



Graduate School of Development Studies

**The Impoverishment of Formal Sector Workers and the
Social Protection Implications in urban Zimbabwe**

A Research Paper presented by:

Morgen Chinoona
(Zimbabwe)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:
**Population, Poverty and Social Development
(PPSD)**

Members of the examining committee:

Dr A. de Haan [Supervisor]
Prof. M. Wuyts [Reader]

The Hague, The Netherlands
December, 2010

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:	Institute of Social Studies P.O. Box 29776 2502 LT The Hague The Netherlands
Location:	Kortenaerkade 12 2518 AX The Hague The Netherlands
Telephone:	+31 70 426 0460
Fax:	+31 70 426 0799

Acknowledgements

First gratitude goes to my respondents to this study; it is your valuable time and cooperation that made this project possible, thank you so much. Not forgetting my first and second readers Dr A. de Haan and Prof M. Wuyts respectively, for their wise guidance. Although the final word was mine their critical comments and questions made me reflect and reformulate my line of argument. To my professional mentor Mr T. Kusemwa, great was your support; please continue to be a role-model. Lastly to my friends and family, it is never easy without you.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>iii</i>
Contents	iv
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Problem Statement	1
Relevance and Justification	3
Research Objective	4
Research Questions	5
Main research question	5
Sub-Questions	5
Methodology	5
Primary Data	5
Secondary Data	6
Practical problems and Limitations of the study	7
Conclusion	7
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework	8
Introduction	8
Poverty	8
Working Poor	9
Analysing Impoverishment	9
Social Protection	11
Analysing Social Protection and Neglect	12
Intervening Factor: Strong Globalisation Theory	13
Conclusion	14
Chapter 3 Research Context: Zimbabwe from Independence in Brief	15
Introduction	15
Decade of Social Progress 1980-1990	15
ESAP and Pre-Crisis Era 1991-1999	16
The Crisis Period 2000-2010	17
Conclusion	19
Chapter 4 Dynamics in the Impoverishment of Urban Formal Workers	21
Introduction	21

Macro-economic Failure	21
Violation of the Food Balance	21
Inflation	23
Beyond Technicalities: Globalisation and Politicking	25
Other Underlying factors	27
Workers' Entitlement Failure	27
Conclusion	29
Chapter 5 Social Protection in Zimbabwe: Exploring Gaps for formally working people	31
Introduction	31
A synopsis of Social Protection Programmes in Zimbabwe	31
Particular Social Protection Schemes for formal workers	33
Challenges and Survivalist Strategies	34
The Future of formal sector Workers	37
Eminent Challenge: Aberration or another form of representation	37
Emerging Opportunity: The National Health Insurance	38
Conclusion	39
Conclusions	40
Appendices	43
Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Key Informants	43
Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Other Respondents (Formal Workers)	44
<i>References</i>	45

List of Tables

Table 1: Data Sources and their Significance	7
Table 2: Key National Economic Indicators 2001-2010	18
Table 3: Zimbabwe- Maize area, yield and production 2000-2010	22
Table 4: Pension and Other Benefits Scheme-Coverage 2000-2006	34

List of Figures

Figure 1: Percentage of households below the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) by land use in Zimbabwe 1995 and 2003	2
Figure 2: The 'Five Is': Model of Social Policy Making	13
Figure 3: Employment growth; Agriculture and Manufacturing contribution to GDP	19
Figure 4: Bearer Cheques	23
Figure 5: Minimum Wages for FFAI against Poverty Lines	29

List of Acronyms

AIDS/HIV	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome/Human Immune Virus
BACOSI	Basic Commodities Supply Side Intervention
CSO	Central Statistical Office of Zimbabwe
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FFAI	Federation of Food and Allied Industries
FPL	Food Poverty Line
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEDRIZ	Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MLSW	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
MNC/TNC	Multi-national Corporation/Trans-national Corporation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSSA	National Social Security Authority of Zimbabwe
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
POBS	Pension and Other Benefits Scheme
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SDF	Social Dimension Fund
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute of Social Development
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP	World Food Programme
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZFTU	Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

Abstract

Although some commentators make claims of potential trade-offs, there are complementarities between economic and social development, hence the imperative of synchronization of development thinking. Succinctly, the enhancement of socioeconomic security of the majority requires pursuing a development strategy that keeps inflation in check especially that of basic commodities. This paper analyses the massive impoverishment of the urban formal workers that has defined 21st century Zimbabwe and the social protection implications thereof. The government's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of the year 2000 among other factors, is evidently at the roots of the socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe both technically and politically. For various reasons and interests the FTLRP was a highly contested policy both home and away despite its necessity. The resultant disruptions in the agriculture sector spawned food shortages and hyperinflation degenerating into general economic failure causing untold suffering to ordinary Zimbabweans including formal sector workers. The failure of social protection to help out the incumbent formal sector workers is not only a result of the magnitude of the problem but also questionable are its organising principles. Social assistance programmes in Zimbabwe tend to be shaped more by international influences than domestic constituencies often to the exclusion of formal sector workers. Thus, the overriding factor in Zimbabwe as in many developing countries is neo-liberal globalization which threatens both 'independent' economic and social policy.

Relevance to Development Studies

Poverty is an international cause of concern and one of the chief development challenges. Expansion of formal sector employment and social protection is being pursued the world over as a possible route out of poverty for majority. However, for a decade now, in Zimbabwe these efforts witnessed severe reversal, presenting a development challenge. Thus this study is relevant to development studies as it tried to understand the underlying causes of the Zimbabwean crisis and see how these are related to and affect economic and social development.

Keywords

Poverty, Working Poor, Formal Sector, Social Protection, Globalisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

The study analysed the growing poverty amongst the formally employed people in urban areas in Zimbabwe in the first decade of the 21st century. At this time they were/are also excluded from social assistance. The argument presented in this paper was arrived at through analysis of poverty trends in Zimbabwe and the processes that led to the impoverishment of many working people within formal employment. The paper argues that the massive impoverishment of formal workers that took place in Zimbabwe from year 2000 was a result of macro-economic failure, reinforced by the external and internal hostilities generated since then. Particular reference is made to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of February year 2000 and its complementary economic policies thereafter. In essence following the FTLRP, the increase of working poverty within formal employment was due to hyperinflation spawned by reduced food production and supply as a result of disruptions in the agricultural sector with ripple effects in the whole economy. However, the situation of the working poor was exacerbated by their exclusion from social assistance and the dismantling of comprehensive social policies, traceable to the neoliberal structural adjustment policies. But it need to be conceived from the onset that the rise of working poverty in Zimbabwe considered here happened in the context of crisis and widespread impoverishment of the generality of its population, making social protection ineffectual. Notwithstanding, the neglect of workers in this era does not only impede the development of comprehensive social protection programmes but also shatters economic recovery efforts as formal sector workers forms an integral part of the much needed economic recovery and growth.

Chapter 1 highlights the problem that prompted the study, relevance and justification of the research and the methodological issues. Chapter 2 is the theoretical framework; it discusses concepts and assumptions made in this study as they are used in literature. Whilst Chapter 3 presents the research context background in rather general sense, chapters 4 and 5 discusses the research findings situating the plight of the Zimbabwean working people in theory; interrogating theories against findings. Particularly chapter 4 discusses the impoverishment of formal workers and chapter 5 presents social protection measures in Zimbabwe highlighting gaps that worsened the plight of workers during this decade long crisis and hindering the emergence of universal social protection and economic recovery. The paper closes with conclusions drawn from both theory and empirical evidence.

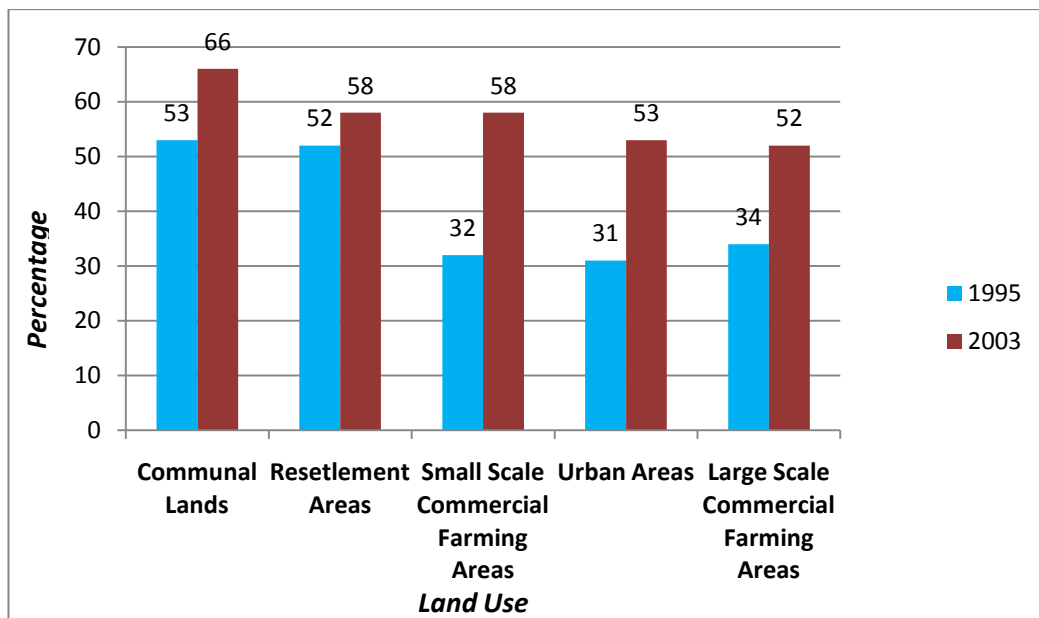
Problem Statement

The inception of the 21st century has seen the unprecedented rise in poverty levels in Zimbabwe due to a multiple of challenges that beset the country, sparked by the much contested Fast Track Land Reform Programme of the year 2000. Since then, “By every index of social and economic activity, the conditions of the majority of the people have deteriorated dramatically” (Campbell, 2007: 23). It is claimed that between 1995 and 2003 urban poverty increased by 42%, a percentage higher than

that of the rural areas (Gandure, 2009). The problems faced by the country are both of political and economic nature with negative implications on the social wellbeing of various social groups. For example “by July 2003, Zimbabwe was the fastest shrinking economy in the world” (Dekker, 2004: 4), with sky rocketing inflation, such price hikes disproportionately affected the urban populace, especially the working peoples (Campbell, 2007) whose real wages were under unprecedented and sustained erosion.

Elsewhere workers live on sell of their labour and wages are their main entitlement and source of livelihood whose erosion means falling into poverty and starvation. Unambiguously, “...the proportion of working poor (those people who work but do not earn above the US \$1 or 2 a day) has continued to rise. ... The ILO publication (2005) on African employment trends indicated that between 1993 and 2004 Zimbabwe had 79.1% of its working poor earning below US \$1 per day and this was widespread among young people” (Gandure, 2009: 13-14). However, poverty remained predominantly rural because about 70% of Zimbabweans resides in the rural areas. Reportedly in 1999 60% of Zimbabweans were living below US\$ 1 a day and 80% of these were in the rural areas (Moyo, 2007). To shed more light on poverty situation in Zimbabwe, the graph below shows poverty incidence and increase by land use between 1995 and 2003. Although communal poverty has changed by a lesser percentage than urban it must have worsened over the course of the crisis due to reduced remittances from urban relatives. Thus the focus on urban poverty within formal employment ought to be understood in this context of generalized poverty increase.

Figure 1: Percentage of households below the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) by land use in Zimbabwe 1995 and 2003



Source: Gandure, 2009

The above came at a point when social protection is advanced as a policy framework to cushion individuals and households from the vagaries of the market

and natural disasters. However, narrowly defined targeting women, informal sector, rural areas, disabled, orphans and other social groups deemed as poor and vulnerable with the corresponding oversight of the needs of the formally employed and the need for a comprehensive social policy framework. The logic behind the neglect of those who are formally employed has been that those who are employed might reasonably earn a living from their wages. This is an idea born out of neo-liberal thinking that got its prominence in the 1980s and 1990s, which emphasised the need for cost effectiveness and efficiency in social provisioning hence stringent means testing and targeting of the 'deserving poor'. This marked the emergence of residual approach to social policing and provision where social assistance is only given as a social safety net to those deemed very poor (Tendler, 2002; Townsend, 2004, Mkandawire, 2005) especially those outside formal employment. Despite effective-efficient rhetoric, "The narrowing of the goals makes current social policies singularly ineffective against poverty, their focus on poverty notwithstanding, ... they suffer from the same weaknesses as the liberal regimes from which they draw their intellectual and ideological inspiration" (Mkandawire, 2005: 8) and always leave out a great deal of deserving people, defeating the whole purpose of development in the end. In Zimbabwe although being equally in condition of need the working people were ineligible in most if not all of the relief programmes by both government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The main criteria to eliminate the 'undeserving' which has become fashionable was not; what you earn but what you do, being formally employed regardless of level of income has become a ticket for exclusion, especially by NGOs.

Relevance and Justification

This study is a supplement to the existing literature on the Zimbabwean crisis. It gives particular attention to the plight of the urban formally employed people in the 21st century given their oversight both in academic debates and social assistance. Formal sector employees in Zimbabwe constitute about 10% of the workforce (Chimhowu, et al, 2009), relatively small number than combined informal sector and unemployed. However, the interest in formal workers was prompted by their neglect in current writings and practice. Equally interesting is the stunning erosion of the formal sector at a time when its expansion is the preoccupation in developing countries. The paper's aim is twofold; first it sought to analyse the processes and mechanisms that led to massive impoverishment of the formally employed people; secondly it analyses the social protection arrangements in Zimbabwe identifying gaps that further compromised the welfare of formal employees and potentially hindering the emergence of comprehensive social protection programmes. In light of the later a rare argument in current writings on Zimbabwe is presented that economic and social policies are interdependent, hence need to be integrated in mainstream development thinking and strategies.

