

African Journal of Public Administration and Environmental Studies (AJOPAES)

ISSN 2753-3174 (Print) ISSN 2753-3182 (Online)
indexed by IBSS, EBSCO and SABINET. It is accredited by DHET (the South African regulator of Higher Education)

Volume 4, Number 1, March 2025

Pp 245-270

Urban Governance and Food System Resilience in Post-Independence Zimbabwe: Challenges, Policy Shifts, and Pathways to Sustainability

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31920/2753-3182/2025/v4n1a12>

Mandlenkosi Maphosa

*Fort Hare Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Fort Hare
50 Church Street, East London
South Africa
Email: pbosaz@gmail.com*

Abstract

This article explores the interplay between urban governance and food systems in post-independence Zimbabwe, focusing on how governance structures and policy reforms impact urban food security and resilience. The study aims to uncover the challenges and opportunities within these systems, to form sustainable urban development. Using political economy analysis as a theoretical lens, the research examines the power dynamics, institutional behaviours, and policy frameworks shaping urban food systems.

A qualitative methodology based on systematic document analysis evaluates government policies, legislative texts, and reports from international organisations. Findings reveal persistent food insecurity, poor service delivery, and governance inefficiencies, exacerbated by economic crises and external shocks like COVID-19. Resilience-building efforts, including urban agriculture policies and digital innovations, demonstrate adaptive responses. The study recommends strengthening local governance, fostering participatory planning, and enhancing collaboration among stakeholders to promote inclusive, resilient, and sustainable urban food systems.

Keywords: *Urban governance; Food systems; Resilience; Food security; Political economy*

Introduction

Globally, urban populations have been growing exponentially, as in 2018, 55.3% of the global population resided in urban areas, a figure projected to rise to 60% by 2030 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (UNDESA), 2018). Most of this growth is concentrated in Africa and Asia, while urban centres in the global North are experiencing stagnation or even de-urbanisation (Smit, 2021). Notably, 27 of the 33 megacities, each with populations exceeding 10 million, are in the global South (UNDESA, 2018). Within Africa, urbanisation rates vary, with Southern Africa at 60% and East Africa at 27% (Gambe, Turok & Visagie, 2023). In Zimbabwe, urbanisation is rising steadily, with census data showing an increase in the urban population from 33% in 2012 to 38.6% in 2022 (ZimStat, 2013; ZimStat, 2023).

Urbanisation in the global South often coincides with significant socio-economic challenges rather than development gains (Kuddus et al., 2020). These include poverty, food insecurity, poor service delivery, and high informality (Ahimah-Agyakwah et al., 2022). Urban food insecurity, particularly, has emerged as a defining challenge in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Although once overlooked and termed an "invisible crisis" (Crush & Frayne, 2010), the academic community has increasingly addressed this issue (Battersby & Watson, 2019; Riley & Crush, 2023). Yet, as Riley and Crush (2023) note, urban food system (UFS) governance remains underexplored, with fragmented data limiting a holistic understanding. This article contributes to bridging this gap by examining historical and contemporary governance dynamics in Zimbabwe's UFS. The goals of this article are threefold: (1) to analyse the historical and contemporary challenges facing Zimbabwe's UFSs; (2) to evaluate the governance structures and policy reforms addressing these challenges; and (3) to propose pathways for creating sustainable and inclusive UFSs.

Post-independence Zimbabwe presents a unique case, shaped by efforts to rectify colonial legacies while grappling with evolving governance challenges (Mhlanga & Ndhlovu, 2021; Nair, 2022). While acknowledging the enduring legacy of colonialism, this article focuses on the formulation and implementation of policies enacted after attaining independence. This focus is deemed necessary to maintain analytical rigour.

Comparative analysis of African cities like Kisumu, Nairobi, and Cape Town reveals successful governance models for addressing UFS challenges in Zimbabwe. The Kisumu model, with its integrated

framework and emphasis on stakeholder engagement (County Government of Kisumu, 2023), offers valuable lessons for enhancing cross-sectoral coordination and policy coherence. Nairobi's multi-stakeholder approach (Nairobi City County, 2022) and Cape Town's collaborative governance model (Haysom & Pulker, 2024) demonstrate the importance of partnerships between government, the private sector, and civil society in improving food security, reducing waste, and promoting sustainable UFSs. These experiences highlight the need for Zimbabwe to adopt inclusive and resilient governance models that address cross-cutting issues such as climate change and gender equity.

Following this introduction, an analytical framework is presented. Subsequently, the methodology section outlines the qualitative document analysis approach employed in this study. The findings section then chronologically examines the historical evolution of governance and food systems over four distinct periods. Finally, the conclusion synthesises key insights and provides practical recommendations for strengthening governance and enhancing the resilience of UFSs.

Analytical Framework

This discussion on post-colonial urban development, which is focussed on UFSs in Zimbabwe, is anchored on a Political Economy Analysis (PEA). PEA is rooted in the study of how political and economic forces interact to shape societal outcomes (Frieden, 2020). It originated as an interdisciplinary approach to analysing power dynamics, governance structures, and economic policies. Among other things, PEA is “concerned with how power and resources are distributed and contested—and how this affects the distribution of income and wealth in any country” (Green, 2020: paragraph 1). PEA is particularly suited for examining post-colonial contexts, where political institutions and economic policies are often deeply intertwined. In this study, PEA allows for a critical assessment of how governance structures, policy reforms, and historical legacies influence UFSs. Political economy posits that political institutions and processes significantly shape economic policies and outcomes, and vice versa (see Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). Institutions, formal (laws, regulations) and informal (norms, traditions), play a crucial role in shaping economic behaviour and outcomes (Leftwich, 2006).

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach utilising document analysis to investigate the complex interplay between urban governance and food systems in Zimbabwe. Document analysis, a systematic method for examining texts to discern underlying patterns and contextual influences (Bowen, 2009; Morgan, 2022), proved particularly suitable for this research. By analysing various sources, including government gazettes, parliamentary bills, policy briefs, national development plans, international organisation reports, academic journal articles, and grey literature, the study traced the evolution of policy frameworks and institutional changes and their impact on urban food security. This approach, characterised by its unobtrusive nature, cost-effectiveness, and ability to access historical data (Blackstone, 2019; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Morgan, 2022), facilitated an in-depth exploration of a multifaceted issue spanning over four decades.

