

**The Zimbabwean Indigenization Policy: A Decolonial Perspective on Community Share  
Ownership Trusts from 2008 – 2019**

**BY**

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**STATEMENT**

I Roseline Wedzerai declare that *The Zimbabwean Indigenization policy: A Decolonial Perspective: From 2008-2015* is my own effort and that all sources I have used and cited have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

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**Roseline Wedzerai**

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents the late Elijah Rusununguko Mushope and Enesia Mushope. I also dedicate this thesis to my husband Stanley, my children; Daisy, Munashe and Christian Wedzerai.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis explores the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe as a decolonial strategy. It provides a decolonial interpretation, whereby it sheds more light on what is meant when one says a country has gained independence. This thesis has managed to demonstrate that Zimbabwe's independence is not complete without economic freedom. The Decoloniality Theory has been adopted in this thesis as the theoretical framework upon which this thesis hinges. The theoretical framework is suitable for examining this policy because it has helped in displaying that indigenization has its inadequacies as a public policy. The policy has perpetuated neoliberalism. The discovery made is that the agency only has changed but the structure, terms and content of the administration did not change.

In order to effectively explain the indigenization policy, from a decolonial perspective; the thesis has examined the definition of indigenization that has been put forward by the policy. The problematic issue becomes the question of the indigenous Zimbabweans .Who are these, how did they originate, and the various ways in which they were marginalized during the colonial era? This thesis has brought forward issues that were overlooked by policy implementers. So, it is an important lesson for post-colonial Zimbabweans to implement policies that out rightly do away with colonial terms and expressions.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AAG</b>	Affirmative Action Group
<b>ACP</b>	African Caribbean Pacific
<b>AGOA</b>	African Growth and Opportunity Act
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>BEE</b>	Black Economic Empowerment
<b>BSAC</b>	British South African Company
<b>CSOTs</b>	Community Share Ownership Trusts
<b>ESAP</b>	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GNP</b>	Gross National Product
<b>HIV</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
<b>IBDC</b>	Indigenous Business Development Centre
<b>ICFU</b>	Indigenous Commercial Farmers Union
<b>IEEA</b>	Indigenous Economic Empowerment Act
<b>MDC</b>	Movement for Democratic Change
<b>NEP</b>	New Economic Policy
<b>NLHA</b>	National Land Husbandry Act
<b>NEEEF</b>	New Equitable Economic Empowerment Framework
<b>NIEEB</b>	National Indigenous and Economic Empowerment Board
<b>SACU</b>	Southern African Customs Union
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SAPs</b>	Structural Adjustment Programmes
<b>SEDCO</b>	Small Enterprises Development Corporation
<b>SMEs</b>	Small and Medium Enterprises
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>USA</b>	United States of America

**ZANU-PF** Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front  
**ZBC** Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation  
**ZCCM** Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines

## **GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED**

<b>Abantwana bemuhlabathi:</b>	Sons of the soil
<b>Amakorokoza:</b>	Illegal miners
<b>Chimbwido:</b>	Female guerrilla messenger
<b>Chimurenga:</b>	War of liberation
<b>Izinduna:</b>	Name given to Ndebele chiefs
<b>Lulululululu:</b>	Ululations
<b>Malay Bumiputera:</b>	Sons of the soil
<b>Matumba:</b>	Small huts used by pregnant women as shelter before delivering
<b>Ndezvevanhu vatemala izvozvo:</b>	It is for black people
<b>Vana vevhu:</b>	Sons of the soil

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

At independence on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1980, the Zimbabwean economy was largely controlled by both multi-national corporations and individual ‘white’ capitalists. The economic marginalization of indigenous Zimbabweans under the Rhodesian white settler government prompted the Government of Zimbabwe to introduce policies that were intended to liberate the economy from domination by foreign entities and individual capitalists that were considered to be indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Thus, in its determination to delink from the clutches of coloniality, the Zimbabwean government has since the 1980s introduced transformative policies, namely, the Communal Land Act of 1981; the Land Acquisition Act of 1985; and the Land Reform Programme in 2000; as well as the Indigenization Policy of 2008; all which were aimed at transcending the coloniality in the distribution of the Zimbabwean economic resources (Matyszak, 2014). The indigenization policy was introduced because there was need to create wealth and employment, eradicate poverty as well as expand the domestic market. In support of the above, Ngubeni (2013) alludes that the indigenization policy just does not consider economic growth, but integrates socio-economic aspects that address key issues, such as, poverty alleviation, economic participation, demographic challenges, employee welfare, government spending and foreign investor relations within the contemporary context. The United Nations Development Programme (2014) stipulates that the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe arose out of the need to elevate the economic participation of indigenous Zimbabweans, promote investment in the economy thereby empowering Zimbabweans through the creation of wealth and simultaneous eradication of poverty. Indigenization creates prospects for strengthening democracy and the consolidation of development and peace in the country. Essentially, indigenization presumes that wealth and economic power will be transferred from the minority capitalists to those marginalized by the colonial discriminatory policies. However, indigenization creates potential for conflict between the dominant capitalist system serving the interests of a minority and redistribution of wealth seeking to include interests of the poor. Thus, to avoid conflict and to ensure that indigenization becomes a success, the state, business sector and civil society have to demonstrate a strong political will to implement the policy to uplift the livelihoods of all citizens, especially of the poor. .

Attempts to implement indigenization in Zimbabwe have been hampered by power imbalances that can be traced back to the country's historical past. Sentiments of racial supremacy have also aroused racial hatred and charged political emotions, further hampering early attempts at implementing indigenization policies. Indigenization has been viewed on the one hand, as a political tool to resolve past racial transgressions and advance the interests of the black majority. On the other hand, indigenization is considered to be a just process for wealth redistribution and placing the destiny of African economies in the hands of indigenous Zimbabweans. Conditions had to be created that would allow for the restoration of dignity and self-respect of disadvantaged Zimbabweans through enabling their participation in the country's economic development. This would further spur the development of a vibrant, efficient and inclusive private sector to drive economic development and growth in an expanding market economy. In addition, there was need to democratize ownership patterns of the economic assets and eliminate economic disparities arising from racial differences of the past (UNDP, 2014).

The need to incorporate and involve the disadvantaged indigenous Zimbabweans led to the introduction of the Community Share Ownership Trusts which I am going to use as my case study in this thesis. This case study shows how indigenization has involved participation and empowerment of the marginalized social groups and communities, especially those in rural areas. People residing in the rural areas are often marginalized and sidelined from economic activities due to their geographic remoteness and limited communication and constrained access to basic services. The Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Bill was introduced in parliament in May 2007 and was passed in September 2007, and became law in April 2008 (Chowa, 2013). The Act was intended to guide the implementation of indigenization programmes across all productive sectors. The indigenization policy required all foreign companies operating in the country with a minimum asset-value of \$500,000 to cede 51% of their ownership to indigenous Zimbabweans (IEEA, 2008). The policy thus stipulates that foreign investors can only hold a minority stake of 49% of the business. According to Zhuwawo (2016) “...*This applies to existing investors, who must readjust the ownership structure of their businesses and incoming investors, who must obtain an Indigenization compliance certificate from Government.....*” The indigenization policy is defined by the (IEEA, 2007) as “*a deliberate involvement of indigenous*

*Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources.*

An indigenous person is defined as *any person who before the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1980* [Independence Day] *was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person* (IEEA, 2007). An indigenous or indigenized company is one in which indigenous citizens own 35% of the business (IEEA 2007). From the above definition of indigenization, it is clear that the policy is both a redress and a reconstruction strategy. This policy seeks to compensate the indigenous people of Zimbabwe whose exclusion from Zimbabwean economy can be tracked back to the colonial era prior to independence in 1980. The policy aims to give indigenous Zimbabweans a controlling stake in private and foreign-owned companies. The National Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB) consider the policy as a mechanism for providing Zimbabweans with opportunities to participate in the economy (Mabhena & Moyo, 2014). Dube (2013) suggests that the idea of the indigenization policy is to enable marginalized communities to realize their developmental needs. The foregoing indicates that the policy was formulated with the intention to benefit and involve all Zimbabwean citizens in sharing the national economy.

Gaomab (2010) argues that in Africa, the origin of the indigenization policy is based on the idea that economic growth can only be achieved and sustained if it promotes enterprise development and meets the needs of all citizens. As such, indigenization can contribute significantly to the human and economic development of all citizens and communities if the political and economic system takes into account the human capital of a nation irrespective of political membership (Dean, 2012). This shows that the imagination and implementation of indigenization policies can produce genuine decolonial effects to an economy structured in terms of coloniality only if these policies are themselves clean of partisan politics. In Zimbabwe, the question of whether the policy of indigenization is free from partisan politics of the ruling party is quite important. This aids in the understanding of decolonial impact of the policy since decolonization of the economy from foreign influence cannot mean recreating another colonial type of an economic structure led by an indigenous agency. Thus the indigenization policy entails distributing the economic benefits to the majority rather than a select few (Dean, 2012). This research therefore seeks to



ascertain whether or not the indigenization policy was a key factor in the decolonization of the Zimbabwean economy. This is quite important when taking into consideration that coloniality is capable of penetrating even those discourses and practices that seek to get rid of it. These include discourses and practices as black economic empowerment that have served to deracialize coloniality by putting black bodies where the white bodies had previously been rather than transcend the structure of coloniality to produce a system without oppressors and the oppressed.

## **1.2 The Problem statement**

Zimbabwe has been one of the most vocal and aggressive nations when it comes to the question of decolonization and resource nationalism Mousavizadeh (2012:1) defines resource nationalism as a phenomenon governments draft terms and conditions that deliberately support local firms operating in resource extraction sectors. Mousavizadeh, (2012:1) further indicates that in recent decades, the resurgence of resource nationalism is being used by governments as a mechanism to enrich themselves. In essence, resource nationalism has been associated with distributive policies and programmes designed to improve the welfare of the citizenry. It remains one of the several mechanisms deemed suitable for the equitable distribution of wealth and resources in a country. However, the question that remains unanswered is that of: why has Zimbabwe become one of the poorest countries with its population immigrating to other countries, some of which have not undertaken the policy of indigenization? This thesis therefore sheds more light on the manner in which the indigenization policy has been tackled showing explicitly if it fails or passes as a decolonial strategy. This issue is quite significant because it enables us to think of what has prevented the success of the indigenization policy in decolonizing the Zimbabwean economy. This study therefore analyzes the manner in which the indigenization policy has been conceptualized and implemented during the period 2008-2015.

## **1.3 The Objective**

The aim of this research is to examine the ‘decolonial-ness’ of the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe in terms of meeting the requirements of a genuine decolonial project. Thus, the objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To examine the motivation behind the origin of Zimbabwe’s indigenization policy
2. To articulate the nature of Zimbabwean indigenization policy

3. To explore the influence of coloniality on Zimbabwe 's indigenization policy
4. To explore the achievements and failures of Zimbabwean indigenization policy between 2008-2019
5. To examine the key players and or stakeholders behind Zimbabwe's indigenization policy
6. To draw conclusions on the implementation of the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe
7. To make recommendations on enhancing the decolonial effect of Zimbabwe's indigenization policy and/or on decolonizing the indigenization policy

#### **1.4 Research questions**

The study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the motivation behind the origin of Zimbabwe's indigenization policy?
2. What is the nature of Zimbabwean indigenization policy?
3. How has coloniality influenced the Zimbabwe's indigenization policy?
4. What are the achievements and failures of Zimbabwean indigenization policy between 2008 -2019?
5. Who are the key players and/or stakeholders behind Zimbabwe's indigenization policy?
6. What conclusions can be drawn from the implementation of the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe?
7. What recommendations can be made to enhance the decolonial effect of Zimbabwe's indigenization policy and/or on decolonizing the indigenization policy?

#### **1.5 Rationale of the study**

This study seeks to contribute new knowledge about how best policies such as the indigenization policy can be made to work towards deepening the experience of decolonization among the peoples of those countries that are experiencing coloniality. Indigenization is a popular concept among citizens in developing countries. Although popular, this concept has not been developed in ways that benefit the most disadvantaged within the countries that are suffering from coloniality. The economic participation of black people is constrained by their lack of control over economic resources (Chowa, 2013). The indigenization policy seeks to improve ownership

and utilization of resources by indigenous people in order to broaden economic participation in Zimbabwe. The overarching policy aim is to ensure the pervasive dependency on aid is reduced. In some cases, the idea of indigenization is caught up within the inherent logic of coloniality thereby leading to repetition of coloniality under the guise of indigenization policies.

## **1.6 Methodology**

According to Thorn and Sunders (2005) methodology refers to the systematic theoretical analysis of principle and methods associated with a particular discipline. Leedy (1997) also defines methodology as a blueprint that outlines how information for a study will be collected and analyzed to derive meaning. The foregoing suggests that methodology is focused on the means by which information is collected in the research process. Two major forms of data are collected during research, namely, primary and secondary data. Primary data refers to raw and unprocessed data gathered by the researcher directly from research participants through interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaire surveys (Graziano & Raulin, 2007). Primary data collection is a very significant part of the study as it determines the dependability of findings. Secondary data refers to data that is already available on the topic under study. For this study, secondary data was gathered from a variety of publications including academic journals, books, discussion and conference papers, and newspaper articles. Graziano and Raulin (2007) suggest that secondary data can be internal or external to the organization. Internal secondary data may be in the form of corporate strategic plans, memos, board minutes or company policies; and external secondary can include government gazettes, ministry magazines, business reviews, and national policies.

### **1.6.1 Research Design**

According to Leedy (1997) a research design is a strategy or plan that outlines how the research will be conducted. Kumar (1999) adds that a research design is a detailed blueprint intended to provide guidance during the research process. A research design can be viewed as a way of collecting and analyzing data in a mode that aligns applicability with technique. Nachimas and Nachimas (1989:99) postulate that a research design is a plan that guides the research process in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. The research design summarizes the strategy which categorizes population, data gathering methods, the instruments, the tools and

classification and examination of the data. The process of designing a research implicates quite a number of decisions, for example, the choice of approach, as this regulates how evidence will be attained. The research findings heavily depend on the techniques engaged.

In this thesis I settle for case study design since I have chosen to dwell on the aspect of Community Share Ownership Trusts. This becomes an overarching case which is strongly tied to the Indigenization policy which has been adopted in Zimbabwe. The indigenization policy will be described in general as well as within the context of the Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTS).

### 1.6.2 Case Study Design

Yin (2013:13) perceives a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. By the same token, Turnball and Turnball (2006), claim that a case study focuses on a social group, a social institution or a community. Case studies are designed to richly describe, explain or assess and evaluate a situation such as an event, a person, institution and, or group of people (Neuman, 2014). This study focuses on seven as presented in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Community Share Ownership Trusts incorporated in the study**

<b>Name of Community Share Ownership Trust</b>	<b>Date of establishment</b>
Mhondoro /Ngezi Community Share Ownership Trust	13 October 2011
Tongogara Community Share Ownership Trust	24 November 2011;
Mimosa–Zvishavane Community Share Ownership Trust	6 March 2012;
Gwanda Community Share Ownership Trust	May 2012;
Zimunya-Marange Community Share Ownership Trust	27 July 2012;
Masvingo Community Share Ownership Trust	16 February 2013;

Chivi Community Share Ownership Trust	2012
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These Community Share Trusts were selected on the basis that they are the major ones in the country and it was assumed that there would also be a wide range of information available on their performance over the years. Thus, considering the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy on Community Share Ownership Trusts resonates well with a case study because it is anchored on modern issues found and experienced in the lived experiences of most formally marginalized Zimbabweans. To buttress the foregoing notion, it suffices to note that other researchers, such as, Bernades and Halington (2005:665) advocate for the case study design as a suitable design to assess the evidence and perceptions of the viability of policies and practices.

Thus, I was persuaded to use case study design for the following reasons:

- ❖ Interactions with research participants were conducted in a natural setting which provided a good environment for fruitful interviews (Chilisa and Preece, 2005). Furthermore, its exploratory nature necessitated me to elicit from research participants relevant information on whether or not they were benefiting from Zimbabwean Indigenization Policy with particular reference to Community Share Ownership Trusts. Thus, this enhanced interaction between me and the research participants in circumstances that were natural with high degree of eliciting rich and relevant information.

#### **Advantages of case study design.**

The following are some of the advantages I found of case study design:

- ❖ Flyvbjerg (2006:235) states that: “The advantage of the case study is that it can “close in” on real- life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice”. Thus, in agreement with the above citation, I got firsthand information from the research participants while I was in the field collecting data. I was also able to see some of the projects which had been facilitated by the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy through Community Share Ownership Trusts.
- ❖ Lindvall (2007) posits that the major advantage of a case study approach is that it gives an in-depth analysis of the case understudy. In this regard, I was able to focus in detail

on the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy on Community Share Ownership Trusts with regards to its successes and failures.

### **1.6.3 Research approach**

This research is descriptive in nature and relies extensively on the qualitative research method. A descriptive research refers to research focused on providing a systematic description of the research problem and provides information regarding attitudes and perceptions of individuals or groups involved in the study (Kumar, 2005).

### **1.6.4 Research paradigm**

Social sciences research studies are located within a specific paradigm or philosophical grounding which then provides the basis for the choice of research methodology (Creswell, 1994; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 1991). Oates (2006:13, 282) refers to a paradigm as a way of thinking or set of assumptions shared within a particular discipline. The manner in which a paradigm may be described may thus vary depending on the discipline, but in social sciences research, the term 'paradigm' depicts progress pertaining to human philosophies and how these have been put in practice. As paradigms evolve they advance assumptions and notions of knowledge and its development in a manner that enables humanity to understand phenomena (Saunders et al., 2003:85; Creswell, 1994). Thus, in light of the above notion concerning research paradigm, my thesis is anchored on an interpretive paradigm. I seek to explain the meaning of indigenization while standing on a decolonial understanding examining its decolonial-ness and coloniality.

### **1.6.5 Qualitative Design**

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative research facilitates an understanding of the lived experiences of research subjects. It is significant in that I got first-hand information from the people who lived the experiences. There is no distortion or alteration of information. I got to gain a deep insight into the participants' views, feelings and attitudes on the issue of indigenization. Qualitative research has helped me to gain a comprehensible role that indigenization has played in decolonizing the Zimbabwean economy, rather than just a surface description. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3) define qualitative research as an interpretive and

inherently natural approach to viewing the world. This means that this research did not entertain artificial responses in order to come up with how people interpret the indigenization policy. This has enabled me to interpret the decolonial theory in this research and test whether it meets the decolonial criteria. Qualitative research enables the detailed exploration of social experiences of individuals in specific contexts (Yin, 2009). Bryman (2004) states that qualitative research utilizes an inductive approach by adopting a systematic process of observing phenomena in order to draw conclusions. Qualitative research attempts to explore the experiences of individuals and how they attach meaning to these experiences and the environment they live in. Through qualitative research, data sources were triangulated as a way to increase the reliability and rigor of the research process and outcomes (Bryman, 2004).

Creswell (2007) accedes that qualitative research facilitates understanding of phenomena from perspectives and experiences of those who have lived it. The qualitative approach is fretful with a particular valuation of insolences, feelings and performance. In this kind of research everything is reliant on my perceptions and impersonations. As I entered the field of research, I held qualitative interviews, conducted focus group interviews and also made observations about stakeholders who took part in the designing and implementation of the indigenization policy to establish their overall perceptions and attitudes towards the impact of the policy. A qualitative approach has multiple advantages including flexibility, allowing for in depth analysis and enabling researchers to observe phenomena in a specific social setting or context (Babbie, 1986). However, it also has its disadvantages; qualitative research relies on the subjective perspectives of individuals thus raising issues of reliability and validity. Furthermore, qualitative research has limited ability to replicate observations and, as such, findings cannot be generalized across a wider population (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990). Admittedly, it is impossible to observe all aspects of the phenomenon under study as echoed by Fielding and Lee (1992). Interviews were held with indigenous Zimbabweans, whereby I used a snowball approach to choose at random the participants.

### **1.6.6 Population**

Chimedza *et al* (2006) define a population as a collection or group of individuals or objects included in a study or statistical survey. Leedy (1980:90) and Lind and Mason (1993) define a

population as a group of individuals who fit a specific criteria that are of interest to the researcher and from which data is collected to which results are to be generalized. In this study, the population consisted of members of society in the four districts visited, namely; Shurugwi, Zvishavane, Mhondoro Ngezi, and Chivi. The population included local leadership, such as chiefs, a Member of Parliament; ordinary residents, small business owners and a farmer, students including employed and unemployed youths. One of the youth was an individual living with disability. A sample of 34 respondents was purposively selected for interviews. The list of respondents and date of interviews are captured in Appendix A.

### **1.6.7 Research mechanisms**

A research mechanism has been defined as a device for systematically collecting data (Frankle, 1993). These are the most crucial in my research study as they determined my conclusions of the study. I used these mechanisms to ensure consistency in the manner in which information was collected from research participants. By induction, these mechanisms enabled the researcher to gather consistent information. Data was collected from 4 districts in rural areas. Data was gathered through qualitative interviews guided by an unstructured interview guide with a list of open-ended questions.

### **Interviews**

I used qualitative interviews in the collection of data. Borg and Gall (1971) interpreted an interview as a process of gathering and verifying facts and opinions expressed by research participants. Schwandt (2007) also defines a qualitative interview as a unique way of engaging with research participants that allows the researcher greater flexibility in the way the interview is carried out. Yin (1994:87) outlines the merits of key informant interviews over other types of interviews as follows: they are cost-effective and easy to use; and the focus on one respondent by the interviewer provides flexibility in sequencing of questions, adding and dropping questions, as well as opportunities for probing. These interviews covered up for the illiterate and semi-illiterate who could not read or write. Silverman (1993:107) cites the main disadvantage of key informant interview as biasness; research participants may give responses that they deem pleasant to the researcher. This is the problem I met in the field, especially during election campaign era, where people were afraid to talk and as a result tended to say what was popularly



believed to be safe to say. I managed to interview a sample of 34 respondents that included local leadership, such as chiefs, a Member of Parliament; ordinary residents, small business owners and a farmer, students including employed and unemployed youths. This helped me to get diverse information on indigenization.

The interviews solicited a wide range of information on CSOTS from respondents. The respondents answered the questions based on their knowledge of CSOTS. The questions were opened ended and included asking respondents on their knowledge of the history of CSOTS, the benefits, challenges, role players and how the CSOTS are being managed at the local level. Further questions explored the respondents' understanding of the indigenization policy and the impact thereof. The interview guide is presented in Appendix D.

### **1.7 Data Analysis**

According to Neuman (2011:246) data analysis is a way of gathering, categorising, coding and transforming data in order to give it meaning. Data analysis is performed in order to denote any patterns or themes emerging from the data that can answer the research questions and address the research objectives. The qualitative data collected from the interviews with selected respondents was analyzed through content analysis. The data gathered was transcribed after the interviews to enable easy data handling and checked for accuracy before the analysis was conducted. The process of content analysis included data classification or categorization according to study research questions. I was able to gather multiple and diverse responses to the research questions and this provided content to explain in greater detail, the outcomes of the research. The broad themes that emerged were discussed under each research question in the relevant chapters.

### **1.8 Ethical Considerations**

Jensen, Klans and Janskowki (1991) cogently argue that research ethics relate to the compliance with set standards in social research and abiding by norms of conduct generally accepted by society. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) define research ethics as a code of practice that provide guidance in conducting social research. To commence the research, I was granted research clearance by the UNISA Research and Ethics Committee. Thereafter, I also sought permission from local leadership in the four districts where interviews were conducted. The individual

respondents who took part in the study did so based on informed consent. I explained to them the purpose of the study and requested their voluntary participation. All respondents were informed that they could terminate the interview at any stage and that their information would be confidential and as such would not be shared with third parties. For institutional respondents like the Bata Shoe Company, permission was requested from the company management.

## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

This thesis has six chapters as presented below

**Chapter One** provides the background to the study in order to set the context. The chapter therefore provides the problem statement, study objectives and research questions guiding the study. Furthermore, the chapter details the research methodology followed and the ethical considerations observed. Finally, the chapter provides an outline of how the dissertation is organized.

**Chapter Two** presents the theoretical framework of the thesis. I have used the Decoloniality Theory to examine the extent to which the Zimbabwean indigenization policy enhances the experience of decolonization of the economy among the marginalized and poor communities in Zimbabwe. I have explicitly shown using this theory whether the indigenization policy perpetuates decoloniality or neo-colonialism.

**Chapter three** is the literature review whereby I have used other scholars who wrote on indigenization to get more information on indigenization and this information has helped me to get international experiences on indigenization. These international experiences will provide lessons to Zimbabwe to see where others failed and to know how they failed, if they succeeded to establish the success factors.

**Chapter four** discusses how indigenous Zimbabweans were disposed of their land and resources during the colonial period. In this chapter, I show explicitly what the Zimbabweans possessed before colonialism and what they had left after colonization. I also highlight on the early attempts by Zimbabweans on indigenization. This chapter addresses the following objectives:

- To examine the motivation behind the origin of Zimbabwe's indigenization policy
- To articulate the nature of Zimbabwean indigenization policy

**Chapter five** is the empirical evidence on the indigenization policy. In this regard, I used Community Share Ownership Trust as a case study. The reason being that it is the only evidence we have of the indigenization policy in action. All the participants and institutions that were interviewed are well documented in this chapter. This chapter addresses the following objectives:

- To explore the influence of coloniality on Zimbabwe's indigenization policy
- To explore the achievements and failure of Zimbabwean indigenization policy between 2008-2019
- To examine the key players and or stakeholders behind Zimbabwe's indigenization policy

**Chapter six** explains what fundamentally indigenization is. I clearly show whether the indigenization policy has accomplished its obligations as a public policy to the general populace. This chapter addresses the following objectives:

- To draw conclusions on the implementation of the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe
- To make recommendations on enhancing the decolonial effect of Zimbabwe's indigenization policy and/or on decolonizing the indigenization policy

## CHAPTER 2: THE DECOLONIALITY THEORY

### 2.1 Introduction

The Decolonial theory has been used in this thesis to examine the extent to which the Zimbabwean indigenization policy enhanced or diminished the experience of decolonization of the economy among the marginalized and poor communities in Zimbabwe. It has been used to conceptualize the colonial system and the ways in which this system can be decolonized. The fact that a policy such as indigenization is developed within a context of a post-colonial order in Zimbabwe means that Decoloniality is the appropriate theoretical tool for examining its meaning. This is premised on the notion that Decoloniality recognizes those hidden colonial matrices of power even in spaces and times where colonialism is deemed to have vanished. Thus, for instance, Zimbabwe got its ‘independence’ on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1980, but the question of decolonization remains a problematic subject to be resolved. The fact that colonialism remains a problematic subject even in the absence of white settler colonial government in Zimbabwe, it means that colonialism is a system that can survive the demise of what Grosfoguel (2007) describes as a juridical-administrative colonialism. Scholars have characterized this colonial system as a global configuration hierarchy of power comprising of various forms of colonialism that persisted even after the downfall of a visible juridical-administrative colonialism.

The origins of decoloniality date back to the Bandung conference that was held in 1955 and 29 countries attended from Africa and Asia (Mignolo 2012:130). The conference was primarily focused on decolonization, with a focus on finding an alternative system to capitalism and communism. The emphasis was to disconnect from the new systems, such as, post modernism, alter modernism, Newtonian science and neo-liberalism, in order to reject their dominance as the point of reference and obliterate their epistemic legitimacy. The conference condemned colonialism and racism in all its manifestations. Scholars such as Walter Mignolo, Arturo Escobar, Anibal Quijano, Enrique Dussel, Frantz Fanon, Maria Lugones and Nelson Maldonado-Torres have perpetuated decoloniality and have made it a popular topic which has helped students like me to open their eyes wide and realize their epistemic location from a decolonial perspective. Decoloniality is embodied in decolonial thinking and actions (Mignolo 2011) and challenges the histories of power originating from Europe. It responds to domination by

Europeans in the political, social and cultural spheres of their colonies (Quijano 2007:168). This is exactly where decoloniality fits in this thesis to unveil if Zimbabwe has adopted the mindset that the Bandung Conference embraced in 1955. In the indigenization policy that it enacted in 2008, did it change the terms of conversation, did it show that it is aware of the hidden colonial mediums of power despite the absence of colonial administrations. All these questions will be answered in the thesis as I proceed.

Coloniality has created contemporary problems with no sustainable solutions in sight and the incidence of the worldwide financial crises that shook the capitalist system have challenged its proponents and critics alike to seek alternative knowledge, methodologies and visions of a new world. In this section, I begin by mapping-out the concept of coloniality so as to bring about an understanding of why a policy such as indigenization within an independent Zimbabwe can be perceived of as a decolonization strategy.

## **2.2 How decoloniality aided the explication of the object of this thesis**

The adoption of a policy such as the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy is an attempt by the government to ensure that economic imbalances created by the colonial regime are redressed (Ngubeni, 2013; Dube, 2013). This attempt is just realized in principle, but in practice, the new government of the day is perpetuating coloniality. In colonial times, the white minority had exclusive access to factors of production and control over the economy. The same trend continues even today despite the country having attained independence on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980. It can be argued that the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy is merely a statutory instrument designed to service political interests rather than seek the universal empowerment of ordinary Zimbabwean citizens. The Zimbabwean indigenization policy is being used to position the elite to syphon the country's resources with no regard for the majority of people who continue to languish in the mire of poverty. This indigenization policy is being used to shield corruption, expropriation of resources and social and economic malpractices by the elite. For example, prime land and mine claims fall in the ambit of politically connected individuals under the guise of Indigenization ((Manjengwa, 2013; Zhou and Zvoushe, 2012). Therefore, decoloniality has not taken root in Zimbabwe as evidenced by the gruesome reality echoed above and below.

### **2.3 Coloniality explained**

As already suggested above, coloniality refers to those forms of colonial manifestations that survive the demise of 'classical colonialism' thereby prompting the search for a deeper meaning and experience of decolonization beyond the absence of white settler government within those nation-state that are deemed 'postcolonial'. Thus, as Grosfoguel (2007: 219) argues:

One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century was the notion that the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to the decolonization of the world. This led to the myth of a 'postcolonial' world. The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonization of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same 'colonial power matrix'. With juridical administrative decolonization, we moved from a period of 'global colonialism' to the current period of 'global coloniality'. Although 'colonialism administrations' have been entirely eradicated and the majority of the periphery is politically organized into independent states, non-European people are still living under crude European exploitation and domination. The old colonial hierarchies of European versus non-Europeans remain in place and are entangled with the 'international division of labour' and accumulation of capital at a world-scale.

This characterization of coloniality is quite important to our understanding of the meaning of a policy such as indigenization in spatio-historical temporalities such as the independent Zimbabwe since achievement of independence did not mean that the process of decolonization was immediately extended to other spheres of life such as the economy. The idea that coloniality survives the demise of juridical-administrative colonialism was also advanced by Maldonado-Torres (2007: 243) who argues that:

Coloniality, instead, refers to a long-standing pattern of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that defines culture, labour, inter-subjectivity relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in

aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day.

The fact that Maldonado-Torres views coloniality as something that can affect such aspects of life as knowledge and subjectivity means that we must be careful of the influence of coloniality in the conception, imagination and implementation of such policies as indigenization as the people who formulated them could have been informed by colonial knowledge and subjectivity thereby re-producing the very coloniality which they seek to eradicate through the policy of indigenization. Mignolo (2005:6) refers to coloniality as a label for the destructive aspect of modernity that should be unmasked to reveal its misleading logic which disguises control, domination and exploitation as modernization, progress and salvation for the good of everyone. Mignolo (2005:6) further characterize coloniality as an ever present and invisible power structure that continues to determine the way of thinking and being among the majority of people.

Although the African continent has been decolonized for more than five decades now, the African mindsets have remained stuck within the colonial histories and failed to conceive and implement new systems and leadership informed by homegrown African values. This in turn has perpetuated colonization (coloniality) of the African minds long after the dismantling of the colonial administrations. Coloniality has thus confined Africa to poverty despite being one of the continents rich in natural and human resources. According to Abubakar (1989:28) Africa is endowed with rich and fertile soils suitable for productive agriculture and yet hunger remains pervasive across the continent. Camody (2011:2) in agreement with the former describes this situation as a paradox of hunger in the midst of plenty where despite Africa having abundant resources, many of its citizens remain imprisoned in poverty with limited access to economic assets. The above evidence shows that coloniality is much alive in Africa as; submission, exploitation, deprivation and expropriation are still evidently present. This therefore justifies the relevance of the decoloniality theory in freeing Africa from the socio-economic inequalities. It is necessary to decolonize, indigenize and Africanize their continent. Following the way Africans run their systems, it has coloniality written all over it. Why do we still have Africans oppressing each other when it is said we have our own independence? This

is a pattern that has been borrowed from the colonial regime which takes us back to colonialism which we are trying to get rid of.

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have been a form of coloniality under the guise of financial aid. These programmes continue to negatively affect all aspects of economic, social and political operations of the country through preferential support for international investment over local investment thereby keeping Zimbabweans vulnerable to economic control by western countries seeking to expand markets. The continued bias towards western policies has served to subordinate economic transformation in post-independence Zimbabwe. The continued unfavorable trade practices including the unbalanced price determination mechanisms that benefit foreign countries further entrench coloniality in African countries, including Zimbabwe. At the dawn of independence, most African leaders adopted the same ruling approach that was used by the colonialists. Coloniality has thus been perpetuated by African leaders through their adoration of western civilization exhibited through establishing relations that serve their own economic interests and quest to remain in power. As a result, the promotion of good governance and the economic emancipation of Zimbabwean citizens have been derailed and western civilization and ideology inherited from the British continue to influence the way of life in Zimbabwe. African leaders after being elected in power have shown unanimously that they imitate their predecessors. Oppression, greediness and self-centered governance are the language they speak. Unity, good governance and democracy are terms they talked about before being elected but they have been long forgotten.

The impoverishment of the African continent and its people by the West started during the industrial revolution when the colonial masters extracted and exported raw materials back to their countries. The logic is employment is created where there is need to manufacture and process. Offiong (2002:45) elaborates the above by giving examples from Ghana and Mozambique. Fruits produced in Ghana were exported to Britain where they are processed and packaged before shipping them back to Ghana to be sold at a higher price. Similarly, cocoa grown in Mozambique were exported to Portugal where it is processed into chocolate and then shipped back to Mozambique as finished products (Offiong 2002:48). This system prevented most African countries from processing or adding value to their produce during the



colonial era. This, therefore, promoted and perpetuated poverty and under-development of post-colonial Africa. However, there have been changes in the last few decades with government making provisions for local farmers and small businesses to be involved in the cocoa supply chain (Awuah- Gyawu, Brako & Adzimah, 2015).

The question of the nature and meaning of colonialism in a postcolonial world order is not something new and unique to the context of Africa, but has in the past been a question that pitted scholars with a narrow understanding of colonialism against those with a broader vision of the system. Thus, among the scholars who had a broader and deeper understanding of the colonial system was the political scientist, Mazrui (1986:13) who argued that colonialism was a revolution of monumental proportions. This position is different from that of scholars, such as, Ajayi (1969:13) who described colonialism as just but a mere ‘episode in African history’ (Ajayi 1969: 13). In general, the contestations about the nature of colonialism gave birth to the ‘epic school’ that projected the long term consequence of colonialism and ‘episodic school’ that sought to undermine the influence of colonialism on the agency of the colonized subjects by dismissing its perceived long term consequences. It was, indeed, this problematic character of the colonial system that prompted academics, such as, Cesaire (2000: 32) to ask the question: ‘what, *fundamentally*, is colonialism?’ a question that sought to deconstruct meaning of colonialism beyond simplistic lenses of a juridical-administrative colonialism.

Fanon (1961) posits that the intention of colonialism is not solely about dominating its subjects or satisfied by brainwashing them. Instead, it goes further to twist and deface the history of those oppressed in order to put an end to it. Cesaire (2000:32) described colonialism explicitly as showing animosity. In his view, it is a racist, dehumanizing, exploitative and disruptive system that is also violent and brutal. In general, coloniality has been characterized as a constitutive part of the ‘modernity/coloniality’ system; a term that was constructed by Grosfoguel (2007) and Mignolo (2007) to denote that the power structure of coloniality is double-sided. It is, indeed, this double-sidedness of colonial/ modernity that made the coloniser to be enchanted with the power structure while those of the colonial side of it are disenchanting with the same structure. The modernity/coloniality system is double-sided precisely because the coloniality side of the

modernity/coloniality represents ‘the darker side of modernity’, while the modernity side of the same system represents the ‘brighter side’ (Mignolo, 2011).

It is, therefore, the differences in experiences by people who exist on either side of the modernity/coloniality that make them to produce different narratives and views about the same system. Thus, for instance, those on the positive side of the modernity/coloniality system have positive tales to tell about the system while those on the darker side of the system have negative tales and experience of it. Within the Zimbabwean context, it was the communities from disadvantaged side of the system that developed policies such as the indigenization policy, but it is set to establish whether the members who benefited from this policy remain committed to advancing the same benefits to those who did not benefit from the process of indigenization. The misguided rhetoric that presents modernity as a universal phenomenon and cause for celebration overshadows its negative side that keeps coloniality alive. This logic that underpins the philosophical challenge of modernity/coloniality and the economic and political constructs of imperialism/colonialism can be neutralized through the decolonization of the mind.

Modernity refers to forms of social life or organization of society emanating from Europe at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that eventually gained worldwide appeal (Giddens, 1993). Modernity and coloniality are intricately linked. However, without coloniality modernity would not exist. Modernity is shadowed by negative social phenomena, such as, slavery, oppression and exploitation, and appropriation of land. Habermas (2000) perspective of modernity is that its projected future was shaped by the dismantling of peasants and craftsman’s way of life in the Old European experiential space and replaced it with a new world view and expectations. This incoherence between theoretical and historical modernity might explain the variations among scholars depicting modernity in the resurgence and others in the enlightenment. Hegel (1944:29) proffers the notion that transition presents a problem in that the emergence of the new dissipates the old as is demonstrated with the rhetoric of modernity.