For long now governments, policy makers, experts, researchers and civil society alike have been searching for the best way to respond to individual and household poverty and vulnerability, especially in developing countries. Various propositions have been put forward, tried and tested with many producing disappointing and even worse outcomes. Some advocate for full employment, but this has proved not complete. In work-poverty has been noted even in advanced countries, like in Europe

(Andreß and Lohmann, 2008). The realisation that labour participation does not guarantee cushion from poverty called for the need to have complementary measures that “in the last decade, social protection has emerged as a policy framework employed to address poverty and vulnerability in developing countries” (Barrientos, 2010: 1). However, on the ground social protection systems varies from country to country in terms of scope, effectiveness and provisional arrangements with exclusion of other social groups in many instances. Neglect and failure to respond to the needs of different groups emanate from a number of factors ranging from policy organising principles, country history, to internal and external exigencies facing the country concerned. Generally, the social policy debate in developing countries since time immemorial has been centred around two issues; whether social provision is desirable and feasible; and if so what form should it take (targeted or universal) owing to globalisation, fiscal and other resources constraints.

With this background a lot of research work has been done focusing on women, the informal sector, the disabled, orphans, old age, and the rural poor with the overshadowing of the formally employed. However, the concept of working poverty is not new, but rather underdeveloped, partly reflecting the invisibility of the working poor in the collective imagination (Zuberi, 2006). Although working poverty had received academic recognition in the ‘developed world’ less has happened in the ‘developing world’. Available literature in Zimbabwe concerning formally employed people focus mostly on labour relations not necessary social policy and the ‘working poor’. Example of such work is one edited by Peter Gibbon (1995), the essays discussed labour relations (Sachikonye, 1995), women and informal sector (Brand et al, 1995) as well as health issues (Bijlmakers et al, 1995) in the context of structural adjustment. Nevertheless there are some insightful observations on how workers were disproportionately affected by the economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP) of 1991 in Zimbabwe; setting a wrong precedent for the years that followed. ESAP signalled a point of departure from universal social policy towards targeting through such instruments like the Social Dimension Fund.

Building on such prior-related studies, this paper is interested in the massive spread of working poverty within formal employment in Zimbabwe in the past ten years. It laments the exclusion of formal sector workers in social assistance during this period; the paper further argues that social protection is viable in a macro-economically stable environment. Particularly for working people, there is need to pursue development strategies that do not spawn inflation, food inflation in particular. More so, unlike most studies on Zimbabwe which are more inward looking, this study factor-in the external environment in understanding the current crisis, it does so through application of the global political economy as an umbrella framework.

Research Objective

The objective of this research is to analyse the rapid increase and neglect of the working poor within formal employment in 21st century Zimbabwe. This was done through assessment of workers’ socio-economic experiences from the year 2000, critically analysing the factors and process at play.

Research Questions

Main research question

Why there has been widespread impoverishment and neglect of formal sector workers in 21st century Zimbabwe?

Sub-Questions

- How did the economic, political and social changes led to the increase and neglect of working poor in recent time in Zimbabwe?
- How did the working people cope with the challenges?
- What lessons can be drawn from the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe from the year 2000 to inform future economic and social policy?

Methodology

In seeking answers to the above questions primary and secondary data were sought and analysed. In a global political economy framework the study adopted a micro-macro analyses, this means that it combined micro data on individual experiences with macro data describing the context and macro processes. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected specifically through in-depth interviews, extensive use of written sources and observation.

Primary Data

Primary data was collected mainly from the key informants through in-depth interviews. The respondents were purposively selected from key institutions on economic and social policy as well as workers' union. Thus the study adopted a theoretical or purposive sampling. Theoretical sampling entails deliberate seeking of participants with particular knowledge or characteristics (Morse, 2004). Thus it is "A useful method of getting information from a sample of the population that [the researcher] think knows about a subject ..." (Walliman, 2001: 234). Key informants were central in generating qualitative data. They were engaged to get some expert knowledge, to hear what they think the realities of the Zimbabwean crisis and workers' impoverishment might be. Thus when one is, "... researching real-world problems, set in real-world contexts, it is not unusual for 'experts' or 'insiders' to be precisely the right people to help you answer your research questions" (O'Leary, 2005:83).

Therefore, professional experts and stakeholder representatives in economic and social policy in Zimbabwe were interviewed. The chosen institutions are at the interface of socio-economic and labour policies. As such key informants were drawn from National Social Security Authority (NSSA), Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Ministry of Economic Planning and Investment Promotion as well as from workers' representatives the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). At each institution the respondents were given by the responsible authorities according to their expertise and portfolios. At least two people from each institution, eight (8) key informants in total were interviewed. It was planned that 12 key informants were to

be interviewed, however it was not possible as efforts to get respondents from the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU) and Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries were fruitless.

The perceptions of the working people were also sought for this study; likewise 10 semi-structured interviews with the working people were conducted, to augment data from the key informants and the literature. The initial plan was to visit certain multinational corporations to interview at least two of their workers, but was later dropped upon realization that everyone who was working during the period in question had similar experiences, hence unnecessary to target those working at particular places. The 10 interviewed were identified through snow-ball sampling. Snow-ball sampling is referral and cumulative in nature. The starting point is making contact with at least one person belonging to the population of interest. It is used where the population is difficult to find or/and the research is about an interconnected group of people (Maree and Pietersen, 2007). Ideal respondents were those formally employed preferably employed even before the crisis. The point of entrance was my neighbour who worked for Olivine industries since 1994, who helped me connect with other like workers in Harare's Heavy Industry. Number of respondents was determined by data saturation.

The information gathered from both interviews and literature was used to analyse the rapid increase and lived experiences of the 'working poor' within formal employment in the years from year 2000. Thus conclusions were drawn from literature review and qualitative analysis of transcripts of the interviews as well as observations made. This helped to understand the political, economic and social processes during that particular period and how they impacted on the lives of the working people.

Secondary Data

Through extensive desk research secondary data sources were employed for two basic reasons:

1. To understand the documented general economic, political and social experiences in Zimbabwe in the 21st century and before.
2. To learn about social policy in Zimbabwe from previously conducted researches and beef up the primary data.

The table below shows the data sources and their level of significance to the study. As indicated in the table the main sources of data for this study were key informants and written sources or literature, interviews with other respondents and observations were done as supplements.

Table 1: Data Sources and their Significance

Data Source	Dates	Number Contacted	Sex Male/ Female	Sampling Method	Significance
Key Informants¹	16/08/10 to 01/09/10	8	5/3	Purposive	Primary
Literature	-	-	-	Relevance	Primary
Other Respondents²	19/07/10 to 30/07/10	10	6/4	Snowball	Secondary
Observation	-	-	-	Relevance	Secondary

Practical problems and Limitations of the study

The study relied much on key informants; however these institutional respondents were likely to be driven by loyalty to their respective organisations than objectivity. This is largely due to political polarisation and alignment of some of these organisations. The other challenge with institutional informants especially from government was that of officialdom and protocol which delayed the conduct of the interviews. It took several visits to one institution to get access to the respondents. More so some of the respondents kept on postponing the meetings and there was no choice but to wait. As such some of the interviews were done so lately that it forced me to work behind schedule. Equally important was the political polarisation of Zimbabwean people which happened during the period in question, such an atmosphere was not friendly when asking questions about the crisis as they inevitably lead to political assertions, as such some people made reservations in their responses hiding some of the information that might have been of much use to the study.

Given the small sample size and qualitative nature of the data collected there are some aspects of this study which cannot be generalized. Nevertheless, there are some factual data presented in this paper especially from literature which do apply to the Zimbabwean crisis especially those on macroeconomic challenges. Such data can be generalized however with caution because it appears from the literature and interviews that some people give more emphasis on certain factors over others but that does not necessarily translate into truth. As such some of the points represent viewpoints not the truth, especially on questions of what caused what thus making substantive claims on causality very difficult.

Conclusion

Having highlighted the research problem, questions and objective made thereof as well as the methodology used the next chapter explores the theoretical possible explanations of the problem under consideration. Thus chapter 2 provides the analytical framework for probing the plight of formal employees in 21st century Zimbabwe.

¹ Referenced by date of interview

² Referenced by place of residence

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter highlights on concepts and theories and their usage in poverty and development studies literature, which helped in the analysis of the Zimbabwean crisis and workers' impoverishment in chapters 4 and 5. The analytical frameworks used to explain impoverishment are the food balance (agrarian constraint) and the entitlement approach to poverty. For social protection analysis the study adopted Gough's social policy making model, with 'strong globalization theory as the intervening framework.

Poverty

Poverty is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon that denotes deprivation and deficiencies in human needs and **vulnerability** is one of its defining characters. Various poverty definitions in literature emphasise different aspects of the same story. Broadly Barrientos (2010) categorised poverty definitions into 'resources perspective' and 'social participation and inclusion perspective'. "Resourcist" perspectives define poverty as "the inability of an individual or family to command sufficient resources [particularly income] to satisfy basic needs" (Ibid: 5)... Social participation and inclusion perspectives define poverty as exclusion from cooperative activity; those in poverty are not "able to participate in the social life of a community at a minimally acceptable level" (Ibid: 5). **Vulnerability** refers to the probability of one remaining or falling into poverty.

The most used poverty measure is income or consumption level particularly by the World Bank which set poverty lines in terms of United States dollars for instance US\$1 or US\$2 per day. Using such poverty lines allows the measurement of poverty incidence and gap that is the percentage of a population whose income fall below the poverty line and how poor the poor are, respectively. For simplification reasons this paper is biased towards this (resourcist) income definition of poverty. However, there are problems with these measures of poverty owing to methodological contestations to establish poverty lines as well as information imperfection; that more often than not poverty incidence and magnitude are down played especially in governments' official documents. More so criticisms also emanate from the realization that income does not automatically translate into wellbeing but it depends on other socio-economic and political factors beyond income and this realisation prompted the social participation definition of poverty aforementioned.

There are varied approaches in literature to the study of poverty; some studies locate the root of poverty in individual qualities and circumstances like level of education and capability, hence emphasises interventions that targets individuals. Albeit important, individual traits alone do not give a full detail of the poverty picture. Some macro studies managed to show convincingly that poverty is structural and part of the capitalist system. Thus, "Macro-studies focus on aggregate factors which generate poverty within societies, such as the type of economic growth, macroeconomic and

fiscal policy, and inequality ... [and] Globalization highlights the role of external factors in generating poverty within a country” (Bariantos, 2010:5). Thus this study focussed on broader factors that have seen the impoverishment of formal workers in 21st century Zimbabwe.

Working Poor

In many context income or consumption lines are used to determine who is a working poor or non poor worker. Like poverty ‘working poor’ cannot be defined with precision because the qualification of being poor or non poor is hinged on the understanding of poverty. In the European context Andreß and Lohmann defined a working poor as any working person who lives in a poor household with an income below a defined threshold (2008). International Labour Organization (ILO) use the concept of working poverty to cover people who work but whose income falling short to lift themselves and their households above the US\$1 or 2 a day poverty lines (ILO, 2005). Elaborating on that and with special regard to the developing countries Majid categorized the working poor, “... as those who work *and* who belong to poor households. The definition of the working poor involves two statistical units: the individual and the household. The *individual* is the basis for establishing the “working “and “not working” classification; and the *household* is the basis for establishing the “poor” and “not poor” classification” (2001: 2). Thus one would not be considered working poor if there is someone in the family bringing enough income to lift all family members above the poverty benchmark.

This study borrows from these definitions but its focus excludes those in the informal sector. Methodological contestations aside, the widely used thresholds to determine who is poor and not poor are the World Bank’s US\$ 1 and or 2 (income or consumption) a day poverty lines. As such, less than US \$2 income a day is taken as the threshold in this study for one to be classified as working poor. By this classification virtually all the middle and lower level formal workers in Zimbabwe became working poor and many are still given the low monthly pay of US\$ 150 on average, against the consumer basket of about US\$ 500 for a household of six. However, it sound weird to talk of ‘working poor’ within formal employment in a context of rampant unemployment and informal activities, but it is a reality of 21st century Zimbabwe that most formal employees became absolutely poor.

Analysing Impoverishment

The Agrarian Constraint (Food Balance)

It is theorized that the extent by which the economy can grow is subject to the growth of food production. Although food balance theory address concerns about economic growth, its application in this paper ought to explain the hyperinflation happened in Zimbabwe following FTLRP. The food balance emphasises the interdependence of food production, economic growth and labour markets in development. It is built on the premises that food accounts for a bigger budget share of the poor therefore less food supply than demand results in high food prices which, spawn inflation, hurt the poor most and reduces the demand for industrial goods as they become unaffordable constraining investment and development in general. The

agrarian constraint on economic growth has been the preoccupation of classical economists like Thomas Malthus and Micheal Kalecki among others.

Kalecki's³ propositions on food balance is that food is an aggregate bundle made of main staple commodities and that for non-inflationary growth to happen food price has to be constant. If a country produces less food than required, food prices will rise and that of non food will follow suit. Food inflation erode workers real wages, worse still if there is upward adjustment of nominal income the resultant effect is increased industrial wage bill, squeezed profits, reduced investment and growth in general (Dasgupta, 2009: ISS-Class notes). Ceteris-paribus the poor are adversely affected. "Modelling of the linkages between agriculture and industrial growth has shown that a 10 per cent increase in agricultural output would result in a 5 per cent increase in industrial output and urban workers would benefit by both the increased industrial employment and price deflation" (Radhakrishna, 2002:4). The reverse is also true "... if the agricultural production lags behind its demand, it leads to an increase in food prices, thereby leading to an increase in the nominal wage rates of industrial workers, which, in combination with the higher prices of agricultural raw materials, contributes to cost-push inflation" (Ibid:5). The obvious implication of the violation of the food balance is shortage of food and rising food prices, unless the shortfall is covered by massive food importation. The food balance theory offers an important explanation to the hyperinflationary trend witnessed in 21st century Zimbabwe especially in the short run. However, different social groups were affected differently; hence additional framework is imperative to show the unique experience of urban formal workers. The entitlement approach offers an avenue to that effect.