The study employed a multi-stage document selection process to ensure the inclusion of relevant and credible sources. Initially, a comprehensive search was conducted using relevant keywords (e.g., "Zimbabwe urban food systems," "post-independence governance," "food security policies," "urban agriculture," "decentralisation," "food sovereignty") in online databases (JSTOR, Google Scholar, ProQuest, Scopus, Web of Science), government portals, and institutional repositories. The initial search yielded a vast array of potential documents. To ensure the relevance and credibility of the data, a rigorous selection process was used to ensure data's relevance and authenticity. The temporal scope was narrowed to the post-independence period (1980-2023), focusing on documents directly related to urban governance, food systems, and their socio-economic impacts in Zimbabwe. Sources were meticulously vetted for credibility, prioritising publications from government institutions, parliament, international organisations, academic institutions, and reputable NGOs. Furthermore, accessibility and availability in full-text format were crucial criteria in the final selection of documents.

Content analysis was conducted using a mixed-methods approach, combining deductive and inductive coding techniques. The content analysis was informed by established guidelines, such as Bowen (2009), which underscores document analysis as a robust qualitative research tool, and Merriam and Tisdell (2016), which provide best practices in qualitative content analysis. An initial coding framework was developed based on *a priori* themes derived from the research objectives and

existing literature on urban governance, food systems, and development in Zimbabwe. These initial codes included themes such as "decentralisation," "food security policies," "urban agriculture," "market access," and "resilience." Each document was systematically coded line-by-line by two independent researchers. Codes were assigned to specific sections or passages within the documents, capturing key concepts, ideas, and arguments. Following initial coding, the coding framework was refined, incorporating emergent themes identified during the coding process. The coded data were analysed to identify patterns, trends, and relationships between themes. This involved aggregating data across documents, comparing different perspectives, and interpreting findings in the context of Zimbabwe's historical, political, and socio-economic realities. The analysis culminated in developing a rich narrative that integrated the findings from the document analysis with existing literature and theoretical frameworks.

Findings

The findings section provides a comprehensive historical analysis of Zimbabwe's UFSs and governance, highlighting the significant changes and challenges encountered over four decades. This analysis is divided into four distinct periods, as shown in Table 1, where key developments in urban governance and food systems and their implications on urban food systems are summarised:

Table 1: Summary of key developments in urban governance and food systems of Zimbabwe

Period	Key Developments	Implications on urban food systems
1980-1989	Entrenchment of a state-supported food economy characterised by subsidies on staple foods such as maize, wheat, milk, and meat through a centralised marketing system. On the urban governance front, the government initiated a process of dismantling 'colour bar' related policies and legislation, which served to mainly bar Black Africans from enjoying the same rights to the city/town as whites. Consequently, the post-independence period saw a surge in urbanisation rates, which happened without a concomitant growth of budgetary support to local authorities. This marked the genesis of strained urban service delivery.	Ensured food self-sufficiency at the national level but urban household food insecurity was a challenge.
1990-1999	This period saw the neo-liberalisation of the UFS and urban governance at the instigation of the Bretton Woods through ESAP	Increased food insecurity due to price hikes and weakened regulatory frameworks. The provision of limited

	<p>reforms. The main impact was the removal of subsidies and the privatisation/commercialisation of central marketing boards, and urban governance services. This saw a removal of subsidies, an astronomical rise in food prices, and the rise of informal food markets.</p>	<p>services by local authorities, partly due to reduced budgetary support. Local authorities, stripped of financial support, struggled to provide basic services, indirectly impacting food storage, handling, and distribution. The burgeoning informal food market became a key coping mechanism for urban populations, reflecting both the resilience and vulnerability of the system. While these markets provided affordable alternatives, they operated outside formal regulatory frameworks, raising concerns about food safety and long-term sustainability.</p>
2000-2010	<p>Significant political and economic upheavals, including hyperinflation and the Fast Track Land Reform programme. Simultaneously, the political landscape shifted with the rise of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The MDC's control over local authorities created a vertically divided governance structure, leading to power struggles and meddling from the ruling party, which aimed to limit local governments' ability to effectively deliver basic services to urban residents. Noticeable intervention by both national and international non-state actors during this stage.</p>	<p>Worsened food shortages mainly in the formal markets were due in part to price controls, declining agricultural output and forex reserves to import food but spurred urban agriculture and informal food retail as key resilience strategies.</p>
2011-2023	<p>COVID-19 disruptions; digital innovations; increased role of local and international NGOs</p>	<p>The COVID-19 pandemic severely disrupted the UFS. There was increased food insecurity owing to a disruption in livelihoods and supply chains both locally and internationally. However, this period also saw the emergence of digital innovations, such as e-commerce platforms and mobile payment systems, improving food access and distribution. Simultaneously, the role of local and international NGOs significantly increased, providing crucial support to vulnerable populations through food aid, urban agriculture initiatives, and community-based food security programmes. These interventions helped mitigate the negative impacts of the pandemic on UFSs, while also highlighting the importance of resilient and adaptive food systems in the face of future shocks.</p>

Urban Food Systems and Governance in Zimbabwe: A Historical Analysis (1980-1989)

In the early years following independence, the Zimbabwean government publicly promoted socialist ideals, emphasising equality, state ownership, and planned development. Potts (2016) contends that although the Zimbabwean government promoted socialist ideals, it retained a fundamentally capitalist economic structure by upholding protectionist policies inherited from the colonial white settler regime, particularly in support of large-scale commercial farming. This method had a significant impact on UFSs, ensuring that large-scale commercial farming remained important to the country's production systems. Nonetheless, the substantial contributions of smallholder farmers should not be overlooked, as they increased their contribution during the period under review (Cliffe, 1988). During the period under review, maize production, which is the country's staple food, generally surpassed the 2 million metric tonnes threshold with dips between 1981-1983, 1986, and 1988 mainly attributed to droughts (Index Mundi, 2024). The dips during drought years reveal the precarity of relying on rain-fed agriculture to provide for national food requirements. Furthermore, the centralised marketing system for food produce was maintained, along with subsidies at both production and retail stages with the output marketing landscape dominated by four parastatals, namely, the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) for various grains, including the staple maize; the Cotton Marketing Board for cotton; the Dairy Marketing Board for milk; and the Cold Storage Commission for meat produce (Poulton, Davies, Matshe, & Urey, 2002). Consequently, local farmers and other entities within the food system were protected from international competition, with the government and these parastatals playing critical roles.

