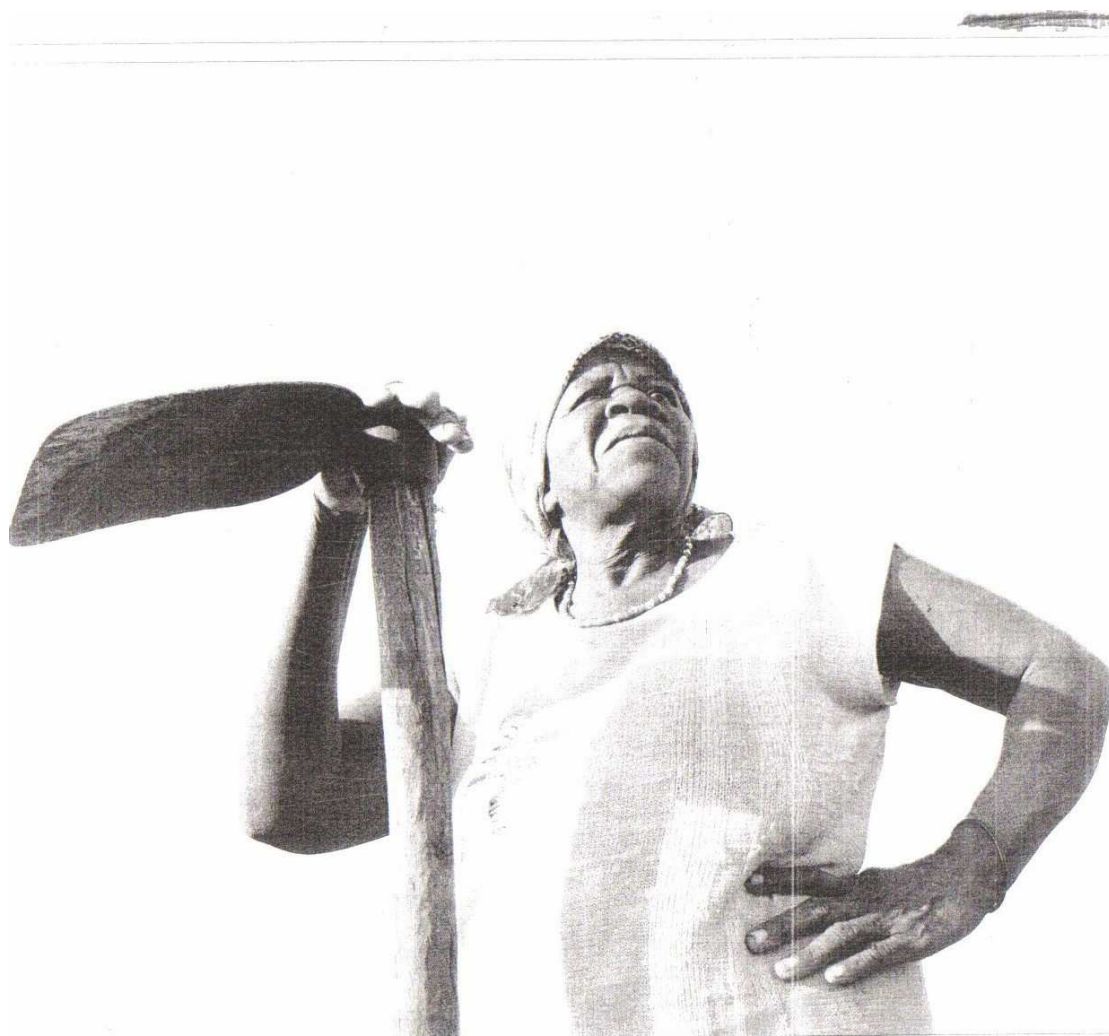


CITIES FARMING FOR THE FUTURE

**BULAWAYO: SUPPLEMENTARY
INFORMATION FOR BASELINE SURVEY**

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**SUPPLIMENTARY REPORT ON HIV/AIDS,
GENDER AND MARKETING**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.....	3
METHODOLOGY	3
HIV/AIDS IN URBAN AGRICULTURE	3
HIV/AIDS IN BULAWAYO	4
GENDER ISSUES	7
VENDORS AND HAWKERS	13

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The scope of the update baseline exploratory study is to add flesh to skeletal information, which was previously overlooked, or mentioned in passing. The update focuses attention on HIV/AIDS in the context of urban agriculture in Bulawayo, gender issues as they impinge on urban farmers, producers organisations, markets, vendors and hawkers in the urban agriculture distribution structure and supply chain. The study cannot be final but provokes further debate, reflection and research. The report is hereby submitted in that context and understanding and it is hoped that it may reveal patterns and trends elsewhere. In this regard, the author expresses his gratitude to the numerous rate payers who cooperated in discussion and interviews.