Modernity/Coloniality is a concept rather problematic to approach. Gregory (2009:471) describes modernity as a notoriously ambivalent and highly contested concept. I then see that modernity is a phase, linked with a certain conceptual attitude –looking for clarifications through sagacity and order and dominating nature, achieving progress through science. Modernity can

also be seen as a systematic secular endeavor to liberate and emancipate the oppressed through rights and restorative justice. Fanon (2010:484) postulates that:

Colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverse logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts it and disfigures and destroys it.

The above shows that if we are not careful, colonialism intends to achieve its goal, that is, brainwashing the oppressed and promoting its own doctrine of normalizing oppression, subjugation and slavery. Colonialism destroys and disfigures, no wonder decoloniality was realized. Decoloniality is a wakeup call to Zimbabweans not to relapse into coloniality again.

The modernity/coloniality system can also be perceived in Fanonian terms, which divides the world into the 'zone of being'; and the 'zone of non-being'. While those in the zone of non-being are perceived to be deficient in many aspects, including invisibility, inferiority, and lacking 'humanity' itself, those in the zone of being have enjoyed the benefits of modernity beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century 'rights of people' to the 18<sup>th</sup> century 'rights of man' and the late 20<sup>th</sup> century 'human rights' (Grosfoguel 2007). The zone of being consists of the superior, the grander, the loftier, the blue blooded, the intellectuals and the visible. Such positive experiences about the modernity/coloniality system are different from those that are narrated by Grosfoguel (2007:214) below:

We went from the sixteenth century characterization of 'people without writing' to the eighteenth and nineteenth century characterization of 'people without history', to the twentieth century characterization of 'people without development' and more recently, to the early twenty first century of 'people without democracy.

As it can be seen from the above characterization of the zone of non-being or the negative side of the modernity/coloniality system, it is impossible for members of societies who are on either side of the colonial differential to have a similar perspective on the same system. The events taking place meant that the Anglo-Saxons and their descendants were increasingly consolidating their ontological density while Africans and those of African descent resident in the Diaspora were

losing ontological weight. In a scenario where the objective of a policy such as the indigenization policy is meant to deepen the experience of decolonization, the question whether the two zones are destroyed by this policy becomes critical. Thus, one could not conceive of the policy of indigenization as having achieved its decolonial objective in a situation where some indigenous subjects live a lifestyle of abundance while others are living a life of destitution.

The meaning of decolonization several years after the formal collapse of colonialism can also be made clear by outlining the differences between a world order and a world system. The modernity/coloniality system is a world arrangement that restructures itself through changing world orders. Thus, whereas world orders have been changing since the dawn of modernity/coloniality in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the world system that is underpinned by a modern/colonial' logic has remained unchanging. This, therefore, means that the modernity/coloniality system represents the synchrony of the system while a world order such as the postcolonial world order represents the separation of the system. In general, the danger of failing to differentiate between a world order and a world system is that one can mistake a 'dust of history' that world orders make when they come into being for history itself. In other words, the idea of independence in Zimbabwe can be viewed as not having marked a historical event apart from that it masked the continuity of colonially-rooted inequalities and the same view can, possibly, be extended to the advent of indigenization especially when one established that it failed to alter the pre-existing structures of inequality.

#### **2.4 Coloniality of Power, Knowledge and Being**

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:10) in the 48 Full Thinker Magazine says decolonial theory is based on three concepts, which are: the coloniality of power and knowledge; the coloniality of being; and the coloniality of nature. These concepts are explained further to examine coloniality influence on the policy of indigenization thereby limiting and/or enhancing the experience of decolonization among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. The concept of power speaks to the institutions through which coloniality is made possible to survive the demise of classical colonialism. Examinations are done on the origins and nature of the institutions that are central to the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe. Coloniality of power is a multifaceted structure of management and control of spheres, stages and movements. It is a theoretical concept that helps

brings visibility to that which cannot be perceived by sight. It embodies the notion of liberation theology and emerged out of the limits of dependency theory in the 70s. Coloniality of power is invisibilized for two main reasons: firstly either the actors telling triumphal histories of their own doing and thinking really believe that their own doing and thinking is the only way and that people have to follow or submit to their mandates or it is a matter of intransigence that is of knowing what the consequences and costs of advancing modernity will be for many people but hiding these consequences for their own benefit.

Globalization promoted a future of weaker states. No frontiers and a new stage of development can no longer be achieved through industrialization, but through the expansion of markets, consumerism and democracy. Globalization is not one ontological chapter in the general unfolding of history, but a set of imaginary stories that hide or legitimize the depiction of coloniality. Coloniality of power is controlled firmly by western imperial states or actors and institutions building, expanding and defending western civilization. What constitutes the coloniality of power is knowledge; the institutions responsible for creating and maintaining knowledge; and the actors participating in knowledge creating process who uphold epistemic beliefs that support the coloniality of power. Mignolo (2010:335) argues that the Colonial Matrix of Power (CMP) is a self-propelling machine. It forms the foundation of capitalism; and capitalism is the engine that drives the system through violent and conservative narratives of free trade and war for the expansion of the western world. This system thus perpetuates the CMP. Quijano (2010:25) describes the CMP as being premised on the racial classification of the world population under euro-centered world power. However, CMP extends beyond racist social relations.

In Zimbabwe coloniality of power was invisibly present as the economy was still dominated by multinational companies. Indigenization then came in to do away with this power; it reduced the ownership to 51% indigenous and 49% foreign. This relinquished power from foreigners and it empowered the indigenous people against colonialism. It permeated and weakened the building blocks of the euro-centered capitalist system to become the cornerstone of this coloniality of power. Grosfoguel (2010:73) states that it's the entanglement of coloniality with other power relations makes it difficult to dismantle the current world-system by simply destroying some

aspects of capitalism. Coloniality of Power helps to examine how the contemporary world order was created and structured and ordered in a hierarchy that spread throughout the world. The coloniality of power presents a world classified by race, patriarchy and sexism. In addition, there are also the Euro-American centric and Christian-centric classifications and the capitalist, colonial, modern and imperial power structure to content with (Grosfoguel 2001). Coloniality of Power affects all forms of social life, such as, authority, labour, sexuality and subjectivity (Quijano 2000). It is an entanglement of several and assorted global hierarchies of economic, political, economic, sexual, epistemic, spiritual, linguistic, and racial forms of dominance and oppression where the European/non-European European/non-European racial /ethnic hierarchy transversally rearranges all other global power structures. The new dimension in the Coloniality of Power relates to how race and racism become the dominant factor that structures all of the multiple hierarchies of the world system (Quijano 1993).

It is impossible for the indigenization policy to achieve decolonization of the Zimbabwean economy at the back of the institutions that sustain coloniality. Through the conceptual tool of the colonization of knowledge which argues that knowledge and imagination can be colonized, this study will examine the extent to which the policy of indigenization is informed by colonial and decolonized knowledge. Knowledge remains colonized and ought to be decolonized. Knowledge that was lost or suffered under colonial exploitation should be decolonized. Its focus is on the knowledge of those oppressed under slavery, colonialism and apartheid. The concept is meant to emancipate those in the developing world who remain to abide by the Western and European global matrices of power. Most of the theories invented by Europeans are valid and useful to them and not to the third world. Quijano (2007:220) elaborates that coloniality of knowledge manifested through Europe's domination over the new model of global power by taking control of all forms culture, subjectivity and knowledge and the production of knowledge. He further explains that this resulted in the simultaneous repudiation of the traditional modes of knowledge production and imposed a hierarchical structure on the basis of the superiority /inferiority relationship (Quijano 2007:225).

Ake (1979:125) argues that the continued implementation of development policies rooted in Euro-American concepts is the major reason for developmental failure in Africa because these adopted

concepts do not consider the African socio-cultural dimensions of development. Furthermore, Mazrui (1968:82) expresses disappointment at the failure of Africans to break away from captivity by foreign concepts or move away from what Karl Marx considered to be views as misleading systems of morality, political and social concepts designed to aid the knowledge dominance by global powers through coloniality the same way they did through slavery, colonialism and imperialism. Knowledge has been used for enslavement, control, exploitation, and administration of non-Europeans populations. There is need to investigate and see who generated which knowledge and for what purpose. Today, Africa is burdened with knowledge that is irrelevant and further disempowers individuals and communities. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:10) argues that there are no African universities but rather there are universities located in Africa. Europeans continue to pollute African minds with scholarly and academic research approaches and methods that support current knowledge inequalities. Ake (1979) emphasizes that Africa has to fight to free itself from knowledge systems that serve to preserve the unbalanced global power structure.

Indigenization in Zimbabwe came to decolonize knowledge, to democratize knowledge, de-hegemonise it, de-westernize it and de-Europeanize it. There is need to produce our own knowledge which proves we have a history. To invent our own degree programmes that will be of help to us as Africans or Zimbabweans. Indigenization gave knowledge to Zimbabweans that empowered them. The knowledge given to Zimbabweans has given them an insight that they can operate heavy and sophisticated machines in industry on their own, buy and sell, as well as mine on their own without the help of the Americans. Indigenization has taught Zimbabweans to process their natural resources and export which sees them bringing foreign currency in the country. Processing and manufacturing requires labour and this helps in reducing the unemployment rate. This conceptual tool will be deployed in trail with that of coloniality of being which speaks to the subjectivity of the people involved in devising decolonial policies and programmes such as the indigenization policy. Rene Descartes motions his motto 'Cogito ergo sum' (I think therefore I am) on conceptions of subjectivity. The question to be asked here is how being white attained ontological superiority in relation to being black, and how the concept of 'I think therefore I am' transmuted into 'I conquer therefore I am'; and the resultant colonizer/colonized dichotomy. Coloniality of being is crucial in examining the questioning of African humanity and the developments that led to the objectification/ thingification/ commodification of Africans (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013).

Indigenization in Zimbabwe has brought resistance of this objectification, challenging the global inferior status placed on black people. The struggle is to regain lost subject hood and eventually citizenship and to answer many other questions to do with being and humanism as politicized states of existence. Wynter (2003) states that coloniality of being raises relevant questions of the making of modern subjectivities and issues of human ontology. Coloniality of being relates to the asymmetrical constitution and structure of modern global power; epistemological supremacy; and the racial hierarchy and social classification of humanity based on differential ontological densities (Quijano 2000b). Coloniality of being relates to the lived experience of colonization (Mignolo, xxxx). :

Science (knowledge and wisdom) can't be detached from language, languages are not just cultural phenomena in which people find their identity they are also the location where knowledge is inscribed. And since languages aren't something human beings have but rather something of what human beings are, coloniality of power and knowledge engendered the coloniality of being.

From the above it shows that coloniality of knowledge becomes the organizing theme. Coloniality of being raises the difficulty of linking the genetic, the existential and the historical elements where being shows most clearly its colonial side and its fissures. Quijano (2000:533) says:

The codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered is the idea of race a supposedly different biological structure that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to the others. The conquerors assumed this idea as the constitutive ,founding element of the relations of domination that the conquest imposed ...the other process was the constitution of a new structure of control of labour and its resources and slavery, serfdom, small independent commodity production and reciprocity, together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market.

When people are colonized their humanity is questioned. Women were raped, dehumanized, abused and exploited during the colonial era. The blacks do not have ontological resistance from the perspective of the white minority. According to Fanon (1968:119) being black is not considered as being. Ellison (1999) refers to a being as a sort of an invisible entity. Coloniality



of being refers to the way in which the insensibleness of beliefs act as an inspirational opportunity for prejudice and creates a world in which exemptions to principled relationships become the model. The question to ask therefore is whether indigenization has managed to correct the thingification/objectification of human beings or it has perpetuated it. Indigenization has further increased economic inequality, and it has left people vending on the streets; which is dehumanization and marginalization. Indigenization has preached empowerment but on the other hand it has done completely the opposite.

The final conceptual tool will be coloniality of nature that views nature as a victim of modern development projects and I will use this lens to investigate the extent to which nature is preserved or compromised the development projects emanating from the practice of indigenization. Following indigenization; legal and illegal mining has been practiced, this perpetuated environmental degradation as land has been turned into gorges. Because of the blasting everywhere in search of minerals, this has seen nearby houses shaking and cracking. So, because of indigenization, nature has been affected negatively. Roads have degenerated because of heavy trucks, grazing land, especially in rural areas has been lessened because of artisanal mining.

## **2.5 Is Decoloniality Delinking?**

The Decolonial theory constitutes the scholarly work expressing a general rejection of Western European supremacy by colonial subjects. Vallega (2015) states that decoloniality is a kind of radical thinking that unmask the logic unfolding in western civilization from European renaissance to manipulate Africans' failure to align their history and ideological formation to dismantle the CMP or subordination of power. After the decolonization of the African continent there are a few who took over governments who retained some colonial aspects and mindset in direct opposition to the new breed of leaders against colonialism.

Up to now, the histories and memories of coloniality, and its relics in the form of scars of humiliation stand as a reminder of decolonial knowledge and political antics and of decolonial ethics. Decoloniality then means moving towards a vision where human existence is independent of the impositions of societal ideals by those in control. Modernity precisely subordinates the

oppressed. Therefore, decolonization of the mind should be the starting point. Decoloniality is the opposite of coloniality. The difference between decoloniality and other critical social theories is its locus of assertions and its origins, which is outside of Europe. It can be best understood as a pluriversal epistemology of the future –an emancipatory epistemology that seeks to delink from oppression of abstract universals (Mignolo 2007:159). The lenses of Decoloniality are being used here to investigate the extent to which a policy such as indigenization disrupts the continuity of coloniality in the economy of Zimbabwe

Decoloniality has become a seed that has to be sown successfully; for it to germinate there is need to alter the terms and the substance of the conversation. There is great need to speak our own mind, our own policies and our own realities. This demands a transformation of all the dominant concepts of knowledge and understanding and consequently, the meaning of political ethics political ethics, philosophy, technology and economy. Decoloniality involves delinking and for it to be a success story there is great need to delink from capitalism, communism and political economy. Delinking is saying you do not approve of the alternatives before you. That is the legacy of the Bandung conference; conference participants chose to delink neither communism nor capitalism; leaving decolonization as the only option. The success of the Bandung Conference was precisely in demonstrating that there was a possible alternative. Its limitation was that it remained in the confines of economic and political delinking. The third world was not invented by the people who inhabit the third world but rather by people and institutions originating in the first world.

Delinking is the opposite of adaptation; to adapt suggests that that one does not yet belong to that which they are adapting to. It does not make sense to consider adaptation within the frame one wants to adapt. It goes together with decolonial shift and the geo and body politics of knowledge providing both analytics for a critique and the vision toward a world in which many worlds can co-exist. Delinking in contemporary times shall be conceived as delinking from the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality. There is need to totally disconnect from western epistemology grounded in Latin and Greek and spread around the world through the European languages of modernity. If this is done, opportunities will arise for the restoration of all forms and principles of knowledge silenced, denigrated and repressed by modernity. Disconnecting

requires analysis of the making and remaking of the imperial and colonial differences and it requires visions and strategies for the implementation of border-thinking leading to decolonization of knowledge and of being. This means removing the anchor that has misled many into believing the normalcy effect.

Indigenization is a paradigm shift to get outside the conceptual and social prison of modernity/coloniality and understand colonized economies differently. No wonder why detaching is involved as there is need to get out of the economic prison Zimbabweans have lived in for years. This leads to decolonial epistemic shift and brings to the fore other epistemologies; other principles of knowledge and understanding and consequently other economies, politics and ethics. Decoloniality is a universal critical consciousness that arose and spread precisely out of limits of abstract universal will (Quijano 2007). It attempts to replace the current concepts and review themselves and present them as new (neo-liberalism, neo-Christianism, neo-Slavism, neo-Africanism, neo-Islamism, neo-Judaism, neo-Euro-centrism etc. Decoloniality unpacks the racist claim that only Europeans know others only mimic. It is an endeavor that to define and motivate the emergence of a global political society delinking from re-westernization and de-westernization. Therefore, it becomes part of the on-going search for a new base by the oppressed from which to catapult themselves into a human and inclusive new world order. More so, it is also a search to improve on the way in which the concepts of liberation and freedom are theorized and explained in contemporary times. Quijano (2007) states that decoloniality attempts to provide explanations of the actual experiences of people in geo-political locations who have suffered the consequences of modernity.

Ngugi WaThiong postulates that:

The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle in their unity in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves for instance with other people's languages rather than their own. It makes them identify with that which is decadent and

reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life. It even plants serious doubt about moral rightness of struggle. Possibilities of triumph or victory are seen as remote, ridiculous dreams; the intended results are despair, despondency and a collective death wish. Amidst this wasteland which it has created, imperialism presents itself as the cure and demands that the dependent sing hymns of praise with constant refrain theft is holy. Indeed this refrain sums up the new creed of neo-colonial bourgeoisie in many independent African states.

Decoloniality wipes away the odour of prejudice. It is genealogically traceable to those thinkers from the zones that have experienced the negative aspects of modernity. Cesaire (2000) says Decoloniality provides those previously colonized the opportunity to judge and expose the deceit and hypocrisy of their oppressors. Furthermore, it enables a retelling of the history of humanity and knowledge from the vantage point of the oppressed that suffered the injustices of modernity and allows them to articulate the appropriations, epistemicides, linguicides and denials of the humanity of other people as part of the story of science. Fanon (1997) says decoloniality is a larger project which encompasses both the colonized and the colonizer and therefore emancipation and liberation. Decoloniality turns the tables around and shifts the ethics and politics of knowledge. Healing colonial wounds is delinking, regaining pride, regaining dignity stripped by the words and actions of an oppressor who characterized others as lesser beings. Ndlovu–Gatsheni (2013:15) warns Africans to remain vigilant and avoid falling into the trap of normalizing and universalizing coloniality as a natural state of the world. Coloniality must be exposed, repelled and demolished because it produces a world order tainted by violence, hypocrisy, deception, and lies.

## CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 3.1 Introduction

Saunders (2000) defines a literature review as the foundation for research; its primary aim is to provide a background on what other authors have researched on the same topic. Rowley and Slack (2004:31) explain literature review as a summary of a subject field that supports the identification of specific research questions. Fink (2006:15) also describes literature review as an orderly and repeatable process of identifying, evaluating and interpreting the existing body of knowledge recorded in a range of sources documented by other researchers on a particular topic. In support of the above definitions, this literature review highlights the specific ideas, opinions and arguments that various authors and scholars have researched and documented pertaining to the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe. The literature review drew on and evaluated documented information and knowledge from academic journals and professional articles, books and internet-based resources in order to have a diverse and comprehensive collection of information on indigenization.

The literature review commences by reviewing definitions on problematic terms like “indigenization’ and “indigenous people”. It has been noted that definitions tend to vary between industries and sectors, between studies and across countries (Davidson, 1989). Authors or scholars do not necessarily agree on a single definition and no single definition can encapsulate all aspects of a topic. This will withstand the argument on the indigenization policy, criterion on selection of these indigenous people. This will shed more light on who these indigenous people are and an elaboration on their existence. All these questions will be answered below and this will bring more weight to the study. Elucidating on indigenous people will assist in coming up with the population/group that the indigenization policy targeted. This will then help to see whether it perpetuated decolonization in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the literature review will focus on the historical international experiences on indigenization. Indigenization did not start with Zimbabwe; several countries have implemented it and their experiences are diverse and there is great need review their experiences in the context of the Zimbabwean situation. In actual fact it is a comparison of other countries’ indigenization policies to that of Zimbabwe. This will bring out specific details regarding how they were implemented as well as their successes and failures. These case study countries have provided the thesis with valuable lessons on how to successfully

implement the indigenization policy. It explicates on what exacerbated their success and failure. This will assist in realizing if Zimbabwe has taken an accurate or inaccurate turn as far as indigenization is concerned. This will also help in evaluating how much has been achieved since independence and taking into considerations the impediments as well. This will then lead me to establish the impediments Zimbabwe is likely to face in its continued efforts to implement its indigenization policy, its chances of succeeding and identifying the key success factors to ensure that its intended goals and objectives are achieved.

### **3.2 Indigenous people**

Currently, no universally accepted definition of indigenous people exists. Definitions differ with political matter and circumstance surroundings. Intellectuals, such as, Freeman (2014:346-366), Matyszak (2014:1-1), Andreason (2010:134-138), Fisher (2010:140-153), Fisher (2010:140-153), Dunn (2009:113-127) and Muzondidya (2007:325-341) have gone an extra mile in deliberating on the issue of indigenous people. They have come up with attention-grabbing philosophies that have made it placid to tackle the issue of indigenous people. According to the Indigenization and Empowerment Act (chapter 14:33) of 2007 section 2 (1), an indigenous person is defined as any person who, before the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1980[Independence Day], was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race; and any descendant of such person and includes any company association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form majority of members or hold the controlling interest. The definition presets the criteria upon which individuals and potential beneficiaries of indigenization can be included or excluded. The definition qualifies any person who was discriminated against by the colonial regime to be an indigenous person. Following the racially discriminatory policies of the colonial regime government, this definition excludes clearly almost every white person and includes every black person. Minister of indigenization Zhuwawo made it clear when he viewed whites as previously over advantaged. He had this to say in regards to Indigenization:

“It is our turn now...That is what he said on Nehanda Radio 12/11/2015....Indigenization is a policy based on race that is a fact, it is a policy that explicitly seeks to give black people an advantage over white people and the justification is that white people have previously been over advantaged we need to be clear on that...I can put it in nice ways

...equitable access and so on but ndezvevanhu vatema ndizvozvo (it's for black people and that is that) and that is the bottom line..." Zhuwawo cited in Nehanda Radio 12/11/2015.

This interpretation of the definition was not what the legislature envisaged but it is certainly what clearly the Act makes provisions for such. The definition of indigenous becomes divergent to indigenization as the emphasis is more on addressing imbalances entrenched by past racially discriminatory policies rather than ownership and sovereignty. How will the past imbalances be corrected if the indigenous are not easily identifiable? The Zimbabwean indigenous people cannot be easily identified because of the poor way in which indigenous Zimbabwean was defined in the Act. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines indigenous as being born or produced and naturally belonging in a region (Concise Oxford Dictionary s.v indigenous). The whites stayed in Zimbabwe for almost a decade, which clearly shows that there is a generation that was born and produced naturally in Zimbabwe. Do they not qualify as well to be called indigenous? 90 years is a long period of time, some people were born, bred and were buried in Zimbabwe, no wonder now we have whites that are Zimbabwean citizens by birth. So being black does not qualify one to be indigenous as alluded to by the definition of indigenization. Zimbabwe's definition of indigenous is open ended in that it can refer to any person, it does not specify the nature of the disadvantage caused by racial discrimination; it could lead to someone who is not Zimbabwean who suffered outside the country before 1980 being classified as indigenous. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' rights (2005) states that indigenous people are often communities that have been subjugated, marginalized and excluded from mainstream social and economic spheres and have experienced discrimination because they have a different culture; that is, their way of life and manner of livelihoods differ from the national hegemonic and dominant model. Defining and identifying indigenous people is problematic as marginalization, exclusion and dispossession is invisible; it cannot be seen on one's face but it is an activity that happens and passes, thereby being very difficult to justify.

The issue of indigenous people dates back to the Rhodesian era. The Rhodesian Constitution of 1961 and 1969 provided for a racially divided colonial society separating Europeans and Africans. This was also reflected in local government structures and also sanctioned access to

economic assets and social services. However, the colonial constitution of 1961, does not address the question of indigenous people as it did not acknowledge neither Europeans nor Africans as the original inhabitants (Fisher 2010:132). Instead, the San (Bushman) were acknowledged as the original inhabitants even though they had already vacated the territory (Fisher 2010:32). This argument eliminates the debate on nativity between Europeans and Africans and relegates their status to that of immigrants and settlers having occupied the country after the original inhabitants had left (Beach 1980:4). According to Beach (1980:4) the debate is therefore, on who was the first to settle, between the Europeans and Africans rather than on the ownership of the territory. Both the Europeans and Africans (Ndebele and Shona) arrived at different times: the Shona arrived first during the first millennium AD; second to arrive were the Ndebeles during the mid-1800; and the Europeans arrived last in the later part of the century (Fisher, 2010:132, Beach, 1980:6-9). Whaley (1973:31) argues that the history of settlement in Rhodesia shows that it does not belong to one race but rather belongs to people of different origins and backgrounds. His argument then disputes the fact that the Shona are the rightful indigenous people as put across by the definitions provided.

According to Muzondidya (2007:333-334), the Zimbabwean government adopted the same racial classification that discriminated against minorities, such as non-indigenous Africans, Coloureds and Asians. Coloureds and Asians have regrettably been perceived as having aided and benefited from colonialism (Fisher, 2010:137). Ushewokunze (1984:15) argues that Asians and Coloureds had privileges that natives were denied and that they benefited from the discriminatory racial relations in the colonial economy. In recent years, Coloureds have challenged the ongoing discrimination exhibited by their exclusion from the national discourse and proclaimed their position as indigenous Zimbabweans. Speaking to the Coloured community in Bulawayo in 2013, Senator Aguy, C, Georgias said:

*“...We are Zimbabweans first and foremost. This is where we belong. We are therefore equal to all fellow Zimbabweans. We have no reason to feel different nor for that matter to want to be treated differently. It is however from our full integration with the rest of the Zimbabwean nation that we derive our national identity ...We now have a constitution in place which among other things says no longer must we suffer*



*discrimination to be called aliens in our own country of birth and to be denied access to bank loans to startup businesses...*” (Georgias cited in the Herald 04/06/2013).

The so called disadvantaged in the definition have to be able to prove how they were disadvantaged on racial grounds and their lack of previous access to economic activities which is quite difficult to do. It is very challenging to ascertain which groups of citizens were disadvantaged or privileged by historical circumstances of the colonial era. To justify the disadvantaged, I think those who stayed in the reserves, those who worked in mines and white farms; these are the rightful people to benefit from the indigenization policy. So, looking at the way the indigenization policy was implemented, none of the above mentioned people were taken into consideration, especially considering that buying shares wanted a minimum amount of US\$225, 000. If these mentioned class of people benefited they did so, from Community Shares Ownership Trusts in the rural areas.

According to the United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous People (2000), indigenous people constitute 5% of the world population comprising of over 370 million in 90 countries. Indigenous populations can be identified on using a variety of criteria, such as, self-identification and ascendancy, language, ancestral relations, and land possession amongst others. The Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) (1989) states that indigenous people in independent countries despite their legal status must be allowed to retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. The ILO (1989) further defines indigenous people as being those people who are descendants of the populations which inhabited the country or a geographical region to which the country belongs at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries. Martinez (1987) states that this definition is usually understood to have objective and subjective criteria. The objective criterion refers to the preservation of institutions established in pre-colonial era and the subjective criterion, which is the most important, refers to the self-identification as a member of an indigenous people.

Being indigenous is about nativism, race, citizenship rights and entitlements, and nationhood as articulated by Muzondidya (2007:325-333). In an open letter to President Mugabe in 2005, Ben Freeth (2011:249), highlighted that:

*“You will know though that the history of colonialism in Zimbabwe started more than a 1000 years ago first with the Bantu tribes of which you are part, moving from the north forcing the San people out then with Shaka Zulu forcing Mzilikazi out to the west of the Drakensberg mountains then the British forcing the Boers out of the Cape then the Ndebele destroying Boer trek parties coming from the south then with the Boers retaliating and the Ndebele forcing the Shonas to the north then with the Rudd and Lippert concessions and the various other agreements with the Shona chiefs where written legal history was made for the first time”* (Freeth, 2011p.248-9).

History as narrated by the ruling party has been discredited and rejected as a biased narrative designed to position ZANU PF as the authority on Zimbabwe’s history, presented and projected future (Tendi, 2008:379). The narrow definition of indigenous people promoted after the attainment of independence have arguably given rise to racist politics and exclusivist narratives, particularly with regards to ownership of resources (Andreason, 2010:135, Dunn, 2009:114, Muzondidya 2007:338). Muzondidya (2007:338) argues that the government departed from the reconciliation and inclusive nationalism approach adopted just after independence and shifted towards an exclusive nationalist and radical approach. The government’s description of indigenous Africans is deliberately rigid and exclusionary as it only considers *vanavevhu* (*abantwanabomuhlabati*) (sons of the soil) as the only group with rights to the country’s land and resources (Mudzengi, 2008:383). Joice Mujuru has been quoted making such utterances as, *“They (white farmers call themselves Zimbabwean. They are not, I am a Zimbabwean when will you learn Africa is for black Africans”* (quoted in Freeth, 2011).

In the same line, Philip Chiyangwa also advocated for the use of racial policies to address the discrimination suffered by blacks in the colonial era (The Hansard, 2000). The racial connotations intimated by the law have exposed it to bitter criticism based on the provisions of international and national laws that advocate for constitutional right of freedom from racial discrimination and other forms of discrimination including the right to equal protection under the law (Gwisai, 2011:25). Matyszak (2011:3) raises a query on the semantics surrounding the use of the term indigenous and argues that in the context of indigenization law, it is inappropriate and

oblique. The dictionary meaning and the meaning espoused in the regulations differ significantly suggesting the possibility of deliberately distorting the meaning to drive a political and racial agenda. Poor wording on the use of “any person” instead of “any Zimbabwean” has the effect of qualifying non-Zimbabweans as beneficiaries of the indigenization programmes. For example, any South African who suffered discrimination under the apartheid system before 1994 can be an eligible beneficiary to the local indigenization programme (Matyszak, 2011:3).

Mawere (2007:1) poses a very relevant question in one of his online commentaries on national policy issues when he asked “*Does indigenization threaten law of succession*”? The question obviously draws attention to the implications of the indigenization program on the law of succession. What will happen to black Zimbabweans married to whites who may qualify as beneficiaries of indigenization? Would their successors who may well be white be eligible to keep the rights and transfer them in line with succession laws with no risk of the state seeking to negotiate such rights on account of race? South Africa’s own definition of black people encompasses Indians, Coloureds and even Chinese. Descendants of Indian and Malaysian labour migrants and others from neighbouring countries who came to Southern Rhodesia in search of economic opportunities currently find themselves labeled as foreigners.

The definition of indigenous Zimbabweans as stated in the legislation omits local and state institutions yet state owned entities are critical for facilitating economic ownership and to maximize the distribution of benefits to local communities (Gwisai, 2011:42). However, the omission is not a genuine mistake but rather a calculated maneuver to support the establishment of an elitist class-based black bourgeoisie programme rather than a broad-based indigenization programme (Gwisai 2011:42). Compagnon (2011:193) explains that in the 1960s, the progression of many educated blacks was obstructed by the racially discriminatory policies of the Rhodesian government and, therefore chose to participate in nationalist politics to pave way for their social and economic progression. Paul Mangwana the then minister of Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Programme (2007) uttered that if any person in Zimbabwe as long as he can prove that he was disadvantaged he qualifies to be indigenous. In order to qualify as an indigenous Zimbabwean, a person is apparently required by definition in the Act to have actually suffered racial discrimination. How then are people supposed to prove themselves that they

qualify to be indigenous Zimbabweans? That statement is problematic and tricky at the same time. In the Bible the Israelites were in Egypt much longer compared to the duration white Europeans have been in Zimbabwe and yet they did not declare themselves as indigenous Egyptians. The Israelites' case is different from that of the Zimbabweans in that they were the foreigners but they were the subjects, excluded, marginalized and dispossessed. The Israelites embraced their heritage and acknowledged their material motive for coming to Egypt. Generations after generations were bred and they died in Egypt. How long does it take settlers or foreigners to become indigenous? We have exotic trees in our country that have stayed for decades but they are still called exotic. So, from all this information there is no way that a foreigner can turn to be an indigenous because he/she does not originate naturally from our country.

Other human races have migrated from one place to another and in the long run made their destination place their home. Despite making their destination their home, if they find inhabitants in that place they can never call themselves indigenous, as indigenous is a status of a people with some type of original claim to a place or cultural form such as indigenous music, food, etc. Why should a successful white Zimbabwean business owner born at or after independence be compelled to transfer 51% of their business to a black entrepreneur? What debt does a white Zimbabwean owe indigenous Zimbabweans or why should they shoulder the responsibility for empowering black Zimbabweans by losing their wealth and property? This has to be looked into as indigenization is being implemented. However, the biggest issue with the Zimbabwean indigenization policy is every white person was the perpetuator of injustice during colonial times, therefore they are not allowed to enjoy the fruits of the indigenization policy. Equitable means fair and just. I cannot see how the courts will conclude using law to force someone to surrender control of his business on the grounds of his racial membership. Is this fair or just; as he/she was historically disadvantaged by unfair racial discrimination. This policy appears to be driven by political objectives as its implementation cannot be justified in economic terms.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines indigenous as belonging to a place: originating in and naturally living, growing or occurring in a region or country (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2010 s.v indigenous). This suggests that the identities, cultures and livelihoods of

indigenous people are inextricably linked to the land they live on and the natural resources on which they depend. The indigenization definition is a bit problematic in that one has to prove how he was disadvantaged, how in practical terms can one prove that he/she was disadvantaged during colonial times. I think they should just have borrowed the Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary's definition and let indigenous be anyone originating in a country naturally despite being disadvantaged or marginalized. Their definition needs to be qualified as it raises a number of significant questions. But now the question remains, how do they identify or how do the disadvantaged identify themselves? What proof do they have that shows that there were disadvantaged? The question remains unanswered as one cannot prove that.

Dean (2010) affirms the above definitions clearly imply that previously disadvantaged people are blacks and clearly exclude whites and Asians as well as people of mixed race. South Africa's empowerment act mentioned clearly that it was for black empowerment, but unfortunately Zimbabwe's own is for indigenous, who then are these indigenous and who are those disadvantaged? Dean (2010) adds that the Act inadvertently promote the acquisition of shares of targeted companies by wealthy Zimbabweans to the exclusion of the poor. From the above then, will the indigenous afford to buy these shares? The disadvantaged, will they afford to buy those shares? A lot of questions have arisen due to their criteria of the indigenous. Sibanda (2010) says the definitions of Indigenous and indigenization are in fact racist. Sibanda's sentiments explicitize racism but still why not say black rather than indigenous. I am not sure what they really wanted to prove because if it is the indigenous they in a practical manner are unidentifiable.

### **3.3 Indigenization**

Indigenization has been defined as a process of decolonization; a moving away from practices that violate the emotional, intellectual, and physical and spirit levels (Wilson 2007). Batiste (2002:29) also defined indigenization as a process for both indigenous and non-indigenous people, which include cross-cultural learning and understanding. It has also been defined as a way of thinking and doing things in holistic manner and based on respect, reciprocity, recognition, reconciliation, empowerment, and consultation (Brayboy, 2006:429).The above

definitions, combined postulate that indigenization can be decolonization, delinking, epistemic disobedience or a radical way of thinking.

Batiste's (2002) definition on indigenization explicitly shows that both the non- indigenous and the indigenous have to be put into consideration. He disqualifies race, tribe, and colour as determinants that elect the criterion of indigenization. His argument is no person should be deemed special than the other. Everyone has been disadvantaged before especially during colonization. So, everyone has to partake in the indigenization demitasse. No aspect or quality disqualifies the other and qualifies the other. Thus, this definition of Indigenization clashes with the indigenization policy of Zimbabwe where only the disadvantaged and marginalized were the black bodies and not the white bodies. Bucheli and Decker (2002:1) interpret indigenization as the transfer of wealth from foreigners (often small or medium sized businesses) to local citizens. Adedeji and Ake (1981:31) define indigenization as the process by which government restricts the participation of alien entrepreneurs and business owners from participating in certain economic activities or a particular industry entirely and in some cases forcing them to sell to indigenous entrepreneurs. Adedeji and Ake (1981:3) highlights the four common forms of indigenization programmes implemented in post-independence Africa: (a) Indigenization of ownership: this is designed to transfer economic ownership to indigenous citizens either at individual or group level; (b) Indigenization of control: is focused on placing indigenous citizens into positions of board of directors to enable them to have control over the enterprises; (c) Indigenization of manpower: this is earliest form of indigenization and focused on pushing indigenous citizens in the workplace to replace expatriate staff, especially in the civil service. This was known as Africanisation of personnel; and (d) Indigenization of technology: this involves acquisition of foreign advanced technology and subsequently adapting it to suit African conditions. However, this practice has been criticized for perpetuating dependency of developing countries on the industrialized countries (Adedeji & Ake, 1981:31).

Most definitions that have come forward do not talk about racial discrimination and inequality, which often serve as the justification for indigenization. Hanafi (1981:55) adds indigenization of educational and cultural systems, and official languages. Owusu-Ansah (1981:133) further suggests that governments have also set up state economic institutions that complement, compete

or push out foreign owned enterprises. According to the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act (chapter 14:33) of 2007 indigenization is a deliberate programme of integrating indigenous Zimbabweans into the mainstream economy as a way of addressing the inequalities in resource ownership promoted in the colonial era. The above definition is the entry point to the thesis as it encompasses helpful and vital information linked to indigenization. It explains the main beneficiaries of the policy, and it also states why there was need for the indigenization policy to be enacted. Explicitly, it shows that before 1980 there was inequality, exclusion, subjection, marginalisation and non-ownership. The main argument regarding indigenization and empowerment is whether the current policy and legal framework promote broad-based economic empowerment in a constructive, non-disruptive and sustainable manner, and deliver value to current and future generations. There is general agreement on the need for and implementation of the empowerment programme. The major borne of contention is on the mechanism for the delivery of broad-based economic empowerment.

Prior attempts to address the historical issues, such as, racial and income inequality and the general marginalisation of the black citizens have not produced the desired results in post-independence Zimbabwe. The Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Programme was thus deemed to be a potential solution to these long standing problems. At Independence the Zimbabwean government acknowledged and protected the business interests of local white settlers and multinational corporations (Andreasson 2009:135) thus, perpetuating the racially inequality and its skewed income distribution patterns. The debate on indigenization and economic empowerment revolves around choosing between market-led and state-led development. To address the overwhelming economic control and dominance by white settlers and multinational corporations, government set up state owned enterprises to curtail their control in the economy (Zhou 2006).

Objectives of the indigenization policy are as follows:-

- 1) To economically empower the previously disadvantaged Zimbabweans by increasing mainly through economic expansion, their participation in the economy so as to create employment and eradicate poverty.