Muir-Leresche & Muchopa (2006) argue that this arrangement led to positive outcomes, as evidenced by a doubling of maize production from smallholder farmers between 1979 and 1985, which resulted in a threefold increase in the amount of produce they marketed to the GMB. Additionally, Eicher, Tawonezvi & Rukuni (2006) note that smallholder and large-scale farmers experienced prosperous conditions during the first decade of independence. However, these benefits predominantly favoured the UFSs and urban residents, often to the disadvantage of the rural food system. For example, Muir-Leresche & Muchopa (2006) mention that approximately 200 rural hammer millers closed business during this period because smallholder farmers chose to sell maize to the GMB and purchase subsidised maize meal from urban areas.

On the socio-economic front, the government introduced economic policies focused on promoting economic growth, alleviating poverty, and reducing inequalities. Among these were the Transitional National Development Plan (1982-1985) and the First Five-Year Development Plan (1986-1990), which resulted in considerable economic growth (Gunning & Oostendorp, 1999). This growth spurred increased employment opportunities, which led to a rise in migration to urban areas, thereby placing additional service delivery responsibilities on local government authorities. The rural-urban migration was further accentuated by the dismantling of racially inspired restrictive legislation (for instance, the Native Urban Locations Ordinance (1906) and the Private Locations Ordinance of 1908) that made it very difficult for certain categories of Black Africans to enter and remain in the urban areas (Mlambo, 2019). Resultantly, between 1980 and 1989, the annual percentage change in the urban population of Zimbabwe hovered over the 5% mark with a peak in 1981 at 8.59% (Macrotrends, 2024).

In urban governance, a pivotal policy shift during the first decade of independence was the repeal of the Urban Councils Act (1973) in 1980 (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). This legislative change dismantled racial barriers in urban centres, particularly in representative democracy and land tenure (Chigwata, 2010; Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). While the amendment brought about significant progress, it also had the effect of diminishing the autonomy of urban councils, thereby expanding the central government's administrative and political control over local authorities. This had serious implications on urban governance in general and UFSs, as later discussions will seek to show.

The Prime Minister's Directives on Decentralisation and Development of 1984 and 1985 represented significant reforms in local government, though they were predominantly focused on rural areas (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). These directives established new governance structures and introduced key actors through the Provincial Councils and Administration Act of 1985, including the creation of village development committees and the appointment of Provincial Governors (Chatiza, 2010). While initially peripheral to urban governance, these structures later became pivotal in Zimbabwe's post-independence urban governance, especially with the establishment of the office of the Provincial Governor in 2004 (Chigwata, 2010).

Despite the governance reforms implemented, one significant continuity was the preservation of the colonial planning system, which prioritised planning, order, aesthetics, and a strong aversion to informality and disorder (Matamanda, 2020). A clear example of this can

be seen in the UFSs, where local authorities frequently destroyed crops cultivated in unauthorised areas (Toriro, 2018). This practice was backed by legislation such as the Control of Vegetation and Waste Material By-Laws of 1982 [SI 704/1982], which explicitly prohibited unauthorised urban farming. The relatively robust economic performance during this period, particularly by Sub-Saharan African standards, also contributed to reducing informality as the formal economy was able to absorb a significant proportion of urban residents. However, the government tried to accommodate informal activities such as urban agriculture. For instance, it promoted the formation of cooperatives and facilitated their allocation of urban land to practice urban agriculture (Mbiba, 1995).

Despite the government's efforts to democratise the economy, these interventions came at a significant fiscal cost. For instance, deficits of major marketing boards accounted for 51% of the state's expenditure on agriculture in 1986, contributing to Zimbabwe's entry into a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) among other fiscal pressures (Poulton et al., 2002).

Urban Food Systems and Governance in the Economic Liberalisation Era

In 1991, the nation embarked on the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), adopting a series of neoliberal reforms as prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These reforms, which encompassed the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, trade liberalisation, export promotion, and the removal of subsidies and price controls, have been extensively analysed in the scholarly literature (Mlambo, 2017; Mudimu, n.d.).

ESAP in Zimbabwe has been the subject of extensive scholarly criticism. Researchers attribute a range of adverse economic and social consequences to ESAP, including reduced manufacturing output, increased unemployment, rising poverty rates, and a burgeoning informal economy (Hadebe, 2022; Mlambo, 2017). Notably, the informal economy burgeoned during this period, reaching approximately 59.4% of GDP by 1999–2000, a figure regarded as the highest in Africa (Mlambo, 2017).

ESAP's implementation in Zimbabwe significantly reshaped the country's food systems. A notable consequence was the expansion of the informal sector as a primary source of livelihoods and food, driven largely by widespread job losses (Potts, 2016). The liberalisation of food markets under ESAP disrupted existing UFSs by exposing them to

market forces without adequate regulatory frameworks to protect vulnerable populations. The withdrawal of state controls allowed prices of staple foods to be determined by the market, leading to sharp increases in food prices, particularly for maize, the country's staple grain (Poulton et al., 2002). For instance, in 1993, the price of bread rose by approximately 40%, whereas that of sugar rose by about 50% (Minot, 1994). The resulting food insecurity was exacerbated by the fact that the GMB, which had previously played a central role in stabilising food prices, was significantly weakened under ESAP. Consequently, urban households, especially in high-density suburbs, experienced declining food security as their purchasing power eroded in the face of rising prices, retrenchments, and stagnant or declining wages (Grant, 2023).

ESAP also aimed at transforming urban governance. Legislative changes were made, such as amendments to the Urban Councils Act and the Regional Town and Country Planning Act. While legislative changes such as amendments to the respective acts demonstrated a desire for transformation, their practical impact on the planning landscape was limited and they failed to reign in the burgeoning informal sector (Rakodi, 1995). Furthermore, ESAP's neoliberal approach reduced government financial support to local authorities, impacting service delivery negatively and fostering the rise of privatisation and public-private partnerships in service provision (Wekwete, 2016).

Toriro (2018), while analysing the challenges of urban agriculture governance in Harare, inadvertently highlights a potential unintended consequence of ESAP. Drawing on statistics from ENDA-Zimbabwe, he demonstrates the substantial increase in urban agriculture land use in Harare from 4822 hectares in 1990 to 9828 hectares in 1994, a period coinciding with ESAP implementation. It can be inferred that the economic hardships attributed to ESAP, such as rising unemployment and poverty, compelled residents to turn to urban farming as a survival strategy, inadvertently stimulating urban food production. Furthermore, Toriro (2018) emphasises the crucial role of NGOs like the Zimbabwean Environmental Lawyers Association and the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa in supporting urban agriculture during this period. These NGOs lobbied for institutional reforms, provided legal assistance, championed the production of nutritious crops, and facilitated dialogue between farmers and government officials, contributing significantly to the growth of urban agriculture in Harare.