Entitlement Approach

The entitlement approach to starvation and famines by Amartya Sen (1981) concentrates on people's ability to command enough food through legal means available in a given society. It posits that, "A person starves either because he does not have the ability to command enough food or he does not use this ability to avoid starvation" (Ibid: 45). Everyone has a set of legal **endowments** like assets, skills/labour power etc with which one obtains necessities including food through exchanges with nature and or with others via the market. As such two types of entitlements emerge that is **direct and trade entitlements** respectively. Such entitlements are subject to two variables: the person's **endowment** "(the ownership bundle) and the **exchange entitlement mapping** (the function that specifies the set of alternative commodity bundles that the person can command respectively for each endowment bundle)" (Ibid: 45-46).

Assuming a labourer with only labour power/skill through which he/she earn a living. This labour power or skill forms his/her endowment, selling of which earns him/her a wage to buy commodities including food. A person may have a number of

³ The writer is not claiming to have read Kalecki's work rather the reference to Kalecki is derived from class notes by A. Dasgupta at ISS. For critical interpretation of Kalecki's work see Firtzgerald and Wuyts' articles included in the reference list

options, depending on the assortment in his/her endowment bundle. However, with the expansion of the market system and massive proletarianization that happened over the centuries a great deal of people on the globe are legally solely or mainly living on the sale of their labour. This is the group whose plight is the focus of this paper 'the formal sector workers'. The labourer's entitlements depend first and foremost on job availability, then the level of real wages and physical ability (age, health) as well as the availability of social protection as a safety net in the absence or failure of the first three. Thus, "Social security provisions are also reflected in the E[ntitlement]-mapping, such as the right to unemployment benefit if one fails to find a job, or the right to income supplementation if one's income would fall otherwise below a certain specified level" (Ibid: 46), provisions most of which are not available for Zimbabwe's formal employees.

When one's endowment entitle him/her to a commodity bundle without enough necessities one becomes poor and this is called entitlement failure. Entitlement failure happens either due to dwindling endowment or unfavourable terms of trade. **NB:** One can use his/her endowment to produce own-food or trade it for food and other necessities. Thus entitlement failure happens when one fails to produce enough food for own consumption or obtain less food from trade, therefore there are two types of entitlement failures 'direct entitlement failure' and 'trade entitlement failure' respectively. Members of a social group with similar endowments are affected in the same way by similar circumstances; working class affected the same way by inflation for example. Succinctly it is possible for such a group to have unique experience in particular socio-economic situations in this case urban formal workers suffered differently in Zimbabwe during the current crisis owing to insufficient labour demand, hyperinflation, food unavailability and weak social protection (especially social assistance) among other things.

Social Protection

Social protection refers to any public measure aimed at protecting and promoting citizens' wellbeing. "As a key component of social policy, social protection is concerned with preventing, managing and overcoming situations that adversely affect people's wellbeing. It helps individuals maintain their living standard when confronted by contingencies such as illness, maternity, disability or old age; market risks, such as unemployment; as well as economic crises or natural disasters" (UNRISD, 2010: 135). Whilst in the developed world social protection is designed to deal with transient poverty and short term fall in income especially of workers; in the developing countries social protection is said to have taken a developmental role by focussing on poverty reduction (Barrientos, 2010; UNRISD, 2010). It emerged as a social policy framework to address poverty and vulnerability, addressing the causes of poverty not only its symptoms (Barrientos, 2010).

Social protection encompasses three categories; social insurance, social assistance and labour market regulation. With the spread and domination of neo-liberalism the most extensive and common is social assistance, where help is targeted at the 'poorest' and players include both the government and NGOs (apparently major players in developing countries). Social insurance appears to be in its infancy in most

developing countries aimed at especially health provision. Unlike social assistance which is free help, social insurance is contributory in nature. Lastly and most controversial is labour market regulation. Labour market regulation among other things is supposed to ensure that there is job security, decent wages as well as health and safety at work –now it is bracketed within the ILO *decent work agenda*.

The renewed attention to social protections particularly their design and ideological underpinnings is upon realisation that, “Public assistance programmes and other forms of safety nets, scarcely available in developing countries ..., proved inadequate to deal with the rapid rise in poverty and vulnerability. Short-term [targeted] safety nets ... were never intended to establish the institutional structures to ensure anything more than short-term palliatives” (Ibid: 4). Mkandawire noted the following factors as social policy-shift drivers from universal to targeting in developing countries; ideological shift, fiscal constraint and the quest for efficiency, aid, crisis of universalism, exit redistribution and the marginalisation social policy in development planning (2005). His observation fits well within Gough’s model with different factors dominating in particular periods pushing the policies to either extreme; universal/targeting.

Analysing Social Protection and Neglect

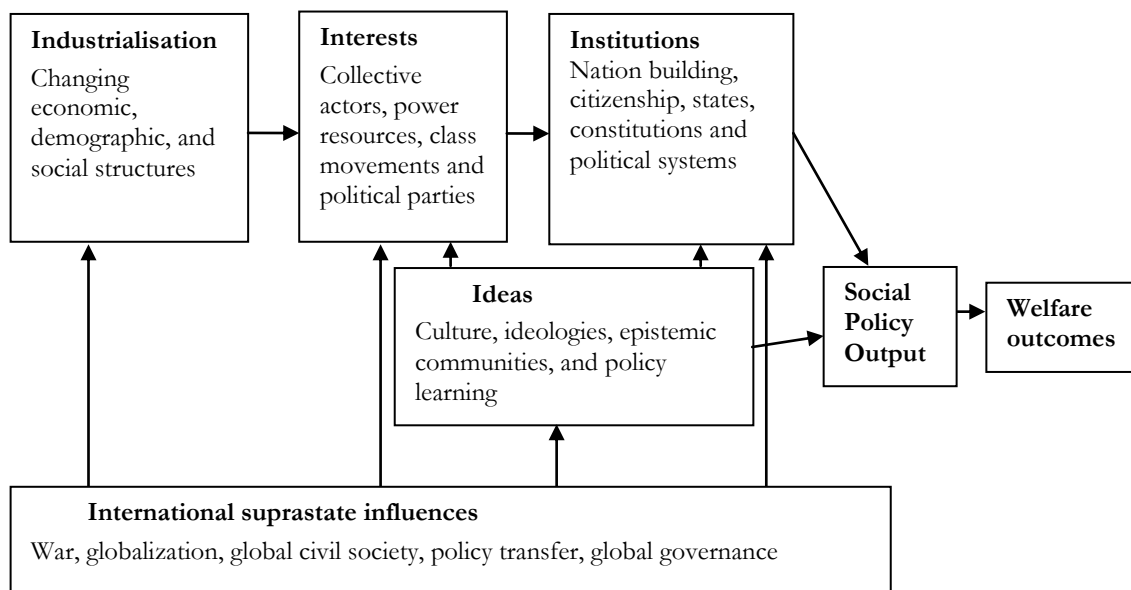
The ‘Five Is’

Gough identified five factors (Five Is) shaping nature and change in social policy in Europe and OECD countries, also applicable to developing countries; see the diagram below. These are industrialisation, interests, institutions, ideas and international influences, the first three are said to characterise the orthodox model of social policy in the West to which Gough added the last two. **Industrialization** and its concomitant changes brought with it new public needs (like health and sanitation) that the family could not provide. Added is the proletarianisation of the workforce; new insecurities of this growing class and intensifying class struggles are attributed to the general emergence of the welfare states. Capitalism as a class-based system gave impetus to interest groups and collective activism. Thus social policy is also understood as a resultant of **interests**, as workers advocated for greater state economic and social interventions. Therefore, “... trade unions, and socialist parties formed a backdrop to the emergence of national social policies throughout Europe” (Gough, 2008:47). **Institutions** of citizenship, rights and nation building are positioned third in the drive for social policy in Europe. Welfare state emerges as the last stage in the extension of, citizenship; right to live a decent life according to prevailing standards in society; right to security and social heritage and nation building. States therefore, act as unifying forces, “... a lightning rod for articulation of interests and provide compensation for socio- and ethno-territorial divisions and inequalities” (Ibid: 51).

Equally important were ideas and international influences in social policy making in Europe and OECD. **Ideas** identified in three levels of cultural systems, dominant ideologies and epistemic communities have been instrumental in influencing and reforming the elites, for example the influence of Catholicism and Protestantism in different countries. Epistemic communities like economists with recognized expertise

and authoritative claims to policy-relevant knowledge continued to influence policies since time immemorial (Ibid). Lastly and forming the overarching framework in this paper is the influence of supranational factors in policy making. **International/external** environment especially in post World War II with the formation of the UN system and the Bretton Woods institutions, “... posed significant constraints on economic and social policy making ...” (Ibid:55) in Europe and elsewhere. External equivalents to aforementioned four domestic factors were identified as economic globalization, global civil society, global governance and global epistemic communities respectively. This fifth ‘I’ brings in the strong globalization theory discussed below.

Figure 2: The ‘Five Is’: Model of Social Policy Making



Source: Gough (2008)

Intervening Factor: Strong Globalisation Theory

Globalisation is the intervening factor in understanding crisis in 21st century Zimbabwe explaining both impoverishment and social policy change. Globalization is an elusive concept, often misunderstood, abused and sometimes used without meaning (Yeates, 2001). Its application in the subsequent analysis is conscious of such abuses. In fact when people talk of globalisation they do not literally refer to the same phenomenon. Generally globalisation is used in different disciplines describing global connectedness and interdependency across all human interactions. Economically globalisation refers to operations of multinational corporations (MNCs) and international financial institutions. Politically, it refers to the shift of policy making process from being exclusively domestic process to where external forces (multilateral institutions, donors and International NGOs) increasingly influence countries’ domestic policies. In simple terms, Antonio and Bonanno, “... employ[ed] the term globalization to refer to neoliberal[ism] ... a policy regime that advocates a worldwide free-market, or deregulation, privatization, securitization, free trade, minimal taxation, and in general, reduction of the state’s role in social regulation” (2006: 2), the paper

adopts this definition. Some praises globalization saying it increases people's freedoms whilst others bewail the havoc it brings to the poor countries and people. Generally a globalization perspective, "... focuses attention on the ways in which individuals, families, communities, regions and countries are embroiled in international and transnational structures and process" (Yeates, 2001: 17). Ironically, the hitherto studies on Zimbabwean crisis concentrated much on internal dynamics without giving enough attention to the, constraints imposed by international economic forces and their institutional allies on the country. Thus it is incomplete and unjust to ignore the historical and external context in which Zimbabwe is entangled, limiting policy options.

Strong globalisation theory posits that governments [in developing countries], "... will [have to] increasingly steer towards the political middle ground and stay clear of programmes of redistribution, renationalisation or other forms of intervention of which capital and markets do not 'approve'" (Yeates 2001: 23). They also have to be *sensitive to the requirements and interests of international markets, potential investors, the business agenda generally, and to the demands of international financial, trade and development agencies for 'credible' economic and social policies. ... Governments which stray too far outside these parameters will be punished, electorally and economically, due to loss of investment and employment and will encounter lower credit ratings, higher interest rates on borrowing and currency speculation by international financial markets* (Ibid: 23-24). Thus global capital and capitals wield unmatched lever of exploitation, described by Prontzos as 'structural violence'. Outrageously, "'globalization' is largely about establishing global rules that act as a constitution for investor rights ..." (2004: 315) beyond State reproach. This new global setting and ideological climate reinforces business dominance whilst weakening States especially in developing countries. Thus, "Global capital's exploitative leverage has produced declines in labour's ability to protect its interests in defining the terms and outcomes of labour market exchanges" (Scott-Marshall, 2007:27). In the global south governments are often used to protect the interests of global capital at the expense of immobile labour. Worse still governments and labour are pitted against each other as capital sought 'favourable' investment climate setting the 'race to the bottom'.

Conclusion

The choice of the above analytical frameworks are an attempt to link the micro, macro and global processes and mechanisms that combined and mutually reinforcing in generating the crisis and impoverishment of formal workers in 21st century Zimbabwe. Food balance theory explains the hyperinflation (macro) whilst the entitlement approach presents workers' unique experience (micro). Gough's model helps with social protection analysis. At the outmost globalisation framework factors-in external influences on Zimbabwe's economic and social policies, with effect on both poverty levels and social protection. Arguably Zimbabwe is a globalisation victim or villain which defied the rules of the game with the corresponding suffering of its citizens. Worthy conceiving also is that the foundations for exploitative globalisation in former colonies like Zimbabwe are built in colonialism and globalisation is the perpetuation of those structures. The next chapter presents Zimbabwe in retrospect.

Chapter 3

Research Context: Zimbabwe from Independence in Brief

Introduction

Zimbabwe is a landlocked Southern African country which was under British colonial rule for a century from 1890 to 1980. The country gained independence in 1980 after a bitter war of liberation. By the time of independence the country had a relatively growing economy. With manufacturing still in its infancy agriculture and mining sectors formed the mainstay of the economy. Structurally the economy was fragmented and skewed. The formal sector was divorced to varsity informal and communal sectors while until the year 2000 most of the prime land and formal businesses were owned by minority 'white-settlers'. *"By way of reconciliation, Mugabe sought good relations with local and regional capital ... Roughly 100,000 white settlers remained in the country, operating the commanding heights of commerce, finance, industry, mining, and large-scale agriculture, as well as domestic small businesses"* (Bond and Saunders, 2005). However, the country's fortunes started deteriorating by the early 1990s with the adoption of ESAP; and worsened by the inception of the 21st century following the government's FTLRP. This chapter is a brief background on Zimbabwe since independence focussing on general policy regimes to the present.

Decade of Social Progress 1980-1990

The colonial Zimbabwe was characterized by racist social and labour policies skewed in favour of the white labour force and framed in the laissez-faire and liberal ideologies. For instance apprenticeships training system established in 1934 was racially biased and designed to produce few predominantly white graduates to ensure continuity of a skilled labour aristocracy (ZCTU, 1996). By contrast the new independent Zimbabwe government vowed socialism and egalitarianism as its guiding philosophy (Kaseke et al, 1998; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1999). Unsurprisingly the government intervened to redress the colonial injustices and labour market distortions by way of universal social policies. Particularly government intervention in the labour market was envisaged: "a) to promote security of employment; b) to raise the standard of living of the people and, in particular, the lowly paid; c) to narrow income differentials and; d) to reduce inflationary pressures, especially after 1982" (ZCTU, 1996: 65).

