

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CHANGING RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES AND HOW IT IS AFFECTING URBANISATION IN THE CITY OF BULAWAYO IN ZIMBABWE

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally there has always been a link between the development of rural and urban areas as these share goods and services. Through modernisation, the push and pull factors which cause massive exodus of people between rural and other areas as well as other countries, there has been a paradigm shift on the rural-urban linkages which affects the development of the two. The research explored the causes, trends and the impacts of changing rural-urban linkages and how this has affected the growth of cities in the developing world. With Bulawayo and the surrounding rural areas of Matopos, Umguza, Gwanda, Lupane, Plumtree and Ntabazinduna being the study areas, the research was centred in the Matabeleland province. The research employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Data was obtained from primary data sources that are fieldwork as well as secondary data sources which are government statistics, desktop study as published materials. Key informants that are politicians, rural district leadership, government officials were interviewed to give their opinion on the changing rural-urban linkages. The research found out that there is direct relationship between rural-urban linkages to the development of cities as well as rural areas. Bulawayo and its surrounding areas exchange goods and services through the movement of people. Natural disasters like droughts and floods as well as politics had played a major role in the changing rural-urban linkages as these resulted in movement of people in greater numbers. The expansion of Bulawayo city encroached land of the surrounding rural areas which resulted in land disputes which to some extent resulted in residential areas being developed with limited access to services. Other major changes in the linkages noted are environmental, social and political.

Keywords: rural-urban linkages, goods, services, changing, residential, pollution, people

INTRODUCTION

The development of rural and urban areas is linked to the interactions between these two systems as they share goods and services. There has been paradigm shift from the normal trends hence the need to look at the changing rural-urban link as this has affected the growth of cities in the developing countries. Rural areas provide resources and inputs in form of agricultural produce, labour, minerals and other natural resources which are pivotal to the economic activities that take place in the cities and towns. On the other hand, urban areas process the raw materials through industrial production; provide employment to the rural folk and offer goods and services in return which is vital for rural development. Thus rural areas contribute immensely to the development of urban areas whilst on the other hand urban areas promote the development of rural areas as well.

The rural urban link is determined by factors among which includes: economic, social, cultural, political and environmental. These links are closely related to the mobility of people, economic change and urbanisation. Besides the flow of goods and services and people, there is also flow of information. Changing rural-urban linkages involve changes in livelihoods which vary with gender, wealth and social background.

This research explores how the rural-urban linkages are established, their transformation and in the process how they influence urbanisation. It further digs into the policy framework as this plays a crucial role in building or destroying such linkages. There has been drastic change in the rural-urban links and the theories of urbanisation and development are continuously changing as the movement of people and operation of service providers is ever changing.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

There has been a shift in the movement of people from the 1950s to date and this affected the trends of urbanisation. Rapid urbanisation has resulted in over-population with the urban facilities failing to cope with the ever increasing urban population. According to Satterthwaite (2007), the rate of urbanisation all over the world rose from 14.7% in 1950 to 36.2% in 2000. This change had affected both the urban and rural areas in terms of development. The study is crucial for broadening up the scope of knowledge on the trends of

urbanisation in developing countries with respect to rural-urban links which will be used by policy makers in establishing such links for the benefits of the countries. Recommendations will be given as well on ways to strengthen the linkages and how government policies can be utilised to promote both the development of rural and urban areas.

The study will be guided by the following objectives:

- a) To establish the linkages between rural and urban areas in developing countries.
- b) To examine the causes, trends and impacts of the changing rural-urban linkages.
- c) To find out how rural areas promote urbanisation in third world countries.
- d) To recommend on how to strengthen rural-urban links as a way of promoting urbanisation in developing countries.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To identify and map linkages in six rural and urban locations which are Tsholotsho, Ntabazinduna, Umguza, Esigodini, Lupane and Matopos, the researchers looked at service delivery within the localities from the city of Bulawayo. The research identified and quantified the effects of services that are state of social service delivery and status of infrastructure such as roads, drinking water, electricity, telecommunications, education, health, marketing, and other community services, and accessibility to such services. This process will also allow measuring the effects on urbanisation process. Stakeholder analysis was done through the involvement of institutions like local Authorities, Government Ministries, Community Based Organisations (CBO), Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and the local people.

Data collection methods combining quantitative and qualitative techniques that emphasize stakeholder participation and mutual learning were adopted in carrying out the survey. The qualitative techniques include Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques, which also promotes continuous learning, stakeholder self-assessment and sharing of experiences. Focus group discussions and semi-structured key informant interviews were also be used. The quantitative techniques applied include household interviews and detailed review of data on urban rural linkages, community vulnerability, coping capacity, mitigation strategies, and incentive measures in place.

Secondary data sources were reviewed to examine and establish the current legal and policy framework regarding rural urban linkages, rural and urban management and development, operations, standards, quality of services, affordability of services , availability of services , accessibility of services, coverage and frequency of services. A desk study of journals, periodicals, published reports, library books and several articles was done to build the research ideas and finding relevant theories on the rural urban linkages.