- 2) To create conditions that will enhance the economic status of the hitherto disadvantaged Zimbabweans by facilitating their contribution to and benefit from the economic development of the country.
- 3) To increase access to ownership of the productive assets of the country.
- 4) To promote the development of a competitive domestic private sector that will spearhead economic growth and development.
- 5) To develop a self-sustaining economy in which there are opportunities for all to attain better and satisfactory living standards (IEEA, 2008)

The above objectives were meant to counter the inequalities that existed during the colonial period. Literature explicitly shows that the economy was customized to benefit the white minority and deliberately confining the black majority to the margins of the country's economy; thus condemning them to abject poverty, unemployment and ultimately underdevelopment (Gaomab, 2004). This is the kind of economy that was inherited by the black government which was characterized by a gross inequality with patterns of income distribution and ownership of productive economic assets favoring predominantly white foreigners. At the centre of the fight for independence was a desire to fairly allocate the fruits of the national economy. Since independence, the government has passed numerous pieces of legislation to remedy colonial injustices. The decolonial path and motive is about healing the colonial wounds. Indigenization of the Zimbabwean economy is a good move as it will dismantle all the inequalities and irregularities that had been created during the colonial period. It is a door opener by the government towards fulfilling the promises of the protracted liberation struggle. Decoloniality includes and remaps the rational concept of emancipation. The Zimbabwean government's argument on enacting the indigenization policy hinges on the perception that the continued foreign domination of the economy is detrimental to the country's development given that the foreigners' lack of strong and permanent ties to the country (Government of Zimbabwe, 2010:16).

The Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act was meant to facilitate the transformation of blacks from being mere suppliers of labour and consumers to owners of productive resources with ability to meaningfully participate in the economy. The main purpose to the Indigenization



and Economic Empowerment programme is to economically empower the black Zimbabweans and insipid the dominant influence of foreigners and white Zimbabweans in the economy. This is part of a larger programme by the government to empower indigenous people, which started with the land reform program in the year 2000. This policy can be described as a national and all-encompassing programme designed to correct the historical disparities in the ownership and control of economic resources in Zimbabwe by increasing black participation at all levels of the economy; through job creation, management development and skills transfer; and implement specific measures to empower black women to enable them to access finance and conduct business. Indigenization is therefore broadly understood as both as a remedial and reconstruction strategy that post-colonial governments can utilize to ameliorate the plight of those who were marginalized by racially biased social and economic policies of the colonial era (Wilson, 1990). The indigenization policy is perceived as the avenue through which chronic poverty could be eliminated through the redistribution of wealth ownership from the white minority to the black majority. The policy has become central to sustainable economic development and represents a major step towards the fulfillment of economic self-determination by indigenous Zimbabweans. Healing of colonial wounds is decoloniality, where indigenization was retaining Zimbabwean pride and dignity that had been taken away by colonialism. Indigenization is redressing, rectifying and remedying the colonial imbalances as well as reconstructing, recreating, reenacting and modernizing a new economic system. So, in essence the indigenization policy theoretically wants to retain humanity and economic independence. Decolonial thinking is concerned with national equality and economic justice. Economic decoloniality of the economy involves altering the assumptions and principles regarding the economy in order to effectively change the terms of the conversations in the country. Indigenization policy of Zimbabwe changed the terms of the conversation thus, they changed coloniality to decoloniality, marginalization to de-marginalization, subjection to inter-subjection and inferior to superior. Indigenization is simply elevating the Zimbabweans from all the injustices they suffered under the white regime.

The indigenization agenda in Zimbabwe commenced with the land reform programme and the introduction of community and local shareholding in the mining and industrial sectors to facilitate economic transformation (Matunhu, 2012). However, although there were

commendable achievements in land reform, there were no significant ownership transfers to indigenous Zimbabwean in construction, mining, tourism, manufacturing and transport sectors (Masiwa, 2004). Makwiramiti (2011) states that although in the history of indigenization policies in Zimbabwe, it is the current indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act that explicitly contains the phrase indigenization in its name. The indigenization policy realized that Zimbabwean economic problems need Zimbabwean solutions and there is need to start industrializing and producing. Indigenization talks of autonomous philosophy and eradicates replication and drubbing of Western ideologies. Decoloniality is all about sovereignty and this is exactly what indigenization has to a certain extent tried to implement.

The Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Programme is a policy option that most countries that has experienced the social and economic marginalization of its people as a result of colonialism have had to consider. The dawn of independence in Zimbabwe raised the hopes of indigenous people who saw independence as liberation from their economic woes and poverty. There was significant pressure on post-independence governments to facilitate the complete decolonization process and transition to democracy accompanied by economic liberation. The state had a moral and legal obligation to facilitate the socio-economic development and empowerment of all citizens affected by the racially discriminatory policies under colonialism. Chowa (2013) acknowledges that historical injustices motivated indigenization. At the core of decoloniality is the idea of reconstructing the world in a manner that those previously colonized, enslaved and exploited can regain their ontological density, voice, history, land, knowledge and power. This is what indigenization in Zimbabwe has done it has remade, recreated and repossessed land and economic independence for Zimbabwe. The West are the builders and managers of the chaos indigenization is trying to clean up.

Independence did not bring much change in the Zimbabwean economy as people had hoped for. For most Zimbabweans, the only difference between pre and post-independence era is the change in their legal status. The socio-economic disparities from years of colonial rule required progressive policies to address these inequalities and create conditions for sustainable growth. The government made a commitment to improve the socio-economic well-being of its citizens and promulgated a number of legislative mechanisms and tools reduce foreign ownership while

simultaneously increasing local participation, ownership and control of the economic assets (Zhou, 2001; Roussos, 1987). Some of the early interventions in the first decade of independence included raising the minimum wage, subsidizing parastatals, expanding access to education and health and other social services as well as launching of an agricultural resettlement scheme (Roussos, 1987:5).

The indigenization programme is aimed at levelling the economic playing field to promote job creation and poverty eradication (Zhou, 2012:123). Statistics show that in 2010, approximately 63% of households in Zimbabwe were considered poor and a further 16% were categorized as living in extreme poverty (ZIMNSA, 2012:18). The programme of economic empowerment and indigenization in Zimbabwe is viewed as radical as the land reform programme and, as such, it is viewed as a litmus test for economic transformation and wealth redistributive policies for both former African colonies and the world over. The initial focus by the government at independence was to uplift the livelihoods of the all citizens, especially the poor in order to create a socialist and egalitarian society (Roussos, 1987:1). The above statement shows that indigenization wanted to create an equal society where neither exist the rich nor the poor. I would then liken the kind of society they wanted to create to the church mentioned in the book of Acts 4:32 which declares thus:

“Now the multitude of those who believed were of one heart and one soul, neither did anyone say that any of the things he possessed was his own but they had all things in common...nor was there anyone among them who lacked, for all who were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the proceeds of the things that were sold”.

Though such a society existed then but today it is very difficult for an egalitarian society to materialize. So, creating of an egalitarian society is a bit problematic, it might end up enriching the already wealthy and adding more poverty to the already impoverished. According to Mupazviriho (2011), indigenization is about partnership not expropriation, where all the citizens and foreign investors benefit from the proceeds of economic growth Anderson (2010) views the indigenization programme as part of the third Chimurenga, which is Shona word meaning the war of liberation. Mudariki (1994) concurs and characterize rises indigenization as a concoction

of with multiple meanings including being a weapon or banner, being an insult or a source of hope and inspiration. He goes on to say:

The struggle for black economic empowerment must be fought with the same tenacity like we did in the armed struggle ...We must establish, in my view a broad economic patriotic front, just as we did during the war to mobilize and champion the cause of black economic empowerment and development. This patriotic front must include our heroic women, the youth, churches, chambers of commerce. Non-Governmental Organizations consumers...political parties...trade unions, progressive individuals and cooperatives of course. Zimbabwe needs a rebirth; a new economic rebirth ...The issue of building an independent national economy run by indigenous people is not for the ruling party or the ruling president only. It is for everybody. It must be a national movement for economic liberation (Mudariki, 1994 p.234).

The Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act (2008) has been criticized as a controversial policy attracting disparagers and passionate supporters almost in equal measure. The government used the Act to facilitate wealth transfer from the rich to the poor by compelling foreign owned companies to cede their majority shareholding to indigenous Zimbabweans. However, the shares ended up being acquired elite and politically connected Zimbabwean. Considering the above information, scholars argue that indigenization in Zimbabwe has become a mechanism through which the elite syphon state resources and enable the ruling party to stay in power. Instead of being viewed as a genuine effort to eradicate poverty among previously disadvantaged Zimbabweans, the indigenization policy has also been perceived as political gimmick for vote buying by ZANU-PF to prop up its waning popularity (Financial Gazette, 2011:14). Policies designed to eliminate poverty should focus on addressing the root causes while simultaneously providing opportunities to increase their participation in economic activities. Block (2010:7) concurs with the political meddling in indigenization policy and further states that it is a populist and shortsighted programme that is endangering the country's economic prospects. As such, the policy is aiding the perpetuation of economic injustices of the past.

Magure (2014:22) argues that the ruling party generally uses state-led empowerment schemes to reward its supports in exchange for votes. Redistributive policies are thus being used to win elections alongside other unorthodox strategies, such as, violence and intimidation. Mugabe once said “*Let MDC supporters get allocated land in Britain where they have been getting pounds and politics. They cannot benefit from policies they have rejected and even opposed*” (Mugabe quoted in Magure, 2014:22). Matondi (2012:91) validates Mugabe’s statement by highlighting that the land reform programme was guided by identity politics and was exclusively designed to benefit supporters of the revolutionary ZANU-PF. The politics of exclusion have introduced the dichotomies of patriots/sell-outs and heroes/villains in determining who benefits from the indigenization policy (Magure, 2014:22). Mugabe (2001) was quoted as saying:

The MDC should never be judged or characterized by its black trade union face ...it is immovably and implacably moored in the colonial yesteryear and embraces wittingly or unwittingly the repulsive ideology of return to white settler rule...It is a counter revolutionary Trojan horse contrived and nurtured by the very inimical forces that enslaved and oppressed our people yesterday.

The portrayal of opposition in negative light serves to justify the various kinds of politically punitive measures, ranging from state-sponsored violence, arbitrary imprisonment to general exclusion of opposition supporters from beneficial public programmes (Uwizeyimana and Cloete, 2014:71-72). Kasukuwere “*Our people, our ZANU PF supporters will benefit and become empowered through this programme*” (The Africa report, 2011).

Critics in Zimbabwe and globally are skeptical about the indigenization programme and fear that the focus on black empowerment may be a guise meant to mask the looting of the country’s resources by the political elites (Zimbabwe Independent, 2010:7). Block (2010:9) postulates that the indigenization policy in its present design and structure will not bring the anticipated broad-based empowerment benefits. Investors to begin with can never be prepared to lose 51% of their companies, only a few elite who are politically connected seem to be benefiting without the benefits accruing to the ordinary black Zimbabweans. The Indigenization policy should not be

about self-enrichment, it should not disrupt the functioning of the economy as this will further impoverish the citizens for whom the programme was designed to benefit.

Taylor (1999:258), cited in Selby (2006:253) contends that Zimbabwe's prominent black business people have close ties with the government; their journey to wealth is suspicious; they pay allegiance to the ruling party and, therefore, pose no political threat; and are likely to inherit the political system that enriched them. Influential indigenous business people at the helm of empowerment and affirmative action-oriented institutions, such as, AAG, IBDC, indigenous business women's organization (IBWO), and the indigenous commercial farmers union (ICFU) have massively and disproportionately benefited from indigenization programme. Prominent beneficiaries of indigenization include: Philip Chiyangwa, Roger Boka and Jane Mutasa. The benefits of indigenization were extended only to business people and entrepreneurs in the black community through a patronage network supported by the state.

A local businessman, Strive Masiyiwa struggled to get a telecommunications license for 5 years but Leo Mugabe got it in months. He also got a lot of controversial tenders. Chiyangwa says, "I am rich because I belong to ZANU PF. If you want to be rich like me you must join the ruling party" (Daily News, 05/06/2000). Matondi (2012:15) further observed that in recent years an elite of politicians, business people and leaders of lobby groups advocating for indigenization have accumulated massive personal wealth while paying lip service to the indigenization of the economy. Matondi (2012:15) also noted that these elites were in perpetual conflict between personal enrichment and championing broad-based economic empowerment.

The indigenization policy does not make provisions for the stated 51% objective; the law does not compel foreign-owned businesses to be minority shareholders in business contracts with indigenous Zimbabweans (Matyszak, 2011). The policy is not clear on the nature of benefits that the programme is expected to deliver to the rural poor. The requirement for the acquisition of 51% stake is applicable to foreign-owned businesses with a net value of or above US\$500 000, which means in order for one to acquire shares capital of US\$255 000 is required (Matyszak, 2011). This information is absurd; where will disadvantaged people get that kind of money? Hancock (2011) indicates that the 51% objective by government is against international

accounting standards which stipulate that the government, as the new owner, should demonstrate the capacity to raise the necessary funds to keep the company's balance sheet healthy. This policy effectively prevents foreign investors from investing where their shareholding is politically determined and their property rights not guaranteed. From what I have seen and observed as a human being, whites do not tolerate to be dominated especially by blacks. They see themselves as superior, the blue blooded, the loftier, and born to rule bodies.

Furthermore, indigenization is a defective and reverting policy; it is a policy that rewards people based on their political affiliation. It is a personal enrichment exercise and a very devious product of xenophobia. It teaches people to reap where there did not sow; it is a natural human tendency to squander harvest without sowing. Government should let local businesses to compete with foreign businesses; this would help for example every business would want to provide the best service. In actual fact indigenization policy has yielded very little positive benefits in practice as will be shown in the following chapters of this research. In fact, the policy has damaged the country's reputation and destroyed the confidence of international investors. The indigenization programme is both a political and economic mechanism for addressing the inequalities of the past through promoting wealth redistribution. Indigenization policy of Zimbabwe from the literature provided above has done little in practice; it has got a bigger devious part compared to the accomplishment of its objectives. It has not lived to what people expected when it was introduced.

### **3.4 International experiences on indigenization**

The Four Asian Tigers; which are: Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan have undergone rapid industrialization and have been celebrated as they managed to maintain an exceptionally high growth rate (Vogel, 1991). By the twenty-first century they had developed into advanced and high-income economies; Hong Kong and Singapore have become leading international financial centres; and South Korea and Taiwan are world leaders in information technology manufacturing (Page, 1994). He goes on to say that their success has been credited mostly to the industrial estates that they set up which attracted foreign investments to the countries with tax incentives (Page, 1994). These countries minimized or used hands off approach on external debt.

South Korea became independent in 1945 and implemented a land reform programme and invested heavily in farmers (SBC, 2015). It has also managed to invest aggressively in SMEs. This has been credited to the success of its indigenization policy. Heavily investing on farmers is helpful as this will curb the issue of idle farms. This is one good example which shows that with determination and the right factors implemented correctly indigenization can be a success. From the above, one lesson to be learnt on their success is there is need to set up tax incentives that attract foreign investors. Zimbabwe has to invest in farming and Small and Medium Enterprises just like the new worlds did. The main problem with Zimbabwean indigenization policy is its tax incentives are not eye-catching to the investors. The question therefore to be asked is how foreign investors can plunge into Zimbabwe when there is no clear agreement among ourselves? These experiences are there for Zimbabwe to learn.

The Indigenization policy has been implemented in several countries including the following: Norway, India, Japan, China, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, France, Italy, Austria, Singapore, USA, and Canada (Karabay, 2018:218). The secret of their success was in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) where investors considered joint ventures with the local investors based on the local economic context and investment needs, to ensure longevity of FDI in the host country. Foreign Direct Investment promotes job creation, economic growth and development (UNCTAD, 2014). Below I have given examples of international and African countries that implemented indigenization and what the outcome was.

### **3.4.1 Middle East UAE**

Their approach to local ownership in economic activities was a bit different. Most Middle Eastern governments focused on protecting local entrepreneurs and domestic enterprises through restriction of foreign ownership of companies operating in the oil and gas, and construction industries. Foreign investors were also prohibited from ownership of real estate outside designated areas. Further measures were taken to limit their shareholding in local companies, for example, United Arab Emirates' local ownership restriction is 51% (Austvik, 2012). Zimbabwe has to learn from the UAE that it is vital to locally restrict ownership on some of the goods for example land, gold, diamond and chrome.



The federal companies' law applies to all commercial companies established in the United Arab Emirates and to branch offices of foreigners operating in the United Arab Emirates. Companies established in the United Arab Emirates are required to have a minimum of 51% United Arab Emirates national ownership. Profits may be apportioned differently and often are negotiated at fixed amounts (Austvik, 2012). Branch offices of foreign companies are required to have a national agent unless the foreign company has established its office pursuant to an agreement with the federal or an emirate government (Grayson, 2010). All general partnership interest must be owned by United Arab Emirates nationals. To comply with the local ownership restrictions, a foreign investor is often required to have a local sponsor for the target company and in case of a branch office, appoint a local registered agent.

In order to circumvent some of the challenges of the local ownership restriction, foreign investors often enter into nominee arrangements with the target company's local partners and shareholders. This practice enabled the investor to acquire an economic ownership of shares in the target company above the allowed registered shareholding threshold. According to the World Bank (xxxx), the United Arab Emirates statutory requirements for partnership with local businesses actually impede higher levels of investment. Government tendering is also not transparent and re-tendering often occurs. In order to tender on federal projects, a supplier or contractor must be either a United Arab Emirates national or a company in which United Arab Emirates nationals have a majority shareholding or have a local agent or distributor (Austvik, 2012). Unlike other cases above, United Arab Emirates require that all new firms should have local partners.

### **3.4.2 India**

After independence in 1947, Indian planners and policy makers felt pushed for policies geared towards the protection of domestic economy. This indigenous economy can be traced back to Mahatma Gandhi's special concern for handicrafts and village based industries (Math, 2006 p.10). The Indian state played a central role in the industrial and economic development of the country resulting in a dominant public sector and heavily regulated private sector. Certain industries were reserved for the public sector and the private sector was controlled so as to

channel investment into desired sectors. India also followed a policy of import substitution by supporting indigenous production and discouraging imports through probative measures including import licensing, restrictions on quantitative and exorbitant tariff rates. Thus for the first four decades after independence the domestic economy was highly protected. The Industrial policy of 1991 was introduced (Math, 2006:10) to promote and strengthen small village industries. Besides affecting changes in investment limits and equity participation up to 24% by other undertakings, a new scheme of integrated infrastructure development for small scale industries with the participation of state government and financial institutions was initiated. The policy also made provisions for establishment of industry associations to offer counseling and common testing facilities and to pursue a reoriented programme of modernization and technological development aimed at improving productivity, cost effectiveness and efficiency in the small scale sector.

The small scale sector was viewed as the centre piece in employment creation, and poverty alleviation and as such was highly protected. Up to 800 products were reserved for exclusive production by small scale units and some of the products manufactured were also reserved for purchase by government agencies. Other protectionist mechanisms included input price concessions like lower interest rates, exercise duty exemptions and other tax concessions. Some of the products large firms were barred from producing include pencils, candles, boot polish, shoes, toys and garments. This move helped East Asia to create millions of jobs, reduce competition and protection of local labour. In the post reform period, the government took steps to relax some of the restrictions to stimulate foreign investment and exports. A new ministry of small-scale industries and Agro and Rural industries was created on October 14 1999 to provide focused attention and support on small scale industries. .However, a review of the protectionist policy 40 years after its promulgation recommended that the reservation of products for small scale sector be abolished as this was found to be largely ineffective in supporting the growth of small businesses.

From 2001, the government started de-listing products from the reservations list ring fenced for manufacturing by small scale industries and instead provided support in the form of fiscal and tax incentives and access to credit. The government has implemented various initiatives to

support the development of small scale industries which involve product reservation, fiscal concessions, preferential allocation of credit–rationing framework, extension of business and technical services, preference in government procurement, marketing assistance including export promotion by institutions such as National Small Industries Corporation, Small Industries Development Organization, Handicrafts and Handloom Promotion Corporation and Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Additional support is provided by the government through the preferential purchase by the Central and State Purchase and price preference of up to 15% in case of selected products.

Collaborative relations between small, medium and large scale businesses are well established through subcontracting arrangements. In China, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Philippines and Sri Lanka there are no reservations for the garment industry and yet the small–scale units are thriving. Thus, government’s policies should focus on strengthening and promoting collaborative efforts rather than keep them apart through protectionism. To note in the above case study is that protectionism does not make industry grow, but small scale sectors have to thrive on their own in the competitive market. Thus, the Zimbabwean indigenization policy has to invest heavily in these small sector units to broaden the industry.

A national programme was established to boost rural industrialization with a target to set up 100 rural clusters annually. Production increased and the level of output went up, exports went up by nearly 40 times over a period of 2 decades (Math, 2006:13). The small scale industries continue to play a significant role in employment creation and industrial production and contribute significantly to Gross Domestic Product and export promotion (Math, 2006:15). Observing the way India implemented its indigenization policy, if Zimbabwe adopts the noble lessons they will absolutely push the country’s economy to a better levels.

### **3.4.3 United States of America**

America’s criticism of Zimbabwe’s land reform and the indigenization policy and the imposition of economic sanctions on the country stand in sharp contrast to what it did itself; a British colony and as a young independent country. According to South Korean academic and economic historian who teaches at Oxford University in the UK Ha Joon Chang, the USA had a terrible

record in its dealings with foreign investors. From its earliest days of economic development right up to the First World War, the USA was the world's largest importer of foreign capital but there was considerable concern in the country over absentee management by foreign investors. Chang recalls the US's federal government strongly regulated foreign investment. Non-resident shareholders could not vote and only American citizens could become directors in a national bank. This meant that foreigners and foreign financial institutions could only buy shares in US national banks if they were prepared to have American citizens as their representatives on the board of directors, thus discouraging foreign investment in the banking sector. There were also strict regulations on foreign investment in natural resource industries. Many state governments barred or restricted investment by non-resident foreigners in land. In 1887 Federal Alien Property Act was enacted to prohibit the ownership of land by aliens or by companies more than 20% owned by aliens in the territories where land speculation was particularly rampant. Federal mining laws also restricted mining rights to non-US citizens while allowing companies incorporated in the US. In 1878 a timber law permitted only US residents to log on to public land. Despite all these extensive and often strict controls on foreign investment the USA was yet the largest recipient of foreign investment throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the same way that strict regulation of transnational corporations in China has not prevented a large amount of foreign direct investment from pouring into that country in recent decades. This flies in the face of the belief that foreign investment regulation is bound to reduce investment flows.

In Japan the Minister of international trade and industry orchestrated an industrial development programme that has now become legendary. Imports were tightly controlled through government measures restricting the use of foreign exchange. Exports were promoted in order to maximize the supply of foreign currency needed to buy better technology (machinery or technology). Foreign investment was banned in most key industries, even when it was allowed there were strict ceilings on foreign ownership usually a maximum of 49% much like Zimbabwe is currently instigating with its own indigenization policy (Chang, 2006). Foreign companies were required to transfer technology and buy specified proportions of their inputs locally. The government took it upon itself to regulate the inflow of technologies to make sure that overly obsolete or overpriced technologies were not imported.

France launched indicative planning and took over key industries through nationalization and channeled investment into strategic industries through state owned banks. To help the new industries to grow, the government imposed industrial tariffs and maintained them at a relatively high level until 1960 (Chang, 2006). This led to a great transformation into a technological leader in many areas. China used high import tariffs to build up its industrial base. It has also used heavy state intervention and an enlightened state owned enterprise strategy to grow its economy to a point where it is now an economic superpower vying for global domination with the more established big players. Finland, Norway, Italy and Austria were all backward at the end of the Second World War and saw the need for rapid industrial development. They used strategies similar to those of France and Japan to promote their industries. All of them had relatively high tariffs until the 1960s (Chang, 2006). Finland heavily controlled foreign investment while in many parts of Italy, local governments provided support for marketing and research and development to small and medium sized firms in their localities. In Finland Chang (2006) says it took Nokia 17 years to earn any profit from its electronics subsidiary which is now one of the biggest mobile phone companies in the world. Singapore's airlines have become one of the world's best and it is a state owned enterprise; 57% controlled by Temasek the holding company whose sole shareholder is Singapore's Ministry of Finance. Virtually all land in Singapore is publicly owned and around 85% of housing is provided by the government of housing development board.

#### **3.4.4 Malaysia NEP**

Malaysia is probably the best known and most studied example of a concerted affirmative action policy undertaken in the positive sector of an economy and has proved that indigenization of an economy is hard to achieve even in the context of high growth and employment (Johnson, 1981). It has been a good example for a good comprehensive affirmative action programme that was successfully implemented and at the same time vigorously addressing imbalances of the economy in the past. It is like Zimbabwe in terms of inequality after independence since economic power was in the hands of the minority. The case of Malaysia is similar to that of Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa where the end of colonialism left the indigenous Bumiputera at the periphery of the Malaysian economy. In such a case this is a strong

and compelling case for affirmative action to achieve broader economic participation by previously marginalized groups which can lead to poverty reduction and equitable wealth distribution (Business Council of Zimbabwe, 2011p.17).

Malaysia introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970 which aimed at improving the economic outlook whilst redressing the colonial imbalances in the economic wealth distribution among the Bumiputeras, other Malaysians and foreigners (Abdulla, 1997). The World Bank (2003) complements the New Economic Policy as one of the success stories of a developing country and an economic miracle of East Asia. This was in context of high and sustained economic growth for many years. Malaysia implemented a comprehensive indigenization programme without compromising job creation or economic growth, but with unintended consequences including corruption and the large scale emigration of non-Bumiputera Malaysians (Adrian, 2009).

New Economic Policy was an ambitious programme of social engineering aimed at redistributing wealth among ethnically diverse groups eradicating poverty and restructuring society (Abdullah, 1997 p.2). New Economic Policy sought to attain national unity by achieving inter-ethnic economic parity between the predominately Malay Bumiputera (sons of the soil) and predominately Chinese non-Bumiputera. The government had to increase Bumiputera corporate equity ownership to 30% by 1990 with the emergence of a full-fledged Malay entrepreneurial community within one generation (Siddique and Surgadinata, 1981). New Economic Policy's objectives were poverty reduction irrespective of race or ethnicity and restructuring society in order to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of economic function. Society restructuring was meant to eliminate the identification of race with economic function and location for example Malays were known as paddy cultivators, Indians as rubber tappers and Chinese as businessmen (Abdullah, 1997 p.3).

During the colonial times, the indigenous Malaysians were largely confined to employment in fishing and rice farming as most Zimbabweans had to work on white farms and mines. New Economic Policy aimed at enabling the indigenous Malays to be employed in higher grade industries and more professional occupations (Torii, 1997 p.215). I applaud New Economic

Policy for managing to do this for the indigenous people. Zimbabweans despite the introduction of the indigenization policy, educated Zimbabweans are still wailing in abject poverty. The Malaysian government set as its goal; the increase in equity ownership share of Malays to 30% by the end of the 2 decades within which the New Economic Policy was to run (Torii, 1997 p.211). New Economic Policy improved to a certain extent the lives of the Bumiputera. New Economic Policy did not bring about Bumiputera control of the economy as per the intentions of its planners, but it did result in the Malay economic presence being strongly felt and recognized in the country (Shamsul, 1997 p.256).

New Economic Policy managed to create Malays who are learned and knowledgeable, sophisticated, honest, disciplined, trustworthy and competent (Mohammad cited in Shamsul, 1997 p.256). They have now become heads of departments, scientists, actuaries, nuclear physicists, surgeons, experts in the field of medicine and aviation, bankers and corporate leaders who are now influential and competitive at home, in the region and abroad (Shamsul, 1997 p.256). Employment restructuring was achieved and poverty rate was reduced to 18% by 1984 and 17% by 1987 from 40% in 1970 (Abdullah, 1997 p.21). Government invested heavily in education and training as a way of transforming the economic fortunes of the Malay; 20% of all loans made by commercial banks were to be made to Bumiputera. Preference was given to Bumiputera in the issue of licences or permits pertaining to logging, saw milling, timber exports, vehicle importing, mining, banking, finance, insurance, transport, tin and rubber dealing.

In addition to the above, Rasiah and Sharia (2001) say through preferential policies the state was able to increase Bumiputera employment in the public sector and stimulate increased participation in the manufacturing sector; thereby succeeding in their efforts to restructure the occupational identification of identity. It also attracted foreign investors by introducing the Investment Incentives Act of 1968 and the Free Trade Zone Act 1971 with a package of incentives for investors (Torii, 1997 p.220). Investors need attractive policies and packages for them to trickle in a country. Zimbabwe could not provide investors with that no wonder their indigenization policy ended up chasing away investors instead of the opposite happening. The New Economic Policy of Malaysia improved the countryside of Malaysia and raised income for Malaysia as well as reducing poverty levels substantially. Poverty level which was 49% in 1969

was reduced by 44.9% in 2001 to 2.2% in 2012 (Roslan, 2001). Malaysia managed to achieve sustained growth of about 6% per annum growth for the past 50 years and maintains a large external reserve (Giddens, 1999). The success of Malaysia lies in the fact that the country sought to privatize state entities, expand sources of wealth while mild on taking or reallocating existing wealth (Saruwatari, 1991).

Roslan (2001) avers that the New Economic Policy programme was successful in lifting income which empowered the countryside of the Malay also to moderated shortage from 49% in 1961 to 16% by 1990 then an additional decrease to 5.1% in 2001. New Economic Policy can be regarded as a successful empowerment policy since it is embedded in the rules and laws of the country also highlighting that the empowerment programs were made to fit into the diverse populations of the country which then further helped the program to have positive results. Signam (2003) points out that while there was widespread resentment at the time of implementation, many non-Bumiputera Malaysians especially the ethnic Chinese Malaysians were supportive of the Bumiputera policy and this policy has generated remarkable success in achieving a more stable distribution of economic power in Malaysia.

Despite extensive policy efforts to increase indigenous ownership, programmes aimed at transforming Malaysian economy have had limited success with most of the benefits accruing to a small elite (Strange, 1996). From literature it shows that this is where Zimbabwe's own indigenization policy lost focus; on enriching only a few politically connected. Rural laborers like estate workers, mine workers and contract laborers employed in public works and land development were flouted by New Economic Policy. Managers of the New Economic Policy had little time for this proletariat class; they remained obsessed with and favored the rich Malay corporate players and the new Malay middle class (Shamsul, 1997 p.252). Inequality worsened even as the economy registered impressive growth. The rich got richer and the poor got poorer especially among the Malays (Shamsul, 1997 p.230). This also was a problem in Zimbabwe where the gap between the rich and the poor widened even more. New Economic Policy created politically connected entrepreneurs; they would only secure contracts and licences because of connections with the ruling party. Policies lose value because of corruption and this is a disease that is very difficult to cure in many countries. They would get contracts and subcontract the



Chinese and get a percentage from the Chinese for literally doing nothing. You had to be a politician to make money (Shamsul, 1997:248). Resentment of the policy grew from the deprived and such resentment led to emigration, capital flight and mobilization at various times (Jomo and Hui, 2007:2).

Zimbabwe has not been able to attract significant Foreign Direct Investment inflows despite the fact that the country is rich in minerals that include gold, platinum and diamonds that normally attract resource seeking Foreign Direct Investment inflows. ZimStats (2013) mentions that investment promotion and facilitation by the Zimbabwean investment centre has been relatively unsuccessful in enticing foreign investors. Katrak (1983) describes indigenization policy as a prerequisite that the host country requires on foreign investors to share ownership with indigenous investors. Biti (2013) in support of the above says the lack of fixed investment has led to sluggish economic growth and high levels of unemployment. The above are international examples of countries that incepted the indigenization policy and this gives an insight on what Zimbabwe has to adopt, what it is doing wrong and where it has to correct, to eliminate triviality, narrowness and biasness. On the other hand, a policy that works in another country might not in the other due to different implementation strategies and circumstances surrounding it. Looking at the above countries, a strategy that worked in Malaysia is not the one which was used in United Arab Emirates. The truth remains that if you copy a book of an intelligent person you will definitely pass that particular test. This is for Zimbabwe to take up the lessons and implement them correctly. As a result of strategies implemented by Norway, its citizens are amongst the wealthiest in the world.

In the following paragraphs I give examples of African countries that have implemented indigenization. By so doing, this will help me to compare the international countries and the African countries' indigenization policies as well as draw lessons for Zimbabwe whether it should do it the African way or the European, American or Asian way. Zimbabwe has to draw quite a number of lessons from the Malaysian case study; with determination, fortitude, grit, perseverance and diligence, a better result comes out. From the above examples, it shows that when indigenization was implemented in these countries (Norway, Austria, America, Japan, India and Malaysia) it was not a walk in the park; they had to go through hitches to achieve an

indigenous economy that gives back to their communities. Zimbabweans likewise should not expect it to be easy. Indigenization is achieved in stages as it is a process. The Bumiputera who were the poorest were left a lot better after indigenization. With all the strategies put in place, Zimbabwe will uplift the living standards of the poor and eradicate unemployment.

### **3.4.5 Tanzania**

Tanzania after attaining Independence under the leadership of Julius Nyerere also engaged in indigenization using a socialist approach. His belief was that rebuilding the African states rested on the willingness of African nations to break free from neo-colonialism by embracing self-reliance (Coulson, 1982). The Arusha Declaration was introduced in 1967 (Bigsten, 1999). Despite all it did, Tanzania remains so poor and has ordinary citizens. Poverty reduction and general human development have been slow as related to other African countries (Bigsten, 1999). Corruption; which is so rampant in African states, also became a limitation to their success on indigenization. Tanzania's indigenization policy failed first because they relied much on foreign aid, but Adam (1999) maintains that it later helped them as the incomes of citizens were improved. The above shows that while foreign investments may be necessary to spur economic growth, this may further entrench colonialism. It is suggested that Tanzania's economy benefited significantly from foreign aid. For example, there was a marked reduction in the country's fiscal imbalances; the economy was liberalized; foreign currency trading in the black market was reduced and ultimately stopped; and the exchange rate was unified. Tanzania took a different approach on indigenization, but her own indigenization policy was weak because of foreign interference.

Tanzania has shown that with foreign aid it is difficult to make it economically. One intellectual once said you cannot give fish to someone everyday but you have to teach them to catch the fish by themselves. So aid is like being spoon fed and spoon-feeding maims a person. This aid mostly has a string of terms and conditions that refute flexibility of a country as indigenization directs on being sovereign and independent completely. A country has to be independent and not dependent. When colonies sought independence, it was independence socially, economically and politically. There is no logic when you go back to the country that was your former colonizer and ask for help, it is questionable help that will disenfranchise you.

### **3.4.6 South Africa BEE**

Apartheid in South Africa marginalized the black population by restricting access to participation in the mainstream economy resulting in the majority of blacks being confined to abject poverty. Development in black communities lagged behind the white communities due to racially discriminatory policies. Restrictions on black labour movement confined black people to menial and unskilled jobs with no opportunity to transition to the skilled or semi-skilled positions (Fleiser and Gumede, 2004). Black people were typically allowed to occupy only those positions that were deemed unsuitable for whites thereby making black people subservient to the white industrialists. The apartheid government deliberately created a dual educational system that favoured the whites while providing inferior education to blacks ensured that they remain unskilled and confined to menial jobs in the economy (Fleiser and Gumede, 2004). South Africa's history is like that of Zimbabwe in that their apartheid policies are similar to those that were enacted during the colonial period.

The apartheid education system created insurmountable challenges for black people (Biko, 1978). Ramaphosa (2004) alludes that empowerment program is critical and necessary to reverse the economic disempowerment of blacks that occurred over more than a century. Political power was handed over to the blacks but economic power stayed within the white minority. In South Africa there were no compulsory seizures of white property and assets as happened in Zimbabwe even though there was wealth redistribution programmes to redress past inequalities. However, the economic inequalities have remained intact and white monopoly capitalists continue to run the economy while land ownership remains skewed towards the white minority (Brown, 2014).

Mbeki (2009) argues that the Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa was formulated by prominent economic oligarchs and white business tycoons with control in the strategic and productive sectors , such as, finance, engineering and chemical industries and mining. The economic empowered programme kept the economic control by the elite white capitalists intact and simply added the new black economic elite to this group. Black Economic Empowerment is considered as a wealth redistribution initiative designed to redress the racial injustices of the apartheid era. In addition, Black Economic Empowerment was intended to promote the

economic recovery of the South African economy after decades of economic and trade sanctions imposed during the apartheid era (Decker, 2004). Ultimately, the Black Economic Empowerment is meant to promote a non-racial society in South Africa by undoing the racial inequalities of the past (Biko, 1978); The majority of African countries detest economic control by foreign or private owned businesses in favour of local control and ownership of the economy and its resources. The economic dominance and control by the private sector minimizes the paradigms of nationalization and indigenization in favour of market-led monetary policies (Jackson et al, 2005). Empowerment programs in South Africa do not seek to exterminate foreign businesses. Instead, the objective of the Black Economic Empowerment policy is to integrate black people into the mainstream economy through enabling the transfer and control of shares from white people to black people (Chimhandamba, 2008). It was the opposite with that of Zimbabwe; South Africa sought incorporation of blacks into white business while Zimbabwe sought renouncement.

However, the attainment of democracy in 1994 has seen South Africa undergo a serious restructuring with black economic empowerment. Black Economic Empowerment has been embraced as a broad-based initiative with a direct impact on national and international companies operational in South Africa. The principal goal of the economic empowerment initiative here is to bridge the racial and social divide created by the apartheid regime through supporting the economic progression of blacks (Sanchez, 2008). Nonetheless, the critics of the Black Economic Empowerment policies state that these have benefited a few individuals. The difference between South Africa's Black Economic Empowerment initiative and Zimbabwe's indigenization programme is that the indigenization of Zimbabwe does not incorporate whites but rather it eliminates and secludes the whites.

At the dawn of democracy in 1994, correcting the racially skewed economy became one of the African National Congress' (ANC) priorities. This led to changes in shareholding in white owned businesses as black investors also became shareholders. However, land ownership remains in the hands of whites with less than 7% of land having been transferred to black owners and communities. Unfortunately, the bulk of this land remains unused due to lack of capital and skills among the new owners. A new class of black capitalists has emerged as a result of the

empowerment drive even though the majority of black South Africans remain poor with limited employment opportunities. Social and economic inequalities remain visible and the broad-based empowerment remains elusive. In Zimbabwe, the rhetoric of indigenization and black empowerment got entangled with targeting whites and their businesses, while in South Africa the empowerment rhetoric has become increasingly racial and divisive. South Africa has failed to reach where Malaysia was able to. Freund (2007) points out that while creating elite may involve enriching a small number of blacks, it is probably a necessity given the propensities of what remains of the established “embedded elites” of the past. Black Economic Empowerment policy has rather transferred and not transformed, it has not developed domestic demand or created new markets to grow the economy (Motlanthe, 2004).