An effort was made to translate these objectives into practice evidenced by policies like Minimum Wages Act (1980), Growth with Equity (1981), free health care and education for people earning less than Z\$150 per month (Kaseke, et al, 1998). Public social spending was relatively high as a share of GDP compared to regional countries. The approach to education was universal, with primary education virtually free, more primary and secondary schools and tertiary institutions were built facilitating universal access. Primary health was the cornerstone of the health policy, expanding access in previously sidelined rural areas, whereas access in urban areas was

almost 100% (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1999; Mehrotra, 2000). Hospital fees were removed for those earning less than the government's minimum wage of Z\$150 as early as September 1980 and it covered an estimated 90% of the population (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1999) making access almost universal. Such measures resulted in greater human development and poverty reduction, for instance by 1989 infant mortality was reduced from between 120-140/1000 at independence to 70/1000 (Ibid) and primary school enrolment increased by 198% between 1979 and 2006⁴. Interestingly, these earlier achievements are still bearing fruits and Zimbabwe's 92% literacy rate is one of the highest in the world and currently ranked first in Africa⁵.

The economy was relatively 'diversified' comparative to regional standards, with agriculture and mining dominating making them major foreign-currency earning sectors. Besides mineral processing, food processing formed the main component of the manufacturing sector. In agriculture, both commercial and communal agriculture was well established; the main agricultural exports being tobacco, maize, cotton, sugar, and groundnuts (CSO, 2000). The white community commanded the heights of commercial agriculture, manufacturing and economy at large. However as noted by Koderu, growth in the productive sectors of the Zimbabwean economy and society did not match that in the social sector. Consequently, by the early 1990s the country faced structural problems; "deepening cycles of low investment, low growth, a growing budget deficit, rising unemployment, inflation [with the rate of about 25% by late 1980s⁶], and general economic decline" (2003: 130). This warranted the involvement of IMF and World Bank culminating in the adoption of ESAP.

ESAP and Pre-Crisis Era 1991-1999

Hearty introduction of structural adjustment programmes around the world coincided with the triumph of capitalism over socialism and the fall of USSR in 1991 marking the end of cold war. Consequentially, there was ideological crisis in former socialist countries; correspondingly there was stern academic and political attack on the welfare state. Zimbabwe was not spared; faced with limited options and economic structural problems the government succumbed to Bretton-Woods institutions' pressure to adopt Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). Officially Zimbabwe embarked on ESAP in 1990 following the publication of the Economic Policy Statement (1990) and later the Framework for Economic Reform (1991) (ZCTU, 1996; UNDP, 1999). *"But 1991 was a turning point for Zimbabwe, as it was for Iraq, the Soviet Union, Argentina, India, Cuba, and elsewhere. The United States was suddenly the sole superpower, and the IMF, World Bank, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (later the World Trade Organization) wasted no time imposing a global neoliberal iron heel. Zimbabwe had significant international debts, and suddenly new debt service was "conditioned" on yielding to the global neoliberal dictatorship. The large state sector and protected local industries inherited from the*

⁴ UNDP, <http://www.undp.org.zw/millennium-development-goals/mdgs-in-zimbabwe/50-achieve-universal-primary-education.html> accessed 16/10/10

⁵Daily Nations <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/africa/-/1066/957938/-/11jmoiez/-/index.html> accessed 14/07/10

⁶ Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1999

prior regime were condemned as “inefficient” and an Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) was adopted by Mugabe with considerable enthusiasm. The results were disastrous. Manufacturing output declined by 40 percent from 1991 to 1995, accompanied by a similar decline in workers’ real standard of living and a dramatic increase in inflation that ravaged savings...” (Bond and Saunders, 2005). The assumptions were that ESAP would generate economic growth with GDP expected to grow by 5% in the first 5 years of implementation as well as attract foreign investment and funding (ZCTU, 1996; UNDP, 1999). However, a post-mortem of ESAP indicates that none of these was attained; the reality was that it came with immeasurable economic and social costs. It dismantled the import substitution industrialisation, replaced it with foreign direct investment and ‘free-trade’ hurting local industries and the poor workers and peasants.

According to IMF and World Bank requirements ESAP was supposed to, among other things, remove all market regulations including the labour market, reduce social expenditure and introduce cost recovery measures through imposition of user fees for social services. User fees meant that all social services were paid for, for instance in health by individuals, their medical insurance or Social Dimension Fund (SDF) (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1999). Introduced in 1991 health fees were reviewed upwards in January 1994 pegged according to care level with tertiary institutions fees higher than the lower ones. Although fees exemption was raised from Z\$150 to Z\$400 the same year it was now subjected to strict means testing (Ibid). The establishment of the SDF was meant to cater for those whose incomes fall below government threshold. However, in 1993 it was noted that SDF component for school fees assistance covered only one-eighth to one-tenth of the target group (ZCTU, 1996). This meant that large sections of the poor were left to fend for themselves. Generally ESAP as part of the neo-liberal agenda, like elsewhere, required the government to liberalize the economy, open it to international trade and competition, promote privatisation and pursue economic growth at all cost. The implications to formal sector workers were devastating. As noted by UNRISD, “The free-market orientation of development policy in the last few decades is associated with expanding labour market inequalities, persistent informalization and the emergence of precarious forms of employment in many countries” (2010: 29). Labour market liberalization was said to allow labour flexibility and more employment but in reality it meant low wages, loss of jobs, unemployment and social unrest (for instance the 1998 food riots in main cities). Companies also started preferring casual and contract workers to permanent worker, reducing the benefits to which the worker was entitled.

The Crisis Period 2000-2010

Although some commentators implicate budget deficits (especially following the 1997 liberation war veterans’ compensation and the 1998 DRC venture) in the crisis-causes matrix, the turning point for Zimbabwean economic, political and social landscape was the year 2000 following the official announcement of compulsory land redistribution. “A ‘fast-track’, state-driven ... land reform was introduced ... in 1997 in Zimbabwe, culminating in extensive land transfers by 2004” (Moyo, 2007: 344). The Land reform was quite involving and was central in Zimbabwean politics and economy since then polarising development discourse both home and away. Unfortunately, “The tendency [within academic and political cycles] has been to

reduce complex and diverse social actions or processes of civil society-state interactions over land to the atavistic manipulations of a ‘pre-modernist’, ‘authoritarian nationalist’ regime, using modern institutions of state, political parties and ‘uncivil’ associations” (Ibid: 344). To the contrary Land Reform Programme was a necessary socio-economic policy to address mainly rural poverty and colonial imbalances in Zimbabwe by affording the landless poor pieces of land from which they could eke a living. However, it took a more radical, often violent and uncoordinated shape and trajectory which led many to conclude that it was a political project by ZANU-PF government to retain rural electorate support.

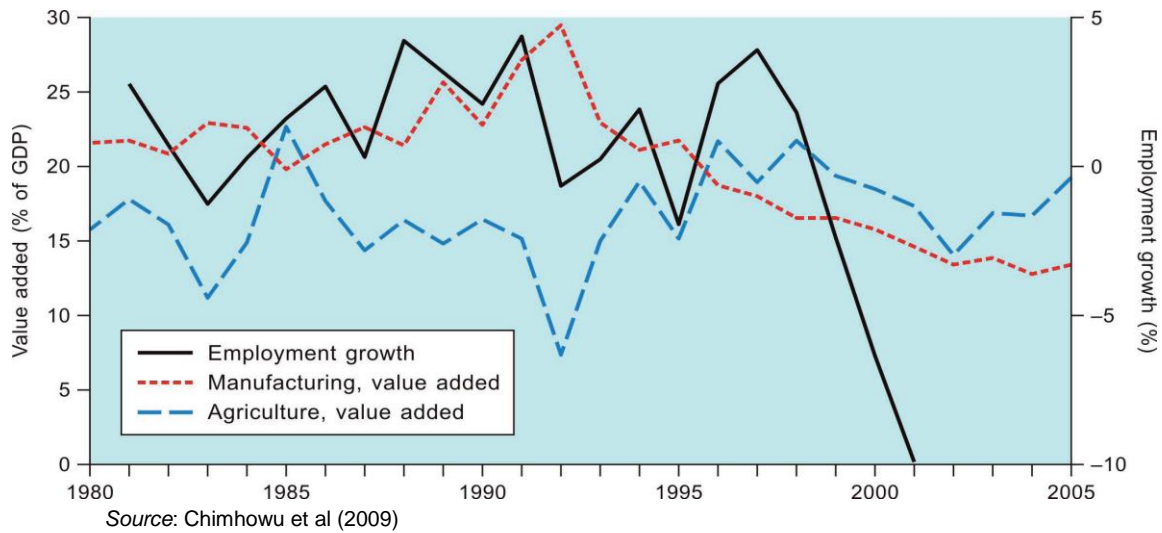
The Zimbabwean economy since year 2000 was grounded by a combination of disruptions in the agriculture sector, capital and global capitals’ reactions which had mutually reinforcing effects on macroeconomics. The ensuing food and basic goods shortages compounded by currency speculation spawned inflation which was then feeding into the already paralysed economy giving rise to unprecedented impoverishment within formal employment and rising unemployment. It is reported that Zimbabwe is the first country to experience hyperinflation in 21st century. Table 2 below summarises the main economic indicators for Zimbabwe in the first decade of 21st century. It is clear from the table that GDP was fluctuating in the negative with external debt and consumer price inflation on an unstoppable rise since 2001 (until 2009 for the later). This is an indication of deep-seated economic problems. Next is the timeline graph showing poor economic performance and the economy’s dramatic decline since late 1990s. Upon the adoption of ESAP manufacturing sector which was just rising as a component of GDP started falling and employment growth was acutely compromised. More interestingly is the sharp decline of most economic indicators especially employment growth in the years succeeding 1997 when the first land invasions were witnessed setting the stage for a decade long and probably longer political, economic and social turmoil.

Table 2: Key National Economic Indicators 2001-2010

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010*
Real GDP Change (Year on year)	-8.4	-5.6	-10.6	-4.2	-7.7	-4.6	-5.5	-14.5	4.0	2.2
Consumer Price Inflation; annual average (%)	75	135	385	381	267	1034	12563	56 B	6.5	5
Total Exports (USD million)	2114	1802	1670	1684	1606	1533	1804	1633	1625	2083
Total Imports (USD million)	1791	1821	1778	1989	1994	2000	2113	2630	3232	3480
Trade Deficit (USD million)	-323	18	108	305	388	467	310	997	1607	1397
Total External Debt (USD Billion)	3.6	3.9	4.5	4.8	4.3	4.7	5.3	5.8	7.1	7.6

Source: FAO/WFP Special Report, 2010 **NB:** B-billion, *-Projections

Figure 3: Employment growth; Agriculture and Manufacturing contribution to GDP



As a result of such poor economic performance poverty was on the rise since the late 1990s. It is reported that according to Poverty Assessment Study Survey of 2006, the percentage of population living below the Food Poverty Line increased from 29% in 1995 to 58% in 2003. The same period percentage of those living below Total Consumption Poverty Line rose from 55% to 72% with the corresponding figures for urban and rural being 53% and 63% respectively. Urban areas shown a higher increase in poverty than in rural areas with a 42 percent increase (Malaba, 2006; Gandure, 2009). Higher figures are true for successive years; presumably the highest poverty levels were reached in 2008 at the acme of the crisis.

Conclusion

The chapter gave a scant context background to give an idea of setting in which the current crisis in Zimbabwe happened. Independent Zimbabwe inherited structural problems from the colonial economic set up which are difficult to disentangle with. ZCTU characterized the structure of the Zimbabwean economy in three words, 'enclavity, dualism and dependency'. Enclavity and dualism refers to formal/informal and urban/rural dichotomies. Dependency means the reliance of the economy on external market for exportation of primary commodities and importation of capital (1996). Notwithstanding, the post colonial government invested much in social development that the immediate post independence Zimbabwe is described as a success story by many social commentators. Indeed in the 1980s, Zimbabwe enjoyed and experienced high levels of human and infrastructural development. However, this social progress was rather superficial; it was not entrenched in economic structural transformation. The structural stress of the economy became eminent by the late 1980s. As such the country had to adopt neo-liberal economic structural adjustment policies to access IMF-World Bank financial and technical support. Adoption of ESAP has seen the erosion of the earlier social and economic achievements and increased workers' vulnerability to poverty. The situation went bizarre by the inception of the 21st century following the FTLRP and the country plunged into deep political, economic and social crisis from which it is struggling to emerge. The next chapter discusses the underlying causes of the crisis however, biased towards the fate

of formal workers who are the focus of this study. The analysis is based on evidence from literature and field work interviews as well as theoretical assumptions.

Chapter 4

Dynamics in the Impoverishment of Urban Formal Workers

Introduction

This chapter gives an analysis of the factors that led to the impoverishment of the formally working people especially those in low income jobs in 21st century Zimbabwe. The Mugabe regime's land reform is central to the economic, social and political crisis that gripped Zimbabwe; however other factors are also at play especially in prolonging and sustaining the crisis. This paper argues that the impoverishment of the workforce was fallout of Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). Zimbabwean workers were not only victims of this policy's technical failure but also of the, "... contradictions of neoliberalism, and ... Zimbabwe's 'dissidence' against the hegemonic models of market-based and internationally supported approaches to land reform and economic management' (Moyo, 2007: 346). Thus in addition to immediate food shortages the land reform programme attracted a lot of internal and external hostilities that sustained the same shortages hampering production recovery efforts.

