review literature on the efforts by the conflict parties, as well as the effectiveness of these efforts, to resolve the conflict peacefully. Generally, informal trading through street vending has become a common economic activity in all major cities in Zimbabwe. Njaya (2014b:74) asserted that there is a proliferation of street vendors in central business districts (CBDs), stationed at street corners, traffic lights, pavements, shop fronts, and some even totally blocking some street lanes. This has created poor relations between street vendors, shop owners, and the urban authorities who regulate and enforce municipal laws. The chapter showed that there were poor relationships between urban authorities and street vendors across the whole country. Daily running battles in the streets between street vendors and urban authorities defined their relationships as the former sought to make a living from the streets whereas the latter sought to preserve orderliness and tidiness in their areas of jurisdiction. It was further revealed that the conflict had drawn other players such as shop operators, national police, army, vendor organisations and the general public. The phenomenon of street vending was also changing in Zimbabwe where it was involving college and university graduates who could not find employment and ended up engaging in street vending to make a living.

4.1 The evolution of street vending in Zimbabwe

The evolution and growth of street vending in Zimbabwe is discussed in much detail in Chapter 1. In general, since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's urban informal sector has been growing steadily as was shown by McPherson (1991:1) who highlighted that the rate of growth of the informal sector grew from 10% in 1980 to 20% by 1986. There are a number of narratives that have been provided on the growth

of the informal sector in Zimbabwe. As noted in Chapter 1, in the 1980s, the government adopted a socialist model which was mainly based on the provision of services by the state for free. This however, negatively impacted the manufacturing sector as there was lack of investment because the government was not generating revenue. As a result, the manufacturing sector failed to cope with the rising number of people migrating from rural areas into urban centres. Formal employment failed to absorb people, leading to a rise in informal traders. Mupedziswa and Gumbo (2001) quoted by RAU (2015:1) document that in the 1990s, the rate of street vending began to increase due to Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. Patel (1988:22) observed that the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas after independence was necessitated by the removal of laws such as the Urban Registration Act of 1946, which criminalised black people's migration into towns, and the Vagrancy Act of 1960, which only permitted the movement of black males into urban areas on the condition of the availability of employment. The repealing of these Acts after independence opened doors for the unregulated rural-urban migration. The result was that employment opportunities failed to match the influx of people looking for jobs. Those who failed to secure jobs were forced to join the informal sector leading to a sharp rise of this sector.

As the economy continued to decline further due to poor government political and economic policies such as the payment of war veterans in 1997, DRC war intervention in 1998, chaotic land reform in 2000, Indigenisation and economic empowerment in 2009, among others, resulted in companies closing and many people being retrenched from their workplaces, the informal sector became the backbone of the majority of the people in the country. More details about the impact of government policies on the development of the informal sector are discussed in chapter 1. As indicated by the census in 2012 quoted by RAU (2015:3), full-time employment in Zimbabwe, then constituted 30% of the productive workforce, with the majority of the productive workforce found in the informal sector. Rusvingo (2015:2) weighs in, noting that in 2014 alone, due to the country's economic challenges, more than 50 companies retrenched at least 6960 employees. Rusvingo (2015:2) added that the country's unemployment rate stood at more than 80 percent and was bound to surge as the public sector was also retrenching, citing an unsustainable wage bill which was

consuming more than 90 percent of its total revenue. Mangudhla (2015) states that many companies closed due to shortage of cash and foreign currency, resulting in them retrenching many people who were now confined to relentless poverty. The retrenchees grouped in the streets of Harare seeking to create a living out of vending. As a result of the deteriorating economic conditions in the country, the majority turned to street vending in Zimbabwe's major cities. However, the most affected is Harare because people believe that, as the capital city, it is where everything happens. Harare has become an eye-sore due to the influx of street vendors into the city centre.

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) also weighed in and reported that 75 companies closed down in 2014, rendering 9 617 workers jobless (ZCTU 2015). This was supported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO 2016) which noted the widespread company closures during this period. Zwinoira (2020) recently added that only 24% of people between the ages of 18 and 35 are formally employed while the rest are either self-employed in the informal sector or are seated at home without jobs (British Council 2020). The above statistics showed the declining formal employment levels in the country. As a result, the number of people in the informal sector surged as they sought means of sustaining their livelihoods.

A study by Mutami and Gambe (2015:126) noted that women were still dominant street vending but the majority of them were selling low value goods such as vegetables and second hand clothes. Their study showed that men were also entering this sector as street vendors in large numbers, though women still dominated. The increasing number of men brings a new dimension to the street vending phenomenon which was known to be a preserve of women. The study further revealed that there were two categories of vendors in Zimbabwean cities, namely nomadic or mobile and immobile vendors. The former moved around the city centre selling their goods such as mobile recharge cards, sweets, and fruits among other small products. On the other hand, stationary vendors dominate pavements and walkways, which are used by pedestrians in the city centre. Stationary vendors also arrange their wares on front shops, sometimes blocking shops; this has caused an outcry from shop owners. The more the availability of customers at a particular location the more the intensity of vending activities. Hence, the bone of contention between street vendors and urban

authorities is the suitability of vending sites and the non- payment of rates. Vendors prefer to operate in areas where the volume of people is high and shun the authorities' selected points citing lack of business.

At the same time, city authorities are guided more by the need to create order and cleanliness in the city centre than vendors making profits, and they have to strategically locate the vending sites in a manner that decongests the city. Some vendors have located themselves along the sidewalks which often annoy pedestrians who cannot walk properly especially during peak hours as they risk to stumble upon vendors' wares usually spread along the pavements. Most pavements are occupied by vendors on both sides displaying their goods, thereby interrupting easy passage by pedestrians. Conflicts are common when pedestrians accidentally step on the displayed goods. Vendors become vicious, and demand the pedestrians compensate the damaged wares and conflicts ensue.

4.1.1 What Causes People to Embark on Street Vending in Zimbabwe?

There are a variety of reasons that have forced people to become street vendors in Zimbabwe. Some of the reasons have been explained in the previous chapter and are similar to other countries. Street vending in Zimbabwe gained momentum because of the economic situation which resulted in lack of investment and company closures resulting in high unemployment rate. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), as quoted by Ndebele (2017), 95% of Zimbabweans are informally employed. In addition, street vending has been worsened and became more pronounced since year 2000 due to disastrous economic policies introduced by the government that saw many industries closing down and people being retrenched. The slow rate of economic growth led to the influx of vendors into the city centres, especially Harare. Having been retrenched, and faced with the prospects of relocating to the rural areas where agricultural productivity is low, many former industry workers in Zimbabwe resorted to vending. This point is further supported by Njaya (2014c:94) who noted that development of the informal sector in Zimbabwe was necessitated by a number of factors which included the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) of 1990-1995, government's economic policies which were not favourable to foreign investment such as price controls, excessive printing of money, Indigenisation

and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA), and the fast track land reform programme which started in the 2000s and violently dispossessed commercial farmers from the land they had occupied for many decades. These policies resulted in massive disinvestment in both manufacturing industry and agricultural sector and rendered their workers jobless. The agricultural sector was destabilised, and the manufacturing sector which relied on its raw materials were destroyed. As a result, thousands of workers were made redundant, and eventually, were pushed into the streets. The mining sector was not spared and the nationalisation of mines by the government with its Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act led to the closure of most of them as government and individuals who 'invaded' them could not operate them. According to Munyuki (2020) the Act which came into force in April 2008 required all foreign companies to cede 51% of their share to indigenous people and retain 49% shareholding. The Act led to disinvestment and loss of foreign direct investment. More and more companies closed and employees resorted to street vending for survival.

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2015:82) noted that the last decade and a half saw the phenomenal increase in the volume of unlicensed street vending activities in urban centres caused by many factors such as the collapse of the economy which began in the late 1990s caused partly by mismanagement of the economy by the country's leadership and poor economic decisions. However, by 2015, the informal sector employed about 5.9 million people (Ndawana 2018:253). Rusvingo (2015:2) added that by 2015, Harare CBD had 20 000 street vendors.

The Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU 2015:1) contends that all Zimbabwe's major cities were dominated by informal sector and this was an indication of the declining economy. The RAU (2015:2) further argued that the majority of vendors were forced to join the informal sector after companies which employed them for the greater part of their working lives failed to pay their salaries while others shut down due to operational challenges.

Finscope Market Survey (2014) noted that the informalisation of the economy in Zimbabwe was a sign of the collapse of the formal sector. A female vendor who was interviewed by a research carried out by Rusvingo revealed that her husband, who was formerly employed as a chef for more than a decade at a city hotel had been

retrenched and street vending had become their only means of survival (Rusvingo 2015:974). Mangudhla and Mambo (2013) reported that 711 companies closed down in Harare between July 2011 and July 2013, rendering 8,336 individuals jobless. This points to the fact that the decline of the economy and the closure of companies forced people into street vending as a survival means. Njaya (2014a:96) remarks that the informalisation of the Zimbabwean economy was due to the poor economic policies by the Zimbabwean government.

In recent years, street vendors in Zimbabwe have included university and college graduates who could not find formal employment, which represents a country that is in deep economic crisis. The Vendor's Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation (Viset), which is an organisation which represents a section of street vendors noted that the state of the economy forced many people into street vending and these people will only leave the streets when the economy improves. The organisation reported that it has more than 100 000 street vendors registered under its name in Harare only (Ndebele 20 January 2017). In a report titled, "Unemployment and Economic Shrinkage: From University to the Street," VISET quoted by Kawaza (2016) noted that the majority of these members are university graduates and approximately 87 graduates were surviving on street vending in the country's major cities. Kuwaza (2016) further reported that even some post graduates who failed to secure formal jobs were turning to the streets for survival. She further reported that approximately 75% of the graduates have never been employed. This shows a changing dynamic on street vending whereby, traditionally, it was done by uneducated, unemployable and those retiring from formal employment who ventured into street vending but, currently, also involves educated university graduates who have never been employed formally.

There are various forms of street vendors. Some are full-time street vendors, whereas others are part time. Part-time vendors only sell in the evening after finishing formal work. Harare has a high number of street vendors who are selling almost everything ranging from mobile recharge cards, mobile phones, and electrical gadgets, to washing powder, bath soaps, blankets, and various groceries, among other goods. Street vendors are seen everywhere, in both public and private places including

churches, bus termini, pavements, commercial centres, sidewalks and open spaces. Some vendors are mobile, while others are fixed and have permanent places which they may have allocated themselves, or have been allocated by the city council. Some vendors sell their goods from car boots, especially in the evening and during weekends.

4.1.2 The Legality of Street Vending in Zimbabwe

The Hawkers and Street Vendors By-laws of 1978 guide vending in Zimbabwe. The by-laws are also embedded in the Urban Councils Act, Chapter 29:15, enacted on December 22, 1995. Njaya (2014a:96) postulates that street hawkers are restricted from conducting business for longer than 15 minutes in one place by Section 11 of these by-laws. Moreover, by-law Section 4(a) requires that persons who wish to conduct business as a hawker must apply for a hawker's license. The emphasis is on having a trading licence, not on hygiene and health. Harare Vendors' By-laws of 2014, contained in Statutory Instrument 159 of 2014 and published in the *Government Gazette*, empowers the council to designate land for vending purposes, register vendors, determine rates, regulate them, enforce by-laws and punish them for failing to observe the by-laws. Under the new by-laws, flea market operators are expected to pay US\$3 a day, while fruit, vegetable, airtime and newspaper vendors are expected to pay US\$1 a day (Interview with licenced street vendors, 15 May 2018).

Njaya (2014a:96) noted that vendors were required to pay for a license of 120 USD per annum. Vendors will be confined to a particular stall indicating the name of the applicant, and a period for which the permit is valid. The permit can be renewed on daily or monthly basis, but cannot be transferred to another person. Moreover, vendors are not allowed to erect permanent signs at the stands. Goods seized for violating the by-laws will be released after the payment of a fine, while goods not claimed after 30 days will be auctioned and, if the owner does not claim the money within 30 days, it will be forfeited to the council (Interview with unlicenced street vendor, 20 May 2018). There were concerns among vendors that the municipal police and regular police officers share confiscated goods among themselves. However, vendors continued to operate from undesignated places despite warnings from the council that they will be fined. Interviews with street vendors revealed that they do not pay for licences at

designated spaces because no-one comes to buy at designated points. Rather, vendors prefer to sell at undesignated sites in the city centre, despite being prohibited, because there is high volume of people and a big market in the city centre, unlike the designated points on the periphery of the town where no-one comes.

A member of the Harare Combined Residents' Association (HCRA), noted that the council has a robust by-law system, but there is a contradiction between the requirements of the law and the economic environment (Njaya 2014a:96). However, many people believe that the friction between street vendors and the council is an economic battle in which they are both fighting for their economic interests and survival.

4.2 Conflict between street vendors and urban councils in Zimbabwe

Urban authorities in Zimbabwe have been grappling with the rising phenomenon of street vending which, they argue, has caused both human and traffic congestion in the country's major city centres. They have also accused street vendors of littering the streets and selling illegal goods. Therefore, they are determined to end street vending through occasional raids and confiscation of vendors' products. Street vendors on the other hand view their trade as a survival strategy in an economic environment where there is no formal employment. Vendors have argued that vending is their only alternative economic activity and removing them from the streets is as good as taking away their livelihoods.

Mutami and Gambe (2015:127) highlighted that the massive de-industrialisation in Zimbabwe forced many people to eke out a living from the streets. In light of this, street vending presented a host of problems to the council and other city land users. In order to survive the streets, vendors used a variety of survival means, such as selling illegal material like pornographic material.

Mutami and Gambe (2015:126) further noted that the major bone of contention between street vendors and urban authorities is the location and the appropriateness of vending sites. Vendors locate themselves where they perceive that there is a good market share, where they think they are likely to get customers and shun designated vending sites. City authorities, on the other hand, allocate vending sites strategically in a manner that does not cause human and traffic congestion in the city centres.

However, these sites are shunned by street vendors due to the lack of customers. Hence, in an attempt to enforce city by-laws and, as vending at undesignated sites thus becomes illegal, conflict ensues, and running battles are unavoidable. The conflict sometimes turns nasty and violent, with goods confiscated and street vendors arrested, yet only to be released after paying an admission of guilt fine. Confiscated goods are supposed to be destroyed, though there are allegations that some municipal police loot the confiscated goods. Hence, there are occasional raids with authorities intending to benefit from the confiscated goods. Vendors are also increasingly displaying their goods along pavements and walkways, which has also caused conflict between street vendors and pedestrians who can no longer walk comfortably along walkways. Where they previously could walk side by side along walkways, today they are walking in a single file because both sides of walkways are now used by street vendors to display their goods.

This practice has also made it even difficult for pedestrians to pass each other and there have been calls by pedestrians for the urban authorities to remove the vendors who are blocking their walkways. Sometimes, pedestrians stumble upon the displayed goods, inviting the full wrath of the street vendors whose goods have been damaged. Pedestrians are often made to compensate for the damaged goods. Street vendors do not regard the fact that their displays of goods constitute a nuisance for pedestrians. The vendors become violent and sometimes attack pedestrians who fail to compensate for their damaged goods. This becomes another bone of contention between street vendors and council authorities who accuse vendors of causing congestion to human traffic. Efforts by the authorities to drive street vendors from the streets have yielded nothing, as the vendors continue to flood the streets because they claim that they do not have anywhere else to go.

Suffice it to say that the conflict between street vendors and Harare City Council is an economic conflict in which the former, on the one hand, are fighting to remain in the streets, whereas on the other hand, the latter is trying to regularise street vending so that they can create order in the city and derive revenue from organised vending. Currently, the City of Harare is not deriving any economic benefit as most vendors are not registered and are operating illegally.

4.3 The Negative Perception of Street Vendors in Zimbabwe's Media

Street vending has always been looked down upon in Zimbabwe as a trade for low class people who have not attained the required educational qualifications for formal employment. Hence, street vendors have always been looked down upon as uneducated, dirty, and unsuccessful people who barely make a meaningful living. Street vendors have been perceived as people who make the streets dirty, congested, and liable to criminal activities. The media in Zimbabwe has been at the forefront in lambasting and criticizing street vendors. Nyavaya (2015:3) noted that the Harare city town clerk, Tendai Mahachi, in trying to regulate vending in Harare's CBD area, issued an ultimatum to all vendors to use designated sites, failure of which they would be banned from operating in the capital. Nyavaya (2015) associated lawlessness with vendors as articulated by the Harare Town Clerk. However, NAVUZ Vice Chairperson, Douglas Shumbayaonda criticised the town clerk's ultimatum to vendors when he noted that,

Removing vendors from the streets is tantamount to saying, 'Go home and die.' Our stance remains the same. As long as the economy does not improve, and government is not willing to chip in and give a beneficial and conclusive resolution to the matter, our members will continue to trade at sites that suit them (Nyavaya 2015:3).

To support the negative perception of the informal sector, Kadirire (2017) noted that, formal shop owners in Harare refused to pay tax because of street vendors. Kadirire contends that Harare CBD shop operators boycotted paying rates to the Harare City Council arguing that the uncontrolled influx of street vendors was dampening their businesses. Shop owners alleged that street vendors were eating into their profits as some would sell the same products as in the shops right in front of their shops at lower prices as they did not pay any tax or rates to the city council. Vendor (2015) reported that former Zimbabwean Vice President Phelekezela Mphoko touched a storm when accused vendors of being lazy by engaging in jobs befitting disabled persons. Street vendors reacted angrily to the Vice President's comments, and accused him of being out of touch with reality: that they were in the streets not out of their choice, but as the only option left for them to eke out a living.

Mbanje (2015:4) also weighed in with a negative perception when he wrote that street butcheries have sprouted in Harare, some of which sold uninspected meat which could lead to an outbreak of diseases. Mbanje suspected the meat sold by vendors to be uninspected but there was no evidence of that. The mere fact that meat was sold in the streets, to him, meant that the meat was uninspected and had been acquired illegally. Mbanje (2015) further asserted that the vendors traded their goods on the pavements after 5 p.m, having full knowledge that council police which enforces by-laws would have knocked off. The Harare City Council Health Director, Prosper Chonzi, stated that,

We have not been able to get the mobile street butcheries off the streets because they are everywhere and many. They leave a trail of garbage on the streets and this contributes to disease outbreaks which become expensive to manage for the cash-strapped Harare City Council (Mbanje 2015:4).

HCC was mainly concerned with the garbage that the vendors leave as highlighted by HCC Health Director.

In another show of negative perception of street vending, Kanambura (2015:11) confirmed to have seen a street vendor relieving himself behind a parked commuter omnibus and proceeded to arrange his fruit products without washing his hands, casting doubts about the hygiene status of food products sold on the streets. Kanambura further notes that, for years, the streets of Harare have been dominated by unlicensed vendors who have made it impossible for the city council to regulate them because of their sheer numbers and disregard for city by- laws. His article blames street vendors for turning the city centre into a jungle, a negative perception which has the capacity to influence urban authorities to act against street vendors.

Kanambura (2015) also argued that some street vendors have introduced a new innovation into their trade where they are advertising their wares through loud speakers. Kanambura noted that this has proved to be a continual nuisance for the residents due to the unending noise that these gadgets generate. However, this creativity by vendors was unpopular with others such as opposition politician, Shame Mukoshori who was quoted by Kanambura saying that if he was elected the mayor of Harare, he would chase vendors from the streets because they were making a lot of

noise in the city centre with their loud speakers and enhanced megaphones. Chidavaenzi (2015:12) asserted that street vendors have littered the pavements with their goods to attract the attention of pedestrians. In the process, they have made it difficult for pedestrians to walk side by side as vendors have occupied both sides of the pavements. Chidavaenzi further accused vendors of being noisy as claimed by Kanambura previously and rubbish in the city has been increased by the presence of vendors. A pedestrian he interviewed said that Harare streets have been turned into a jungle and noisy with vendors shouting on top of their voices for clients and sometimes using loud speakers. The pedestrian further lamented that Harare used to be smart but was now dirty due to vendors who have occupied every space in the CBD (Chidavaenzi 2015:12).

4.4 Strategies to Regulate Street Vendors in Harare

Although street vendors have occupied Zimbabwe's main cities in huge numbers, the nature of their business has not been adequately comprehended (Njaya 2014:50). Urban development policies have not been able to keep abreast with the dynamic socio- economic and political environment and to include street vending in urban planning. A consideration of street vending activities in urban planning would ensure a win-win outcome for both street vendors and urban authorities. Street vending in Zimbabwe is mostly illegal and is only allowed in certain designated zones. According to Njaya (2014a:96), the majority of street vendors are operating as unlicensed vendors in Harare. Urban authorities have carried out several operations which involved forceful evictions and confiscating vendors' goods to stop them from operating illegally. However, Njaya (2014a:94) asserts that, despite these operations, street vendors continued operate illegally. Street vendors have often argued that they do not have any other alternative to vending. Evicting them from the streets will not solve the problem, because they will simply resurface as vending is their only option for survival. They are feeding families and sending children to school through street vending because there are no formal jobs. The formal economy has not been able to create jobs for them, so evicting them from the streets is like sending them into the grave because they derive their livelihoods from the streets.

The government and urban authorities have responded to street vending through harassing and forcefully removing them from the streets. Manayiti and Langa (2017) highlighted that on 13th October 2017, the day in which vendors and HCC, the latter backed by ZRP clashed, the latter maintained a heavy presence in Harare CBD as they continued with their clampdown on street vendors in an operation of clearing the capital's streets of vendors which started a week after then Zimbabwean President complained of chaos in the CBD. Manayiti and Langa further asserted that the police deployed water cannons at strategic places in anticipation of a backlash from the vendors. During the operation, VISET recorded that four of its members had been injured and several arrested by the police. VISET leader, Samuel Wadzai, was quoted by Manayiti and Langa (2017) saying that vendors had nowhere to go, and would not be intimidated by the police presence in the streets. He vowed that they will not leave their undesignated vending sites until such a time when council has provided them with enough sites that are equipped with amenities that include ablutions.

Njaya (2014a:96) writes that the City of Harare issued hawkers' licences to food vendors as a way of regulating them. The license is administered by the Public Health Act, Chapter 15.09 and the Food and Food Standards Act, Chapter 15.04. They regulate and restrict the location and type of food that can be sold. However, Njaya (2014a:96) observes that these two pieces of legislation originated from the colonial administration and were intended to prolong the monopoly of white capital against emerging small back owned businesses which were only allowed to operate subject to the fulfilment of the prescribed strict standards. The Harare (Hawkers) By- Laws (2013) cited by Mbanje (2013) state that, "No person shall engage another to carry on the business of hawking unless he or she is in possession of a valid hawker's employer's licence." This strict by- law is seen as a continuation of the colonial legislation which was meant to control the number of hawkers operating at a given time despite the country having attained independence and the majority of its people operating as informal traders.

According to Njaya (2014a:96) the total cost of a hawkers licence was US\$120 per annum, and it was a requirement that the licence specified the number of hawkers that the holder of the licence could employ. The regulations further stipulate that, while

conducting their business, hawkers shall not remain stationary for more than 15 minutes. Njaya (2014a:96, Mbanje 2013) noted that council retained the right to renew or not renew a hawker's licence subject to the hawker not affecting any other business operating in the same area. If the council believes that the activities of the hawker would affect the smooth functioning of any other established business in the area, then the council would not renew the hawker's licence. This made it possible for council authorities to be involved in corrupt activities in renewing and issuing hawker's licences.

Some street vendors have opted to sell their wares during the night. A street vendor who was interviewed noted that he has decided to sell his goods at night so that his goods are not confiscated by municipal police (Ndebele 2017). He added that he had decided to avoid selling during the day as there were more chances of his goods being confiscated during the day than at night. Municipal police working hours range from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Ironically, Harare city centre has become congested after 5 p.m. when vendors take advantage of the absence of the municipal police. During a tour of Harare's streets, the researcher witnessed vendors selling a wide variety of goods. Night life in Harare has become so busy with vendors selling a variety of goods.

Chidavaenzi (2015) argued that the City of Harare had introduced daily rates for vendors that ranged from US\$1 to US\$3, which the Harare Municipal Communications officer, Michael Chideme, admitted were not punitive enough to discourage vendors' continued influx into the city centre. This study established that the daily rates are no longer in place but the council had set up monthly and annual rates for those vendors who had acquired licences but the unlicensed ones were not paying any form of tax either to the government or to the urban authority. Nyavava (2015:3) suggested that there could be order in Harare CBD if vendors used designated sites. But logistical reasons cited by vendors militated against this idea. In April 2015, Matenga (2015a) and Rusvingo (2015) reported that the troubled HCC had set up a committee to evaluate the issue of street vending and advise the authorities accordingly. This study made a follow up on the committee set up and highlighted that the committee needed to incorporate vendors so that it can address the issues raised by vendors.

Mutami and Gambe (2015:128) revealed that the Harare City Council has used different mechanisms to deal with the increasing challenges of unlicensed street vending. Firstly, the council promulgated Statutory Instrument (SI) 260 of 1994. Under this SI, informal businesses were recognised and legalised including hair salons, vegetable markets, barber shops and carpentry. However, these informal activities were to be located on the periphery of the city centre under this SI.

Mutami and Gambe (2015:128) asserted that the period 2000 to 2009 witnessed another wave of street vending which was different from the previous wave. This was the time when economic conditions in the country reached an all-time low. Urban authorities aided by the country's security forces responded to the proliferation of street vendors by unleashing riot and municipal police to arrest vendors who operated at undesignated points. This heavy handed approach has occasionally been criticised by human rights groups and opposition parties.

Some urban planners have argued that the current economic situation in which there were no formal jobs and people resorting to vending to make a living would make it difficult for the HCC to enforce its by-laws. They argue that turning a blind eye for now until the economic situation improves will be the best approach. Another group of urban planners believes that, rather than moving vendors to designated sites, they should maintain their illegal selling points and be levied and issued with vending licences from those points. In this way, urban authorities can benefit from the revenue raised from these vendors at undesignated sites to build permanent structures that could be used by vendors. However, others have highlighted difficulties that are likely to be encountered as most street vendors are mobile, and it will be difficult to track and levy all of them. There is no doubt that the increasing number of street vendors in the city centre has presented headaches for the urban authorities. They seem not to be able to find a win-win approach to dealing with the rising phenomenon of street vending. For now, running battles and enforcement of by-laws as well as encouraging street vendors to operate at designated points seem to be the city authority's favoured approaches – but with little success.

Mutami and Gambe (2015:128) concluded that vending provided an important alternative means of living under the current economic environment where there is

lack of economic growth and development, hence what is needed is for the transformative approach which incorporated street vending into urban development strategy and treat vending as a means of social protection. Devereux (2001) noted that a transformative social protection system seeks to empower the marginalised and impoverished groups in society by changing the system which perpetuates power imbalances into a new system which allows the marginalised groups access to opportunities that enhance their livelihoods. Therefore, it becomes important for urban planners to transform the discriminatory and repressive system that denies the urban poor opportunities to carry out their economic activities through vending into a new system that recognises and empowers these marginalised people to enhance their resilience and livelihoods. Hence, the need to be sensitive to the interests of the urban poor who are trying to make a living from the streets.

In October 2017, the then President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, ordered a crackdown on street vendors, urging the urban authority in Harare to restore order in the city (Razemba 2017). He argued that the city of Harare had become filthy due to the influx of unregulated street vendors, whom he accused of creating chaos in the city centre. Following a subsequent crackdown on vendors by the authorities, the Economic Justice for Women Project (EJWP) condemned the brutality of both the government and HCC against the vendors. EJWP (16 October 2017) asserted that the crackdown on street vendors is a testimony that the government had failed to recognise the importance of street vending in an environment that was characterised by limited mainstream economic opportunities. Despite the crackdown on vendors by urban authorities, Njaya (2015:98) pointed out that street vending had become a key feature in the Zimbabwean mainstream economy, such that the Medium Term plan (2011-2015) estimated that the informal sector contributed 60 percent of the country's GDP and 50 percent of employment. The EJWP (16 October 2017) argued that street vendors have brought competition to established businesses and as a result helped to stabilise prices of basic commodities. To further document the importance of the informal sector in Zimbabwe's economy, Finscope (2012:18) survey established that the informal sector in Zimbabwe contributed 63.5% of the country's GDP and employing more than five million people. EJWP further revealed that goods sold by vendors are way cheaper than those sold in formal shops, regardless of their source

and quality. The EJWP views the attempts to remove vendors from the streets as a way of protecting established businesses such as international supermarkets from competition from vendors so that they maintain their monopoly, a practice which it deemed unfair on vendors. The EJWP further stated that driving street vendors off the streets was not the solution but what was needed was for the government and urban authorities to broaden their sights and analyse the impact of their approach to marginalised groups in society like vendors, and not to limit it to just a clean Harare. The EJWP argued that, although they acknowledged the need to create sanity in Harare, urban authorities also needed to acknowledge that times had changed and, hence, their focus should also change by incorporating informal sector in their planning and embrace this sector than to alienate it as it had become a major component of the economy. Hence the forced removal of vendors by HCC was not the solution according to EJWP.