Southall (2007) states that most aspiring black businesspersons and entrepreneurs in the early 1990s were “capitalists without capital”. According to De Klerk (2005), equal education was a key requirement for the stability that would be ushered in by empowerment and economic growth as this would empower blacks to get better opportunities and jobs. The move has enabled up to 60% of the blacks to be enrolled into universities. Crouch (2004) echoes the sentiment that the government succeeded in passing the Black Economic Empowerment policy to rectify socio-economic discrimination of apartheid. The key objectives were directed at black ownership, management and control of the country’s economy (DTI, 2003). Over a 10 year period between 2007 until 2017, a sizeable proportion of blacks have benefited from the economic empowerment. The original Black Economic Empowerment program was heavily criticized for benefiting politically connected individuals. This ran contrary to the notion that the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment was meant to upgrade the Black Economic Empowerment; focusing on ensuring that the majority of black people benefit through involvement in activities that enhance skills linked to economic development. This led to the flocking in of investors as the policy environment was transparent.

Despite the foregoing discussion, Black Economic Empowerment has been criticized as a top-down program imposed with minimal input from grassroots level. Doubt has been cast over the legality of the BEE policy and has been perceived as a discriminatory policy reliving the wrongs of the past (Ershammar, 2008).The policy is viewed as a form of reverse apartheid that excludes

white people in favour of previously disadvantaged black people (Ershammar, 2008). The use of race in determining access to employment opportunities and/or economic advantages is likely to create an economic system that will penalize other people because of their racial profile. Although the Black Economic Empowerment is said to be benefitting all black people, empirical evidence disproves this as the gap between the rich and the poor seem to be widening (Plaut, 2012). It is also becoming increasingly evident that the Black Economic Empowerment was designed to benefit a few black politicians as demonstrated by an elite network of new black bourgeoisie (Plaut and Holde 2012; Mbeki, 2009; Schlemmer, 2005).

The BEE has enabled an elite group of black politically connected individuals amass wealthy at the expense of the black majority. Hoffman (2009) concurs with the above statement when he alludes that the majority of black people remain marginalized and continue to suffer as the government seem to have abandoned its promise to address the injustices of apartheid and instead is enabling the former oppressors to retain economic power and control. The BEE initiative have proved to be futile as demonstrated by the high unemployment levels, low levels of education and poor housing as well as high levels of poverty in black communities (Butler, 2007). Unemployment has risen from 40.8% to 43, 4% in 2004 (Acemoglu et al, 2007:19).

The Black Economic Empowerment is still work in progress as far as eradicating the legacy of apartheid is concerned. Similarly, South Africa remains one of the countries with high levels of socio-economic inequality in the world (Acemoglu et al, 2007:19). BEE has been labelled an enrichment process and not without some justification. Wealth transfer is not feasible as blacks simply do not have the capital to finance such a huge transfer (Butler, 2007 p.9). This is the same situation in Zimbabwe how are poor Zimbabweans supposed to buy shares in a company worth \$500 000. A question to ask is, are these indigenization policies going to manage to create an equal society with equal income distribution; is it feasible? BEE scares away investors as it places a heavy regulatory burden on business (Butler, 2007 p.1). South Africa's own indigenization policy matches the Zimbabwean indigenization policy as their problems and challenges seem to be the same. They share the same colonial experience and in trying to correct the imbalances of the past, they both recreated the inequalities which resemble the colonial expedience.

### **3.4.7 Namibia**

Namibian government has also encouraged partnership with historically disadvantaged Namibians. They aimed at eliminating discrimination, create equal employment opportunities. New Equitable Economic Empowerment Framework (NEEEF) was centered on 5 pillars: ownership, management, control and employment equity, human resource and skill development, entrepreneurship development and community investment. In Namibia foreign investors were treated as Namibian investors and the government had the right to impose restrictions. Minerals mining has been given to Namibians and meaningful participants in this sector granting state owned companies the right to own all new licences issued for the exploration and mining of strategic minerals.

Pertaining to land, no foreign national is allowed to own land without prior consent of the Minister of Lands. This however promotes corruption, fraud and nepotism. Melber (2007) states that the public procurement and other outsourcing activities by those in control of state agencies, town, affirmative action and black economic empowerment into a self-rewarding scheme based on struggle credibility and credits among the activists of the erstwhile liberation movement. The skewed class character of Namibia's society has hardly changed since independence through the above mentioned by Melber. Both Acts in their current form continue to cultivate human and natural exploitation for the benefit of a few at the expense of far too many. Ruling elite in most of the countries have hijacked the indigenization concept and destroyed the much anticipated class struggle. How then can this problem be dealt with as the ruling elite are the policy drivers, all powers are vested in their hands and mostly they have all the money? There is one thing to note with African countries; the rhetoric of corruption, self-enrichment and a few elite benefiting. It seems African leaders, their cabinets and their political aides are greedy and covetous; the policies they enact end up benefiting them instead of benefiting the general populace. In most countries there is rampant mismanagement of funds thus squandering and embezzlement of funds that are allocated in policies such as indigenization.

### **3.4.8 Nigeria**

It initiated black empowerment policy programs from 1960 (Sanchez, 2008). In this period the government's perception of foreign owned companies was laden with distrust. Leaders perceived the process of indigenization as a way of asserting the nation's right to exercise sovereignty over natural resources in their territory, regulate foreign participation and exercise the right to naturalize such investments. From 1969, the government forced Nigerian equity ownership as a mechanism to retain profits in the country and mandated Nigerian ownership and management control, particularly over manufacturing firms. It was a policy designed essentially to promote an indigenous capitalist class. These indigenization efforts did not broaden the basis of Nigerian participation in the economy. Thus, technical, entrepreneurial and managerial expertise among average Nigerians remained relatively limited while elite of Nigerian business people and the Nigerian government benefited from that transfer as admitted in the "Report on vision 2010 Economic Direction". A study conducted by Alabi and Olochi (2010) in Kogi State Nigeria has revealed that weaknesses of infrastructure provision were attributed to lack of private sector involvement in infrastructure provision since 30% of the proposed infrastructure development projects were not implemented due to lack of funding.

Literature has shown that indigenization has led to the consolidation of an economy which accommodates the interests of ex-state personnel, the state as an institution, positive indigenous businessmen and foreign capital in order which is far from certain to bring about the national economic independence which in official terms is the chief objective. Nigeria has had a unique indigenization policy; it has been better placed than many countries in Africa to undertake the task of indigenization by virtue of the financial resources generated by the 1970s oil boom. The first indigenization decree of 1972 shied away from outright nationalism.

In Tanzania President Nyerere has claimed that under existing conditions periphery capitalism simply cannot result in an indigenized self-reliant economy: only Tanzanians are sufficiently interested to develop Tanzania in the interest of Tanzanians. He uttered that development of a country is brought about by people not by money. Nigeria's indigenization has rested precisely on the country's and the government's newly acquired financial resources and has in practice directly touched only a small fraction of the population; chiefly its ruling military/bureaucracy



and business groups. There has been no serious attempt to involve the great majority of the population who are largely peasant farmers or relate indigenization to the economic and political development of the country as a whole. Indigenization has transferred wealth and business opportunities from alien investors to indigenous elite. Nigeria and Malaysia adopted almost the same ideology in their developmental efforts while Malaysia plans and moves vigorously towards the attainment of its vision of becoming an advanced economy in 2020, unfortunately not much has been seen in Nigeria though it wishes to be one of the 20 most industrialized economy by 2020 (Ingram, 1980).

Adegunye (2006) says Nigerian's failure was rooted in widespread corruption and poor economic management. Njoku (2008) alludes that the Nigerian public bureaucracy can no longer play its traditional role of ensuring policy success because corruption has eroded its values and cherished legacies of political neutrality and anonymity; thus its effectiveness and efficiency have become very daisy among analysts. Ezeani (2005) posits that the failure of successive regimes in Nigeria to transform the Nigerian economy and raise the living standards of Nigeria has brought to the fore, the issue of the actual contribution of the Nigerian civil service. Ochigbo (2000) argues that the most projects in the past failed because of imprecise and faulty goal specification, irrational, corporate structure, inadequate funding, and undue government interference with management procedures, bad management and fraud.

Corruption has weakened efficiency and effectiveness in policy implementation especially as it affects leadership recruitment, effective monitoring and evaluation of public programmes. Ogbuagbu (1995) laments the failure of indigenization policy of 1972; he observes that indigenization failure to meet its primary objective is largely because many of the foreign firms devised various subtle strategies with Nigerian businessmen to circumvent the indigenization decree. Policies such as the indigenization policy are determined by multifarious factors which according to Ikelegbe (1994) include: political variables, interest group leaders and environmental variables. As one analyses the indigenization policy of Zimbabwe comparing it with other countries' indigenization policies, there is great need for policy implementers to look at why the others failed despite their need for it to work in their countries. Corruption, fraud,

mismanagement are things that an economy has to curb as they implement their indigenization policies.

### **3.4.9 Zambia**

Although well known for its massive copper reserves, Zambia is also home to a range of other minerals, such as, emeralds, zinc and cobalt (Atud, 2011). With colonization Zambia experienced the capitalist system with the private sector dominating in the trade of resources in an open market (Hywel, 1971). When Zambia attained independence in 1964, the new black majority government inherited a highly specialized and robust mining economy. Kenneth Kaunda the then president of Zambia nationalized private and foreign owned companies including the indigenization of meat packing plants and wholesale shops and various other large-scale commercial activities. In total 28 companies were nationalized (Limpitlaw, 2011). Nationalisation was intended to increase employment opportunities for urban dwellers while also improving livelihoods for the rural poor. To this day government's focus on creating mass employment has remained a top priority by transforming the economy from commodity supply (Limpitlaw, 2011). The nationalization drive for the copper industry by government was meant to generate the required financing to fund developmental goals. The soaring global demand for copper and high commodity prices in the late 1960s and early 1970s motivated the government to proceed with the nationalization initiative (Nelson, 1996).

Nationalisation of the copper mining industry meant that the state was the sole owner of all national minerals including all prospecting and mining licences. In 1969, the government compelled mining companies to cede 51% of their shareholding to the state. This led to the government acquisition of Roan Selection Trust and Rhodesian Anglo American Corporation, which were two of Zambia's major copper mining companies (Fraser and Lungu, 2007). With favourable copper prices at the time, the contribution of the copper industry to the economy was significant, By the end of 1969, the Zambian government was the major economic player with control in various sectors including construction and provision of housing, hotels and tourism, electricity and water, and transportation (Nelson, 1996). In addition, the government established several business ventures in partnership with foreign investors. These ventures operated under

state protection in industries where imports were either banned or high tariffs were imposed to reduce competition (Hywel, 1971).

Former President Kaunda (1968:30) bemoaned that there was neither a Zambian owned business nor a foreign owned business managed by a Zambian national three years into the country's independence. Banks were not nationalized because of a stalemate in the negotiations. Although the government acquired farms, production on state farms remained low and the private sector continued to dominate this sector (Ravi and Vernon, 1991). The indigenization efforts are noted to have been hampered by political interference (Libby and Woakes, 1980). The Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) were controlled by a political elite who made political decisions regarding the running of the mines and disregarded the recommendations made by technical experts (Libby and Woakes 1980). The ZCCM thus became a cash cow for propping the lifestyles of the elite including paying for President Kaunda's overseas holiday resort (Meller and Simpasa 2010). The ZCCM's foreign exchange reserves were also syphoned by government leaders to finance political activities resulting in the company failing to finance its operations (Ravi and Vernon, 1991). Ultimately, the government used the ZCCM to generate income and raise money for sponsorship of various social and political initiatives with no reinvestment (Auty, 2008).

Following the global crash of copper prices in the mid-1970s Zambia fell into debt. Despite several attempts to keep the mining industry profitable the industry collapsed (Graig, 2001). It is important to note that Zambia had made progress during the first 10 years of independence before the first oil crisis of 1974 stalled Zambia's progress. In order to sustain social services such as health and education, the government had to borrow money (Auty, 2011). However, by 1984 economic collapse was imminent with high levels of unemployment, decreased imports and increasing foreign debt causing severe depression in the country (Craig, 2001). As copper production declined, many companies were forced to shut down. Between 1974 and 1994, Zambia became one of the poorest countries in the world with per capita income falling by 50% (Auty 2008). Though the government regarded ZCCM as a cash cow, it became financially strained that by 1990 it was evident that the company was no longer financially stable and its long term development and sustainability was in jeopardy (Meller and Simpasa, 2010). The

ZCCM became dependent on financial support from the government through bail outs and debt repayment scheduling as its debt had now reached unsustainable levels at over half of the value of its assets (Craig, 2001). Mwaba (1997) attributes the country's economic crisis to lack of a strong private sector.

This failure of the government led them to resell their companies to the private sector again. The private acquired these mines at below market value prices effectively returning the entire mining industry to the private sector (Solomon, 2012). The Zambian experience demonstrates the economic ruin that can befall countries when governments take over economies driven by ideological rectitude without adequate capacity and experience run these economies (Mwaba, 1997). Interference of politics in policies leads them to a stalemate. A policy such as the indigenization policy has to be run free from politics and benefit the intended beneficiaries. Unfortunately, in the case study countries it has shown that the policy has failed to achieve its intended objective by a wide margin.

#### **3.4.10 Botswana**

Once classified as one of the poorest countries of the world, Botswana rose from an annual GNP per capita of US\$100 to US\$3280 in three decades to become an upper middle-income country. In 1999 Botswana incepted Botswana citizen economic empowerment policy. The policy was aimed at lowering the barriers to entry for local citizens wishing to go into business and to protect them through excluding non-citizens from participating in certain economic enterprises. The economic empowerment policy was integrated in various laws and statutes across the social and economic spectrum as a way of entrenching the participations of Tswanas in their own economy. Some of the prominent laws passed and implemented by government include the following: The Industrial Development Regulations Act of 2008 which excluded non-citizens from small scale manufacturing; The Trade Act of 2008 reserves retail services for entities with less than 100 employees; Liquor Act of 2003 reserves liquor bars and night clubs and bottle stores for citizens and the public procurement; and Asset Disposal Act of 2001 which gives preferential treatment to Botswana citizens or companies wholly owned by Botswana citizens in state procurement processes.

Although the government of Botswana allows foreigners to participate in the economy, they can only do so as minority shareholders owning up to 49% of share in joint ventures. Thus the government stipulates that only citizens can be majority shareholders in joint ventures with foreign investors. The empowerment policy has been successful in financial resources and proprietorship of assets, but it lacks on participation as she does not have measures to enforce and maximize economic activity. A large part of this success story emanates from the discovery and profitable exploitation of diamonds. In Zimbabwe these diamonds were also discovered, but were expropriated and embezzled by the top officials. It has been open to Foreign Direct Investment since independence. It is through this path particularly the Foreign Direct Investment into diamonds that has been the driving force of the economy; allowing the economy to change in structure from dominance by the agricultural sector at independence to dominance by mining in about 10 years.

Agriculture shrunk from a 39% share in 1966 to about a 2% share of total output in 2003. Mining has increased from non-existent in 1966 reaching a peak of 47% before starting to decline to about 35% in 2003. Under the new arrangement, government shares in diamond proceeds are derived in 3 ways; first government receives equity shares of 15% of the mining proceeds, second government has purchased an additional 20% of the shares as part of the agreement for the state to reserve the right to purchase optional equity shares in diamonds. This has given the country an opportunity to have direct representation in the Board of Debswana Mining Company. This strengthens the country's bargaining position and firsthand information on how the country's diamond mines are run (Gaolathe, 1997). Botswana also entered into trade agreements (Bank of Botswana, 2003) World Trade Organization, African Caribbean Pacific (ACP), European Union, African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), Southern African Customs Union (SACU), and Southern African Development Community. All these trade agreements have potential to attract Foreign Direct Investment and seek to locate in Botswana for the purpose of gaining access to international markets. Zimbabwe has been refused to enter into some of the trade agreements because it has failed to meet the requirements of these agreements.

Foreign Direct Investment in Botswana has steadily decreased since 1997; from an annual average of US\$29 million from 1989 to 1994. Foreign Direct Investment inflows reached 100 million in 1997, but declined to 37 million in 1999 and 2002 (UN, 2003). The net inflow of Foreign Direct Investment as a percentage of GDP declined from 9.8% in 1980 to a low 0, 5%. Botswana's Foreign Direct Investment share fell from 60% to less than 2% in 1996 and 2000.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The indigenization policy has in a way tried to redress and reconstruct the economy. It has killed two birds with one stone, by compensating people for the maltreatment they were given during the colonial time. Indigenization has reconstructed the economic and social status of Zimbabweans. Indigenization policy restored the Zimbabwean humanity and dignity. From the above literature, it shows that most of the indigenization policies that were enacted in different countries were crucial in redressing, reconstructing and empowering the marginalized. Unfortunately from my own analysis, indigenization in Zimbabwe has not lived up to expectations; it has had more failures than successes. Factors attributed to the failures of the indigenization policy have been discussed above. One thing I have realized from this literature is indigenization in the countries from other continents other than Africa is that these countries have less corruption or zero tolerance to corruption and fraud issues as in the African continent. In Africa the main challenge they have with their indigenization policies, or rather all public policies is corruption, mismanagement of funds, bribery, fraud, greediness, political interference; no wonder their margin of failure is very wide. With the above mentioned qualities it is very difficult to realize good results.

Inadvertently, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened following the implementation of indigenization policies. There has been widespread lawlessness, inequality, marginalization and exclusion. As I view it, the indigenization policy instead of doing away with colonialism, it has found itself glued to the circles of colonialism. Decoloniality says there is need to change the terms of the conversation, but indigenization has brought back those evil terms such as exclusion, marginalization, oppression and inequality. By this it has failed the lenses of decoloniality. Looking at the above given factors, it is clear why we have problems with the Zimbabwean indigenization policy. Lawlessness, corruption, deprivation, fraud and partisan

mindset among other things are evident in the Zimbabwean indigenization policy. As noted above, the most significant point is Zimbabwe has room to improve what other countries did wrong as its indigenization process is still in motion. The indigenization policy significantly contributed towards the decolonization of the Zimbabwean economy by delinking the economy from the control of multi-national conglomerates and individual white capitalists.

Zimbabwe's indigenization policy has managed to move a step further from mere flag and anthem independence where countries continue to live under colonial influence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Following from the argument made by (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013), indigenization in Zimbabwe was needed for emancipation from the colonial yoke of neo-liberalism. Indigenization became the right prescription to remove the invisible colonial yoke. In Zimbabwe they succeeded in doing so, but unfortunately it was done the wrong way.

## **CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORY OF DISPOSSESSION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter will give a history of how the Zimbabweans were dispossessed of their land, cattle, dignity, respect and their being. The chapter traces dispossession during the colonial period to early attempts that were made by Zimbabweans on indigenization in the post 1980 period. Colonialists undermined African history and imposed their innovations and technology in order to dominate the Africans. Colonialism entails prolonged domination of a people by another invariably through oppression, exploitation and domination (Horvath, 1972:33). The colonisation of Zimbabwe paved the way for settlers to exploit the natural and productive resources in the country including the human capital.

In order to fully understand the issue of dispossession, there is need to give a brief history of the pre-colonial period to find out how the natives lived socially, economically and politically before the whites came. This will further help to shed more light on what they were dispossessed of. Santanyana (1905:284) states that historical awareness prevents repetition of unpleasant and destructive histories and experiences. Furthermore, national consciousness is also shaped by awareness of historical events.

The chapter will then dwell on the early attempts on indigenization in Zimbabwe. This will assist in discovering why they failed then, what can be done different to the current indigenization that will make it succeed. This chapter will also deal with the Fast Track Land Reform programme at length; it will look at the manner in which land was redistributed, was it necessary and did it redistribute to the right beneficiaries?

### **4.2 Brief Pre- Colonial History**

In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, land played a critical role in the Shona society. Land was used for farming and as pastures for their cattle. Land was managed by chiefs in the pre-colonial era. Muringaniza (1998) states that land and other natural resources were managed through a combination of myths, taboos, myths, restrictions and ceremonies presided over by local chiefs. These taboos secured the value and physical integrity of resources. Every pre-colonial household had access to land; thus there was no land shortage. It is also evident that Zimbabweans practiced



mining in the pre-colonial era, which was practiced on land; no wonder why it was valuable to them. Pre-Colonial natives valued cattle as a very significant possession. Cattle symbolized wealth and continuation of traditional social and cultural practices. One's social standing was determined by the number of cattle a person had and families with large herds attained higher social and political status in society (Rodney, 1972). Cattle had very fundamental value for the pre-colonial Zimbabweans. Cattle were used for marriage, for celebrations, for ancestral appeasement, they also provided milk; beef and the hides were used to make sandals, leather jackets and bags. They had various uses no wonder they meant so much to the natives. Besides, cattle herds can increase significantly without increasing the amount of time or labour required to manage them (Guy, 1987). They practiced barter trade with gold, iron, and copper, ivory, tin in exchange for glassware, clothes, shoes and ceramics (Alexander, 2006). From the above brief history of the pre-colonial era, it shows that Zimbabweans have a rich history where they had all the valuables without restrictions. Everything belonged to them without opposition or struggle.

#### **4.3 The History of land and cattle dispossession in colonial Rhodesia**

In 1890, a new era marked by land grievances and dispossession for indigenous people was signaled by the arrival of the Pioneer Column and the subsequent hoisting of the Union Jack flag at Fort Salisbury (Nyawo, 2012). It was a new era of marked racial tension and conflict between the indigenous black communities and white settlers. Subsequently, this marked the beginning of land dispossession of the blacks through protracted wars to enable the expansionism, industrialisation and creation of commercial farmland for whites (Nyawo, 2012). There was rapid social, economic and political transformation which led to loss of land. The land issue has been central in the country's history since the colonial period through to the post-colonial era. The systematic dispossession of land was realised largely through violence, war and legislative enactments by successive colonial governments. This marked the racially twisted land distribution and tenure blueprint that until recently was characteristic of Zimbabwe. Having regard to the political and related problems arising from the Boer controlled Witwatersrand gold fields in the Transvaal, Cecil John Rhodes, the Prime Minister of the Cape and through his British South Africa Company (BSAC), became fixated with the idea of developing a second Witwatersrand (Second Rand) to the north of the Limpopo river (Kriger, 1992). The Rudd Concession of 1888 fraudulently obtained land from King Lobengula and it became the vehicle

through which colonialists obtained mineral rights in Mashonaland (Ranger, 1985). The concession provided Rhodes with the thrust to obtain a Royal Charter in 1889 which among other things granted the BSAC authority to administer and govern the region that encompasses present day Zimbabwe (Ranger, 1985).

The Rudd Concession was countered by the Lippert Land Concession of April 1889 which reflected competing European interests and German interests and aspiration to acquire territory (Ranger, 1985). This Concession was also fraudulently obtained from Lobengula. With the participation of the British Government and without Lobengula's knowledge, the Lippert Concession was soon purchased by the BSAC. Even so, by the time the Company bought the Lippert Concession, settlers were already permitted to acquire land rights from indigenous people. Disillusioned at the non-existence of the "Second Rand" in Mashonaland and the assumption that there existed more gold reserves in Matabeleland, the BSAC on a flimsy pretext invaded Matabeleland in 1893; destroyed Lobengula's Kingdom, seized and plundered cattle and other livestock and property and subdued the populace (Ranger, 1985). Indeed the Company set up a "Loot Committee" which determined that settlers who participated in the war would be rewarded with a free farm measuring 3000 morgen (6 350 acres) anywhere in Matabeleland. However, with no obligation to occupy the land, each man was also guaranteed 15 reef and 5 alluvial gold claims, while the "loot" – Ndebele cattle was to be shared in half going to the Company- the remaining half being divided equally among the men and officers (Ranger, 1985). Alexander (2006:2) also confirms that there were wars that were fought in the 1890s, some under Cecil Rhodes' BSAC, but all with the intention to conquer the natives and amass land for speculative purposes while they also looted livestock belonging to the natives.

The Land Apportionment Act, embodying the greater part of the Commission's recommendations was enacted in 1930 and brought into effect the following year (Palmer, 1977). The main purpose of the Act was to formalize separation by law; land between blacks and whites and this was after the deliberations and recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission of 1925. It provided for restricted rights of the African to land ownership, to designated Native Purchase Areas. Machingaidze (1991) indicates that through the Act white settlers allocated themselves 49 million acres out of the country's 96 million acres of land, while natives were crowded on 29 million acres; and the remainder was unassigned or was a game reserve or

forestry. Kwashirai (2006) states that the Land Apportionment Act laid down the legal framework upon which racial segregation was premised and set the platform for white economic dominance. By the late 1930s, the Shona and Ndebele agricultural economy had been reduced to subsistence levels. The Land Apportionment Act legally demarcated the European area for the first time and confined African purchasers to separate largely non-productive areas and endeavoured to pack as many Africans as possible into the reserves leaving behind only labour tenants (Palmer and Parsons, 1997). A significant reduction in the variety of crops grown was witnessed accompanied by very low volumes in trade involving black people. This is in contrast to historical accounts of the pre-colonial and early post-colonial Zimbabwe which portray a prosperous region with agriculture as its mainstay. Roder (1964:43) supports the above information by saying:

The successive apportioning of new reserves to Africans seems to assume that all land initially belonged to the whites who could set aside part of it for Africans. In fact of course, it was the Africans who inhabited most of Southern Rhodesia in 1890 and who subsequently lost part of their land to whites.

Loney (1975) states that the Land Apportionment Act disrupted African agriculture resulting in land shortages and reduction in crop diversity among the native farmers. The land shortages led to overcrowding in native areas resulting to settlement in fragile land thereby triggering environmental degradation. Overstocking was the order of the day and this caused serious environmental damage. After the amendment of the Land Apportionment Act amendment in 1945, settlers could not lease or sell their land to natives further entrenching racial segregation (Bottomley, 1995). The Land Apportionment Act stirred up antagonism and conflict because of the displacement and dispossession it engendered. These reserves were nothing but torture, anguish, distress and pain on the side of the natives. The Native Reserves Order in Council of 1898 ensured the creation of infamous native reserves for blacks (Moyana, 2002). They argued that they did so in order to avoid death of the indigenous people; at the same time it guaranteed them the lion's share of fertile land. These reserves became the present communal areas. These reserves were located in low potential areas, low rainfall pattern and poor ecological soils. Some of the reserves like Gokwe and Muzarabani as well as Gwaai and Shanghai were inhospitable

due to and tsetse-fly infestation. The reserves were located far from the railway line and the gold belt. This was a way of preventing natives from enjoying any form of trade whatsoever. Palmer and Parsons (1977) posit that the Shona people were aggrieved by the stoppage of gold trade with the Portuguese by the British occupation. This signified a loss of status as well as the knowledge accumulated through the long travels during the trade.

By 1914, white settlers numbering 23 730 owned 19 032 320 acres of land while an estimated 752, 000 Africans occupied a total of 21 390 080 acres of land (Palmer, 1977). The end of the First World War saw the BSAC embarking on Land Settlement Policy through the launch of elaborate and extensive campaign of wooing immigrants to Southern Rhodesia (BSAC Leaflet of 1<sup>st</sup> January 1919). The British government under pressure to accommodate veterans of war as well as mitigate the demands of land arising for the post war economic depression lent support to the campaign seizing land from indigenous Zimbabweans. An increase in the settler population necessarily had to be matched with the availability of additional land for the new immigrants. This saw more natives being pushed in the already overcrowded reserves. Rodney (1972:233) noted that the land was inadequate in the reserves and the available land was of low fertility constraining agricultural production. Essentially, the reserves became labour pools for the settler economy and the dumping ground for those whose could not be accommodated in the settler economy. Kwashirai (2006) also adds that the reserves were located in poor areas and natives were moved from areas with fertile soils and high rainfall regimes to be settled in these reserves. The Natives here were being treated inhumanly as echoed by a former land development officer in the native agricultural department; one Ken Brown:-“The majority of arable areas in reserves are already so eroded and so exhausted of fertility that they need twelve to fifteen years rest in order to restore them to a state of structure and fertility, which would enable economic crop production to commence” (Brown, 1959). The above quote shows that the natives had been given land in name only which was eroded, unproductive and infertile.

The Catholic Bishop of Umtali (now Mutare) Lamont in June 1959 asked,

Can you in conscience blame the Africans?, look at the poor soils in an overcrowded reserve, whites are swayed by subversive propaganda while close besides them there lies hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile soil which they may not cultivate, not occupy

because although it lies unused and unattended, it belongs to some individuals or group of individuals who perhaps do not use the land in the hope of profit from speculation.

The settlers had hundred thousands of hectares that lie idle while the natives suffered over-crowdedness and some contagious diseases in the reserves. Colonialism came with inequality, oppression and dispossession and with this type of situation conflict was imminent. A further wave of new European settlers escaping from post Second World War economic hardships in Europe resulted in the phenomenal rise in white population from 80 500 in 1945 to 219 000 by 1960 (Moyo, 1995). Although some of the new settlers took up white-collar jobs in the cities, many took up farming. As a result, the numbers of Europeans working or owning farms almost doubled from 4 673 in 1945 to 8 632 in 1960 (Moyo, 1995). In the decade 1945-55 at least 100 000 people were forcibly moved into the reserves; some of which were located in the inhospitable and tsetse-fly ridden areas such as Gokwe and Muzarabani (Moyo, 1995). Basically the Europeans created their own empire which saw them grabbing almost all the land in Zimbabwe and leaving only the tsetse-fly ridden areas and fragile land to the Zimbabweans. This actually led to a halt to the economic, social and political activities of the Africans (Zimbabweans). This perpetuated over-crowdedness, hunger, drought and homelessness. It seemed everything that mattered most to these Zimbabweans had been ripped off them in broad day light. Their kinship ties were destroyed through divisions and settlement in new areas, sometimes with total strangers. By so doing, they left behind their ancestors' graves which meant a lot to them.

The Lippert Concession signed in 1889 gave the settlers the right to settle on any land of their choice between Zambezi and Limpopo. Loney (1975) indicates that the settlers systematically identified and seized the best farming land and ignored local rights or tribal customs. Furthermore, the settlers introduced their own farming methods and changed traditional land tenure and land management systems. Lobengula tried to repudiate the concessions. He wrote to Queen Victoria in 1889 indicating that the white people are troubling much about gold. Lobengula was quoted as saying to Queen Victoria: "If you have heard that I have given my whole country to Rhodes, it is not my words. I have not done so Rhodes wants to take my country by strength" (Meara, 1991:21). Wetherell (1979) alludes that white settlers constructed

road and railway networks to link their farms and mines to markets and deliberately left the native areas under-developed. They organized almost everything to benefit themselves. Abiodun (2007:63) says,

Land is the most important resource in Africa. Its importance transcends economics into a breadth of social, spiritual and political significance. It is considered as a place of birth, the place where the ancestors are laid to rest, and the place which the creator has designated to be passed down to successive generations and the final resting place for every child born on its surface. Every society in Africa sees land as a natural resource that is held in trust for future generations and the sacredness of this trust lies behind most of the conflicts over land in the continent. Land is the abode of most other natural resources; a characteristic that means the controversies surrounding these resources often manifest through conflicts over ownership, management and control of land.

The above quotation emphasizes the significance of land to Zimbabweans and Africans at large. Dispossession of land meant dispossession of activity. It meant dispossession of future generations and dispossession of their final resting place. Taking land from the natives was as good as dispossessing them of their life. Land was considered an asset that linked national wealth and the well-being of citizens. Destiny had been dispossessed from the natives. Lan (1985) says that land is presented as the means of being and not as a commodity. Thus access to land would restore the dignity of indigenous Zimbabweans. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2006) many social groups and communities who have been marginalized through colonization perceive land as a secure base for the provision of shelter and nurturing of families rather than asset that can be traded on the market. All this was taken away from them.

Natives were dispossessed of their national heritage, their birthright and their being. They were reduced to non-humans by settlers. Land had a deeper meaning to the natives. Mhlanga (2012) alludes that land was of psycho-spiritual significance as individuals found a connection between their history and their land. He also said about the San; they believed that their lives were inextricably linked to nature. From the information above, it shows that land dispossession was equaled to loss of life. Natives are spiritually anchored on land and loss of it means loss of

dignity and loss of their legacy. Moyo (1995) and Kaulemu (2008) concur that land dispossession directly contributed towards the high levels of poverty among black Zimbabweans. In essence they mean dispossession resulted in poverty. Without land it is impossible to achieve everything there is in the soil.

Looking at the tenure systems that were put in place by the settlers, it is evident that they were perpetuating gross dispossession of the natives. Metcalfe (1996) states that a tenure system defines who can own and who cannot own land and under what circumstances and it also helps understand how people relate to land. Land tenure comprises of rights and responsibilities of those occupying a particular piece of land. White (1959:172) further elaborates that land tenure relates to the specific rights individuals or groups have over residential, arable, and grazing land. He goes on to mention how the rights are acquired, transferred or inherited as well as how such rights can be terminated. Bromley (2000) further explains how land rights in African communal systems are governed through a membership system and how individuals also find expression individual entitlements. These tenure systems were put in place to make sure the dispossession is done in stages and by the book.

Birmingham and Martin (1983:254) state that “as hopes of rich gold discoveries in Matabeleland flared and both the BSAC and the settlers turned to a more thoroughgoing looting of the natural economy of the Shona and Ndebele. Between October 1893 and March 1896, anything from 100 000 to 200 000 cattle were seized from the Ndebele; forced labour became widespread and the collection of hut tax first imposed illegally in May 1893, was stepped up after imperial sanction was received in 1894”. The natives were also dispossessed of their cattle. Loss of land and cattle to the Ndebele meant destruction of the traditional socio-economic systems, loss of status and loss of economic and social independence. Berlyn (1996) alludes that cattle are the wealth of the African people. The Shona paid tribute to the Ndebele in form of cattle. Dispossession of cattle meant dispossession of tribute on the Ndebele’s side.

Cattle were of great significance to the natives and they were dispossessed of such vitality. Barret (1991) explains the importance of cattle for food provision through milk and meat consumption at home and at family and community gatherings; making clothing and other items,

such as, sandals, leather jackets, and bags; and the provision of draught power and manure to fertilizer the soil for crop production. Colonialism dispossessed them of all these privileges. Cattle determined a person's political status. Most families who were made chiefs in Rhodesia had very large herds of cattle. Steele (1981) argues that chiefs got cattle from people who paid them as fines after committing offences, a practice that continued even with the judicial powers of chiefs being curtailed by the government in 1957. All these benefits were done away with. Natives could no longer appease or thank their ancestors because of dispossession. Traditionally they used to appease their ancestors; thanking them for good rains, protection, support and good fortunes with cattle. Bourdillon (1981) states that honoring ancestral spirits was considered an important practice and failure to do so brought bad luck for both the community and family line. Hazards such as drought, floods, crop failure, sickness and death were said to be caused by unhappy ancestors. Present day Zimbabwe is rampant with most of the aforementioned hazards because ancestors were last appeased in the colonial times.

Cattle were a convenient and reliable source of investment. Growth of the cattle herd meant capital growth. Cattle were likened to a banking system (Steele 1981). Steele (1981) mentions the merits of cattle compared to any other investment; he said the reproductive capacity of cattle guaranteed a higher interest rate than a Post office savings account. With dispossession, natives lost a lot of their valuable assets. They were reduced to nonentities. Alexander (2006:2) says that the significance of cattle ownership and the autonomy it brought were all destroyed during colonialism as natives were dispossessed of their land and livestock. Indigenous people were left with nothing. Taxes were introduced by the settler government; thus hut tax, poll tax, dog tax and cattle tax. These taxes were put in place to force the indigenous natives to exchange labor for money in order for them to be able to pay the taxes. It was a way to coerce the natives to work in the settler's mines, farms and industries. Van Onselen (1976) agrees with the above when he says the taxes improved the supply of labour locally. Many blacks in the mines died from health related diseases, such as, scurvy due to poor and unbalanced diet. The settlers did not want to see natives being productive; what they wanted was to use them and watch them become extinct.

The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1965 disrupted and transformed African farming systems and barred the chief from distributing land (Loney, 1975). Yudelman (1964) stated that the Act



also terminated land rights of urban Africans and prohibited sub-division of land. The demands of the colonial economy eventually forced the African population to move into urban areas in search of employment. The promulgation of the Native Land Husbandry Act was seen as a progressive mechanism to aid natives to control and manage the allocation and efficient use of land. The Act was designed to empower the natives and give them the power to their own self-determination. Thompson (2004) posits that the Native Land Husbandry Act would offer a solution to the rural crisis by protecting the physical environment at minimal cost to the state while simultaneously allowing the Native Affairs Department to cram more people into the African areas. Johnson (1964) is of the opinion that the Native Land Husbandry Act was framed in the belief that population growth in the rural areas was slower than that in the territory as a whole and also in the belief that permanent urban migration was desirable and to be encouraged. Brown (1959) articulates that with respect to animal husbandry there was not much that the Native Land Husbandry Act could provide given that natives now had much smaller herds having lost most of their stock to the settlers. The traditional farming methods that included fallowing of land were abandoned given land shortages in the reserves and continuous cultivation was legalized.

The Natural Resource Board (1954) also lamented because of the situation in the reserves. The lamentation goes thus:

The time for plain speaking has now arrived and it is no exaggeration to say that at the moment we are heading for disaster. We have on one hand a rapid deterioration of the very land on which these people depend for their existence and upon which so much of the future prosperity of the country depends.