Macro-economic Failure

Violation of the Food Balance

Agriculture forms the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy and the country was once daubed the 'bread basket' for Southern Africa. The FTLRP of February 2000 which started with the 1997 'land invasions' by the 'war veterans' was by its nature and design violent, chaotic and destructive hence often referred to as 'land grabbing'. However, the concern here is neither to describe its complexion nor merits but only its consequences because of limited space. By mid 2003 farms of 90% of the 4,500 white commercial farmers were appropriated by the government and distributed to 127,000 households and 7, 200 new black commercial farmers, most of whom had no farming experience (Campbell, 2007). Thus, FTLRP, directly affected commercial agriculture whose immediate consequence was disruption of agricultural production shaking the whole economy due to reverse linkages between agriculture and other sectors of the economy.

Thus the disturbances that happened in the agricultural sector with the embankment of the land redistribution programme contributed immensely to the economic malaise that followed. Reduced production in the agricultural sector begets falling production in general for instance the flow of inputs into the manufacturing industry was curtailed affecting especially the agro processing industries which rely on farm produce. Manufacturing sector is said to have shrunk by 47% between 1998 and 2006 (Coltart, 2008). In fact companies were/are operating below full capacity due to shortages of inputs both domestic and imported. For example the beef and dairy industries were mainly affected by a limited number of herds for beef and milk,

companies like Olivine Industries who are into cooking oil and other oil products were mainly affected by the shortage of soya beans, sun flower and maize among other things (Gono, 2005). It is reported that "... large commercial cattle stock, which traditionally accounted for up to 90 percent of national beef exports, [was] estimated, to have declined by 70 percent from 1.3 million in December 2001 to 400,000 in July 2002" (Glantz and Cullen, 2003:9). Wheat output plummeted from 300,000 tonnes in 1990 to less than 50, 000 in 2007 (Coltart, 2008). Maize production also went down since 2000, for instance "during the 2002/03 season, maize production was about 900,000MT (metric tonnes), against total requirements of 1,800,000MT. Around 695,000MT were imported between April 2003 and February 2004, which is 71% of the projected deficit"⁷. This is of particular interest because maize is the staple food for Zimbabweans, shortage of which has insurmountable effect on dietary requirements for many. The table below shows maize production trends between 2000 and 2010, although the area under cultivation increased total production and yields/hectare continued to fluctuate downwards reaching the lowest of 471 000 tonnes and 0.27 t/ha in 2008 respectively. Similar declines were registered with all crops including the most foreign currency earner, tobacco.

Table 3: Zimbabwe- Maize area, yield and production 2000-2010

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Area(000 ha)	1374	1240	1328	1352	1494	1730	1712	1446	1722	1507	1803
Yield (t/ha)	1.18	1.23	0.46	0.78	1.13	0.53	0.87	0.66	0.27	0.82	0.74
Production (000 t)	1620	1526	605	1059	1686	915	1485	953	471	1243	1328

Source: FAO/WFP Special Report, 2010. NB: 000- thousand, ha-hectares, t-tonnes

The food balance was violated and the resultant effect was reduced food supply on the market, reduced exports hence foreign currency; all producing and feeding into inflation. Food shortages, gave rise to food inflation that begets general inflation as the non-food goods followed suit. Thus after years of itinerant in the wilderness of monetary preoccupation in its 2008 first Quarter Monetary Policy the RBZ rightly concluded that, "... without food security, no credible and sustainable economic turnaround can be implemented in Zimbabwe" (Gono, 2008: 8). This was recognition of the overarching effects of food shortages in the country and escalation of cost of living, prompting RBZ to introduce the Basic Commodities Supply Side Intervention (BACOSI) and the Agricultural Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility initiatives (Ibid), which failed anyway because of politically hostile environment and channelling of funds into non-productive activities by some of the beneficiaries, among other things.

The aforesaid qualifies the food balance thesis. The imbalances between production and demand compounded by other factors generated general macro-

⁷ UN et al, 2004 Zimbabwe Food Security Brief
<http://www.zimrelief.info/files/attachments/zfsb0403.pdf>

economic failure driven by hyperinflation. A correct record of the economic indicators is hard to come by; available bits and cuts based on estimates therefore need to be treated with caution. Nevertheless available data suggest a sudden and deplorable collapse in economic performance and living standards. The general economic indicators are summarized in table 2 on page 18 in the previous chapter; however worthy discussing here is inflation as it was the visible culprit in workers' impoverishment.

Inflation⁸

Inflation is both an effect and a factor on its own and was unequivocally pointed out as one of the major factors that have seen massive impoverishment of the formally working people. It is inflation that eroded workers' real wages and personal savings as well as failure by insurance companies and institutions to come in terms with the assistance demand that has become imperative by the inception of the 21st century in Zimbabwe. Inflation is said to have gone beyond 1,200 percent by January 2007 reached 231 million per cent year on year by July 2008 (Chimhowu, et al, 2009), peaked at 56 billion the same year (FAO/WFP, 2010). Escalating inflation prompted the RBZ to continuously introduce higher denominations of bearer cheques⁹. A picture below shows some of the last bearer cheques, the highest was the 10 trillion dollars which people for the first time rejected.

Figure 4: Bearer Cheques



Source: allAfrican.com

⁸ The discussion about inflation here appears misplaced but as a direct consequence of food shortages it is imperative that I discuss it even before looking at other factors which also contributed in causing and fuelling inflation. Inflation itself became an effect and a cause of other problems making it a volatile factor as such it will frequently feature in the successive discussions in a more or less uncoordinated manner

⁹ The first family of bearer cheques were introduced late 2003 as a measure to counter currency speculation and money laundering especially following massive externalisation of Zimbabwe's \$500 dollar notes. They had a lifespan of three months. However, this move only stopped externalisation at the expense of business' and people' (both local and foreign) loss of faith in the currency.

Recently, the Zimbabwean Sunday Mail reported that, “the country’s inflation rate somersaulted from being one of the highest in the world to the lowest in the Southern African region, after Mauritius. Statistics from the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency showed that annual inflation slowed to 4.1 percent in July from 5.3 percent in the previous month” (August 29-September 4, 2010: B1) as a result of the adoption of the multicurrency system after the formation of the inclusive government in March 2009. However, bread prices rose in September 2010 from US \$1.00 to the range between US \$1.05 and \$1.20. This is worrisome news to the working poor as there are no salary increases, and bread price rise might be just a signal to general price increase. Formally employed people both in government and in the private sector with the exception of management are earning on average plus or minus US \$150.00 per month, wages described by many as ‘pathetic’. If breakdown is to be done it is clear that those in formal employment are living in awkward conditions despite inflation stability. More so multicurrency system was adopted as a short term measure and many workers in the sample and those informally talked to are not ready to return to the Zimbabwean dollar. Multicurrency countered currency speculation that has become rampant. Nevertheless the current price stability has to be celebrated with caution as it is not founded in the productivity of the economy neither is the structure of the economy changed. Monetary solution to problems of production is just temporary and bound to explode if the underlying structural and political problems are not resolved.

Limitations of the Food Balance Theory

Despite its explanatory power on the Zimbabwean crisis with regard to inflation especially in the short run, the food balance theory does not fully capture the underlying causes of low productivity; does not explain the long time horizon of the crisis; and it also assumes a direct linear relationship between agriculture and manufacturing sectors. Concentrating only on this technocratic and purely theoretical explanation to the Zimbabwean crisis conceals its political and historical context. Beside reduced agricultural productivity the ‘land reform’ attracted internal and external opposition and hostilities. These may explain prolonged horizon of the crisis as “Efforts to restore productivity in agriculture were hampered by forces beyond technical fix”¹⁰. Acts of sabotage by opponents of the FTLRP (including former white farmers who also happen to be shareholders in most manufacturing companies) has to be taken into consideration if a balanced account is to be given. Agriculture in Zimbabwe is not necessarily an independent sector rather it heavily rely on industrial inputs which include fertilizers and machinery, short supply of which affect agricultural productivity. There are complex circular linkages between agriculture and manufacturing sectors in Zimbabwe as well as between the economy and the external markets, making blunt claims unrealistic. Additionally Zimbabwe had experienced food shortages before for instance in 1972, 1982, 1992 and 1998 due mainly to droughts but there never been a widespread and persistent crisis. The current crisis is entangled in complex internal and external dynamics beyond technical fix. Thus the food balance only explains what happens on the ground but it does not explain the

¹⁰ Key informant 23/08/10

underlying causes, therefore should be buttressed with other factors beyond technicalities.

Beyond Technicalities: Globalisation and Politicking

Notwithstanding internal dynamics, the situation of the Zimbabwean working poor is a classic example of how globalisation destabilise livelihoods and increase vulnerability of the 'working poor' in developing countries. Arguably Zimbabwean case is a testimony that developing countries' governments and their policies are at the mercy of international capital allied with global capitals. Whilst some academics like Mkandawire (2005) and Tendler (2002) lament the current narrowing and marginalisation of social policy; Yeates (2001) provided a possible answer; the strong globalization thesis which argues that more radical, redistributive socio-economic policies like land reform come with very high political, economic and social costs. Although she hinted about the role of governments (at least in the developed world) in facilitating globalization; in developing countries it is 'global capital and its institutional allies' that put the limits on the extent and nature of social and economic policies to be pursued. Governments are to keep within the limits and, "... stay clear of programmes of redistribution, renationalization or other forms of intervention of which capital and markets do not 'approve'" (Ibid: 23), a principle violated by the Zimbabwean government. Thus "Governments which stray too far outside these parameters will be punished, electorally and economically, due to loss of investment and employment and will encounter lower credit ratings, higher interest rates on borrowing and currency speculation by international financial markets" (Ibid: 23-24). All the above exhaustively describes what has been happening in Zimbabwe especially after the FTLRP of February 2000.

Taking the FTLRP as a socio-economic policy to address rural poverty and colonial injustice as it is (putting aside its chaotic nature¹¹), if the government had policy autonomy, this programme was not going to cause much of disruption as it did. Confirming the assertions by the globalisation theory the FTLRP attracted hostility from global capital and capitals, whose reaction to this government policy was an assortment of explicit and implicit actions and measures directed towards the leadership, the economy and the country in general including the withdrawal of donor support both aid and technical (Kaseke, 2003). That, "... meant that a significant amount of inflows used to come from that side was cut. So really given that we are an open economy and interact with the rest of the world if one source of income is cut certainly that has negative consequences" (Key Informant 20/08/10). A development lamented by a number of key informants and not good for a country with 18 percent (estimated) of its recurrent expenditure budget aid funded by the time of land invasion (Chimhowu, et al, 2009).

¹¹ The chaotic nature of the programme has its own explanations, however needs a different podium for discussion which is beyond the focus of this paper

Explicit measures were contained in the controversial so called ***‘Smart Sanctions’***. The range of sanctions includes political and economic, imposed by many western countries specifically the US, EU¹², Australia and New Zealand. The most spectacular example is the US’s Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 2001¹³ which categorically ban any political and economic support to the country (Chimhowu et al, 2009 and Chingono, 2010), until the land tenure patterns revert to the pre-1998 model¹⁴. “According to a majority of Western policy documents on Zimbabwe sanctions, the embargo imposed on Zimbabwe are either “targeted”, “smart” or “restrictive” in nature, destined to directly oppose ZANU-PF rule whilst ... they are “economic” in nature since the impact of these sanctions has stretched to infinite, hurting an unintended audience”¹⁵ (Chingono, 2010: 067). Many analysts concur with Chingono that although western countries argue that their, “sanctions are directed at political leaders, it is usually the vulnerable groups of society who suffer rather than the targeted group” (Chimhowu, 2009: 18). Food shortages, inflation, diseases, illiteracy and all social ills that have rocked the country never directly impacted on the so called targeted elites. It is the working poor and other vulnerable groups who endure the suffering.

By inference this arsenal of measures was designed and determined to oust ZANU-PF government because of its policies, whilst cosset the MDC¹⁶ who are promising to form a ‘responsible government’. Thus, “... the reason behind extending bans on Zimbabwe is an important means of sending a signal to the objectionable policies and beliefs held by the receivers” (Ibid: 069). While the government was expected to collapse ordinary people were supposed to vote out the ‘irresponsible government’. As such it is argued here that the working people were also a target of sanctions as strategic ‘instruments’ and as bearers of the burden brought by sanctions. Arguably economic collapse and hardships were intended to stir social discontent amongst ordinary Zimbabweans against the government. However, the government resorted to ad hoc policies and repression which further compromised the welfare of the poor. Hence it ought to be understood that no matter how good the efforts put for the recovery of the economy without supportive external environment they are bound to fail. Apparently, the economy is experiencing shortages of fuel, electricity, fertilizer, spare parts for machinery and irrigation equipment, all of which are imported (FAO/WFP, 2010).

¹² The EU imposed its first batch of sanctions on the 18th of February 2002 a month before the presidential elections

¹³ ZIDERA obliges the US representatives in IMF and World Bank to use their influence to block any assistance to Zimbabwe unless otherwise advised by the President

¹⁴ Zimbabwe Herald, Wednesday September 29, 2010

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion on the language of ‘sanctions’ by both the imposers and receivers see H. Chingono’s (2010) well articulated paper included in the reference

¹⁶ Apparently one of the strongest constituencies of the MDC is the former white commercial farmers who are also captains of industry and are allegedly behind its formation and financial support, thus representing internal political dynamics

Other Underlying factors

Additionally, the following are some of the important factors contributed to the crisis and worker's impoverishment as highlighted by the respondents to this study. **"Drought** is an important external factor often overlooked" (Key informant 23/08/10). A majority of Zimbabweans depend on rain-fed subsistence agriculture for their food including some of the urban working poor with rural linkages. Thus, compounding the change of ownership and inexperience of the new farmers is the adverse effect of climate change on agricultural productivity. Successive years of drought meant low food production and supply for both rural and urban populace.