METHODOLOGY

A wide variety of social research skills and techniques were at disposal. A descriptive survey method where (N=120) was used because of its ability to describe phenomenon as it is. Direct observation, participant observation, interviews, field visits, discussion and the participatory rapid assessment method were all resorted to in attempt to bring the research project as close to the ground and to reality as possible. At times researchers spend ample time on semantics and tired philosophies to the detriment of problem identification and solving practical issues facing the community. Hopefully, this humble contribution will serve to highlight what is taking place in urban agriculture and provide input in policy formulation synergy and integration

HIV/AIDS IN URBAN AGRICULTURE

This is a worldwide scourge. International effort and strategies so far have not resulted in the discovery of any effective cure for the epidemic. However, it is quite a gigantic step that various mitigatory measures such as provision of ARVs are in place. Now there is more AIDS awareness among communities largely because the disease destroys lives indiscriminately across the globe. It is estimated that worldwide HIV infections in 2005 stood at 6225965. According to statistics from the Global Fund to Fight Aids, India has the highest HIV positive people in the world. This has been dismissed as "nonsense" by the India Government's National AIDS Control Organization which argues that there are only 5.1 million cases of people infected with the virus slightly less than South Africa which has 5.3 million people infected out of a population of 40million. Self-denial at times permeates the top echelons of policy formulation but that in itself is not a panacea as more people would certainly die if the epidemic is not prevented or controlled. Generally statistics and data on

HIV/AIDS are easily disputed because of certain inconsistencies and unreliable records. This research unequivocally postulates that AIDS is a behavioural challenge therefore medical science will benefit from the contribution of behavioural science such as psychology, sociology, anthropology (to understand cultures and subcultures), and sub-disciplines like economics (resource control) and political science (power decision-making conflict resolution etc) and law. Social psychology because of its focus on group behaviour can make a significant input in understanding and awareness of HIV/AIDS in the community. A properly informed population is receptive to innovation and change. The Government of Zimbabwe had made concerted initiatives to combat the AIDS pandemic. In both international fora and in the home front the message on AIDS awareness and prevention has been strongly articulated despite limited resources at the country's disposal. In this regard, Zimbabwe is evidently pursuing the objectives of the Millennium Development Goal

by actively fighting against HTWAIDS TB and Malaria. Positive declining trends are evident. According to official statistics from the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare the national rate of HIV infection has declined from 21% in 2005 to 18.1% in 2006. A few days before commemoration of the World's Aids day on 1 December, the Chronicle also confirmed that in Zimbabwe, the virus has hit about 18 percent of the population of about 12million people.

What is now required is reinforcement of current anti-Aids intervention because complacency can bring about disastrous consequences on infection rates.

HIV/AIDS IN BULAWAYO

The City of Bulawayo has not been spared from the deadly AIDS infection. However, according to figures released by the City Health Department, Annual Report 2005 Bulawayo's HIV infection rate (like the national rate) also shows a downwards trend from 20 percent in 2004 to 17.1 percent in 2005. Bulawayo's population as depicted in the 2002 national census stands officially at 676650 but there are independent estimates which put the population at 1.5million (Standard 15/10/06). For efficient and effective development planning and resource allocation figures must be reconciled.

In an attempt to bring out the bigger picture the research also investigated other critical indicators, which are deemed essential in policy advocacy for integrated urban agriculture. Guided by statistics from City Health Department Annual Report 2005, there at times exists chronic malnutrition due to poverty and the harsh economic environment. The most vulnerable if not innocent group are children under five years of age.. Nutrition statistics revealed incidents of stunted growth of 12 percent in March 2005 and 12 percent cent in November of that year. Records from various clinics and children health cards also show that some children are underweight and this makes then susceptible to various infections and diseases. In March 2005 8 percent of children were deemed underweight and the figure for underweight under five for November 2005 was 11 percent.

Policy formulation on urban agriculture should not overlook the prevalence of kwashiokor and the image of pot-belied children due to malnutrition. Some of these children are orphans under the care of a grandmother without resources. Clinics and health centres are the first pot of call for monitoring the child's well being. The clinic itself does not have the capacity to address poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Malnourished children often get multivitamins and health boosting treatment. Home visits and counseling should become the modus operandi for health assistants.

Hyperinflation at above 1000% induces poverty, uncontrollable prices of basic commodities and the upward spiral in the cost of living explain why most families are surviving below the Poverty Datum Line by God's grace. The Chronicle (8 December 2006:11) highlights that an urban family of six requires a base monthly income of \$209 000. The Central Statistics Office poverty figures are at least \$175 000 per month for an average urban family but most workers earn a pittance of \$60 000. Worker disposable income is severely eroded by inflation. All this means that the majority of people in the country are living from hand to mouth and cannot afford to purchase nutritious food. The affordable solution is to ensure that urban farming policy not only boosts high yields and agricultural productivity but also addresses the

aspect of nutrient harvesting. This is even more desirable in combating HIV/AIDS prevalence in the urban community. Health extension workers, home based care volunteers and family members must appreciate the extent of contribution of urban agriculture in ensuring household food security as well the need for a balanced nutritious regular diet.