In support of the above sentiments, Alexander (2006) states that the Native Land Husbandry Act was unevenly implemented and provoked a wide range of responses thus creating a diverse constituency for African nationalism. Dumbutshena (1975) says the Native Land Husbandry Act was unpopular among the natives because it disrupted African agricultural systems and undermined traditional leadership and the communal ownership in favor of limited individual ownership, Brown (1959) concurs and strongly emphasizes that the Native Land Husbandry Act did not benefit the African population and denied the natives certain basic human rights. No

wonder why African leaders in the country described it as cruel and vicious. The Native Land Husbandry Act failed because it did not take into consideration the ecological diversity of the land it reallocated (Phimster, 1993). Nothing was enacted to benefit the natives during the colonial time; all Acts, policies and laws were put in place to dispossess the natives. The colonial government wanted maximum profits at the expense of cheap labour. The indigenous people became wage laborers, slaves, plebeians, serfs, journeyman in their own nation. The same strategy was implemented in Europe during the feudal period with similar outcomes as was experienced in much of Africa.

#### **4.4 Early attempts on indigenization**

Loss of lives was also witnessed during the colonial era. Most men died in mines of scurvy because of lack of food. Other people died during the wars that were fought between the colonialists and the natives. The first, second and third Chimurenga left a huge number of native women, men and children dead. These wars also gave birth to the independent Zimbabwe. Fighting for the natives meant nationalism, decolonization, repossession, restoration, reclamation and reconciliation. This then led to the contentious Lancaster House Constitutional negotiation and Agreement in 1979. The Lancaster House Conference of 1979 negotiated a cease-fire and this paved way for democracy in Zimbabwe elections which were held in 1980 and were won by R.G Mugabe (Moyana, 2002). The elections were monitored by the British authority and Commonwealth observers. The Lancaster House Conference was ground breaking in the decolonization process of Rhodesia. Unfortunately, in the whole process Land became a stumbling block in the negotiation process because whilst the Patriotic Front stressed the centrality of the land issue, the draft constitution contained the standard convention clause on property which categorically articulated tenants of international government (Ramphal, 1979). The outcome of the conference hardly justified the huge number of people who lost their lives at the hands of the colonial regime as if to say all those Africans who perished in pursuit of majority rule did so in vain. The approach was so political instead of it being historical and it tended to trivialize the Patriotic Front's argument that was strongly historical and political.

The Lancaster House Conference did not allow for the compulsory land transfers until after the first 10 years of independence. Land for redistribution could only be acquired by government through the willing-seller willing-buyer principle. This principle suggests that unless the farmers

put their farmers for sale, government could not do anything. This willing-seller willing-buyer principle was not meant for black people because they did not have such money to buy land as most of them were in reserves. In essence the agreement sidelined and marginalized further the blacks. Gann (1997) suggests that the British position at the Lancaster House Conference was to give blacks the politics and remain with the economy perhaps hoping that the blacks would be content with the politics while also hoping for the ouster of the revolutionary ZANU PF in the post-colonial period. In order to expedite land acquisition, the government made several amendments of the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Land Acquisition Act (Moyo, 2000). As Marongwe (2002) observed, despite amending land acquisition legislation, government still used a market-based approach for over a decade from 1980 to 1997. Successive legislation and amendments of the Constitution in 1993 brought no significant improvements in the resettlement of landless people (Moyo, 2000). According to Masiwa (2004), of the 400 farms acquired by government, most of them are claimed by senior party officials. Critics argue that government could have done more in the first 20 years of independence but instead let down its citizens seeking to benefit only a small elite (Sadomba, 2011).

Compulsory land acquisition was not provided for in the Constitution of Zimbabwe at independence. However, the new Land Acquisition Act of 1992 made compulsory acquisition of land for resettlement permissible (Marongwe, 2002). The Act essentially took away the property rights of white land owners specific geographic areas were designated for repossession. Additionally, the government was not willing to pay the price for the land but only for improvements made on the farms (Manjengwa, 2013). The compulsory acquisition was guided by specific criteria, including the following: targeted land had to be idle, underdeveloped or dilapidated, or owned by absentee foreign landlords, or was located next to a communal area (Masiwa, 2004:13). The land was identified by provincial and district structures while the compulsory purchase remained the responsibility of central government through Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement (Moyo, 2000). Though the initial stages of land acquisition and redistribution were relatively well planned and lawful, government failed to meet their targets. The initial target was to acquire 8.3 million hectares of land and resettle 162 000 families from 1982 -1985, but only 60 000 families were resettled in that period and a further 10 000 families were resettled from 1985 -1990 (Masiwa, 2004). Although several donors pledged

funds to finance the land reform and resettlement programme their contribution was minimal. In 1983 the British government provided 40 million pounds for the land reform (Mwatara, 2013). However, the land acquisition process was lengthy, cumbersome and costly with intricate legal processes (Marongwe, 2000).

However, the Land Acquisition Act did not make any provisions for urban dwellers and farm workers. The 1997-1998 land reform proposals considered previous farm workers as employees and not as beneficiaries of land reform (Moyo, 2000). Even the subsequent donor conference in September 1998 failed to address the concerns of farm workers (Mwatara, 2013). The programme required that farm workers register for land reform programme through their traditional leadership and local councils. However, the majority of farm workers were migrant labourers from neighboring countries and had no links with local community leadership (Sadomba, 2011). The implementation of the land reform programme was beset by numerous challenges in its early years including the following: mismatch between demand and supply of land for acquisition; inadequate funding for the programme; and increasing pressure to speed up the land acquisition process (Mwatara, 2013; Moyo, 2000).

At independence in 1980, the agricultural sector comprised three sub-sectors. The three sub-sectors include: large-scale commercial farming sub-sector of 6,000 white farmers, who owned 15.5 million hectares, more than half of which lay in the high rainfall agro-ecological regions where the potential for agricultural production was greatest (Stoneman, 1981). On the other hand, the small-scale commercial farming sub-sector comprised 8,500 black farmers who held 1.4 million hectares of agricultural land located mostly in the drier agro-ecological regions (Stoneman, 1981). Finally, the communal areas inhabited by the bulk of the populace of 4.3 million people worked 16.4 million hectare of agricultural land, 75 percent of which was located in the drier agro-ecological regions where the soils were also poor (Stoneman 1981). White commercial agriculture was typically characterised by a lot of land that was unused or underutilised; held by absentee landlords or just left dilapidated for speculative purposes. In concurrence with the above position, Moyo and Skalness (1990) says a small group of about 5700 white minority owned the large scale commercial agriculture, while 6 million people lived

in highly populated and marginal rural land and this creates a strong case for land redistribution on the grounds of equity.

On attaining independence, the Government of Zimbabwe sought to address the inherited legacy, glaring and skewed racial inequalities in land distribution. Britain agreed to help finance a land redistribution programme, but within a strict budget. Between 1980 and 1990, Britain provided a total of 44 million pounds to the government for land resettlement projects; with this money, the government managed to acquire only 3.5 million hectares and resettled 71000 families out of a target of 172 000 (Nyawo, 2012). This land was of poor quality, only 19% of the 3,5million hectares was farmable (Moyo, 2000).The communal areas remained congested and overstocked; the pressure was too much on government and it had to accelerate its land reform programme. Under the Lancaster House Conference, no meaningful land reform programme could take place. The constitution obligated government to acquire land by willing-seller willing-buyer basis during the first ten years of independence. Where the offers of land were made, it was expensive, marginal and occurred in pockets around the country making it difficult to effect a systematic and manageable land reform. Funding or international support was enough to fund a full land acquisition. The parliament composition made any amendments impossible with 80 common roll seats for blacks and 20 whites (Muzondidya, 2009).11 October 1979 Chairman of Lancaster House Conference; Lord Carrington said:

We recognise that the future of Zimbabwe whatever its political complexion will wish to extend land ownership. The costs would be very substantial indeed well beyond the capacity in our judgement of any individual donor country and the British government cannot commit itself at this stage to a specific share in them. We should however be ready to support the efforts of the government of independent Zimbabwe to obtain international assistance for these purposes.

He even went on to say:

We have obtained assurances that Britain, USA and other countries will participate in a multinational donor effort to assist in land, agricultural and economic development programs. These assurances go a long way in allaying the great concern we have over the whole land question arising from the great need our people have for land and our

commitment to satisfy that need when in government (Ramphal, 1979). These later words were realised to be empty promises. Under the willing-seller willing-buyer principle, only a handful of the landowners were willing to sell their land; the majority were willing to stay on their land.

The compromise that former Zimbabwe President; R. G. Mugabe was forced to accept was that for ten years the government could only purchase land against the owner's wishes if it was under-utilized or required for a public purpose and then only if the owner was provided with prompt and full compensation in foreign exchange. In other words, land transactions could only be conducted on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis. This provision effectively restricted the government to purchasing limited and often poor quality land that was voluntarily offered for sale. The former President then said, "But you are Africans, how dare you accept the position of land that it shall be governed by the Lancaster Agreement, we can't get anywhere with this. Don't you remember your history the land was never bought from us support our position on this one" (Meredith, 2002). To speed the land redistribution process up, the government passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992 following Constitutional Amendment 2 of 1990 (Moyana, 2002). These instruments freed the government from willing-seller willing-buyer clause. Despite the above, the process remained slow, cumbersome and expensive largely because of commercial farmers' resistance. The government designed 1471 farms for compulsory acquisition in December 1997; a total of 1393 objections were received of which 510 were upheld (Moyana, 2000). Exclusions were farms owned by churches, indigenous black people, plantation farms or those with Zimbabwe Investment centre permits and single owner farms being used productively. Commercial Farmers Union representing white farmers was opposed to meaningful land redistribution. Former President R.G Mugabe in his address to the catholic IMBISA Plenary Assembly in Harare on 30 July 1990 said:

As in the past, the basic conflict in contemporary Zimbabwe is unresolved national question of land. It is also the basis of peace and all other rights that we wish for in a democracy. Its solutions would enable us to end the two nation two race model we inherited from colonialism. It would create opportunities for everyone and give a stake to the majority of our people. Indeed, it is the way to the recovery of our economy. This is

why land reform is at the heart of our current struggle. We cannot relent on this and we hope the church will stand with and by us in resolving it.

The foregoing demonstrates the resolve to go ahead with the land reform process and the necessity of mobilising all Zimbabweans towards this common agenda. The late Comrade Joshua Nkomo in his capacity as former Vice President of Zimbabwe also expressed his sentiments regarding the land reform process: “I don’t think we are being unreasonable if we say you commercial farmers who own the best and the bulk of Zimbabwe’s land because of history should share part of it with the indigenous, displaced and landless blacks who are the majority”. (The Sunday Mail, 9 July 1989). These sentiments demonstrate the initial attempts by Zimbabweans and political leadership to speak about indigenization as a way of wealth redistribution. The misunderstandings between the coloniser and the colony deepened and this worsened relations between them. Disappointed at the pace of land redistribution, the people responded bringing pressure on the government by vigorous protests and land occupations. Villagers in Svosve communal area, in June 1998 occupied Igava farm vowing to stay on until government had made a written undertaking to resettle them (Nyawo, 2012). Similar occupations followed in Nyamandlovu in Matabeleland, Nyamajura in Manicaland and Nemanwa in Masvingo (Nyawo, 2012). They reluctantly complied with the government’s order to withdraw. After the above incident, the former President Comrade R.G Mugabe then said at a donor conference, “If we delay in resolving the land needs of our people, they will resettle themselves. It has happened before and it may happen again”. Pressure was now mounting on the government to redistribute land as independence meant nothing to the populace without land. Julius Nyerere the then Tanzanian President said:

To tax Zimbabweans in order to compensate people who took land away from them through the gun. Really the British can’t have it both ways. They made this an issue and they are now making vague remarks mixing rural development aid with the question of land compensation.....The two are separate ...The British paid money to Kenya. That the future Government of Zimbabwe must pay compensation is a British demand and the British once promised in London to make money available,

Hebert Chitepo the then chairman of ZANU said:

I could go into the whole theories of discrimination in legislation, in residency, in economic opportunities, in education, I could go into that but I will restrict myself to the question of land because I think this is very basic. To us the essence of exploitation, the essence of white domination, is domination over land. That is the real issue (Speech on a trip to Australia 1973).

For Zimbabweans land is the economy and it is the basis of the economy. To the natives, land is a goal once you have it everything else will be solved simultaneously. Tony Blair's Labour government in 1997 refused to advance the process of land reform; in effect revoking Britain's obligations as per Lancaster House understanding. A letter was written to the Minister of Agriculture Mr. Kumbirai Kangai which stated that, "I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and as you know we were colonized not colonizers" (Ms. Claire Short Secretary of State for International Development 1997). This utterance worsened relations more between the two governments and no further funds were made available to Zimbabwe's land reform programme. Seeing this, Zimbabweans responded by bringing pressure to the government by vigorous protests and land occupations.

From there the situation could no longer be contained. 2000-2002 saw the confiscation of land from whites that had stayed behind when others sold their land and left. Land invasions were led by groups of landless blacks and war veterans and several white farm owners were violently removed from their farms and tens of thousands of black farm workers were displaced. More than 1000 farms were violently invaded and seized by March 2000 (Njaya and Mazuru, 2010). The land invasions targeted highly productive farms with good infrastructure (Pazvakavambwa, 2012). In numerous instances the farm were plundered and farm equipment was vandalized with no legal consequences as these invasions were backed by politicians. Amnesty International (2014) reports that the land invasions were well planned and orchestrated by war veterans relying on their military experience during the war with mobilization support from the ruling party to roundup unemployed rural and urban youths to participate in the operations. Land invaders were



transported by government vehicles to different farms (Amnesty International 2014); no wonder most scholars agree that it was directed by politicians.

At its inception, the Fast Track Land Reform Programme was illegal and was implemented through the undermining the judicial system by political and military elite (Mwatwara, 2013). At its official launch, the government compulsorily acquired 3000 farms. New settlers were settled either on the A1 model, which sought to relieve pressure on land in overpopulated rural areas or A2 model, which was meant for black commercial farmer (Mwatwara, 2013). This was the biggest land reform in the world where 6000 whites were replaced by 245 000 black farmers (Moyo, 2005). UNDP (2002) gives statistics of the post fast track land redistribution programme: 4,37 million hectares of land was redistributed to 114620 households and it goes on to say by July 2013 the number rose to 276620 households who had been relocated to 12,12million hectares representing 31% of prime agricultural lands which were previously owned by 3500 white commercial farmers. Rather, it was done in a messy and chaotic manner where properties were destroyed and others lost their lives.

Provincial lands committee comprising of governors, administrators, chiefs, the army, war veterans association, representatives from Ministry of Lands were tasked with the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (UNDP, 2002). Community leaders were involved in land allocation as a way of devolving authority to the local level. However, this opened avenues for corruption and the power dynamics within the committee resulted in costly mistakes including allocating the same land to multiple owners (Amnesty International, 2014). Government officials also used their power and allocated themselves farms with allegations rife in Mashonaland province that senior government officials allocated land to family members (Njaya and Mazuru, 2010).

The government of Zimbabwe is accused of circumventing the legal system and operating under unlawful orders and emergency presidential decrees with court rulings being undermined by police and government officials (UNDP, 2002). The government passed the Rural land Occupiers Act in July 2001 to protect new settlers from removal before new land has been acquired for resettling them (Amnesty International, 2014). The Land Acquisition Act was also amended to ensure that preliminary notices remain valid for a year unless the notices were

annulled before the year was over (UNDP, 2002). A new Bill was introduced and passed with a focus on allowing preliminary notices to remain in force indefinitely unless they are removed by the acquiring authority or until the land intended for acquisition has been acquired (Masiwa, 2004). The Bill did not require the acquiring authority to demonstrate that the land being taken for resettlement is appropriate for agricultural purposes (Amnesty International, 2014).

This was the early indigenization attempt on land made by Zimbabweans after independence; Indigenization in its preliminary stages. Zimbabweans were simply repossessing what belonged to them before colonialism, thus decolonization. This was their first successful attempt though it was not done in an appropriate way. I would ask what was going to be called an appropriate way considering the fact that the whites were not ready to give up land voluntarily to its owners. In most African countries, land has not been redistributed because whites have not given a leeway for that to be done. I applaud that the Zimbabwean government managed to give access to those citizens that were disadvantaged, marginalized and discriminated against before independence that is indigenization. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme managed to transfer huge areas of fertile land from white farmers to the black majority. Bande (2011) in support of my view says this programme though controversial as it resulted in the sanctions from Western countries arguably resulted in empowerment of local citizens through possession of productive land for farming. This is indigenization in practice as indigenization is simply empowering those who were discriminated against, marginalized and disadvantaged.

Mawowa (2010) raises a point that ought not to be ignored; he says land redistribution process was chaotic and the elite allocated themselves most of expropriated land. Land redistribution process was hijacked from targeting the landless to rewarding party members and other ZANU PF loyalists. Lack of order weakened the Fast Track Land Reform Programme and created conflicts between those tasked to implement the programme and the political elite (Pazvakavambwa, 2012). Most scholars have shown that land indigenization is a complex process with mixed outcomes. Moyo (2005) and Scoones (2005) contend that the beneficiaries are not homogenous. They argue that even though the political and military elite own multiple farms under the A2 model under A1, several ordinary Zimbabweans own small holder farms for subsistence farming and resettlement purposes. Scoones (2005) argues that these new farmers

have formed new identities and this has improved social cohesion. Others have asserted that despite the negative impact of indigenizing land such as coercion, destruction of property, partisan and corruption and murder, small scale farmers have been able to increase their productive capacity amidst political and economic setbacks (Mandizadza, 2009). These new farmers are however vulnerable to drought and natural disasters since they are solely dependent on rainfall. This lack of irrigation infrastructure has perpetuated their dependency on rain-fed agriculture resulting in poor harvests. As a result they have remained poor (Scoones, 2008).

#### **4.4.1 Lack of inputs**

Furthermore after this important step of indigenization was taken, there is need to find out whether it profited the country as it was a huge economic independence step. The productivity of new farmers has been constrained by lack of capital and appropriate farming equipment. The new farmers have also struggled to access farming inputs, such as, seed and fertilizer due to prohibitive prices and shortages in the market (Moyo, 2005). Fast Track Land Reform Programme perpetuated some of these challenges, for example, seed producing farms were invaded with no protection whatsoever by government. The new owners were not familiar with these specialized farming procedures leading shortages of domestically produced seeds. Furthermore, the new farmers lacked the requisite technical aptitude and experience to operate highly mechanized farm equipment. The government also did not have the required funds to provide training and support for the new farmers to fully utilize the specialized equipment inherited from white farmers (Moyo, 2005).

#### **4.4.2 Land Tenure**

The major goal of land acquisition was to speed-up land identification and redistribution and ensuring that the new owners were protected and had secure tenure (Moyo, 2005; Kinsey, 2004). Currently the state is the custodian of all the land obtained from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The lack of legal ownership by creates challenges for farmers ranging from production decisions as well as raising finance from banks and investment houses (Scoones, 2008). The government has not awarded title deeds to new land owners citing fears of a flurry of land sales by the poor resulting the creation a class of landless people (Sachikonye, 2003).The donor community had anticipated that the land reform programme will be implemented at a

reasonable pace with proper planning. Had this been done, it is suggested that the violence that erupted on commercial farms could have been avoided. The donors argued that aid would be made available to Zimbabwe if the country returned to the rule of law and the respect for property rights was guaranteed (Masiwa, 2004). The Zimbabwean government accused the donor community of malicious intentions bent towards derailing the indigenization of land (UNDP, 2002). Subsequently, the negotiations between the government and the donors collapsed leaving the new farmers with no funding for infrastructural development and services support (Moyo, 2005). The government tried to forge alliances with China, Malaysia, Indonesia and India through the Look East Policy but still failed to raise funds for the land reform programme. (Manjengwa, 2013).

#### **4.4.3 Irregularities in land allocation**

Fast Track Land Reform Programme was conducted with a disregard of the identification criterion of 1992. Agricultural production declined with uneconomic subdivision of acquired farms (Scoones, 2008). Commercial farmers and agriculture businesses that were under the protection of bilateral investment agreements and were producing export crops such as tobacco horticulture, sugar cane and coffee as well as wildlife conservancies were also invaded and subdivided into small plots (Sachikonye, 2003). The war veterans instantly embarked on allocating themselves plots of land to each other criticizing the land task force of being sluggish in allocating land. Plot allocation has disintegrated into free for all (Amnesty International, 2014).

#### **4.4.4 Unused land**

Large productive farms were occupied by beneficiaries, known as cell phone farmers, with no commercial farming experience or inclination to stay on the farms. The Presidential Land Review Committee reported that while beneficiaries of A1 farmers occupied their farms, A2 farmers did not occupy their commercial farms (Mwatwara, 2013). The A2 farm beneficiaries cited administrative problems, such, as not receiving allocation letters for not occupying their farms (Masiwa, 2004). The other explanation given is that these recipients were not farmers but rather greedy elites with political connections bent on amassing wealth (Manjengwa, 2013). The

lack of interest in farming coupled with time limits for land use most of these farms were converted into residential properties (Amnesty International, 2014).

#### **4.5 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme**

In the 1990s the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was implemented throughout Africa and globally in line with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank guidelines. Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes are neo-liberal market-driven strategies that were adopted as prescriptive remedies designed to solve the economic crisis of the 1980s. Zimbabwe adopted ESAP 1991 as it was a movement that most African countries adopted (Mlambo, 1992). ESAP intended to reduce public service wage bill by retrenching 25% of civil servants, privatize government parastatals and introduce user fees in the education and health sectors (Mlambo, 1992). The economy that had been inherited from the colonialists was characterized by income and wealth distribution inequalities across various sectors including education, banking, industrial and agricultural sectors. So, ESAP was received with both hands by the Zimbabwean government in a bid that it will fix their inequalities economically and remove instability in economic and social sectors. As all the countries in Africa were adopting the ESAP, Zimbabweans felt they will be left behind if they would not join with the others. For them it would bring stability, equality and further decolonize their country.

In Zimbabwe, the ESAP Strategy Document (1990:6) advocated for reduction in social services expenditure and supported investment in the productive sectors, such as, agriculture, mining and manufacturing. The ESAP had various targets including the following: achieving an annual Gross Domestic Product growth of 50%; increasing savings and investment to 25%, respectively; achieving annual export growth rate of 9%; reducing budget deficit from 10% to 5% of GDP ; reducing inflation, trade and exchange liberalization, domestic market regulation and financial sector reform (Mazrui, 1996). Unfortunately, ESAP did not live up to expectations; the Global Exchange (2000) articulated that 80% of malnourished children were found in countries where farmers moved from subsistence to export-oriented agricultural production under ESAP. This prioritization of export agriculture led to food insecurity as owing to a reduction in to the production of food crops.

The elitist governments that have historically and steadfastly manipulated the sentiments of the masses in order to gain the preliminary implicit approval that legitimize their regimes were pressured to adopt ESAP; an ill-doomed decision leading to what looks like the recolonization of Africa as a debtor. Governments lost control over land, over their own people, over their own services and over their industries. Instead of propagating self-reliance, the African elites are now adopters and implementers of Western imposed ESAPs (Mazrui, 1996). The truth of the matter is even after independence, the post-colonial era mirrors the colonial one. ESAPs came with hidden colonial matrices of power. Sharp declines in living standards were witnessed by increases in abject poverty from 270 million to 335 million in 1995 (Jamal, 1994). ESAP assumed a dogmatic approach; it required budget austerity which undermines human capital development and investment and social services resulting in serious negative consequences for the workforce. It inflated unemployment and underemployment which is presumed to be a temporary condition of reforms, but in fact wrecks the economy by drying up the consumption. All this led to political crisis, social unrest and violence leading to social disintegration. Trade was restricted, marginalization of the masses from political and decision making processes increased and declining competitiveness in Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the global market became commonplace (Kadenge, Ndoro and Zizwi, 1992).

Mounting foreign debts, declining exports, refugee problems, urban strife due to increased food prices and retrenchment were witnessed as a result of ESAP. Zimbabwe's crisis reached an alarming proportion (Kadenge, Ndoro and Zizwi, 1992). Araghi (1997) says the gap between the poor and the rich doubled by 200% within the same decade. Retrenched workers were estimated at a figure of 150 000 to 160 000 (Jenkins, 1996). Implementation of cost recovery measures in the education and health sectors had a very heavy toll on the welfare of the population especially the rural poor. Most people failed to pay the required fees (GOZ MDGs Report, 2009 p.2). The economic reforms that were introduced by World Bank and International Monetary Fund spelled mass economic disaster, exacerbated the HIV/AIDS; devastation of the most productive population of society compounded by various natural calamities. ESAP further marginalized especially women and children by cutting social spending and squeezing more from tax payers through increased education costs. Most children withdrew from school especially girls in a patriarchal society which devalues females.

It is said in June 1998 the International Monetary Fund agreed a facility and disbursed US\$52 million leaving the country with enough foreign exchange for 2 months until Mugabe plunged into a costly war in DRC which cost them almost US\$1million daily (Kadenge, 1992). This was a grave mistake done by the then president Mr. Mugabe. Such misuse of funds showed that they were not focused on the country's economic improvement and stabilization. Zimbabwe had viewed ESAP as a weapon that would empower them socially, economically and politically. But it let them down and left them deep in debt and drowning in social, economic and political problems. It was recolonization in disguise. Conditions, limitations and boundaries associated with ESAP were shadows of colonization. The Zimbabwean government thought it was indigenizing but in actual fact, it was being taken 99 steps backwards. Zimbabweans had a steady history before the colonialists landed in the then Rhodesia. The whites came and stole the limelight from them and left them to wallow in darkness, oppression, inequalities and dispossession. Their early attempts on repossession and indigenization were partially successful. Fast Track Land Reform Programme led to a chaotic and disorderly redistribution of land while ESAP left the country in abject poverty and heavily indebted.

#### **4.6 Indigenous Business Development Centre**

The political dialogue in Zimbabwe shifted to indigenization following the implementation of ESAP in 1990. There was concern among black business owners that they would be marginalized under ESAP and therefore wanted state guarantees (Machinya, 2014). The response was the establishment of the Indigenous Business Development Centre (IBDC) in 1990 and with support from senior government officials and influential politicians lobbied government for preferential terms and protection (Raftopolous, 1996). These terms included directing financial institutions to fund black businesses; to provide financing at lower interest rates; and to promote black entrepreneurs in the agrarian sector through the land redistribution programme (Chowa, 2011). According to Moyo (2000), the lobbying for the establishment of the IBDC by the elite was only effective in getting indigenization on the government agenda. However, it did not achieve much in promoting other entrepreneurs beyond the elite group of senior government officials, politicians and other entrepreneurs connected to the state. The cabinet reshuffle of 1995 saw the appointment of two IBDC affiliates to Deputy Ministerial posts (Raftopolous, 1996).

Meanwhile, the IBDC became destabilized with no clear succession structure and membership (Raftopolous, 1996). It concentrated much on government and neglected its own democratic structures.

The continued organizational challenges within IBDC and the lack of meaningful support from government on indigenization led to the formation of the Affirmative Action Group (AAG) that closely aligned itself with the government nationalist rhetoric on indigenization (Chowa, 2013). There were tensions between these two groups. As with the IBDC, membership in the AAG was unclear as these details were never revealed. The IBDC seemed to be forging a closer alliance with ZANU-PF. However, another group, the National Reconstruction and Development Board (NRDB), emerged in 1995 (Moyo, 2000). The NRDB was meant to neutralize these tensions between the IBDC and the AAG, and its membership included both IBDC and AAG affiliates. The new group aimed at bringing a cross section of business people and politicians to promote black economic through a clear policy and legal framework. The intention of this board was to be an independent organization and not a wing of other indigenous pressure groups or the ruling party (Raftopolous, 1996).

The NRDB's attempts of unifying the IBDC and AAG failed dismally. Although they both were lobbying for indigenization and black economic empowerment, they had divergent views on the land issue. The AAG was focused on the redistribution and control of white owned farms and wealth (Sibanda, 2013). The IBDC was not keen on taking over white businesses, but rather focused on promoting the establishment of black businesses to address issues of unemployment in the country. However, overtime the IBDC was politically manipulated into accepting the notion of indigenization as advocated for by the AAG and the government. The divisions that ensued within the IBDC led to the loss of the original focus and began to concentrate on self-enrichment (Raftopolous, 1996).

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has successfully shown the dispossession process, what the indigenous people of Zimbabwe were dispossessed of; their land, cattle, economic freedom as well as social freedom. This chapter is the basis of the thesis; the foundation of the whole research, it helps the thesis



with significant information and indigenization could not have occurred if colonization was not there. Dispossession brought about indigenization, as indigenization is all about repossession and recreating. If dispossession had not taken place, indigenization would not have existed. Indigenization answers to the call of colonialism; it comes to correct the imbalances and inequalities that were created by colonialism. Early attempts on indigenization lost focus because of greediness, fraud and corruption. Land redistribution was done in no particular order; by so doing the rich and politically connected benefited more from it instead of the marginalized and excluded. Top-down approach policy is problematic; the policy enactors enact in a way that they know they will benefit from it. Most of the early attempts on indigenization did not yield much success because of greedy people who were after self-enrichment. For policies to succeed, they need drivers who have people at heart, who are honest, truthful and diligent. A leader or a policy driver needs to be selfless, altruistic, gallant, philanthropic, sacrificial, humane, and noble. A policy driver has to satisfy people first before he satisfies his own needs. If these kinds of drivers are put in their rightful seat, no accidents will occur.

## **CHAPTER 5: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON THE INDIGENIZATION POLICY**

### **5.1 Introduction**

When viewed from above, a rivulet appears different to when you are paddling on it. It is impossible to know the true details of a subject unless you are given information by those in the situation. You get to hear different views from different kinds of people, diverse from different epistemic origins. In this chapter I explicitly show what people think about indigenization, how they perceive it and how it has benefitted them. My respondents were Unemployed post graduates, Employed post graduates, Undergraduates, people living with disabilities, rural residents, urban residents in streets, indigenized companies, farmers, chiefs as well as Ministers. I managed to gather dynamic and helpful data and this will help the thesis by answering some problematic questions that have remained unanswered for decades. This chapter will see me discuss on the Community Share Ownership Trusts at length which I have used in this thesis as the main case study. Advantages and disadvantages of Community Share Ownership Trusts are deliberated on including examining the extent to which they have been beneficial to communities. This helps in understanding the kind of policy Indigenization is. In this chapter we discover who the real beneficiaries of the indigenization policy are. I will also reveal how informed these people were about the policy. Furthermore, I will discuss the Small and Medium Enterprises as in other countries they have been deemed to have perpetuated indigenization, there is need to see what contribution they have brought to the indigenization of Zimbabwe. Is it positive or negative? So firstly, I will dwell on the main case study then I will discuss some of the places and people I visited to try and gather more information on the Indigenization policy.

### **5.2 Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs)**

Government has rolled out Community Share Ownership Trusts countrywide as a development and empowerment initiative through allocating them a 10% stake in all businesses dependent on harvesting natural resources in their areas (Maodza, 2012). Indigenization through Community Share Ownership Trust therefore has been seen as a premeditated initiative to remedy the socio-economic inequalities that resulted from the colonial legacy. Through these trusts government has embarked on rural development projects, such as, maintenance of rural infrastructure including roads, irrigation schemes, water and sanitation facilities, as well as schools and clinics.

This initiative has seen indigenization put into practice empowerment of the previously marginalized as alluded to in its definition. Community Share Ownership Trusts enable those communities endowed with abundant natural resources to benefit from their commercial exploitation (NIEEB, 2013). Sadly, despite being rich in natural and mineral resources, Africa is still experiencing high levels of poverty accompanied by underdevelopment (The Zimbabwe Mining Indaba, 2012). The above statement explains clearly the state development in Africa in general but the impact is felt much more by the rural communities who have disproportionately endured centuries of poverty and underdevelopment. Colonialism led to the dispossession and relocation of communities and confined them to semi-arid areas where they served as reservoirs of cheap labour to support the colonial economy. Historically, these communities have not been accorded any priority with regards to social and economic development. Thus, the indigenization programme was designed to drive social and economic activities to undo the colonial injustices and reduce the inequalities that still remain as the legacy of colonialism. Community Share Ownership Trust emanated as the government saw a need to enhance community development thus helping the community to become basically better able to achieve societal change. I used Community Share Ownership Trusts as my case study as it is strong evidence of the indigenization policy in action.

### **5.3 Background of Community Share Ownership Trusts**

The implementation of the indigenization policy has been made possible through the promulgation of various Acts to ensure standardization and ease of monitoring for compliance and progress. Government statistics indicates that in the mining sector compliance to the indigenization policy was high with 120 mining companies noted to have submitted indigenization plans by the end of November 2012 (NIEEB, 2013). The Indigenization Economic Empowerment Act Regulation 201 (No. 2) made provisions for the establishment of Community Share Ownership Trusts which saw mining companies reaching agreements to development rural communities in which they were operational thereby enabling these communities to benefit from the proceeds of mining operations Martin and Taylor (2012) argues that mining companies have enormous potential to transform rural communities in which they operate. However, since independence, the government has struggled to develop a developmental charter that is lawful and would enable the equitable sharing of mineral resources in Zimbabwe.

This has culminated in the government taking a radical and fast track approach in response to political and economic developments in the country (Saunders, 2007).

Zimplats was the pioneer of Community Share Ownership Trusts in Zimbabwe when it established the Mhondoro /Ngezi Community Share Ownership Trust on 13 October 2011. Subsequently, other mines followed almost immediately. These include Unki mine's Tongogara Community Share Ownership Trust established on 24 November 2011; Mimosa–Zvishavane Community Share Ownership Trust established on 6 March 2012; Gwanda Community Share Ownership Trust established on May 2012; and Zimunya-Marange Community Share Ownership Trust established on 27 July 2012; Masvingo Community Share Ownership Trust established on 16 February 2013; and Chivi Community Share Ownership Trust 2012 (Tshuma, 2013). These are some of the districts I visited to get first-hand information on the implementation process and how the Community Share Ownership Trusts have operated. Mabhena and Moyo (2013) in support of these empowerment mechanisms indicate that they can bring about social and economic transformation in communities. As alluded to above, the mechanism compels companies to cede a 10% stake in the company to the community. The community will then benefit from shareholding dividends, which are then used to support developmental projects in the community. (Musarurwa, 2012).

Bryan and Hoffmann (2007) suggest that mineral wealth should be channeled towards developmental initiatives that benefit all citizens. Bryan and Hoffmann (2007) further state that revenues and dividends accruing from mineral wealth can spur development and significantly reduce poverty in many countries if managed optimally. Meija (2011) concurs with the above and further suggest that if well invested, mineral resources could help address the socio-economic inequalities in the country. Zimbabwe has adopted the community trusts as part of the indigenization policy with the intention to achieve the benefits stated by Meija (2011) and Bryan and Hoffmann (2007).

#### **5.4 Leadership structure and objectives of Community Share Ownership Trust**

The main objectives of the Community Share Ownership Trusts are as follows:

- To enable communities to benefit from their God given resources

- Involve rural communities in the main stream economy of the national economy
- Reinforce the role of communities in the economic development by enabling them to make decisions on their development priorities
- Enable rural communities to hold equity in qualifying business or companies (Dube, 2013).

In a bid to resonate with the Indigenization policy, Community Share Ownership Trusts take note of the provisions outlined below:

Every non-indigenous mining business shall achieve the minimum indigenization and empowerment quota by the disposal after approval of its indigenization implementation plan by the Minister of its shares or interests to designated entities. The General Notice 114/2011 requires that all mining businesses achieve indigenization by disposing 10% shares to the Community Share Ownership Trust (Matyzak, 2012).

To buttress the above notion, Murombo (2010:584) contends that the Indigenization Economic Empowerment Act states that the government's objective is to secure:

- a) At least 51% of the share of every mining company which on or after the fixed date is engaged in the extraction or exploitation of any one or more strategic energy minerals shall be owned by the State of which shares –
  - i. 25% shall constitute the non-contributory interest of the State
  - ii. 26% shall constitute the contributory interest of the State
- b) At least 51% of the shares of every mining company which on or after the fixed dates is engaged in the extraction or exploitation of any precious stones shall be owned by the State and Indigenous Zimbabweans of which shares
  - i. 25% shall constitute the non-contributory interest of the State
  - ii. 26% shall be owned by the State or indigenous Zimbabweans
- c) At least 51% of the shares of every mining company which on or after the fixed date is engaged in the extraction or exploitation of any mineral other than a strategic

energy mineral; precious metals or precious stones shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans.

Compliance with the above terms and timelines is compulsory and failure to do so may result in cancellation of the mining right. However, upon cancellation of the mining right, the holder of mining right has the right to appeal for reinstatement citing reasons for non-compliance (Murombo, 2010).

### **Community Share Ownership Trust Board of Trustees**

- **Chairperson** –Chief
- **Vice chairperson** –Rural District Council Chairperson
- **Secretary** –Rural District Council Chief Executive Officer
- **Members** – Chief, District Administrator, District Youth Development Officer, Women Representative, Disabled Representative, War Veterans Representative, Youth Representative, lawyer, Accountant, Qualifying business representative.

This is the leadership hierarchy in almost all the districts I visited in a few districts where the chief was very old to understand what was going on, they would put the chief's first born son as the chairperson. Community Share Ownership Trust is run by the Board of Trustee which is also guided by the Deed of Trust in the operations of the Trust. The role of the leadership is to facilitate development and promote growth of local economy in the districts. The Community Share Ownership Trust is chaired by traditional chiefs for a one year term on a rotational basis. However, the chiefs will hold office and rotate the chairmanship for as long as they live.

Government clearly outlined the implementation structures of Community Share Ownership Trusts in the Statutory Instrument in all the districts where such Trusts were established. The Community Share Ownership Trusts were established as vehicles through which communities would acquire equity from businesses operating in their areas. These Trusts were designed to ensure local development for as long as these companies were operational thereby ensuring that development projects were sustainable. The regulatory framework for Community Share Ownership Trusts gives communities the responsibility to organize and manage these Trusts. However, their managerial responsibilities should be aligned with other existing regulations

being implemented in the management and maintenance of community natural resources and infrastructure. Sokwanele (2010) acknowledges that Community Share Ownership Trusts permit rural residents to benefit from the transfer of wealth to communities by companies harvesting natural resources in these districts. The establishment of Community Share Ownership Trusts guarantees the flow of revenue to communities from the mining activities. It is stipulated in the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment General Regulations section 21 of 2012 that the revenue channeled through the Community Share Ownership Trusts be utilized for local development projects, such as, hospitals, schools and irrigation schemes, among others (IEEA, 2008). This in turn is expected to uplift the living standards of rural communities through the development of social and economic infrastructure (NIEEB, 2013). I had the privilege to visit 4 districts in Zimbabwe which are, Shurugwi, Zvishavane, Mhondoro Ngezi, and Chivi. In these districts that I visited, I held interviews with selected respondents and also made observations of the community. These districts uncovered significant information that will help in assessing whether indigenization has benefited the disadvantaged or it was a decoloniality strategy.