Another important underlying factor is **changing ideology to economic management**; having evolved from socialism to externally-induced neo liberalism the Zimbabwe government by the inception of 21st century embraced **radical dirigisme** as the defining approach to economic management. This has seen the implementation of such policies like the FTLRP and its 'twin sister' the **Indigenization Act**¹⁷. Under the indigenisation act foreign companies are supposed to cede 51% of their shares to locals. Other **ad hoc/ 'fire-fighting' policies** introduced by the government in an attempt to address inflation and foreign currency shortages include; **price controls**¹⁸, foreign currency retention schemes and money printing¹⁹. Added to these were acts of violence and repression used to maintain social order in an environment that has become hostile. Unfortunately these measures aided to the problems they sought to address. They combined to scare away potential foreign investors who felt threatened by such measures and did not like to risk their investment. More so, because of the same reasons particularly the price controls there was an exodus of foreign capital from Zimbabwe into the region and those remained down scaled production because business became non-profitable. In essence the resultant policy inconsistency restricted investment, economic growth and development in general. Prior to that some unpopular government ventures includes **1997 war veterans compensation** and the **1998 DRC adventure** which some commentators say were unnecessary and expensive setting in budgetary problems. In aggregate all these factors multiplied poverty to engulf most of the formal sector workers as their entitlement failed.

Workers' Entitlement Failure

Actual trends in inflation and real wages are hard to trace given the sudden and fast pace these were changing. However, "... it is beyond reasonable doubt that the situation was deplorable for urban workers"²⁰. Thus as a result of the processes discussed above there was unprecedented erosion of purchasing power of incomes particularly affecting formal sector workers, thus turning many of them into the working poor. Urban formal workers in 21st century Zimbabwe faced not only

¹⁷ The Indigenous Bill was passed by Parliament in November 2007

¹⁸ Price controls were introduced June 2007

¹⁹ Key informant 20/08/10

²⁰ Ibid

income erosion but also job losses (reportedly by December 2008 formal sector workers were reduced to 480,000²¹ from slightly above a million) and empty shops as some companies relocated or downsized. Thus rampant unemployment, shortages of basic commodities and sprouting of back markets for both goods and services including money changing was part of the story witnessed by formal sector workers. A situation which just improved but not resolved after the formation of the inclusive government.

The case of urban formal workers in Zimbabwe suits what Sen (1981) called occupational group entitlement failure. Workers rely on the sale of their labour with which they earn wages to obtain necessities including food through market exchanges. However, in this dying decade in Zimbabwe, formal sector workers' market outcomes were negatively altered by inflation, unemployment²², basic commodities shortage and the emergence of parallel markets. Ineligibility for social assistance further compromised their plight. Formal sector workers were no longer able to fend for themselves. "Professions and formal sector work became sarcasm and described in such derogatory phrases like '*maticha haana mari*'; '*kushanda hakubhadhare*'; '*chikoro hachibhadhare*' [literally meaning 'teachers do not have money'; 'formal work does not pay'; 'education does not pay' in local Shona language respectively]"²³ Worse still formal sector workers' salaries were used as the benchmarks for setting prices and pay days became synonymous with price changing days that wages lost value even before accessed, as black markets lead everyday business.

It is claimed that 80% of Zimbabweans were living below poverty line in 2008 (Coltart, 2008). The entrance of most formal sector workers into poverty category witnessed the unprecedented increase in urban poverty, for example between 1995 and 2003 urban poverty increased by a higher percentage than in rural areas (Gandure, 2009). To further elaborate the above, Figure 2 shows minimum wages for the members of Federation of Food and Allied Industries (FFAI)²⁴ against poverty lines (Individual and for five); food poverty line (FPL) and TCPL (just as an example). Data presented in this graph are official figures based on official prices on formal market, however it ought to be conceived that almost 95% of commodities were obtainable from the parallel market by then. Thus real poverty lines must be higher than given. However, it is evident that situation changed for the worse in successive years as poverty lines began to overtake minimum wages in 2006. For instance in January 2006 minimum wage was almost equal to food poverty line for a household of five persons.

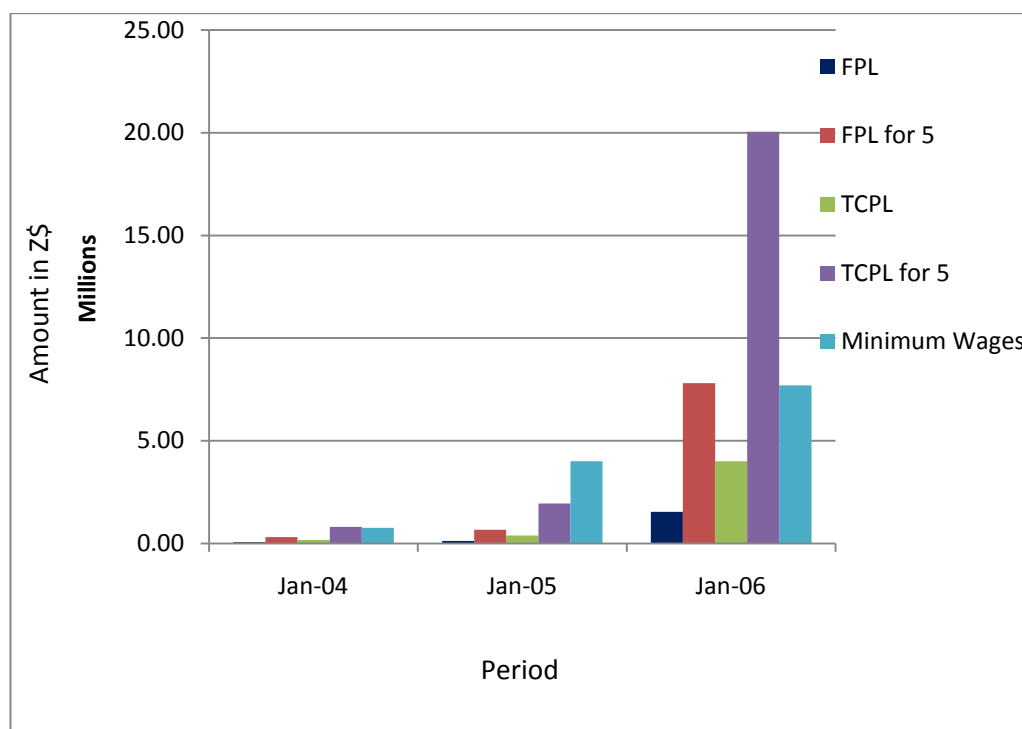
²¹ Chimhowu, 2009

²² Unofficial sources put unemployment between 80% and 90%

²³ Respondent-Queensdale 19/07/10

²⁴ FFAI is a Workers Union affiliated to ZCTU

Figure 5: Minimum Wages for FFAI against Poverty Lines



Source: Own construction based on data handed by a Key Informant from Labour and Economic Research Institute of Zimbabwe (LEDRIZ²⁵) 01/09/10

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the dynamics behind the impoverishment of the urban formal workers in 21st century Zimbabwe among other vulnerable groups. Formal workers' exchange entitlement vector was drastically altered by inflation throwing most of them into penury. They joined the pool of historic poor group; hence became 'working poor'. The FTLRP was identified as central in sparking and shaping the course of socio-economic and political events in Zimbabwe since the year 2000. Both technically and politically the land reform program disrupted production both in the agricultural sector and manufacturing leading to less food supply than demanded in the market, food importation to cover the gap was hampered by factors like foreign currency shortage as well as restrictive monetary policies. The result was skyrocketing food price inflation begetting general inflation initiating a hyperinflationary environment. In this backdrop the paper also attempted to make inferences on the implications of the rise of urban working poverty in 21st century Zimbabwe on social protection. Social protection makes more sense in relatively economically stable environments but where the generality of the populace are forced into poverty its sensible not to separate social protection from the main stream development debate. The next chapter reflects on the social protection arrangements

²⁵ LEDRIZ is an initiative of the ZCTU and was introduced to the researcher by the later for the second key informant from this labour body

in Zimbabwe identifying gaps which exacerbated formal workers plight and hampering the development of universal social protection schemes and development in general.

Chapter 5

Social Protection in Zimbabwe: Exploring Gaps for formally working people

Introduction

Indisputably the inclusion of formal sector workers in social assistance was not going to help much but could have softened the blow somehow. The overall answer to the spread of working poverty within formal employment lies in macro-economic stability. However, in the backdrop of what has been highlighted in the previous chapter, social protection in Zimbabwe is found wanting on three basic issues. First, in the face of widespread impoverishment the application of a selective approach to social assistance makes little sense. Thus, focusing on so-called 'vulnerable groups', excluding formal sector workers as with most 'new' social protection programmes by both government and NGOs fails to come to grips with the rapid impoverishment of what should be among the most productive workers in society, with dire consequences for productivity, growth and standards of living all around. Secondly, although the argument for focussing on those outside formal sector employment have been that they were neglected by 'old social protection' programmes, there are no provisions in the formal sector schemes for income supplementation in the event of incomes falling below acceptable benchmarks for incumbent workers. Lastly, the couching of 'new social protection' programmes in purely targeting 'the poor' terms inherently impedes the development of comprehensive social protection systems and development at large.

A synopsis of Social Protection Programmes in Zimbabwe

Gough's social policy making model is useful in understanding the shape and nature of social policy in Zimbabwe. All the 'Five Is' (Industrialisation, interests, institutions, ideas and international influences) are at play, with some factors dominating certain periods in time. Basically in Zimbabwe international influences appears to be the major determinant of both economic and social policy especially after ESAP but also rooted in colonialism. Notwithstanding, in the early years of independence and in much of the 'old' social protection programmes, ideas (ideology and culture in particular) and institutions shaped social policy. The socialist ideology of the ZANU-PF government buttressed with African egalitarian tradition seen the emergence of universal social policies in post-independence Zimbabwe particularly in health, education and labour market regulations. Although the later promoted interests of formal sector workers it came not of workers' advocacy rather because of the government's ideological orientation and the nation building agenda. Industrialisation and interests insignificantly contributed. Recently, workers organised around unions like ZCTU, unfortunately their agenda seems hijacked by political elites throwing their movement in limbo.

The fall of socialism and adoption of ESAP ushered a wave of ‘new’ social protection programmes ‘strictly’ targeting the ‘poor’; whose efficiency discourse “... has gone hand in hand with the downplaying of redistributive and transformative concerns” (Mkandawire, 2005: 4) across the globe. Thus structural adjustment programme in Zimbabwe like elsewhere “... begin by dismantling the exclusive rights of formal labour [for social assistance] on the grounds that this will lead to greater labour flexibility and will attract donor funds for ‘pro-poor’ policies” (Ibid: 5). Since then the organising principles tend to have changed with most programmes externally influenced. In fact the complexion of the social policy arena drastically changed with government pushed out or withdrawing while replaced by the more ‘enthusiastic’ NGOs making them the major players in social welfare. Generally, social policy practice shifted towards poverty reductionist approach championed by the World Bank, emphasising the poorest, often to the neglect of formal sector workers. The prominence of international influence in both economic and social policy subdued other factors.

Both government and the NGOs run a range of social protection programmes briefly described below. Whilst the former administer mainly long term programmes that often deals with structural problems the later is predominantly in short term humanitarian aid.

Government

The government through the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW) administer a number of social protection programmes across sectors. These programmes are countrywide but targeted hence reaching out to a limited number. In health the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders is a fee waiver provision for the poor to access intermediate and tertiary health services (Gandure, 2009). While, in education the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) assists with school fees payment for primary and secondary education for poor children. Initiated in 2001 with 593,298 beneficiaries number of BEAM beneficiaries reached 905,724 in 2006 (MASDAR and ATIKU Associates, 2006), this is far low number given the magnitude of the crisis. Other government programmes within the mandate of MLSW are Drought Relief and Public Works Programme, Care of the Elderly, Support to families in distress and Maintenance of Disabled Persons. Other government institutions also run parallel programmes. For example the RBZ introduced the BACOSI initiative to afford the poor with cheap basic commodities, some few rural areas benefited at least once and in urban areas people were only registered and nothing came their way. The initiative was short lived and failed to make any impact. Most government programmes died out in the height of the crisis and some beneficiaries were no longer coming to collect their payouts as they became worthless. Hence only the NGOs remained relevant in social assistance.

NGOs

NGOs became important social welfare providers in Zimbabwe especially after ESAP and apparently the only ones with financial capacity to provide during the current crisis in face of public support failure. NGOs run a ‘hotchpotch’ of short to medium term, ‘targeted’ if not just selective social protection programmes across the sectors. Examples of NGO programmes in health include the Home Based Care and of late payment of supplementary allowances to public medical staff. In education NGOs’

programmes include school fees grants and school feeding. Generally in relief NGOs distribute food to the 'poor and vulnerable' households particularly in the rural areas. NGOs' preoccupation with the poorest makes their relief assistance exclusionary of formal sector workers and their families despite the need. "My family in the rural area was denied assistance just because I am working in town and that I built a better home, but my income was not enough even for transport alone" lamented the respondent from Highfields (22/07/10).

Other Private Providers

Private health insurance companies have been providing contributory voluntary health insurances however they became irrelevant amid the crisis. Their insurances mainly targets formal sector workers. Although currently dysfunctional, most urban households have some form of private health insurance. For instance 8 out of the 10 respondents had health plans with private insurance companies. In food assistance rarely, companies like Paramount Garment Works provided employees with some groceries, 3 respondents acknowledged such assistance.

Particular Social Protection Schemes for formal workers

Programmes dealing with the formal sector workers are administered by The National Social Security Authority (NSSA) of Zimbabwe, a quasi-governmental institution tasked to implement and administer social security services. NSSA schemes target formal sector employees with possibility of extension to the informal sector. Currently there are two schemes; Pension and Other Benefits Scheme (POBS) and the Accident Prevention and Worker's Compensation Scheme (APWCS)²⁶.

Pension and Other Benefits Scheme

In terms of Statutory Instrument 393 of 1993 every working Zimbabwean from 16 to 64 years formally employment is obliged to be a member of the POBS. The scheme is funded by both employer and employee contributions of 4% of basic wage each. There are four types of benefits under this scheme: Retirement Benefit payable to the contributor (employee) upon retirement; Invalidity Benefit payable to the contributor when become permanently incapacitated by injury or illness; Survivor's Benefit payable to the surviving dependents of the deceased contributor; and Funeral grant is paid upon the death of the contributor or pensioner. The table below shows the coverage of this scheme from year 2000 which peaked in 2005 but shows decline from 2006. The decline is attributable to attrition of the formal sector as the crisis intensifies with many workers losing jobs, joining the informal sector or migrating to other countries. The male bias of the scheme mirrors gender biases in the formal sector. **NB:** These are current contributors and future beneficiaries. The numbers of current beneficiaries could not be established because there were no readily available records. However, they receive payment of US \$30²⁷ a month which is wayward below the consumer basket of US \$500 for a family of six, hence ineffective.