4.5 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business' mantra and street vending under the new dispensation

In November 2017, the then President Robert Mugabe, was forced to resign by the military citing state capture by members of a ZANU PF party faction popularly known as the G40 (Generation 40) with the aim of uplifting the President's wife into the succession race to succeed the ailing Mugabe. The G40 agenda was perceived as an attempt to alienate the war veterans and the long-term assistant to the President, the then Vice President, Emerson Mnangagwa, backed by the military, from succeeding Mugabe (Rogers 2019). The military and war veterans who staged a putsch against Mugabe claimed that they were targeting the cabal around the president that had taken advantage of his advanced age to push for their political and economic fortunes. The military then replaced Mugabe with his former deputy Emmerson Mnangagwa, who earlier on had been fired from his position as Vice President of the government and party.

As these events began to unfold, the army mobilised people to go into the streets to force the President to resign. People all over the country obliged to this call, and went to the streets in their numbers in Harare and Bulawayo, the country's two major cities on 17 November 2017 (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, August 2019).

Amongst all these people were street vendors who had experienced some evictions and crackdown under Mugabe's rule. They hoped that a new government would advance their fortunes as compared to the Mugabe era where they were harassed and had their goods confiscated. They also hoped that the new administration would create a conducive economic environment for them to make more profits. Many vendors also hoped that a new government would attract the much needed foreign direct investment that would lift the economy and create jobs for them.

The new administration under President Mnangagwa came in with a new philosophy that was different from the Mugabe era. They preached a 'Zimbabwe is open for business' mantra, and promised all Zimbabweans that the coming in of the new government was the dawn of a new era, that they were committed to opening opportunities for all Zimbabweans, a commitment to re-engage with the West and that external investors were welcome (BBC, 24 November 2017). However, any hopes that street vendors had for the improvement in their fortunes were dashed when the new government ordered street vendors operating without permits and at undesignated sites to vacate the streets in January 2018. There were running battles between street vendors and urban authorities backed by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) across the country's major cities (Dzirutwe 2018). Street vendors' experiences during this crackdown were worse than the previous administration. There was heavy handedness in the current administration's handling of street vendors. Unlike the previous Mugabe regime, the new government unleashed the army into the streets to drive out street vendors who operated at undesignated sites (Dzirutwe 2018). Vendors lost their goods in vast quantities as never before. They were given a 24-hour ultimatum to vacate the streets, failure of which they were threatened with unspecified action. The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) is dreaded for its ruthlessness.

Yet this did not deter street vendors from continuing their activities as usual, and some of them highlighted that, should they be chased away or violently removed, they will retaliate. Some of them carried stones in their bags in case of an attack, and they would retaliate violently. They called for the new government to provide them with jobs if they want them to leave the streets. Organisations representing the street vendors

also supported the vendors, and urged the government to consider their plight rather than simply chase them from the streets. They urged the government and urban authorities to avail more vending sites, and to remove stringent conditions in applying for vending licences. They lamented the fact that there are more than 50 000 street vendors in Harare, but the space provided as vending sites was less than 2 000 sites in the city centre (Ndebele, 20 January 2017). City authorities argued that they could not cater for 50 000 people since there is limited space in the city centre. The 24-hour ultimatum given to the vendors expired with no lasting solution in sight. Speaking on the ultimatum, one vendor said,

I cannot let the fear of the municipal police destroy my only source of income. If I just sit at home, where will I get money for school fees for my kids, let alone what will they eat? I have to remain here if I am to earn a living (Ndebele, 20 January 2017).

However, the new government backtracked from its earlier stance to regularise street vending. 2018 was an election year, and some political analysts advised the new government that they needed to give street vendors a free reign if they needed support from this constituency. National harmonised elections were held on 30th July 2018 and, since the skirmishes in January 2018, there were no more clashes between the new government and street vendors until elections were held. Disorder in the Harare city centre became the norm because of the high volume of street vendors who had been given a free reign. Vendors became a law unto themselves, blocking some streets with their vending scotch carts. Vendors have become a major constituency for both the new government and the opposition MDC which runs the City of Harare. Between January and August 2018, vendors had a free reign; they became untouchable (Observation by researcher 2018). No political party wanted to upset this strong constituency, which is said to have numbered half a million countrywide.

On 26th July 2018, the President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, organized a conference where he wanted to address street vendors in Harare (Share 2018). However, he failed to attend the conference due to other commitments, and sent one of his ministers to deliver a speech on his behalf. The speech promised vendors that the new government was committed to working with them, and wanted to boost their

businesses through the provision of loans. The new government, he said in his speech read on his behalf, was committed to creating conditions for street vendors to grow their businesses (Share 2018). The conference was well attended, and vendors welcomed the new government's efforts in trying to help them to improve their businesses. However, the opposition dismissed this government gesture as a political gimmick meant to win votes, and warned the vendors that the government should not be trusted as it had failed to walk their talk in most of its promises in the past. They encouraged street vendors to vote for the opposition which would improve investment and employment opportunities. They argued that this was the only way in which the problem of street vending could be resolved.

4.6 Post-Election Violence in Harare: Street Vendors Implicated

Two days after the 30th July, 2018 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe, there was post-election violence in Harare when MDC Alliance supporters rioted in the streets citing electoral irregularities and alleged rigging by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) in favour of ZANU PF, the ruling party (Human Rights Watch, 3 August 2018). This was after the announcement of parliamentary results which showed that ZANU PF was on a landslide two thirds majority victory in parliament. Adding to the tension was the fact that the Presidential result was delayed. With the opposition MDC Alliance claiming victory in the presidential race, MDC Alliance supporters took to the streets and protested what they termed a stolen election, rigged in favour of ZANU PF.

Opposition supporters stormed ZEC offices and demanded the immediate release of Presidential results which they believed were being doctored in favour of the ruling party candidate. The protest turned violent when opposition supporters started to damage property including stoning and burning cars at ZANU PF headquarters. The riot police were overpowered and soldiers were called in to restore order. Six people were shot dead and several others were injured, allegedly by soldiers (Human Rights Watch, 3 August 2018). This crackdown on demonstrators drew international condemnation for the heavy handedness of the military response. A Police spokesperson held a press conference and blamed opposition supporters for the violence and resultant deaths which followed. She claimed that the opposition

supporters were seen drinking alcohol before they engaged in violence. She also noted that, among the active participants in the ensuing violence, were street vendors who, unfortunately, joined in the violence. However, it is unfortunate that vendors were implicated in this political violence when they were innocent bystanders.

4.7 Street Vending in Post-Election Zimbabwe: Destruction of Vendors' Stalls in Harare

A few days after the 2018 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe, street vendors were shocked to find their stalls, where some used to display their goods in the Harare city centre – a place commonly known as Copacabana – had been destroyed by a combined operation between the Harare City Council and the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA). The operation was carried out at night, only for vendors to find that their stalls had been demolished the following day when they reported for work. There was no communication with street vendors regarding this operation. Some vendors who had left their wares at the place where they sell could not locate their wares. Harare city spokesperson, Michael Chideme, confirmed the developments, noting that this was in line with Harare's attempt to decongest the city centre and to make sure that street vendors sell at designated sites on the periphery of the city centre. However, the National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe Chairman Stan Zvorwadza appealed to the City of Harare to inform the Union of the whereabouts of vendors' wares which were confiscated during the night demolitions. He was quoted saying that,

In the context of the event that led to the destruction of informal workers' vending stalls, we all want to agree that the City of Harare should at least confirm if the operation was sanctioned. We also want to call upon the council to tell us what they are going to do in terms of ensuring that all the wares confiscated are secure and beneficiaries of these products will not lose any of their wares because, in the past, we have had a situation where goods were confiscated but we could not trace them (Hove et al. 2019:1).

Zvorwadza lamented that street vendors have lost their wares many times when raided by the City Council, and there was need for the council to create measures that will ensure that vendors recover their wares after they have paid the required fine. In most cases, they fail to locate their wares, and no-one is held responsible for the loss.

He lamented this as unfair for vendors who continue to lose their goods when all they are doing is trying to earn a living. There was however, no response from the City Council to Zvorwadza's comments on the security of vendors' wares (Hove *et al.* 2019:1).

The ongoing struggle between street vendors and HCC continued in January 2019 when the council embarked on a clean-up campaign which destroyed structures used by vendors across Harare's suburbs and the dormitory town of Chitungwiza. It is not clear who instructed the council to undertake this exercise known as *Murambatsvina* (Operation Restore Order). *Murambatsvina* was a programme that was carried out by the government of Zimbabwe in 2005 to clear filthy and illegal structures in all urban areas. It was deemed to be a violation of human rights as it resulted in many urban dwellers losing accommodation and property because of the brutal manner in which it was conducted which seemed to punish urban people for voting for the opposition MDC. When the HCC destroyed informal traders infrastructure in the aftermath of 2018 elections, the Mayor of Harare denied that the directive to destroy structures used by vendors emanated from his office. He further denied that the HCC was embarking on *Murambatsvina* and noted that,

We have no decision to embark on Murambatsvina. In the morning, the meeting I participated in resolved not to. Technocrats are now aware of the need to deal with illegalities with a human face, even if it means following directives (Machaya 2019).

4.7.1 Typhoid and Cholera Outbreak in Harare and Gweru

Ruwende and Chikoto (2018) reported that, due to the outbreak of two deadly health diseases, typhoid and cholera, in Harare and Gweru, the two city councils appealed to vendors to voluntarily vacate the streets to support their efforts in trying to manage the outbreak of the diseases. NAVUZ also encouraged vendors to heed the call by city councils to vacate the streets as they battle the diseases which, by that time, had claimed more than 30 lives. The government also declared a state of disaster as it tried to intervene to help the fight against the diseases. The NAVUZ president said,

Health threats posed by cholera need to be addressed quickly. However, there can only be a permanent solution to the problem of street vending

when informal traders develop the solution themselves. Any solution for them without their involvement will not be successful. Previous attempts to solve the issue of vending without involving the informal traders have turned violent and not yielded the desired results, and illegal street vending has increased drastically. This is a fact and on record. It does not pay to keep on repeating the same methodology and hope to get different results. NAVUZ proposes a grass-roots based strategy to deal with urban vending in a non-confrontational approach that is rooted in persuasion and participatory methodology to solve the vending issue, which is prevalent in most urban areas (Ruwende and Chikoto 2018).

It should be noted that, for the first time, the city councils and vendors' associations united to try to persuade the vendors to move out of the streets to pave the way for cleaning the cities in an effort to fight the twin outbreaks. However, this was resisted by vendors as, without selling in the streets, vendors would not survive.

4.7.2 Cholera Outbreak: Vendors Blamed

There were violent clashes in Harare's CBD as police and municipal officials launched a blitz against the vendors in a bid to drive them out of the city to contain the spread of deadly cholera disease which, at that point, had killed more than 30 people. Harare City Council Corporate Affairs Manager, Michael Chideme, said that HCC was fighting cholera by making sure that vendors were removed from undesignated selling points and putting them on designated sites (Ruwende and Chikoto 2018).

NAVUZ chairperson, Stan Zvorwadza, further lamented that violent removal of vendors from the streets had failed to work in the past and will not work again this time and in the future. He called on government and HCC to hold dialogue with street vendors and increase vendors' participation in relocating them. He said,

This process of removing informal workers from the streets should be through dialogue, and they should voluntarily leave the streets, rather than through confrontation. Confrontation has not worked in the past; it has failed so many times; it will still fail again (Dzingire and Nyambayo 2018).

Vendors who were interviewed by Dzingire and Nyambayo said chasing them away from the streets will not solve anything as they survived from vending. One of the vendors said,

By chasing us and taking away our wares, the government will increase the crime rate and prostitution, because we people want to fend for our families. We have no other means of making money as there are no jobs in the country. I am not here because I am not educated, but this is the only option I have to put bread on the table for my children. We are not even aware of the designated sites the council is talking about (Dzingire and Nyambayo 2018).

However, the council defended its move, saying it tried to persuade vendors to move off the streets voluntarily but they did not heed the call, so they were left with no option but to take this confrontational approach. This conflict seems to be a vicious cycle with no ending in sight. This researcher continued to engage both parties to find a lasting peaceful solution to this intractable conflict.

4.8 Summary

The literature reviewed here pointed out that street vending is pervasive in both developing and developed countries, but is more pronounced in developing countries like Zimbabwe where it has provided a form of employment and livelihood for both the educated and uneducated, young and old. However, in most countries street vending has not been recognized as an important form of livelihood; hence, the occasional confrontation between street vendors and urban authorities. Conflict between vendors and urban authorities in Zimbabwe stems from the use of public urban space but mostly where urban authorities designate places for vending that are not favourable to the vendors who shun them and return to their undesignated sites. Vendors in Zimbabwe also claimed that there are no designated sites in town, hence they sell at undesignated sites. Vendors flood the streets as a result of the lack of formal jobs as vending is the only option available to them. Urban authorities in Zimbabwe have responded using violence against the influx of street vendors on the streets. The following chapter discusses the research methodology and design used in this study.

Chapter 5: Research Design and Methodology

Research is a craft. It takes practice, practice and more practice (Bernard 2006:1).

5.0 Introduction

This chapter outlined the plan and approach that was utilised in this study, with specific consideration being paid to the exploration approach, sampling techniques, information assortment, information analysis, moral concerns, and the methods that were followed to guarantee the believability and validity of research findings.

The chapter began with the research approach, which was action oriented. The study went on to define action research, the background, the philosophical underpinnings of action research, its goals, types, challenges faced in implementing it in this study and why it was relevant in this study. The chapter also presented the research plan which outlined how the data was assorted, population sample, sampling techniques used to select participants and data collection tools that were used in this study which included in-depth interviews, observation and focus group discussions.

5.1.0 Research Approach

The choice to pick a particular research approach ought to be founded on its appropriateness to respond to investigate research questions. This study adopted an action research approach which is qualitative in nature basically because of its capacity to encourage involvement of participants in social change through empowering members to assume various roles in distinguishing, structuring and executing an intervention to a current social issue. In this study, conflict between street vendors and HCC was the existing social problem. Studies on street vendors in Zimbabwe have been carried out previously, but there is a gap which this study sought to fill which is the use of action research to help transform relationships between street vendors and the City of Harare. However, it is important to appreciate what action research is, and the next section dwells on that.

5.1.1 What is Action Research?

Action research is an endeavour to manage real or imagined circumstances that require transformation and change. Action research is otherwise called Participatory Action Research (PAR). Koshy (2010: 1) notes that action research is a strategy utilised for improving practice. It includes activity, assessment and basic reflection and, in view of the proof accumulated, changes are then transformed into actualised activity. Action research overcomes any barriers between hypothesis and reasonable critical thinking by adapting to the exploratory and progressive philosophy. The focal point of action research is on 'doing with' rather than 'accomplishing for' or on behalf of participants (Greenwood and Levin 2007:3). The reason for undertaking action research is to realise change in clear and unequivocal situations (Parkin 2009). Action research is grounded at the claim that actual global issues require real world answers, and such answers cannot be imposed from outside or assumed but, alternatively, have to emerge from the affected people themselves. This cultivates a feeling of possession to the outcomes that emerge.

In this study, the researcher worked with the affected groups that is, street vendors who are suffering from evictions and victimisation, vendors' associations who fight for vendors to remain on the streets and the Harare city authorities, to promote dialogue and find a win-win solution which is favourable to all parties. At the same time, the researcher also worked with the city authorities to find a solution to the challenges of street vending which they perceived to have brought chaos to the city. The researcher advocated dialogue among the conflict parties, but did not intend to impose solutions on them. This is the purpose of action research, as argued by Greenwood and Levin: that action research is focused on collaborating with participants than acting on behalf of participants.

Action research is context-certain and participative. It is a continuous learning process wherein the researcher learns and additionally shares the newly generated understanding with individuals who may also benefit from it. Cohen and Manion (1994: 192) assert that action research is an 'on-the-spot' method designed to address real problems placed in a direct state of affairs. This means a gradual process that is constantly monitored over various durations of time and by an expansion of

mechanisms. The resulting remarks may be translated into modifications, adjustments, and redefinitions as important, on the way to bringing about lasting benefit to the continued process itself, rather than to some future occasion.

Waterman *et al.* (2001:4) defined action research as a period of enquiry which describes, translates and explains social situations whilst executing interventions geared towards change, improvement and involvement. Action research is problem-centred, context-unique and future-oriented. It is a set activity with an express fee basis, and is based on a partnership among action researchers and members, all of whom participate in the process. It is a dynamic method in which challenge identification, making plans, movement, and intervention assessment are interlinked. Knowledge can be advanced through reflection and research, and each qualitative and quantitative method can be employed to accumulate data. Different sorts of know-how can be produced by means of sensible and propositional action research. Theory may be generated and polished, and its hands-on application explored via cycles of the action research technique.

The ontological assumptions of action research are primarily based on the perception that action researchers view themselves as agents of social change attempting to promote values based on the interlink between the researcher and the environment. McNiff and Whitehead (2006: 35) pointed out that practices of action researchers are progressive as they ask how they are able to learn to improve social practices. The epistemological basis for action research is that the production of knowhow is an incessant activity, and so it is not feasible to finalise on anything. McNiff and Whitehead (2006: 36) in addition contend that, within the social sciences, knowledge production is a social procedure, and all solutions should be considered as temporary and biased towards social analysis.

Action research involves three important stages: that is, planning, exploration and evaluation. Action research is also cyclical. It involves action, assessment or appraisal and critical thinking. The planning stage involves exploring the problem. In this study, the planning stage involves finding out what the problem is, the nature of the problem, the causes of the problem, extent and consequences of the problem between the street vendors and HCC as well as suggesting ways of dealing with the problem. The

next stage involved an analysis and exploration of documents and literature on the conflict between the two parties, as well as conducting interviews with the concerned parties to identify the problem, its nature, the causes, extent and consequences for both parties. During this stage, again, an exploration of what measures have been employed so far to deal with the problem was undertaken, as well as an evaluation of the effectiveness of the measures or approaches made to deal with the problem. An intervention approach was then observed, during which the observations were made to compare them with the overall findings of the whole process, measuring the effectiveness of interventions implemented.

This study does not declare to have all answers to the relations between street vendors and HCC. However, the inclusive nature of action research augers well for the study, which sought to transform relationships between parties in this study that were characterised by violence and suspicion. In order to improve and transform these relations, an action research method was utilised which concentrated on collective interaction and transformation. Group dialogue involving various stakeholders was explored with the hope of a likely outcome of a common position among the stakeholders. The objectives of the study are: (1) To explore the nature, causes, extent and consequences of the relationship between the two parties; (2) To identify and evaluate efforts made so far in improving relations; (3) To design and implement an intervention aimed at transforming relationships between the two conflict parties; and (4) To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the designed and implemented intervention.

5.1.2 Philosophical basis of this Research

Research work creates understanding and this know-how is derived from quite a number of methods. The approach that a selected research employs may also vary in keeping with the context of the study, the researcher's values, the strategies used, as well as the methods utilised by the researcher. Assumptions and ideals which guide the researcher alongside the route to conducting studies and interpreting statistics are guided via the researcher's concern about the subject and beliefs. Action research is a selected approach of carrying out research with the intention of improving and bringing about change in unique settings. Lincoln and Guba (1990) point out that,

whilst carrying out any sort of research, consideration of the researcher's philosophical stance or world view is vital. Creswell (2009: 6) describes a worldview as a preferred disposition orientation about the world and the nature of the study that the researcher is conducting. This study adopted a post- positivist paradigm or philosophy which is based on the views that it is difficult for the researcher to obtain an unbiased and external reality because the researcher belongs to a society which has certain values which are acceptable (Yang 2006, Yu 2001). These values affect his/her worldview. Morris (1999) postulates that social issues like this study are complex and interconnected making it impossible for the researcher to control all elements that interrelate with each other. In this philosophy, it is expected that the researcher work together with participants that are part of his or her research. In this study, the researcher was guided by the need to change the social relationships and justice between street vendors and HCC as a peace researcher; hence, the adoption of an action research which worked with the participants rather than for them to reach a solution that is mutually agreed and supported by the parties in conflict. This study was influenced by the researcher's world view to change the existing situation from hostility between members of society into cooperation and peaceful co-existence. My world view which was guided by peaceful resolution of conflicts influenced me to undertake this research which aimed to transform relationships between these two having realised that there was so much violence going on between them.

With the post – positivist paradigm the researcher does not claim superior authority over participants but rather the researcher is a learner, flexible and open minded (Ryan 2006:19). The conclusion reached in this study is not final and is subject to change as it could be affected by many factors such as time, political events and the general environment. Therefore, the results cannot be generalised but can inform similar future studies.

5.1.2.2 Interpretivism

According to Interpretivists, the world is too complex to be fixed to a set of explicit rules and conclude on less crucial issues than having information about the real situations behind the reality (Gray 2004). Interpretivism as a theoretical standpoint seeks to comprehend an occurrence from the viewpoint of those who experience it.

The researcher have to infer the occasion, understand the technique of knowledge creation and monitor what meanings are embodied in human beings' actions (Schwandt 1998). The study sought to find out the biased meanings or constructions which motivated the actions of the participants to comprehend those actions in a way that makes sense and understood by the participants themselves. The researcher observed data, which he accumulated with his own worldview and analysed it using his own worldview. So any researcher cannot profess to be sure that he understood the truth appropriately or his understanding was more substantial than others (Schutt 2006). In this way, there is not just a single reality in social world, but researchers comprehend issues in various ways that differ from each other (Rubin and Rubin 1995). In this study the researcher sought to interpret the phenomenon of street vending guided by the views of those who live it (street vendors and other actors). The researcher also sought to understand the meanings that are embodied in the various actors in the street vending phenomenon. From the information I collected from participants, I made analysis of it and interacted with the participants to design together with the participants interventions that sought to end the conflict and transform relationships among them.

5.1.3 The Participatory Paradigm

Waterman *et al.* (2001) express that the participatory methodology emerged from a craving to democratise research with the point of empowering individuals who may ordinarily be rejected from the procedure to really be included, along these lines making it participatory. In this study the aim is to include street vendors in decision making on matters that affect them such as allocation and location of vending sites which traditionally has been the prerogative of the city of Harare. Moreover, the aim is to obviate the general view that research is exploitative and exclusionary to participants. This worldview wants social improvement by being involved in one's circumstance so as to transform it (Meyer 1995). Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) contend that, to examine a field means to transform it, and that field is changed so as to analyse or study it. Action research is situated in the participatory worldview as it is community oriented, setting boundaries and includes activities which are intended to change local circumstances. Stringer (2004: 3) noted that action researchers participate in cautious, persevering enquiry, not to find new realities or to change

acknowledged laws or hypothesis, but to accumulate data, having viable application to the remedies of explicit issues identified with their work. In this study, action research sought to change the existing relationships between street vendors and HCC characterised by violence and persecution of vendors over the use of urban space.

5.2 Action Research: Background

The work of Lewin (1946) is often regarded as the landmark in the development of action research as a methodology. The reason for action research was to apply social theories created in the social sciences and assess their viability by utilising trial strategies. Corey (1953) applied action investigation into educational issues in the US (Koshy *et al.* 2010:4). In Britain, the utilisation of action research can be traced back to the Schools Council's Curriculum Project (1967-72) which stressed experimental educational program and reconceptualisation of educational program improvement (Hopkins 2002). The point was to develop better educational programs for schools and enhance the viability of education by giving instructors research roles. In this period action research started to depend more on post-positivism and interpretivism system (Carr 2006). To this, Stenhouse (1975) included the intrigue of action research in the United Kingdom to examining the hypothesis and practice of teaching and the educational plan. Educational action research has also impacted action research in medicinal services settings.

5.2.1 Goals of Action Research

Action research is not content with simply distinguishing an issue, expressing potential causes, and suggesting solutions. The essential objective of action research is to recognise the issue, and afterward to work with members in discovering answers for the issue. Along these lines, action research includes five stages (Johnson 2008:8):

- Ask an inquiry, recognize an issue, or outline an area of investigation. Figure out what it is that you need to consider. In this study, action research identified the problem as the conflict between street vendors and HCC because of many contradictions.
- Decide what information ought to be gathered and how? Data in this study was collected using a variety of methods such as interviews, focus group discussions, and observation

- Collect and examine the information
- Describe how the discoveries from the information collected can be utilised.
- Make arrangements for activities based on action research.
- Finally report and offer your discoveries and plan for activities with others.

Action research does not end with perceiving or sharing revelations to prepare for action, but goes further to design, to implement an intervention and, finally, to evaluate the intervention. Action research follows a recurrent procedure as opposed to direct features of other research designs. The repetitive nature of action research empowers a similar analysis to quantify the viability of an intervention through a before-and-after analysis. During the interventions, explicit perceptions are recognised so as to synchronise them with the general discoveries of the whole cycle or procedure. Changes are identified which may be positive or negative. Differences in key variables prior to and after the intervention are noted. In the event of a negative change, an investigation is done so that corrective actions can be embraced and the cycle can restart, since action research is done by learning. Mistakes in the first cycle give important insights of recognising what to do and what not to do in the following cycle. There is reflection on what could have caused failure in the first cycle, and the next cycle provides an opportunity to revise and avoid the mistakes of the first cycle.

Kumar (2005: 109) proposes that there are two centres of action research:

- An existing issue or solution is analysed in order to identify areas of weakness and recognise areas which can be strengthened to improve the effectiveness of an intervention or solution to the problem in trying to bring transformation to the problem.
- This is where a researcher feels that there is an issue that has not been adequately addressed. Through exploration, proof is accumulated to legitimise presentation of a new action. In this study, the city of Harare has unilaterally been making decisions without consulting street vendors, with the result that vendors have refused to abide by decisions made unilaterally without their involvement. Again the city council has tried to drive vendors from the streets using force, which failed to yield results as vendors kept on coming back.

- Through the researcher's intervention, the inclusion, consultation and dialogue with vendors was advocated and started to bear some positive results.

Action research with little gatherings can make tremendous steps in societies in light of the accompanying qualities (Gall-Meredith 2007:23).

- Action research is a collective and supportive structure that works with societal circumstances.
- Action research configurations are focused on the practical and logical research instead of only testing hypothesis.
- Action research studies usually have direct and clear significance to practice.

In Action research, the researcher does not know the entirety, or cannot declare to know everything. It is the network of stakeholders tormented by a situation which can play a key function in locating a workable approach to ending its challenges. Researchers are limited to doing some things and cannot do others. Since this study was about transforming relationships between street vendors and HCC, the transformation of such relationships can best come from the people who are affected rather than from outside. Thus, the researcher worked closely with street vendors and HCC to find a mutually agreeable solution to the problem. The researcher did not wish to impose decisions on the stakeholders, but to work hand-in-glove with them to find sustainable alternatives and solutions to the problems in this relationship.

5.2.2 Why Action Research? What is Unique about Action Research?

Meyer (2000:178) describes action research as a procedure that involves the active participation of participants with the eventual aim of altering and improving the participants' social conditions. He highlights that the advantage with action research is that it aims to produce answers to real- world problems, as well as its capacity to equip experts with research and intervention capabilities. Meyer (2000:179) further notes that experts have a choice to evaluate their own fields, or an external practitioner can be tasked to help to investigate challenges, design and apply real solutions, and methodically evaluate and reflect on the process and consequences of transformation. Action research is regarded generally as constituting key concepts such as participation, improved appreciation, progress, change, documentation of problems, information discovery, problem solving and hypothesis construction. The situation that

requires change in this study is the frosty relationship between street vendors and HCC. According to the vendors, the council is treating them unfairly by harassing them while they are trying to make an honest living out of vending (Interview with vendors 2018).

Vendors complain about the unfavourable working conditions, the arbitrary designation of vending sites without their input, the almost impossible task of getting a vendor's licence – the lack of which makes them unlicensed – and harassment that they suffer at the hands of the urban authorities. On the other hand, the Harare Council argues that there are designated sites for street vending and vendors cannot sell anywhere they feel like selling their goods. The Council further argues that vendors also need to regularize their papers for them to sell their goods so that the council can benefit from taxes paid for city operations. This is the situation which this study, through the action research, has sought to address.

Meyer (2000:180) avers that the involvement of participants is important in action research as participants are compelled to see the need for change and consequently are happy to have a functioning impact in research and social change. Meyer (2000:181) likewise takes note of the fact that contentions may emerge throughout the research. However, it is crucial that external researchers working with specialists must get their trust and consent to the guidelines for the control of information and its utilisation, as well as recognising how any potential clash will be settled.

Meyer (2000:181) further highlighted that participants must be viewed as equivalents. The researcher worked as a facilitator of progress, interacting with members, on the research procedure as well as on who got assessed or interviewed. This made the exploration process and results significant by establishing in them the truth of everyday practice of the members. All through the research process, the discoveries were taken back to the members for approval. Meyer maintains that action research draws on an expert circumstance and experience and, therefore, can produce discoveries that are significant to them. Contributions from action research are not quite the same as other regular types of research. In view of their own insight into human circumstances, action researchers depict their work in rich, logical detail.

Koshy (2010:1) highlights that action research has the accompanying qualities:

- Action research is participative and synergistic; it is carried out by people individuals with a shared vision.
- It is circumstance based and setting explicit.
- It creates reflection dependent on interpretations made by members.
- Knowledge is made through activity at the point of utilisation.
- Action research can include critical thinking, if the remedy for the issue prompts the improvement of the practice.
- In action research, discoveries will arise as activity grows. However, these are not indisputable or final.