### **Why was the Community Share Ownership Trust programme launched?**

Community Share Ownership Trusts were created based on the abundance of natural and mineral resources in Zimbabwe, especially gold, diamonds and platinum, and the realization that communities had not benefited from the extraction of these resources since independence. Zimbabwe's minerals have been exported to benefit developed countries while its citizens continued to endure poverty, especially in rural areas. The promulgation of the indigenization policy in 2007 was prompted by the need to guarantee rural communities a share of the nation's mineral wealth through affirmative action in the form of Community Share Ownership Trusts.

Community Share Ownership Trusts are a vehicle for broad-based participation in shareholding in various businesses by our communities. The proceeds from such participation shall be used for the provision of social and economic infrastructure in line with the priorities of the communities concerned. These rural communities should participate effectively; that is they have a bigger part to play so that the much needed development is realized. Local and Community developments initiatives in Zimbabwe are based on the customary background of development that emphasizes handouts, relief and other forms of external aid for spearheading development agendas and

improving livelihoods. Local communities still engage in small income generating projects aimed at improving livelihoods for a few households instead of engaging in community wide interventions that are aimed at fostering economic growth and competitiveness of the whole locality.

The indigenization drive in Zimbabwe is designed to transfer ownership of wealth and productive resources in the hands of indigenous people and reduce the monopoly of private and foreign companies, thereby promoting equity as articulated by Coetze (2010). The author goes further to suggest that indigenization can deliver development through construction of road infrastructure, as well as, dams (Coetze, 2010). To facilitate the accrual of benefits to communities from their natural resources, the government has stipulated that communities hold 10% of equity in targeted companies. This 10% is held in trust for the community by the Community Share Ownership Trust. To date, 61 Community Share Ownership Trusts have been established across the country with 16 of these Trusts having received US\$31, 3 million as seed capital to implement local development projects.

Martin and Taylor (2012:5) state that the implementation of Community Share Ownership Trusts could be the transformational for the rural and national economy while simultaneously serving as an example for other resource-rich African countries to follow. According to Bryan and Hoffmann (2007) there are countries around the world that have successfully utilized revenues from extractive industries for national development including Australia, Canada and Norway. In Africa, Botswana is also widely regarded as one of the countries that have developed a successful model for utilizing proceeds from natural resources to fund public programmes for the benefit of its citizens. All these countries have succeeded because of high levels of transparency and accountability (O'Connell and Lindsay, 2011).

Bryan and Hoffmann (2007:24) add that since the discovery of diamonds in Botswana in 1967, diamond revenues have been channeled towards development of public infrastructure and social services, such as, health and education. Thus, it has been established that a country's mineral wealth can be used to drive job creation through industrialization as well as reduce poverty and facilitate empowerment and capacity building of local communities (ANC Policy Discussion



Document, 2012). Community Share Ownership Trusts provides an example of mechanisms and tools that governments have used for indigenization and economic empowerment.

Rural development as alluded above refers to the stimulation of agricultural and economic growth and the equitable and simultaneous social and economic development (Sustainable development solutions network, 2013). Other goals of rural development as articulated by Coombs and Ahmed (1974) include equitable access to resources, especially arable land and housing, equitable distribution of income; and creation of opportunities for all to ensure widespread empowerment of individual and households. There are various development pathways and Community Share Ownership Trust one of them. Countries should design context-specific pathways to achieve sustainable development (Ladele, 2005). The Community Share Ownership Trusts have brought an integrated approach to development and has improved the lives of communities in which these have been implemented. This integrated approach combines social, economic, and political as well as spiritual aspects and has enabled communities to set development priorities that benefit the rural population.

It has been seen as a strategy that enables a specific group of people; poor rural women and men to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of rural development. The creation of Community Share Ownership Trusts comes in light of Indigenization. Indigenization is a response to the need to empower rural residents and other social groups who have suffered colonial injustices to work their way out of poverty and contribute towards the development of their communities.

#### **5.4.1 Mhondoro/Ngezi District**

Zimplats in Zimbabwe set the ball rolling when the former President R.G Mugabe launched the US \$10 million Mhondoro/Ngezi/Zvimba Community Share Ownership Trust. Mimosa and Unki followed suite. The Community Share Ownership Trust was launched by the government of Zimbabwe in order to empower indigenous Zimbabweans and to address imbalances spawned by colonial dispossession (Maodza, 2012). Zimplats agreed to undertake several projects which would benefit the local community and the Zimplats Annual Report for 2010 indicates that

US\$10,58million had been allocated for social projects in the next few years (Matyzak, 2012). Saunders (2007:13) adds that the 2006 bilateral empowerment agreement with government saw Zimplats cede undeveloped piece of ground equaling 36% of its total land claim to the state in exchange for indigenization credits. Also included in the deal were parts of Zimplats built in infrastructure including 80km of road, electricity supply, housing and social amenities for the mining communities on site for which the company was given dollar for dollar credits (Saunders, 2007).

Kanyenze *et al* (2011) indicate that companies that failed to comply with the initial 25% transfer for the local empowerment drive were levied an equivalent tax of 25 % as a proportion of their production. Where production had been stopped or the company ran a loss, the 25% tax was levied against the estimated value of the company's annual reserves. In Mhondoro Ngezi district I visited 4 different wards with chiefs namely Chief Nyika, Chief Mushava, Chief Benhura and Chief Murambwa. All these chiefs showed that they are well informed about Community Share Ownership Trust and Indigenization. They even get a quarterly salary of RTGS\$5000. They were very happy as they spoke only positive about Community Share Ownership Trust. Chief Mushava said:

Community Share Ownership Trust has helped us so much in our ward we now have water readily available for everyone; 6 boreholes were drilled here in my ward, we thank the government for such an initiative as it is so helpful to the people, government should be concerned about the people's welfare as has happened here (MNCM1:1 October 2017).

He showed so much joy and gratitude towards the Community Share Ownership Trust. Chief Benhura gave a different perspective on Community Share Ownership Trust, he said:

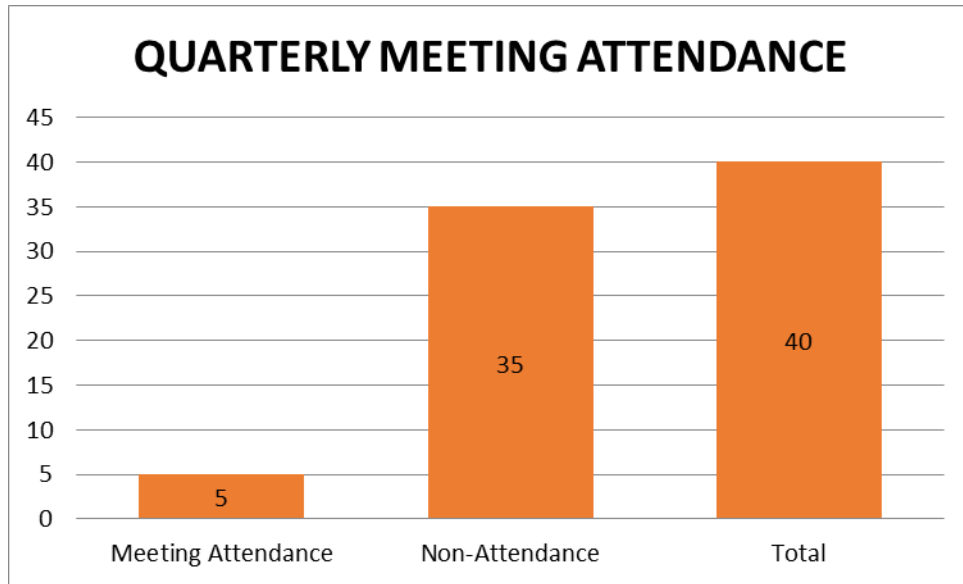
They have brought development yes, but they have divided us as they do not distribute the development fairly. In my ward only 3 boreholes have been drilled. I also asked them several times to build us a clinic and a mortuary, but they have just promised to come but have never appeared (MNCB1:2 October 2017).

From the above statements by immediate chief, this shows that people receive policies differently, with different opinions. Chief Nyika spoke on the issue of meetings; he said:

Meetings are held quarterly and the attendance is not pleasing as only about forty people attend instead of hundred and above (MNCN1:3 October 2017).

Visible developments in the district were construction of 2 blocks at Kaponda Secondary school, 2 staff houses were built at St. Theresa Primary school, desks, textbooks and chairs were given to Matsvitsi Primary School, Murombedzi Primary School, Kamukakwavatema Primary School, Chikambi Primary School, Mzururu Primary School, Beperere Secondary and Karigamombe Primary School. In these schools, they are also provided with food every Wednesdays and Fridays. Uniforms are also given to the underprivileged pupils once after every 3 years. School fees are also paid for these underprivileged pupils. In the district, 12 boreholes have been drilled to date and this has been of so much help in the Mhondoro Ngezi community. Also noteworthy are roads which are being maintained, graded and graveled. Tar has been put on the road that joins Mhondoro to the Harare highway road.

Clinics have been refurbished and Zimplats has built houses for its workers and this has gone a long way in helping the workers with accommodation hustles. Zimplats has taken three quarters of its workers from the surrounding area and this has uplifted the families as they now have stable income on a monthly basis to take care of all the basic needs. Out of the 40 families I interviewed in every village per ward, 10 have someone who works at Zimplats. Out of the 40 families I interviewed in every ward, about 15 families out of 40 knew about Community Share Ownership Trust and Indigenization. There were meetings which were held quarterly. These meetings were a platform to help community members come up with suggestions with regards to developmental projects they would need. Only 5 families out of 40 attended the meetings that were held quarterly. Below is a graph of those who attend meetings and those who do not:



**Figure 5.1: Quarterly Review of Meeting Attendance**

Reasons given for not attending meetings was that it was mixed with politics and the meetings tend to be very long to the extent that on the day the meeting is held they would go home very late. The interviewees complained that they are forced to chant political slogans which they see as unnecessary if it is a programme that is non-partisan. Some also gave reasons that they are always busy with gardening and the fields therefore they will not be able to attend the meetings. From the interviews held almost 40% said Community Share Ownership Trust has brought a positive change in their community they said they have benefited from it. 60% mentioned a lot of issues from nepotism, corruption, fraud and politicization. From Mhondoro Ngezi district it showed that positive things are being done by Zimplats that benefit the whole community at large.

#### **5.4.2 Shurugwi Tongogara Community**

Shurugwi is a small town in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe and is located on a mineral rich volcanic ecological foundation along the Great Dyke. The Great Dyke obliquely from the north to the south of the country over a distance of 550km with a width of between 4km and 11km. Average rainfall of about 650mm-800mm. Temperatures maximum 37°C in summer and 0-6°C in winter (Ministry of Water Resources Development 2004). The Community Share Ownership Trust in Shurugwi has delivered significant developmental benefits for the communities. Unki

Mine is the company that has done commendable work in Shurugwi. Anglo–American Limited is the parent company of Unki mine. Unki has declared that 75% of its proceeds would be reinvested in the country in line with the indigenization regulations. Unki mine has 5000 employees. It is one of the best recruiting and paying companies in Zimbabwe. A mere security guard gets up to USD \$500. For it, indigenization has come and gone. It is still waiting for its share ceding as it participates in the corporate social responsibility programme. The workers at Unki are happy. It seems everything is moving well for them. In 2015 there was no progress on the indigenization talks with the government. The indigenization plan has been postponed to 2017 on mining companies for them to build the smelting and refining plants. Unki mine has built over 3500 houses, a clinic and a primary school for its employees.

The indigenization and empowerment laws empower locals to have 51% stake in natural resource based businesses such as mining with foreigners retaining 49%. Non-resource sectors are open to joint ventures and partnerships under different ministries while the retail sector is reserved for locals. I visited Chief Banga in ward 8, Chief Ndanga in ward 10 and Chief Nhema in ward 14. There are about 40 villages per ward so I chose 4 villages per ward. I randomly selected 40 households per village on average in Shurugwi rural areas. Chiefs are the key stakeholders of the Community Share Ownership Trust. Field observation was also used to evaluate the information given compared to what was on the ground as I stayed there for about 2 weeks observing the community's daily routines. Community Share Ownership Trusts were launched in 2011. The inhabitants in Tongogara were very poor, the soils were exhausted and the roads were very bad. The areas were hardly accessible. Tongogara used to be a stagnant growth point as far as development is concerned; Unki Mine has done a lot in Shurugwi.

Unki mine has implemented several development projects as part of its corporate social responsibility initiatives. Notably, the mine invested over \$120 000 for the construction of Ruchanyu clinic in the Tongogara area. This development has brought relief to thousands of villagers who used to walk long distances to seek medical attention at Mapanzure in Zvishavane or Marishongwe rural health centre in Shurugwi. From the interviews I held one respondent had this to say:

Unki has helped us in this village; we were tired of going to faraway places seeking medical attention. It has not been easy especially for my fellow friends who are HIV positive; they had to travel every Tuesday to collect their medication and those who could not afford transport money defaulted and most of them died. So, Unki is a life saver; it has done us good we thank it so much for this clinic it has constructed. It does not look like it is in the rural areas, the standards are so high and we really appreciate what they have done (UV1: 21 September, 2017).

Another respondent; Unki mine board Chairman James Maphosa had the following comments to make concerning the construction of Ruchanyu Clinic:

This has reduced home deliveries that were putting at risk both mother and child and there are no longer delays in seeking medical attention, or defaulting on medical reviews and supply.

Unki mine board Chairman said his company was committed to uplifting the lives of people surrounding them. Maphosa urged the community to maintain the standards at the health facility to ensure it benefits future generations. At Shurugwi hospital they have given beds, blankets, plates, cups, wheelchairs, sanitary wear and drugs. They have also renovated some of the blocks at the hospital. At Zvamawande rural hospital they have also provided necessary renovations like repainting, wheelchairs, drugs and a few beds. The government's indigenization policy was not very harsh on mining companies. It stated that for investors with US\$500million, government had proposed that indigenous Zimbabweans have rights to at least 20% shareholding in or within the first 5 years by possessing 45% equity in 6-10years and then achieve 51% stakes in 11-15 years (IEEA, 2008). The programme should not benefit only the top officials and the politically connected as happened in the land reform. The empowerment drive should not be derailed by a few well connected cliques; some who are already making the most noise in ostensible support of this initiative who would want to amass wealth for themselves in a starkly greedy, but irresponsible manner whilst the intended majority remain with nothing as what happened in respect to government empowerment schemes such as the land reform programme.

Unki has invested socially in roads and houses in and around the mine. It shows that this foreign company has not salted away profits without investing in social services or threatening them with seizure. Before Community Share Ownership Trust's initiative, health centres and schools were hardly accessible because of poor gravel roads which were badly damaged especially during the rainy season months. It has outstood criticisms that are given to foreign companies especially those that are into mining. They have been accused of taking all their profits back to their country of origin, they are known as looters. The then Minister of Mines Amos Midzi once retorted that:

A mining company could release some ground from its mining claims to the government or Zimbabwean investors. Any ground (mineral rights /claims) released in the past as part of a company's indigenization process shall not count towards its score in terms of this code (AM1 23 October, 2017).

Unki mine has gone as far as building a kidney dialysis centre at the Gweru General Hospital in Gweru city also. This has helped a lot of people who usually went to Harare or Bulawayo for such services. People from Shurugwi also come to Gweru if there is need for kidney treatment. It has made available financial resources for renovations of the healthcare centre and purchase of equipment for the casualty ward. Important to note is what the chairman of Unki said; that health care comes first for them so they have thrived to ensure that hospitals and clinics are equipped and have the capacity to save lives. Findings show that their first priority is health. The government itself is failing to invest in health; most hospitals need medication, renovations but they are doing absolutely nothing towards that. Unki also transformed the Isolation hospital from being a perilous place into a home for quarantined patients battling diseases like Tuberculosis, Cholera and Typhoid that spread easily upon contact between the affected and the public. Transforming the Isolation hospital is informed by the belief that hygienic and surface-lifted environment always give a sense of optimism for survival for anyone who is ill. In an interview I had with Sessil Zvidzai the then Gweru MP, he said:

If companies were persuaded and not forced to engage in corporate projects as is the case with the indigenization regulations, they would do better. More can be achieved through collaboration models of this nature. Methods of coercion like the indigenization policy do not breed trust and cooperation. This is why the prescription of 51/49 % share

arrangement and share ownership schemes have not delivered anything of the magnitude of the casualty ward and dialysis centre at Gweru General Hospital put together by Unki mine (SZ1 22 September, 2017).

Unki Mine is doing well in the era of indigenization unlike other companies that are crying and closing down. The government crafted the indigenization regulations as part of its empowerment drive meant to ensure that locals own the means of production and are in charge of the country's economy. At Musasa Primary School, 5 classroom blocks were built and 3 teachers' houses previously 450 pupils learnt in a disused general dealer shop, butchery and bar building. Below are the dismantled buildings that students used as classrooms.



**Figure 5.2: A dilapidated general dealer shop, butchery and bar building where students used as classrooms.**

Three classroom blocks have been constructed in Tongogara and a staff house. Another block was constructed at Banga Primary School in ward 8. Main road that leads to Tongogara through to Chachacha and the Pakame to Chachacha roads have been graveled as shown below:





**Figure 5.3: Pakame, Chachacha and Tongogara connection road that has been graded nicely.**

Primary schools; Vungwi, Banga, Bokai, Chitako, Makonde, Matamba, Nhema, Pakame, Wida, Zishazha have all been given desks, chairs, textbooks and boreholes have been drilled at each school. Secondary schools such as, Mupangai, Chivakanenyaka, Batanai, Rusununguko, Dombotombo, Bokai, Hanke Adventist, Tongogara and Pakame have been given computers, textbooks desks, chairs and have been electrified. Education level was considered. As I inquired how people in this district make ends meet, they mentioned selling of vegetables; artisanal mining and dependency on other family members that earn a monthly income were cited as contributing to people making ends meet. In every ward, an average 5 families out of the 40 families in a village had a relative that was employed at Unki. This shows Tongogara Community has not yet benefitted much in terms of employment opportunities at Unki Mine. A

lorry owned by the Trust can be hired by any community member at subsidized prices. One community member who spoke about the lorry said:

I have been hiring this lorry when I carried bricks that I used to build my house; their prices are so fair that I didn't feel any gap there, everyone has a right to hire the truck, you have to pay at the rural district council and a driver accompanies you to where you want the work done (SCM1:24 October 2017).

Chirume dam was constructed in ward 14 by Unki Mine; 400 youth were contracted shortly during the construction and it is a source of water to 200 households and people mainly use the water to grow cash crops that help them with income. As for Income generating projects- a nutritional garden was established in ward 10. See below:



**Figure 5.4: Part of the nutritional garden as well as an income generating project.**

This would help in boosting the immune system by eating different types of vegetables. As was said by one of the interviewee:

I am HIV positive and this garden has helped and now my CD4 count is ok because of nutritious eating (SCM2:25 October, 2017).

Others have seen this nutritional garden as an income generating project. Therefore, one of them said:

I am able to pay school fees for my children with money I get from selling vegetables. We grow different types of vegetables. I can also buy books and uniforms for my

children. From this most members can now pay school fees for their children. I thank God for such an opportunity (SCM3:26 October, 2017).

In ward 10 they applauded the building of a mortuary as they previously had problems with safe keeping of corpses at their hospital. The building of a mortuary was a great relief as indicated by one man who I interviewed:

This is a great development for us as now we will not struggle; we once buried one woman who had already decomposed as we waited for her children and relatives to come from abroad. So, now I believe we won't have such a scenario again (SCM4:26 October, 2017).

At Zvamawande Rural Hospital in ward 10, prenatal waiting shelter was built. The shelter is normally called "matumba" as reflected in the name, it means a small round hut which is more or less like a deserted hut, and women will be staying in very small huts that do not even fit properly. So, the building of this shelter where ladies can now even sleep on beds and be served good food and have good toilets as well is a big achievement for these women. One woman I interviewed had this to say:

Matumba was a big punishment, we would be crowded in a small hut, and we would sometimes stay 3 of us in that small hut. No lights we would just sleep in the dark and we also had to cook for ourselves outside even when it was very cold, raining or scorching hot. For these houses they have built for us we can never thank them enough as it is a great relief (SCM5:26 October, 2017).

Water problem has been curbed at Svika Clinic as a borehole has been drilled there. The villagers also gave me their pleas that they do not discredit what the trust did, but they also need income generating projects like poultry, bee-keeping, goat keeping, and piggery.

### **5.4.3 Zvishavane**

People in Zvishavane survive through artisanal mining and they are labeled as *amakorokoza*. When Mimosa started mining in Zvishavane, people had to be migrated to a new site. This was the first information I got from the interviewees as they showed so much concern and they had

mixed views on the moving issue. Graves of their loved ones were exhumed and some refused exhumation. For those whose graves were not exhumed, most of them stayed back as they said it was not proper to disrespect their ancestors by exhuming them. Those who refused to be moved with the others lamented of the problems they now face which vary from water pollution and shortage of grazing and farming land since most land has been excavated. Their cattle are even falling into the pits that have been left open and deep.7 boreholes have been drilled in the Zvishavane district. Unfortunately, I discovered that out of the 7 boreholes only 5 boreholes are still working; some developed technical faults but were never fixed. Below is a photo of one of the boreholes that are no longer working.

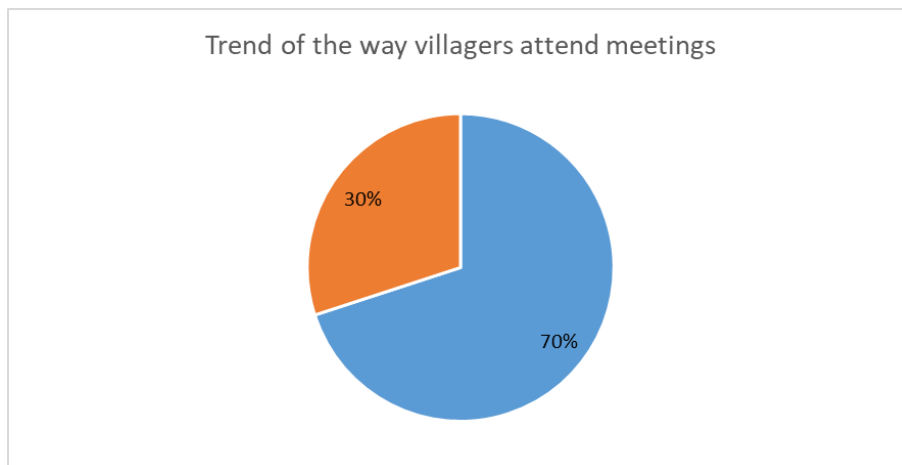


**Figure 5.5: A borehole that has not been working for some time now as dryness is noticed.**

As it was put across by some of the residents I interviewed who unanimously indicated that:

We have requested for the boreholes to be fixed but since our request, it has been 3 years now, do you think they are going to fix it? (ZCM1:11 August, 2017).

Meetings in Zvishavane were held between the community and stakeholders. The chiefs also complained of people's attendance at meetings, only 30% were said to attend, the other 70% was always absent as shown by the pie chart below:



**Figure 5.6: Review of meeting attendance**

The respondents were divided with respect to the way Community Share Ownership Trust runs its affair with particular reference to awarding of tenders for any development which might be deemed necessary in the community. They indicated that tenders and contracts were given to outsiders as it was put across by one of the respondents. One man said:

Building contracts have not been given to us, people from very far are hired for these contracts, this shows that there is nepotism, corruption and non-transparency. It is us who have to benefit from such. A lot of people are builders here we are also able to do all these small jobs that need no expertise, so there is no need for them to exclude us (ZCM2:12 August, 2017).

Contrariwise, the quotation below shows gratitude and happiness in what the Community Share Ownership Trusts have done to their community. One of the participants said:

Though I do not know where it came from I want to thank those who helped us with an irrigation scheme now we can plant carrots, peas, green beans, cabbages and green pepper. We can now make money of our own, and buy our kitchen utensils and clothes. It is easier to send children to school now. This is awesome! Before this scheme in this community, we were poor and did not know how to get out of it. Roads have been repaired. God surely hears prayers he heard our prayers, lulululululu (ululations) (ZCM 3:21 August, 2017).

The above shows joy towards Community Share Ownership Trusts for they have done a positive development in Zvishavane community. It is said that they also provide food as Zvishavane has semi-arid land where rain is scarce. Chief Mapanzure in Zvishavane received a lump sum of money amounting to \$2 million. Development has been seen in the area. A dip tank was constructed in Zvishavane. From interviews, it showed that the residents appreciate as they used to walk a long distance to dip their cattle. Most cattle used to die because most families would not go to dip their cattle regularly as expected. One respondent to the issue said:

We used to walk a distance of about 10 km going to a dip tank and this saw us going only twice a year to dip our cattle; a situation which was not healthy for the cattle. Now, we can dip our cattle twice every month and this has helped our cattle so much (ZCM4:25 August, 2017).

This was a great relief to the villagers of Zvishavane. Farmer training programs have been offered to farmers in Zvishavane where they taught to vaccinate cattle against diseases. They showed that they were so happy to be awarded such a great opportunity. One interviewee said:

I am very happy because this is a life time treasure, until I die I can now vaccinate my cattle, and grow cash crops as we were trained on how we should grow them for example, carrots, green beans, green peas, butternut, potatoes, to mention only a few, this has helped us to generate income of our own (ZCM5:26 August, 2017).

This then became indigenization in action empowering people so that they can be independent and do things for themselves without anyone's help; that is true empowerment. Zvishavane company also helped to improve the quality of cattle stock in the resettlement area by cross breeding pure breed Brahman bulls with the indigenous herd. One respondent said:

The company donated a large number of bulls and heifers to boost the quality of our livestock; we now own quality livestock that will fetch good money on the market (ZCM6:27 August, 2017).

Those who stayed behind when others left to the new accommodation were assisted with agricultural inputs including fertilizer, maize and sorghum seeds, annually. As highlighted by a person I interviewed:

We get fertilizers and seed every rainy season and this is great help as we do not have money to buy these inputs (ZCM7:28 August, 2017).

The mining company under Community Share Ownership Trust constructed a health care center, renovated a clinic and connected clean water. Roads were repaired especially those that linked to the health center. The mine also recruited nurses for the clinic and supplied drugs to curb shortage problem. One of the interviewee's responses below goes thus:

I had to go to the growth point for my medication (ARVs). This was stressing as we had to travel every Tuesday to get my pills. Sometimes I didn't go because of lack of money and this has seen my health deteriorate because of not being consistent as far as my medication is concerned. People are being tested here at our local clinic and receiving adequate treatment here; indigenization has done something significant for us in this district (ZCM8 20 August, 2017).

With regards to education, a single block has been erected at the following schools: Gwemvurachena, Wedza, Chinembure, Chachitsa, Zeruvi, Oresi, Mpumelelo and Tsinami Primary School. At Mukwidza Secondary School, 2 staff houses were built and 1 learners' block was erected. Ingome Secondary School was electrified and this improved the learning quality as science subjects were introduced at the school. Mapirimira Primary School got 2 staff houses. An irrigation scheme was also implemented for the whole community to benefit from it. There is improved learning environment as text books have been supplied, furniture and teachers have been offered refresher courses. One issue that was raised in Zvishavane that was an eye opener was that transparency is needed and all people should benefit despite their political and economic status.

#### **5.4.4 Chivi**

Chivi district in Masvingo Province is one of the poorest and historically less developed districts since the advent of colonialism in Zimbabwe. It is in region IV and V and is drought prone. There is little to no economic opportunities in the district, which comprises of 32 wards which make up 3 constituencies (Chivi North, South and Central). During pre-colonial times, local residents relied on subsistence agriculture and other livelihood strategies for sustenance.

However, their livelihoods were destroyed with the advent of colonialism. However, one of the ways utilized to redress the current social and economic challenges in the district, was through the establishment of a Community Share Ownership Trust. The Trust was established in anticipation of financing from Murowa Diamonds. A community needs assessment was conducted and the outcome prioritized irrigation projects to improve agricultural productivity; improvement of the health system through maintenance of clinics, and hospitals as well stocking of dispensaries; provision of water and sanitation; and employment creation for youth through promotion of income generating projects like carpentry, poultry, and fabrication. Murowa Diamonds provided USD \$300 000 under the Community Share Ownership Trust to fund an irrigation scheme. Although this was a welcome development, some in Chivi remain skeptical about development programmes promoted by the government.

Zunde-Ramambo is a name of an irrigation scheme that was initiated by Community Share Ownership Trust in Chivi district. Irrigation schemes uphold Ubuntu; unity and oneness between and among the communities. Community members have time to fellowship together and plan as to what they can do for their irrigation scheme to be a success. They have ample time to share and exchange ideas as a community for their own benefit. At the time of my visit in Chivi district, the Zunde-Ramambo was not yet finished because of lack of financial resources though some suggest embezzlement of funds had stalled its completion. Six schools were painted and furniture was distributed to Sadzangwena, Ngundu, Masunda South, Chisenga, Masasa and Madamombe Primary School. Benches and tables that amount to a total of 143 per school were disbursed. Before the programme, Chivi used to have water shortage problems compelling women to wake up early and walk long distances to fetch water. Water and sanitation standards have been improved to ensure the provision of safe and clean water. Community Share Ownership Trust has drilled 23 boreholes in the district and this has been a significant development as previously people got water from rivers, dams and wells.

The Community Share Ownership Trust has assisted Madzivadondo clinic with medical equipment and furniture and has also provided assistance to complete a clinic that has been unfinished for over 12 years. The clinic was also electrified to improve service delivery. Before



the above mentioned developments, Chivi people used to go to Mhandamabwe for treatment. A sum of US\$20 000 was also allocated for youth entrepreneurial projects in line with the indigenization principle of supporting the young. Youth who received the loans as it was said were well known ZANUPF members. Under Youth Development Fund, youth had to be given so that they would return the loan. Interviews with those who received the loans showed that the process was politically affiliated and rushed. Most youth who received the loans embezzled, drank beer and forgot about everything. One lady managed to start a buying and selling stall; another youth bought a welding machine and makes door frames, window frames, scotch carts, but showed unwillingness to pay back the loans. From all who received money none of them has anything as from the time of the interview; save for the above mentioned two. This shows that there is need for these youth to be trained and taught and equipped with business skills before money is handed out to them. Some of the youth mentioned that they tried to start small businesses, but they failed to live up to the competition.

From interviews done, it shows that the youth did not know that they had to pay back the loan. They said the terms of the loans were not clear. Some used loans to pay for their kids 'school fees. One alluded that at the time of receiving the loan his mother was sick and he had to pay for all her medical bills but unfortunately she did not make it. In Chivi, these loans were given a day before 2013 presidential elections. This was viewed as a political gimmick to buy votes and this damaged the image of the indigenization programme. From the above, it shows that one can benefit from the indigenization policy directly or indirectly. Youth Development Fund is a crucial principle of the indigenization programme considering the high levels of unemployment rate in the country. This reduces crime rate as well. From the interviews held and from my own ordinary observations, the indigenization policy tried without much success to transform the socio-economic rural livelihoods in Chivi District. What was delivered was just a sparse form of development since the communities partially benefited from the programme. The expected result of the indigenization programme was to promote direct participation of communities in their socio-economic transformation through enterprise development. Results were not 100% because of lack of adequate funding, lack of communication within stakeholders and the political ambitions which went on to shape the pace and direction of the programme.

The projects serve a small catchment area considering the size of Chivi district which comprises 3 constituencies and a total of 32 wards. A ward has 26 villages. Only a few accessed the benefits of the programme. 1 borehole per ward with lots of people will not be enough. Boreholes were put near the village head that had political influence. More schools are needed as well as teachers' houses. 40% mentioned that they have benefited from the Community Share Ownership Trust, while 60% said they have not benefited from the programme.

### **5.5 Information Analysis**

The foregoing indicates that Community Share Ownership Trusts have to a greater extent adhered to the terms and conditions of the indigenization policy. Quite a number of schools received chairs and desks, classroom blocks were built, and electrification of schools and clinics, mortuaries, irrigation and boreholes were put in place. These developments are very significant in a community especially the rural communities. This is empowerment in the making. The irrigation schemes are rich as they provide them with a source of income as well as food. This also brings unity in a community as irrigations are done collectively. These communities have been empowered and united. Electrification has enabled students to learn computers and some science subjects which see them being outstanding.

In the visited provinces of Zimbabwe, development has been noticed through these Community Share Ownership Trusts, employment has been created as quite a number of youths have been employed in these mines. Salaries from the mines help farmers to invest in their agricultural production. Most women have been provided with training and equipment to enable them to start income generating projects. To some extent this has contributed towards the economic empowerment of women, especially those in remote rural areas. Women have started projects such as poultry farming, fish farming, mushroom farming, pig rearing, rabbit keeping, mats knitting, baking, cooking and vegetable farming. This has lived to the definition of indigenization as women are a group of people that has been sidelined before and after independence. This helps to lessen abuse towards women by their husbands and even with their male counterpart in the community. From the interviews conducted, it shows that rural women have been empowered and this will help them to rise and to be confident with their life and to be courageous. Roads have been constructed and this has helped many community residents to

travel conveniently from their community to local markets to sell their agricultural produce. In most of the visited districts they complained that they used to walk a distance of about 5km just to get where transport was carrying heavy luggage; which was not good at all. They were very happy and overjoyed by such progress as it has been of much help to them.

Most clinics in these remote areas have started functioning as they have been renovated and most patients now get treatment locally. Community Share Ownership Trusts have played a major role in uplifting the image of indigenization. Notable empowering development projects have been put in place. This concept of Community Share Ownership Trusts is noble if transparently and properly handled. Unfortunately, the problem with the mining business is it is profit seeking and not for philanthropy. In most of the communities visited the land is dilapidated, it has affected communities in a negative way. Extractive industries have scarred the environment and amassed wealth at the expense of local communities (Sustainable development solutions network, 2013). The mining excavations and blasting has left large and dangerous open pits putting local communities and animals at risk. The Community Share Ownership Trusts have potential to be used as part of the corporate social responsibility of mining companies to benefit communities and to rehabilitate land after mining operations are complete.

In most of the gorges I could see animal bones evident that most animals fall into these gorges and pits. Grazing land for animals is lost in the mining process. The fact is that mining activities are usually confined to rural areas and if not well managed it may cause food insecurity and other related economic losses. In Zvishavane, the mining activities have become a liability as communities have lost agricultural land to mining companies. Water and air pollution has been prevalent in areas where mining is practiced. Indigenization preaches empowerment but the real situation on the ground is disempowering. An argument has been put forward that investments in rural development projects have not yet yielded the expected results in most parts of the country. Almost all the provinces complained about this problem. Uncontrolled movement of haulage trucks has been said to cause degradation of roads; this has seen a rise of accidents in their local roads. The respondents also noted that companies are not bound by any requirements regarding the timing of the disbursements of funds. As a result they can pledge funds but fail to follow through without any consequences. They also complained that Community Share Ownership

Trusts tend to be secretive about their activities thereby raising doubts and mistrust about their intentions by community members.

### **The extent to which the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy meets decoloniality criteria**

It is critical that I answer the question that I said I will answer with respect to whether indigenization meets the criteria of decoloniality. The establishment of Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs) which hinges on empowering rural communities by giving them 10% equity in all businesses that rely on harvesting natural resources in their areas meets the criteria of decoloniality. The reason is that it is meant to economically emancipate the previously disadvantaged and marginalized people. The government's indigenization policy was not very harsh on mining companies. It stated that for investors with US\$500million, government had proposed that indigenous Zimbabweans have rights to at least 20% shareholding in or within the first 5 years by possessing 45% equity. There are various achievements which have been occasioned by the Indigenization policy through the establishment of CSOTs. The achievements include: buying of computers, electrification of schools, construction of dams leading to the setting up of nutritional gardens; which in turn help in generating income, donation of books, furniture, building of workers' and teachers' houses, building of a mortuary, building of a hospital, building of dip tanks, building of prenatal waiting shelter at one of the clinics; resulting in cutting long distances to access medication, drilling of boreholes, building a kidney dialysis centre at the Gweru General Hospital in Gweru city boreholes and building of schools.

Zimplats Annual Report for 2010 indicates that US\$10,58million had been allocated for social projects in the next few years. This clearly shows that CSOTs are a vehicle for economic emancipation which is the essence of Indigenization. However, establishing such economic driven structures like CSOTs should not be considered at face value. If one considers the composition of Community Share Ownership Board of Trustees, it clear that the aspect of oppression of those who do not belong to the ruling ZANU PF party continues. A snapshot of this composition is as follows: Chairperson –Chief, Vice chairperson –Rural District Council Chairperson, Secretary –Rural District Council Chief Executive Officer, and Members – Chief, District Administrator, District Youth Development Officer, Women Representative, Disabled Representative, War Veterans Representative, Youth Representative, lawyer, Accountant, Qualifying business representative. All the aforementioned people pay strong allegiance to the

ruling ZANU PF party. In support of this assertion, I noted during data collection that some research participants shunned attending Community Share Ownership Trust meetings due to political reasons. It was indicated that they were made to chant slogans during meetings and this is at variance with decoloniality theory since oppression continues.