The City's Health Department in various forms supports those suffering from HIV/AIDS, TB. Nutritious food packages such as sugar beans, soya, chunks etc are given during to patients during clinic visits. This is a temporary palliative. A deliberate policy needs to be crafted specifically identifying urban agriculture as a fundamental link in the fight against HIV/AIDS pandemic. At the moment, interventions are piecemeal and poorly coordinated. It is fairly common for a health worker to advise a patient to eat fresh vegetables and fruits without mentioning that these can be grown by the family at the backyard. Some of the current garden allotments at Makokoba and Mpopoma are on poor soil and yield a poor quality crop. There is also the problem of mono cropping. Rotation and crop diversification would achieve better results. Chemicals and heavy metals can contaminate water and vegetables affect the urban farming community. The purpose of the foregoing is to underline the fact that while urban agriculture is a viable option in the fight against HIV/AIDS scourge there are caveats along the line. Other health issues stem from the realization that good effective urban farming is dependant on the health status of the farmers themselves and their families. The urban farmers out there in the plot may be suffering from non-communicable diseases such as heart diseases hypertension, diabetese mellitus, respiratory infections, diarrheal diseases (because of malnutrition) and water borne disease. A prudent policy on urban agriculture should not lose sight of the vital importance of empowering the farming community. The municipality does its best to assist the poor and vulnerable groups but this benevolence does not stem from clearly identifiable policy linking urban agriculture to issues of HIV/AIDS, TB and opportunistic infections. In this regard, urban agriculture policy should be integrative and indicate logical linkages between various components. Quite often public policy is couched as a normative broad based goal described in general terms. The operational dimensions of that policy then become discretionary and subject to interpretation.

This in itself does not derogate from the crucial role of health issues likely to affect urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is a democratic and social process because it aims at poverty alleviation and to empower urban farmers identify and solve their own health problems and map future strategies. Field observations show that there is a reasonably high interaction between male and female urban farmers at times to discuss diseases, input, costs, pests, weeds and crop destruction by seed-eating partridges which reside in nearby bushes.

Not all health issues have so far received the attention, which they deserve due to absence of, clearly laid down policy on urban agriculture. Urban farming like any community development programme should be carried out within a multisectoral framework. Urban farming should take into consideration potential health risks. Waterborne diseases and poor sanitation especially in off-plot urban farming need strict monitoring. There are no public toilets in these plots, the health quality of the water is not always evident. There is need to empower the community with self-health care, personal hygiene and self-reliance skills the urban agriculture. The community

should also be provided for in extension services for urban agriculture policy. There are linkages. Accordingly, it would be quite mis-leading to focus specifically on HIV/AIDS only. The National Aids Council will assist with inputs that could shape a durable policy on HIV/AIDS and urban agriculture. Awareness campaigns on HIV/AIDS should be regularly conducted with the collaboration of the Joint UN Programme in HIV/AIDS. UNAIDS comprises various specialized international bodies such as UNICEF, WFP, WHO, UNDP, ILO etc. It is gratifying to note the Bulawayo City Council has created an enabling environment for prevention and people living with the pandemic openly testify on how they are coping.

The World Aids Day on 1 December was enthusiastically remembered in Bulawayo. The national launch of the Commemoration were held in Bulawayo and organised by the National Aids Council. Such initiatives enhance Aids Awareness campaigns and foster dialogue among the infected and affected families. A candle light ceremony was also held to pay respect to those who succumbed to the HIV/AIDS scourge. Bulawayo requires to synchronize its various anti-Aids programmes and local level voluntary work activities. Policy formulation on HIV/AIDS should make provision for harmonization of existing initiatives. Bureaucracy as shown in the following case study can be frustrating and result in neglecting vulnerable victims of HIV/AIDS. The case study is taken as a representative sample. This story appeared in the Sunday News (10/12/06), In Nkulumane Five suburb in Ward 24.

Eleven women teamed together in 2001 and formed an Orphan Care Trust which has so far looked after 437 orphans mainly from child headed families. The orphans are aged between one and five years. The women depend on selling vegetables and other wares to raise money for feeding the orphans. The Trust is however not registered because of technical and administrative procedures involved. At the moment the women realize about \$60 000 per month from vegetable sales and occasional donations. The women need a piece of land or a plot for more viable vegetables and food crop production. In order to be considered for land allocation the City council requires that they produce trust financial records and a constitution. The poor women do not have skills to comply with this prerequisite. The municipal clinic at Nkulumane however provides porridge as part of the supplementary feeding programme. The Department of Social Welfare was also approached by the women but demanded that the Trust should be registered first and must have a constitution. The Department of Social Welfare runs a National Plan of Action on Orphans and Vulnerable children and will assist on such matters as obtaining birth certificate for

the orphans. The local councilor is communicating with the City Council on the need for land for the women so that they can stand on their own. The Member of Parliament recommended that the women together with others undergo agricultural training first before they could be given a piece of land. However, because of the nature of their routine duties of caring for the orphans the women failed to attend such training but those who underwent training got the land for gardening and crop production. This may be an isolated case. However, it appears evident that orphans, children homes and children trusts must be integrated in a policy frame work on urban agriculture and periurban farming. The research acknowledges that whilst there are no specific programmes to link HIV/AIDS to urban agriculture the need for a clear policy is long overdue in the interest of community development.