Reason and Bradbury (2001: 2) clarify that the main role of action research is to create pragmatic knowledge that is valuable to individuals in their regular direct day to day lives. They maintain that action research is tied up with moving in the direction of producing handy results to make new types of comprehension, since action without reflection is visually impaired, similarly as hypothesis without action is trivial. The participatory idea of action research implies that it is conceivable with, for and by people and networks that include all partners, both in addressing and understanding the exploration as well as the resultant activity which is its core objective.

Research is about generating knowledge. The reason for action research is to learn through activity, which at that point prompts individual and expert turn of events. Kemmis and MacTaggart (2000: 595) depicted action research as participatory enquiry which includes winding self – intelligent patterns of:

- Planning a transformation,
- Acting and watching the procedure and the results of progress,
- Reflecting on these procedures and results and afterward rethinking,
- Acting and watching,
- Reflecting,
- Re-arranging.

However, the authors maintain that this is not a rigid process, and may not be as flawless as the winding patterns of arranging, acting, watching and reflecting propose. In reality, these patterns will intersect, with original ideas getting phased out as people gain experience and develop new ideas. Hence, the process becomes more fluid,

open and responsive. Via action research, one can comprehend a specific issue inside a specific setting and make informed choices with an upgraded understanding. Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001) stress that the winding model of research proposes that the procedure may require more time to accomplish. This study took four years to accomplish.

Waterman *et al.* (2001) support Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001) when they note that the period of projects may differ considerably, where some take a few month to finish and others may require two years or more. At the same time, it should be recognised that there are many models of action research, and no model is better than another. Rather, action researchers should embrace the intervention measures that bring out the best results, or adapt one for use.

Elliot's (1991: 71) model of action research incorporates recognising a general idea, truth discovery, planning and action, assessment, correcting the plan, and taking a second action step, and so on. O'Leary (2004: 141) depicts action research as a cyclic procedure that comes to fruition as information arises. He sees action research as trial learning way to deal with change, where the objective is ceaselessly to refine techniques, information and translation considering the understanding created in each previous cycle.

5.2.3 The Role of the Researcher in Action Research

Action research differs from conventional research and is more intricate and harder. In action research, the researcher has numerous obligations and is the main figure in realising social change by facilitating effective communication and dialogue among participants. A researcher provides the following services in action research:

- Planner – Frontrunner
- Catalyst – Organiser
- Teacher – Fashion maker
- Listener – Witness
- Reporter – Blender (Simpson and Chow 2013: 3).

In these various tasks, the researcher must collaborate with participants. In spite of the fact that the researcher is effectively associated with realising social change, the

role of a facilitator is not to make decisions on behalf of participants. The role of the researcher is such that there must be coherence, continuity and sustainability so that members can proceed with the procedure after the researcher has finished the study.

Steinberg (2013:38) cited an example where action research has been used with some measure of success in a protracted conflict between Palestine and Israel. The process was termed 'seeds of peace' which targeted youth from both Palestine and Israel, who were taken to the United States for a face-to-face dialogue which lasted several weeks. During the dialogue meetings, scholars had the chance to draw nearer to one another, shared individual encounters, and paid attention to one another under the direction of experienced facilitators. The intervention produced some surprisingly positive outcomes in which the students from both sides became friends and continued to communicate with each other through public media podiums such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, among others. This interaction provides a possibility of a more tolerant future generation that values collaboration and cooperation through a philosophy of peace. There are many other cases where action research has promoted communication and interaction between historically bitter groups.

5.2.4 Challenges of Action Research

For many, action research seems to be too demanding because there is considerable amount of work to be accomplished initially by all practitioners involved in the study. Again, action research, as a collaborative process involving cycles of planning, action, observing and reflecting, takes a substantial amount of time to go past all these cycles. Denscombe (2003) notes that it could be difficult for the researcher to be objective and independent. Avison *et al.* (2001) noted that there are regular strains as far as the ownership is concerned, prompting the misuse of power in the research procedure. Furthermore, the research site and setting can influence the degree to which generalisations can be made, which can provide limitations to the study's capacity to make a significant impact to the creation of knowledge.

Yet, despite these shortcomings, action research was suitable and relevant to this study because it has a strong focus on real issues affecting people in their day-to-day lives, in this case street vendors, pedestrians, shop owners and other stakeholders.

Here, action research becomes useful where the aim of the study is to expose the experiences of the participants involved in the study, rather than simply providing solutions to difficulties. Although it is acknowledged in this study that there could be a possibility for the researcher to influence the study in numerous ways due to his epistemological and ontological standing, the collaborative nature of the action research helped to minimise some of the potential for researcher bias. Moreover, action research fitted into the study well since the thrust was to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC.

5.3 Research Plan

In order to achieve the aim of this study, my research design has a number of stages which are described in the diagram below: The study has three stages. Stage 1 undertook pre-intervention, semi-structured interviews with 20 participants who included 14 purposively selected street vendors, two representatives from two vendor organisations, two council officials, and two representatives from formal business. They were interviewed about their views about the causes, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and HCC, the measures put in place so far to tackle the conflict, the effectiveness of those measures, what they think must be done to deal with the problem, as well as how to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC. A focus group comprising street vendors was also established to ascertain the same objectives. These findings then fed into stage 2, which is the training on non-violent conflict resolution and holding mini dialogue with actors. Stage 3 formed the evaluation of the training and mini dialogue based on the perception of the participants.

5.4 Qualitative Descriptive Research Approach

The challenge for researchers is to find a suitable approach to answer the research questions. Crotty (1998) highlights that the beginning stage in research is not choosing the strategy for collecting information but the epistemological situation of the researcher as the person in question looks to recognise what sorts of information are genuine and satisfactory for answering research questions. This position impacts the hypothetical point of view and in this manner the method, which thus impacts the selection of method (Gray 2004:7). In this study, the researcher chose a more

qualitative approach which involves a socially built nature of reality where truth and significance are built by the interface between research participants and the society. In this approach, research members make their own world views in various manners, even in describing the same situation (Gray 2004:17). Qualitative research approach accentuates a non-numerical comprehension of the elements of the social order in the normal setting. Gray (2004:7) noted that qualitative research is recognised as profoundly logical methodology where information is assembled over significant stretches and in regular genuine settings. It can respond to how and why instead of giving a short view about a situation. It gives a more profound comprehension of the social world. It depends on a minor scale model and uses information interaction approaches, for example, interviews. It additionally permits new issues and ideas to be investigated. This study aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the causes, extent and manifestation of conflict between street vendors and HCC which would culminate into finding collaborative ways of transforming the relationships from hostility into tranquillity. This could only be possible through an in-depth qualitative study.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argued that qualitative research underscores the process of finding how social values are developed and focuses on the connection between the researcher and the area of research. Berg (2001) pointed out that qualitative research alludes to the meanings, ideas, definitions, qualities, metaphors, images and portrayal of things. On the other hand, quantitative research alludes to the counting of things. Mack *et al.* (2005) highlights that qualitative and quantitative research vary essentially in some significant areas including the kind of inquiries presented, their investigative aims, information assortment techniques utilised, types of data delivered and the level of adaptability in study design. Quantitative research explain phenomenon by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods while qualitative research describes and explores phenomenon in detail. In this study qualitative research was used because of this exploratory and descriptive nature.

Snape and Spencer (2003) showed that that qualitative research is a natural, explanatory approach concerned with understanding the significance individuals provide to the occurrence in their context. They sketched out various key components

which recognised qualitative research from quantitative research. These incorporate the following: it is a methodology which gives a more profound comprehension of the social world. It utilises small samples of between 5- 20 units; it uses communicating data collection methods such as interviews, focus groups and participant observation; it allows new issues and concepts to be explored. Qualitative research approach describes and explains variation, relationships, individual experiences and group norms. Meritt (1998) reported a number of challenges of using quantitative methods such as questionnaires in issues that require an investigation of social issues. The scholar pointed out that the results seemed to be questionable due to either low participation by members chosen to participate or misinterpretation of the questions by participants and lacks profound hypothetical analysis. A qualitative approach helped the researcher to get a profound comprehension of the matters being explored. In this case, the study was able to answer how relations between street vendors and HCC evolved over the years and why they were what they were at the time of the study? Gray (2004:7) highlighted that qualitative research is a profoundly circumstantial approach where information is assembled over extensive stretches and in natural settings. It can respond to how and why questions rather than a short view about the study.

This study used a qualitative research paradigm as the study explored people's natural life experiences, perceptions, feelings and thoughts of polarised relationships between street vendors and HCC with the intention of building harmonious relations between the two parties. This therefore necessitated the need to qualitatively explore the experiences of small groups of street vendors and HCC members and facilitate dialogue resulting in shared understanding and possibly amicable relationships. It looked at the deeper interpersonal issues between these two actors which aimed at transforming their relationships from hostility into tranquillity. The advantage of using qualitative research paradigm is supported by Berg (2009:3) who pointed out that, "clearly certain experiences cannot be meaningfully expressed in numbers". Therefore, qualitative research paradigm is most appropriate in this study as it works well with Action Research design which was used in this study.

The use of qualitative research is thought to have some disadvantages in light of the fact that there is a strain between the quest for validity and truth and the personal feelings of the researcher. Mcleod (2007) highlights that it is consequently significant for the researcher to choose an approach that recognises the possible effect of the researcher on the investigation just as the one that can possibly respond to the research question.

Wellington *et al.* (2005) notes that in order to minimise the charges of partiality and predisposition associated with qualitative research, researchers are frequently urged to consider issues of reflectivity to assist the research recipients to comprehend the researcher and the work that is introduced to them. This researcher as an outsider researcher benefited from the absence of inside information from a vendor's perspective as well as from council's perspective. In this way, lack of inside information prepared the researcher for any assumptions and hidden individual inclinations that could distort the research. As an outsider, this researcher was able to establish the ordinary features of additional conventional circumstances and to recognise what is outstanding in daily life. However, Bridges (2001) highlights that the problem with outsider researcher is that there is possibility for making hurtful bases of comprehension as the external researcher represents the opinions of the participants and this can hypothetically result in sentiments of debilitation for the participants in the research.

5.4.1 Types of study

The study is qualitative which involves descriptive, exploratory and evaluative approaches concerning the relationships between street vendors and HCC. The following sections briefly explains the approaches I used and their relevance in this study.

5.4.1.1 Descriptive Research

Mouton and Marais (1996:43-44) note that the use of descriptive approach in data collection in data collection enables one to gather exact information and gives a perfect depiction of the situation being studied. Streubert – Speziale and Carpenter (2003:22) argue that a descriptive technique in collecting data is key to open unstructured qualitative research interview analysis. Descriptive research has

contributed essentially to the understanding of the profile and nature of society. Without descriptive research, it would be difficult to understand the organisation and lives of the people in society. Social difficulties and issues in society have been uncovered to the world through descriptive research. A good descriptive research incites additional analysis or probe in qualitative research. It is through descriptive research that interventions to societal challenges can be developed. Interventions cannot be put in place before people know what is happening, hence the essence of descriptive research. It is when researchers know what is happening through the description of events that further enquiry can be made to ascertain why certain events occur in a given context. In this study, the respondents (mostly street vendors) were encouraged to describe their daily challenges at the hands of Harare city council as well as their relationships with the city council, methods they have used to relate peacefully with the city council and the outcomes. To get a balance view of the situation, I also interviewed the city council officials to describe their relationships with street vendors. The respondents were purposively selected which means that only those who were knowledgeable and affected by conflicts with Harare city council and vice versa were interviewed. After describing their situations, I then sought to explore further why the relationship was like the way it was, trying to understand where the problem could be based on the narratives from both parties. This process is exploratory or explanatory research briefly described in the next section.

5.4.1.2 Exploratory Research

Exploratory research is done so as to pick out something or to discover reality with regards to something. Exploratory research is carried out to get new experiences, to acknowledge new realities and to increase information on an occurrence or situation (Burns and Groove 2003:313). For Babbie and Mouton (2012:170), exploratory research is a research activity endeavouring to rebuild the past as precisely as could be expected under the circumstances. This design was utilised in this study in order to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and HCC. Exploratory research was further used to find out strategies that have been used by conflict parties to address the conflict they have encountered in the past and the current conflict as well as the effectiveness of the strategies in addressing the conflict. This was carried out through interviews, focus group

discussions, observation and existing primary and secondary sources of literature on the relationships between street vendors and urban authorities not only in Harare but the world over.

5.4.1.4 Phenomenological Theoretical Perspective

Phenomenology is one of the theoretical perspectives in qualitative research. It is normally contrasted with positivism which dominates quantitative research. Titchen and Hobson (2005:121) defined phenomenology "is the study of lived human phenomena within the everyday social contexts in which the phenomena occur from the perspective of those who experience them". The phenomenological approach centres around investigating how people experience a situation, that is, the way they see it, portray it, and understand it. To get to such an understanding, the researcher conducted in- depth interviews and focus group discussions with various stakeholders who lived with or had directly experienced the phenomenon as advocated by Patton (2001). The study interviewed street vendors, shop owners, city council officials and vendors' organisations representatives who experience the phenomenon of street vending on a daily basis. Observation was also done which allowed the researcher to experience the phenomenon of street vending and challenges that street vendors endure on the streets. Therefore, it is suffice to say that this study is action oriented, qualitative, descriptive, interpretive, and phenomenological.

5.5 Study Population Sample

A study population sample refers to a group of individuals or units that are subject of investigation or study. It is a subset of a population selected for any given study (Mack *et al.* 2005:5). In this case, the study was carried out in the Harare city centre, famously known as Copa Cabana area. Harare is Zimbabwe's capital city which has over the years attracted huge influx of people coming from different parts of the country searching for employment, hence the choice of location of study. Lack of formal employment opportunities forced many people into street vending to eke out a living. My entry to the research area was through the HCC, which granted me the authority to carry out this study in writing (See gate keepers letter attached to this dissertation). The sample size for this study was relatively small given the qualitative nature of the study. The small sample size is supported by Davies and Dwyer (2007:146) who note

that, “the core sample maybe anything from 1 to 20: the smaller the sample the more detailed, intense and sophisticated will be the process of exploring the psychosocial reality”. This study targeted 22 participants (14 street vendors), two street vendors’ organisations representatives, two council officials, two representatives of formal business and two from ministry of Local government which oversees local authorities’ activities. However, I failed to interview local government officials because they were said to be occupied and did not have enough time to spare for the interview. I further recruited another group of ten participants from vendors who were trained about non-violent conflict resolution. I then held practical experimental dialogue process with another group of eight participants representing different groups (street vendors, city council, formal business and vendor organisations), where they came up with inventive suggestions in trying to construct peaceful relationships. I assisted in facilitating, crafting and executing the intervention using conflict resolution training and small scale dialogue method grounded in Galtung’s transcend method of conflict transformation. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the dialogue and training was carried out months after these were carried out.

5.5.1 Sampling in Qualitative Research

Corbetta (2003:210) defined sampling as investigating a part in order to learn or discover more information about a whole. Due to time and resource constraints it is not possible to collect information from every part in a whole. As such, a part of the whole is selected for a given study (Mack *et al.* 2005:5). The selected part should have the same characteristics with others in the whole so that it becomes representative of the whole. In this study three sampling techniques were used which included purposive sampling, quota sampling and snowballing sampling. These sampling methods are discussed below as well as their relevance in this study whose objective was to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council.

5.5.2 Purposive Sampling

This study employed non- probability sampling to select respondents. According to Corbetta (2003:210), non- probability sampling alludes to a procedure where the quantity of units in a populace do not have an equivalent possibility of being chosen and is different from probability sampling where units have an equivalent possibility of

being chosen. Saunders *et al.* (2012:228) defined purposive sampling as when the researcher uses his or her own judgement in selecting samples which in his or her opinion best meet the research questions and objectives. This study used the purposive sampling, one of non- probability sampling techniques and Davies and Dwyer (2007:146) support the use of purposive sampling in qualitative research by arguing that it gives the researcher the freedom and elasticity to choose a sample or samples that tackle the research objectives and aims. Rubin and Rubin (1995) opine that there are three main guidelines that are used to select a purposive sample. Firstly, researcher should choose participants who are proficient about issues that are being examined. Secondly, the participants must be eager to talk and lastly, the participants should be illustrative of the populace that is being examined.

Purposive sampling gets information from participants that are purposely chosen by the researcher. Purposive sampling is otherwise called judgmental sampling (Corbetta 2003:210). As the researcher, I utilised my judgement to choose participants that were applicable and proportionate with the nature of research and that could give me the best data to fulfil the aim and objectives of the research. I employed purposive sampling to choose Harare as the area where the research took place. I selected Harare because that is where the intensity and frequency of clashes between street vendors and urban authorities was prevalent. Moreover, Harare being the country's capital city and the location of the research being the central business district where there is much activity, hence its selection as the focus of the study. I was however, mindful of the short comings of purposive sampling as I was exposed to possible bias, but purposive sampling remained a significant sampling technique of finding relevant data of a qualitative nature where action research was concerned. Its importance was the flexibility it gave me as a researcher to select respondents and the choice of the location of research which in my opinion provided best data to accomplish the aims and objectives of the study.

Purposive sampling was also utilised to choose respondents in this study, who in my opinion provided maximum information that would achieve the aims and objectives of the research. I purposively selected a group of street vendors who were willing to undertake action research, some of their representatives, council officials, government

officials and formal business representatives. The targeted size of the sample of this research was 22 respondents of which 20 were successfully interviewed and this small size of the sample was influenced by the qualitative nature of the research which is in-depth and time consuming. In qualitative research the concern is on the quality of the information provided by respondents rather than quantity. The small sample employed in this study allowed me as the researcher to manage the research process and respondents by determining who made real influence as a participant. This differentiated this study from quantitative research where the researcher is a mere observer and is precisely prevented from influencing the research to avoid contaminating it (Mcniff and Whitehead 2006:30).

5.5.3 Quota Sampling

Mack *et al.* (2005:5) noted that quota sampling is often regarded as a type of purposive sampling. In quota sampling, the researcher chooses, while structuring the study, what number of individuals, with which qualities to incorporate as participants? These characteristics included age, gender, occupation, place of residence, class and marital status, among others. Quota sampling allowed me to focus on participants I thought were most likely to have experience to know about and have insights into street vending issues (Mack *et al.* 2005:5). In this study I chose to interview street vendors as a variable because of their daily experiences, their knowledge and insights into street vending. Out of street vendors, I then decided what characteristics of vendors I wanted to interview who could provide me with the best answers. These characteristics included gender and the status of the vendors, that is whether they were legal street vendors or not. Quota sampling is relevant in this study because the study sought to interview seven men and seven women (street vendors) to find out different opinions from their experiences in the streets and what they think should be done to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. The study also used quota sampling to further screen interviewees between street vendors with vending licences and those without vending licences to get different perspectives on their experiences and relationships with Harare city council. As a result, from the 14 street vendors interviewed, seven had licences while the other seven did not have. This was done to balance the arguments and validate claims made by different participants as their situations differed.

5.5.4 Snowball Sampling

This is regularly referred as chain referral sampling and is additionally viewed as a type of purposive sampling. According to Mack *et al.* (2005:5), in this approach, the members with whom contact had just been made utilised their interpersonal skills to recommend the researcher to others who could take an interest or add value to the research. This sampling is frequently used to discover and enrol secreted populations, which are members who are not effectively available to researchers through other sampling techniques. During the course of data collection in this study, I was often referred to other participants who were thought to have enough knowledge and insights into the study thereby contributing answers to the research objectives and questions, hence the relevance of this sampling technique in this study. This also happened when I wanted to interview city council officials. I was advised to see certain people who worked in certain departments especially in the department of physical planning which is involved in the allocation of stands and vending sites in the city centre.

Quantitative researchers have criticised qualitative research and argue that it is value laden and biased. While these are genuine concerns, these characteristics are inalienable features of qualitative research. Qualitative research manages individuals in their real-life conditions and hence the sampling technique and sample size must be setting explicit. The results of my study will not guarantee credit past the certainty reflected by the setting upon which this study was carried out. The sample selection techniques in this study should be comprehended and deciphered inside the domain of qualitative research approach on the grounds that the setting in my research context will not be essentially a reality somewhere else.

5.6 Data Collection Instruments

Burns and Grove (2003:373) defined data collection as the precise, coherent collection of data relevant to the area of research using strategies which incorporate interviews, focus group discussions, stories and case narratives, among others. Data collection instruments are typically affected by the nature of research aims and objectives. There are two types of data collection sources, namely primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are direct information created for the first time and has not been

translated. On the other hand, secondary data involves recycled information produced for other purposes. This is data acquired from scholastic books, diaries, magazines, papers and web sources. Secondary sources were utilised mostly in the form of document analysis to get an appreciation of different authors in the nature of relations between street vendors and urban councils, in particular the HCC. Some of the secondary sources have already been used in literature review in the preceding above sections. A brief explanation of some of the primary sources used in this study is provided below

5.6.1 Observation

What people say they do is often contradicted by their behaviour. There is literature abound that documents this disparity. Because of this human irregularity, observation can be an incredible check against what individuals say about themselves during interviews and focus group discussions. The practical nature of this study provided for observation as one of the techniques of gathering information. Kumar (2005:119) argued that that observation is an intentional, logical and particular method of surveillance and listening to a conversation as it occurs. Through observation, I got important information about members' conduct which was not easy to get through interviews and focus groups. This method was unique on the grounds that I approached participants in their own settings as opposed to them coming to me. I participated in participant observation attempting to discover what life resembled for an 'insider' while remaining an 'outsider' (Mack *et al.* 2005:13). While in these community settings, I made careful, objective notes about what I saw, recorded all accounts and observations as field notes in a field notebook. Observation method was used in the interaction of various parties as they engaged in the dialogue process and training of participants that I facilitated. I also observed interaction of the various parties in this conflict before and after dialogue and training process. I took time to go into the streets to observe the relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. This helped me to come with an objective assessment of the relationships rather than to rely on what was said during interviews.

Why Participant observation was important in this study?

Participant observation was valuable for gaining a comprehension of the physical, social, cultural, political and economic setting where participants lived, observed relationships among and between people, events, and participants' behaviour and activities- what they did, how frequently and with whom (Mack *et al.* 2005:14). Data obtained through participant observation served as a check against participants' experiences or abstract revealing of their encounters and what they do. The technique empowered me to cultivate an understanding with the traditional, political, social and economic context from a personal experience. Observing and participating were vital in understanding the breath and complexities of human experience. Through participant observation, I revealed factors significant for the exhaustive comprehension of research problem that were however, obscure when the study was structured. Through participating in street vending, I found out some hidden truths that could not have been discovered through interviews and focus group discussions. For example I found out that there was a code that street vendors used to alert each other of the approaching council police officers. This was not revealed in the interviews and focus group discussions. I also observed where they hide their stuff when the city council police officers approach. Again, this was not revealed in interviews and focus group discussions. This was an added advantage of the technique on the grounds that despite the fact that I found honest solutions to the exploration questions asked during interviews and focus group discussions, I could not generally pose correct inquiries to get participants reactions during interviews and focus group discussions, hence the usefulness of participant observation as a data collection method. Therefore, what I gained from participant observation caused me not to exclusively comprehend information gathered through different techniques, for example interviews and focus groups, but to configure research questions and objectives that gave me the best comprehension of what was examined, that is relationships between street vendors and Harare city council.

5.6.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative interviews furnish researchers with bits of knowledge concerning how participants experience, feel and decipher the social world (Mack *et al.* 2005).Semi-

structured interviews are an interchange of data between the researcher and the participant(s) or an interaction in which the researcher is not strictly required to follow linear and logical sequencing of questions but can vary depending on the flow of the conversation (Saunders *et al.* 2007:67). Semi- structured interviews are exceptionally successful in giving a human face to the explored issues. In this study, the researcher conducted semi- structured interviews with street vendors, council officials, shop operators and vendors' organisations representatives where he itemised a set of questions to know more information about precise issues and sometimes probed further on new issues that were not originally registered as part of the interview. During interviews the participants were considered as experts who experienced and lived the phenomenon and the researcher became the student. The researcher posed questions in an impartial manner, listened considerably to the responses provided by the participants, probed the responses and asked follow up questions and clearness where there was lack of clarity. The enquiries were characterised by adaptability in which researcher could include or exclude enquiries from the timetable dependant on the consequences of each interview. It likewise allowed the researcher the chance to test for more data by requesting that the respondents offer more explanation to their answers. Interviews were led on an eye to eye premise between the researcher and the participants. These interviews were important in providing an individual perspective. They enabled participants to talk about their personal feelings, opinions and experiences. The interviews provided an insight to the researcher about how participants interpreted their world. They were also an avenue where participants were provided with a platform to discuss sensitive topics with the researcher which may not have been possible to discuss in public. In this study, the researcher wanted to record all interviews in tape recorder so that no valuable information would be lost through loss of memory but the participants refused due to the sensitive nature of the research. The researcher ended up making rough notes his notebook to prevent loss of data.

However, the researcher was aware that the interviews could be affected by the degree of mindfulness and passionate condition of the participants. There was a possibility that information could be twisted because of members being on edge or irritated during interviews as supported by Patton (2001). As a way of preventing misrepresentation of information, the researcher allowed the participants to flow with

the interview without disruptions and to keep their own ideas or insights. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 20 participants in order to facilitate uniformity which made evaluation easy. 14 street vendors were interviewed selected on the basis of availability and purposively. They were selected according to gender equality dynamics seven men and seven women bearing in mind that the experiences of men and women could differ. They were also selected on the basis of legality and illegality of their trade. From the 14 street vendors selected seven were legal vendors whereas other seven were unlicensed vendors again basing on the different experiences that these two groups went through. These were interviewed in the streets of Harare at an area called CopaCabana which is located in Harare's CBD. This area was chosen because it has a hive of activity and this is where the majority of street vendors conduct their business. Other interviews were conducted with two council members, two representatives from vendors' organisations and two members from formal business.

There were challenges faced by the researcher during interviews with vendors. One of the challenges was that the interviews were carried out in the streets and naturally they attracted attention from other vendors who gathered where interviews with selected vendors were conducted. They were curious to know what was going on and I time and again was at pains to explain the purpose of the interviews to them. They also interjected with some responses even if the questions were not directed at them. Moreover, during interviews there were interruptions by HCC police and ZRP joint operations who were chasing away unlicensed vendors from the streets and were engaged in running battles with them. However, this experience provided important insights into the nature, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and Harare city council through observation.

Two participants were interviewed from the vendors' associations. One was male and the other female. The interviews were the most difficult to secure because the respondents were always busy and could not find time to conduct the interviews. Even during the interviews there were a lot of interruptions as the participants kept on answering calls from different sections of the population, especially the media houses

who wanted to know their positions regarding the joint operation between HCC and ZRP to drive street vendors out of the streets.

One of the interviews with vendors' organisation's representative in town was interrupted after a vendor was knocked down by a car while fleeing from city council raids. The interviewee, who is a leader of one of the vendor organisation had to attend the scene with me and called for an ambulance to take the badly injured street vendor to hospital. Street vendors too frequented the offices of these organisations raising various complains against the city council and wanted the organisations to intervene on their behalf. One of the complains raised was that the city council allocated the designated sites to third parties who then demanded exorbitant fees from vendors who wanted to operate from those sites. Vendors recommended that the city of Harare needed to allocate the sites itself than to involve third parties. HCC denied these allegations and told the researcher that they always allocate vending sites on first come first serve basis but accused vendors of shunning the allocated vending sites. The other two participants who were interviewed came from formal businesses (one male and one female) and two from Harare city council, a female and a male. Data from semi structured interviews corroborated data from focus group discussions, published literature and observation.

5.6.3 Focus Group Discussions

Mack *et al.* (2005:51) defined a focus group as a subjective information assortment technique in which a couple of research specialists and members convene as a gathering to talk about a certain study or exploration. Normally one researcher drives the conversation by requesting that members react to some open ended inquiries. This researcher is often called a moderator. The other researcher takes notes during discussions and is called a note taker. Focus group discussions were used in this study to gather views from street vendors concerning their challenges with the Harare city council and what they want to see happening to improve relations with the city of Harare. Focus group discussions were also used to explore vendors' perceptions and feelings towards the Harare city council as well as preparing for dialogue. The focus group discussion comprised 10 vendors with equal gender representation. They included five who are licenced street vendors and five who are unlicenced street

vendors. These were purposively selected as those who had participated in semi structured interviews were not selected to participate in focus group discussion. This was done to get fresh ideas and information from other vendors who had not been interviewed before to avoid repetitive data from emerging. Focus group discussions were important in this study as they brought out more information at short notice which could not be brought out during in- depth interviews or any other data collection method. They were used to validate other sources of data and to probe further into issues. Mack *et al.* (2005), argued that one advantage of using focus groups was that they are able to get an expansive scope of perspectives on a particular point rather than producing group agreement. Two focus group discussions with street vendors were conducted in this study. The first one was conducted before the intervention which sought to explore various aspects concerning street vending in Harare. The second focus group was held after the intervention as an evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention. The first focus group discussion lasted for one and half hours. The second focus group lasted two hours. More details about the focus group discussions are found in the next chapter.

Group dynamics in focus group stimulated conversation and reaction to what others said. Since not every person had similar experiences and perspectives on account of contrasts in age, sexual orientation and status, a wide range of perspectives emerged from participants. However, the disadvantage of using focus group discussions was that they tended to be dominated by a few individuals and others were not be able to freely express themselves during discussions especially when issues discussed were sensitive and differed from what those in positions of authority in society thought. Therefore, focus group discussions may have their shortcomings for obtaining data on socially touchy subjects or discussions, hence the use of one on one in- depth interviews and observation which were also used in this study to triangulate the data obtained.