The Decolonial Theory is intended to examine the extent to which the Zimbabwean indigenization policy enhanced or diminished the experience of decolonization of the economy among the marginalized and poor communities in Zimbabwe. The fact that a policy such as indigenization is developed within a context of a post-colonial order in Zimbabwe means that Decoloniality is the appropriate theoretical tool for examining its meaning. This is premised on the notion that Decoloniality recognizes those hidden colonial matrices of power even in spaces and times where colonialism is deemed to have vanished. In the final analysis it can be categorically stated that Indigenization policy through CSOTs has become a hidden political hand which manipulates a truly developmental program and turns it into a political campaign tool. The Rural communities that do not have minerals are not benefiting. This shows indigenization succeeded in replacing a foreign capitalist with a black one but with no real impact on addressing inequality. Indigenization exposed itself as being owned by a particular party and that ZANU PF used this process to de-campaign MDC without truly assessing how communities will benefit. Thus, the matrices of power are still entrenched in a few who are politically linked to the ruling ZANU PF party with those with a different political mindset being thrown to the dustbin of oblivion. There is licentious discrimination based on partisan politics; hence egalitarianism (a principle which is premised on equity and equality) which is one of the hallmarks of decolonial-ness is not being upheld. Nepotism, corruption and non-transparency in awarding of tenders by CSOTs as a result of politicians becoming meddlesome have also made Indigenization policy an outright failure. The Youth Development Fund which is a product of Indigenization policy was said to have been disbursed to ZANU PF stooges a day before 2013 harmonized elections; a clear indication of vote buying. This move is diametrically opposed to the purpose of Indigenization.

## **5.6 The Dusky side of Community Share Ownership Trusts**

### **5.6.1 Limited participation**

With the introduction of Indigenization and Community Share Ownership Trusts, communities were ready to take part in all economic and social activities. Interviews held revealed that public participation is often hindered by a variety of factors, such as, illiteracy, poverty, culture, and gender discrimination. Systems of practical participation with no inspiration results in minimal participation and reduces the significance of participation. Minimal participation is evident in programmes that are designed without community input where power lies with elites outside the community. For communities to feel they own something, they so much want to be involved in the deliberation process as well as in the final decision. Arnstein (1969:35) contends that when communities have no power or influence in the programmes in which they participate, they do so out of compliance and it is often a frustrating exercise as they are unable to effect any changes in their circumstances. In most communities, members lamented that chiefs, councilors, Members of Parliament and other politicians were dominant groups and this shows the inequalities within the community structures. They literally said they were never consulted when it came to management or decision making processes. From all the districts that I visited, only 5 people said they were consulted.

It is envisaged that community participation in the management and use of mineral wealth at the local level has the potential to empower communities and galvanize support to influence government to become accountable and transparent. This then supports why the members of the communities spoke about the issue of corruption, lack of transparency, unfairness, injustice and non-equitability in resource utilization. In Zvishavane in 2012 chiefs corruptly pocketed \$2million dollars from the community's trust account which they in turn were forced to return by the then local government minister Ignituous Chombo. The funds should not be abused. The elite have been so corrupt and they loot whatever comes their way. Indigenization is a productive policy, but during the implementation the benefits are diverted by the elites with no regard for the local communities. Botswana stands out as an example of how local empowerment programmes should be implemented. Zimbabwe also has the potential to achieve total empowerment of its people if government demonstrates a strong political will. This is an eye opener as it shows that quite a number of these top officials squander and embezzle funds not

meant for them and they get away with it. In most cases funds do not reach the intended beneficiaries because of corruption and greediness.

### **5.6.2 Unfulfilled promises**

Companies pledged large amounts of money to various Community Share Ownership Trusts ranging between US\$10million to US\$15million at their launch (Mawowa, 2012). Their pledges had no legal connotations attached to them; like failure to pay the pledged amount will lead to withdrawal from the area of operation. It was based on an adhoc basis. Tendai Biti (Former Finance Minister) also echoed this point by indicating that the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act did not have any legal mechanism to compel mining companies to release funds to Community Share Ownership Trusts (Kanyenze, 2013). Due to these anomalies, some Community Share Ownership Trusts have not received the money pledged or have received very little compared to the pledged amounts; thus delaying the operation of the community trusts. Looking at the developments done so far, they are not worth more than \$500 000 in each community. This shows that very little if not none has been done so far. From IIEEA records, only 5 Community Share Ownership Trusts have received the pledged funds in full out of the 62 registered trusts (IIEEA, 2017). Capacity building is critical to ensure that they are able to broaden the beneficiary base and maintain a non-partisan approach in their investment choices.

### **5.6.3 Lack of Transparency**

There is no clarification whatsoever of how representatives are selected; it is a culture that the chairmanship of the Community Share Ownership Trust is reserved for the chief. The lack of clarity affects the level of commitment by other members. Furthermore, the lack of clarity on the roles and responsibilities of local communities affects the performance of the Community Share Ownership Trusts. Given the lack of planning and monitoring of the indigenization policy, The Trusts tend to benefit a few individuals who form part of the elite who are connected to the ruling party and chiefs in the targeted districts.

### **5.6.4 Information Distortion**

Mabena (2013) says corporate social responsibility should not be compulsory. Mining companies already pay taxes and therefore donating huge amounts of money to Community Share

Ownership Trusts might be perceived as a double taxation by some companies. Mabhena (2013) goes on to say the dialogue should be left between the community and its leaders. The research revealed that there is lack of knowledge and information regarding the community trust in the community. Lack of information influenced a negative outcome. When people are not communicated to, they do not take part in anything. Those members of the community who indicated that knew about the Community Share Ownership Trusts tended to have wrong or distorted information. Respondents were of the view that chiefs forced mining companies to provide money for the community trusts to fund development projects.

There is also a belief in the community that that the chiefs own the community trusts. The perpetuation of this belief appears to be deliberate as this enhances the chief's control and power over the community. The chief then appears as a saviour by community members thereby entrenching their paternalistic hold on the community. The misrepresentation of community trusts as projects for chiefs destroys the motivation for community participation. Therefore, when chiefs also personalize these community trusts it creates potential for corruption. Sometimes the chiefs demand exorbitant sitting fees therefore becoming the major beneficiaries of community trusts.

#### **5.6.4 Development short-lived**

Community Share Ownership Trusts have improvised noticeable development. They have empowered the communities to a certain extent, but it has not reached the peak of empowerment. Development across the districts has not been homogenous with some lagging behind. Despite abundant resources, most rural communities adjacent to mines have benefitted minimally from their operations. There is more that mining companies can still do to alleviate the poverty in these communities. Currently, some of these communities continue to be poorly developed with poor infrastructure and roads, including those around the mines; and no electricity in these rural communities. This runs contrary to the notion that mining activities and mineral wealth should empower communities through reducing poverty and developing local communities through SME promotion, and entrepreneurship. Despite so many efforts that have been made even by government itself to rural development, rural communities remain in need of further development. Although progress has been made, more still needs to be done. To note is a larger



population resides in the rural areas and in real life they are still relatively less developed by far compared to those in urban areas. Benefits in the community such as employment and infrastructure developments are realized when the locals change their perspectives and motives in a positive way for a positive outcome. An explanation of the above statement is the rural populaces have got a dependency syndrome as they are used to be given handouts by Non-Governmental Organizations. From the interviews I held, most of them just want to be given everything on a silver platter. They are not keen to work or to think. So, for them to completely come out of poverty or from their current situation there is need for cooperation from both sides; that is the Community Share Ownership Trusts and the rural residents. This way, development will be inevitable.

### **5.6.5 Political Affiliation**

The MDC denounced the policy as inconvenient, hasty, destructive and detrimental to the country's economic development. It has been seen by the people in the community as a front for a few black elite enrichment. The Indigenization policy and Community Share Ownership Trusts have promoted massive wealth accumulation by an elite class in government or with strong ties with the ruling party rather than the transfer of wealth to marginalized communities and social groups (Saunders, 2007). Murombo (2010:571) questions the suitability of the mining laws and the Indigenization Empowerment Economic Act to deliver inter-generational equity in the mining sector in Zimbabwe. From research, I found out that the schemes are premeditated to control the egocentric manipulation of the country's resources for the benefit of multi-national corporations and other foreign businesses without benefit to indigenous Zimbabweans. Maodza (2012:1) states that the Community Share Ownership Trust seeks to create conditions that enhance the status of the people through the development of competitive domestic private sector partnership through establishment of bodies that will hold shares in qualifying business on behalf of their respective communities. Thus, Community Share Ownership Trust has however, become a hidden political hand which manipulates a truly developmental program and turns it into a political campaign tool. The Rural communities that do not have minerals are not benefiting. This shows indigenization succeeded in replacing a foreign capitalist with a black one but with no real impact on addressing inequality. Indigenization exposed itself as being owned by a particular party and that ZANU PF used this process to de-campaign MDC without truly

assessing how communities will benefit. In addition to the Community Share Ownership Trust discussed at length above, I also interviewed different kinds of people so that I would get diverse information on the Zimbabwean policy which is Indigenization.

### **5.7 Unemployed Post Graduates**

Their understanding of indigenization is complex, intricate and problematic. An analysis of their epistemic location shows that they are bitter people without employment, sunk in poverty despite being educated. Their understanding of indigenization is it came to downgrade them as it left them on the streets selling vegetables, phones, electrical gadgets, shoes and clothes. Indigenization is defined as the deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country to which hitherto they had no access so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the nation's resources (IEEA, 2007). You had to be an indigenous person to be involved in the process. To them being indigenous means being self-employed, occupying yourself, thus maybe, buying and selling or being involved in any kind of small business just to sustain yourself; then you are an indigenous. Their argument is if indigenization really wanted to involve the disadvantaged and eradicate poverty as purported then a question to ask is why do we have million graduates miserably sitting at home jobless. They feel that indigenization had to provide jobs for a large number of the unemployed. It had to be a problem solver for it to be deemed an empowering or emancipator policy. No wonder at the time of its inception millions migrated and this bled the country of a reservoir of skills that neighboring countries and those abroad have welcomed with open arms. Over 2 million Zimbabweans are resident outside the country. A quotation below shows how bitter, unpleasant and hostile these unemployed post graduates are; and one of them said:

I do not understand where this country is going, I have a Master's Degree as you see me here but to tell you the truth eating is a problem, I have a family how do I take care of it without a job. With these kinds of papers, my kind of qualification I have to sell tomatoes and vegetables to see to it that my family survives. Indigenization came just to enrich the elite and the disadvantaged have remained disadvantaged, I do not know till when. Unemployment, poverty and tears are our daily bread. Look around you and see if there is any industry functioning, where are we supposed to get jobs, most companies have

closed down living behind ghost buildings. What are we to do, where are we to stay, what are we to say and to whom? Is the question to ask (G1:14 August, 2017).

This answer was given when I had just asked the respondent how he views indigenization. The above clearly states some of the indigenization policy's weak points. It did not cater for the educated as they add much value to the economy and the country at large. The indigenization policy overlooked the fact that the key transmission channel between growth and poverty reduction is employment. The informal and illegal sectors are the new recruiting agencies. Moreover, I went on to ask another respondent if the indigenization policy benefited the intended beneficiaries. His response was:

Indigenization did not fully benefit the intended, but it continued creating the gap between the poor and the rich, the haves and the have nots in Zimbabwe. Nepotism stained the indigenization policy. Without connections you were not eligible to benefit from the SMEs and ECOTs. Look at the individuals who benefited the likes of Wicknell Chivayo, Michael Nelson, they were relations to the authority. Most people will agree with me that without connections it's very rare if not unheard of to bid and win a government tender worth millions like what happened to Wicknell Chivayo. In my opinion, the elites and politicians benefited more than those who had to benefit. No relation no benefit, no relation no job. It is now a dog eat dog situation, a capitalist world has been created. That is our everyday life now. We no longer know what to do, where to go and how to do it. Indigenization did a good thing by decolonizing but the problem is the way of doing things seems that we have gone back to the colonial period where marginalization, sidelining, and factionalism have become the order of the day (G2:14 August, 2017).

The above argument states the point of partiality, discrimination, exploitation and deceit. He also answered the issue of decoloniality and in essence he was saying the idea was good but the methods were wrong. The agency changed, but the structure is still the same. The used structure is embodied in corruption, oppression and marginalization. This then shows that indigenization did not accomplish what it was enacted for. It did not live up to expectations. It perpetuated coloniality under the guise of decoloniality. The truth is we cannot implement decoloniality

according to standards set by coloniality, thus to say we cannot bring a solution using the means of the problem; in short the ruler's tools will never destroy the ruler's house. In an interview that was held by Ruvheneko Parirenyatwa with Wicknell when he was asked of his sources of money, he clearly said:

I'm surprised you would even ask me that because I'm all over the papers signing big deals. When you see me on ZBC signing a \$123 million deal I mean that's not a joke. What it means is that Zimbabwe Power Company is going to pay me \$123 million that's what it means literally. My company to date has received \$601 million dollars (Radio interview on April 2016).

From the information given above, it shows that the privileged members of the society are more connected and they have benefited from political affiliations which the disadvantaged was not privy to. Indigenization's main aim was to redress social and economic past imbalances of the disadvantaged. Merely looking at the evidence found on the ground, it shows that they repeated the mistake they wanted to correct. The gap between the haves and the have nots has been enlarged and it is growing every day. The agency changed but the structure is still the same. The decolonial thinking always starts by calling into question existing structure asking how they came to be. Mignolo (2011) says decoloniality calls for a poly-centered and non-capitalist world. He went on to say, before 1500, the world was polycentric and non-capitalist from 1500-2000 the world became mono-centric and capitalist and from 2000 on the world became polycentric and capitalist.

### **5.8 Employed graduates**

The Employed post graduates seem not to worry much about indigenization as it does not affect them much. Their epistemic location is good as they get a salary every month which sustains them to live above the poverty datum line. The salary assures them of a meal at the end of the day. From the interviews I held with them, they showed that being involved with indigenization will make their hands dirty as it is a political issue and very sensitive for that matter. I then realized that with people like these the world will come to a halt because they have jobs and salaries they do not want to join hands to solve the problem of the disadvantaged.

## **5.9 People living with disabilities**

Those with physical disabilities and the blind are on the streets every day. It seems they do not feel the scorching of the sun, the heavy thunderous rains and the icy cold weather as they beg each and every day of their lives. I managed to speak to one respondent who is blind. Although the respondent spoke of her own personal experiences there was a sense that the challenges she encountered also extended to other people living with disabilities. The quote below demonstrates the desperation they experience:

My child where are you from, have you come to bring us out of this dungeon that we are in? If only we could find shelter we will be at peace. We beg here in the streets but we sometimes go home empty handed and we sleep on empty stomachs. It seems no one notices us; do they even know we exist, do they see us? I don't think so. Most of us stay in the streets. I don't know what you mean by indigenization. I have never heard of a word that big. If they could only involve us in these government programs they do, it was going to help, but eish God have mercy. Help us my child if you can please (D1:12 August, 2017).

Her testimony was so touching and emotive. She indicated that most people living with disabilities have no knowledge whatsoever of the indigenization policy. This undoubtedly shows that this category of people did not benefit at all from the indigenization policy. This category of people has been; sidelined and marginalized from benefiting from the indigenization policy, whereas they are the ones that have been disadvantaged all their lives by blindness and disability. With a little bit of empowerment and support, they can do a lot better in the society. From the other ones that I also interviewed it showed they had no knowledge whatsoever of this program.

## **5.10 University Students**

I visited Midlands State University and picked students at random and interviewed them. From the interviews held, it showed that these students are hopeless. They do not see any light at the end of the tunnel. Their biggest concern was they are just learning but what next after education. They highlighted that they have brothers and sisters that have 10-15 years after completing their

university education, but they are still at home with no jobs. I quoted one below in his exact words:

This life is meaningless, nothing seems to be working, in this economy, the uneducated are making money and the educated are wailing in abject poverty. Indigenization had to bring us jobs and help in our living and learning conditions. As I speak, we live in harsh conditions because we lack almost everything. No wonder the crime rates in Zimbabwe have gone up people do not have formal means to access money. As students, we appeal this indigenization policy to create jobs for us and for our brothers who are at home. You cannot go to school so that you can just sit at home. We also want to contribute to our economy in one way or the other (S1:13 August, 2017).

It is beyond reasonable doubt that students do not appreciate the indigenization policy as they allude that it has not done enough to empower the marginalized rather, it has further disempowered lives.

### **5.11 The Youth**

A youth fund of US\$10million has been created by the indigenization policy through a partnership between Old Mutual and MYDIE. The ministry has partnered with Old Mutual and CABS to create opportunities for youth empowerment thereby ensuring their active participation in the mainstream economy; ultimately combating the youth unemployment scourge (NIEEB, 2011).The fund is code named Kurera/Ukondla (NIEEB, 2013). The Youth Fund is meant to fund youth businesses and income-generating projects as well as enable youth to participate in the mainstream economy and contribute to economic growth and development. It is also meant to assist social and economic development in communities through reducing idleness, promoting productivity, creating employment and a sense of worth among youth. The fund had a maximum threshold of \$5000 which was meant for young people aged between 18 and 35. The eligible projects fall into sectors of manufacturing, agriculture, distribution services, telecommunications, engineering, tourism, mining and retail.

The interviews I held show that the fund has not been equitably distributed and its implementation has been done without the key elements of empowerment capacity assessment

namely; training, systems development and mentoring. In one interview I held with youth one stood out to answer and he said:

This money was meant for the youth, but how many got it. Only a few individuals out of the millions that were allocated for us got the money. Where did the other millions disappear to? My business proposal was rejected and I didn't get the money. (Yth 1:14 September, 2017)

The above information sheds more light on the loopholes discovered in the implementation of the indigenization policy. If these youth are idle that is when they will think of stealing, abusing alcohol /drugs and all kinds of bad things. The youth are the future generation, if they are all uneducated, unfocused and poor how is tomorrow's world going to be run. Below is a response of a youth who got the funding:

I had the privilege to be given the \$5000, but it was not enough. Anyway half a loaf is better than nothing. The process until I got the money was too long, delays to come and assess the project and delays in responding to the proposals. I am doing poultry and I have managed to generate income through this project. My life has changed to a certain level (Yth2:14 September, 2017).

From the above, it shows that US \$5000; the maximum limit of loans was too low for the targeted sectors and most of the new projects would be underfunded with this amount if there is no other source of funding. Fund implementation had challenges of its own. The indigenization fund disbursement team argued that delays were caused by poor quality of business proposals (mainly poultry, fruit and vegetables, fish farming and many more). These loans had to be repaid so they argue that they had to look for potential candidates and not just anyone. Loan disbursement is not the end, but the beginning of the process which should be completed through timely repayments. To date, as said no youth has ever paid back their loans. Simply making loans available does not solve the problems, but in fact it creates a bigger problem should the project fail. From the interviews held, it shows that the funds have not been equitably distributed and the implementation of projects has been done without the key elements of empowerment capacity assessment, namely; training, systems development and mentoring. Vocational training centers were built by the indigenization policy to equip those youth who would have failed at

school to nurture their talents. These were built in almost every district and province especially in high density areas. Talent is nurtured in areas of hairdressing, sewing, welding, mechanic, music, carpentry, farming management, farm processing, hotel and catering, wild life management, forestry, tourism and a lot more. These courses are mainly to create self-income generating projects for the youth which is a big step. Unfortunately, most of these buildings in most districts have become ghost buildings and there are no longer used. There was a mismatch between the skills being developed by the training system and what is needed on the labour market.

### **5.12 Land Indigenization**

Land was indigenized in 2000 during the land reform in Zimbabwe where black Zimbabweans got land which previously was in the hands of whites. From the farms that I visited, the land resource is not being utilized to its maximum capacity. Most land lies idle and it is not being utilized. As I asked the reasons why they are living land idle when they have been empowered by being given land the response is below:

There is need for the government to address the issue of land ownership. Yes we were availed land, but to date no finalizations have taken place. Mere access to land without ownership and security of tenure is not indigenization. As long as land tenure is not guaranteed, there is no way anyone with access to land availed through the land reform program can even start the process of empowerment. Land should be used as an asset that can enable people to access finance to develop themselves. True empowerment begins with ownership and control over land; the base on which everything stands. We want that lease agreement; let it be finalized now. (F1:15 September, 2017)

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy; so as the Zimbabwean government is indigenizing the economy, it should not overlook the issue of land. Farming and land ensure food security at national and household level. As alluded to above, empowering farmers is government's finalization on land ownership. Farmers should have control over land and not just access. The issue of 99 year lease or title deeds needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency so that land becomes an asset again. This will be vital as farmers can use it as collateral security for loans.



There seems to be no certainties if there are no guarantees. De Soto (2001) says that land is dead capital if it cannot be used to acquire loans. More on land is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

### **5.13 Small to Medium Enterprises and Indigenization**

There is a growing global recognition that SMEs play a critical role in social and economic development through employment creation, technological innovation, efficient use of resources and promoting inter-sectoral linkages and developing entrepreneurial skills. There is need to enable Small to Medium Enterprises to benefit from globalization by connecting, extending and maximizing the use of the existing networks for Small to Medium Enterprises operating on a geographical sectoral and functional basis; thus improving the quantity, quality and updating of products, information and services provided online and promoting internationalization and possible integration and coordination by taking advantage of the advancement in information and communication technologies. There is need to strengthen the coordination among the Small and Medium Enterprises and for the transitional bodies supporting Small and Medium Enterprises; already operating at local level in order to improve and to better qualify their supply as well as to make information and services more accessible to those countries and geographical areas that are less familiar with Small and Medium Enterprise issues and promoting the development of new networks for Small and Medium Enterprises and for their transitional; the creation of new websites and internet portals, with a multiplier effect .

The Ministry of Small Medium Enterprise Cooperation defines a small enterprise as a business that employs not more than 50 employees while operating as a registered entity and a medium enterprise as one employing up to 75 and 100 people. SEDCO (2010) does not differentiate between Small and Medium enterprises and further defines it as a firm that has not more than 100 employees with maximum annual sales of up to \$830 000. Small and Medium Enterprises play a vital role in economic growth and sustainable development of every nation (Moore, 2008). Small and Medium Enterprises are defined in European countries as independent firms with fewer than 250 employees (Math 2006p.29). In Japan it has more than 300 employees providing about 78% of jobs according to the official definitions and in the United States it has 500 employees. In the European Union such firms provide employment for more than 70 million people or two thirds of all European Union jobs (Math 2006 p.29). In other countries, SMEs are

defined on the basis of quantitative and qualitative elements such as number of workers employed and annual turnover or the level of fixed investment (Math 2006 p.31). It has been discovered that Small and Medium Enterprises contribute over 60% to the country's GDP and employs about 5.8 million people (Fin Scope Survey of 2012). Their services help so much in meeting the needs of households both in rural and urban areas. They have provided a practical solution to unemployment, poverty and declining household incomes. All ages are involved; school leavers, youth, old women and men.

South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Malaysia and China's indigenization success story is attributed to Small and Medium Enterprises; they have immensely contributed to the countries' industrialization. Mudavanhu (2011) says it is a critical ingredient in the sustainable development of developing economies. Storey and Westhead (1994) support the above by saying Small and Medium Enterprises are regarded as the seed bed for the development of large companies and are the life blood of commerce and industry at large. The Small and Medium Enterprises personnel's reaction in an interview towards indigenization is below:

I thought we were going to get money from indigenization to boost our small businesses but we were wrong. I had no access whatsoever to finances that others said they got. Reasons being that they said my paperwork was not in order (S1:20 September, 2017).

The major contention is that the indigenization was willing to finance these Small and Medium Enterprises, but most commercial banks were against that point and they gave reasons of preferring to deal with large corporations which are ordinarily regarded as low risk, professionally run and properly constituted legal entities. The other interviewee that I asked about indigenization said:

I didn't meet the requirements. The bank needs a lot of requirements before they give you money. Proof of residence, surety, guarantor and a whole lot of things (S2:21 September, 2017).

Looking at the outlook of these Small and Medium Enterprises, directors are usually 4 namely; husband, wife and 2 children. There are no proper financial records due to poor record keeping and accounting practices. From my observation I realized that these Small and Medium

Enterprises lack management expertise; often one person is the manager who performs a number of functions usually with no formal training whatsoever. So, access to funding is a major challenge; most of them rely heavily on funding; this then means without this Small and Medium Enterprises either fold or remain small. The above information is frightening to the champions of Indigenization as a family company will embezzle money and disappear. This is a problematic issue as at first indigenization is taking the discriminated and again here they are discriminating on complex grounds. I visited Glen View 8; a huge complex full of indigenous small to medium entrepreneurs. They venture into different kinds of handwork. These vary from manufacturing, building materials, walling, fencing products, household goods such as bedroom suits, kitchen units, sofas, wardrobes, kitchen chairs, TV stands, room dividers; the list goes on. The problem is they do not have adequate and good toilets at their working place, no proper storage space, raw materials, unfinished products and finished furniture is exposed to harsh weather conditions such as rain and sun. They do not need much help as they are people who are already running their businesses. They need uplifting which is empowerment. If the government and its indigenization programme do not help such people then who are the beneficiaries. The government needs to identify such people and assist them in any way possible. From the interviews held, people said they do not need money; what is crucial for them are toilets and clean drinking water as well as shelter for their products so that they do not succumb to the harsh weather conditions.

The other challenges that they mentioned in passing is that if it is possible, they can be availed with additional capital; this would help them in procuring raw materials and upgrading their technological capabilities. They also stated clearly that indigenization has not done much to help them. The constraints they face include: difficulties in procuring raw materials, lack of access to relevant business information, difficulties in marketing and distribution, low technological capabilities, high transportation costs, communication problems caused by cumbersome and costly bureaucratic procedures and policies and regulations that generate market distortions among other plans as also alluded by (Bass, 2012). Small and Medium Enterprises do have a lot of problems and some of which are external and some internal. On external, I mean problems that result from factors beyond the control of the industrialist such as availability of power and other infrastructural facilities required for smooth running of small-scale industries. Internal problems are those which are not influenced by external forces and relate to organization,

structure, production channel, technical know-how, training, industrial relations, and inadequacy of management. In the field I found out that these small sectors have limited resources which hinder their growth. They lack vertical and horizontal integration, inadequate training in skills, poor and loose organization, lack of strategies, labour problems, poor management, poor production, and poor project implementation, faulty planning as well as poor choice of ideas. With all these deficiencies, it is impossible for our Zimbabwean Small and Medium Enterprise to thrive.

I also observed that they had shortage of industrial land, difficulty in identifying appropriate technology and technical assistance, lack of project preparation, planning and evaluation. There is great mismanagement and diversion of funds, wrong divided policy, excessive overheads, and lack of provision for depreciation of machinery and other equipment, and over-estimation of demand. There is a lot of dishonesty among partners, wrong selection of project sites resulting in increased transportation costs. They under-estimate the project cost; so when they get funds, they do not get to finish the project which leads it to a halt because they will not be able to go back and say the money is not enough, but to sit and sink. Some got the money and squandered everything and never implemented the projects. All these issues have left the government without faith in these Small and Medium Enterprises; though they have done stunningly well in other countries, but in our country it is not tallying. Van Praag and Versloot (2007) observe that developed countries like United Kingdom spent around 8 billion pounds on Small and Medium Enterprises and entrepreneurship which is significant enough as it equates to budgetary provisions that are almost the same as sectors such as the police and academia. Zimbabwe's Community Share Ownership Trusts are influenced mostly by the desire to make profits and not by the philanthropic need to assist communities in their economic, social and environmental development. Most companies are in business to make profit; their support to the resettled farmers in this study just ceased by the time they completed the resettlement programme.

### **Decoloniality, The Zimbabwean Indigenization policy and various Zimbabwean groups**

In a bid to answer the extent to which the Zimbabwean Indigenization policy responds to the needs of the various sections of the Zimbabwean populace, the following is what was unraveled during data collection. I was happy that Indigenization policy was meant to ensure that those

who were disadvantaged economically needed to have access to the mainstream economy. One area in which this was achieved was through the construction of vocational centres. Vocational training centers were built by the indigenization policy to equip those youth who would have failed at school to nurture their talents. These were built in almost every district and province especially in high density areas. Talent is nurtured in areas of hairdressing, sewing, welding, mechanic, music, carpentry, farming management, farm processing, hotel and catering, wild life management, forestry, tourism and a lot more. These courses are mainly to create self-income generating projects for the youth which is a big step. However, it was realized that the realities of job market and the courses offered were not in tandem with each other.

The various groups that I interfaced with during data collection included the unemployed graduates, people living with disabilities, university students and the youth; among others. It stood out that Indigenization has failed because it has failed to provide jobs to a countless degree holders. It has also not been able to address the needs of those living with disabilities; and it was wrongly minted as a policy because it lacks control mechanism to shut in the needy and disadvantaged and shut out the elite who are already economically sound. It did not cater for the educated as they add much value to the economy and the country at large. The indigenization policy overlooked the fact that the key transmission channel between growth and poverty reduction is employment. Indigenization had to bring jobs and help in living and learning conditions. These people appealed that this indigenization policy needed to create jobs for them.

The abysmal failure of the Indigenization comes against the background of lack of proper sensitization of sectors of the population such as those with disabilities. They had no knowledge whatsoever of the indigenization policy. This undoubtedly shows that this category of people did not benefit at all from the indigenization policy. This category of people has been; sidelined and marginalized from benefiting from the indigenization policy, whereas they are the ones that have been disadvantaged all their lives by blindness and disability. With a little bit of empowerment and support, they can do a lot better in the society. The unemployed graduates and university students alluded to the issue of decoloniality and in essence they said the idea was good but the methods were wrong. The agency changed, but the structure is still the same. The used structure is embodied in corruption, oppression and marginalization. This then shows that indigenization

did not accomplish what it was enacted for. It did not live up to expectations. It perpetuated coloniality under the guise of decoloniality.

## **5.14 Companies**

### **Bata Shoe Company**

My visit to the Bata Shoe Company demonstrated the prevailing political atmosphere in the country which was rife with suspicion. This made it difficult to collect the relevant data at the level of detail required. The company also allowed me to speak to a few representatives. However, within the constraints of these conditions, I was able to gather the information detailed below. The Bata Shoe Company is the country's biggest shoe manufacturer. As far as indigenization is concerned they were given a deadline of April 2016 to submit their compliance plans in line with the country's empowerment laws under which they had to cede at least 51% shareholding to locals. I found out that as part of its empowerment programme and compliance with the country's indigenization laws, the company has sub-contracted business people to make tennis shoes using machinery it has withdrawn from its Gweru plant. It has expanded its Associated Business Units to 5. The managing director said that:

We have set up 2 more Associated Business Units to bring them to 5 as part of our efforts to support indigenous people in setting up small to medium industries. We now have a total of 5 ABUs with 4 into stitching our tommy tennis shoes while the fifth one is into the manufacturing of patapata; through these efforts we have employed 125 people and we will continue to look at ways of supporting locals (MD 1:25 September, 2017).

I asked how their company survived before and after the indigenization policy. The managing director Luis Pinto said:

This company used to be very convenient and efficient. It has gone down tremendously. We used to be Gweru's biggest employer with 6000 employees, but we have cut down the number of workers to 1500 and we want to even cut more. We used to produce 10 million pairs per annum, but now we produce 200 000 pairs or less per annum. Just after the announcement of the indigenization law in 2008, the company operated at below 30% capacity. If it wasn't for the Ministry of Industry and International Trade which offered us help, I don't know what could have happened. From the look of things we might close down soon if the economy doesn't stabilize. Look at what happened to ZIM Alloys, ZIM

Glass and White Head; they have all closed down. Our Kwekwe industrial site has closed down because of viability problems as well as operating at 30% capacity which was unprofitable; as a result it has relocated to Gweru. 134 employees had to relocate to Gweru without notice and this was a great inconvenience. Our indigenization proposal was rejected by the government. So, for now we are just operating in darkness as we await our fate. Their Indigenization percentages are not investor friendly (MD 2:25 September, 2017).

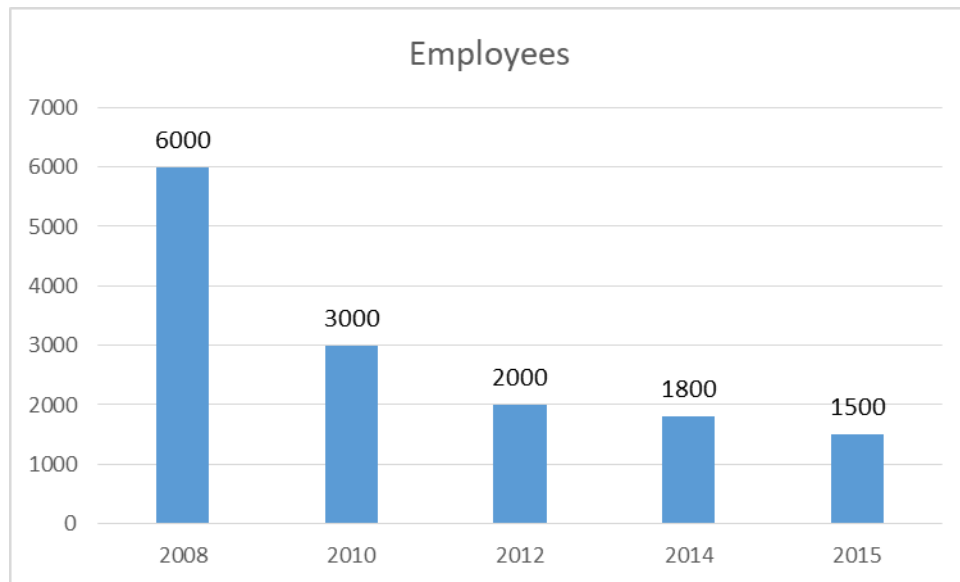
The above information brings out despair as most of the companies have closed down because of the unfavorable economy of Zimbabwe. Indigenization here is not depicted as a policy that has brought development, but it has caused a lot of companies to fail. Then one tends to ask, what really is this indigenization and what does it intend to achieve, is it the closure of companies? They mentioned other challenges that have been brought about because of indigenization. They indicated that as a company, they are now failing to acquire enough raw materials for the manufacturing of shoes. They also said that they have machine challenges; most of their machinery is no longer functioning well and they need a lot of money to renovate those machines. They also highlighted that they target to export their products to Latin America as they already export to Europe and Asia. Regionally they export to South Africa, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. He went on to speak a bit positively on indigenization when he said:

We have partnered with Kaguvi Training Centre near Gweru which is now producing about 2000 pairs of shoes every month and the Mupfure Vocational Training Centre near Chegutu. This has seen us accomplish measures to empower entrepreneurial institutions and which is part of indigenization; thus empowering the marginalized. Students have managed to get training from the exercise; the staff has been capacitated and the centre has also managed to get income though it is not very significant, but it has been helpful (MD 3:26 September, 2017).

The information above has shown that despite their bad news on indigenization, they have heard the preaching of empowerment and they are also playing their part as far as empowering the marginalized is concerned. They have empowered the youth with skill that no one can take away from them. On issues to do with empowerment, there is a primary and a secondary school just in

their yard. They help these pupils with textbooks, exercise books and prizes such as shoes on prize giving days. They also help with erecting of buildings; they recently built the school a library and repainted the whole school. Helping pupils with textbooks and various learning material is the best empowerment tool you can ever give as this will help these children come out of poverty when they work hard and pass. Education is the key to success.

Below is a trend of the life they lived before and after indigenization on employees and production:



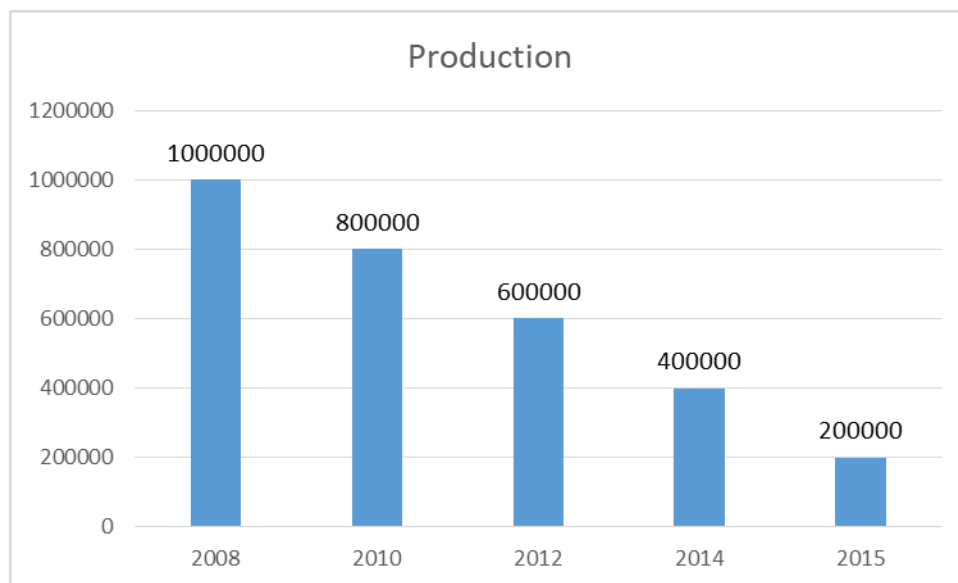
**Figure 5.7: Trend of the number of employees**

With regards to the number of employees, it is glaring that numbers have dramatically gone down owing to the harsh economic conditions characterizing the country. The company used to employ quite a good number of people within and outside Gweru. It can be discerned from the gruesome picture painted above with respect to down-sizing of employees that families of those who lost their jobs suffered a myriad of challenges. It stands to reason that when one loses gainful employment; their quality of life will change as well. Those employees who had children at top-notch schools, colleges and universities are likely to have rescinded the decision to have them continue at such institutions. This might have had an adverse effect on the learners' self-esteem. A worker that I managed to interview said:



I have worked here all my life, but I haven't seen a difficult time as now, where you don't know whether you will wake up with your job. For most the months that we work, we don't get our pay. Now we have gone for the third month without being paid. What kind of life is this, how are we supposed to survive in this kind of situation. We used to be given a pair of shoes after every 3 months, but that benefit has yet been cut off. We used to be given lunch and transport allowances, but all has disappeared into thin air. The working conditions have become too harsh for us (W1:25 September, 2017).

Workers seem to feel the heat as well, as their working conditions have deteriorated dismally. How then are they expected to meet their day to day needs when they are not being paid? They are living in tough times. How then are we going to define this decolonial strategy as an indigenization policy. How are we going to see its value and significance if it is causing such difficult situations to companies and workers?



**Figure 5.8: Production Trend**

It is glaring from the above graph that production has also reduced. It is a given that retrenchment and production are two sides of the same coin. Since 2008 to 2015, it is undoubtedly clear that low production has been the in thing at Bata Shoe Company. Low production may lead to company closure which would be a bad scenario for Zimbabwe. The

manager I interviewed said indigenization was not a bad idea as it has worked tremendously for other countries. He mentioned that the way it was implemented in Zimbabwe was unclear, partisan, corrupt and uncertain. He said it has even scared away investors. Other countries implement an indigenization policy that is investor friendly. That way the indigenization policy will boom. He said there was too much of political interference.