Focus group discussions were held with the key stakeholders to air their assessment of affordability, availability, accessibility, coverage, quantity and quality of services in the towns and rural areas. Women and children were consulted to comprehensively examine all aspects related to the community and households' services use and analysis.

Interviews were conducted of individuals, key informants and focus group discussions were held so as to check for non-verbal expression of feelings, especially during the interview sessions. Inspections were carried out to assess environment, living conditions also to check on the type of materials used and the quality of the houses.

STUDY AREA

The study was carried out in Matabeleland with the city of Bulawayo being the urban centre and surrounding rural areas studied being Tsholotsho, Ntabazinduna, Umguza, Esigodini, Lupane and Matopos. Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city and it used to house the heavy manufacturing industries before the economic meltdown of the country between the 2000 to 2010 period. According to the Central Statistics Office (2002), the population of Zimbabwe is estimated at 12.5 million with 51 % females and 49% males. The country got its independence from the colonial master Britain in 1980. Being a landlocked country, Zimbabwe's economy is agro-based though there is also mining, manufacturing, trading and service provision. Two main dominant tribes exist in Zimbabwe and these are the Shona and Ndebele tribes with the Ndebele tribe occupying the Matabeleland region.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

According to the World Bank (2000), urbanisation in Africa is associated with or causes a lot of problems like poor housing, inappropriate facilities and urban crimes. This is mainly caused by the huge influx of people from the rural areas in search of employment, leisure,

markets for agriculture produce and other services. The urban infrastructure will now fail to cope up with the huge increase in the demand hence posing problems. Fay and Opal (2000) echoed the same sentiments by saying that urbanisation in Africa occurs without improving the economy but it's just a huge increase of people in the built environment.

In Zambia, urbanisation dropped by 4% from 1980 to 2000 and this was mainly because of the changes in the operations of the copper mines (Potts, 2006). Thus the change in industrial production affects the labour force as some workers will be retrenched. The same scenario also affected some mining towns in Zimbabwe like Shamva and Mvuma which saw the movements of people from urban areas to rural areas and this affected the linkages in the concerned areas.

The natural growth in population is the main factor on rural-urban linkages as people tend to move to urban areas. This however does not promote urbanisation but instead it just causes population increase in urban areas. After the natural increase of population in rural areas, there will be pressure on the land since the economy of developing countries is based on agriculture and this will result in people moving from the rural areas thereby heading to the urban areas (Kessides, 2005).

Rural-urban links are also in form of people commuting to cities either for work, selling their agricultural produce or seeking for other goods and services. According to Dyson and Visaria (2005), in India for the period of 1987 to 1988, 4% of workers in the city were commuters from the adjacent rural areas. This shows the dependence of urban areas on rural areas for labour and on the other hand, the rural people will be enjoying working in urban areas thereby getting other services as well. Rural development on the other hand helps to reduce the rural-urban migration.

Rural-urban linkages are designed to promote the growth of service centres yet little will be done on the growth of rural areas (Douglass, 1998). Urbanisation was seen as a threat to agriculture production as able bodied men fled to towns and cities. Push factors like overcrowding on agricultural land, political unrest and harsh climatic conditions also force people to move to safer areas which will be urban areas.

Small towns play a crucial role in building up rural-urban linkages. Baker and Claeson (1990) say the relationship between rural and urban areas overlap because of economic and policy

issues. According to Potts and Mutambirwa (1998), the rate of urbanisation in some African cities were caused by the economic decline due to the structural adjustment programme whereby government put measures to revive the economy but ended up retrenching workers who then resorted to going back to the rural areas. The changing rural-urban linkages are in form of waste movement. Rees (1992) says waste from major cities is dumped at the adjacent rural areas and this had continuously affected the ecosystem. Air and water pollution from the industrial activities in the cities had greatly affected terrestrial and aquatic life.

As labour is found in both the rural and urban areas, rural areas usually do not have the capacity to absorb its labour force and this prompts the movement of people to urban areas. This movement results in the exploitation of the rural people in the urban areas and there is tendency for cheap labour.

According to Satterthwaite (2007), the rural-urban linkages are due to economic, social, political, cultural and philosophical factors. On the social aspect, in developing countries, urban dwellers have a strong rural attachment. Traditionally elders live in the rural areas whilst the young generations live in towns and cities though they frequently visit the rural areas. On the political aspect, since nearly two thirds of the population in developing countries live in rural areas, political leaders tend to satisfy these people for them to have majority vote and hence they often travel to the rural areas for campaigns. Rich people tend to move to cities whilst the aged and the retired go back to the rural areas.

DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

Rural-Urban linkages in Bulawayo

Like any other developing country, Zimbabwe's economy is driven by the young able bodied working class and school leavers whilst in the rural areas mainly women and children who work on the land for agricultural production. There is a huge tendency for teenagers to move to urban areas in search of education and employment in cities of Zimbabwe (Potts and Mutambirwa (1998). From the colonial period to the post independence era, there has been a major change in the rural-urban links in Bulawayo. Before independence, Africans were driven to the poor and marginal lands called 'reserves' whilst the white counterparts occupied fertile lands near towns and cities. This saw the establishment of farms in Matopos, Umguza, Nyamandlovu and Ntabazinduna. Even in the urban setup, there was also a

differential treatment of blacks and whites in terms of residential areas, economic and social activities with the best being for whites for example Hillsade, Khumalo, Suburbs and Westend were designated for whites and the blacks stayed in Makokoba, Luveve, Pumula and other western high density suburbs.