To ensure that these challenges were overcome as the facilitator I tried to assure participants that their opinions were valued equally and that they would not be persecuted for freely expressing themselves through the creation of pseudo names during the discussions so that participants were not identified by their actual names in

case some feared victimisation in the aftermath of the discussions. I made sure that those participants who have authority in society or in any form did not form part of the discussion to ensure free expression of views from participants. I assured participants that their views would be used for academic purposes only and their confidentiality was granted. I asked for permission to record the discussion on audio recorder and assured the participants that this was done to make sure that no valuable contribution was lost through loss of memory when it comes to data analysis. However, the use of audio recorder was turned down by the participants and I respected their decision and jotted down notes from the discussion in my note book. After collecting information, every transcribed note were extended into more complete accounts which were then entered into a computer. This was done within 24 hours to prevent some data from being lost through memory loss. Within 24 hours the note taker and facilitator were still fresh and remembered most of the discussions.

10 street vendors were purposively recruited to take part in focus group discussions. Participants were selected using purposive sampling technique based on their information and accessibility. Those selected were asked if they had taken part in earlier in- depth interviews. This was done to make sure that fresh ideas emerge which helps to identify some gaps left through in- depth interviews and observation. A venue, date and time were organized for the focus group discussion. This focus group discussion was carried out prior to the intervention on 30 September 2018. The focus group was carried out in town at an office hired by the researcher for two hours, from 10a.m to 12 noon. Participants were handed pseudo name tags (N1-N-10). Before the discussion resumed the moderator introduced the delegates and the aim of the study which was to transform relationships between street vendors and city of Harare and whose objectives were

- To explore the causes, nature, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and city of Harare.
- To identity and evaluate efforts made so far in resolving conflicts between street vendors and Harare city council

- Using a participatory action research to design and implement an intervention model aimed at transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council
- To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the designed and implemented intervention model

Participants were advised that this was purely an academic study and that it was voluntary as they should not expect any financial benefits or otherwise. During the discussions, participants were given drinks and biscuits as a refreshments and appreciation for leaving their work to attend this focus group discussion. Participants were asked to respect each other's opinions as there was no right or wrong opinion. They were further asked to maintain each other's confidentiality and secrecy. Once outside they were not permitted to uncover the personalities of others or to demonstrate who made explicit contributions during the conversation. The researcher's contact details were availed to the participants in the event that they wanted to discuss anything concerning the discussions outside the focus group discussions. After the assurances participants were asked if they had any reservations and wish to withdraw from the discussions, could do so. However, no participant withdrew. The discussion then proceeded with the moderator introducing questions to the participants.

5.6.4 Training Participants on Dialogue and Non-violent Conflict Resolution

Ten street vendors were purposively selected for training in non- violent conflict resolution. Five were men and the other five were women. I also selected five unlicenced street vendors and five licenced street vendors. This was meant to provide valuable conflict resolution techniques to a diverse group of vendors with different characteristics. This then became the action group which is working continuously with the researcher to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council by influencing other street vendors to change their attitudes and behaviour towards the city authorities. The selection of participants was done purposively and involved other street vendors who identified those who could be part of the group. The group of those selected for training on non- violent conflict resolution then constituted an action group which was influential to other members in the streets.

The expectation was that these trained members would disseminate information gathered during training with regards to conflict resolution, violence, conflict and dialogue, non-violent resolution of conflicts, conflict transformation and reconciliation to the others. Eventually another group was selected for dialogue which would pave way for the transformation of relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. As the researcher I realised that training street vendors alone was not enough to transform relationships so I organised a mini dialogue which comprised a variety of actors who included HCC, street vendors, formal business and vendor organisations. This was to enable participants to share their experiences and appreciate each other's positions and interests through interaction. The dialogue comprised eight participants (two from each group). An evaluation of the impact of the training and dialogue was carried out after three months to find out if there are any behavioural changes with regards to relationships between street vendors and Harare city council.

5.7 Transcend Dialogue Method

Transcend dialogue method is a conflict transformation strategy which tries to unite conflict parties with the assistance of a mediator. The main objective of the method is to unite the contention parties so that through interaction they can go past the predominant difficulties and together identify inventive approaches to reconstruct relationships through shared regard for rivals (Galtung 2009). The use of the Transcend method and dialogue opens opportunities for peaceful resolution of conflicts and permits gatherings to open conflicts through collaborative inventiveness. Galtung (2009) contends that with the Transcend method emphasis is placed in identifying shared roots and responsibilities rather than finding blame and guilt. The Transcend Method is based on dialogue and is different from competitive compromise where each party seeks to advance its own interests at the expense of the opponent and to triumph over the other. In a dialogue parties interact with one another, listen to each other in a non-fierce way so as to create shared regard, comprehension and cooperation.

The Transcend Method depends on non-violent commitment as exchange with all sides by initially captivating them separately (Galtung 2009). By connecting with each group at a time, the facilitator aimed at a subsequent and inevitable face to face

dialogue. The focal point of Transcend Method is on non- violent relations between the parties, going past the objectives of the sides in conflict and making another reality so that the parties can live and develop together. The notion of engaging protagonists separately preceding face to face dialogue is significant on the grounds that in case of a vicious clash, it might not be feasible to conduct dialogue without sufficient planning. The convener of dialogue may need to broaden the time spent on interacting with parties independently until the time is ripe for the parties to engage each other face to face. In this study parties were engaged separately through various means which included interviews and focus group discussions in which the facilitator advocated for dialogue among the main protagonists (street vendors and Harare city council). The researcher first met and interviewed street vendors to find out what the problem was and how could the problem be resolved? Having been briefed about the problem by street vendors the researcher then met and interviewed Harare city council officials who also presented their side of the problem to the researcher. Interviews were also conducted with other parties to the conflict which included formal business and vendors' organisations representatives. The researcher then organized a mini - dialogue with representatives from all groups mentioned above to try and resolve the issue together.

In this study, Transcend Method had three stages. The first and second stages of the Transcend method comprised in-depth interviews and focus group with each group separately between March 2018 and December 2018. Participants requested not to be tape recorded and notes were taken with the consent of the participants. These data collection methods were used as ways of obtaining information on perceptions of the participants before solutions were suggested. The third stage comprised training session on non- violent conflict resolution on participants which encouraged the use of dialogue in reaching a mutually agreed solution. This eventually led to two mini-dialogue sessions which comprised some of parties concerned. These were held on 31 March 2019 and 9 February 2020. The session was however recorded on paper as participants expressed their concerns with being voice recorded and their concerns were taken into consideration. The post- intervention evaluation was conducted from end of April 2019 until December 2019 using focus group discussions, observation and interviews. A focus group discussion consisting of seven street vendors (three

men and four women), purposively selected was conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the interventions that had been implemented. Five street vendors were interviewed. They were also purposively selected. One representative was selected from city council to assess the effectiveness of the intervention. Another representative was selected from formal business to provide their own assessment of the intervention. One was also selected from vendor organisations to provide an analysis of the intervention.

Action Research Activities

Table 5.1

Date	Steps	Participants involved	Purpose
March- July 2018	Interviews with street vendors	14	These interviews were held to get more informed data on the causes of the conflict, what steps have been taken to address the challenges, and what vendors thought could be done to address the challenges they face
September 30, 2018	Focus group with street vendors	10	Having been apprised of the challenges that vendors faced, the researcher sought to gather more informed data through a focus group discussion
October 20, 2018	Key informant interviews with vendor organisations	2	More data was sought through vendor organisations for their perspectives on the causes, extent and consequences of the conflict between vendors and the Harare City Council.
November 15, 2018	Key informant interviews with formal business	2	It was also important to interview formal business to get their side of the story on how the conflict has affected them

December 5, 2018	Key informant interviews with HCC	2	The views and perspective of the HCC were also important
January 6, 2019	Training of an action group on non-violent conflict resolution & dialogue	10	A group of 10 vendors was purposively selected as an action group. It was trained in non-violent conflict resolution and dialogue. The aim was to encourage dialogue with the Council, and to desist from using violence to settle issues
March 31, 2019	Dialogue session with vendors, HCC, vendors' organisations, & formal business	8	The dialogue session was held to improve attitudes and communication, to improve understanding, to share areas of disagreement and possible solutions
August 30, 2019	Joint clean-up campaign of a section of the city with vendors & HCC HCC		The clean-up campaign was held to sustain contact among stakeholders
January 12, 2020	Post-dialogue focus group discussion with vendors	10	Post-dialogue focus discussion with vendors to evaluate the effectiveness of the dialogue
February 9, 2020	Dialogue between vendors and	6	A follow-up dialogue between street vendors and shop operators to cement

	shop operators		their relations so that they could work together
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5.8. Data Analysis

Babbie (2011:396) argued that data analysis is the process of fine tuning and carefully going through data collected to get an increased understanding and meaning of what is emerging from the data. Le Compte and Schensul (1999) define data analysis as the cycle which the researcher uses to interpret, translate and decrease information. It is a process of decreasing a lot of gathered information in order to comprehend the information gathered. Patton (1987) contends that there are typically three things which happen during data analysis: Firstly data are composed, secondly data are summarised, and thirdly data are categorised and connected. This study used three data analysis methods, interpretive, phenomenology and discourse analysis. The three methods are manual methods of data analysis and suitable for analysing qualitative data which this study was based on. My direct involvement as an action researcher also influenced the choice of the three data analysis methods for better interaction with the data itself since I was actively involved in facilitating interviews, focus group discussions, training and dialogue between street vendors and Harare city council as well as other affected parties with the aim of transforming relationships among the various actors.

Interpretive analysis involves an extensive examination of conversation scripts, focus group discussion notes and dialogue sessions notes so as to recognise practices, discernments and mentalities of members (Clarke and Braun 2013:13). Subjects and meanings arise and these are categorised and coded accordingly. However, interpretive thematic analysis has been criticised for the involvement of the researcher referring to predispositions which may influence the legitimacy and dependability of research results. Ryan and Bernard (2000) suggest that in interpretive analysis, the researcher constantly deciphers the expressions of those texts to comprehend their importance and mandates. This study also employed phenomenology as an analysis tool. This included spreading out the researcher's suppositions about the subject being studied, grouping, creative disparity, looking at the problem under investigation in

more than one way (Merriam 1998). In this study, the phenomenon is street vending and the actors in street vending had different images and assumptions of street vending. The study further employed discourse analysis to test the validity and reliability of its findings. This necessitated the triangulation in the analysis of my data. Interpretive thematic analysis identified emerging themes from data content while discourse analysis looked at the context and the manner in which the content was expressed. Phenomenology laid out the parties' assumptions and perceptions of each other. It also looked at how people interacted with each other (Merriam 1998). In this study discourse analysis was useful in understanding the context of street vending and the manner in which the actors in street vending related to each other. The triangulation of data analysis facilitated qualitative reliability and validity of findings.

5.8.1 Evaluating the Outcome of the Intervention

Action research is aimed at reaching certain outcomes and evaluating their effectiveness in changing an undesirable existing social phenomenon. Therefore, evaluation is a significant feature in action research. The idea is to evaluate the effectiveness of an intervention strategy by analysing the situation before the intervention and after intervention patterns, behaviours and make comparisons between the two. Because of the qualitative nature of the study, the study examined the data obtained from in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observations before the intervention. The study further analysed the impact of interventions on participant's behaviour and relationships. The interventions included training participants and dialogue. The perceptions and misperceptions of each other among the participants were noted before and after the intervention. Issues such as verbal tones and actions of the participants were observed and recorded. Interviews and focus group discussions were run from March 2018 to August 2018. Training of participants took place between December 2018 and mid- February 2019. Two mini-dialogues with the actors were also held on 30 March 2019 and 9 February 2020.

Post- intervention evaluation was also conducted where interviews, focus group discussions and observation were be used to evaluate the effectiveness of the training of participants on various aspects such as non- violence as well as dialogue which was held among the various actors. The obtained data was analysed to determine if

there were any variations in relations and attitudes with those that were recorded during interviews and focus groups prior to intervention.

5.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity and Reliability are important elements in both qualitative and quantitative research. They guarantee that stages employed in the research and which produced data are acceptable and dependable. Davies and Dwyer (2007:243) note that validity is about the exactness of the cycle and its results. Reliability is about the constancy and consistency that arises out of the research process by utilising solid tools and strategies to create information. Patton (2001) notes that validity and reliability are two variables which a qualitative researcher ought to be worried about when planning a study, examining the outcome and making a decision about the nature of the study.

5.9.1 Validity

Joppe (2000) notes that validity determines whether research truly measures what it was expected to examine and how honest the intended results are. Validity for example, measures whether the research tools allowed the researcher to produce the intended research outcome. Validity is traditionally rooted in positivism or in quantitative research. It is concerned about which data is to be gathered and how it is to be gathered usually by the application of test or other process. Questions about validity are also whether the methods for estimation are exact and whether they are really estimating what they are planned to quantify. Bernard (2006: 53) notes that whereas reliability measures whether the results of the study can be replicated, validity is concerned about whether the methods for estimation are precise and whether they are really estimating what they are proposed to measure. In this study, the validity of the study measures whether the methods used to collect data such as semi-structured interviews, observation and focused discussions are the appropriate methods which bring out the required and useful data in relation to the relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. In terms of the reliability, the concern will be whether if the same results that came out of the research can be replicated then the research will be reliable.

However, some qualitative researchers have contended that the term validity is not appropriate to qualitative exploration. And yet they have understood the requirements

for passing or measuring their research. Creswell and Miller (2000) recommend that the validity of the study is abstractly influenced by the researcher's worldview in the study as well as his or her choice of model of study. Thus, many researchers have built up their own ideas of validity and have implemented what they consider to be more suitable terms rather than validity and reliability. Such terms include consistency, quality and dependability (Davies and Dodd 2002). Mishler (2000) defended the replacement of the use of terms validity and reliability in qualitative research by such terms as trustworthiness arguing that the idea of discovering truth through trustworthiness is defensible and establishes confidence in the findings. Creswell (2014:201) identified and recommended eight validity strategies. These are outlined and explained below.

Triangulation

Creswell and Miller (2000:126) define triangulation as a technique where researchers look for conjunction among numerous and diverse sources of information to frame subjects or classifications in an investigation. Making use of diverse sources of information by probing proof from the sources so as to fabricate a rational justification for subject themes is at the centre of triangulation. Triangulation is a mechanism or system for improving the validity and reliability of research. Patton (2001:353) advocates the utilisation of triangulation contending that triangulation fortifies a study by consolidating techniques. Triangulation may incorporate different techniques for data collection and analysis, however, it does not recommend a fixed strategy for all studies. The techniques used in triangulation in order to test the validity and reliability of a research depends on the criterion of the exploration. It is however, important to note that triangulation alone does not produce valid and reliable data as argued by Barbour (1998) who challenged the idea of combining methods in qualitative research as challenging because a respective technique has its own traditions that guide it in terms of hypothetical outlines that inform our research. She however, did not absolutely ignore the thought of triangulation in qualitative research but expressed the need define triangulation from a qualitative research's perspective in every worldview.

This study used multiple data collection methods such as semi- structured interviews, focus group discussions, observation and secondary sources of data such as scholarly articles and books in order to minimise bias and increase validity and reliability.

- **Member checking**

Participants validate the accuracy of the findings, specific descriptions, themes and the final reports to ensure accuracy (Creswell and Miller 2000:126). This included sustained communication with participants well after field work using such platforms as phone calls, text messages and WhatsApp groups. It is also called back checking.

- **Use of description**

Using strong and effective description is a good qualitative way of conveying the findings. Rich and thick descriptions used hand in hand with strong discussions and shared experiences will provide the necessary detailed explanations (Creswell and Miller 2000:127). In this study, data presentation and discussion of findings was done using qualitative analysis and presentation procedures in the form of descriptions and explanations

- **Clarifying Biases**

Clarifying the biases that the researcher brings into the research is a good way of self – reflection. It demonstrates open and honest engagement with the readers. In qualitative research the researcher and the research influence each other constantly (Creswell and Miller 2000:127). In this study, this was done by mentioning the challenges of researching a social phenomenon by action research through a qualitative paradigm. The findings of this research should therefore be understood within its context and not from outside. As someone who does not like violence and support the down- trodden in society, I was touched by the plight of street vendors and the running battles they engaged with HCC. This for a moment affected my objectivity in this research as I was convinced that HCC was being ruthless against people who were trying to make decent living from the streets. I, as the researcher and the participants were therefore influenced by the context of the phenomenon. To guard against

biases, I employed a variety of mixed methods which included interviewing HCC to find out their justification for chasing vendors from the streets. My data would not be valid if I had interviewed street vendors only.

- **Present negative and discrepant information**

Information that may be indicating or opposing the main themes and narratives needs specifying. These reflect the real life and the different perspectives that come with it. Having a sustained stay in the field is valuable because it enables the researcher to develop in-depth and better understanding of the phenomenon under study as well as finding some discrepant information which might be hidden (Creswell and Miller 2000:128). Contradictions from the findings were clarified and presented in the chapters ahead.

- **Use of external auditor**

An external auditor is different from a peer debriefed in the sense that the former is not familiar with the research project. The external auditor provides an objective assessment of the entire project without favour (Creswell and Miller 2000:128). This study employed an assistant to take notes during dialogue. The assistant was a new person who did not know anything about the conflict. This enabled him to record the information without bias.

- **Prolonged time in the field**

The fieldwork in this study was continuously conducted over a period of four years and from the point of view of the researcher this was long enough to get appreciation of the key ideas and issues under study.

- **Peer Debriefing**

Some scholars who have written and researched on issues to do with street vendors and urban authorities were helpful in peer debriefing in this study. Colleagues were also given work to peer review it and brief the researcher on areas what they thought needed improvement.

5.9.2 Reliability

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as the extent to which results are consistent overtime and an accurate representation of the total population under study. If the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable. Kirk and Miller (1986:41-42) identify three types of reliability mostly referred to in quantitative research which relate to (1) the degree to which a measurement given, repeatedly remains the same (2) the stability of a measurement overtime and (3) the similarity of the measurement within a given time period.

Charles (1995) notes that the reliability with which a survey is responded to or singular scores continue as before and this can be resolved by a test or re-test strategies at two unique occasions. If the results are repeatable or similar then there is high degree of reliability. Joppe (2000) however expressed concern with the re-test method as a measure of reliability as there are many factors that may affect reliability of data such as changes in attitudes and context. These could prompt a distinction in reactions given. Crocker and Algina (1986) contend that totals may alter because of conditions of the respondent which may prompt inaccuracies of results. These inaccuracies will decrease the precision and consistency of the instrument and scores. It turns into the responsibility of the researcher to guarantee consistency and precision of the tests and scores. However, though the researcher may have the option to demonstrate the dependability of the exploration tool, it may not be valid.

It is vital to note that the two concepts, validity and reliability are mostly applicable in quantitative research but are also increasingly becoming useful in qualitative research too. In quantitative research the two are used to reveal two thing (1) for reliability or consistency, whether the outcome is repeatable or not and (2) in validity whether the methods of testing are correct and are testing what they supposed to be testing or not. The two concepts are perceived otherwise in qualitative research. For example the question of replicability does not concern qualitative researchers but accuracy, trustworthiness and the ability to transfer the data from one study to another (Hoepf 1997). This offers the spectacles of evaluating the findings of a qualitative research. This makes the two exploration methods alike. Lincoln and Guba (1985:300) utilised

the term dependability in qualitative research which compares intimately with the notion of reliability in quantitative research which is utilised to analyse both the cycle and the results of the exploration for consistency. Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) further note that there is a close connection between validity and reliability and since validity cannot be attained without reliability, demonstrating the close relationship between the two concepts. Patton (2001) also supported Lincoln and Guba and noted that with the researcher's capacity and expertise in any qualitative research, reliability is an outcome of validity in a study. Creswell (2014:203) recognised the accompanying key methods of ensuring qualitative research reliability

- **Checking transcripts**

Double checking the notes in order to check for possible errors that may have occurred during capturing of notes. This was done in this study.

- **Coding must be consistent**

Coding must be consistent and effort must be made to ensure that there are shifts in the meanings represented by the codes.

- **Coordination and communication**

This is appropriate to group study which is conducted by many researchers and this facilitates exchange of messages and distribution of investigation results to prevent misunderstandings. In this study, there was one researcher therefore it did not apply.

- **Cross checking codes**

This is relevant to group research where there are more coders. Subsequent to coding, codes have to be cross checked to facilitate smooth presentation of data and interpretation that is consistent with the aims of the study.

Validity and reliability in qualitative research are different from their expectations in quantitative research. Qualitative research manages the truth of human instinct and is value laden. Validity and reliability are identified with reliability, believability, constancy and comparability. This study does not guarantee generalisation and repetition of

discoveries but rather the discoveries are reliable to the extent that the sample and genuineness of its surroundings are concerned.

5.10 Ethical Considerations

Creswell (2014) highlights that moral issues in research command prominent consideration today. Moral parts of the study are key components in the manner in which research is undertaken as well as the veracity of any research. There is greater need for researchers to protect their research participants, build up trust in them and promote the uprightness of the exploration, guard against wrongdoing and cope with new challenging problems (Israel and Hay 2006). Researchers should ensure sensitivity to the community to which the research is being conducted. Creswell (2014) contends that consideration should be coordinated towards moral issues preceding the investigation, start of the research, during information assortment and information examination and in detailing, sharing and securing information. In this study, moral ethics were given due thought because of the practical nature of the research. As stated before in this chapter, consent was sought and approved in writing from the HCC to conduct the research within their area of jurisdiction. Permission was also verbally sought from street vendors to be interviewed and form an action group which was trained on non-violent conflict resolution and to conduct a mini-dialogue. Permission was also sought from other participants in research such as vendors' organisations and formal shop owners. All the members who participated in the study were told that their participation in the study was voluntary and if they felt that they wanted to discontinue at any given time they were free to do so and their choices were valued. No financial inducements were assured and given to participants. However, snacks were given during focus group discussions, training sessions and mini-dialogue. The confidentiality and privacy of participants were assured and respected. The researcher further assured the participants that the information solicited from them was for purely academic purposes and was not going to be used for any other purpose. Participants' rights were respected during the study. Participants were not comfortable in being recorded and their rights were upheld. To protect their identity, the researcher used pseudo names in focus group discussions and training of participants.

5.11 Summary

The chapter highlighted the research approach in this study which is action research which involves working with the affected participants to come out with a solution to the problem. The aim of the study was to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council and a qualitative research paradigm was adopted which was based on interpretivism, discourse analysis and phenomenological research philosophies. Interpretivism involved providing explanations to certain phenomenon trying to understand events from those who live the experiences. Discourse analysis involved analysing the literature on the relationships between street vendors and urban authorities and linking it with what was found on the ground through interviews, focus group discussions and observation. On the other hand, phenomenology required the researcher to explore how the participants experience the phenomenon, how they perceive it, how they describe it and how they think it should be resolved? A qualitative research paradigm works well in facilitating the understanding of people's experiences, feelings and perceptions. Qualitative methods of data collection such as semi- structured interviews, focus group discussions and observation were used to collect data which dovetails well with the purpose of the study. Purposive sampling was also implemented to enable the choosing of participants who were eager and well-informed about the study. Data analysis will be the subject of discussion in the following chapter. This study used a combination of interpretivism, phenomenology and discourse analysis to analyse data collected and make meaning of it.

Chapter 6: Exploring Conflict between Street Vendors and the Harare City Council

Exploration and inductive reasoning are important in science in part because deductive logic alone can never uncover new ideas and observations.

(Urdang Associates 1985:159, quoted by Stebbins: 2001)

6.0 Introduction

This chapter explored the conflict between street vendors and HCC using the conflict map. Interpretive, phenomenology and discourse analysis were also used to analyse the data collected. The conflict map is a conflict analysis tool which is used to analyse conflict from a variety of perspectives. The analysis tool considers actors, relationships, influence or direction of power dynamics and issues between and among the conflict parties. In this study there are two main conflict parties which are fighting for the use of public space. These are street vendors and HCC. There are other fringe players such as the vendor organisations and formal businesses, ZRP, ZNA among others. This chapter sought to explore the various actors, relationships and dynamics that exist among a plethora of actors with a view to finding a lasting solution to the conflict. What was clear from the findings in this chapter is that this conflict is intractable but resolvable if parties consider dialogue as a resolution mechanism. It is an intractable conflict which is based on the needs of various conflict actors. Vendors continue to operate from undesignated selling points and HCC continue to chase vendors from the streets, further deepening hostility. The following section makes an analysis of the conflict based on conflict mapping which mainly explores the actors, issues and themes in the conflict, influences of the conflict actors and power relationships between and among the actors.

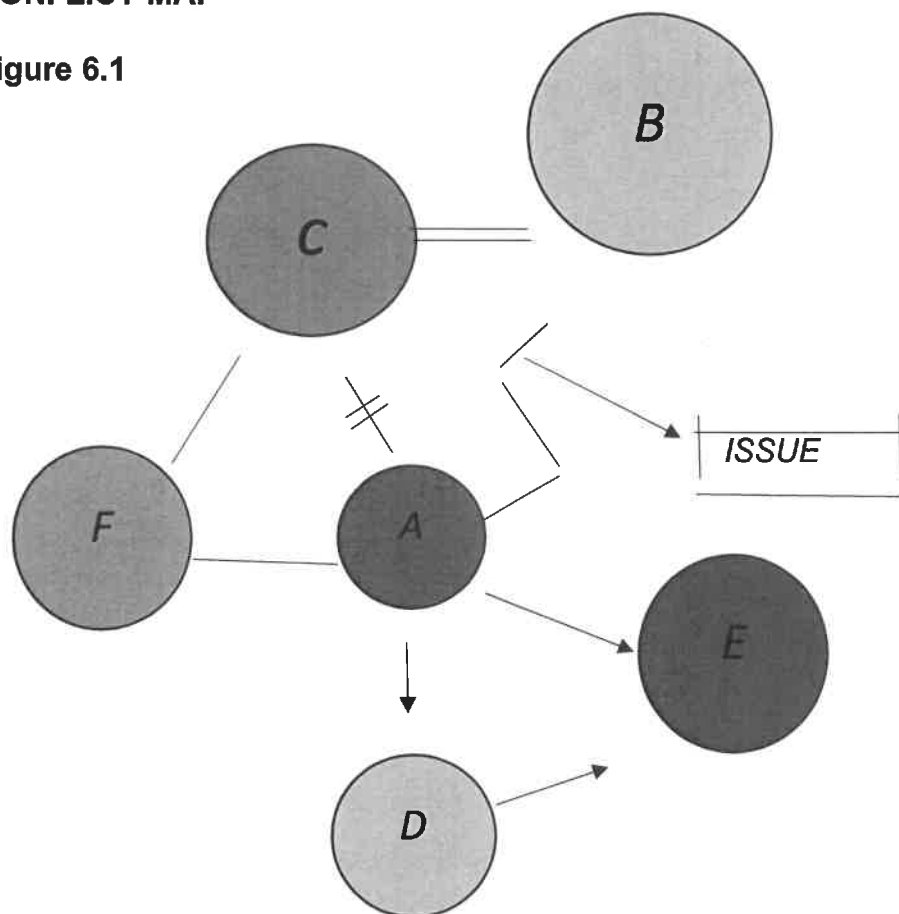
6.1 Mapping the conflict

Conflict mapping is one of the most well-known mechanisms in peace and conflict studies which is utilised to analyse a conflict. The strategy delivers a graphical introduction as it appears below which empowers peace and conflict specialists to

explain the accompanying issues; the primary conflict issues, parties and their impact or control over the dispute, connection among the parties (Fisher *et al.* 2000, Centre for Security Studies 2005). The conflict mapping diagram assists with recognising coalitions between the parties, the flow or direction of influence, possible coalitions for collaboration and potential avenues for intermediation.

CONFLICT MAP

Figure 6.1



Adopted from: Fischer 2005:23

Mapping components

1. Circles show actors and power to the condition. The bigger the circle, the more power the conflict party has over the issue and vice versa
2. A straight line represents a connection or an equally close connection among the parties
3. Double lines represent an alliance between the actors
4. A specked line demonstrates a casual or discontinuous connection between the actors
5. An arrow indicates the flow of authority, influence or control
6. Lines like lightning indicates disagreement or dispute
7. Broken line arcs indicate shadow parties, those who have an influence but are not directly involved in the issue

The following letters represent the parties in the conflict and their relationships in the above diagram

A= Street vendors

B= Harare city council

C= Government of Zimbabwe

D=ZRP and ZNA

E= Formal Business and Legal Street vendors

F= Vendors' Organisations

In the conflict mapping diagram above, there is discord between HCC (B) which is the major actor and street vendors (A) as shown by lines like lightning. There is an alliance between (C) and (B) which represents the Government of Zimbabwe (C) through the ministry of Local Government and HCC (B). The HCC acts on directives from the government through the Ministry of Local Government to clean up the city and drive out vendors from the streets. Hence, the Ministry of Local Government has influence over HCC. Street vendors (A) have some relationship with formal business (E) where the former (A) is allowed to operate on the latter (E)'s doorsteps and pavements as the latter (E) does not have the power to chase the former (A) away. There is a fairly close relationship between the Government of Zimbabwe (C) and vendors'

organisations (F) who often engage each other in discussions and dialogue on issues affecting street vendors. There is also a fairly close relationship between street vendors (A) and vendors' organisations (F) who often work together in fighting against eviction of (A) from the streets by the partnership between (B) and (D). There is a close relationship between (B) and (D) as they partner to chase (A) from the streets. The following section discusses various actors and, issues, perceptions and relationships.