The second decade of independence witnessed significant shifts in UFSs and governance, characterised by increased poverty levels and

citizens' responses that reshaped the urban landscape. This period marked a departure from conventional developmental models toward crisis management, as described by Potts (2016). Some of the key steps taken by the government in 1997 included a multi-million dollar unbudgeted payout to veterans of the war of liberation, Zimbabwe's participation in the Democratic Republic of Congo war, and designing more than a 1000 large scale commercial farms for compulsory acquisition (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009; Reliefweb, 2000). These developments were cumulatively impactful to the Zimbabwean economy in general and UFSs in particular as they saw the country's currency plummeting in value, inflation rising to stratospheric levels and incessant price increases. Resultantly, in 1998, "...mid-January unprecedented food riots erupted in urban areas over price increases in the staple, maize." (Reliefweb, 2000). The decline in urban food security during ESAP demonstrates how neoliberal reforms disrupted UFSs by removing subsidies and exposing markets to vulnerabilities. This difficulty aligns with PEA's premise that governance structures and economic policies shape access and equity.

Urban Food Systems and Governance in the 2000-2010 Decade

The decade from 2000 to 2010 witnessed a profound transformation in Zimbabwe's political and economic landscape, primarily driven by the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). This agrarian restructuring had far-reaching implications for the country's agricultural sector and, consequently, its food systems.

Scholars have extensively analysed the consequences of the FTLRP, with many attributing it to a significant decline in crop production. For example, Matondi (2012) observes that the programme led to a substantial reduction in agricultural output, particularly of export crops, and contributed to economic decline. Kapuya (2013) corroborates this assessment, highlighting a sharp decline in maize output from commercial farmers from highs of 47.37% in the 1980/81 and 1989/90 seasons to 15.76% from 2000/01 to 2006/07. Kapuya also highlighted that within the same period national maize production fell from 1.93 million tonnes to 1.18 million tonnes. The decline in agricultural production had cascading effects on UFSs. Reduced yields meant higher food prices and shortages in urban areas, intensifying food insecurity. The disruption of commercial farming, which had supplied food and employment, exacerbated urban poverty and strained the food supply chains serving cities.

The decline in commercial farming not only affected those farmers directly but also had negative consequences for communal farmers who depended on them for essential resources like fertilisers, seeds, and financing. The reduction in maize production resulted in significant shortfalls, averaging around 500,000 tonnes, leading to widespread food insecurity affecting a substantial portion of the population, estimated to be between 5.2 and 7.2 million Zimbabweans (Tawodzera, Riley & Crush, 2016). In the urban areas in May 2002 850 000 people (FAO/WFP, 2002) required food assistance, and in 2008, FAO/WFP (2008) estimated the number of urban food-insecure people to be between the range of 1,289,000 and 2,209,000. In response to the decline in domestic production, Zimbabwe significantly increased its food imports, reaching a total of US\$2.8 billion between 2001 and 2008 (Cross, 2009). In fact in 2004, Zimbabwe reached the highest level (23.68%) of food imports as a percentage of merchandise imports since independence. To bolster local production by newly resettled farmers, the government implemented several agricultural financing mechanisms, such as the Productive Sector Facility, the Agriculture Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility, Operation Maguta, and the Farm Mechanisation Programme (Kapuya, 2013). In 2001, the government introduced additional market interventions through price control. This was formalised through Statutory Instruments 235A and 387, which classified maize and wheat as controlled commodities. Under these regulations, farmers were mandated to deliver their harvests to the GMB within a specified two-week window (Mutambara, 2015). Low producer prices and inadequate GMB infrastructure discouraged farmer deliveries, hindering national stock rebuilding and exacerbating food shortages in urban areas, ultimately fostering the growth of informal food trading networks (Toriro & Banhire, 2022).

The agricultural sector was not alone in experiencing significant challenges; rather, the entire economy was in a state of collapse. By 2008, the country's consumer price inflation had soared to an estimated 56 million per cent (FAO/WFP, 2009). Following two instances of currency redenomination in 2006 and 2008, which removed 12 zeros, the highest-denominated banknote reached a value of 100 trillion (FAO/WFP, 2009). The government's response to the deteriorating economic conditions included a series of draconian measures, such as price controls and a command economy approach, which were frequently enforced with military force. These policies had a significant influence on urban food distribution and access as FAO/WFP (2008: Section 4.1 para. 2) observed that "...prices set by the Government are artificially low and

clearly out of step with prices in the informal sector and international price levels and trends. “The implementation of these market intervention policies significantly contributed to shortages of essential goods in the formal economy, while informal markets were relatively well-supplied (Tawodzera et al., 2016)

Establishing the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009 marked a turning point for Zimbabwe's fortunes. A key initial policy was abandoning the Zimbabwean dollar in favour of a multicurrency system, partially dollarising the economy (Tawodzera et al., 2016). This move aimed to stabilise the macroeconomic environment. While it successfully addressed hyperinflation and increased food availability, it also had unintended consequences. By making local production costlier, the multicurrency system increased dependence on imports, particularly from South Africa. This reliance exacerbated food insecurity, as foreign currency pricing and higher food costs rendered basic commodities less affordable for much of the population (Madimu, 2020).

Moreover, the 2000-2010 decade witnessed pivotal developments in urban governance, notably an increase in land-grabbing activities in urban and peri-urban areas by political entities and their supporters, leading to informalised land management through housing cooperatives (Matamanda, 2020; Muchadenyika, 2015). For the UFSs, informalised land management played out prominently in the allocation and maintenance of vending stalls in major cities (Maphosa, 2022). This trend was influenced by escalating power contests in urban centres, where opposition parties like the Movement for Democratic Change gained increasing control (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). The central government introduced legislative changes and heightened interference in urban governance, such as dismissing opposition mayors and appointing aligned commissions, allocating land in contravention of existing laws, and centralising water service provision, which curtailed local authorities' revenue streams (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). The result was a further deterioration of service provision, which negatively impacted the UFS. For instance, local authorities' capacity to collect waste fell to 30% in 2006 from 80% in the mid 90's (Kanonhuhwa & Chirisa, 2022). This decline in essential services compromised urban hygiene and sanitation, creating an environment conducive to spread foodborne illnesses and posing significant risks to public health. Indeed, the 2008-09 period saw the country battling with a serious cholera outbreak that killed over 90,000 people (Cuneo, Sollom, & Beyrer, 2017).