Sub divisional aspects of AIDS Urban agriculture policy would encourage HIV/AIDS victims to grow herbal and medicinal plants to improve on their health status. It is a gigantic step taken by the Ministry of Agriculture to collaborate with the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) to launch HIV/AIDS strategy to illustrate that food security means better nutrition which in turn reduces the deterioration of the virus to a full-blown pandemic in individuals. In other words agriculture is deemed effective in combating HIV/AIDS (New Farmer December 2006).

GENDER ISSUES

In Bulawayo's population 52 percent are females and 48 percent are male. The exploratory survey and participatory rapid appraisal carried out randomly during the survey shows that the reason for women involvement in urban farming is to ensure food security in the household. Women traditionally are tillers of land, and they enjoy early harvests of legumes, their green leaves, cucumber and pumpkin leaves. Later green mealies become available for roasting and cooking, peanuts, watermelons, pumpkins and sweet reeds are also popular although the latter tend to attract petty thieves on to the plot. Sweet potatoes follow in due course. Surplus produce realized after the harvest is sold to augment family income. Women are known to be spend thrift and do not let their money or incomes disappear at the drop of a hat. The women farmers has her household interest first and fore most.

In the actual socio-cultural setting of African family setting women take a lead in farming activities such as seed selecting, weeding, marketing, harvesting, preparing food from farm produce etc. It goes without saying that for women to play a meaningful role in urban farming access to land is crucial. All women interviewed lamented that fact that they would like greater involvement in urban agriculture if they had access to land but at the moment only small plots or pieces of land are available. However, some women in Makokoba farm in Queenspark area further away because land there is abundant. Others do not participate in urban agriculture because they do not have a piece of land except for vegetables dotted around family residence. The women's family responsibilities tend to increase as a result of urban farming especially if this is off-plot and at a distance away from the household. The pattern of activities emerging from participatory rapid appraisal (PRA) (not to be confused participatory rural appraisal espoused by Robert Chambers) Pratt and Loizos 2003: 66-74) illustrate that both men and women value easy access to some piece of land for urban farming. Interestingly, lack of reliable water supply does not feature prominently. Respondents depend on rain-fed urban agriculture and assume that they would be able to plant their vegetables and food crops and harvest the produce at the appropriate time. A total of 43 subjects (Male and Female) were randomly picked from Makokoba, Nkulumane, Montrose, Southworld and Barham Green to ascertain reasons for non-participation in urban agriculture. Unavailability of land was the main reason. Those who have that piece of land make reasonably good harvest.

Gender Issues in Urban Agriculture

<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative %</u>
Makokoba	18	41,9	41,9
Magwegwe	16	37,2	79,1
Montrose	6	13,9	93,0
Southworld	2	4,7	97,7
Barham	1	2,3	100,00
TOTAL	43	100.00	

In Barham Green, a predominantly Coloured community suburb, some residents felt that urban farming is drudgery and time-consuming. On the question of access to land men have a strong leverage as they can easily approach the local councilor for assistance and information an available options. In the figures shown, the highest numbers of people who want land reside in congested suburbs. Typically, these are areas where incomes are low, poverty and hunger among households are a daily occurrence. However looking at gender issues from the desire to have land by both men and women obscures vital societal roles gender connotes. In gender, women can be viewed as a socio-economic group which augments family income through marketing of agricultural products. Women may also be understood as a socio-cultural entity fulfilling predetermined roles and responsibilities. Society confers certain cultural norms and values to women which renders women to be subservient to their male counter parts either to be marginalized when it comes to questions of obtaining resources, capacity building, self-reliance and economic independence. This is largely because the power structure is skewed in favour of men who control productive resources like finance, division of labour, information and decision-making power. A policy on urban agriculture should concede that men dominate decision-making and often exercise their power of veto purely from cultural and traditional practice.

There is therefore reason to revisit gender dynamics and analyze what requires to be done to empower women in urban agriculture. Democracy assumes equality for all but in practice there are certain intervening variables. Women's voice needs to be heard and their interest articulated by women themselves for their own benefit. Women should be empowered to influence resource allocation in the household and in the urban farm. This can be achieved through women activist groups, women farming clubs or associations. Single women have a leeway in decision-making before they also get entangled in the power structure where men have a decisive role. Essentially therefore gender analysis focuses on current power structure and distribution of roles and responsibilities assigned to women. Information that is critical for decision-making is still the preserve of men. If women are given land they will provide family food and income. Those who have a piece of land they make good harvest. An elderly couple both employed as domestic workers in Barham Green this year harvested 10 bags each weighing 50kgs. There is no need to buy mealie meal. Another elderly

granny at the main Makokoba Market whose husband passed away early this year lauded urban agriculture because she said although she is now the sole breadwinner she has still enough to eat until the next harvest. She farms off-plot in Queenspark area. Urban farming is of immense benefit in the community.