6.2 Street Vendors

Street vendors have occupied every corner of the streets of Harare seeking to sell all kinds of goods and are trying to make a living due to mainly lack of alternative economic activities to make a living from and lack of formal employment and therefore resort to vending (Njaya 2014a:97). There are no formal jobs due to the closure of industries as the country has been affected by economic crisis which began in the late 1990s owing to the country's ill- advised structural adjustment programme (Njaya 2014a:96). It was estimated that there were close to 100 000 street vendors in Harare in 2016 (Njaya 2016: 106). Because of their sheer numbers, vending sites in the city centre are not enough for all of them which has left many operating as unlicensed street vendors. Two groups of vendors can therefore be identified.

6.2.1 Licensed Street Vendors

These have been allocated space by the HCC from which to sell their goods in terms of the city by- laws statutory instrument 159 of 2014 which requires them to sell their goods at designated sites which are usually located at bus terminus in the city centre which are termed ranks or renkini in Zimbabwe. They sell a diversity of products alternating between vegetables to clothes. This collection of street vendors usually have a good relationship with the HCC as they pay rates to the city council for space allocated to them though they often clash when they fail to pay or when council fails to provide ablution facilities. However, due to limited space, the designated sites can only accommodate few vendors. Their relationship with city council is also transactional. It is dependent upon their continued payment of rates to the city council and the continued rendering of reliable social services such as water by HCC. The city

council has the authority to remove them from their sites or to cancel their licences as it may deem it necessary.

6.2.1.1 What are the emerging issues?

With the increasing number of unlicensed vendors in town, licensed vendors have been affected as the volume of their sales have declined. Licensed vendors' products are more expensive than unlicensed vendors due to the rates and rentals that the former pay to the council. For example the researcher carried out a survey and noted that licensed vendors were selling bananas at 5 Zimbabwean dollars each (0.05 USD) whereas unlicensed vendors were selling their bananas at 3 Zimbabwean dollars (0.03 USD) each. This effectively has affected the relationship between licensed vendors and HCC as the latter has been blamed for failing to deal with unlicensed vendors (Interview with licensed vendors, 15 May 2018). The relationships between licensed street vendors and unlicensed street vendors themselves have been strained but the former have no authority and power to act against the latter as they are outnumbered (Interview with licensed vendor, 15 May 2018). They have on numerous occasions appealed to HCC to chase unlicensed vendors who have occupied all streets in town as their continued existence in the streets have affected licensed street vendors' daily incomes.

Resultantly, some of the licensed vendors have moved from their designated sites and are now operating from undesignated points such that it is now difficult to distinguish between unlicensed and licensed vendors. They argue that unlicensed street vendors sell cheap goods as they do not incur expenses such as rates and rentals to HCC which have left them without business (Interview with licensed street vendors, 16 May 2018). The few who have remained at designated sites have since stopped paying rates to HCC as they complain that they are failing to sell from these points due to the influx of unlicensed vendors whom HCC is failing to deal with (Interview with licensed vendors, 16 May 2018). This has created another conflict between HCC and licensed vendors as HCC continues to demand the payment of rates and is allegedly owed a lot of money by these vendors (Interview with HCC official, 5 December 2018).

6.2.2 Unlicensed Street vendors

The second group of vendors are the unlicensed street vendors who have invaded the city because of unavailability of formal jobs owing to the closure of companies and retrenchments which have left many out of formal employment (Finscope 2014, Mangudhla 2015). These are in direct conflict with HCC as they fight for space and operate from undesignated sites where they do not pay rates to the council.

6.2.2.1 What are the Issues?

Unlicensed street vendors have occupied every space available in town and are demanding convenient vending space where it is strategic for them and their clients if they are to be relocated from their current undesignated locations (Interview with unlicensed vendor, 20 May 2018). HCC is demanding that these vendors should be regularised and relocated to vending spaces allocated by city council, most of which are out of town as there are limited vending sites in the city centre. It is suffice to say that the large percentage of vendors operating in the city centre are operating without licences.

Unlicensed street vendors have shunned designated points created by HCC out of town as the HCC aimed to decongest the city centre. Vendors claimed that these points are not convenient to their clients which has led them to continue occupying the streets where they believe there is more business (Interview with unlicensed vendor, 20 May 2018). City council on the other hand has called on vendors to abide by city by- laws and desist from trading at undesignated sites as doing so has resulted in congestion, dirty and increased crime levels. Efforts by city council to regularise street vending have not been welcomed by vendors resulting in running battles.

Interview with an unlicensed street vendor revealed that they refused to pay licence fees to the city council because they are required to pay 120 USD for a licence which allowed them to trade for a year at a space provided by council on the outskirts of town where there are few clients (Interview with unlicensed vendor, 20 May 2018). This was also confirmed by Njaya (2014a 96). Therefore, they want to work unlawfully in the city centre where there is a huge market. These unlicensed street vendors work

against Hawkers and Street vendor's by-law 4(1b) which compels them to work in the areas indicated without which results in collision with HCC. The relationship between unlicensed street vendors and HCC is bad as characterised by constant running battles, confiscation of vendor's goods and arrests which sometimes turn violent as unlicensed street vendors resist arrest. In some cases HCC police members get beaten up by angry unlicensed street vendors which results in injuries. .

This was also demonstrated by street vendors who accused the city council of causing poverty among them when they insist on chasing them from the streets where they earn their living from. One vendor stated that

Ngavatidzinge havo asi toenda kupi? Tinongodzoka nekuti mustreet ndimo matinoraramira. Kutidzinga mustreet kuda kuti tife nenzara. (They may chase us from the streets but where will we go? We will come back because this is where we earn our living. They want us to die of hunger by chasing us from the streets) (Interview with unlicensed vendor, 18 May 2018).

Vendors do not believe the city council narrative that the authority seeks to preserve order and cleanliness in the city by designating areas for vending. Vendors believe that any place in the city is suitable for vending, hence conflict results. On the other hand HCC believes that the disorder in the city is caused by street vendors

6.3 Pedestrians

Pedestrians are ordinary people who walk around in town for different purposes. Most pedestrians walk in town going to different work places, while some conduct their shopping in town. They encounter street vendors when they step on vendors' goods which are often displayed on pavements where pedestrians walk past. Conflict has also occurred between street vendors and pedestrians. Street vendors have occupied both sides of the pavements where pedestrians walk, making it difficult for pedestrians to walk past these pavements. As a result, many pedestrians have been at the receiving end of street vendors' tongue lashing or even beatings for stamping on their goods displayed on the pavements. Many a time pedestrians have stamped on their goods displayed on both sides of the pavements resulting in conflicts between vendors and pedestrians. This conflict is a result of negative the perceptions of pedestrians

held by street vendors who perceive pedestrians as people who undermine their trade as street vending has been traditionally looked down as a trade for people who do not qualify for formal employment. A street vendor who was interviewed noted that pedestrians have a negative perception of vendors and this makes them to stamp on their goods displayed on pavements deliberately. The interviewed street vendor noted that vendors are not given the respect that they deserve by pedestrians. He argued that pedestrians should respect them as any other person because they were only trying to make a decent living from the streets and their presence in the streets was not as a matter of choice but necessity (Interview with unlicensed street vendor, 19 May 2018).

On the other hand pedestrians lamented what they called a disregard of the city by-laws and others by street vendors. They accused street vendors of being selfish and for not considering the inconveniences they were causing others. They complained that street vendors make it difficult for them to walk with their families in the streets as most times vendors occupy both sides of the pavements. Pedestrians consider street vendors as violent and inconsiderate people who sell their products at undesignated sites which often attract conflict with other people like them. Pedestrians called upon the HCC to make sure that it regulates vendors as they were making it difficult for them to move freely in the city centre fearing to clash with street vendors having stepped on their products displaced on the pavements where they walk through.

6.4 Harare City Council (HCC) and Government of Zimbabwe

HCC operates under the mandate from the government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing. The Ministry issues directives to the HCC to make the city of Harare orderly and clean. One such directive was issued on 8 April 2020 which stated that,

At the ninth cabinet meeting, it was resolved that local authorities should take advantage of the national lockdown to clean up and renovate Small and Medium Enterprises and informal traders' workplaces so that these areas will be more conducive to operate from when business reopens (Zimpricecheck, 20 April 2020).

The HCC is responsible for the running of city affairs which include allocation of vending sites through its department of physical planning. It is also responsible for making the city clean and orderly. Its vision is to make the city of Harare a sunshine city by 2025.

6.4.1 What are the issues with other vendors?

As an authority which is responsible for the administration and running of city of Harare, HCC has clashed with street vendors whom it accuses of creating disorder, congestion, dirty and increased crime levels in the city centre. It has responded by forcefully removing unlicensed street vendors from the streets and sometimes in partnership with ZRP and ZNA which has resulted in running battles. Sometimes it carries its own operations. As a way of decongesting the city centre, the city council has also designated some vending sites on the outskirts of the city centre which have not been occupied by street vendors who argue that they are not viable as clients are concentrated in the city centre. This has resulted in violent conflicts as HCC tries to enforce city by- laws whereas unlicensed street vendors seek to eke out a living from the streets. I had the opportunity to interview a council official who likened their conflict with vendors to war as he retorted,

The problem with street vendors is that they think they are the only ones who have the right to use the streets. They decided to invade the streets without coming to us and we have responded heavy handedly because this is war. They are disregarding other city users and have become a law unto themselves. They have occupied every corner of the city, where do other city users conduct their business? Moreover, they do not pay anything to the city council. They are unlicensed vendors the majority if not all of them. We cannot accommodate all of them in the city centre (Interview with Council official, 5 December 2018).

This council position is supported by a study that was carried out by Nyavaya (2015) in which then HCC town clerk Tendai Mahachi was interviewed and said that in order to manage wilderness in the CBD area, all vendors working at undesignated sites were commanded to vacate and use designated selling points allocated to them by

HCC or risk being prohibited from selling in the capital anymore. He also noted that the city council had agreed with vendors' representatives that there ought to be structured selling in the city. He had this to say,

The CBD sites can only accommodate limited number of traders and the rest will be accommodated in the suburbs and outskirts of the city centre. The city will continuously review provision of market places with a view to increasing the number of trading sites. We want to empower our people as well as transform our economy so we will engage stakeholders at all levels so that we consult extensively before we move our people (Nyavaya 2015).

This is consistent with what Mitullah (2003) noted that the greatest challenge facing informal traders is because of the location of trading places as spaces occupied by informal merchants are not lawful as they have not been designated for such kind of trade. The major conflict occurs when street vendors are required to move from these undesignated sites to sites proposed to them by city council where they feel there is no business. This brings them in direct confrontation with city authorities. This has happened to the HCC and street vendors where the former designated areas for vending out of town. Street vendors shunned these sites citing lack of business. However, HCC maintains that if they go there clients will follow them. No solution had been found by the time of the study as HCC continued to raid unlicensed street vendors who on the other hand continue to flock into the city centre creating a vicious circle.

6.4.3 When street vending becomes political

City council officials who were interviewed also added that the problem of street vending in Harare was being affected by politics. The city's drive to cleanse the city of unlicensed street vending was being undermined by politics. They provided an example when the former first lady Grace Mugabe, at a rally in 2014 accused police and council of using excessive force against unlicensed street vendors. She gave street vendors the authority to proceed with marketing their products anywhere they felt there was good business which contradicted HCC policy to regularise their street

business and maintain tidiness in the city centre. This was also supported by an article by Hove *et al.* (2019:7) in which they quoted a Harare City Council official saying,

Unlicenced street vending has been politicised. Our efforts to remove them (unlicenced street vendors) from the streets were completely curtailed by the first lady who commanded us against removing them and we could not challenge the first lady of the country's decision.

A council member also noted that the council and the government were to blame for the problem of unlicenced street vending that was prevalent in Harare. He noted that,

This problem of unlicenced street vending has been allowed to go on for a long time until a time it was difficult to reign them in. Had the city council and government acted proactively to drive unlicenced vendors from the streets before they established themselves in the city centre, we would not be having difficulties in chasing them from the streets. But we allowed them to settle down and established semi- permanent positions which are unlicenced in the city centre making it difficult for us to drive them out (Interview with council member, 6 December 2018).

He added that HCC was justified in using violence to drive unlicenced vendors from the streets noting that street vendors ignored HCC calls for them to regularise their trade many times.

Ndawana (2018:260) delved into the HCC-vendors dynamics when he argued that the politicisation of street vending has made it impossible to design a permanent solution to resolve the challenges of street vending in Zimbabwe. He identified political convenience as the most significant factor impeding the designing of permanent answers to the challenges of unlicenced street vending. At the time of the study, there was constant conflict between opposition run councils (MDC) and national government dominated by ruling party (ZANU PF). This conflict over the running of council affairs has made it difficult to come up with lasting solutions to the problem of unlicenced vending. For instance towards the 2013 elections, the then Minister of Local Government instructed all rural and urban councils to write off debts unsettled by

residents with promises that the ZANU PF government would pay the debts on behalf of the residents. This affected the performance of councils, the majority of which are run by the opposition MDC. Prior to 2018 harmonised elections, Vice President Chiwenga also told people at a rally that they should boycott paying rates to councils if the service delivery is poor. This reflects the politicisation of the streets and is detrimental to resolving conflicts between street vendors and urban authorities.

Ndawana (2018:260) further writes that ZANU PF government has purposely used the unlicensed street vending activities in Harare to win the city back from the opposition MDC-T (now MDC Alliance) who has won the city elections since 2005 elections. On the other hand, the MDC Alliance was determined to keep control of the city by profiting on the unlawful activities of unlicensed street vendors. Consequently, the two parties (one in government and one running HCC) jostled to use their divergent forms of influence to capture this significant sector of unlicensed vendors to further their political objectives and in the process making it difficult to control vending in Harare and other cities in Zimbabwe.

In addition, ZANU PF supporters and youth have claimed huge pieces of open space in Harare without council approval. For example, the apportionment of vending sites at Mupedzanhamo and Mbare Musika is overseen by ZANU PF officials, subverting the authority of the HCC which manages the allocation and distribution of land for use in Harare (Kriger 2012 quoted by Ndawana 2018:265). The ZANU PF youth militia code named 'Chipangano' (a youth vigilante group) runs the Mupedzanhamo and Mbare Musika markets and often extorts money from desperate street vendors thereby usurping council authority to effectively carry out its work. Opposition members are not allocated space to trade at these market places as it is a known ZANU PF territory.

6.5 Formal business caught in the middle

Shop operators (formal business), just like licensed vendors have been caught up in this conflict as they have suffered the effects of unlicensed street vending. Unlicensed street vendors have invaded their pavements selling products that they also sell in their shops at much reduced prices since they are not paying rentals. Street vendors

get these products cheaply from dealers who smuggle some of these goods from neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa. Some of the products are second hand products, hence they are cheap. Due to the economic crisis, people are forced to buy cheap products from unlicensed street vendors thereby putting shop operators at risk of liquidation since they can no longer record any significant sales. This situation has put shop operators on collision course with HCC threatening to stop paying rates and taxes as they have been affected by unlicensed street vendors unless HCC deals with the problem of unlicensed street vending at their doorsteps decisively. Shop operators have failed to deal with street vendors on their own due to the sheer number of street vendors who invade shop operators' pavements selling their goods but in the process taking clients from them.

The researcher interviewed representatives of established or formal businesses in the CBD who lamented that they have lost business because of street vendors. They blamed the conflict raging on between street vendors and HCC both sides arguing that unlicensed street vendors have disregarded everyone else besides themselves for the use of space in the CBD and HCC has failed to protect them against unlicensed vendors. Formal business complained what they termed harassment of their clients by street vendors who sell their goods on their pavement and sometimes at their door steps. They intercept clients who would want to enter into formal shops and entice them to buy from them as they are cheaper than formal shops. Not only do they bar customers from entering formal shops but they also harass them if they refuse to buy from them. Clients who refuse to buy from vendors are barred from entering formal shops by these vendors who sometimes become aggressive towards clients. As a result shops have made losses and some have been forced to close. One shop operator had this to say,

While we sympathise with street vendors as victims of the ailing economy, they should also understand that we are also victims of the same economy. Street vendors have the courage to sell at my doorstep goods found in my shop at prices much lower than mine without even negotiating with me. They have virtually taken over my business but I pay rates to city council every month while they do not pay anything. They are riding their business on my back. I am

contemplating to defer payment of rates to council because I am not doing business here. It is better to close the shop and stay at home (Interview with shop owner, 15 November 2018).

This view was supported by the study carried out in Bulawayo by Ndiweni *et al.* (2014:6) who noted that many people were operating without licences from Bulawayo city council (BCC) and these unregistered street vendors sold their products at reduced prices and one could negotiate with them to further reduce the price, something which they could not do in formal shops. This created firm rivalry with established and formal businesses. The cost of products of the unlicensed vendors are truly adaptable in light of the fact that do not incur overhead costs such as rentals and rates to council. This created conflict between registered businesses and city authorities as the former felt short changed as they were expected to pay rentals yet they were losing business to unregistered vendors who did not pay anything to the city council.

This position that formal business found itself into was also confirmed by one council planning official who was cited by Hove *et al.* (2019:9) who said that,

Formal shops are suffering loss and face closure because the vendors have brought unfair competition. They sell their goods at low prices because they do not pay rentals and tax.

The foregoing quotation revealed that council is aware of the challenges that formal shops have encountered because of the existence of many unlicensed street vendors selling their cheap goods to the public on the streets and council had been battling to chase them without much success.

Formal shops further noted that they were forced to close their shops almost on many occasions as street vendors engaged in cat and mouse chase with council police on the streets. Street vendors fleeing from council police and ZRP often sought refuge in their shops and on several occasions ZRP threw teargas inside their premises accusing them of sheltering street vendors. This also interrupted their business due to these running battles. Because of the conflict between street vendors and HCC, formal businesses operating in the CBD had been caught in the conflict. Formal business

wanted this conflict to be resolved sooner as they had lost business. They wanted street vendors removed from their premises' pavements and be relocated to designated points.

6.5.1 An unholy alliance between shop operators and street vendors

Interviews conducted by the researcher indicated that there was a growing unholy alliance between street vendors and some shop operators in the Harare CBD area. Zimbabwe has been experiencing an economic crisis for more than two decades. The crisis emerged in the year 2000 when the country embarked on land reform which distributed land to black people, which was formerly in the hands of white people (Njaya 2014a:96, Hove *et al.* 2019). The violent takeover of farms previously owned by white commercial farmers resulted in shortage of agricultural produce which reduced Zimbabwe from the bread basket of Southern Africa into a begging bowl of Southern Africa. The economic crisis saw the closure of industries which resulted in the number of street vendors who were former industry employees increasing. The economic crisis also brought other economic challenges such as cash crisis in the country. This resulted in goods being sold using two tier pricing system where the cash price of a product is less than an electronic price. Businesses also rely on buying foreign currency from the black market which again used a two tier pricing regime where cash rates are lower than electronic rates. For instance, the rate of current USD1 is equivalent to 100 dollars (Zimbabwean Dollars) when it is cash. When it is electronic transfer USD1 is equivalent to 150 (Zimbabwean Dollars). Therefore buying products and foreign currency using cash becomes cheaper than buying using electronic means.

Interviews carried out with street vendors revealed that shop operators allocate them some goods to sell on the streets on their behalf and these goods were sold strictly on cash bases. When they get the cash they sell the cash to desperate individuals and companies who would want to buy foreign currency on the black market and in the process they make super profits than they would have made when they sold their products in their shops using electronic transfer system (Interview with unlicensed street vendor, 20 May 2018). This practice was however, unlawful and if the government discovered this, they risked losing their operating licences, hence they

did this secretly. The vendors who were allocated goods to sell on the streets by these shop operators got paid and for them it was good business deal and source of capital since most of the vendors did not have resources to start their own businesses. This was an unholy alliance because other shop operators complained about the existence of street vendors on their pavements and were threatening HCC and government that if vendors were not removed from the streets, they would not be able to pay rates and taxes. However, other shop operators saw an opportunity and decided to work with street vendors to survive in the difficult economic environment, despite the risks associated with the unholy alliance.

6.6 Vendor organisations

Two major vendors' organisations have been instrumental and vocal in the dispute between street vendors and HCC. These are the National Vendors Association of Zimbabwe (NAVUZ) and the Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation (VISET). The two organisations have different structures and leadership but purport to represent vendors in all their spheres of life. VISET director Samuel Wadzai support vending activities and was quoted saying,

We are witnessing the wanton abuse of street traders at the hands of the Zimbabwe Republic Police and the army. Hundreds of our supporters have been rounded up and arrested.... Vendors are not criminals but ordinary people seeking livelihoods and must be allowed to feed their families, especially when the government has failed to provide formal jobs (Manayiti 2019).

The two organisations have argued that vendors have nowhere to go and vowed that they will continue to operate from where they are operating until the council provides them with convenient and fully furnished operating sites. The two organisations occasionally consulted lawyers with a view to approach the courts to seek an interdict to stop the continued attack on vendor's livelihoods and to represent some vendors who would have been arrested. VISET argued through its director Wadzai that forceful eviction of street vendors would not solve but will exacerbate the problem. Wadzai also revealed that his organisation was willing to sit down with all the stakeholders to amicably resolve the challenges posed by unlicensed street vendors.

Vendors' organizations representatives blamed the HCC for failing to avail enough vending space to the vendors despite vending becoming the biggest employer in the country. They also criticised the brutal manner in which HCC was using to chase vendors away from the CBD. They expressed concern over the lack of consultation by council when allocating vending space. For instance they lamented the fact that vending sites designated by council out of city centre were not convenient and as a result vendors had no choice but to come back to the city centre. A member of the Vendors Association of Zimbabwe had this to say,

We have seen in recent years the abuse of vendors by the Republic of Zimbabwe Police (ZRP), the council police who harass and victimise vendors for doing their work in the streets. The informal economy continues to sustain Zimbabwe with 7.4 billion dollars circulating in the informal economy annually. We however, call for the increase in vending sites from the current position where we have 85,000 vendors competing for space in 1.185 vending sites in Harare city centre. There are also no sanitary facilities and safety provisions in the designated areas. We therefore call upon the city of Harare to stop confiscating vendors' goods until they are allocated vending space (Manayiti 2019).

Another official from NAVUZ had this to say,

Preventing our members from the trading is commensurate to stating they return home and pass on. Our position continues as before. If the economy continues to perform poorly and the government is not helping our members to give a helpful and convincing outcome that takes into account the needs of our members, we will remain and continue with our business in the streets at points that are convenient for us. If there is an agreement between council and vendor associations as claimed by the former, they should ensure that the registration process is carried out in a transparent manner that curbs allegations of corruption (Nyavaya 2015).

In March 2019, after a series of clashes between street vendors and municipal police in conjunction with ZRP which resulted in many street vendors losing their goods and some arrested, VISET tweeted and said that,

We condemn the ZRP brutality and unconstitutional arrest of street traders in the streets of Harare. As street traders we are out to make a living in this difficult economic situation. Stop the war on livelihoods (Manayiti 2019).

Therefore according to vendor's representatives, HCC needs to do the following things if they are to resolve the current conflict with street vendors.

- Consult vendors with regards to vending sites
- Provide more vending sites at reasonable rates
- Be more transparent in the allocation of vending sites
- Stop confiscating vendors' goods until they allocate them vending spaces which are convenient to their clients and viable.

6.7 Zimbabwe Republic Police and Zimbabwe National Army

Other actors which have been involved in this conflict though from the peripheral standpoint are the security forces (Zimbabwe Republic Police and the Zimbabwe National Army) which have been working together with the city council to chase street vendors from the streets. The reason why the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) in particular is involved in this conflict is that although HCC has its own police department, it does not have arresting powers. Lack of arresting and prosecuting powers for the council police has made it very difficult for HCC to arrest and prosecute vendors. As a result HCC has brought in ZRP to arrest and prosecute street vendors who refuse to abide by the city by- laws. In this case, the HCC police work together with the ZRP. HCC police only has the power to confiscate vendor's goods and hand them over to ZRP who then fine and prosecute the vendors. ZRP has also been involved in daily raids on street vendors in joint operations with the city council and at times they incorporate ZNA in joint operations when the violence is likely to escalate. Frosty relations have therefore emerged between the security forces and street vendors with the latter enjoying support from human rights defenders who have lamented the heavy handedness of the security forces in the manner in which they brutalise vendors. Human rights organisations have accused HCC of militarising the streets. There have been isolated incidences where ZRP and HCC police members

have been attacked by street vendors while on duty trying to enforce council by- laws to create order in the city centre. These incidences have justified the engagement of ZNA to help the city council to enforce their by- laws against the marauding and vicious street vendors. It is therefore important to note that with the use of the conflict map there are strong links between ZRP, ZNA and HCC who work jointly to maintain order in the streets and in doing so, the security forces have created tense relations with street vendors and vendors' organisations.

6.8 Can these relationships be transformed?

Peace means the absence of violent conflict and the presence of justice. Webel and Galtung (2007:6) noted that there are two forms of peace; positive peace and negative peace. Accordingly, they further highlighted that positive peace means the simultaneous presence of many desire states of mind and society such as harmony, equity and justice whereas negative peace means the absence of war and other forms of wide scale violent human conflict (Webel and Galtung 2007:6). In this study, I noticed that there was lack of both types of peace in the relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. The main aim of this study was to transform the relationships which were characterized by lack of peace and harmony and the promotion or ushering in of new relationships which are characterized by mutual harmony and cooperation. At the time of the study, there were doubts if there was going to be peace but having intervened in the conflict with the help of the conflict parties there was hope that a sustainable solution to the problem would be found. I interviewed all parties to the conflict who expressed hope that soon a lasting solution would be found. However, part of the solution is embedded in the overall performance of the economy. The improvement of the economy would mean the return of formal employment so that some vendors can be absorbed into the formal economy. The stability of the economy would also attract some people who have resorted to the streets because of the unattractiveness of the salaries that are paid by the formal sector to join the sector from the streets. However, some pessimist expressed lack of hope that this problem would be resolved and noted that as long as the economy remained in the doldrums which seemed to be the reality, the influx of unlicensed vendors into the city centre would continue and city council would continue to raid and

chase vendors from the streets. There would be therefore, a vicious cycle of violence, according to the pessimists, no matter the amount of confiscation of goods and arrests by joint operations of city council and Zimbabwe Republic police as vendors would continue to operate outside the confines of the law since they had nothing else to do besides vending.

The former Minister of Local Government Savious Kasukuwere once noted that the problem of street vending is both a socio- economic and political issue and needed concerted efforts instead on relying on council orders and police to patrol the streets (Newsday Opinion 2015). He further argued that despite the fact that vendors needed to make ends meet, it was vital that the government brought up a clear- cut way of managing vending which should be supported by many stakeholders.

Street vendors that I interviewed noted that there could only be peace when council allows them to trade in the city centre and regularise their trade. On the other hand, Harare city council argued that there can only be peace when street vendors use designated sites for their trade and understand that they cannot all be absorbed due to limited space in the city centre. This contradiction represents what Hansen (1987) called the "Peace Problematic" in which he said peace was a "Universal Desideratum" which means everyone desires peace but does not know what it is and how it is to be achieved. Conflict parties have different perspectives of what they term peace and in this, study street vendors and Harare city council had different conceptions of peace and how it had to be achieved.

In line with this argument, my research involved asking the conflict parties how they would wanted to address the conflict and the responses by the conflict parties showed that they had different solutions to the problem. Street vendors expressed hope that there could only be peace when they are allowed to sell their goods at sites that they chose whereas the city council perceived that peace can be attained when vendors use designated sites to sell their goods and are all licenced. It was clear by the sheer extent of street vending around the country and the nature of the economy and employment levels that street vending was here to stay. What was therefore needed was to reconcile the different positions held by the conflict parties and come up with a

mutually agreeable solution which would be supported by all conflict parties, which this study sought to achieve.

6.9 Summary

This chapter made an analysis of the causes, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and Harare city council as well as the mechanisms that the two parties used in addressing their conflict using the conflict map as a conflict analysis tool. It also analysed the parties' relationships, influences, and issues at play, attitudes and contradictions. The chapter used interpretive, phenomenology and discourse analysis to unpack the various issues that characterised relationships among a variety of actors. The results of the fieldwork on the relations between street vendors and city council and other actors revealed that there was bad blood among a variety of actors but mainly between street vendors and HCC who always fought owing to the differences over the use of public space in the city of Harare. There was so much polarisation, mistrust and resentment among the parties which have been simmering for many years. There were daily running battles in the streets of Harare which resembled a war zone. The conflict had become intractable and no solution in sight as parties continued to entrench their positions and interests. Attempts were made to address the conflict such as allocation of vending sites on the outskirts of the city centre but vendors continued to flock into the city centre citing lack of business at the new sites. The economic situation in the country had been worsening the conflict as parties fought to promote their interests at the expense of others in a shrinking economic space. It was the violent nature of the relationship which prompted this study to intervene and together with the conflict parties to find ways of transforming the conflict from hostility, mistrust and resentment into cooperation, tranquillity and harmony through action research within the conflict transformation theoretical framework. The following chapter is a planning, adoption and evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention model adopted by the researcher working together with conflict parties to transform the conflict.