The Nyanga Declaration, adopted by the Zimbabwean Urban Councils Association in 2002, represented a shift in policy recognising the significance of urban and peri-urban agriculture. The declaration highlighted the role of these practices in bolstering food security, mitigating poverty, and fostering sustainable urban development (City Farmer, 2002). It urged local authorities to incorporate urban agriculture (UA) into their planning processes, develop supportive policies, and engage various stakeholders in fostering UFSs and environmental management. This declaration highlighted the need to mainstream urban food security as a key component of urban governance and development strategies in Zimbabwe. UA also flourished, with Harare experiencing a substantial 90% increase in food production during the early 2000s (Toriro, 2018). Some cities such as Bulawayo in 2007 formulated and adopted their own UA policies (Maphosa, 2022).

NGOs also played a prominent role during this period as Brady (n.d.) notes. She highlights their critical role in tackling urban food insecurity in Zimbabwe, particularly in the context of the Joint Initiative (JI) programme. Brady points out that NGOs like Oxfam, CARE International worked together to provide food assistance through voucher systems and supported UA through the Low Input Gardens (LIG) project. Brady (n.d.) provides evidence of the impact of these interventions, noting that the food voucher project reached over 8,700 households, exceeding its original target, and that the LIG project resulted in the establishment of over 2,000 gardens. While facing challenges such as hyperinflation and government hostility, NGOs involved in the JI demonstrated the effectiveness of collaborative action in addressing urban food insecurity in Zimbabwe.

Additionally, the urban clean-up operation Murambatsvina in 2005 further reshaped Zimbabwe's urban landscape, displacing hundreds of thousands and impacting informal food vending and processing activities (Tibaijuka, 2005). This operation, despite legal provisions for certain activities, was interpreted as politically motivated, exacerbating the plight of the urban poor and their food security (Tawodzera et al., 2016). These multifaceted challenges underscored the complexities of Zimbabwe's UFSs and governance during this tumultuous period.

Urban Food Systems and Governance in Zimbabwe during 2010-2020

The GNU also facilitated the adoption of a new constitution in 2013, which included provisions on local governance and food security. While

a comprehensive constitutional analysis is beyond the scope of this discussion, it is essential to note the significant departure from past practices regarding local governance. The constitution established safeguards against the arbitrary dissolution of local authorities, empowering them to govern their respective areas and enact by-laws (Mapuva & Takabika, 2020). Furthermore, it placed a constitutional obligation on the state to ensure food security for all citizens and outlined measures for its progressive realisation (Maphosa, 2022).

However, an analysis of the interplay between these provisions and other constitutional mandates, such as the right to employment, particularly in UA and informal trading, raises important questions about the potential impact of local governance on food system dynamics. While the constitution empowers local authorities, the extent to which they can effectively address food security challenges within their jurisdictions may be influenced by other constitutional provisions and the broader economic and social context (Maphosa, 2022).

The period post-GNU saw Zimbabwe plunge back into crisis following the 2013 elections, ending the GNU era and ushering in a ZANU-PF-led government. Policies like the Command Agriculture Programme introduced in 2016 aimed at boosting agricultural production but resulted in substantial fiscal deficits due to low repayment rates (World Bank, 2019). The Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation, the country's policy blueprint from 2013-2018, focused on food security and nutrition among its pillars (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013). Within the Food and Nutrition Security cluster, one key objective was the regulation of food imports to bolster local production. This objective was formalised through instruments such as Statutory Instrument (SI) 64 of 2016, which restricted the importation of several basic commodities, including foodstuffs. FEWSNET (2017) cautioned that this development could negatively impact in-kind remittances. Furthermore, SI 20 of 2017 sought to broaden the tax base by including previously zero-rated basic food items, such as meat, cereals, and margarine, under taxable commodities (Mhlanga & Ndebele, 2017). However, this policy was retracted following widespread opposition from various interest groups, who argued that it rendered essential foodstuffs even more unaffordable for the poor (Mhlanga and Ndebele, 2017). Additionally, SI 133 of 2016 introduced Bond Notes as a surrogate currency, which, according to Chigumira (2019), facilitated the emergence of a parallel foreign currency market and increased transactional costs, ultimately driving up the prices of goods, including foodstuffs.

Central government policies also influenced local governance, such as the declaration by the Ministry of Local Government's directive whose import was to write off debts owed to local authorities by residents in 2013. This affected local authorities' finances and service delivery, with ripple effects on UFSs (Marumahoko, Afolabi, Sadie & Nhede, 2020). The directive impacted urban local authorities' ability to fund and maintain essential services such as water supply, waste management, and public infrastructure maintenance. This degradation of basic services likely exacerbated health risks, including foodborne and waterborne diseases and disruptions in food supply chains (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Poor service delivery led to deteriorating infrastructure for food distribution, including roads and marketplaces, contributing to inefficiencies in the urban food supply.

Urban Food Systems under crisis- COVID-19 and Climate change

The period from 2020 to 2023 marked a crucial phase in Zimbabwe's urban development, characterised by dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. The outbreak of COVID-19 in early 2020 presented unprecedented challenges to Zimbabwe's urban areas, not least the disruption of several components of the food systems (Moyo, 2024; Murendo, Dube & Tejada Moral, 2021). The government swiftly responded with measures aimed at containing the spread of the virus while addressing the socio-economic impacts on urban populations (Ngwenya & Moyo, 2024).

The pandemic underscored the importance of resilient food systems, prompting initiatives to strengthen local food production and distribution networks in urban areas. For instance, to manage the pandemic, the Bulawayo City Council relocated informal traders, including food sellers and bulk delivery locations for fresh produce, from the CBD to the suburbs (Bulawayo City Council, 2020). Similarly, the Gweru City Council moved informal vendors including food vendors from the CBD and Kudzanai Bus Terminus and vendors went on to create a counter-marketing space in Mtapa 7 which was not supported with requisite infrastructure such as ablution facilities and trading bays (Tirivangasi, Dzvimbo, Chaminuka & Mawonde, 2023).

Furthermore, digital innovations in food delivery and e-commerce platforms facilitated safe and efficient food transactions, contributing to the resilience of UFSs (Maphosa, 2022). Some of these include using the Sizimele app by informal traders to seek and market agricultural produce and the extensive usage of online platforms like WhatsApp business in

conducting their business (Maphosa, 2022). Some of the online food-related businesses that assisted during this period include the food delivery service Fresh in a Box which delivers fresh produce in the Greater Harare area (Vinga, 2023). These developments highlighted the adaptive capacity of urban areas in responding to crises and fostering sustainable food security measures.