The rural-urban linkages in the city of Bulawayo had been distorted by the liberalisation of the international trade whereby raw materials for industrial manufacturing are now being obtained from other countries rather than relying on the rural sector. In Bulawayo the industry is heavily dependent on imports and the collapse of the heavy manufacturing sector in the city is attributed to the shortage of foreign currency during the 2005 to 2010 period. According to Mukherjee and Zhang (2007), rural industrialisation in India and China had been deeply affected by international trade whereby raw materials and finished products are marketable across the world. Bulawayo is characterised by huge influx of food items from Zambia, Botswana and South Africa which has lower prices thereby outcompeting local products and this is affecting the promotion of local industries which are fed by produce from the surrounding rural areas. On a negative note, the rural-urban linkages are strained by the fluctuating international market prices whereby foreign investment will focus on large scale production sector (Kielhorn and Graf Von der Schulenburg, 2000). This slowed down the development of areas like Tsholotsho, Lupane, Matopos and Gwanda rural areas as opposed to Bulawayo metropolitan.

The liberation in form of Second Chimurenga war of 1966 to 1980 led to a shift in the rural-urban linkage. People moved away from war torn zones in search of security especially in towns and cities. After independence in 1980 there has been a different and continuously changing rural-urban linkage as people were moving from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment and luxurious life (Potts, 2006). People also flocked to neighbouring and overseas countries in search of greener pastures during the time when the country faced economic hardships between 2000 and 2011. In Bulawayo there was a massive exodus of the young adults to Botswana, South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Europe. This left the rural areas with limited labour force which in the end affected agricultural development. Table 1 below shows the migration statistics of Zimbabwe.

Table 1: Emigrants by continent of destination, 2002–2005

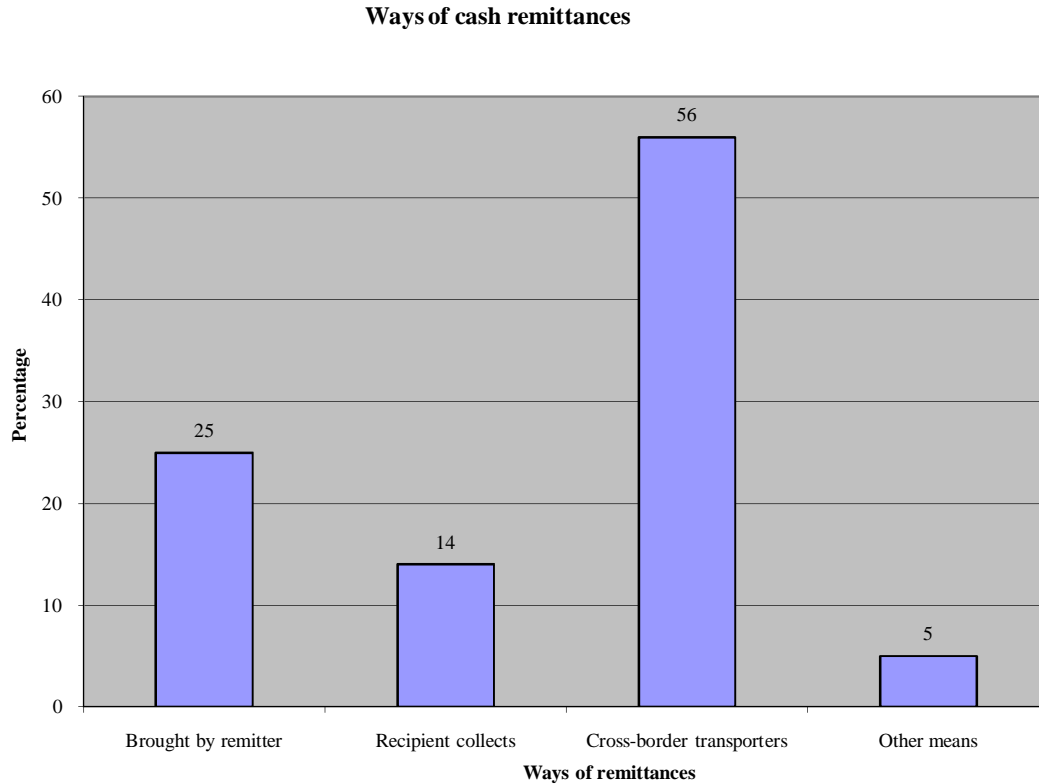
CONTINENT	2002	2003	2004	2005
Africa	6 307	6 330	7 079	6 256
America	231	292	366	431
Asia	92	103	163	221
Europe	1 471	1 584	3 597	3 754