Chapter 7: The Intervention: Non-Violent Conflict Resolution Training and Dialogue

All conflicts are born equal and have the same right to be processed with transcendence (going beyond) and transformation so that parties can live with them (Galtung 2004:7).

7.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the process, activities and the actions that took place in an effort to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Dialogue based on the Transcend Method and training on non-violent conflict resolution methods were instrumental in this process as they encouraged and facilitated engagement, contact and communication among the participants and their various constituencies that they represented. The process was structured to cover the following themes: communication, contact, non-violent engagement and cooperation.

7.1 Transforming relationships using the Transcend Method

Transcend Method is based on the view that transforming relationships between and among the actors is key for the peaceful and sustainable resolution of conflict. For relationships to be changed, actors should also change their behaviour and attitude towards one another. Galtung (2002) contend that the Transcend Method signifies an imaginative and determined effort at addressing and transforming relationships between the polarised actors. In this study, there are two main groups which were polarised. These were street vendors and Harare city council. The study sought to transform these polarised groups' relationships, change the way they acted and behaved towards one another so that they co-exist amicably with one another.

Transcend dialogue method is a mechanism of conflict transformation which aims to bring actors in dispute close helped by the mediator. The essential element of the method is to bring the conflict parties together so that they can rise above the common enmity and together distinguish imaginative approaches to reconstruct connections through shared regard for rivals (Galtung 2002). The use of dialogue in Transcend

method unties conflicts and makes it possible for actors to work together via joint vision. Galtung (2002) contends that Transcend method places emphasis in recognising joint roots and obligations as opposed to discovering fault and blame. The Transcend method depends on exchange of ideas as opposed to competition where each party seeks to advance its own interests ahead of the opponent and to overcome others. In dialogue, parties connect one another, listen to each other in a peaceful way so as to create shared regard, comprehension and coordinated effort. In this study, Galtung's Transcend method was used in conjunction with Saunders' Sustained dialogue which is a sustained and meaningful creative exchange of opinion and perceptions (Saunders 1999).

The Transcend Method relies on tranquil commitment as exchange with all concerned actors by initially holding independent discussions with the parties. By holding discussions with one actor separately, the researcher who was also the facilitator aimed at eventually convening a dialogue which included all the actors facing each other and discussing their fears, needs and suggesting solutions. The engagement of protagonists separately before convening a dialogue session which comprised all actors was significant in light of the fact that in case of fierce clash, it was not possible for actors to have a collective interaction without sufficient planning. The facilitator would need to broaden time holding discussions with actors separately until it gets convenient to convene a dialogue with all the actors. In this study, parties were engaged separately through various means which included interviews and focus group discussions in which the facilitator advocated for dialogue among the main protagonists (street vendors and Harare city council). The facilitator first met and interviewed street vendors to find out what the problem was and how can the problem be resolved? Having been briefed about the problem by street vendors, I then met and interviewed Harare city council officials who also presented their arguments to me. During my meetings with them, I suggested the possibility of dialogue between them which they consented. I then organized a dialogue between street vendors and Harare city council together with other fringe actors such as shop owners and vendor organisations to try and resolve the issue together.

In this study, Transcend Method had three stages. Interviews and focus groups formed the initial stages of the transcend method. Each group was met separately between March 2018 and December 2018. Notes were written down with the consent of the participants. Interviews were carried out in the streets where street vendors operated. These data collection methods were used to obtain in- depth data on perceptions and misperceptions of the participants before dialogue took place. Training session on non- violent conflict resolution comprised part of the third stage of the transcend method which encouraged the use of dialogue in reaching a peaceful and mutually agreed solution. The training on non- violence and peaceful resolution of conflict was conducted on 6th January 2019 in Harare with ten participants drawn from street vendors who were conveniently selected. This eventually led to a mini- dialogue session among various representatives of various groups involved in the conflict. This was carried out on 31 March 2019. The mini dialogue comprised eight members (two each from the actors) who were street vendors, formal business, city council and vendors' organisations. Another mini- dialogue was further held on 9 February 2020 which comprised of six members (two each from street vendors, vendor organisations and formal business). Details of the second dialogue are discussed in chapter 7. The sessions were however, recorded on paper as participants expressed their concerns with being voice recorded and their concerns were taken into consideration. The post-intervention evaluation was conducted from end of April 2019 until the submission of the thesis as it was an ongoing activity which used focus group discussions, observation and interviews.

7.3 Training of street vendors on peaceful conflict resolution

As part of efforts in peacebuilding to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC, the first intervention that I carried out was the training of an action group which comprised ten street vendors which I chose using convenience sampling. I realised that there were toxic relations between street vendors and HCC which were characterised by running battles and for there to be changes in this undesirable situation, I needed to identify influential street vendors whom I could then train on non – violent conflict resolution and transcend dialogue so that they could influence others to engage HCC and other stakeholders non- violently. I came to this decision after

realising that violence was not only between street vendors and HCC but even among street vendors themselves and other actors as well. Street vendors were also violent towards pedestrians who stepped on their displayed goods on pavements. However, the most pronounced violence involved street vendors and HCC which often disrupted business in the city centre. I, therefore organised a one day training workshop to train street vendors and it was carried out on the 6th of January 2019. I facilitated the training using the experience and knowledge that I had gained when I attended the non-violence workshop in January 2017 at Durban University of Technology as part of my orientation into the Peacebuilding programme which was facilitated by Professor Geoffrey Harris and Dr Kaye Sylvia.

The participants chose Sunday as the day which was convenient to them for the training since there were less economic activities in the CBD which ensured that they did not lose income. It was important that as the researcher, I give priority to the participants to choose a date which was convenient to them so that they felt to be part of decision making processes and solutions. This is the importance of action research as it places emphasis on the participants than the researcher. In action research, participants are given opportunities to make decisions on situations that affect them. During the training, participants were introduced to terms such as conflict, violence, peace, positive peace, negative peace, non – violence, dialogue and transcend approach to conflict resolution, among other terms that I shared with them in an effort to let them appreciate the value of non- violent means of conflict resolution. They were also given role plays and scenarios on how they could solve some of the conflicts in the event that they happened to be involved in such conflicts. Discussions were carried out after every activity and the discussions were frank. A suitable atmosphere was created for such discussions to take place as I assured the participants that their contributions were valuable and will only be used for academic purposes. Members were familiar with one another since they knew each other from the streets. It was therefore not difficult for them to integrate and make meaningful debates during the training exercise.

7.3.1 The importance of training programme on non- violence.

Ten participants were selected to undergo training on non- violence and peaceful resolution of disputes as explained above. The participants were drawn from street vendors trading in the streets of Harare. They were balanced on gender which means there were five men and five women. This training was important because it built solidarity among street vendors. It created room for creativity as participants were exposed to other means of dealing with conflicts which were not necessarily violent. The training discouraged the use of violence in solving disputes because violence begets violence. Chenoweth and Stephan (2008:11) defends the training on non-violence arguing that it transforms the way the actors communicate with each other as well as with strangers. The participants were volunteers who were not paid anything to participate in the training on non- violence conflict resolution.

The training of participants was successfully conducted and participants appreciated the training programme. All participants agreed that violence had brought no solution to their challenges and acknowledged that there was need for a new approach to conflict resolution which was based on peaceful resolution of conflicts. Violence that had characterised the relationships between street vendors and city council had led to injuries, deaths, destruction of properties and loss of goods and needed to be curtailed. Violence with other actors such as pedestrians and among street vendors themselves on a range of issues was unnecessary and needed to be stopped.

7.3.2 The training process

The training took one day due to the tight schedules that the participants had at their workplaces as self-employers. The participants were street vendors who live through selling and it would have been unfair on them to spend many days attending the training. The training was also conducted on a Sunday on the 6th of January 2019, where there was less business to ensure that participants did not lose out on income. This day was proposed by the participants themselves which is one of the characteristics of action research, to allow the participants the right to make decisions on their own without the researcher imposing his or her decisions on the participants. The training was held in the city centre at an office space provided by a friend. It started

at 9:30 am and ended at 4:30 pm. Members appreciated the value of non- violence and peaceful resolution of disputes.

The training began by allowing participants to establish training rules. All contributions were to be done through me as the facilitator. Heckling and undermining each other's contributions was not allowed. Participants were encouraged to make constructive criticisms and desist from undermining others' opinions. Due to limited time participants were allowed a maximum of five minutes to contribute towards the training.

I introduced myself to the participants and my research assistant. I highlighted to the participants that the purpose of the training was to help society in general to remove the scourge of violence that was becoming common among members of the society, including participants. I introduced to them concepts such as conflict, types of conflict, levels of conflict, causes of conflict, violence, types of violence, causes of violence, non- violence, conflict resolution, among others. I did this in vernacular language which the participants understood. The participants were also introduced to various scenarios and role plays to enlighten them on how to solve problems using non- violent means. They were asked to share their experiences in various conflicts which they encountered in their lives with their families, their peers and how they handled those situations. There were tea breaks at 11am, 1pm and 3pm. During training, I grouped the participants into pairs and gave them some scenarios of common conflicts for them to provide possible solutions to the scenarios. We shared the results of the scenarios altogether. At the end of the day participants acknowledged that they had gained a lot from the training and if resources and time permitted they could have another training. Light snacks were provided to the participants during these breaks to allow participants to refresh. In between these tea breaks, there were five minutes smoke breaks after every hour to allow participants to hold informal discussions concerning their training programme.

At the end of the day participants were asked about their appreciation of the programme which they said helped them a lot in terms of resolving disputes peacefully. The majority of the men noted that they often use threats and force to settle

disputes and had been enlightened to learn that violence is a choice which can be avoided. During the debrief one participant had this to say,

I always thought that using violence and threats was the best way to solve problems even at home, but today I have learnt that there are better ways of solving disputes than violence. What I have learnt today will go a long way in transforming my relations with people in my community as I no longer prescribe to a violent way of resolving conflicts (Interview with training Participant, 6 January 2019).

The participants promised to attend such programmes in future as they had a good experience learning about others experiences as well and how they handled disputes. Moreover, the training programme had enlightened them on various aspects and taught them how to handle conflicts as it is the way that people handle conflicts that determine responses from others which can turn violent.

7.5 Dialogue session

I discovered that training the participants on non- violent conflict resolution alone was not enough to achieve the desired ultimate goal of transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. This was because the training programme had only targeted one of the actors in the conflict in the form of street vendors. It was therefore important to target all actors in the conflict if real transformation was to be achieved. Although the training programme's impact in transforming relationships cannot be undermined, I thought it was not enough and more interventions needed to be carried out. I suggested to the parties to hold a dialogue session with more parties in the conflict. I invited street vendors, Harare city council, vendors' representatives and formal business, among other parties. The four actors mentioned responded positively to the invitation although it took time to get the participants to find opportune time to hold a dialogue. Other actors who included ZRP and the Ministry of Local Government did not respond. Dialogue with participants who comprised street vendors, vendors' associations, city council and formal business representatives eventually took place on the 31 March 2019. In total there were eight participants. There were two participants from each group of actors. The number of participants

was made small to make the dialogue manageable and to make sure that all participants have an equal share of making contributions as well as ensuring lively exchange of perspectives as alluded by Ropers (2004:8) that a minimum number of participants, usually eight should be allowed so that everyone gets an opportunity to participate.

Due to the limited space in Harare and lack of funds to hire space for the dialogue, the dialogue was held in one of the offices in town offered by a friend. Efforts were made to ensure that participants were not intimidated by the atmosphere by assuring them that nothing harmful will happen to them and explaining to them fully the purpose of the dialogue. I made sure that the participants were seated in a manner in which there was direct eye contact among them, in a circle and that there was no hierarchy in the seating arrangements as all parties were operating from an equal standpoint. No party was superior to the other. I led the dialogue by introducing the theme of the discussion, which was the transformation of relationships between street vendors and Harare city council by coming up with creative ways of resolving the conflict, which would also be beneficial to other actors. I facilitated the dialogue from an outsider position as it enabled me to bring new perspectives into discourse of the conflict. This was unlike an insider facilitating who has a deep appreciation of the past, culture and personality settings of the situation as well as involved in the conflict (Ropers 2004:10).

I acknowledged that there were bad relations between not only street vendors and HCC, but among a variety of actors present at the dialogue. I as the facilitator instructed all the actors to list down their expectations from the dialogue so that a representative of each actor would be invited to read out a list of those expectations as a way of trying to identify if there was a common ground among the various actors. I also instructed the parties to list down what they thought were the causes, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and HCC as well as what various parties thought were the possible solutions to the problem. I laid down the rules for the conduct of the dialogue that there is no bad or good suggestion coming from all actors. I appealed to the actors that we were conducting a dialogue not a debate where the idea was to listen to each other and understand each other with the intention to

create a common understanding than to criticise each other. I told the participants the differences between dialogue and debate as fully explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

I informed the participants about the essence of a successful dialogue that it is genuine communication between different members with various foundations, feelings and suppositions, where they regard each other as equal people and listen to each other 'deeply enough to be inspired by attitude change and learning which contributes to consensus building. In this case, participants were reminded that they represented different groups in society. Some represented street vendors, others represented formal business, among others.

Participants chose one representative who made a presentation of the causes, extent and consequences of the conflict as well as providing solutions on what needed to be done to resolve the problem. Participants were expected to contribute a maximum of five minutes. After the presentation by one group, further discussions were made responding to the presentations made and participants showed their willingness to participate by raising their hands. No participant was allowed to interrupt proceedings while another participant was in the process of making a contribution. There were 10 minutes breaks after every two hour session. This was done to prevent boredom among participants and to allow them to make informal discussions outside the dialogue session so as to increase trust and relationship building as well as to clarify some misunderstandings which might have emerged during the dialogue process. Drinks, coffee and snacks were provided to the participants as refreshments. This was also supported by Ropers (2004:8) who mentioned that participants usually appreciate it when the organisers or hosts provide some refreshments within the dialogue room like water, tea or coffee.

I made sure that the participants are equally represented and all participated. As the facilitator, I was supposed to be neutral and impartial on all issues raised by the participants. To prevent misunderstandings, I as the facilitator rephrased statements made by the participants to reaffirm that the participants had not been misunderstood. Ropers (2004:10) noted that while it is important to have an insider facilitator who has a deep comprehension of the history, culture, and nature of the situation, it is equally important to have some distance from the situation and bring new perspectives to the

discourse as an outsider facilitator. Participants were reminded about the need to listen, understand and avoid interrupting other participants as well as to remain open minded to the perspectives of other participants. To ensure that the dialogue was not disrupted, I chose to start with issues which had some degree of consensus and more difficult issues were addressed later. This dialogue was held after some careful planning which included the following factors;

7.5.1 Facilitation

Before I considered myself as the facilitator, I asked myself the following questions

- Who was going to be the facilitator? Was I as the researcher going to the facilitator?
- Would the actors trust me as the facilitator?
- Was I prepared to deal with the conflict that was before me?

After considering the above questions, I made the decision that I was going to be the facilitator since I was not a party to the conflict and the participants in the conflict could trust me as the facilitator since I explained to them that I was doing this research purely on academic grounds and intervention as part of my study. As such, I did not have vested interests in the conflict and therefore I could be an effective facilitator. I also made sure that the participants trusted me because I was not biased in how I handled the participants. I treated everyone fairly and equally. I was prepared to deal with the conflict that was before me as I had interacted with all the parties before and they all expressed their wishes to deal with the conflict. I was not going to make decisions on behalf of them but I was facilitating for them to make their own decisions which is the very essence of action research that I was undertaking.

7.5.2 Dialogue's framework conditions

The following conditions were considered for the success of the dialogue session that I conducted. The conditions were drawn from Ropers (2004:25).

- **Purpose:** What was the objective of the dialogue? Was the purpose of the dialogue clear to all actors? In this study, the main purpose of the

dialogue was to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC. However, the relationship between street vendors and HCC did also affect other parties such as vendors' organisations who often fought on street vendors' corner. There were also formal business owners whose business faced stiff competition from street vendors and their relationship with street vendors had now turned bad. On the other hand again, these formal businesses had threatened HCC against paying rates as they claimed their business had been affected by street vendors. They therefore were an important party in the dialogue. It was important for the dialogue to transform the many complex relationships among a variety of actors that constituted the dialogue. The overall purpose of the dialogue was to transform the relationships among various parties that were represented at the dialogue and others who were not and to come up with inclusive solutions to the challenges that various parties faced in their daily interactions.

- **Target group:** Were all relevant stakeholders involved in the dialogue? Were there any stakeholders who should have been part of the dialogue who were left out?

In this study, efforts were made to include all stakeholders in the dialogue. Stakeholders in this study included street vendors, HCC, formal shops, vendor organisations, ZRP, pedestrians, Ministry of Local Government. However, only four groups managed to send their representatives for the dialogue. These included street vendors, HCC, formal shops and vendor organisations. What this meant was that other actors had been left out of the dialogue but dialogue could not stop because other actors were not present. Efforts could be made to bring the absent actors to dialogue with others.

- **Group size:** How many actors constituted the dialogue?

The dialogue consisted of eight participants which included two representatives from each of the following groups, street vendors, HCC, formal shops and vendors' organisations. This was a manageable

number as it ensured that all participants were given opportunities to participate.

- **Setting:** Was this a suitable space where dialogue could take place?

I, as the facilitator with the help of other participants, consulted them on the suitability of the venue for the dialogue which had been offered by a friend. We agreed that the venue was suitable for the dialogue since it was conveniently located in town which was easily accessible to all participants.

- **Language:** Was there any language barrier among the participants? If yes were there interpreters? During the dialogue, I used the language which was comfortable to all participants. I consulted the participants before the start of the dialogue about the language which the participants preferred and all agreed that Shona language was more comfortable with them.
- **Timing:** Was there enough time for all participants to contribute to the dialogue? (Ropers 2004:25). I made sure that everyone who wanted to participate during the dialogue was given enough time to participate and everyone was given sufficient time to make contributions.

The dialogue in this study which sought to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city was organised and held using the aforementioned factors for successful dialogue as prescribed by Ropers (2004). The main aim of the dialogue in this study was to promote communication between street vendors and HCC. The success of the intervention depended on the success of the communication between these two major actors. The relationships were so bad that communication had broken down. They accused and counter accused each other of a number of things. There was therefore need to come together and formulate intervention strategies that could cater for the needs of all actors in the dialogue. Some of the participants in the dialogue were meeting for the first time while others had met before at various forums. I made sure that they all felt comfortable and ensure that there was communication to break the ice on the dialogue. There were various contradictions coming from different actors. Street vendors demanded that city council cease the confiscation of their

goods on the streets and refrain from chasing them away from the streets. Instead they called upon the HCC to avail vending space in the cbd where there are clients. On the other hand, city council demanded that street vendors should vacate the streets so that they can allocate them vending space.

The other actor who was also very instrumental in the conflict was business formal business. This group pays rates to city council for the operating space that they get from city council. However, of late they have been resisting to pay rates citing unfair competition from street vendors and city council's failure to deal with street vendors whom they accuse of raiding their space and taking clients from them through selling their products on their premises and without paying any rates to the city council. There was therefore friction between street vendors and formal business and on the other hand between formal business and city council.

There was need to reconcile all these contradictions during the dialogue and to promote communication. My role as the facilitator was to make sure that there was communication and contribution of the dialogue actors during the dialogue. Before venturing into more details about the dialogue process, I emphasised the significance of participation and that it was through participation that their concerns could be known to others and be understood. I highlighted to the participants that the purpose of dialogue was not to challenge each other or to dismiss each other's views but to listen to each other and understand one another from different perspectives. As the facilitator, I also made sure that parties shared their perspectives by generating inclusive options. I made sure that we use the language that everyone attending the dialogue understood. I asked the participants about the language that they preferred for the dialogue and all of them preferred Shona. This was important because I noted the importance of language. Language can cause misunderstandings and violence. One participant noted that,

I was comfortable to use my indigenous language in the dialogue. I thought the facilitator would use English but I did not attend school so it would have been tricky for me to participate if the facilitator had decided to use another language. The facilitator asked us before we started our dialogue if we were not comfortable to discuss in any language and the majority of the participants

preferred Shona which is the majority local language (Dialogue participant, 31 March 2019).

The dialogue session started slowly and as members started to interact with each other and share ideas the session became lively. Members were able to freely share their experiences. Street vendors shared their daily experiences on the streets and the polarisation that existed between them and HCC as well as with other actors. This sharing of experience was important because it enabled the participants to get a better understanding of their daily experiences. The daily experiences of street vendors were very touching and one HCC member had this to say after the dialogue,

I was very touched by the experiences of street vendors. When you make decisions sometimes in the office you do not really know what is on the ground. I have spent my entire working life in the office and I did not know what was happening on the streets. Today I am more enlightened by what has been said here. I will definitely view things in a different way than before (Dialogue Participant, 31 March 2019).

The sharing of perspectives therefore opened the doors for open communication among different actors. It came out during dialogue that the participants had a different life style and this tended to influence the way they perceived others and themselves. The participants admitted that they had not taken time before dialogue to understand each other to share perspectives and therefore were prejudiced in their perception of each other. There was therefore consensus among the participants that there was need to change these perspectives and shape a better future. It came out during the dialogue that after sharing their perspectives participants agreed that they could not change what had happened in the past but they could change the future.

I made arrangements that the participants be provided with light meal during the dialogue. This was a way of cementing the togetherness of the participants where they could discuss issues outside the dialogue session during the light meals. It was also a way for the participants to create informal mingling. During the dialogue, I explained to the participants that our efforts could appear small but a journey of thousand miles started with a few steps. I did this to instil confidence in the participants so that they could value their dialogue.

I observed that one of the important values in dialogue was the creation of an atmosphere of humble attention to each other by bringing the actors into an interactive process so they can resolve their contradictions. I disclosed to the members that the idea was not to triumph or prevail over others but to rise above and change what was previously incongruent into convergence. I realised that there was so much hatred between street vendors and city council so much that there was prejudice. Not only was there hatred between these two parties, there was also hatred between street vendors and other actors such as formal business. I then worked on trying to reduce the hatred through listening and learning from each other's experiences, perspective sharing and working together in achieving a common objective.

At the end of the dialogue, I suggested and encouraged the participants to open a WhatsApp group so that they could continue to share ideas on how best to resolve their incompatibilities. This also ensured that there was continuous contact among the participants. This was supported by Allport (1954) in Chapter 2 in this thesis who emphasised the importance of contact among actors in conflict when he noted that by continuously engaging with one another, they begin to change their perceptions and misperceptions of themselves and each other. The major incompatibility that came out during the dialogue was the lack of consultation among the actors on matters that affect their relationships such as vending space. At the end of the dialogue, participants considered my suggestion and opened a WhatsApp group which I also requested to be part of so that I could follow conversations and make an informed evaluation of the impact of dialogue on participants. I decided to be a silent participant in the group.

The city council agreed to consult with street vendors all the time with regards to vending space and also promised to open up some space for vending in the city centre. I observed that the city council had converted some parking space in the city centre into flea markets to be used by street vendors to sell their products during weekends. This move was appreciated by street vendors who noted that,

We appreciate the council for converting some parking space into flea markets where vendors can pay to use for selling their products. The council has shown commitment to create more vending sites within the city centre close to where

our clients are based. Although this is done on weekends we hope that in the future the city council will identify the parking space which is not busy during the week and convert it into flea markets for us to be able to sell our goods (Interview with street vendor, 31 March 2019).

However, although the council managed to convert some parking space into flea markets these were not enough to cater for all vendors in Harare. There is overwhelming demand for vending space in Harare as everyone has virtually become a vendor. Some vendors also expressed dissatisfaction with the way that the vending space was allocated which was marred by corruption. They noted that only those connected to city council got space to vend while those that were not connected were left out. At the end of the dialogue session participants also agreed to carry out a joint clean- up campaign in the city centre which was later held on 30 August 2019. The purpose of the clean- up campaign was to increase contact among participants and continue working together to resolve their contradictions.

7.6 The Clean- up campaign

As part of sustaining contact and increasing interventions, I sought consent from the city council to conduct a clean- up campaign with actors who had participated in the dialogue so that the participants got protection should anything happen that might affect their security. This was part of gate keeping clearance which is often required when one intends to carry out an activity which could disrupt normal daily activities. Again certain roads and streets had to be closed during the clean- up campaign and this required city council approval which included setting up dates and places which were suitable for the activity to be carried out. The activity was carried out at Copacabana bus terminus where vendors sell their goods. The clean-up was attended by more than twenty street vendors who were invited to join the activity by street vendors whom I was working with in organising the event, one vendor organisation member, one council member, two members from shop owners. The purpose of the clean- up campaign was to maintain contact and it resonates well with Allport (1954)'s view that continued and increased contact between antagonising groups reduces prejudices and demystify misinformation as parties get to know each other. The clean-

up campaign was further held in line with Saunders' sustained dialogue in which the purpose is to increase and sustain engagement where parties can discuss sources of disagreements (Saunders 1999:16).

The clean-up campaign was held on the 30th of August 2019. The clean-up was in the right direction for the transformation of relationships which might not have been favourable to some people from other actors but it showed some progress. One participant from council had this to say about the clean-up campaign,

This exercise showed me that we can do more when we work together than when we antagonise each other. We wish to organise more of these clean-up campaigns in the future. We interact with vendors on a daily basis and we belong to one family (Interview with clean-up campaign participant, 30 August 2019)

The clean-up campaign also created an opportunity and space within the ongoing conflict transformation platform. It created an important interaction point for all the participants. Sadly some street vendors did not join the clean-up campaign arguing that they could not afford to lose a few hours of their trade doing something which does not bring money into their pockets. The participants noted that they would try to persuade those that refused to participate to do so in future. The clean-up campaign provided an opportunity for the participants to strengthen their relationships. This is one of the hallmarks of action research as it enabled participants to continue with their interaction platform even after the research. This ensures the sustainability of the process of conflict transformation. Whether or not this initiative will last is a question for another day. But the new Harare Mayor seemed eager to create a platform for dialogue which gives one a ray of hope that relations might change positively in the future.

Participants were allowed to show their organisational skills by choosing area which they wanted to be cleaned. This process was carried out successfully and it reflected good teamwork and the spirit of togetherness in achieving a common goal. It also showed the participants' moral imagination, a city they envisioned, which they could work towards achieving. Working together in this activity showed some transformation in their relationships and augers well with the conflict transformation thesis which

sought to transform relationships and context which threaten peace. The changes which occurred among the participants were encouraging and hoped that these could be transferred to others who did not take part in the dialogue. This was a sign of progress which could be attributed to the intervention through dialogue, though without over- emphasising the role of dialogue in transforming these relationships, but its role cannot also be undermined.

As noted during the clean-up campaign where other vendors refused to participate noting that they needed to work and feed their families, it can be noted that participants have a lot of work to do to influence their counterparts to appreciate the role of dialogue in transforming their relationships with city council. This raised the question on whether it is possible or not to transform the other vendors who are still antagonistic to the city council. It seemed like a huge task which could not be achieved over a short period of time but it could be achievable in the long term should adequate resources be availed as well as commitment from both sides to transform.

7.7 A Further Mini- dialogue

After the clean-up campaign, I proposed another mini dialogue to maintain contact among the actors which had earlier attended the first dialogue and clean-up campaign informed by Allport's contact theory (1954) and Saunders' (1999) sustained dialogue which sought to maintain interaction so as to remove prejudices that the parties might have towards each other. However, the dialogue was attended by three actors; street vendors, vendors organisations and shop owners. Each actor has two representatives. The dialogue was premised on the need to continue with the spirit of cooperation and dialogue as well as exploring ways of resolving challenges that emerged among the actors. The mini dialogue was held on 09 February 2020. The venue was the same venue provided for the dialogue. The dialogue was appreciated by the participants as it sustained contact among the actors which constantly reminded them about the need to work together in addressing challenges that affected them. There was an agreement between street vendors and shop owners at the dialogue for the former to use latter' space for their vending purposes on the condition that the former carry out some duties such as cleaning the latter' space that they use. They further agreed that the former should sell products which the latter do not sell as a condition for using the

latter' space for free. The participants agreed to continue meeting and working together as there was value in dialogue than in conflict. At the time of the conclusion of the study, the country was in lockdown due to Covid- 19 and all street vending activities had been banned by the government. However, due to the non – availability of economic activities to sustain the majority of people who survived on street vending, the majority of these people were engaging in unlicensed vending in areas they reside and some few were vending in town where they were being chased away by the ZRP. Efforts were underway to engage the government to allow street vendors to trade at licensed vending sites which had also been closed by the HCC working together with the government.

7.6 Summary

This chapter described the training on non- violence and dialogue process that were carried out by the researcher with a small group of participants who comprised different actors, among them street vendors, city council, formal business and vendors' organisations. What obtained from the dialogue was that no matter the amount of hatred, dialogue can transform the hatred into cooperation. What is needed is listening and understanding as well as sharing perspectives with the objective of learning and understanding than criticism or fault finding. After the dialogue, actors formed a WhatsApp group where they made arrangements to continue working together and eventually conducted a clean- up campaign in the city centre. Another mini- dialogue was also conducted which comprised formal business representatives, vendors and vendors organisations representatives. This was part of sustained dialogue and contact meant to learn more about each other's challenges. The following chapter discusses and evaluates the impact of dialogue on the actors' perception of each other and their relationships.