²⁶ Although some of information was given during interviews, summaries of both schemes were drawn from respective NSSA brochures of 2009

²⁷ Key Informant 24/08/10

Table 4: Pension and Other Benefits Scheme-Coverage 2000-2006

Active Members	YEAR						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Male	590,767	635,905	906,629	958,624	1,006,577	1,044,444	966,331
Female	167,567	180,370	257,158	271,906	285,508	296,249	274,092
Total	758,334	816,275	1,163,787	1,230,530	1,292,085	1,340,693	1,240,423

Source: Own tabulation data from Gandure, 2009

The Accident Prevention and Worker’s Compensation Scheme

Established by Statutory Instrument number 68 of 1990, the APWCS has both preventive and compensatory functions. The scheme is employer funded and its objectives are to provide financial support to the employee or his/her family upon a work related injury or disease or death thereof; and the promotion and monitoring of work place safety for employees. All formal sector workers except in government are covered. The scheme coverage should be corresponding to that of POBS minus civil servants since it is compulsory for formal sector. The above schemes only provide post-employment (due to retirement/disability/death) income security to the contributor or his/her family. There are no provisions for income supplementation when wages fall below acceptable benchmarks.

Challenges and Survivalist Strategies

In this backdrop formal sector workers faced stern challenges even to meet basics. Spectacular, were daily price hikes prompting the government to introduce price controls for basic commodities in June 2007. However, price controls aided to problems they ought to solve as retail shops quickly became empty and streets lined up with vendors who took advantage of this policy. “The government was controlling the final product not the whole system of production such that many businesses were operating at a loss hence closed or scaled down”²⁸. Inevitably, most consumer goods were imports obtainable mainly through ‘black’ markets and sold in foreign currency. Many workers could no longer afford enough food from their wages. Apart from food shortages urban workers suffered a host of other problems like housing²⁹, health, education and transport. House owners and transport operators cushioned themselves by continuously review charges upwards; rentals changed every month while fares changed on a daily basis and latter they resorted to hard currencies³⁰. Private Doctors and teachers also charged foreign currency. Private surgeries and schools (and private lessons³¹) became resonating alternatives in the wake of public

²⁸ Key Informant 25/08/10

²⁹ Operation *Murambatsvina* (Clean Up) where government demolished ‘illegal houses’ worsened housing problem

³⁰ Started late 2007 rentals were between US \$30 and US \$70 per room in 2008 till now

³¹ Private lessons ranged from US\$ 1 to US\$ 10 an hour’s lesson depending on the level of education

health and education collapse. Such are the major challenges faced by formal workers who received their wages in 'perishable' local currency. Prices were hiked during pay days; civil servants' salaries particularly became the price-setting benchmarks in both formal and informal markets

Box 1: What respondents had to say?

The key industries ... literally collapsed ... people who were employed in these sectors lost jobs they are all out in the streets trying to find the way to survive. In the developed world ... there are ... social safety nets to cushion them when they fall so that they don't feel too much pain. ... Again I don't think any safety net in the world can handle what happened in Zimbabwe ... Social safety nets have to be financed so effectively it can cater for the few who fall out of employment, but when you have the case like in Zimbabwe where there was massive outflow from employment ... the social safety net ...has difficulties to finance that large number of people for an extended period of time, ... (Key Informant 23/08/10)

... multiplicity of problems happened in Zimbabwe, the inadequacy of social protection, the rapid decline of the economy and the even more rapid loss of value of the local currency ... the minute people got their salaries were running into the streets to look for hard currency quickly so that by the next day they resale and get more of local currency ... (Key Informant 25/08/10)

... What happened to the resources within the social fund...? Because the government was starved of revenue ... I wouldn't be surprised if they deep their hands into social funds to run operations (Respondent-Mbare 23/07/10)

... We are paid peanuts government should provide free health and education... (Respondent-Budiriro 25/07/10)

Undeniably, urban working poor could not afford enough food and clothing; send children to school; access basic health services; clean water and sanitation. Responses to these challenges were varied, some of which are dysfunctional and inimical to poverty reduction and general socio-economic development; hence the imperative of intervention to ameliorate long-term damage. The following were commonly mentioned strategies during this crisis.

- **Migration:** A number of skilled workers migrated to regional countries like South Africa and beyond, especially those who had financial capacity. Allegedly majority of middle class workers took out this option, leaving behind mostly immobile labour. All the respondents reported either relative or friend emigrant. Although migration benefited those left behind in terms of remittances it had both economic and social costs. The country lost skilled labour crucial for economic growth, socially families were distressed as spouses migrate posing the dangers of diseases like HIV/AIDS.

- **Diaspora Remittances:** Those who emigrated contributed significantly to the welfare of relatives they left behind. For example one respondent narrated how remittances from the husband made her better off than others. Remittances from migrants helped sustain a number of households during this crisis. However, of the ten respondents; only the aforesaid respondent received Diaspora remittances.
- **Informal activities:** Most formal workers officially left their jobs for informal work. Informalisation of even prior formal trades like mechanics became rampant, and roadside garages sprout around the suburbs. One of the respondents runs such a garage. However, many especially women engaged in the famous cross-border trading. Five of the respondents had friend engaging in cross-border activities for example to Mozambique where they brought rice for sale in Zimbabwe. In fact, Zimbabwe's urban streets and houses were turned into 'mini-markets'. These were not easy ventures, many vendors always clashed with government and municipal authorities because their operations were illegal. For instance in May 2005 the government embarked on the urban cleanup programme 'Operation *Murambatsvina*', further compromising newly established livelihoods in the informal sector.
- **Combining formal job with informal activities:** A great deal of workers who remained in their jobs combined formal and informal activities (some of which are mentioned above). The common was street vending (more women were involved than men), selling especially food items to fellow workers or in the streets after work to boost little salaries. One of the female respondents always brought bananas, sweets among others things to work, for sell to co-workers. Others engaged in different activities like one male respondent who normally work night shifts combined his formal work with shoe repairing and mesh wire weaving. This he has been doing since the start of the crisis till now. I had an opportunity to visit his informal site; the wires are obtained from burning used car tyres. This meant long working hours, certainly unhealthy and reduces labour productivity in formal jobs.
- **Employer assistance:** Some few companies introduced either food hampers and/or staff transport to and from work. In other circumstances workers **supplemented their wages through stealing from employers**, they called it *kutamba madhiri* (dealings). This was a worst scenario sustaining those remained in formal jobs. None of the respondents confirmed doing this but all made reference to it.
- **Reducing quantity and quality of basics:** Generally many people reduced the quantity and quality of the basic needs. All the respondents reported resorting to such dysfunctional survival strategies like reducing number of meals in many instances to one per day, taking children out of school as well as seeking medical attention only if it becomes critical. Common among the respondents was reducing number of meals a day, while one respondent transferred children from a boarding school to a day school. All signalled falling standards of life.

Box 2: Soldiering on

As things became tough, we resolved that my husband go to South Africa ... to widen our options. I stayed behind taking care of our four children and continue going to my work ... (Respondent-Southernton 30/07/10)

... in rural areas they seem to have strong coping mechanism because people are closer to the soil ... they grow food to meet their subsistence but for the urban area poverty is more acute because urban person is dependent on going out to look for food, shelter, money and all these things ... and when people can no longer cope you begin to see unfortunate things rising like crime and prostitution... (Key Informant 23/08/10)

“Takanga tavakutoita chibovborosi” (we were practicing the overall) symbolically referring to one meal a day, combining breakfast, lunch and supper like an overall [garment] which combines shirt and trousers (Respondent-Sunningdale 26/07/10)

“[Inflation] was like wild fire with inflation feeding into more inflation that it became very difficult to keep up. As a result most workers felt that there was no need to continue to go to work and some of them opted out. You hear stories of most formally employed people not going to work because they felt that the real wages were almost zero. They would rather do informal activities to eke a living. For example I know of a friend who was a bank manager; at a point in time he realized that it was better for him to take some days off from work or just abscond and rather go into the rural areas, buy and slaughter cattle for sale here [in town] rather than going to work” (Key Informant 20/08/10).

The Future of formal sector Workers

Eminent Challenge: Aberration or another form of representation

Workers unions had lost touch with their constituency (workers). The main trade unions in Zimbabwe with huge affiliation are the ZCTU and the ZFTU³². These two trade unions became more or less extensions of political parties, for the Movement for Democratic Change³³ (MDC) and Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) respectively. Their alignment with particular political parties diverted their focus towards more of political work than representing the interest of the workers. For instance the ZCTU “...slowly evolved towards a political agenda [as] ... its international aid increased ... this international alliance softened the ZCTU’s

³² Allegedly created by ZANU-PF to counter ZCTU influence

³³ Apparently MDC emerged from the ZCTU and its original leadership structure resembles the old ZCTU

stance on economic liberalisation policy” (Moyo, 2007: 370). The resultant effect was a very unusual labour-capital alliance against the government.

Worrisome is unabated international influence, against loss of autonomy by both workers’ unions and government. “Under globalisation ... the growing influence of Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) is proportional to the loss of influence by government and trade unions” (Kodero, 2003: 132). In fact, with the support of their home governments international capital chose who to ally with among the two against the other depending on the issue at stake. Thus, “TNCs are able to play governments and immobile labour forces off against one another to negotiate the most favourable conditions for investment, production and taxation, ‘punishing’ countries and labour forces if they are deemed too ‘expensive’ or ‘investment’-unfriendly” (Yeates, 2001:21). In current crisis in Zimbabwe, capital allied with labour unions like ZCTU claiming that all the woes are because of government’s irresponsibility³⁴. This odd alliance between capital, global capitals, labour union and opposition politics is daunting for workers. There is eminent elite capture of the workers’ organisations; and apparently ZCTU have become docile to its partners and uncritical of neoliberal agenda and its socio-economic impacts on the lives of the working people. With these tentacles it is doubtful if these unions would advocate for comprehensive social policy.

Emerging Opportunity: The National Health Insurance

Crises are often defining moments for both economic and social policies. The possibility of this crisis to influence the shape and nature of social policy in Zimbabwe particularly for formal workers is still a fiasco. Nevertheless, “Right now one of the good news which the working people might be interested to hear is the National Health Scheme which is on the cards” (Key Informant 25/08/10). NSSA is coming up with a framework for the National Health Insurance based on the principles of; pooling of funds, contribute as you earn and benefit as you need. The scheme if successful will eliminate cost barriers that deprive the poor access to health services. “The introduction of national health insurance...stands to substantially expand insurance coverage and therefore will play a more important role in improving access to health care and in protecting households from the impoverishing effects of catastrophic health care expenditure”³⁵. This is a refreshing development to the working poor following the failure by private-commercial insurance companies to assist contributors during the crisis and even before, furthermore many working poor could not afford private companies’ subscriptions. However, the scheme is still to see the day, and another worry is how it is going to be managed, potentially it will fall prey to the same vultures which have devoured prior schemes.

³⁴ Key Informant 27/08/2010

³⁵ NSSA, In-House Magazine

Conclusion

General feeling among the policy experts is that no social protection could have helped during the Zimbabwean decade long political, economic and social crisis. However, unlike social protection in developed countries a run through of the current social protection programmes in Zimbabwe shows that they are not designed to supplement income of those still in employment. By inference in-work poverty has been ignored by policy makers in Zimbabwe and this crisis should be a wake-up call. Essentially, an array of gaps is noticeable in the design and implementation of current social protection programmes and fragmentation and duplication are their defining features. Despite cross cutting nature of some of the programmes there is very little coordination amongst different service providers making the programmes ineffectual. More so the recent wave in social protection debate and practice which emphasise the 'very poor' inherently sideline formal sector workers; who forms an important determinant in economic growth which generates the needed affluence to improve everyone's welfare. The propensity has been regarding formal sector as well covered (because 'old social protection' was biased towards them) therefore worthy no attention, however inversely creating the same biases they sought to correct. The shift in social policy in Zimbabwe is largely attributable to international influence both externally induced ideological change, heavy presence of international NGOs as well as multilateral institutions. At the same time workers unions and government are becoming docile and weak.

Conclusions

The paper discussed the enormous impoverishment and neglect of formal sector workers and the corresponding social protection implications in urban Zimbabwe. Chapters 1 and 2 set study background. Whilst chapter 3 describes the research context, chapters 4 and 5 analysed the impoverishment and social protection as it relate to formal employees in 21st century Zimbabwe respectively.

The overriding factor that was at play in increasing poverty, particularly urban poverty in 21st century Zimbabwe was the macro-economic failure ignited by general food shortages as a result of agrarian reform and successive droughts. It has been argued that FTLRP did not only cause economic meltdown by its nature and design but also by the internal and external hostilities it generated. Due to disruptions in the agricultural sector which had strong ripple effects in the manufacturing industry, there was low food production and supply in Zimbabwe setting in the hyperinflationary environment since then, adversely affecting ordinary people. The most interesting group in this crisis has been that of formally employed people who have witnessed a desolate and unique decline in living standards. However, it is not hereby claimed that formal sector workers were the only affected rather that they became part of the already existing pool of poor people, but received less attention by both government and NGOs in terms of relief assistance. Although realized from this study that the inclusion of working people in social assistance was not going to absolve them either, this paper argued that their exclusion exacerbated their plight. Morally formal workers' exclusion was not justified as they were equally in need like any other poor person and developmentally it hinders prospects for the emergence of comprehensive social policy. Equally important formal sector workers (human capital) are the 'engine' behind the much needed economic turnaround and the economy's further growth which generates the affluence to be distributed even to the poorest. Thus turning a blind eye on them has dire consequences on the country's general development, as many resorted to dysfunctional coping strategies damaging the human capital. Therefore, policy responses that leave out formal sector workers are inimical to restoring economic growth and overall poverty reduction.