In area where people have two hectares of land per household of the 20 interviewed (N=20) they advised they usually harvest three tons of maize whose market value is \$33 000 per ton and for two tons of assorted vegetables \$40 000 per ton is realized. This is high household income. Income from urban agriculture sustains households and boosts food security in the tranquil home.

Decision-making, Gender balance resource allocation and conflict resolution in urban farming.

In most instances couples and single women farming in proximity to a male dominated plot work harmoniously. There is as yet no deliberate policy to enhance gender balance. However, there is need to empower the female urban farmer to the extent that she in her own right identifies constraints facing her farming world. For the time being men determine the allocation of labour, time, type of activity, use of family income and consumption. This is the socio-cultural perspective.

However, a democratic and gender sensitive ethos needs to be developed in urban agriculture to manage conflict and minimize domestic violence. Women farmers can increase the leverage of their bargaining power through organizing themselves into farmers association or cooperatives. Even division of tasks and responsibilities would be smoothly distributed.

One method of understanding the machinations of the socio-cultural environment is to imagine a Venn diagram of three integrated circles A,B, and C. A-depicts what people in society aspire, be it primary needs such as food, water and shelter. Obstacles to progress, perceptions to goal gratification are also discussed here by couples.

Circle A is interlinked with B which examines whether there are adequate resources, capacity, finance, knowledge and competence in the household or community to ensure that aspirations and needs are fulfilled. In doing all this one moves into the territory of the third circle (C) which puts A and B into a specific contextual environment where the emphasis is on macro and micro environment in which people live, agro-ecological conditions, the local political subsystem, banks and finance as they support development issues. The three circles A, B and C are interdependent and this method may assist in defusing conflict in the household.

The other suggested solution is to use the Critical Path Method (CPM) to resolve problems of activity levels, their duration discussion and consultation time, labour distribution. Urban farming activities are scheduled in advance by mutual consent. This also engenders team spirit and hopefully an appreciation of each other. Generally gender must be factored in everywhere in urban farming operations. The Venn diagram approach was suggested by an article in the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which was trying to analyze the impact of social systems in development dynamics. (DBSA Vol. 11 1994).

PRODUCER ORGANISATIONS

Urban agriculture fuels the marketing systems and determines the pulse at which producers organizations and milling small entrepreneurs balance consumer demands and supply of agriculture products in the city and beyond. A PRA approach as well as discussions and interviews unravel a whole set of invisible complex networks which urban farming policy makers and researchers have to appreciate in their analysis of market dynamics. The operations of producer organizations and markets crisscross and one would think that it is a stock exchange of some sort with business regulatory mechanics.

A number of association some registered other not registered, individual traders, informal groups neighbourhood households, traders from as far a field as Honde Valley and Mutare, Hwange plus a coterie of vendors and hawkers all constitute agricultural produce marketing. In an effort to understand at market systems logic the research soon realized that because of the proliferation of marketing macro approach would present a better picture. Small producer and marketing associations were analyzed randomly to determine how they fitted into the market jig-saw-puzzle.

In this regard the Zimbabwean Commercial Farmers Union was selected. It is a large fairly representative union with an oversight into urban agriculture production and marketing. The ZCFU officials interviewed at their offices in Main Street/ Connaught Avenue also applauded this approach by producer organization largely because farmers associations are its affiliates. The farmers union was originally called the ICFU (The Indigenous Commercial Farmers Union) in the 1980 Large scale indigenous commercial farmers formed an association which became a fully fledged union in 1996. The tag of "indigenous" conjured on unfavourable image with conservative banks and skeptical financial institutions when the farmers union applied for loans because many "indigenous" businesses lacked a sound financial resource base and were perceived to suffer from mismanagement and inefficiency. To counter all this negative picture and stereotyping ZCFU was preferred by the leadership. The national vice president and regional officials in charge of various associations like livestock and farming in areas like Rangemore openly discussed the operations of producer organizations under their umbrella.

Major programmes and activities centre on safeguarding the interest and concerns of the rank and file of the membership in various ways. The ZCFU has the audience of Government therefore it is a strong voice for farmers associations. Recruitment is voluntary. There is individual membership and association membership. The joining fee is currently \$15000 (fifteen thousand dollars) while individual membership is an option the ZCFU encourages the community to form collective organizations such as farmers association in their areas of residents. The ZCFU scrutinizes the constitution of the farmers association both for legality and compliances with national objectives. However, the ZCFU is not involved in the day-to-day operations of farmers associations. They operate semi-autonomously and seek guidance from the ZCFU as and when necessary. The farmers associations have their own constitution, which regulates their activities. The associations form small committees specializing in an area of urban agriculture. There is a marketing officer both whose main responsibility is to assess the market situation and pricing. Where farmers associations face a particular challenge like the slow movement of a particular commodity they contact the ZCFU for possible redirection of that particular produce. The ZCFU also does the