Source: CSO, 2005

According to Zinyama (1990), Zimbabweans had been migrating to work in South Africa as early as the 19th century and this saw the building of the railway line via Bulawayo which links Cape Town. The trend went on to today which involved movement of both the blacks and the whites (Tevera and Crush, 2003). Thus with the economic crisis which Zimbabwe faced since 2000 to 2010, people from all over the country flocked to other countries in search of employment (Makina, 2007; Muzondidya, 2008; Kiwanuka and Monson, 2009; IOM, 2009). This movement strained the rural-urban linkages between Bulawayo and the surrounding rural areas since both rural and urban development was affected as people flocked out of the country. On a positive note this brought about rural development as some youths from Tsholostho remit their moneys which helped in building houses and infrastructure for their parents in the rural areas. Figure 1 below shows the responses by the villagers surrounding Bulwayo on how they receive money from their children or spouses working in South Africa.

Thus rural development is not only centred on agriculture as there are some non-farm activities which generate incomes. Part of the income comes from remittances from the working class in the city of Bulawayo or neighbouring countries which according to Allison (1998) helps in the development of the areas.

Figure 1: Remittances of money in Matabeleland region from South Africa



From the diagram above, out of a sample of 200 households interviewed, 112 (56%) remit money by using cross border transporters as there are frequent travellers who offer that service. Other methods with 5% include the use of money transfer and this is not effective since most people working outside the country from the region cross illegally and lack the employment documents like work permits which are required in transferring money.

Rural-urban migration

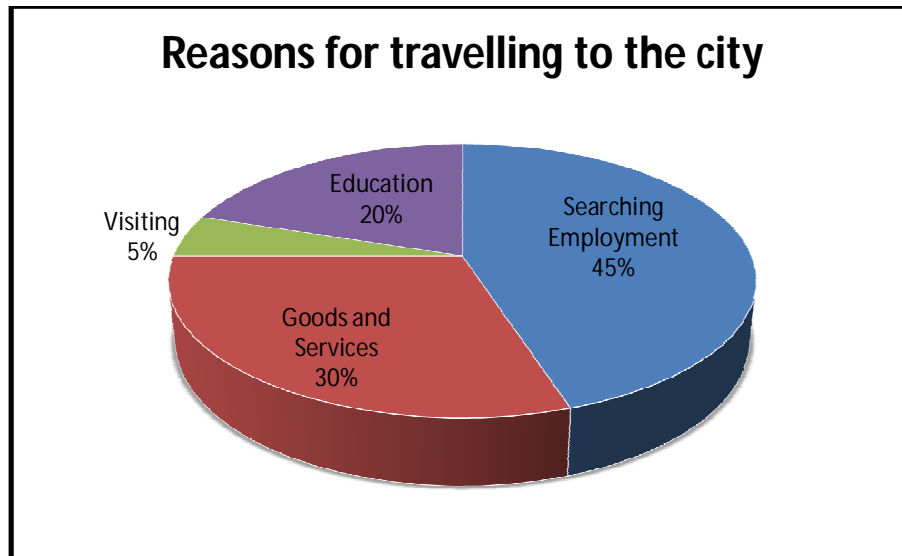
According to Potts and Mutambirwa (1998), Zimbabwe's economy is agrobased and the livelihoods are centred on agricultural production on farms and communal areas. The occurrence of recurring droughts coupled with political situation and the fast track land reform forced the rural agri-based labour force to urban centres seeking ways of surviving (Kamete, 2007). In Bulawayo and other cities in Zimbabwe, during the colonial period, people had always been moving to cities in search of employment, running away from war torn zones

and for accessing goods and services. This has since changed as people are moving from poverty stricken areas, search of markets for their products like farmers in Gwanda, Lupane and Umguza areas. Gumbo (2010) pointed out that such huge influx of rural people into Bulawayo has resulted in the urban services and infrastructure failing to cope up with the pressure like housing, water, employment, transport just to mention a few. The worst hit area is housing supply which resulted in the development of squatter camps like Ngozi Mine near Richmond dumpsite, Kellarney and others which sprouted around the margins of the city of Bulawayo with some people surviving on recycling worst from the Richmond Dumpsite (Mudzengerere and Chigwenya, 2012).

The government of Zimbabwe embarked on restoring order under ‘Operation Murambatsvina’ with the aim of cleaning up cities and demolishing illegal structures (Tibaijuka, 2005). This move de-congested cities as people were forced to go back to rural areas from cities. In Bulawayo people moved to the neighbouring rural area, farming communities and mine like Gwanda, Shangani, Matopos and Umguza areas. To counter Operation Murambatsvina, the government introduced ‘Operation Garikai’ to house the people who were displaced (Gumbo, 2010; Potts, 2006). This led to the rapid development of like Cowdray Park, Emganwini and South Pumula with people flocking back to Bulawayo.