Chapter 8: Evaluating the outcome.

Nobody is as wise as we altogether- African Proverb (Ropers 2004:6)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the outcome of the peacebuilding interventions carried out in this study based on the principal needs of the two main parties – the need to make a living in a desperate economic environment and the need for cleanliness and order on the streets of Harare. The study was conducted based on a small scale sample of ten members on non- violent conflict resolution, eight first dialogue participants and six second dialogue participants.

The importance of evaluating an intervention in action research and peacebuilding cannot be underestimated. It is important to reflect and deduce the lessons, successes and failures from an intervention. An action researcher must be able to ask questions such as, What were the objectives of the study, what was the problem, what were the methods used to intervene in the problem, how appropriate were the intervention methods, what were the lessons and successes from the intervention method, what were the failures of the intervention method, what could have been done to make the intervention better?

Church (2008:3) argued that researchers and peacebuilders have a responsibility to evaluate their interventions to see their impact in transforming the nature, extent, manifestation and consequences of conflicts. In action research, this is important to evaluate whether the intervention has changed anything or not. For Church and Rodgers (2006:93) evaluation is the methodical securing and evaluation of data accumulated on explicit inquiries to give a cautious input into a project. In action research, evaluation is a consistent review of an ongoing study with the expectation to get familiar with the study cycle which is composed of planning, action or implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reflection.

OECD (2008) asserts that the assessment of a peacebuilding project must be informed by the accompanying things;

- **Relevance**

To what extent does the implemented solution address the major variables or incompatibilities that have caused conflict or are likely to cause conflict? Are the results dependent on coherent or reasonable presumptions or hypothesis on which the action is grounded? Are the results connected to the aims of the project, which in this study, transforming relationships between street vendors and HCC?

- **Efficiency**

Are/were the interventions cost- effective? In this case, the question would be, Were dialogue and non- violence training the most cost- effective ways to fulfilling the objectives of the study?

- **Impact**

What happened as a result of a peacebuilding activity? What were the positive and negative changes produced directly or indirectly, intended and unintended? How did the intervention impact key conflict actors and affect ongoing conflict creating or peace promoting actors?

- **Effectiveness**

To what extent were the objectives achieved? What factors contributed to the achievements?

- **Sustainability**

Will the benefits be maintained after the research? (OECD 2008:2).

Before the implementation of the intervention strategies took place, I collected primary data from street vendors, vendors associations, formal business and Harare city council via a number of interviews, focus group discussions and direct observation.

The in-depth face to face interviews, focus group discussions and direct observation conducted revealed that there was a glaring lack of cooperation and consultation between street vendors and HCC. The relationships were therefore strained because of lack of dialogue and the actors were engaged in a cat and mouse relationship. No

side wanted to negotiate with the other. Both sides claimed victim status. The relationship was characterised by violence which played out in the streets of Harare on a daily basis. It was on this basis that I suggested to the parties to convene mini-dialogue sessions in an attempt to better understand each other and to seek possible ways forward. I noted that there were some short term outcomes of the intervention. The researcher worked with some actors such as street vendors and National Vendors Union of Zimbabwe (NAVUZ) to organize and conduct dialogue sessions between HCC and street vendors as well as with other actors.

The evaluation was carried out some months after the intervention and continues as the interventions continue. While this study evaluated the short term outcome of the intervention, it is hoped that the impact of the intervention would be medium to long term.

8.2 Better understanding

A major use of dialogue is to help understand each other. Through dialogue, actors listen to each other and learn from each other. This listening and learning from each other changes people's perceptions of each other and of themselves through increased contact. Allport (1954) contends that expanded contact decreases biases as actors become acquainted and value each other better. Contact additionally helps in clarifying information about one another. During an interview in post- dialogue one of the street vendors stated that he had gained a lot from the dialogue. He had this to say,

We did not think that we could sit down with city council and discuss the challenges that we all face. The city council explained their challenges to us and we listened. We now have a better understanding than before. We intend to enlighten some of our members not present here the HCC position (Interview with street vendor, 15 April 2020).

This statement by one vendor shows that he emerged from the dialogue with a better understanding and changed attitude towards city council. Before he participated in the dialogue, he had a negative attitude towards city council because he did not have an appreciation of how city council conducted its business. But having had time to listen

to the city council during the dialogue, the vendor changed his perception of the city council and became more open to engaging with the council to try to find ways forward.

This demonstrated the transformational potential of dialogue to members who took part in dialogue as opposed to members who did not attend dialogue. Before the dialogue took place the majority of street vendors who participated in interviews and focus group discussions had accused the city council of lacking humanity because of their raids. It took those who attended dialogue for them to understand why the city council confiscated their goods. This understanding was necessitated by the contact which was established through dialogue which changed the way in which street vendors perceived the city council. However, a peacebuilding intervention like the dialogue which took place should never promise too much. Encounters from other solutions implemented elsewhere have shown that little advancement might be recorded or the implemented solutions may not be successful and sustainable. For example some street vendors who participated in the dialogue have expressed concern on the success of the whole process. One of them complained that,

When we conducted dialogue with city council we agreed that we will discuss our problems and we were made to believe that the raids on our members on the streets will cease. However, we noticed that the ZRP who usually work with council continued to raid and confiscate goods from our members on the streets which defeats the whole purpose of dialogue (Street vendor during post-dialogue focus group discussion, 12 January 2020).

The above shows that despite the dialogue having taken place, things might not work as agreed by parties.

8.3 Reduced tension and mistrust

At the start of the dialogue high levels of tension existed between street vendors and HCC officials. Even the sitting arrangement was characterized by this tension. Street vendors occupied their own area and they did not want to mix and mingle with city council officials. The city council officials on the other hand were reluctant to start conversations with street vendors whom they probably thought were violent judging from their conduct in the streets where some street vendors had beaten up council

police for trying to confiscate their goods. This was a sign of disengagement and mistrust between them. The two groups of participants had created boundaries.

But as the dialogue went on, these two groups started to interact more with each other. This improvement in the interaction maybe best explained by Allport (1954) who argued that individuals who perceive that they have tremendous contrasts because of explicit and imperceptible limits may find that the more they associate, the more probable they are to find human kind in one another. This can lead to empathy and dismantling of prejudices which might exist at the point of first contact. Dialogue can assist to open the biases that hinder ways of interaction and sharing of information. Through dialogue, parties managed to find options that tackled meaningful issues in a domain portrayed by common regard and comprehension. One street vendor who participated in the dialogue said that,

I hate the city council with all my passion. These people want us to die. Why do they chase us from the streets yet there are no formal jobs. They should just let us trade anywhere we want. Our relationship with the city council is like water and oil. We do not mix. Talking with them is just a waste of time. They will not listen to our challenges (Interview with vendor, 31 March 2019).

But as the dialogue proceeded, participants from different camps started to interact with each other more and the sitting arrangements began to change. Another street vendor noted that,

At the beginning there were boundaries between us and the city council. We were not sure of what was going to happen as there had been intense conflict between street vendors and the city council. We thought that there was going to be violence or that the whole dialogue thing was a set up to get us arrested for representing street vendors who had made the streets uncontrollable. But as the dialogue progressed we realized that there were areas where we shared common understanding. We started feeling comfortable (Interview with vendor, 31 March 2019).

The above statement by one of the street vendors shows that there was an increase in trust between street vendors and council officials who participated in the dialogue process due to contact, hence the importance of contact in all relationships.

8.4 Seeking ways forward

In any peacebuilding process the objective is to find out what was the outcome of the intervention. The outcome of the intervention could be both intended and unintended. One of the challenges which prompted this study was the blame game and finger pointing between street vendors and HCC. They both blamed the other and counter blamed each other for the conflict between them. No party was prepared to compromise. It is these entrenched positions which make conflicts intractable. This blame game is found in most conflicts and makes it difficult to resolve conflicts. While the conflict parties could not undoubtedly get away from the features of this reality, as noted in their relations before non- violence training and dialogue, their relations and perceptions after the non- violence training and dialogue mirrored a slightly positive image among the participants. At the end of the dialogue, the actors promised to work together to resolve the issues that had ruined their relationships.

Actors also agreed to establish ongoing communication via a WhatsApp group. The participants shared their contact details and one participant proposed the creation of a WhatsApp group so that they could occasionally discuss issues which affect their relationships.

8.5 Sustaining Contact

In evaluating the impact of peacebuilding intervention, it is also important to interrogate the sustainability of the intervention after the research. A few months after the dialogue, participants in the dialogue created a WhatsApp group which included the Harare city mayor, some members in the physical planning department. I also requested to be included in the group so that I could monitor the conversations made by the parties in transforming their relationships. This was done as a way of sustaining contact among the actors. This group regularly discussed challenges that affected their relationships and how to overcome those challenges.

Whilst dialogue and negotiations are important platforms for they facilitate engagement, there was need to practically implement some of the ideas gained through dialogue and participants decided that they could engage in a city clean-up campaign. This campaign was carried out to enable participants to promote the spirit of working together in trying to promote relationships between the two major conflict parties who are street vendors and HCC. This was done in order to complement other's peacebuilding activities that the participants had carried out during the dialogue process like sharing meals and engaging in conversations with each other during meals. Other proposals made on WhatsApp platform included another dialogue which was between street vendors and shop owners. There was also a proposal to conduct clean-up campaigns once a month, which is still an idea which has not been implemented. The role of the researcher in this process was to offer required logistical planning and support in ensuring the success of the activities.

8.6 Did the interventions change anything One year after?

This evaluation was carried out a year after non-violence training and dialogue with various actors who were in conflict with one another. I have been evaluating and observing the effectiveness and the sustainability of the interventions and I am convinced that there is will by all the parties to resolve this conflict peacefully now than before. I conducted interviews and focus group discussion with street vendors who have noted that there is improved communication from the city council. They acknowledged that evictions and HCC raids have decreased significantly though they have been raided by ZRP on several occasions. One street vendor interviewed had this to say,

We have not experienced raids and evictions from HCC for a long time. The only challenge we have at the moment is the ZRP. They raid us and take our goods with them. They also arrest us and hand us over to the charge office. We are made to pay fines of 100 dollars (USD10) but our goods are not returned to us. We are then left with the option of bribing the ZRP members so that we are not arrested. When we bribe them in the streets we are left to vend for the day without any disturbances. The only problem is that we pay the ZRP

bribes every day and we can no longer make profits since we are giving ZRP members all our profits (Interview with vendor, 15 April 2020).

Efforts to get a comment from ZRP did not yield much results as the researcher was always told that the police spokesperson was busy and at times was out of the office. The only evictions and raids that vendors said were now experiencing were from the ZRP. The street vendors noted that the HCC was no longer a problem for them but the ZRP had become a latest challenge as they raided them anytime. They noted that the ZRP members were extorting money from them and each time they were raided they were asked to pay a bribe of hundred Zimbabwean dollars (USD10) so that they are spared from arrest and their goods were not confiscated. The vendors argued that they found it better to pay the bribes than for them to be arrested as they risked losing their products and fined on top of that once they were handed over to the authorities. I asked the HCC about the ZRP raids but they professed ignorance about the ZRP raids. As far as the city council was concerned, the ZRP raids were ZRP independent operations which were not coordinated by HCC. ZRP on the other hand noted that they had a national duty to maintain order in the city centre where council seemed to be incapacitated and they were doing this by raiding and arresting unlicensed vendors. They, however, denied the allegations of corruption and bribes by street vendors.

Other street vendors also noted that they had devised a method of avoiding confrontation with the HCC where they had changed the time that they operate. They noted that they now operate in the evening starting from 18:00hrs until late into the night. They also noted that selling their stuff during this time of the day reduces the chances of their goods from being confiscated as council police and ZRP would have dismissed from work. This appeared to be an effective method for street vendors as they operate without being disturbed by police and council. This was witnessed by the increased volume of street vendors in the city centre in the evening. One vendor noted during post – intervention focus group that,

We found it better to operate at night where ZRP and council do not disturb us since they would have dismissed from work. Even shops will be closed and we do not have to run into problems with shop owners for selling on their pavements. We make sure that at the end of each day we clean the place where

we sell our goods so that we can continue to use the place without complains from the shop owners (Focus group with vendors, 12 January 2020).

Other street vendors acknowledged that since the dialogue they never had any encounter with HCC. They never experienced any evictions and raids from HCC and they have been selling their products without any interference from council although they acknowledged the occasional raids from ZRP. They contended that there was need to have dialogue with the ZRP as they were now the new problem that had arisen which was hampering the business of street vendors. Relationships between street vendors and HCC had since improved although they still faced the challenges of operating space despite the fact that the HCC had since created more vending sites in the city centre by converting previous car park space into vending space. The operating space at CopaCabana is now an organised area since street vendors were now operating legally. They have been allocated space to operate legally and the area had semblance of order at the conclusion of the study.

Relationships between some shop owners and street vendors had also improved and had made arrangements where shop owners allowed street vendors to sell their products on their pavements provided that they do not sell similar products that were sold in their shops. Another arrangement was that the street vendors would clean the pavements at the end of each working day, which also helped to reduce operational costs for shop operators as they no longer employed people to clean their pavements. Some shops were now used for safekeeping vendors' products which was a sign of good relations. Vendors noted that some formal shops were acknowledging their existence on the streets as they were helping expanding their business, especially the food outlets because they always bought food from them.

8.7 Spoilers and other factors in changing relations

Post- dialogue interviews and focus group discussions with street vendors revealed that relationships among the stakeholders who participated in the dialogue had improved but there was another actor who had become a spoiler to all the progress made. A spoiler is defined as an actor who brings negotiations into disrepute or an actor in conflict or negotiations who violates the terms of the agreement. Newman and

Richmond (2006) defined spoilers as people or groupings that try to obstruct, postpone or subvert an agreement. Spoilers are like barriers who are adverse elements which are negative factors that intensify strains between individuals and gatherings and their ability to resolve disputes peacefully. In this scenario, ZRP had become the latest spoiler who have come into the picture raiding street vendors unilaterally without collaboration and cooperation from HCC. They previously worked together at the invitation of HCC since HCC did not have arresting and prosecution powers. ZRP raids came at a time when it seemed like the relations between street vendors and HCC had improved. ZRP was however, not a new actor per se but the role that it was playing now is new. It was previously involved in the conflict between street vendors and HCC but has previously been operating from the background working in partnership with HCC. What had changed was the fact that while previously it was a peripheral actor, it had now emerged as the main actor filling in the void left by HCC. It will be seen whether this new problem that had arisen would persist but this will be subject to future studies. With time permitting, this researcher intended to engage with the ZRP as part of my intervention to transform and normalise relationships among various actors on the streets.

It is important to note that while dialogue might have resulted in the improved relationships between street vendors and HCC where the HCC has not been conducting raids on street vendors for some time, there were other factors that have led to HCC failing to conduct raids against unlicensed street vendors. For example, the HCC has revealed that they had no resources to continue raiding street vendors although they were open to give street vendors the opportunity to regularise their business and some street vendors had since visited their offices to regularise their business. The HCC seemed to have left the policing of the streets to the ZRP who were conducting occasional raids on street vendors as acknowledged by street vendors. The HCC revealed that it was difficult for them to address the challenges posed by street vendors as the number of vendors continued to increase owing to the scarcity of formal employment as well as the unattractive nature of the formal employment. HCC noted that the problem of unlicensed street vending could only be fully resolved if the economy improves and as long as the economy continues to struggle, the challenges will persist even if there is dialogue. The HCC acknowledged

that although dialogue had allowed them to appreciate the challenges of unlicensed street vendors and the need to survive through selling on the streets but they also needed to keep the city clean by regularising street vending but currently they were incapacitated to deal with unlicensed street vendors.

The ZRP revealed that the raids that they were conducting in the city centre against unlicensed street vendors was a national duty to maintain order in the city and that there was no coordination between the HCC and the ZRP on the raids. The ZRP conducted its own operations which was aimed at dealing with unlicensed and criminal activities in the city centre, hence their raids. ZRP revealed that their operations have brought order as the city centre was now orderly and clean owing to their increased raids and visibility. Both HCC and ZRP acknowledged that they needed to coordinate their activities and work together to find a solution to the problem of unlicensed street vending.

Vendor organisations lamented the latest raids by ZRP on vendors whom they accused of indiscriminately raiding even licensed vendors. They noted that they had received complaints from street vendors that the ZRP members were demanding bribes from street vendors in exchange for immunity from arrest and confiscation of products and the bribes were as high as \$100 Zimbabwean dollars (10 USD), which ironically is what some vendors work the whole day as their profit. Moreover, vendors complained that ZRP carries out these raids on a daily basis. Vendors' organisations deplored the behaviour of the ZRP and called upon all the stakeholders to treat street vending as an economic activity which was sustaining many families since there were no formal jobs and those formal jobs that were available were not rewarding, hence the need to treat street vendors with respect rather than to treat them as criminals. Future studies could explore the possibilities of conducting a study with ZRP and try to find out an explanation behind the upsurge in their raids on street vending with the possibility of reaching an understanding and dialogue with vendors and other stakeholders.

8.8 Covid- 19 and its impact on street vendors

The outbreak of Covid disrupted the progress that had been made in transforming relationships among the various parties involved in this study. At the end of March 2020, the whole world was shut down as a result of Covid -19, respiratory disease which was alleged to have started in Wuhan in China in December 2019 and spread worldwide. Countries worldwide introduced various measures to curb the spread of the disease. Zimbabwe introduced lockdown measures and all informal businesses were stopped from operating. Street vendors, both licenced and unlicenced operating in various locations in town were ordered to vacate their selling points and they duly obliged for some time. As time went on, they started to trickle back on to the streets and another conflict erupted again with city council supported by the government to drive vendors off the streets. Overall, the lockdown had negative implications on street vendors as they were deprived of their only source of living. When this study was concluded, it had been more than three months after the government had imposed lockdown and street vendors had not been allowed to resume their activities. Only businesses considered to be essential had been allowed to resume operations. Street vending was not considered to be an essential service despite the majority of people surviving on street vending. Street vendors who were interviewed by the researcher noted that life under the lockdown was very difficult for them as they were used to selling and getting money for their daily survival. They could no longer afford to sustain their families as a result of the lockdown that the government had imposed on them. They called upon the government to allow them to resume under strict health guidelines so that they could afford to sustain their families which were on the brink of starvation. They also implored the government to provide them with assistance during lockdown.

On the other hand, the government noted that it was necessary for it to impose lockdown so that the spread of the disease could be curbed. In announcing the lockdown the country's president was quoted saying

Conscious of the huge costs which come with lockdown, costs to livelihood and economy, but we chose caution despite its hardships. Nothing is more important than saving lives. The government has therefore decided to extend

the lockdown for 14 days after which there will be a review of the situation and inform the public accordingly on the course of action to take (ZTV 19 April 2020, www.youtube.com).

This announcement was made after the initial 21 days of the lockdown had expired and the president emphasised the need to preserve lives through continued lockdown. Street vending activities remained closed despite outcries from street vendors and vendors' organisations which called for the government to reopen the informal sector with some health guidelines to minimise the risk of spreading the disease. It is also unfortunate that street vendors continued to be harassed by ZRP during the lockdown as they tried to go back to the streets to make a living since the government failed to provide them with assistance for them to survive under lockdown. Kay (6 July 2020) reported that a vendor had been shot by ZRP on Sunday (05 July 2020) in Chitungwiza which is a dormitory town of Harare. Details by Kay suggests that police shot a vendor who was selling wares at a selling point in Chitungwiza's Unit L suburb. It is alleged that when police arrived vendors who were selling their goods ran away and police fired two shots in the direction of the vendors which resulted in one of the vendors getting shot in the leg. The vendor was hospitalised and was said to be in critical condition.

It is very unfortunate that people were trying to survive decently by selling their goods to make a living yet they got shot by police. It is recommended that a further study be carried out as well as dialogue with police to minimise violence between street vendors and police.

8.9 Summary

This chapter was an assessment of the results of non- violence training and dialogue carried out by the researcher together with some of the actors in the conflict in this study. The preliminary short- term results of the evaluation showed some improvement and progress in terms of relationships among the participants which could have been necessitated by dialogue and contact which took place among the participants. It is hoped that this transformation will in the long term be transferred to the other groups which did not participate in the training and dialogue so that there is transformation of relationships from hostility to cooperation and tranquillity. While the gains could have been achieved at a micro level, the changes that they revealed gives some hope that given time and resources, the same could be replicated and broadened to the macro level. There is also need to continue with the contact even at the micro level so that that there is sustainability of the peacebuilding intervention as the small gains recorded may be eroded in the long run if the contact is lost and participants would then return to their old antagonistic ways. What may seem to be impossible can be possible and one writer noted that impossible is for the unwilling. This intervention can be a success if the stakeholders are willing.

This chapter also reviewed the changes that took place more than a year after the interventions were put in place. While there have been improved relationships among the parties which attended the dialogue, there was a spoiler in the name of ZRP. However, ZRP is not new in the conflict as it used to work in collaboration with HCC but its presence against vendors in the streets had become more pronounced than before. ZRP had become more visible than HCC in its fight against unlicensed street vending. Vendors complained that they had not experienced raids from the HCC after the dialogue but had been raided by ZRP. There is therefore need for all the stakeholders to continue working towards inclusive dialogue so that there are no spoilers in the game.

The next chapter will summarise and conclude the study. Recommendations to various stakeholders were also provided in the chapter.

Chapter 9: Summary and Conclusion

Conflict transformation is a way of looking as well as seeing (Lederach 2003:9)

9.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by making a summary of the whole research from the first chapter until the last chapter in this study. The study sought to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC. The study started by giving an introduction to the issue of street vending in Zimbabwe as a whole and Harare in particular by unpacking the causes, nature, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and Harare city council. The study then went on to identify and analyse efforts made by the two major conflict parties to address their conflict as well as the extent to which these efforts managed to resolve the conflict. This was followed by interventions made by the researcher in conjunction with the parties in conflict in the form of training on non- violence and Transcend Dialogue process comprising the actors in the conflict who included street vendors, HCC, vendor organisations and formal business. This was in fulfilment of the methodological demands of the thesis which sought to carry out an action oriented research, which does something to change the situation for the participants in collaboration with the participants rather than doing for the participants. In the aftermath of the interventions carried out, an assessment of the impact of the interventions was undertaken to assess their effect on the relationships between street vendors and HCC.

9.1 Research Aim and Objectives

The major aim of this study was to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC.

The objectives of the research included the following:

- To explore the causes, nature, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and city of Harare.
- To identify and evaluate efforts made by the parties in resolving conflicts between street vendors and Harare city council.

- To design and implement a participatory intervention model aimed at transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council.
- To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the designed and implemented intervention model.

9.2 Summary and Findings

The theoretical framework guiding this research was Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory. It was supported by Galtung's Transcend thesis. Lederach defined conflict transformation as,

to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence and increase justice in direct interaction and social structures and respond to real life problems in human relationships (Lederach 2003:14).

Conflict Transformation as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis provides a clear and important vision, which is the creation of strong relations and community, at the local, regional and global levels. This necessitates actual transformation in the existing ways of interaction. Conflict Transformation goes beyond the resolution of specific problems and consists of two related realities which are,

- Conflict is common in social interactions
- Conflict drives or necessitates transformation (Lederach 2003).

A transformational approach perceives that conflict is an ordinary and ceaseless ever-changing process found in social interactions and it carries with it the potential for valuable change. However, it is important to realise that positive change does not always result from conflict. Most conflicts tend to be violent and destructive. Nonetheless the key to conflict transformation is a bias towards viewing conflict as a catalyst for growth.

Conflict transformation involves a lot of strategies. It provides focal points through which we perceive conflict. Conflict transformation creates a system to address the substance, setting and organisation of the interaction. It is a method that tries to make

valuable change procedures through conflict. In conflict transformation, interactions are central. Conflicts flow from and return to relationships (Lederach 2003). Conflict transformation goes past and underneath the conflict surface by questioning the perceptions, essential and standards of conduct of the conflict. This is accomplished by changing a person's conduct, values and boycotting structures that endorse violent conduct. Conflict Transformation creates harmony and tranquillity by changing a culture of viciousness into a culture of harmony. Conflict Transformation perceives peace as focused in the nature of interactions.

These interactions have two dimensions: direct relationships and the manner in which we design our social, political, economic and cultural connections. These dimensions fit well in this thesis as it sought to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Conflict transformation views peace as a continuously evolving and developing quality of relationships. Peace work therefore, is characterised by intentional efforts to address the natural ebb and flow of human conflict through non-violent approaches, which address issues and increase understanding, equality and respect in relationships (Lederach 2003). This was the main aim of this thesis, to transform relationships between street vendors and Harare city council through non-violent action research culminating in increased understanding, equality and respect in the relationship between these actors.

Conflict transformation recommends that a crucial way to advance productive change in all stages of human interaction is through dialogue. Although it is not the only way, dialogue is an essential element in attaining constructive change in conflicts. Dialogue involves direct interaction between people or groups with the aim of understanding one another's perspective through listening to each other not with the aim to criticise but to learn from others. In this thesis, dialogue was held as one of the mechanisms to achieve constructive change in relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Conflict transformation is also grounded in this view to dialogue, share experiences, interchange thoughts, shared meanings to problems and find means to achieve mutually agreed answers.

Galtung's Transcend method was also discussed in Chapter 2 and adopted in this thesis as it complements conflict transformation. The Transcend Method sought to change disputes by non- violent ways using the following approaches;

- **Confidence building-** where the mediator understood the actors' objectives, doubts and worries in order to gain their trust.
- **Reciprocity relations-** The intervener granted time to differentiate between genuine and illicit objectives and social needs of the concerned actors.
- **Identification of gap-** The intervener tried to connect the fissure between all sincere but opposing goals of actors by joint and anticipated answers for a viable future that personified resourcefulness, responsiveness and peacefulness (Galtung 2007).

More importantly, the Transcend Method like dialogue and conflict transformation does not focus merely to establish guilt and punishment, but to provide a system that is favourable to the actors involved in disagreement. What is important in this thesis is the transformation of conflict components such as behaviour, conflict and context into constructive and creative engagement. In this thesis, I acted as the facilitator in the conflict between street vendors, HCC and other actors' mini- dialogues which sought to transform relationships from violence into cooperation and harmony.

Literature review of street vending in other countries around the world is discussed in Chapter 3. It was discovered that in many countries, selling in the streets is an economic activity which is carried out by those people who are unsuitable for formal employment owing to lack of the required academic qualifications and was a part time economic activity. In a number of a few countries was such as India, and Thailand where street vendors had left formal employment voluntarily to engage in full time street vending because it provided them with autonomy and offered more money than formal employment. However, this was only done during times of economic depression. This scenario is also experienced in Zimbabwe which is suffering from an economic crisis, hence the literature reviewed was useful to this study.

In Chapter 4, literature on street vending in Zimbabwe was reviewed and sought to find out why people resorted to street vending, explore the causes, nature, manifestation and consequences of the disputes between street traders and urban

councils. The literature reviewed established that lack of employment opportunities among not only the uneducated but also the university and college graduates, the economic crisis, the closure of industries were driving people to occupy themselves in street vending in their numbers and that street vending was not a matter of choice but necessity. It was also found out that there was now a new phenomenon where formal employment was no longer able to sustain families in Zimbabwe and some people were leaving formal employment preferring to be street vendors.

The Research Methodology is covered in chapter five. As the study sought to transform relationships between street vendors and HCC, it was appropriate to implement an action research approach. Action Research as discussed in Section 5.1.1 is qualitative in nature because of its capacity to enable action and social transformation by allowing actors to occupy different roles in recognising, planning and executing a solution to a current societal challenge. Koshy (2010:1) defined action research as an effort to address actual life challenges that require solutions in the form change. The focus of action research is on carrying out research in collaboration with actors than carrying out research on behalf of actors (Greenwood and Levin 2007:3). In this thesis, action research was implemented to enable a concrete method of interaction between street vendors and other actors in its conflict with the HCC using a small sample of participants.

Action Research is based on the philosophy that global and societal challenges require genuine and applied interventions. The relevance of action research in this study was to design, implement and evaluate the outcome of the interventions carried out. However, in action research there are no clear cut and definite answers to everything. The outcomes of action oriented research are preliminary and can be openly scrutinised. The outcomes of Action Research are not fixed, cannot be generalised or simulated elsewhere. The Action Research results are situation based but vital lessons can be drawn from them for future research.

Research Methodology adopted in this thesis was a qualitative paradigm which included descriptive, exploratory, interpretive and phenomenological components as discussed in Section 5.4. It is descriptive in nature in the sense that street vendors and other actors were interviewed and described their experiences. Focus group

discussions were held where street vendors also described their experiences. I also conducted observation where I went into the streets and observed the relationships and interaction between street vendors and other actors which I later described in this thesis. The exploratory nature of this study was conducted through finding out the truth about the relationships among the various actors through in- depth interviews, focus group interviews, observation and literature review. Interpretivism was revealed through interpreting data collected using various mechanisms already noted in this section. For Titchen and Hobson (2005:121), phenomenology involves the investigation of lived human experiences inside regular social settings wherein the experiences occur from the viewpoint of individuals who experience them. In this thesis, street vending was the phenomena and the study included street vendors in data collection, training of an action group and dialogue with other actors because street vendors live the phenomena. In this thesis, therefore qualitative research paradigm was adopted because it was better positioned to investigate individual's encounters, sentiments, attitudes and behaviour than quantitative paradigm. This is in line with Berg (2009:3) who asserted that, "certain experiences cannot be meaningfully expressed in numbers".