### **Suggestions, Findings and Recommendations**

- ❖ The participants suggested that mineral profits have to be transferred directly to the Community Share Ownership Trusts to expedite implementation of community developments by the local authorities.
- ❖ They also mentioned that there is need for Government, Rural District Councils and mines to meet and agree on key community empowerment projects. The people have to tell Community Share Ownership Trusts the kind of projects they want implemented and not the other way round.
- ❖ The Community Share Ownership Trusts should not be rigidly used to drive infrastructural development but in addition should also be used to create employment for community empowerment.
- ❖ The Community Share Ownership Trusts have to work hand in glove with the Rural District Councils and fit in their strategic plans and development objectives and projects should be implemented within existing structures.
- ❖ Community Share Ownership Trust should align with local development plans and be subjected to the same transparency and accountability mechanisms to prevent potential for corrupt practices by board members of the community trusts.
- ❖ Profits from mining activities should be paid directly to the community share ownership scheme. It was suggested that there must be an open dialogue between government, mining companies, Rural District Councils and local communities to deal with the problem of multiple taxation and maximize the effectiveness of the revenue sharing mechanism.
- ❖ Permit renewal of mines should be determined by the performance of the mines in the communities. That is to say the Minister of Indigenization has to assess annually development projects that would have been put in place by every mining company in its

area of occupation. The progress should then determine whether they should renew the company's license or not. However, Murombo (2010) warns of the likelihood of mining companies to negate their promises of benefit sharing with communities once they acquire the necessary permits and licenses.

- ❖ The Mining revenue has to be used as an engine for economic growth and financing poverty reduction programs. Community Share Ownership Trust has to be conducted in a transparent and accountable manner to ensure that all citizens benefit despite an individual's political and economic affiliations.
- ❖ The Rural District Council where the mineral is mined has no full control over mining of the vast resource because the government transferred its control to the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development which collects royalties through the Minerals and Marketing Company of Zimbabwe which is the country's sole marketing agent for minerals.
- ❖ The indigenization policy should empower communities by allowing mining companies and any other foreign owned organization to assist locals to develop by providing them with resources. Indigenization should promote integrity and Ubuntu as well as culture of dialogue to reach a common understanding about what needs to be achieved and how. The policy should support investor confidence in the country by being definite, pure and dependable in its application.
- ❖ Community Share Ownership Trusts from what I realized should focus on entrepreneurial projects which are focused on creation of employment opportunities for the rural unemployed youth.
- ❖ Legislation on Community Share Ownership Trust should be more direct and specific on how it should operate and specific needs of local communities-ownership of projects by the local communities and creation of an enabling environment by the Community Share Ownership Trust, Rural District Councils and other local organizations is vital-nonpolitical interference-use of existing development structures instead of creation of parallel structures-regulation of Community Share Ownership Trust –community to choose its own representatives.
- ❖ Despite abundant mineral resources the indigenous communities living close to the mines have been deprived of the right to directly or indirectly benefit from the mineral resources. Some feel the resources are only benefiting people who inhabit in the area

where mining is taking place at the expense of the entire populace. The argument here being that there is need for the Community Share Ownership Trust to be introduced even in areas where there are no mines. The absence of a mine in a district should not mean the absence of assistance.

- ❖ Community Share Ownership Trust where the pro-poor mining policies that ensured the harnessing of mineral resources for the empowerment of local indigenous communities should be instituted. Unfortunately the indigenization talks of individuals rather than communities .The Act is more concerned about individual development rather than community development.

### **5.15 Conclusion**

The indigenization process has been implemented to restructure the skewed ownership of the productive assets, to redress the colonial imbalances, to empower those that were disadvantaged during the colonial time and to decolonize all the hidden colonial matrices of power from all walks of life. The truth of the matter is just a quarter has been done so far which is very far from achieving anything. There has been a wide disjuncture between the policy and its implementation into practice. I basically had to visit a broader spectrum that is the rural areas and the urban areas so that I would be able to realize a broader horizon what indigenization has done in districts, in urban companies and to the youth. This then helped me to come up with significant issues on indigenization. On a wider note, indigenization is a tool to settle racial scores and champion their political supremacy, while others identify the policy as an apt tool to put the destiny of African economies in the indigenous hands through correcting beneficiation skewedness. It is both political and economic, but the political appendage seems to dominate and control how the process unfolds and this has regrettably further exposed the previously disadvantaged indigenous populace to continued poverty and suffering.

Driven by the need to answer the question with regards to whether Indigenization meets decoloniality, I got some perceptive insights into how Indigenization has been implemented by Bata Shoe Company. The ceding of at least 51% shareholding to locals is stride towards economic emancipation of the previously marginalized. The company has also expanded its Associated Business Units to 5 to which the company has sub-contracted business people to

make tennis shoes using machinery it has withdrawn from its Gweru plant. The company has also partnered with Kaguvi Training Centre near Gweru which is now producing about 2000 pairs of shoes every month and the Mupfure Vocational Training Centre near Chegutu. This has seen the company accomplish measures to empower entrepreneurial institutions and which is part of indigenization; thus empowering the marginalized. Students have managed to get training from the exercise. On issues to do with empowerment, there is a primary and a secondary school just in Bata Shoe Company's yard. The company also helps these pupils with textbooks, exercise books and prizes such as shoes on prize giving days. They also help with erecting of buildings; they recently built the school a library and repainted the whole school.

Despite the blissful picture portrayed about Indigenization, it suffices to note that decoloniality is just a lip service with this Indigenization. It is saddening that Bata Shoe Company used to have a staff complement of 6000 employees, but that has since been cut down to 1500 and the company contemplated cutting down even more employees. The company used to produce 10 million pairs of shoes per annum, but now it produces 200 000 pairs or less per annum. Just after the announcement of the indigenization law in 2008, the company operated at below 30% capacity. I was informed during data collection that the country's indigenization percentages are not investor friendly. Indigenization here is not depicted as a policy that has brought development, but it has caused a lot of companies to fail. This indigenization is intended to achieve the closure of companies. The responses by the research participants indicated that indigenization was not a bad idea as it has worked tremendously for other countries. It was mentioned that the way it was implemented in Zimbabwe was unclear, partisan, corrupt and uncertain. It was said it has even scared away investors. Other countries implement an indigenization policy that is investor friendly. That way the indigenization policy will boom. By and large, decoloniality persists because the economy is still in the hands of the elite few who are amassing wealth through unorthodox means. The rest languishes in abject poverty with job losses being experienced; since most companies cannot measure up to the demands of the compliance policy given rise to by the Indigenization policy.

## **CHAPTER 6: WHAT FUNDAMENTALLY IS INDIGENIZATION?**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter we get to know what fundamentally indigenization is. How it has affected the Zimbabwean community as a whole, that is to say, its paybacks and drawbacks. In this chapter, I get to present whether the indigenization policy has accomplished its obligation as a public policy to the general populace. There is real need to evaluate and come up with the results on whether it has followed course of a public policy; has it lived up to expectations. This part determines whether the indigenization policy has benefited the general populace or rather the indigenous people. It will also explicitize the harm it has caused as well as the good it has impacted on the Zimbabwean society. This is where we get to see its recompenses and detriments. This stage will also answer the question whether it is necessary to continue or discontinue the implementation of the indigenization policy or not.

In this chapter I will show whether the indigenization policy has managed to achieve its set goals from 2007-2019. What has managed to improve in the Zimbabwean economy and which problematic issues have to be addressed? I will illustrate whether the indigenization policy has managed to fulfill its main objectives on enactment and implementation. In essence, this chapter draws out the major conclusions from the study and puts forward recommendations based on these conclusions.

### **6.2 Inconsistency of indigenization as a public policy**

Based on the foregoing discussion of the research results with regards to the indigenization policy, it is evident that there were inconsistencies in its implementation. The findings also show that there was also lack of clarity among various constituencies regarding the purpose and procedures and processes of the indigenization policy. This lack of clarity is also likely to have affected the evaluation of the performance of the policy over time. Therefore, it is necessary to outline how public policy should be formulated and implemented to shed light on how differently the indigenization policy could have been implemented.

Public policy relates to actions that government might take in response to public demands; it provides guidance to the government and accountability links to citizens. Its purpose is to deliver outcomes that are deemed desirable by and for all citizens. A public policy affects a large group of people or even an entire population rather than simply one individual. For example, the indigenization policy has an effect of the whole Zimbabwean populace. Its successfulness affects the population in a positive way and if it is not successful it affects the population in a negative way. Zimbabwe is renowned for formulating excellent policies although they fail to implement them. Policy implementation involves actions taken by privately or collectively by individuals with the intention to achieve policy objectives (Gertson, 2009). Policy evaluation should then follow to assess the efficacy and efficiency of the policy as measured by the attainment of intended results (Gertson, 2009). Policy evaluation makes a comparative analysis of policy outcomes versus the outcomes that would have accrued in the absence of the policy. This is what I am going to do with the indigenization policy; showing what could have been and what has been as a result of its implementation. In the developed world, they evaluate their policies devotedly no wonder there is consistency in policy contributions to the economy.

According to Anderson (2005:79) policy problems refer to circumstances and conditions affecting citizens at a large scale resulting in concerns that government may need to look into the issue and redress it. Public policies are crucial for the development of nations through dictating the extraction, allocation of resources to various sectors of the economy. Public policies are also essential for controlling social behaviour thereby making them the dominant tools by which government decisions are communicated and implemented (Dye, 2002:14). Sound public national policies invariably create clear networks and pathways through which communication between government and its citizens is efficient. Policies are put in place, but sometimes they lack proper implementation resulting in poor outcomes for the targeted groups. Thus, with the issue of the indigenization policy, it has not delivered 100% to the marginalized and discriminated; rather it has disproportionately benefitted the rich. Anseeuw and Alden (2010) concur with the above and state that following independence, early policies facilitated wealth accumulation by a network of elites with political connections to the state and curtailed the envisaged equitable distribution of wealth for the benefit of general citizenry.

Public policy implementation requires a transparency, responsive and accountable government for it to be effective. Implementation is all about fulfilling the vision, putting the idea into practice, taking off the idea on paper and put it into practice and turning a theory into reality. This is where most policies fail to prove that their main objective is to serve the general populace. They fail to put their ideas into practice of which this is how a policy's success or failure can be assessed. The indigenization policy talks about eradicating poverty, curbing unemployment and improving livelihoods of the previously disadvantaged people, but none of this was seen happening from 2008-2019. Unemployment rate has skyrocketed and a large population in Zimbabwe lives in abject poverty. Writing and discussing policies is easy, but putting them into practice has proved to be very difficult. Leon (1999:314) says policy implementation is simply the alignment of policy results with citizen expectations. The indigenization policy in Zimbabwe has failed to live up to anticipations, it has not produced results. It is a roller-coaster going back and forth; nothing really tangible has happened. It has only passed as decolonial strategy as it managed to disinherit the economy from the multinational cooperatives.

The planning and development phases are the two major phases of any policy. The implementation of any public policy is dependent on the efficacy of these two phases. Planning should involve putting capable drivers to drive the policy. It is not just about choosing people because you belong to the same party or you want to reward your cadres. A bus will eventually be involved in an accident if the driver is not capable and experienced. This applies to such policies as the indigenization policy. Ministers that are chosen to drive such should at least be educated and should be capable. Unfortunately, with the Zimbabwean indigenization policy, the ministers were put because they were relations to the first family. Nepotism will bring development to a halt and will further perpetuate fraud, corruption and bribery. Those in charge of policy development and implementation ought to be skilled and experienced to be able to coordinate the various elements and processes (Brynard, 2005). In a period of 7 years, the indigenization portfolio has been handled by 5 different ministers each with their own brand. This line up of ministerial changes has not helped to build a consistent line in regard to indigenization; with each new minister bringing in his own philosophies and theories often different from the predecessor's. During Saviour Kasukuwere's term as the minister, obtaining



the 51% or larger shareholding in foreign owned businesses across all sectors of the economy was the major goal (Machinya, 2014). The next minister, Francis Nhema departed from hardliner approach of his predecessor but still operated within the parameters of the indigenization legislation (Ndlovu, 2014). However, this policy inconsistency causes uncertainty and unpredictability resulting in investors reluctant to make long term investments, particularly in capital intensive sectors. This kind of inconsistency does not guarantee longevity and it is not good for a public policy.

Public policy should be clear and certain to facilitate compliance, allay fears of expropriation of private property and avoid implementation challenges (Magaisa, 2012). A public policy has to be flawless, definite and convincing to investors. Investors employed a wait and see approach on the indigenization policy of Zimbabwe because it was unclear and it showed no certainty and longevity. To be successful a policy should be implemented in a manner that delivers on the intended policy outcomes (Australian National Audit, 2014). Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003) support the above and state that policy implementation should be done in line with the stipulated terms of reference in order to be successful. The implementation process should also include data collection and dissemination of information to ensure that it stays on track. Research should be conducted prior to policy implementation and commitment should be galvanized across all stakeholders in order to have adequate support and investment (Brynard, 2005). A cross-section of stakeholders is necessary to ensure that the policy does not cater only for the interests of a few groups. A diverse audience also enables the policy to promote social cohesion. However, there is need to manage the expectations of all stakeholders for policy implementation to be successful (Australian National Audit, 2014).

Policies must be based on sound theoretical foundations, unambiguous and easy to understand. In addition, the target group for which the policy is designed must also be clearly defined (Hayes, 2001). The planning process should be adequately followed and roles and responsibilities in the implementation should be clearly assigned and articulated. Risk analysis should also be conducted so that any unintended consequences that might arise from policy implementation can be identified and mitigated (Australian National Audit, 2014) to avoid excess costs and potential for a political backlash (Weaver, 2010). The implementation process should be well planned and

coordinated because even a good policy can fail if it is badly implemented. Thus, supervision is critical, both internally by legislature and externally by advisory and pressure groups to ensure successful implementation (Hayes, 2001). In Zimbabwe, the indigenization of the indigenization policy has suffered due to political interference and a patronage system fueling corruption in the public sector that has resulted in disinvestment and closure of companies (Sibanda, 2013). Most of the factors will be discussed below. The government has been all talk but no action. It does very little if not nothing at all to back its grandiloquence. The country's reputation has been damaged with no benefits accruing from the indigenization policy. From evidence I have provided in this thesis, the glaring mismatch between government magniloquence and lack of action on indigenization is evident and the net effect of the orotundity has been to scare away potential investors. A damaged reputation is very difficult to restore. Ingram and Mann (1980) outline seven factors that determine the success or failure of any policy as follows:

- Excessive demand for policy output
- Over ambitious and unrealizable policy goals
- Accurate and inaccurate theory of causation of social problems
- Type and effectiveness of policy instruments chosen
- Time
- Failure of political institutions.

Ogbuagu (1995) also supports the above and he also comes up with his 3 factors that cause policy failure

- Political Instability and inconsistency in policy efforts
- Inadequate infrastructural and development in both urban and rural areas
- Misdirection of policy target as index for policy evolution

The indigenization policy has been interpreted and understood differently. Analysts argue that policies should be drafted with specific guidelines for each sector to serve as a blue print for consistency and continuity. If only the government had set a model on how the indigenization policy had to work, it was going to be much easier. It has to develop a model that satisfies investor requirements while meeting local demands. The model had to be clear and certain;

whose implementation is not subject to the whims of a Minister. Francis Nhema argued that the issue of consistency was crucial for investor confidence than the indigenization policy itself (Bell, 2010). From inception, the indigenization policy has suffered inconsistency, confusion and lack of clarity. It has been poorly enunciated, politicized and prejudiced. The approach has been adhoc, spasmodic and lacking in internal consistency. All these factors have culminated in the perceived impact of the indigenization policy as outlined in the following sections.

### **6.2.1 Foreign Direct Investment**

The policy itself discourages the flow of foreign direct investment which is greatly required to resuscitate the ailing industrial sector in Zimbabwe (Bande, 2011). Limitation of foreign direct investment was caused by political interference in the indigenization programme. Foreign direct investment is invariably associated with improvements in the standard of living for citizens of the recipient country (Bloch, 2013). Most countries as shown in chapter 3 have set policies that are investor friendly. The Zimbabwean indigenization policy is hostile to investors and has failed to attract Foreign Direct Investment the government's re-election in 2013 (Block, 2013). It is said that policy inconsistencies, liquidity challenges, and high debt levels as well as the perception of Zimbabwe as a high cost destination by investors has hindered the attraction of foreign investment (Mambo, 2014). According to Bloch (2013) Foreign Direct Investment is critical for facilitating the country's economic turnaround and development. Foreign Direct Investment is also important for technological advancement. Foreign Direct Investment can only help to reduce poverty and accelerate development in underdeveloped countries if the primary-producing sector is involved in the partial or semi-processing of the primary product through which it can maximize its profits (Rostow, 1960:56).

The lack of fixed investment has led to sluggish economic growth and high levels of unemployment (Biti, 2013, Manda, 2014). Foreign direct investment can only flow in a country when there is trade openness, political stability and domestic investment. Foreign direct investment can be defined as the growth rate in capital inflows that add over time to fixed capital stock of the home country. This capital formation is expected to boost production and output of the wider economy. Countries that manage to attract foreign direct investment are expected to improve employment, economic growth and development (UNCTAD, 2014). Zimbabwe has had

relatively insignificant foreign direct investment (Mahembe and Odhiambo 2014, UNCTAD, 2014). Zimbabwe's lack of adequate investment hinders employment and thereby negatively influencing the country's wider economic growth and development. Investment promotion and facilitation by the Zimbabwe investment centre has been relatively unsuccessful in enticing foreign investors (ZimStats, 2013). Zimbabwe has not been able to attract significant foreign direct investment inflows despite the fact that the country is rich in minerals that include gold, platinum and diamonds that normally attract resource seeking foreign direct investment inflows. In 2014, Zimbabwe received \$0,54 billion. Foreign direct investment compared to its counterparts; Zambia received \$3 billion, Angola received \$16 billion, Mozambique received \$8,8 billion and South Africa received \$3,8 billion (Financial Gazette, 26.09.2014 Foreign Direct Investment into Africa by-passes Zimbabwe).

The implementation of the indigenization policy has suppressed the appetite of foreign investors, due to policy uncertainty and mounting negative perceptions and lack of clarity on the country's political reforms. The aggressive manner in which the Indigenization policy was implemented and concerns among investors over lack of property rights have worsened the country's risk profile further reducing the appeal of foreign investors. These and other above mentioned factors have dashed the opportunities for job creation, business expansion and export revenue growth and other capacity improvements with potential to promote economic growth. Zimbabweans were supposed to benefit from the indigenization policy but as highlighted above it shows that it is disadvantaging them. Investors have shunned investing in Zimbabwe as there is no consistency in their indigenization policy. This then explicates the experience of decolonization as not worthy as it has brought more sorrow instead of joy .Decolonization is supposed to bring freedom ,progress and joy , but as seen above it shows that the Zimbabwean decolonial experience has been totally the opposite.

### **6.2.2 Poor economic performance**

Hyperinflation caused an economic depression. Foreign currency earnings and agricultural productivity plummeted following the Fast Track Land Reform Programme implemented between 2000 and 2002 that dashed investor confidence and destabilized agricultural production (Amnesty International, 2014). Erratic electricity supply, rising fuel prices and shortage of basic

commodities as well as skills flight created major challenges for the government. These challenges include creating an inflationary and unstable economy where planning and forecasting became difficult and the financial and monetary policy became unpredictable (Mwatwara, 2013). The Zimbabwe stock exchange saw massive disposals of shares as investors panicked over reports of possibly company seizures during the run-up to the country's referendum and general elections in 2013. Trading volumes dipped following the massive selling of shares with only blue chip or heavy weight counters remaining. This situation directly led to the expansion of foreign exchange black market while the private sector including export companies were forced to operate at very low official exchange rates that hurt their business (Murombo, 2013). The mining sector was also heavily affected where mining companies needed foreign currency to refurbish or purchase new equipment to remain viable (Sibanda, 2013). Furthermore, the hostile political environment, and unprofitable mineral prices further negatively affected the mining sector. This shows that poor economic performance and the low business ranking of Zimbabwe triggered by the land invasions became major obstacles to the successful implementation of the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment programme (Magure, 2010).. Banks have failed to deliver to date as long queues are being witnessed on banks on a daily basis. The maximum withdrawal buys only a loaf of bread after spending the whole day standing on the queue. Commodities in shops have suddenly gone scarce; basic commodities are like gold not easily accessible. The situation due to the indigenization policy has not been favorable at all. Indigenization policy; together with other uncertain policies in Zimbabwe have led to a halt. Decolonization has brought misery as shown by the experience noted above there is nothing positive that it has brought home. It has added more salt to an already painful wound.

### **6.2.3 Closure of Companies**

The indigenization legislation and the attendant volatile economic environment in Zimbabwe resulted in the closure of several manufacturing companies, especially in Bulawayo, Kwekwe and Gweru (Ndlovu, 2011). Arguments were that they closed so that they would not be involved in indigenization. Several mines have also closed as well. This directly affected the country's ability to generate foreign currency through profitable mining activities (Magure, 2013). Furthermore, the job losses associated with company closures resulted in high levels of unemployment and a marked decline in the national GDP (Fatehi, 1994). Heritage Foundation

(2014) says 4600 companies have shut down since 2011 and 55400 jobs have been lost. The manufacturing sector was the second hardest hit after 458 companies closed and 9978 jobs were lost. The hardest hit was tourism with 2142 firms shutting down since 2011 and losing 18413 jobs as a result. The construction was not spared with 317 companies closing shop resulting in losing 3651 jobs while 368 companies closed down in agriculture affecting 5465 jobs. This is just evidence of what happened during the implementation of the indigenization policy. Instead of empowering people, people were disempowered as they lost their jobs and some their companies. Indigenization was supposed to curb unemployment and improve the living standard of the poor; instead it did directly the opposite. Looking at the Zimbabwean experience decolonization is then seen as an experience that no other country should go through because of the shortcomings that are mentioned in this chapter. In actual fact citizens had to benefit from it but it failed to live up to expectations because of greediness, corruption and inequality. It has not perpetuated decolonization but it has superseded the process.

#### **6.2.4 Participation of local communities**

Indigenization necessitates participation of indigenous people. Available evidence shows that where opportunities are available for public participation, factors, such as, illiteracy, poverty, political affiliation, gender discrimination and culture may hinder public participation (Murombo, 2010). However, public participation can also be coordinated to fulfill procedural requirements thereby reducing its relevancy (Arnstein, 1969). Furthermore, participation without the ability to influence policy or the circumstances affecting them is meaningless for the public (Arnstein, 1969:35). In many schemes, chiefs and politicians dominate and this shows inequality even within the community structures. Decolonization is not supposed to be like this it had to liberate every Zimbabwean and empower instead of disempowering. Participation was limited as those that supported the opposition party were not allowed to participate or to benefit as any other citizens. Community Share Ownership Trusts that are operational, embezzlement and corruption of trust funds is the order of the day. Funds are embezzled unlawfully by those responsible for the Community Share Ownership Trusts such as chiefs, district administrators and chairmen. Chambers (1987) says the indigenization policy approach to development comes as a way of making the grassroots people who are the sidelined have some benefits. Development should be bottom up and not from the top imposing policies on the grassroots. The

lack of expertise and experience by individuals on boards of further jeopardizes the success of community empowerment projects (Mabena, 2012). Decolonization had to bring forth impartiality and objectivity which was supposed to benefit the whole population but unfortunately it benefitted only a few elite.

#### **6.2.5 Lack of information**

Most people do not fully know and understand what indigenization means and entails. There is also generally poor communication regarding the programme for people to understand its objectives and expected outcomes. Announcing only on television does not make everyone aware of what is going on. Those in the rural areas will be sidelined as most of them do not have such exposure. Those who are in the rural areas now are the ones who were disadvantaged during the colonial time. Minister Nhema once stated that the objective of the indigenization programme is to make relevant information accessible to all citizens to empower them and facilitate the attainment of the policy goals (Nyambabvu, 2013).

In concurrence with the above, Mnwana and Akpan (2009) noted that participatory development is often hampered by lack of access to information. There is a perception that the policy is designed to benefit well-placed groups with access to relevant information. It is inherently difficult for specific groupings to be involved in the programme without the relevant information detailing the channels and forms of participation. These marginalized were supposed to be empowered as independence came but they waited for a train that never reached them. They are still waiting. The indigenization programme in Zimbabwe is deficient of the necessary elements and structures required to promote popular participation (Machinya, 2014).

#### **6.2.6 Political Interference**

The invasion and compulsory acquisition of white owned farms and the increasing lawlessness created other avenues for politically connected entrepreneurs to acquire additional assets (Manjengwa, 2013). Saunders (2007:18) cogently maintains that Zimbabwe has witnessed a departure from the initial focus to transfer productive resources into the hands of accountable and capable individuals and groups to opportunistic asset grabs by the elite. The indigenization programme was also used to channel rewards and benefits to party loyalists while punishing

defectors and political opponents. Being suspected to be MDC; led to eviction on land or being excluded in Community Share Ownership Trusts. The ruling ZANU-PF government has also used the programme as a tool to control, manipulate, and threaten rural people by co-opting community leaders (Zhou and Zvoushe, 2012). Makumbe (2010) concurs with this observation and further adds that the loyalty of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe is with the ruling party and they are determined to keep ZANU-PF in power. Public participation in the indigenization programme has been greatly curtailed because of this political interference. Critics say that the politicization of the policy has rendered economic empowerment unconvincing and highly controversial (Zhou and Zvoushe, 2012). This kind of experience does not enhance decolonization but shatters every hope that the population had. The Zimbabwean Decolonial experience has been parochial and biased.

#### **6.2.7 Decrease of tax base**

The CFU argues that indigenization of the agricultural sector between 2000 and 2011 cost the Zimbabwean economy approximately US\$ 33billion (Theron, 2011). It is argued that the total lack of public service delivery is a direct effect of the reduction in taxes paid to the government (Theron, 2011). The continuous circulation of money in the informal economy has eroded the government's tax base. This is what the indigenization policy has created; an informal market that does not benefit the government in any way. Cross (2009) states that the land reform program led to massive destruction in the agricultural sector with farm invaders dispossessed farmers of their standing crops, plantations, and livestock.

#### **6.2.8 Loss of homes and livelihoods**

Yirenkyi (2008) weighs in on the major impact of mining activities on land. Mining invariably results in a loss of land available for farming, livestock and wildlife. Mining activities should be managed effectively to safeguard food security and reduce economic losses among rural communities. In Zvishavane, it is argued that mining activities are encroaching on agricultural land thereby affecting the livelihoods of rural residents dependent on subsistence farming (Kanyenze, 2013). In Chiadzwa, the discovery of diamonds in Marange resulted in over 400 families being relocated with no proper consultation or adequate compensation. The Marange Zimunya Community Share Ownership Trusts have not benefited local communities casting



doubt on the effectiveness of local structures to benefit indigenous people (Kanyenze, 2013). The stringent mining laws and the poor implementation of indigenization policy has led to the rise illegal artisanal mining. The proliferation of these mining activities have also resulted in social and cultural disintegration with the abuse of women on the rise as they are driven into prostitution in these mining areas (Mtisi, 2013). In a bid to give economic freedom to all citizens to participate in the decolonial wave, they were out rightly left out and this sapped the ray of hope that was left in citizens.

### **6.2.9 Reduction in production**

Zimbabwe was once the bread basket of Southern Africa and was a net exporter of beef, cotton, tobacco, and horticultural products. After the FTLRP, maize and wheat production reduced drastically with annual maize yields averaging 1million tonnes and wheat production declining by 20% between in 2000 and 2004 (Sachikonye, 2005). In 2007, Zimbabwe experienced a shortage of maize and had to import 900000 tonnes to cover the shortage. Since then, Zimbabwe has had to import maize to meet annual food requirements in the country. Low agricultural productivity has continue over the years driven by such factor as lack of agricultural inputs, poor access to credit and finance, high input costs, and recurrent droughts (ZimStat, 2017:8). These changes have become recurrent although there is a link with decolonization and decline in in producibility.

### **6.2.10 Land degradation**

Indigenization has come with the allocation of land for various agricultural activities. Land degradation is the experience of decolonization for the people who are using land for their economic benefit. A case in point is that the increasing deforestation as farmers cut down more trees to harvest firewood to cure their tobacco (Christie, 2013). White farmers used coal for the same purpose but after the land reform programme the price of coal prohibitive for most black farmers (UNDP, 2002). Forests are being cleared at a rate of 330 000 hectares per year posing a threat to the environment (Zimbabwe's Forestry Commission Report, 2011). Forests have been cleared to make way for fields leaving few wooded areas around homesteads or in unreachable gullies (Christie, 2013). An official from the Forestry Commission clearly expressed deforestation causes serious problems to the environment including a decline in the quantity and quality of water for human consumption and eventually leads to desertification (UNDP, 2002).

### **6.2.11 Loss of employment for farm workers**

At independence in 1980, the agricultural sector was one of the major employers in the economy. By 1999 up to 18% of the country's population was employed in the agricultural sector comprising more than 26% of the workforce (Chambati, 2011) According to Moyo (2007), the sector employed more than 167000 permanent workers and up to 146000 casual and seasonal workers. However, during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme farm workers lost both their employment and homes and were thus displaced. Reports say almost 75000 to 100000 lost their jobs and resettled informally (Manjengwa, 2013). They were also viewed as being sympathetic to white commercial farm owners and as such were not considered for land allocation under the land redistribution programme (Sachikonye, 2005). It is prudent to state that this loss of employment deepens the experience of decolonization in that the new farm owners are not productive leading to loss of employment. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme turned farm workers into victims with the corresponding result being that many lost their homes and employment. It is painful when a system adopted and run by your own proves to be worse than that of the strangers. Thus, the Zimbabwean government through its hotchpotch Fast Track Land Reform Programme has left people worse off socially and economically.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

This study has explored the indigenization policy in Zimbabwe in general and its impact on the country and various constituencies. The study has also located and discussed the indigenization policy in the context of Community Share Ownership Trusts. The study is located within the decolonial theoretical framework. A sample of 34 respondents representing a cross section of the population was selected and qualitative interviews conducted. The respondents included the Minister of Mines, students, employed and unemployed youth, community residents, local and political leaders including chiefs and a Member of Parliament. The qualitative information was analyzed through content analysis and the findings presented in Chapter 5. Based on the findings and discussions presented above the following conclusions are reached:

**Indigenization policy negatively affected the Zimbabwean economy:** The implementation of the policy was inconsistent and further disenfranchised the marginalized or the disadvantaged.

The policy failure is attributed to poor policy administration, political interference and political patronage that favoured those closely associated with government and the ruling Zanu Pf party. However, in the greater economy the disruption that followed the land reform resulted in a shrinking economy shedding jobs and curtailing the productive sector. Farm workers were the first and most visible category of people that lost employment because those that took over the farms lacked the resources to retain the permanent and seasonal employees available for agricultural production. The collapse of the agricultural sector had a ripple effect that affected various aspects of the Zimbabwean economy. Worse still investor confidence plummeted and that drove away FDI which was badly needed to further develop the economy.

**Indigenization policy aided the continuation of colonialism** -The indigenization policy was implemented along the structural power imbalances that favoured the elite. Even though according to Mukwedeya (2016:8) redistribution of wealth and resources has always been a top agenda item for most post-colonial societies that are still grappling with legacies of colonialism and imperatives of state-making and nation-building. However, in the Zimbabwean context, Indigenization has been perverted by extreme politicization resulting in a few beneficiaries and the large majority remaining trapped and lack of access to economic opportunities.

**The indigenization policy has been hijacked by government and used as partisan project** – The indigenization policy was intended to benefit the entire country irrespective of political affiliation or other differentiating factors. There was meant to be dialogue, discussion and debate. However, indigenization in Zimbabwe nourished false ideas in the indigenous people and has in turn created false hope. Indigenization and its attendant black empowerment have created several challenges for the Zimbabwean economy. The programme has been dismissed by critics as a statutory tool designed to profit politicians while paying lip service to mass empowerment. Evidence shows that the elite have benefited at the expense of ordinary citizens the elite have plundered the country's economic resources for self-enrichment.

The following are recommendations that I have put forward for the Indigenization Policy

- a) Depoliticizing the indigenization programme to facilitate participation and enable all segments of the Zimbabwean society to benefit from it. Further this will build the necessary legitimacy and diplomacies needed to attract the needed FDI.
- b) Curbing corruption to reduce the pilferage of resources and undermining the broader objectives of the indigenization programme;
- c) Strengthening institutional capacities to ensure that policy implementation is well managed and monitored;
- d) Promote infrastructural development to spur economic development.
- e) Supporting export competitiveness, trade openness and domestic capital formation,
- f) Restoring democracy, human rights and the rule of law;
- g) Investing in skilled labour development, promulgation of favorable labour legislation, and reduction of taxation to promote human capital and socio-economic growth.

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## **APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES ARRANGED BY CATEGORY OF PARTICIPANT**

1. G1:14 August 2017 Interview with Unemployed Graduate
2. G2:14 August 2017 Interview with Unemployed Graduate
3. ZCM1:11 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
4. ZCM2:11 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
5. ZCM3:21 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
6. ZCM4:25 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
7. ZCM5:26 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
8. ZCM6:27 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
9. ZCM7:28 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
10. ZCM8:20 August 2017 Interview with Zvishavane resident
11. D1:12 August 2017 Interview with the disabled on the streets
12. S1:13 August 2017 Interview with student at Midlands State University
13. CP1:21 August 2017 Interview with community member
14. CP2:20 August 2017 Interview with community member
15. Yth1:14 September 2017 Interview with a youth member
16. Yth2:14 September 2017 Interview with a youth member
17. F1:15 September 2017 Interview with a Farmer
18. S1:20 September 2017 Interview with SME owner
19. S2:21 September 2017 Interview with SME owner
20. MD1:25 September 2017 Interview with MD of Bata Shoe Company
21. MD2:25 September 2017 Interview with MD of Bata Shoe Company
22. MD3:26 September 2017 Interview with MD of Bata Shoe Company
23. W1:25 September 2017 Interview with worker at Bata Shoe Company
24. UV1:21 September 2017 Interview with Unki Villager
25. MNCM1:1 October 2017 Interview with Mhondoro Chief Mashava
26. MNCB1:2 October 2017 Interview with Mhondoro Chief Benhura
27. MNCN1:3 October 2017 Interview with Mhondoro Chief Nyika
28. AM1:23 October 2017 Interview with Amos Midzi Minister of Mines

- |                           |                                       |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 29. SZ1:22 September 2017 | Interview with Sesil Zvidzai Gweru MP |
| 30. SCM1:24 October 2017  | Interview with Shurugwi resident      |
| 31. SCM2:25 October 2017  | Interview with Shurugwi resident      |
| 32. SCM3 :26 October 2017 | Interview with Shurugwi resident      |
| 33. SCM4:26 October 2017  | Interview with Shurugwi resident      |
| 34. SCM5:26 October 2017  | Interview with Shurugwi resident      |

## **APPENDIX B: EXPLANATORY STATEMENT**

### **College of Human Sciences Inquiry (HSI)**

#### **Explanatory Statement**

**Title:** The Zimbabwean Indigenization Policy: A Decolonial Perspective: From 2008-2015.

My name is Roseline Wedzerai .I am conducting a research project under the supervision of Professor Morgan Ndlovu, a senior lecturer in the Department of Development Studies towards a PHD degree at University of South Africa. This implies that I will write a thesis which is the same as a book of 50 000 words. I am researching on the Indigenization policy in Zimbabwe, as a decolonial strategy. To show explicitly if the policy has met the decolonial connotations. In doing so I have engaged the decolonial theory, and it has assisted me in exposing whether the policy has perpetuated decoloniality or neo-liberalism in disguise.

#### **Possible Benefits**

This research is beneficial at national level, as it has managed to identify the loopholes, gaps and errors that were incurred in the implementation of the indigenization policy. It has also given recommendations on how best a public policy can be implemented successfully.

#### **What the research involves**

The study involves, jotting down of notes, general observation in the country, face to face interviews that will take 5-10minutes.This might disrupt you of your day to day timetable. So there is need to make an appointment where you see necessary depending on your timetable.

#### **Data Storage**

The data collected will be kept as per the university regulations and it will be kept on the university premises in a locked safe for 5 years.

#### **Access to Data**

You may also request a copy of data concerning yourself before it is included in the write-up of the thesis.

#### **Confidentiality of Results**

Information collected will not have any name on it.Information will only be used by researchers and a coding system such as Participant A.

#### **Use of data for other purposes**

Because the data has no name to it, it may be used for other academic purposes such as conferences and Seminars paper presentation.

**Contact Details for Queries**

If you have any queries or would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact Professor Morgan Ndlovu Cell +27 732685960 email NdlovuMO@unizulu.ac.za

**APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**

I volunteer to be interviewed as part of the research project conducted by Roseline Wedzerai a student at University of South Africa. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about the indigenization policy.

I understand that -:

- My participation in this project is voluntary, I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.
- If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to the end of the interview.
- The interview will last 5-10minutes.Notes will be written during the interview and upon my consent, the interview may be tape recorded.
- I understand that the researcher will not identify my name in any reports using information obtained from this interview and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.
- I have read and understand the explanation provided to me .I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Participant's name.....

Signature ..... Date.....

## **APPENDIX D: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS**

1. Give a brief history of CSOTS in your area
2. What are the main benefits of CSOTS?
3. Name any disadvantages that have come with these CSOTS.
4. Who are the main players in the CSOTS?
5. How are people in the community involved?
6. How do people benefit from the CSOTS
7. Do you hold any meetings to discuss about these CSOTS
8. Define Indigenization in your own words
9. What has indigenization brought to you as students, or as youth
10. Have you in any way benefited from indigenization and local economic development
11. How would you rate the contribution of indigenization programme to local economic development
12. Would you say the indigenization policy was a success through the introduction of CSOTs
13. Are there any loopholes that you wish could be mended in the policy
14. Give Suggestions and recommendations you have towards the policy