People always move between Bulawayo and the surrounding areas in search of employment, goods and services as shown in the pie chart below:

Figure 2: Reasons why people travel from rural to urban areas



45% of the respondents from the rural areas are attached to the city of Bulawayo because they go there to work or seek employment whilst 50% are for goods, services and seeking education. Bulawayo has the institutions of higher learning like National University of Science and Technology, Lupane State University, Zimbabwe Open University, centre for University of South Africa (UNISA), Bulawayo Polytechnic, High Schools, Teachers' Colleges, vocational training centres and other institutions. Thus people travel from rural areas for educational, leisure, accessing goods and services. People from surrounding areas access their groceries, vehicle registrations, accessing banks and other services from the city of Bulawayo. There has always been a link between urban development to the history of rural migration. According to Munzwa and Wellington (2010), cities in Africa were developed due to the establishment of strong empires like Great Zimbabwe, Khami Ruins and other historical cities in the country. Thus Bulawayo city was developed with the establishment of strong traditional kingdom by Lobengula in the 18th century (Mufuka,

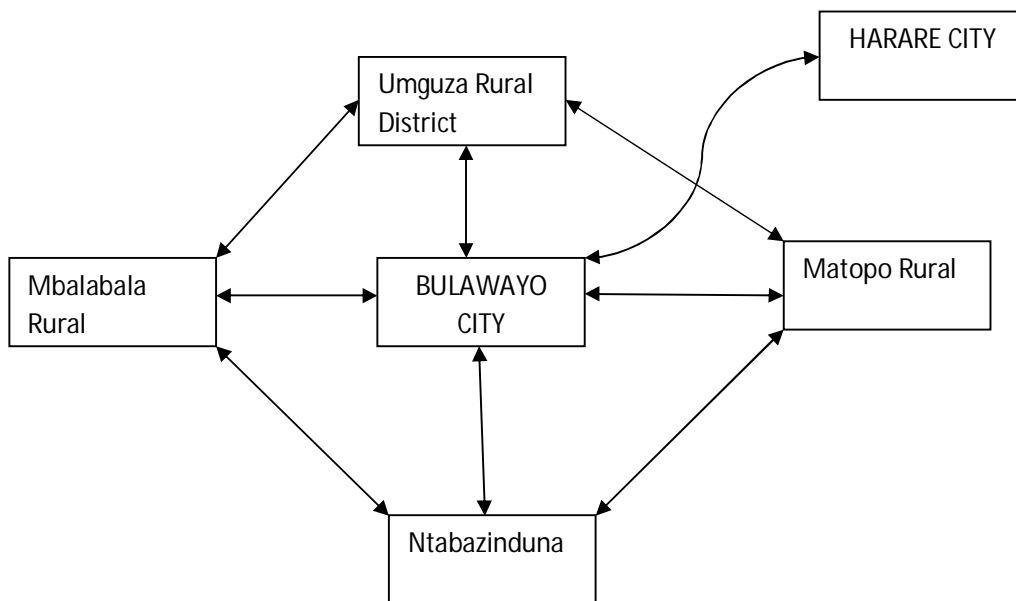
1983). The liberation war had a new wave of the linkage as people moved from war torn rural areas to cities in search of security which resulted in rapid urban growth.

Impacts of rural-urban linkages on development

There have also been government policies like “Operation Restore Order” in 2005 which resulted in people being displaced from urban areas as temporary housing units were being destroyed in an effort to clean up towns and cities. These affected the linkages between rural and urban areas and influenced also urbanisation and the city of Bulawayo was not exempted.

Decentralisation of activities from Bulawayo to small towns like Lupane, Gwanda, Plumtree, Tsholotsho and Esigodini reduced congestion in the city and people access goods and services from these centres. In Matabeleland the establishment of Lupane State University and Gwanda State University helped to reduce the pressure at the National University of Science and Technology as it was the only state university together with Solusi University which is a private institution. Such initiatives promote rural development and hence maintain a strong rural-urban linkage (Tacoli, 2008). Figure 3 below shows how Bulawayo is linked to the surrounding areas.

Figure 3: Rural-urban linkages in Bulawayo



The decentralisation of activities from the city of Bulawayo to other towns like Matopo, Gwanda, Lupane, Tsholotsho and Plumtree had led to the development of the rural areas through setting up of small industries like gold milling in Gwanda, agriculture research centres in Matopo and the state universities in the region.

The political system in Zimbabwe through the election of members of parliament, senators and councillors helps to maintain the rural-urban linkages as these people spearhead development (Potts, 2006). The politicians frequently travel to Harare for meetings as well as the rural areas they represent in Parliament and this maintains the linkages as well.

Urban population in Bulawayo and the rural population in surrounding rural areas clash for the extraction of natural resources like minerals, firewood, water, pit sand and river sand for construction purposes (Marongwe, 2002). . Kamete (1998) pointed out that the extraction of the natural resources in rural areas promotes rural development in term of infrastructure development and provision of goods and services through trading at the designated points.

Rural-urban linkages and agriculture production

The economy of Zimbabwe is agro-based with women and children providing the bulk of the labour force (Mougeot, 2005). Massive exodus of workforce to the city of Bulawayo and neighbouring countries left the surrounding areas like Matopos and Umguza with little agriculture production and this compromised the food security of the country which led to importing maize from Zambia and Malawi. The fast track land reform pushed out white commercial farmers from the farms and hence local villagers lost their jobs as the newly resettled farmers failed to absorb the labour force and this negatively affected the rural development as some then moved to urban centres looking for employment (Kamete, 1998).

From the key informants interviews who are the local leadership in the surrounding rural areas of Bulawayo that include Umguza district, Matopos, Tsholostho and Ntabazinduna, rural development is done through communal grain collection (ZunderaMambo), food for work programme and community development initiatives helps to improve on food production in the rural areas which in the end feed also into the city of Bulawayo. Traditional agriculture and rearing of livestock mainly cattle and goats has boosted industrial growth in Bulawayo which saw the establishment of Cold Storage Company and other meat supplying

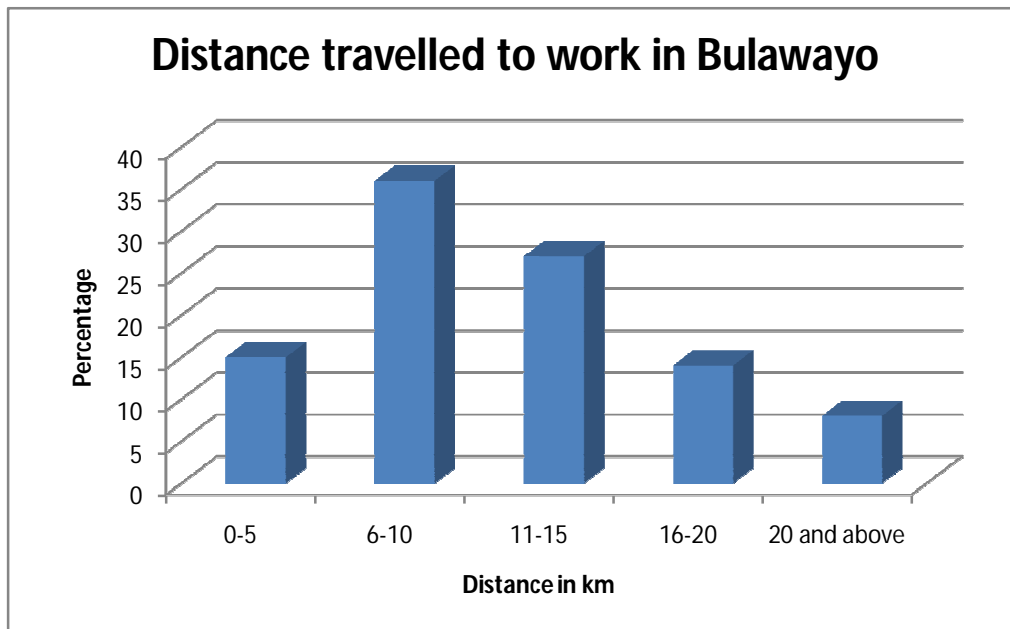
companies. The once flourishing textile industries in Bulawayo thrived from raw materials obtained from rural areas and cotton was obtained from as far as Gokwe.

Group discussions done at the market in Bulawayo revealed that much of the produce sold at the marketplace is obtained from surrounding rural areas with, sugarcane, potatoes, vegetables and local small grain products coming from the Matabeleland region although most of the bananas come from Manicaland province. According to Satterthwaite (2007) and Marongwe (2002) the rural-urban linkages have since changed due to the effects of drought, global warming and fast track land reform in the country as the rural areas failed to provide the raw materials for the industries.

Rural-urban linkages and service provision

According to Mudzengerere and Madiro (2013), the development of traffic management system in Bulawayo had resulted in improved commuting links between the city and the surrounding rural areas. Thus people interviewed in Bulawayo showed the following data on commuting to work on a daily basis are shown in figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Distance travelled to work in Bulawayo



From the diagram above, (102 of the 200) 51% of the workers in Bulawayo travel a distance of less than 10km to work. These people live in residential areas close to industries and city centre like Makokoba, Luveve, Nketa, Southwold, Morningside, Hillside just to mention a few. 41% (82 of the response out of 200), travel between 10km and 20km to work and these are found in areas far away from the city centre and industries like Umganwini, Cowdray Park, Mahatshula, Pumula South and Richmond which are located at the outskirts of the city. Of the 8% who travel more than 20km to work, these comprise the commuters from surrounding rural areas like Plumtree, Lupane, Umguza, Mbalabala, Matopos just to mention a few. This is a strong rural-urban linkage which has changed of late as people now can afford to travel such long distances to work due to reliable and efficient transport system. Such movement to work in the city of Bulawayo helps to promote both rural and urban development.

As pointed out by Potts (2006), rural people also acquire housing units in urban areas like what people in the surrounding areas of Bulawayo are doing as this will benefit their future generations when they migrate to the city in search of employment and education. This resulted in the development of Emganwini, Cowdray Park and other suburbs (Sithole at-al, 2012). The head office of Umguza Rural District Council is situated in Bulawayo city which shows a strong linkage for the provision of housing between Bulawayo and Umguza.