In this thesis, I purposively selected 20 participants for pre- intervention in-depth interviews which comprised of 14 street vendors (seven men and seven women) which also comprised seven licenced vendors and seven unlicenced vendors as noted in Section 5.2.2. Two members were each selected and interviewed from vendors' organisations, Harare city council and formal business. Additionally ten members were drawn from street vendors to participate in focus group discussions prior and post-intervention stage. These participants were purposively selected using non-probability, quota and snowballing sampling methods. On non- probability sampling, I used my own opinion to choose participants that were suitable with the type of study and that could provide the best information to achieve the aims and objectives of the study. Quota sampling was used to decide what number of people with what qualities to utilise in the study as participants, for instance how old, class, occupation, marital status? Snowballing sampling (see section 5.5.3) was additionally used in this thesis to select participants. This was referred by Mack *et al.* (2005) as referral sampling. I was referred to participants who were thought to possess enormous knowledge and

insights into the study. Ten participants were purposively selected for training on non-violence and further eight were selected to participate in first mini- dialogue and six for the second mini- dialogue.

In- depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation as well as literature review of books, journal articles were used as data collection instruments in this thesis. The blending of information assortment methods was carried out to upgrade procedural triangulation (see Section 5.6). Three data analysis methods were utilised namely interpretive analysis, phenomenology and discourse analysis. The qualitative nature of the research required the use of manual data analysis methods. Interpretive data analysis involved examining information so as to distinguish emerging discernments and perspectives. Phenomenology involved the investigation of people's experiences from those who experience the situation such as street vendors and formal business. On the other hand, discourse analysis involved finding further connotation of words and articulations which are frequently covered up in verbal discourse. This thesis used the three data analysis methods so as to upgrade the quality of results and validity as explained in Section 5.8

It is important to reiterate in this thesis that validity and reliability aspects in qualitative and quantitative paradigms have different meanings and interpretations. The former deals with the societal and subjective factors that influence human behaviour whereas the later deals with atoms or molecules. In the former, validity and reliability are perceived through dependability, integrity, steadiness and honesty, whereas in the later validity and reliability are viewed through generalisations and replicability of the findings. In this thesis therefore, the qualitative paradigm was used in conjunction with the Action Research design which dealt with the social realities of human nature and as such the issues of validity and reliability were addressed through constancy, integrity, loyalty and honesty.

Ethically, this thesis ensured the validity and genuineness of the research as well as respecting the wishes of the participants and gatekeepers. Respondents were selected on voluntary basis and no participant was coerced or misled into participation in this study. Participants were updated that their contribution was unpaid and had choice to discontinue their participation if they felt the need to do so. Permission was

sought from gatekeepers to conduct this study and was duly granted as shown in the appendix. The following section will briefly look at the objectives of the study and how this thesis dealt with them.

Objective 1

The first objective in this thesis was to identify and discuss the causes, nature, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and HCC. This was done throughout the study but was mainly done in Chapters 1 and 2 which looked at the history of the conflict and literature review. The review of literature showed that the dispute between street vendors and HCC was as a result of the economic crisis that affected Zimbabwe beginning in the early 2000 as a result of many economic and political factors. Beginning in the year 2000 Zimbabwe's political relations with the Western countries deteriorated after Zimbabwe embarked on radical land reform and alleged human rights abuses. This culminated in the country being slapped with 'targeted' sanctions and consequently suspended from International Monetary Fund. Companies closed and formal employment shrunk which resulted in many people formally industry employees flooding the informal market as street vendors. Vending space became scarce as many people joined the streets as street vendors. HCC had not planned to handle such huge numbers of street vendors on its vending sites. As the volume of traders on the streets soared as a result of shortage of formal jobs and with the city of Harare unable to deal with such high numbers many turned to unlicensed street vending which saw them trading at undesignated vending sites.

The HCC insisted that vending had to be regularised and carried out at designated sites. This became an intractable conflict which saw daily running battles between street vendors and HCC which occasionally turned violent leaving some injured while some even lost their lives in this battle of the streets. Thus evidence suggests that the relationship between street vendors and HCC has been clearly antagonistic.

It seems that the HCC while accepting that the economic situation in the country was bad, it was not a scapegoat for street vendors to take law into their own hands. They needed to observe city by- laws by operating within the confines of the law. The huge volume of traders in the streets of Harare caused congestion in the city centre as they occupied every pavement, caused relations between the city of Harare and formal

business to go bad as formal businesses threatened to abandon payment of rates to the city of Harare citing unfair competition from street vendors as well as general filth in the city centre. This prompted the city of Harare to take action to drive street vendors from the streets with the help of the ZRP and the ZNA. This resulted in violent clashes in which some people lost their lives and property destroyed. Human rights activists lamented the move by the HCC to militarise the streets and eventually the security forces were withdrawn from the streets. This conflict created enmity and suspicion between street vendors and HCC with accusations and counter accusations from each other. Harare city accuses street vendors of taking law into their own hands by allocating themselves vending space in areas which are not allowed to vend in the city centre. Street traders accused HCC of allocating them vending space in places which are unsuitable for their enterprises and far from their clientele base, hence they shun those allocated spaces which are on the outskirts of town. Thus, in the end a clash was inevitable which turned violent.

Objective number 2

This objective was dealt with in Chapter 3 and 5 in Literature Review and data collection where it was noted that the city of Harare had made some attempts to resolve the conflict by allocating more vending space in the city centre by converting some streets into vending bays but the space remains inadequate due to the high number of people who are in need of the space in the city centre. Notable authors like Mitullah, Kusakabe, Mramba, Bhowmik and others had their work reviewed and the relevance of their work was acknowledged in this study. Interviews and focus group discussions carried out in this study noted that HCC and some vendors' organisations had tried to hold meetings in the past regarding the issue of vendors but nothing had materialised as unlicensed street vendors continued to flock into the city centre and HCC continued to use force to remove vendors from the streets. As a result, it was also revealed that one of the strategies which HCC had implemented in trying to address this problem was the use of force to drive out vendors from the city centre but this did not yield positive results. The HCC occasionally enlisted the services of the ZRP and ZNA to drive street vendors out of the city centre. However, it was revealed in this thesis that this strategy failed to work as vendors would simply retreat when

confronted and only to re- emerge later when the threat subsided. Moreover, the strategy led to the death and injury to some people which was heavily criticised by some human rights groups. However, the city of Harare continued to rely on this mechanism as it tried to restore the city' sunshine status. It was revealed in this thesis that this strategy was not sustainable as it entrenched conflict. What was needed was dialogue which this researcher organised although it was a low level dialogue. The researcher hopes that a high level dialogue which comprise all the various stakeholders and high level policy planning personnel would help to address this problem permanently.

Objective number 3

The third objective in this thesis was to design and implement an intervention model to transform the relationships between street vendors and HCC. This objective was carried out in Chapter 7 of this thesis. This model was based on Galtung's Transcend model of conflict transformation and dialogue. Transcend dialogue method by Galtung is a conflict transformation technique which perceives peace as the handling of disagreements with compassion, non- aggression and resourcefulness (Galtung 2002:xix). This model was also complemented by Saunders' Sustained Dialogue. These techniques unite the actors in conflict using a facilitator. The aim of the two methods in this study was to unite the contention parties so that through sustained or prolonged contact they could rise above the overall hatreds and together distinguish imaginative approaches to construct or reconstruct relations through common regard for each other. Galtung (2004:186) noted that the use of dialogue in the Transcend Method relaxes disagreements and permits gatherings to open conflict through joint inventiveness. The dialogue methods emphasises sharing responsibilities rather than blame. Mini- dialogues conducted in this study aimed to address antagonistic circumstances which had created damaging relations between street vendors and HCC.

Objective number 4

Objective number 4 in this thesis aimed to make a pilot assessment of the results of the intervention. This was carried out through interviews, focus group discussions, media reporting and observation. It was observed that since the intervention, there

were some noticeable changes in the relationships between street vendors and HCC. A platform for problem sharing and discussion had been created where the two groups could talk and listen to each other. However, challenges remain as the economy continues to promote informal businesses where operating space does not permit. Unlicensed street vendors continue to flock into the city centre and running battles between street vendors and HCC continue though the intensity and frequency have decreased. Despite these challenges there is constant interaction between and among the dialogue participants in trying to find creative ways of addressing the scourge of violence which characterise their relationships. To me, this continued interaction is an achievement and a stride pointing the correct path as the journey of a thousand miles starts with few steps. The interaction among the dialogue participants represents those few steps which will eventually turn into thousand miles. Notwithstanding, regardless of how little the achievement, or how huge the failure, it gives significant future exercises and underlines the fact that there are other creative ways of interacting other than violence (Porter 2007:7). Small pockets of success stem from Lederach's moral imagination in which he argued that,

....moral imagination is the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not exist (2005:ix).

Such creative mind has delivered pockets of achievement and highlights the fact that the accomplishment of a peacebuilding activity cannot be estimated in terms of quantitative terms alone but qualitative perspectives matter just as they enlighten to the world options that are outside of the snare of the spellbound and dichotomised accounts that rule social orders.

9.3 A personal reflection

This study was a learning experience for me to sharpen my research experience. I met diverse number of people, some high profile figures in society while some were low profile street vendors who all shared their diverse experiences with me. What I learnt from all these interactions is the importance of listening and empathy. I realized

that there was power in listening and when you show you can listen, people will tell their stories. I listened to street vendors' stories even when I thought that they would not tell their stories with strangers. At first some were not comfortable to tell their stories suspecting me of being a council police in plain clothes and I was spying on them. I also learnt that there is no conflict which cannot be resolved. All conflicts can be resolved if participants are willing to listen to each other and use the Transcend Method which include dialogue. I, therefore have a commitment to continue promoting communication among the participants using all communication channels so that dialogue does not become a white elephant project but something that bears fruit. It is my hope that the communication will continue in the post- intervention phase for the sustainability of the intervention. However, my greatest fear is that the continued violence and running battles in the streets will erode the gains made through dialogue.

Through Action research, I have learnt a lot about asymmetric conflicts. Asymmetric conflicts are conflict that involve participants with unequal power relations. This conflict between street vendors and HCC have unequal power relations. Such conflicts are difficult to find an intervention which is favourable to all the actors in the conflict. As such it was very difficult to get the parties to dialogue as other parties felt there was no need for dialogue. Parties had positions which they wanted other parties to observe and this created challenges. As the facilitator, I had to intervene and urge the parties to consider their interests as opposed to their positions. It was therefore easy to get the parties to the dialogue as soon as they started considering their interests rather than positions. This was an important lesson that I learnt as a researcher that parties in the conflict will always use positions in negotiating for a solution. However, this can change if parties can be encouraged to consider their interests instead of positions.

9.4 Sustainability

Sustainability is a concept which has a goal of creating a project or programme that is capable of continuing to generate benefits for an extended period of time. In this thesis, sustainability refers to the ability of the parties to engage in dialogue and good relationships into the future for a prolonged period of time even when this research has ended. There are a number of positive things that emerged from the dialogue and

transcend method that I conducted with various stakeholders in trying to transform relationships among a variety of actors. Relationships between street vendors and shop owners have improved since they can now dialogue on the use of space in the CBD. Recently, I engaged them to try and help them sustain the peaceful relationship they built when they participated in the dialogue. They agreed that vendors can sell within their pavements on the condition that they do not sell products which are sold in the shops. Some shops made an agreement with street vendors that the vendors operating within their premises should clean the places that they use for their activities such as verandas. However, such agreements are informal and do not involve the HCC. It requires consultation with the HCC to establish the suitability of vendors selling their products at such places so that the arrangements become sustainable and lawful.

The parties which participated in the dialogue agreed through the WhatsApp platform to conduct a clean-up exercise which was conducted on 6th January 2020. There are still talks to make the clean-up exercise a monthly exercise. There are still disagreements as other parties are arguing that they cannot make such a commitment as they had other things to do but they can only join if the exercise is carried out occasionally. It is hoped that the parties will maintain their WhatsApp group and good relationships as they continue to engage with each other in the future. There is also a discussion on the need to engage ZRP in light of the recent ZRP raids on street vendors.

9.5 Scaling up: How can it spread?

Even if relationships between street vendors and formal shops seem to have improved there is need for them to continue engaging each other and with other stakeholders so that good relationships become all- inclusive and sustainable. On scaling up the interaction among the stakeholders there are plans for the dialogue participants to periodically meet and discuss ways of improving their relations. There are also discussions on WhatsApp to include other stakeholders in the discussions such as the ZRP and some ordinary members who are affected by the challenges presented by the conflict between street vendors and HCC. These are still plans which have not yet

been implemented. It is hoped that if they are implemented, they can help immensely in sustaining the relationships which have improved.

9.6 Conclusion

The overall conclusion of this thesis is that the relationships between street vendors and HCC might have improved but there is need for constant interaction and dialogue between the two. The conflict has decreased owing to the interventions undertaken through this study. The city council's crackdown on unlicensed street vendors failed to achieve its objectives. However, through dialogue and transcend conflict transformation, the relationships can be further transformed where people are given spaces to talk and listen to each other to realise the humanity in each other. Though the mini- dialogues held in this thesis were micro- level dialogues involving few people, it must be noted that transformed people have the capacity to transform others and the world for the advancement of humankind. Margaret Mead (1934) concurs with this line of argument and contends that a little gathering of dedicated residents can transform the world. Transforming relationships between street vendors and HCC is not a once off event but work in progress and a process which may take many years to accomplish. What is also important in this thesis is that the parties managed to hold a mini- dialogue and aired their challenges, expectations from each other and committed themselves to transforming their relationships. The continued engagement among the parties and overall improvement of the economy of the country will assume a significant function in further transforming and cementing these relations.

The HCC is also encouraged to take a positive approach to the street vending issue. It should provide creative ways of accommodating street vendors while benefiting from their participation and use of public space through taxes. At present, HCC is not benefitting from the use of public space by unlicensed street vendors as the latter operate without licences. The city council should legalise these vendors and derive revenue from them. The tax derived from street vendors can be used to improve and expand vendors' infrastructure which in most cases is in dilapidated form. Urban authorities and government should treat street vending as a peacebuilding mechanism which is sustaining families and as an activity from which families are deriving their

livelihoods from, hence they should find ways of harnessing it into the mainstream economy than to treat it as an act of criminality.

Overall, solutions to this conflict can be found through dialogue, and Zimbabwe can learn from other countries like USA where, in Los Angeles, street vending was legalised through consultations and engagements. India has likewise promulgated a law that regards vending as a legal business. South Africa, too, has had a fruitful scheme in Durban where city planning involved informal traders. Although dialogue is important in this conflict, the long-term solution is the resuscitation of the economy which is currently in doldrums.

It is important to conclude by arguing that it is high time the governing authorities in Zimbabwe embrace street vending as a reality which will be around for the future and which cannot be wished away. They must find ways of integrating it into the mainstream economy than trying to fight against it. This study offers the following recommendations to different stakeholders.

9.7 Recommendations

This study provides different recommendations to different actors in this study

9.7.1 Recommendations to HCC

- There is need for HCC to provide more vending space for vendors in the city centre where it is convenient and strategic for them to make a decent living.
- There is need for HCC to consult with vendors in the allocation of vending sites and determination of rates that vendors have to pay to the city council.
- Urban authorities should make arrangements to incorporate street vendors in their urban planning designs and committees so that they benefit from their rates and taxes for further urban development.
- There is need for constant dialogue with vendors and other stakeholders to find a sustainable solution to the challenges of vending.
- There is need for HCC to coordinate with other stakeholders such as police, army and government in handling vending issues. Currently there

is no coordination and they often blame each other and counter blame each other when matters turn ugly.

9.7.2 Recommendations to Vendors

- Vendors need to abide by council by- laws and trade at designated places.
- Efforts must be made to encourage street vendors to regularise their trade so that they operate within the confines of the law without suffering from evictions by urban authorities.
- Vendors should join associations so that they can negotiate with HCC and other stakeholders as a united front.
- Vendors should continue to engage with stakeholders than using violence to achieve their objectives.
- Vendors should be encouraged to pay rates to city council so that they can get better services.

9.7.3 Recommendations to Government

- The government should promote informal businesses and introduce economic policies which generate employment within the informal sector.
- The government should introduce economic policies that stabilise the economy and generate formal employment so that the pressure on informal trading decreases.
- The government should make formal employment attractive so that people remain in the formal sector than migrating to the informal sector which puts pressure on resources such as land for vending purposes. Vending should be a matter of choice rather than necessity.

9.7.4 Recommendations to Vendors Associations

- They need to continuously engage with vendors and HCC to resolve the vending challenges in Harare and other urban cities.
- They need to open offices in all major town where vendors have problems with urban authorities.

- They need to be more visible in representing vendors' rights in all towns throughout the country. The majority of vendors do not know about their existence.

For further studies, there is need to research more on the impact of covid- 19 and measures implemented by the government on street vendors and how vendors responded to covid- 19 and government measures to curb the spread of the disease.

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Interview with training participant, 6th January 2019
Interview with dialogue participant 1, 31 march 2019
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Interview with clean-up campaign participant, 30 August 2019
Street vendor during post- dialogue focus group discussion, 12 January 2020
Post – dialogue Interview with vendor 4, 15 April 2020
Post – dialogue Interview with vendor 5, 15 April 2020

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Pre-Dialogue Interview Guide with street vendors selected by the researcher

Name : Washington Mazorodze

Student Number : 21751119

Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris

Topic : **Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe**

Institution : **Durban University of Technology (SA)**

This research is being conducted in order to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and Harare city council. I am conducting this study for a doctoral degree at Durban University of Technology in South Africa. I am interested in understanding the perceptions, feelings and opinions of street vendors and Harare City Council officials and formal businesses. These questions are linked to the topic of my study, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Let me assure you that everything that you are going to say will be used solely for this research and shall not be used for any other purpose. In order to protect your privacy and identity, your actual name will not be used but rather I will create false names or numbers such as R1 to R10 in case of focus group discussions. Feel free to ask me any questions or anything regarding this research. Do you have anything or any question that require clarification before we start?

Sex:

Age:

Questions

1. How many people are dependent on you that you live with and feed on daily basis?
2. Of these dependents how many are adults and children?
3. What % of the household's income do you provide? If others provide explain.

4. How long have you been a street vendor?
5. What prompted you to become a street vendor?
6. Is street vending your only source of income? Explain how much income you get per day and how you use it as a livelihood
7. Did you have any formal job before becoming a street vendor? If yes, how long did you work and why did you leave your job for street vending?
8. What is your highest level of education?
9. Do you have any licence to operate as a street vendor? If Yes, how did you acquire the licence (LEGALLY OR OTHERWISE?) and how much are you paying for the licence?
10. If yes to question 9, what are the requirements for one to get a license and how long did it take you to obtain a licence?
11. If NO to question 9 why are you operating without a licence and have you tried to obtain one?
12. Do you have a permanent space which you operate from? If yes, how did you acquire the space and is it the one you are currently using?
13. Did you have any input in the allocation of the space or it was imposed on you?
14. Do you experience harassment by council officials? If yes how often (times per week or month) BY ANYONE ELSE? If yes, how often?
15. Can you describe the nature, extent and consequences of your conflict with Harare city council? ANYONE ELSE?
16. What measures have been put in place to improve relations between street vendors, Harare city council and other actors? By yourself, Association, City council or government
17. How successful have these measures been? AND WHY?
18. What do you think should be done to improve your relations with Harare city council and other stakeholders? By yourself, council, association or government

Thank you for your time.

Appendix II

Pre-Dialogue Interview Guide Key informant interviews: HCC officials

Name : Washington Mazorodze

Student Number : 21751119

Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris

Topic : **Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe**

This research is being conducted in order to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of street vendors and Harare city council relations. I am conducting this study for a doctoral degree at Durban University of Technology in South Africa. I am interested in understanding the perceptions, feelings and opinions of street vendors and Harare city council officials and formal businesses. These questions are linked to the topic of my study, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council. Let me assure you that everything that you are going to say will be used solely for this research and shall not be used for any other purpose. In order to protect your privacy and identity, your actual name will not be used but rather I will create false names or numbers such as R1 to R10 in case of focus group discussions. Feel free to ask me any questions or anything regarding this research. Do you have anything or any question that require clarification before we start?

Sex:

Age:

Questions:

1. What is your position in this organisation?
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. Can you explain in short your job description and interaction with street vendors?
4. What is your office's perception, attitude, behaviour and position regarding street vendors?

5. In your personal opinion what do you think is the nature, extent, causes and consequences of your conflict/relationship with street vendors, if in your opinion a conflict exists?
6. In your opinion what are the challenges posed by street vendors in the city centre?
7. What factors do you consider and what are the requirements when allocating street vendors operating licences and operating spaces?
8. Do street vendors have any role in designing policies and operating space that affect their business?
9. Are street vendors adhering to selling at designated points and paying tax and rates? If not why?
10. What monitoring mechanism do you have in place to make sure that street vendors pay rates and operate at designated points?
11. What measures have you put in place to regularise unlicensed street vendors?
12. How successful have these measures been in resolving conflicts between your office and street vendors?
13. In your own opinion what do you think must be done (by your office, street vendors, others) to improve the effectiveness of these measures and transform your relations with street vendors?

Thank you for your time

Appendix III

Pre-Dialogue Interview Guide: Key informant interviews: Formal business

Name : Washington Mazorodze

Student Number : 21751119

Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris

Topic : **Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe**

This research is being conducted in order to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of street vendors and Harare city council relations. I am conducting this study for a doctoral degree at Durban University of Technology in South Africa. I am interested in understanding the perceptions, feelings and opinions of street vendors and Harare city council officials and formal businesses. These questions are linked to the topic of my study, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Let me assure you that everything that you are going to say will be used solely for this research and shall not be used for any other purpose. In order to protect your privacy and identity, your actual name will not be used but rather I will create false names or numbers such as R1 to R10 in case of focus group discussions. Feel free to ask me any questions or anything regarding this research. Do you have anything or any question that require clarification before we start?

Sex: Age:

Questions:

1. Are you the owner of this business? If yes, proceed to question 2. If no what is your position in this organisation?
2. How long have you been operating this business?
3. Can you explain in short your interaction and relationship with street vendors?

4. What are the challenges posed by street vendors in the city centre and to your business?
5. What has been done so far by the authorities to address the challenges posed by street vendors?
6. How successful have these measures been in resolving challenges posed by street vendors?
7. In your own opinion what do you think could be done to address these challenges?
8. Would you be interested in participating in dialogue that comprise street vendors and Harare City Council – the aim of the dialogue is to hear the other side rather than to criticise each other.
9. Would you also grant me time to interview you after the dialogue?

Thank you for your time

Appendix IV

Pre-Dialogue interview guide (Vendors' Organisations) Key Informant Interview

Name : Washington Mazorodze

Student Number : 21751119

Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris

Topic : **Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe**

This research is being conducted in order to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of conflict between street vendors and Harare city council. I am conducting this study for a doctoral degree at Durban University of Technology in South Africa. I am interested in understanding the perceptions, feelings and opinions of street vendors and Harare city council officials and formal businesses. These questions are linked to the topic of my study, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Let me assure you that everything that you are going to say will be used solely for this research and shall not be used for any other purpose. In order to protect your privacy and identity, your actual name will not be used but rather I will create false names or numbers such as R1 to R10 in case of focus group discussions. Feel free to ask me any questions or anything regarding this research. Do you have anything or any question that require clarification before we start?

Sex:

Age:

Questions

1. What is your position in this organisation?
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. What does the organisation do? What is the main function of the organisation?
4. What is the relationship between the organisation with street vendors and Harare City Council?
5. What are the requirements for one to be a member of your organisation?

6. In your opinion what do you think are the causes, nature, extent and consequences of the conflict between street vendors and Harare city council?
7. What has been done so far to resolve this conflict by various stakeholders?
8. How effective are the strategies used so far to deal with these challenges?
9. In your own opinion what do you think should be done to deal with these challenges effectively?
10. Will you like the idea of this researcher to organise a dialogue among the various stakeholders as a way of resolving the conflict? The idea is to get an understanding of each other's situations not a debate

Thank you for your time

Appendix V

Pre- dialogue Focus Group Discussion Guide (Street vendors)

Student : Washington Mazorodze

Reg. number : 21751119

Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris

Title : Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council in Zimbabwe.

Introduction

I would like to start by thanking you for coming today. My name is Washington Mazorodze and I am a doctoral student at Durban University of Technology. During the next couple of months I am going to be conducting a research on building capacity for possible transformation of relations between street vendors and Harare city council. Feel free to express your views, experiences and opinions. Different views will be accepted and respected. Everything that we are going to discuss will be confidential and will be used exclusively for this study and nothing else. Participation is voluntary and should feel the need to discontinue, you are free to do so and I will respect your decision. During the discussion I will be taking down some notes and with your permission I will be happy to record the entire discussion so that I do not miss any of your valuable opinions and views. I will try to make sure that the discussion does not exceed two hours.

Introductions: Group member's introductions will be done in the form of self-introductions.

Questions

1. Can you explain to me the process of acquiring a licence and vending space?
2. How easy or difficult is it for one to acquire these? If hard, what makes it hard?
3. What measures have you put in place to improve relations with Harare City Council and formal businesses?

4. What do you think should be done to improve your relations with Harare City Council and other stakeholders?
5. Would you be prepared to come to a dialogue with the City Council and shop owners? The purpose of the dialogue is to hear the other parties' situations not trying to win a debate.

Thank you for your time.

Appendix VI

Post- dialogue Interview Guide with street vendors, council officials, vendor organisations and formal business

Name : Washington Mazorodze
Reg. number : 21751119
Supervisor : Professor Geoffrey Thomas Harris
Topic : **Topic: Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe**

I am conducting this post dialogue interviews as part of evaluation on the effectiveness of dialogue in transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council. I am conducting these interviews as part of my study for a doctoral degree at Durban University of Technology in South Africa. I am interested in understanding the perceptions, feelings and opinions of street vendors and Harare city council officials and formal businesses in the aftermath of dialogue. These questions are linked to the topic of my study, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council. Let me assure you that everything that you are going to say will be used solely for this research and shall not be used for any other purpose. In order to protect your privacy and identity, your actual name will not be used but rather I will create false names or numbers such as R1 to R10 in case of focus group discussions. Feel free to ask me any questions or anything regarding this research. Do you have anything or any question that require clarification before we start?

Sex: Age:

Questions:

1. Did you participate in dialogue that took place? If yes go to question 2
2. Do you think the objectives of the dialogue were met?
3. From your opinion, did the dialogue help to transform relationships among various actors who participated in the dialogue? If yes in what ways?

4. What do you think could be further done to transform relationships among various actors?
5. Is there anything you think you can do differently after participating in dialogue?
6. In your opinion what do you think is the future between street vendors and Harare city council?
7. Would you recommend anyone to participate in dialogue in future?

Thank you for your time

Appendix VII

Post- dialogue Focus Group Discussion guide with street vendors

Name : Washington Mazorodze

Student number : 21751119

Supervisor : Prof Geoff Harris

Institution : Durban University of Technology (SA)

Topic : Transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare City Council in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This is a follow up interview to the dialogue that some of your representatives participated some time ago for the research that I am conducting as a fulfilment of my doctoral studies in which I sought to understand the nature, causes, extent and consequences of relations between street vendors and Harare city council. The questions I will ask are linked to my research topic, transforming relationships between street vendors and Harare city council and the dialogue that your representatives participated. Everything that you will say will be used solely for the purpose of this study and nothing else. In order to protect your privacy and identity this study or discussion will not use your real names. If you have anything you do not understand please feel free to ask me. Do you have any questions or anything that require clarification from me before we start?

1. What can you say about the relationships between street vendors and HCC recently?
2. Are there any changes you have witnessed recently in the relations among a variety of actors? If yes what are they and what could be the reasons?
3. Do you see any ways forward which might help resolve the conflict or improving relationships? What are they?
4. Will you be willing to participate in a number of collaborative initiatives among a variety of actors such as monthly clean up campaigns to increase cooperation?

Thank you for your time



CITY OF HARARE

HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT
ROWAN MARTIN BUILDING, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 1680
TELEPHONE 752979 / 753000

EMAIL: hrd@hararecity.co.zw

ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR

29th June 2017

Durban University of Technology
Peace Building Programme
Durban
South Africa

Dear Washington Mazorodze

RE: AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH: WASHINGTON MAZORODZE

This letter serves as authority for Washington Mazoredze to undertake a research survey on the topic: **"TRANSFORMING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STREET VENDORS AND HARARE CITY COUNCIL"**.

The research survey seeks to resolve conflicts between street vendors and the Harare City Council.

The City of Harare has no financial obligation and neither shall it render any further assistance in the conduct of the research. The researcher is however requested to avail a soft and hard copy of the research to the undersigned so that residents of Harare can benefit out of it. The research should not be used for any other purpose other than the study purpose specified.

Yours faithfully

DR. C. CHINGOMBE
HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR