

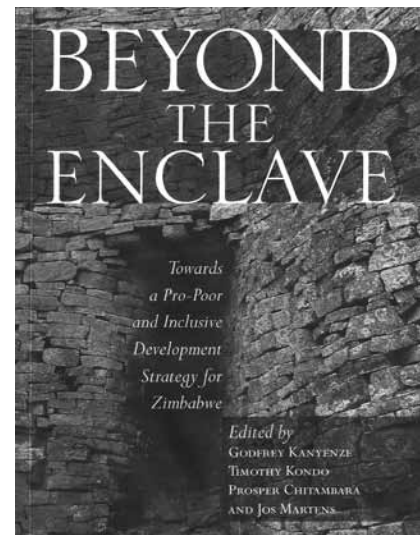
# Review

*Beyond the enclave: Towards a Pro-poor and Inclusive Development Strategy for Zimbabwe*

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**A**fter the super-crisis of 2008 few would believe that before 1990, Zimbabwe's economy had a Gross Domestic Product that was higher than that of emerging economies such as China and India. Most would also doubt that the country was Southern Africa's 'bread basket' that exported food to neighbouring countries. Although this might seem far-fetched, *Beyond the enclave* attempts to explain why from that strong footing the economy then went into a downward spiral.

The book argues that although Zimbabwe had a diversified economy, described by Tanzania's first post-colonial president (1961 to 1985), Julius Nyerere, as a jewel, this economy was two-faced. 'The inherited economy was based on a philosophy of white supremacy that resulted in the evolution of a relatively well-developed and modern formal sector, employing about one million people (a fifth of the labour force), that existed alongside an underdeveloped and backward economy, the home of 70% of the black population. The 'jewel' was the 'enclave' part of the economy, which had been developed on the ruthless dispossession of livelihoods of the majority of the people, in particular their access to land, which forced them into wage employment.

Movement across these sectors was strictly controlled such that the relationship between them was an exploitative one.' This type of economy concentrated industries in big cities such as Harare and Bulawayo.

One of the main problems with this type of economy was that it led to the underutilisation of resources, especially labour, which was non-productive. 'From the capitalist view pre-capitalist forms of work constitute non-productive labour in that they are not profit oriented, being of a survivalist nature.' Therefore, the productive labour forms the formal economy and the non-productive labour the informal in which there is underemployment.

This concentration and dominance of monopolies therefore caused underdevelopment especially in the rural areas. Furthermore, this underdevelopment then assumed a 'grafted' type of capitalism. 'The evolving social formations reflect the co-existence of the dominant capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production that have been fused together in a rather uneasy and tenuous manner (grafted capitalism).'

## STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

*Beyond the enclave* explains how the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) failed and builds on the *Beyond ESAP* book that

was published by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions a few years ago. Under ESAP economic growth declined, interest rates remained high, the Zimbabwean dollar lost value because of high inflation, external debt increased, and manufacturing declined while job losses were common, as workers were retrenched. Like most International Monetary Fund and World Bank economic policies, ESAP had introduced liberalisation of the economy which included privatisation and other policies that favoured market capitalism.

Even the World Bank's Tom Allen admitted to this failure when he said growth had to be inclusive, social sector expenditures protected and state intervention necessary. National ownership was also critical to the success of any economic policy framework.

The book suggests an alternative in the sustainable human development (SHD) a concept which was developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). SHD is defined as 'a process of enlarging people's choices' so that they live 'long, healthy and creative lives'. Additionally, 'SHD meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.'

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The UNDP further explains the concept of SHD. 'Sustainable human development is pro-people, pro-jobs, and pro-nature. It gives the highest priority to poverty reduction, productive employment, social integration, and environmental regeneration. It brings human numbers into balance with the coping capacities of nature... it also recognises that not much can be achieved without a dramatic improvement in the status of women and the opening of all opportunities to women'.

#### FARMWORKERS

The plight of farmworkers is highlighted in the book. Instead of them being beneficiaries of the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme they were more of victims. For example, there were between 250,000 and 350,000 farmworkers during the 1980s and 1990s. These figures have shrunk by 75% and less than 1% of land was allocated to farm workers thus pushing them into gold panning and cross-border trading amongst other survivalist activities.

Big unions such as the General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union, which organises farm workers, also suffered a huge loss of members in the process.

It was a double tragedy for the farm workers because before land redistribution they had poor contracts and lowest wages among workers in general. Their living conditions were appalling: poor housing, poor sanitation and lack of services. There was also a xenophobic element to it as a large number of the farm workers were migrant workers from Southern African countries such as Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia who had settled in the country but

were discriminated against by government policies.

The book notes the need to support old communal and resettlement areas that received little support from government. Land use, which is currently at 40% also needed to be increased so as to guarantee food security and improve livelihoods for the poor. Agriculture also had the potential to create jobs. Rebuilding agricultural assets and infrastructure would also help boost production.

Probably the greatest strength of *Beyond the enclave* is its painting of the context and refuting widely held beliefs with data which pointed otherwise. For example, the book argues that economic decline started well before the land reform exercise and therefore cannot be attributed to economic sanctions alone as these came at a later date.

One of the points that is emphasised is that colonial economies by design were not meant for countries to develop and what was missed by governments that took over at independence was the transformation of the economy. This means that economic policies adopted by most post-colonial states promoted what Patrick Bond describes as uneven development.

However, after the crisis there were many critical issues that Zimbabwe needed to fix such as land, agriculture and rural development, manufacturing, mining, gender, labour market, education and training, social services, science and technology and trade policy. These areas are analysed in specific chapters in the book. The chapters are written in ways that suggest alternatives towards the end.

The book also highlights how areas such as education and health

which have been described as success stories, have suffered during the crisis period. Therefore, there is need to do a raft of measures in education such as a 'pathways approach' that catered for students of different learning capabilities, improved quality of education through a shared approach that included other stakeholders participation, the establishment of a national training authority, development of a national skills authority and promoting return migration to regain lost skills as a result of the 'brain drain'.

The health sector also needed to train nurses and doctors and to attract back to the country those working abroad. Other activities included strengthening of primary health care. Health institutions should also be capitalised and equipped.

The book also recognises that development cannot happen unless there is good governance and that Zimbabwe must deal with its failed state characteristics. There are recommendations to address 'sources of conflict and stress', improve security of citizens, inclusive decision-making, enhanced capacity and accountability of public institutions, identifying strategic priorities, a culture of tolerance of diverse opinions, and peace building especially to deal with politically-motivated violence that is typical of elections in the country. Zimbabwe also has a lot to learn from other countries.

The book will be useful to students, academics and those who want to comprehend the Zimbabwean crisis instead of looking at it in piece meal fashion, which tends to isolate events from the context in which they will be taking place. 