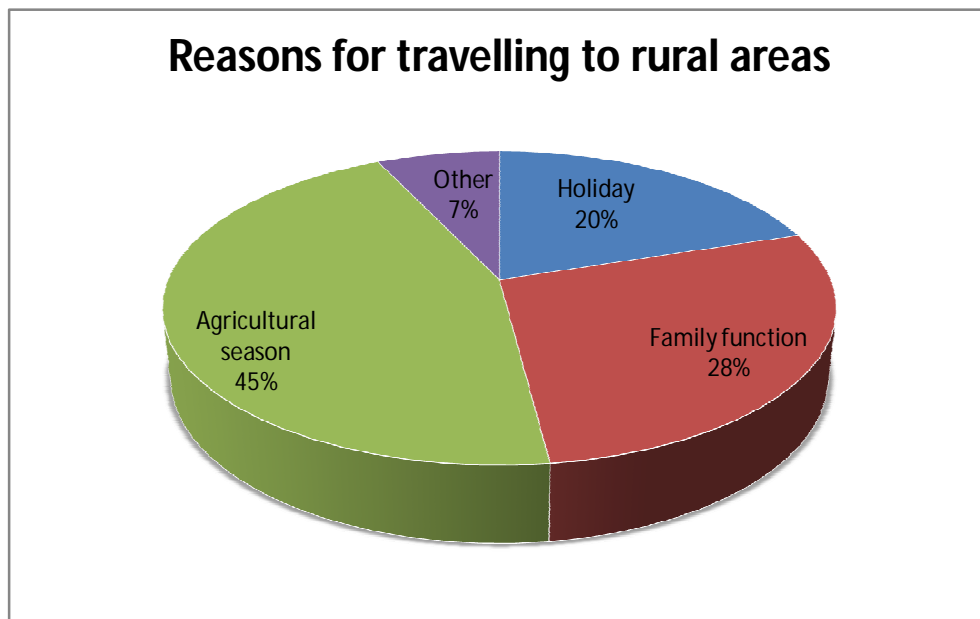
Other services provided by Bulawayo to the surrounding rural areas include marketing of minerals and other resources. The Tredgold Building used to be the marketplace of several minerals including gold. According to Kamete (2007), it is the provision of services in urban areas which promotes development.

Social aspects of changing rural-urban linkages on urbanisation

In the African culture, there is a strong attachment between rural and urban areas as seen in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zambia and Malawi (Smit, 1998). There is a strong ancestral attachment and at the same time the need for security in times of hardships forces people to migrate to urban centres whilst at the same time maintaining their rural homes. According to Njoh (2008), the development of urban centres is linked to culture as this is classified in to three time periods which are pre-colonial, colonial and post independence. The pre-colonial period saw the growth of traditional towns like Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Matopos and the

now Bulawayo which was the city of the Ndebele State during the time of Lobengula around 1872 (Zinyama, Tevera and Cumming, 1993). The colonial period was characterised with land grabbing whereby local people were pushed to infertile lands and whites established modern towns and cities. The post colonial period is characterised with globalisation. Munzwa and Wellington (2010) argued that despite people flocking to urban centres in search of employment, there has always been a strong rural attachment. In Bulawayo, people always travel to their rural areas during holidays and other designated areas for the reasons highlighted in figure 5 below:

Figure 5: Reasons for travelling to rural areas from the city of Bulawayo



Of the 200 people interviewed, 45% (90) travel to the rural areas for agricultural purposes. This is in line with the fact that the economy in Zimbabwe is agro-based. People usually buy farming inputs, machines like ploughs, cultivators and hoes for use during this period and hence they travel to prepare the land as well as planting, weeding and harvesting. That farming linkage had always been there though some group interviews revealed that some families had settled in Bulawayo for a long period and this had limited their frequent travels to the rural areas. 28% travel for family functions like funerals, marriages, weddings, ritual ceremonies, visiting relatives and friends as well as maintaining and checking their

homesteads. 27% travel for holidays and other reasons like going back to school as they had been in the city for school holidays. Todaro (1982) argued that developing countries have a dual sector of development that is the traditional, rural subsistence and modern which promotes the continuous movement of people between rural and urban areas which strengthen the linkages between the two. Key informants interviews with the local rural district administrators indicated that the 1992, 2002 and cyclical droughts that hit the country and the entire Southern African region had caused people to travel to cities like Bulawayo. The 1975 war torn rural areas surrounding Bulawayo also experienced massive movement of people to the city in search of security. Such movements to a greater extent promoted the rapid growth of Bulawayo city.