some. If faced with bulk orders for chicken it activates its database to identify those associations which may be in possession of a surplus to satisfy the market demand. In this way the ZCFU in Bulawayo Province supports its affiliate farmers association to market their agricultural products and it assists in trying to get a fair price especially where there is a sudden high demand for products like pork, poultry. Certainly producer associations have the capacity to perform concrete activities. Producer organizations once registered have a legal status (*locus standi*) and oversee the activities of farmers association. Producer organizations have a convincing institutional profile as they can process bank loan applications on behalf of farmers associations. Producer organizations actually act as guarantors in such circumstances. The major weakness is that some farmers associations are potential members only. There is no hurry on their part to join an established organizations like ZCFU. Individual membership also fragments the farmers union unnecessarily. The main strength of the farmers union is its ability to expand its membership base with little effort. The joining fee is however quite high but the benefits accruing in the long term outweighs this.

Farmers Associations have the privilege to undergo specific training programmes. Once a training need in a particular sphere has been identified, an arrangement is made with EFILEKWENI Training Institute on the Bulawayo-Plumtree Road in collaboration with ZCFU and AREX.. Training courses last a few days to weeks. There is also competence based training in business management to try to instill a paradigm shift among urban farmers to move away from consumption-based subsistence farming to commercial profit oriented enterprises. Farmers associations understand what urban agriculture is all about or seeks to achieve. The question that arises often is the reason for sudden interest by the city council. Local councilors hardly mention urban agriculture as a new farming movement because it is not a new phenomenon but only the degree of emphasis is going to be.

The other aspects to consider are those factors which tend to militate against effective functioning and performances of producer organizations. The umbrella union itself has managed to create cells at grassroots level and farmers associations exist at every province and district. However, due to the fact the membership of farmers associations is optional the producer organizations are not as strong as they would like to be. Membership attendance at meetings is at times as low as 25 out of an expected 60.

When training opportunities become available everyone should consider themselves eligible from such training. The Kellogg Foundation ran a series of course on Leadership but those benefited were mainly the general membership of ZCFU. It is, however, note worthy to mention that there are specially designed courses to promote capacity building and grassroots leadership development environment and conservation management. This facilitates the association's activities and creates awareness of the customer's needs in the supply chain. There is a symbiotic relationship with a lot of potential associations but this requires strengthening. Leadership capacity development and effective functioning of all structures can partly achieve this. A system of performance monitoring would be and added advantage.

One method of achieving this objective is to ensure that the operations of farmers associations are strategic and systematic capable of interrogation and self-monitoring as depicted in the illustration adapted from Johnson and Scholes (2002) on planning for marketing. This is also facilitates SWOT analysis and remedial adjustment.

Currently, producer organizations face real challenges. Focus groups highlight problems of access to finance for farming purposes. Where loans are available interest rates in an inflationary economic environment are high. AGRIBANK loan and interest are affordable but the problem is that farmers associations do not all hold title deeds for the pieces of land they utilize. Another problem is lack of agricultural machinery and tools, lack of regular reply water supplies is mentioned as a third challenge. Lack of management particularly financial management skills is another obstacle. Marketing of perishable products and some farm products poses a veritable challenge. The researcher also observed that the haphazard operations of hawkers and vendors distort the role of registered producer organizations. Producer organizations need to present a united front to regulate inflows of farm produce in order to knock down arbitrary pricing which is currently the norm.

When all is said and done it is worthwhile to observe that producer organization have a clear vision on their role in urban agriculture. It is envisaged that once urban farming practice gets better organized and gathers momentum agricultural products will be delivered straight to suburbs such as Magwegwe, Pumula, Luveve, Emganwini to cut down travelling costs and transport hassles faced currently by buyers and sellers. A big market will be centrally located in every residential area. The removal of transport costs will also reduce the purchase price of farm produce. Another innovative strategy being considered from future auctioning is to deal with invasion of the Bulawayo markets by traders from faraway who fix their own price and push up the costs of living only certain commodities. The commodity units determine the purchase price and manner of disposal of excess farm produce. At the moment the ZCFU stands by almost helplessly. The foreign trader will be shut out by a pricing mechanism. He will either sell his farm produce at a lower price or cut it away elsewhere. Definitely, the farmers union has to capacity to achieve this objective as long as there is a clear urban agriculture policy.

At the moment other than custom and conventional practice, there is no policy guideline. Consequently, even for a project like mushroom growing at Lobengula Street and Second Avenue, institutes such as SIRDC give direct assistance to the enterprise in the form mushroom seeds for use during training and for mushroom production. Established commercial enterprises also make their own individual arrangement with food crop and vegetable producers outside the framework of the producers association. These activities need to be harmonized and regularized. It also requires facilities to identify real and potential markets for various agricultural products. This can enhance income and revenue generation.

Neighbours, Non-Farmers who are owners of land

Those neighbours who are not members of a producer association but who own tracts of unutilized land do not pose a specific problem. However, in view of the fact that urban agriculture is all about generating food security and boosting house hold income it may be prudent to persuade such people to join a farmer's association or development association for useful information. Invariably, if there is poor

communication between the farmer's association and the neighbours bias and negative attitudes could hold back progress. Neighbours who are non-farmers and do not belong to a farmers association can be invited to meetings of the residents association to ascertain reasons for non-participation in urban agriculture.

In meetings of development associations and residents association local leaders and community based organizations or their affiliates freely debate issues such as security, street lighting, burial societies, burst sewers and other problems facing the community. Such organisations are an effective platform for brainstorming the pros and cons of urban agriculture and development issues.

Generally, neighbours who are not farmers do not have access to financial and other benefits enjoyed by members of producer association. The problem they create include their expectation that they could be allowed to get water from the person's borehole next door. In the event of the borehole breaking down the farmer alone has to meet the repairs and maintenance costs. Non-farmers can also be encouraged to participate. Neighbours, non-farmers can help in proving the quality of environment in compliance with the Environment Management Act. There are certain advantages of being close to urban farmers such as easy access to fresh farm produce at reasonable price and getting some information on farming loans, availability of tractors for hire. Non-farmers buy farm produce either from the neighbours plot or from supermarket and wholesalers in the city. Marketers in the city sell a variety of farm produce. The non-farmers choice of food consumed is limited by what is available in the market. Urban agriculture can help educate and inform the neighbour who is a non-farmer about the benefits of promotion of food security. It is a process of dialogue and persuasive enlightenment.

VENDORS AND HAWKERS

These are vital cogs in the agricultural marketing machinery. Those randomly interviewed indicated they had been in the vending and hawking business for 30 years. However, vending and hawking, like urban agriculture, became serious household activity in the late 1980s to early 1990s. Many firms in Bulawayo either retrenched their labour force, relocated elsewhere because of the city's erratic water suppliers or simply closed down due to economic viability problems. Textile manufactures faced stiff competition from hawkers who came from DRC, Zambia and Zimbabweans buying cheap material from Botswana and South Africa. Chinese material also became popular in markets at Nkulumane, Emganwini etc. Flea Markets mushroomed in the city.

The resultant scenario was to put thousands of household income earners to the street. A few enterprising unemployed men used their retrenchment packages to start small to medium enterprises but because of vagaries in the macro economy most SMEs did not go beyond three years. Following the collapse of small business, most household resorted to vending and hawking. These activities are done mainly (but not exclusively) by women. The latter have a marketing acumen and tend to strive under odds to ensure the sustenance of the family. The woman normally ensures that there is food in the household. She shares the money with the husband but keeps some for the next day's marketing business requirements.

Some vendors obtain licences from the city's authorities as a safeguard against prosecution for vending or hawking without a licence. Some belong to a loose alliance or association, which is powerless to negotiate or bargain competitive prices either for the purchase or sale of agricultural products. The vendors and hawkers association do not have sufficient collateral to access finance or credit. However, once these organizations are adequately enlightened, trained and managed there is a possibility that they can team up to form a formidable voice that could control entry and sale of agricultural produce in the city and its environs. At this moment in time it is a free for all situation. Farm produce enters city markets from various parts of the country unhindered. Marketing hours for one hawker's association indicate that business starts at 5:00am. However, vendors and hawkers are spotted in town even earlier than that. The early bird catches high quality tomatoes and other vegetables. It is booming business for pushcart drivers as they get hired to move the purchased produce to taxi ranks and bus terminus. Transport expenses require a daily operational budget for vendors and hawkers. Basically, vendors and hawkers are part of the markets operating in the city centre and other built up areas. This business flourishes throughout the year and it is a daily activity. Vendors and hawkers buy mainly green vegetables, tomatoes, fruits, green mealies, mushrooms and wild fruits as they come into season. These are normally bulk purchases. However, an individual vendor may buy just what is enough for that day's business. For example, a five litre container of tomatoes is purchased say at \$6 000 (six thousand dollars) the vendors then physically count the tomatoes to gauge the mark up price and to see if there will be any gain and how much.

Vendors who sell in isolated places within the perimeter area of a shopping centre fix their own prices for their commodities. However, those who sell their wares in established busy spots like Lobengula Street Mall are controlled and monitored by market marshals who early in the morning determine at what price what commodity should be sold on that day to ensure profit. Prices are therefore uniform to ensure order in the market and guard against unfair trading or competition. No formal organization structure exists but the informal arrangements in place work quite efficiently especially as there is little consumer resistance against prices. Supermarkets charge much more exorbitantly plus the inconvenience of queues. The urban farmer's market is the instant solution.

Vendors and hawkers used to have a vociferous association which now appears to have disintegrated. Police raids for illegal vending are frequent and the association leaders would have to explain why in defiance of the law they continue mobilizing vendors and hawkers in the wrong direction. Under POSA (Public Order Security Act) the authorities have wide-ranging powers of arrest, detention and prosecution. Vendors and hawkers would have to reserve a lot of money for fines and bail or litigation. This is not feasible for informal organizations.

On the question where vendors and hawkers do their activities the answer is that business is conducted everywhere. Some prefer markets near their place of residence but make less money that way. Yet others sell in the city markets and in unestablished outlets.

Vendors and hawkers are an enterprising socio - economic group. Some of those interviewed indicated that in order to obtain certain commodities like the delicious

traditional vegetable (ulude) they board the overnight Bulawayo - Victoria Falls train and disembark at Sawmills. At daylight, the vendors then approach the village heads to seek permission to go into the field where this vegetable grows wild and in abundance in that portion of the field yet to be ploughed. A small fee is charged per five litre bucket and the picking of the vegetables begins. At night or in the early hours of the morning the return journey starts on the Victoria Falls - Bulawayo train. Women organize themselves in small groups for the purpose. Travel by train is relatively cheap. Other vendors have made elaborate arrangements with supermarkets. Women spoken to indicate that they grow special vegetables like lettuce, carrots, green pepper, peas which the supermarkets come to collect in bulk for packing then resale in the city. Such vendors and hawkers get good income from this business alliance. Other urban farmers who double as hawker and have their own transport deliver farm produce straight to the supermarket warehouse and get paid cash on the spot. The purchase price is bargained between the supermarket and the farmer.

Some of the farmers come from within a 50km radius from the city. Commercial farmers have taken advantage of the chaos in the market. These used to be members of the Commercial Farmers Union, which dissolved due to a declining membership base. The few remaining who have large farms still bring in truckloads of vegetables and other farm produce to the market. There is a patron-client network as the farmer merely delivers to the market and has his wares recorded and he leaves the market owner to sell at whatever price. The farmer returns a few days later to pick up money and deliver more farm produce. The intricate relationships also determine pricing. This can hold the urban consumer at ransom. Unfortunately producer organizations are not that effective. Urban agriculture policy will be able to articulate this aspect of commercial activity. Overall, the problems encountered by vendors and hawkers emanate from the distance between markets and a person's residence. Transport and fuel costs keep fluctuating. There is also the risk of police arrests for those operating without licence. Such vendors and hawkers have their wares confiscated in addition to fines paid. There is no healthy storage or warehouse. Farm produce is covered and left overnight in the open. Associations are fragment and poorly organized. Pricing mechanisms are by whim and caprice because vendors and hawkers including producer organizations are upstaged by the market system. The real solution for some of these constraints is to ensure that a robust urban farmers movement is organized to regulate the goings on in city markets. Such an organization would embark on awareness and training campaign for its members and have institutional rapport with commerce, business, industry and public authorities.

MARKETS

These are part of the free - for - all business practices. Markets are dotted all over the city. Apart from regulation by city by - laws markets operate liberally. Markets, producer associations, vendor and hawkers and millers association require integration by urban agriculture policy instrument. In the case of millers government has at times accused them of hoarding strategic crops like maize grain and selling mealie - meal at unaffordable prices. Unusually at the time government silos at the GMB depot would be almost empty but private millers at Kelvin, Belmont and all over would be having plentiful reserves. This is another area to be addressed by urban agriculture policy.

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Appendices

Description of Wards

Ward No	Ward Name
Ward 01	City Centre
Ward 02	Richmond, Sauerstown, High Mount, Tegela, Northend, Trenance, Kingsdale, Norwood, Lobenvale, Northlyne, Queens Park West
Ward 03	Khumalo, Parklands, Paddenhurst, Romney Park, Mahatshula, Sunninghill, Orange Grove, Woodville, Sunnyside, Queens Park East, Kingsdale East, Killarney
Ward 04	Matsheumhlope, Manningdale, Lockview, Sunninghill, Hillside, Burnside, Handa, Waterford, Woodlands, Malindela, Ascots
Ward 05	Famona, Hillcrest, Morningside, Suburbs, Bradfield, Greenhill, Hillside, Burnside, Malindela, Fourwinds
Ward 06	Old Magwegwe, New Magwegwe
Ward 07	Makokoba
Ward 08	Mzilikazi, Thorngrove
Ward 09	Mpopoma, Matshobana
Ward 10	Entumbane
Ward 1 1	Emakhandeni
Ward 12	Old Lobengula, Old Lobengula Extension, Njube
Ward 13	Pelandaba, Imiyela, Mabutweni
Ward 14	Lobengula West, New Lobengula
Ward 15	Old Luveve, New Luveve, Luveve 5
Ward 16	Gwabalanda
Ward 17	Pumula North, Methodist Village, Robert Sinyoka village
Ward 18	Old Magwegwe, New Magwegwe
Ward 19	Old Pumula, Pumula East
Ward 20	Nkulumane 12

Ward 21	Tshabalala.Tshabalala Extension Sizinda
Ward 22	Nkulumane
Ward 23	Nkulumane
Ward 24	Nkulumane,Nketa 6,Nketa 8
Ward 25	Nketa 7,Nketa 9
Ward 26	Emganwini
Ward 27	Pumula South
Ward 28	Cowdray Park
Ward 29	Magwegwe North, Magwegwe West, Lobengula West