Thus far the article has not related much to the contribution of the third sector in urban governance, especially concerning UFSs. One existential crisis that has seen significant contribution from the third sector has been in trying to combat the effects of climate change on UFSs. United Nations agencies and civil society organisations have played a critical role, especially by championing the development of UA policies and practises that are alive to the threats of climate change to UFSs. For instance, the World Food Programme and its partners such as Danish Church Aid, Mercy Corps and Welthungerhilfe have been active in supporting some local authorities to reconfigure their institutional set-up to be supportive of climate-sensitive UA (Mutare City Council, undated; Maphosa & Moyo, 2024; World Food Programme, 2022). Similarly, Hivos with its Urban Futures Programme is in the process of supporting the cities of Bulawayo and Mutare in their efforts to build inclusive, resilient food systems especially, by supporting the involvement of youths in these systems (Hivos, Undated).

Conclusion

This study reveals a complex interplay of factors shaping Zimbabwe's UFSs since independence. While marked by significant transformations, these systems grapple with persistent food insecurity, exacerbated by governance challenges. The economic liberalisation era of the 1990s, characterised by high unemployment and food price hikes, and the hyperinflationary period of the 2000s, with its severe food shortages, serve as stark reminders of the vulnerability of urban populations. Furthermore, inadequate service delivery, limited local government autonomy, and economic instability have consistently undermined urban food security. Despite these challenges, resilience-building efforts are emerging, including the growth of UA, the adoption of digital technologies, and evolving policy frameworks. The 2013 Constitution, for example, emphasised decentralisation, while initiatives like Command Agriculture sought to enhance food production. However, these efforts remain uneven, necessitating a more integrated approach that

strengthens local governance capacities, fosters participatory planning, and prioritises inclusive and innovative solutions for urban resilience.

Implications and Recommendations:

The implications of this study point to the need for a more holistic and integrated approach to urban governance, especially concerning food systems. First, there is a clear necessity to strengthen local governance capacities by providing local authorities with the financial and technical resources required to manage UFSs effectively. This would entail establishing and maintaining multi-stakeholder forums that will formulate strategic policies for the respective city/town food systems following models such as those of Kisumu and Nairobi. Second, the informalisation of urban economies presents challenges and opportunities. Policies that criminalise informal trading and UA need to be revisited. Instead, local governments should formalise and support these activities, given their significant role in food security, especially for vulnerable populations. Third, there is a need to provide inputs and technical support to boost food production within urban and peri-urban spaces to guard against supply disruptions such as those of the COVID-19 era.

References

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. (2012). Why Nations Fail: The origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty. New York: Crown Business.

Ahimah-Agyakwah, S., Nketiah-Amponsah, E., & Agyire-Tettey, F. (2022). Urbanization and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: evidence from dynamic panel data analysis of selected urbanizing countries. *Cogent Economics & Finance*, 10(1). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/23322039.2022.2109282>

Battersby, J., & Watson, V. (2019). Urban Food systems governance and poverty in African cities. New York: Routledge.

Blackstone, A. (2019). Social Research: Qualitative and quantitative Methods. Boston: Flatworld.

Bowen, G. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>

Brady, C. (n.d.). Zimbabwe's Urban Crises: Food Security and the Joint Initiative. Harare: OXFAM. Retrieved January 11, 2025, from <https://urban-links.org/wp-content/uploads/Zimbabwe%20%80%99s-Urban-Crises-Food-Security-and-the-Joint-Initiative.pdf>

Chatiza, K. (2010). Can local government steer socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe? Analysing historical trends and gazing into the future. In J. de Visser, N. Steytler, & N. Machingauta, Local government reform in Zimbabwe. A policy dialogue (pp. 1-30). Bellville: Community Law Centre. Retrieved from de-visser-steytler-and-machingauta-the-future-of-local-government-in-zimbabwe-a-policy-dialogue.pdf (dullahomarinstitute.org.za)

Chigwata, T. (2010, November 25). A critical analysis of decentralization in Zimbabwe: focus on the position and role of a Provincial Governor. Retrieved April 15, 2022, from UWCScholar-ETD Repository: <http://hdl.handle.net/11394/2627>

City Farmer. (2002, June 7). Nyanga Declaration on Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe. Retrieved from Urban Agriculture Notes: <https://www.cityfarmer.org/zimbaDeclare.html>

Cliffe, L. (1988). Zimbabwe's agricultural 'success' and food security in Southern Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 15 (43), 4-25. doi:10.1080/03056248808703788

County Government of Kisumu. (2023). Kisumu County Food System Strategy 2023-2027. Kisumu: County Government of Kisumu. Retrieved January 11, 2025, from <https://repository.kippra.or.ke/bits>

tream/handle/123456789/4457/Kisumu%20Food%20System%20Strategy%20Paper%202023-2027.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Cross, E. (2009, May 18). The cost of Zimbabwe's continuing farm invasions. CATO Institute Economic Development Bulletin(12), 1-2. Washington D.C. Retrieved from <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/edb12.pdf>

Crush, J., & Frayne, B. (2010). The invisible crisis: urban food security in Southern Africa. AFSUN urban food security series, 1, 1-48.

Cuneo, C. N., Sollom, R., & Beyer, C. (2017). The Cholera Epidemic in Zimbabwe, 2008-2009: A Review and Critique of the Evidence. *Health and human rights*, 19(2), 249-264. doi:<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/29302180/>

Eicher, C., Tawonezvi, P., & Rukuni, M. (2006). Synthesis. In M. Rukuni, P. Tawonezvi, C. Eicher, M. Munyuki-Hungwe, & P. Matondi, Zimbabwe's Agriculture Revolution Revisited (pp. 695-715). Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications. Retrieved August 27, 2024, from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/43540864.pdf>

FAO/WFP. (2002, May 29). Special Report FAO/WFP Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe. FAO GLOBAL INFORMATION AND EARLY WARNING SYSTEM ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE. Retrieved September 29, 2024, from <https://www.fao.org/4/y6816e/y6816e00.htm>

FAO/WFP. (2008, June 18). Special Report FAO/WFP Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe. FAO GLOBAL INFORMATION AND EARLY WARNING SYSTEM ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE. Retrieved September 29, 2024, from <https://www.fao.org/4/ai469e/ai469e00.htm>

FAO/WFP. (2009, June 22). Special Report FAO/WFP Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe. FAO GLOBAL INFORMATION AND EARLY WARNING SYSTEM ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE. Retrieved from <https://www.fao.org/4/ai483e/ai483e00.htm>

FEWSNET. (2017, June). Zimbabwe Food Security Outlook. Retrieved Famine Early Warning Systems Network: <https://fews.net/southern-africa/zimbabwe/food-security-outlook/june-2017>

Frieden, J. (2020, June). The Political Economy of Economic Policy. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from Finance and Development Magazini: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/fandd/issues/2020/06/political-economy-of-economic-policy-jeff-frieden>

Gambe, T., Turok, I., & Visagie, J. (2023). The trajectories of urbanisation in Southern Africa: A comparative analysis. *Habitat International*, 132, 1-19. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2023.102747>

Government of Zimbabwe. (2013). *Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation*. Harare: Fidelity Printers.

Grant, M. (2023). Rent as Ransom: Lodging and Food Security in Gweru, Zimbabwe. In L. Riley, & J. Crush, *Transforming Urban Food Systems in Secondary Cities in Africa* (pp. 379-395). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-93072-1_19

Green, D. (2020, September 2). What is Political Economy Analysis (PEA) and why does it matter in development? From Poverty to Power. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from <https://frompoverty.oxfam.org.uk/what-is-political-economy-analysis-pea-and-why-does-it-matter-in-development/>

Gunning, J., & Oostendorp, R. (1999, May). Industrial Change in Africa: Micro Evidence on Zimbabwean Firms under Structural Adjustment. Retrieved August 27, 2024, from [worldbank.org: https://documents.1.worldbank.org/curated/en/784851468179068955/pdf/568810NWP0Indu10Box353743B01PUBLIC1.pdf](https://documents.1.worldbank.org/curated/en/784851468179068955/pdf/568810NWP0Indu10Box353743B01PUBLIC1.pdf)

Hadebe, S. (2022). Neoliberal Capitalism and Migration in the Global South: A Case of Post-ESAP Zimbabwe to South Africa Migration. In P. Rugunanan, & N. Xulu-Gama, *Migration in Southern Africa. IMISCOE Research Series* (pp. 39-53). Cham: Springer. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92114-9_4

Haysom, G., & Pulker, A. (2024). State of City Food System Report: Cape Town. Cape Town: AfriFoodlinks Project. Retrieved January 11, 2025, from https://afrifoodlinks.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/State-of-City-Food-System-Report_Cape-Town__.pdf

HIVOS. (Undated). Urban Futures Cities Selection. HIVOS. Retrieved from <https://hivos.org/document/urban-futures-city-selection/>

Human Rights Watch. (2013, November 19). Zimbabwe: Water and Sanitation Crisis. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2013/11/19/troubled-water/burst-pipes-contaminated-wells-and-open-defecation-zimbabwes>

Index Mundi. (2024, August 27). Zimbabwe Corn Production by Year. Retrieved from Indexmundi.com: <https://www.indexmundi.com/agriculture/?country=zw&commodity=corn&graph=production>

Kanonhuhwa, T., & Chirisa, I. (2022). Food Waste in Urban Zimbabwe: Options for Recycling. In P. Toriro, & I. Chirisa, *Environmental*

resilience: Food and the City- Zimbabwe (pp. 87-116). Singapore: Springer Nature. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-0305-1_1

Kapuya, T. M. (2013). Modelling the impact of the ‘fast track’ land reform policy on Zimbabwe’s maize sector. *Development Southern Africa*, 30(3), 417-436. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2013.797232>

Kuddus, M., Tynan, E., & McBryde, E. (2020). Urbanization: a problem for the rich and the poor? *Public Health Review*, 41(1), 1-4. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-019-0116-0>

Leftwich, A. (2006, January). What are Institutions>. IPPG Briefing Paper No. 1, pp. 1-2. Retrieved from <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08c3ce5274a27b2001087/IPPGBP1.pdf>

Macrotrends. (2024, August 27). Zimbabwe Urban Population 1960-2024. Retrieved August 27, 2024, from Macrotrends.net: <https://www.macrotrends.net/global-metrics/countries/ZWE/zimbabwe/urban-population>

Madimu, T. (2020). Food Imports, Hunger and State Making in Zimbabwe, 2000–2009. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 55(1), 128-144. doi:doi: 10.1177/0021909619868735

Maphosa, M. (2022, October 14). A critical analysis of the Urban Food System, Urban Governance and Household Food Security in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. PhD Thesis. Makhanda, Eastern Cape: Rhodes University. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10962/327165>

Maphosa, M., & Moyo, P. (2024). Assessing Climate Vulnerabilities of Urban Food Systems and Institutional Responses: the case of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. *Frontiers in Sustainable Cities*, 6(1488144), 1-13. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3389/frsc.2024.1488144>

Mapuva, J., & Takabika, T. (2020). Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe and the new Constitution. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 11(1), 1-8. doi:DOI: 10.5897/IJPDS2019.0357

Matamanda, A. (2020). Battling the informal settlement challenge through sustainable city framework: Experiences and lessons from Harare. *Development Southern Africa*, 37(2), 217-231.

Matondi, P. (2012). Zimbabwe's Fast Track land Reform Programme. London: ZED. Retrieved September 29, 2024, from <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:563712/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

Mbiba, B. (1995). Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Implications for Urban Management and Poverty. Aldershot: Avebury.

Merriam, S., & Tisdell, E. (2016). Qualitative research: A guide to Design and Implementation (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Mhlanga, D., & Ndhlovu, E. (2021). Socio-economic and Political Challenges in Zimbabwe and the Development Implications for Southern Africa. *Journal of African Foreign Affairs*, 8(2), 77-100. doi:10.31920/2056-5658/2021/v8n2a5

Mhlanga, F., & Ndebele, H. (2017, February 13). VAT: consumer power prevails. *The Zimbabwe Independent*. Retrieved from <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2017/02/13/vat-consumer-power-prevails/>

Minot, N. (1994). Trends in social indicators. SDA Advisor. Harare: SDA Advisor Monitoring and Implementation Unit, MPSLSW.

Mlambo, A. (2019). Racism in colonial Zimbabwe. In S. Ratuva, *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity* (pp. 429-445). Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2898-5_28

Morgan, H. (2022). Conducting a qualitative document analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 27(1), 64-77. doi:<https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2022.5044>

Moyo, P. (2024). The Political Economy of Zimbabwe's Food Crisis, 2019–2020. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 59(2), 640-655. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096221120923>

Muchadenyika, D., & Williams, J. (2016). Social Change: Urban Governance and Urbanization in Zimbabwe. *Urban Forum*, 27, 253-274. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-016-9278-8>

Mudimu, G. (undated). Zimbabwe food security Issues paper. Retrieved May 18, 2022, from odi.org: <https://media.odi.org/documents/5613.pdf>

Muir-Leresche, K., & Muchopa, C. (2006). Agriculture Marketing. In M. Rukuni, P. Tawonezvi, C. Eicher, M. Munyuki-Hungwe, & P. Matondi, *Zimbabwe's Agriculture Revolution Revisited* (pp. 299-320). Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications. Retrieved August 27, 2024, from <https://core.ac.uk/reader/43539940>

Murendo, C. M., Dube, T., & Tejada Moral, M. (2021). Murendo, C., Manyanga, M., Mapfungautsi, COVID-19 nationwide lockdown and disruptions in the food environment in Zimbabwe. *Cogent Food and Agriculture*, 7(1), 1-13. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311932.2021.1945257>

Mutambara, J. (2015, June). Maize Marketing and Pricing in Zimbabwe. Retrieved September 29, 2024, from USAID STRATEGIC ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS – ZIMBABWE (SERA) PROGRAM: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M75W.pdf

Mutare City Council. (undated). Urban Agriculture Policy. Urban Agriculture Policy. unpublished.

Nair, A. (2022). Delineating the Western Orders of Rights and Reason in Post Colonial Africa. An appraisal of the Zimbabwean Variant under and after Mugabe. *African Journal of Political Science*, 10(1), 97-106. doi: <https://doi.org/10.36615/ajpsrasp.v10i1.1140>

Nairobi City County. (2022). Nairobi City County Food System Strategy. Nairobi: Nairobi City County. Retrieved January 11, 2025, from <https://nairobi.go.ke/download/nairobi-city-county-food-system-strategy/>

Ngwenya, P., & Moyo, T. (2024). Covid-19 and managing urban marginality in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. *Cities*, 150(105029), 1-7. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.105029>

Potts, D. (2016). Debates about African urbanisation, migration and economic growth: what can we learn from Zimbabwe and Zambia? *The Geographical Journal*, 182(3), 215-264.

Poulton, C., Davies, R., Matshe, I., & Urey, I. (2002, March). [ageconsearch.umn.edu](https://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/10922/1/adwp0201.pdf). Retrieved August 25, 2024, from A review of Zimbabwe's Agriculture Economic Policies: 1980-2000: <https://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/10922/1/adwp0201.pdf>

Raftopoulos, B., & Mlambo, A. S. (2009). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. Harare and Johannesburg: Weaver Press.

Rakodi, C. (1995). *Harare: Inheriting a Settler-Colonial City: Change or Continuity?* Chichester and New York : John Wiley (World City Series).

Reliefweb. (2000, April 6). Zimbabwe: IRIN chronology of the current crisis. Retrieved Spetember 15, 2024, from Reliefweb: <https://reliefweb.int/report/zimbabwe/zimbabwe-irin-chronology-current-crisis>

Riley, L., & Crush, J. (2023). *Transforming urban food systems in secondary cities in Africa*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from <https://0-ebookcentral.proquest.com.wam.seals.ac.za/1ib/rhodes-ebooks/reader.action?docID=7130718>

Smit, W. (2021). Urbanization in the Global South. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Global Public Health*, 1-22. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190632366.013.251>

Tawodzera, G., Riley, L., & Crush, J. (2016). *The Return of Food: Poverty and Urban Food Security in Zimbabwe after the crisis*. *Urban Food Security Series No. 22*. Cape Town, South Africa: African Food Security Urban Network. Retrieved September 29,

2024, from <https://scholars.wlu.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1021&context=afsun>

Tibaijuka, A. (2005). Report of the fact-finding mission to assess the scope and impact of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe. United Nations, UN-Habitat. Nairobi: United Nations. Retrieved April 12, 2022, from Microsoft Word-Zimbabwe Report_July,2005_.FINAL.d oc (umn.edu)

Tirivangasi, H., Dzvimbo, M., Chaminuka, N., & Mawonde, A. (2023). Assessing climate change and urban poverty in the context of the COVID 19 lockdowns: Rethinking personality and societal challenges in Zimbabwe. *Scientific African*, 20(e01710), 1-8. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sciaf.2023.e01710>

Toriro, P. (2018). Urban Food Production in Harare, Zimbabwe. In J. Battersby, & V. Watson, *Urban food Systems Governance and Poverty In African Cities* (pp. 154-166). London: Routledge.

Toriro, P., & Banhire, T. (2022). Urban Food markets and the Resilience Factor in Zimbabwe. In P. Toriro, & I. Chirisa, *Environmental Resilience: Food and the City- Zimbabwe* (pp. 69-84). Singapore: Springer Nature. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-0305-1>

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2018). *The World's Cities in 2018—Data Booklet* (ST/ESA/ SER.A/417). New York: United Nations.

Vinga, A. (2023, July 24). Interview: Fresh In A Box co-founder Nomaliso shares the secrets to entrepreneurship. Retrieved from NewZimbabwe.Com: <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/https-www-newzimbabwe-com-interview-fresh-in-a-box-co-founder-nomaliso-shares-the-secrets-to-entrepreneurship/>

Wekwete, K. (2016). *The Constitution of Zimbabwe 2013 as a basis for local government transformation transformation: A Reflective Analysis*. London: Commonwealth Local Government Forum. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from https://www.clgf.org.uk/default/assets/file/publications/reports/local_government_constitutionalisation_in_zimbabwe_clgf_2016.pdf

World Bank. (2019). *Zimbabwe Public Expenditure Review with a Focus on Agriculture*. Washington DC: World Bank. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/32506>

World Food Programme. (2022, October 31). *WFP Zimbabwe Country Brief, October 2022*. Retrieved from Reliefweb: <https://reliefweb.int/report/zimbabwe/wfp-zimbabwe-country-brief-october-2022#:~:text=Gweru's%20City%20Council%2C%20in%20partnership,its%20kind%20in%20the%20country.>

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZimStat). (2013). Census 2012 National Report. Harare: ZimStat. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from <https://www.zimstat.co.zw/wp-content/uploads/publications/Population/population/census-2012-national-report.pdf>

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZimStat). (2023). Zimbabwe 2022 Population and Housing Census Report Volume 1. Harare: ZimStat. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from https://www.zimstat.co.zw/wp-content/uploads/Demography/Census/2022_PHC_Report_27012023_Final.pdf