Land disputes and squabbles between urban and rural council

By virtue of sharing borders with surrounding rural areas, there are always land disputes between urban councils and rural councils. According to MDP (2001), there are always issues of land tenure planning and land tenure regulations whereby the poor and the weak especially the rural folk lose their land with little or no compensation for urban development purposes. There are land disputes and squabbles on development of residential areas between Bulawayo City Council and the Umguza Rural District Council as Bulawayo is encroaching into the Umguza land for its urban expansion (Dube and Chirisa, 2013). There is however lack of uniform approach in the subdivisions of plots and the residential stands at the Umguza-Bulawayo boundary. Some plot owners are subdividing their land which in the end is affecting the planning and service delivery of Bulawayo city. Areas like Rangemore, Umganwini, Pumula South, Mahatshula and designated low and medium density suburbs in the northern direction of the city which covers Joshua Nkomo Airport are in one way or another affected. The two local authorities one wrangled for Mbundane suburb which in the end strained the rural-urban linkages. The Regional Town and Country Planning Act (29:12) and the Land Acquisition Act (20:10) of the government of Zimbabwe gives the power for the compulsory acquisition of land for agricultural and urban development purposes. This in the end had created disputes between rural and urban councils as land from rural councils is taken for urban development purposes. Dlamini and Mabaso (2011) points out that infrastructural development in urban areas affects the surrounding areas by encroaching into their land.

There are other forms of conflicts in these areas which range from noise, industrial pollutants, illegal extraction of natural resources like pit sand and river sand for construction purposes. Displacement of farming activities in the newly formed residential areas of Rangemore, Kensington plots, Cowdray Park and Umganwini had affected food production, affected rural livelihoods and disturbed the environment (Buechler and Devi, 2002). According to FAO (2008), despite the provision of urban housing, food security plays a crucial role as it is among the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Vegetables which used to be supplied by nearby farms in Bulawayo are now coming from as far as Gweru, Mutare and Masvingo though the bulk is still coming from Matopos and Gwanda. Bentinck (2008) confirms that rural-urban linkages are affected in terms of agricultural production and labour supply.

Bulawayo City Council sewerage is deposited in the Khami River which is a health time bomb to people, animals and affects the environment at large. Surrounding areas which include Umguza are experiencing the disturbance of the ecosystem and pollution of the environment due to sewerage deposits and dumping of waste at designated areas like Richmond Dumpsite (Mudzengerere and Chigwenya, 2012). Despite the pollution of Khami River being a challenge between Bulawayo City Council and Umguza Rural District Council, in developed world, surrounding rural areas benefit from urban waste water for agricultural purposes and this could have been utilised as well (Allison, 1998).

Chronicle (2013) also reported that Bulawayo City Council is the major polluter of the Umguza River as several big companies were fined by the Environment Management Agency (EMA) for illegally dumping and channelling toxic effluent with mercury, chromium 6 and cyanide into the city storm drains which later drains to the rivers.

Changes in people's livelihoods

From the key informants' interviews done in the areas surrounding the city of Bulawayo that is Umguza, Ntabazinduna and Matopos, it was made known that people in these areas earn a living through agriculture, supplying fresh farm produce, garden and lawn manure, firewood and doing part-time jobs. These activities had improved the livelihoods of the rural people (Sithole et-al, 2012). According to Rees (1992), the supply of firewood to urban dwellers had deeply affected the ecosystems and the environment. Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) which rocked the country in 2005 forced many urban dwellers to relocate to rural

areas especially those close to cities and towns. This led to a lot of pressure being exerted on the rural resources which were being over exploited for survival to improve rural livelihoods (Potts and Mutambirwa). The displacement of people in Bulawayo distorted their livelihoods. According to Dube and Chirisa (2013), the rural-urban linkages in Bulawayo has now changed as those staying in adjacent rural areas of Umguza District are now earning a living by subdividing their land into plots for sale. The Umguza rural district council is also generating revenue through the provision of housing stands to the people of Bulawayo which is also curbing housing shortages.

Gumbo (2012) points out that the urban poor in Bulawayo who survived on the informal sector had their livelihoods disturbed when people were displaced by Operation Murambatsvina. Some of the people were settled in Cowdray Park, Emganwini and the outskirts of the city which are over 18km away from their livelihoods. In line with this, urban sprawl is continuously pushing the poor away from central services which is a greater disadvantage to them.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There have always been strong rural-urban linkages in Bulawayo and other cities in Zimbabwe which to a certain extent contributed positively to the development of urban and rural areas. The movement of people from rural areas to urban areas and other neighbouring countries in search of employment, security, goods and services had improved the rural livelihood by repatriating money which then promoted rural development. Agricultural production from the surrounding areas of Matopos, Gwanda, Umguza and Lupane supply the city of Bulawayo with foodstuffs as well as raw materials for industrial development which marks the backbone of the urban economy as well as the country at large. Social, political and changes in weather patterns causing droughts had also an effect on the movement of people as they ran away for protection and survival in the city which in the end promoted rapid urbanisation in Bulawayo making the city failing to cope with the huge increase resulting in poor service delivery. There have been land disputes as the city of Bulawayo is encroaching in the surrounding rural areas which resulted in some periphery settlements failing to access central services from the city. There is a strong rural attachment of urban dwellers as they frequent their rural areas which strengthen the rural-urban linkages. People visit the rural areas for agricultural, cultural and social reasons very often as they believe that life in the city

is temporary as they maintain the rural homes despite staying in the city. The research came up with the following recommendations:

- Public participation on urban expansion must be done so as to minimise the impacts of the changes in rural-urban linkages.
- Develop more rural service centres so as to provide services as this reduces the rural-urban migration.
- Promote the transport system between rural and urban areas so as to strengthen the linkages between the two.

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