Factors that influenced the course of events in 21st century Zimbabwe's economic, political and social landscape are both internal and external which were mutually reinforcing. These includes but not limited to, FTLRP, sanctions and international isolation, droughts and ad hoc economic policies scaring away investors and worsening the plight of many. Of concern is that whilst the government enthusiastically resorted to radical dirigisme in economic management the same did not happen in social policy and the welfare of formal sector workers in particular. The status quo of the 1990s in social policy remained, with the NGOs taking up much of welfare programmes which are targeted to the exclusion of formally employed people. This is contrary to the fact that in crisis context social assistance should be broadened. Social assistance for formal sector workers is necessary in crisis context to mitigate both personal and macro-economic damage. Arguably formal workers need to be prioritised where economic revival is desired. Their improved welfare has a

multiplier effect; it indirectly benefits those in their network of dependents and the very poor in general. Increased worker productivity, hence GDP as well as contributions to public funds through taxes correspondingly improves the welfare of all. On the contrary formal workers' failure to afford the basics like food, health and education has consequential effects of the country losing its productive/skilled labour force by way of emigration, diseases and death. For instance due to sustained erosion of wages and absence of social assistance formal workers faced insurmountable challenges. Challenges such as inadequate food, clothing, inadequate access to health and education as well as unbearable housing and transport costs. Some of them adopted self help strategies which are dysfunctional, such as reducing quantity and quality of basic needs like food, education and health. Equally disturbing, Zimbabwe lost significant number of its skilled labour through emigration.

The Zimbabwean situation is no secret and undoubtedly requires strong state intervention in economic and social welfare. However the absurdity about Zimbabwe, as any developing country and former colony is the heavy presence and influence of international players particularly Bretton Woods institutions, NGOs, as well as global capital and capitals bent at advancing neo-liberal policies. Consequentially home grown policies are hardly feasible without contempt. Because of colonialism, aid and global capital dependency economic and social policies in Zimbabwe were never independent of external influence. The forgoing means that redistributive policies unapproved by these external players like the FTLRP comes with higher economic, political and social costs. Concurrently, domestic civic groups seem to have been entangled in political axis involving both local and external interests jeopardizing their credibility in advocating for independent policy positions in workers' interest. Apparently, the long established trade union ZCTU has succumbed to elite capture throwing the workers' movement in daunt.

Prospectively though, history has it that best social policies emerged out of crisis or war, for instance the emergence of the welfare states in post-Great Depression Europe. A case in point is the United Kingdom, where the crisis culminated in the 1948 National Insurance Act and the National Health Services Act. The current crisis offers the opportunity to reflect on Zimbabwe's disintegrated social protection measures, but requires the political will. Revitalisation of social protection is a registered concern by parties in the government of national unity and is one of the priorities in its short term plans. However, policy direction hinges on the election of a substantive government. Presently the political will to comprehensive social policies is doubtful, apparently each party sought to gain political expediency at any cost including hampering noble initiatives. Nevertheless, there is need to rethink social policy within the mainstream development debate and re-introduce universal social policies as was in the 1980s. The National Health Insurance, if effectively designed is a possible route to comprehensive health policy and the same has to be done with other facets of social policy like education. In particular to the formal sector it is possible to have a specific social protection scheme for income supplementation in the event of falling incomes of incumbent formal workers. Such kind of protection is necessary and feasible even in face of rampant unemployment. Expanding the formal sector is a policy priority in many countries around the globe, thus protecting those who are already in formal work is integral part of the equation through preserving the

gains made so far. This will dampen informality, improve workers' wellbeing hence productivity, economic growth and general development. Over and above the need to expand formal employment and social protection, a key lesson from this crisis is that the enhancement of socioeconomic security of the majority requires pursuing a development strategy that keeps inflation in check especially that of basic commodities.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Key Informants

Basic Information

1. Educational and general background
2. Work experience

Poverty

1. What is your understanding of poverty?
2. What causes poverty?
3. How can the problem of poverty be mitigated?

Poverty in formal employment

1. Is it possible for one to be working and live in poverty?
2. How can poverty in formal employment be dealt with?

Context: Zimbabwe and the Crisis

1. In your own view and experience how do you explain the economic and social crisis that beset the country by the turn of the century?
2. Over the period from year 2000 until recently many people find life very difficult in Zimbabwe and some attention was given to other social groups but it appears like those who were/are formally employed were neglected. What is your comment on this? Was it neglect? Abuse or nothing could have been done?
3. How could the crisis been avoided or its impact ameliorated?

Social Policy

1. What are the social protection policies/measures that were/are in place for the formally employed people in Zimbabwe and how do they work or supposed to be working?
2. Social Protection strategies as they are designed are supposed to cushion the covered people from poverty and vulnerability but it appears that in Zimbabwe in the period in question failed to serve this purpose. How do you explain this? Is it because of poor design or something else?
3. What challenges do you face in executing some of the policies that you design?
4. In the years from year 2000 what do you consider to be your biggest challenge in addressing the welfare of the working people?
5. There are two main approaches to social policy that is universalism or targeting (although there is no completely universal/targeted program) which of these do you think work better and why?
6. In this ever globalising world what do you think about social policy in Zimbabwe and the developing world? **Anything else**

THANK YOU

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Other Respondents (Formal Workers)

General Background

1. How old are you?
2. What level of education did you reach?
3. When did you start working? Did you stay with one employer or have changed?
4. Are you married? How many dependents do you have and where are they?
5. Do you own a house in town?

Poverty

6. What is your understanding of poverty?
7. Do you consider yourself poor or not and why?
8. What do you consider to call someone poor?

Changes in welfare

9. In what way did the current crisis changed your way of life?
10. Do you have specific changes you would want to share with me?
11. What do you think went wrong?
12. Did you receive any assistance from somewhere (Government/NGOs/Employer/Trade Unions)?
13. If yes what kind of assistance? If not what kind of assistance do you think you required?

Survival strategies

14. How have you been managing the hardships during this crisis?
15. Any specific strategies you adopted?

The Future

16. What do you wish to see?
 - a. Government doing
 - b. Trade Unions doing
 - c. Employers doing
17. Any specific policies you would want to be there?

Anything you wish to share?

THANK YOU

References

- Andreß, H and H. Lohmann (ed) (2008) *The Working Poor in Europe: Employment, Poverty and Globalization*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Antonio, R.J. and A. Bananno (2006) 'Periodizing Globalization: From Cold War modernization to the Bush Doctrine', in J.M Lehmann and H.F. Dahms (eds) *Globalization between the Cold War and Neo-Imperialism: Current Perspectives in Social Theory Vol 24*, pp. 1-29. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
- Barrientos, A. (2010) 'Social Protection and Poverty'. Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Number 42, January 2010. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Bond, P and R. Saunders (2005) 'Labor, the State and the Struggle for Democratic Zimbabwe,' in Monthly Review Volume 57, Number 7. Accessed 01 October 2010 <http://www.monthlyreview.org/1205bondsanders.htm>
- Campbell, H. G. (2007) 'The Zimbabwean Working Peoples and the Land Question', *The Black Scholar* 37(1): 23-31. Accessed 01 July 2010 <http://www.britannica.com/bps/additionalcontent/18/25101995/The-Zimbabwean-Working-Peoples-and-the-Land-Question>
- Central Statistical Office [CSO], (2000) *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 1999*. Harare: Central Statistical Office of Zimbabwe
- Chingono, H (2010) 'Zimbabwe sanctions: An analysis of the "Lingo" guiding the perceptions of the sanctioners and the sanctionees', *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 4(2): 066-074. Available online accessed 10 September 2010 <http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir>
- Chimhowu, A et al (2009) *Moving Forward in Zimbabwe: Reducing Poverty and Promoting Growth*. Manchester: The University of Manchester Brooks World Poverty Institute. Accessed 05 July 2010 www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchAreaProjects/Africa
- Coltart, D (2008) 'A Decade of Suffering in Zimbabwe: Economic Collapse and Political Repression under Robert Mugabe'. Centre for Global Liberty and Prosperity Development Policy Analysis No. 5. Washington: The CATO Institute. Accessed 02 June 2010 www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=9274
- Dasgupta, A. (2009) 'Food Balance and Agrarian Constraint on Economic Growth'. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies (Unpublished Power Point Agrarian Constraint Lecture, Course ISS-4106) <<http://moodle.iss.nl/course/view.php?id=221>>
- Dekker, M. (2004) 'Risk, Resettlement and Relations: Social Security in Rural Zimbabwe'. Tinbergen Institute Research Series No. 331. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis and the Tinbergen Institute
- FAO/WFP. (2010) 'Special Report: FAO/WFP Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe, 09 August 2010'. Rome: FAO/WFP. Accessed 01 October 2010 <<http://www.fao.org/docrep/012/ak352e/ak352e00.pdf>>
- FitzGerald, E.V.K. (1988) 'The Food Balance and Economic Growth: A Reply', *Development and Change* Vol. 19: 669-676.

- Gandure, S. (2009) 'Baseline Study of Social Protection in Zimbabwe'. A Report Prepared for The Social Protection Technical Review Group (SPTRG) of the Multi-Donor Trust Fund, May 2009
- Gibbon, P. (ed) (1995) *Structural Adjustment and the Working Poor in Zimbabwe: Studies on Labour, Women Informal Sector Workers and Health*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet
- Glantz, M. H and H. Cullen (2003) 'Commentary: Zimbabwe's Food Crisis', *Environment* 45(1): 9-11.
- Gono, G. (2005) 'Inflation Drivers in Zimbabwe: Supplement 1 of 4 to the 1st Quarter, 2005 Monetary Policy Review' Delivered by the Governor of RBZ Dr. G. Gono, May 2005. Harare: RBZ.
- Gono, G. (2008) 'First Quarter Monetary Policy Statement: A Focus on Food, Foreign Exchange Generation, Producer Viability and Increased Supply of Basic Commodities'. A Monetary Policy Statement presented by the RBZ Governor Dr. G. Gono, on 30 April 2008. Harare: RBZ.
- Gough, I. (2008) 'European Welfare States: Explanations and Lessons for Developing Countries', in A. Dani and A. de Haan (eds) *Inclusive States: Social Policy and Structural Inequalities*, pp. 39-72. Washington D.C.: World Bank
- ILO, (2005) *World Employment Report 2004-05: Employment, Productivity and Poverty Reduction*. Geneva: International Labour Organization
- Kaseke, E. et al (1998) 'The State and Dynamics of Social Policy, Practice and Research in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 13(2): 21-34.
- Kodero, K. (2003) 'Poverty Alleviation through Social Dialogue: The Role of Trade Unions in Zimbabwe' in M.Mwamadzingo and D. Saleshando (eds) *Trade Unions and Poverty Alleviation in Africa*, pp. 129-136. Harare and Geneva: International Labour Organisation
- Majid, N. (2001) 'The Size of the Working Poor Population in Developing countries', *Employment Paper 2001/16*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation (ILO), Employment Sector, Strategy Department
- Malaba, J. (2006) 'Poverty Measurement and Gender: Zimbabwe's Experience', United Nations Secretariat, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division, Working Paper December 2006. New York: United Nations Secretariat.
- Maree, K and J Pietersen. (2007) 'Sampling' in K. Maree (ed) *First Steps in Research*, pp: 172-180. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- MASDAR and ATIKU Associates. (2006) 'Status of Social Protection in Zimbabwe: With a special focus on Orphans and Vulnerable Children and Health Shocks affecting the Very Poor'. A World Bank Assisted Government Study (August 2006). Accessed 01 July 2010 <<http://www.aidsportal.org/repos/WB%20OVC%20FINAL.pdf>>
- Mehrotra, S. (2000) 'Integrating Economic and Social Policy: Good Practices from High-Achieving Countries', Innocenti Working Papers No. 80, Florence. UNICEF <<http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/>>
- Mkandawire, T. (2005) 'From Universalism to Targeting in Poverty Reduction'. UNRISD Working Paper No.23. Geneva: UNRISD.

- Morse, J. M. (2004) 'Purposive Sampling', in M.S. Lewis-Beck et al (eds) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods* Volume 2, pp. 884-885. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Moyo, S. (2007) 'Land policy, poverty reduction and public action in Zimbabwe', in A.A. Haroon et al (eds) *Land, Poverty and Livelihoods in an era of Globalisation: Perspectives from Developing Countries*, pp. 344-382. London: Routledge.
- Musarurwa, D. (2010) 'Zimbabwe's Inflation lowest,' in *The Zimbabwe Sunday Mail* August 29-September 04, 2010. p. B1. Harare: Zimpapers.
- Mutizwa-Mangiza, D (1999) *Doctors and the State: The Struggle for Professional control in Zimbabwe*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- NSSA. (2009) *The Accident Prevention and Worker's Compensation, Scheme Brochure*. Harare: NSSA.
- NSSA. (2009) *Pension and Other Benefits, Scheme Brochure*. Harare: NSSA.
- NSSA. (2010) *Social Security News: National Social Security Authority-In House Magazine*; May/June 2010. Harare: NSSA.
- Nyathi, K. (2010) 'Zimbabwe leads in Africa literacy Race,' *Daily Nations*, 14 July 2010, online news site. Accessed 16 October 2010 <<http://www.nation.co.ke/News/africa/-/1066/957938/-/11jmoiez/-/index.html>>
- O'Leary, Z. (2005) *Researching Real-World Problems: A Guide to Methods of Inquiry*. London: Sage Publications
- Prontzos, P. G. (2004) 'Collateral Damage: The Human Cost of Structural Violence', in A. Jones (ed) *Genocide, War Crimes and the West: History and Complicity*, pp. 299-324. London; New York: Zed Books.
- Radhakrishna, R (2002) 'Agricultural Growth, Employment and Poverty: A Policy Perspective', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 45(1):3-16. New Delhi: The Indian Society of Labour Economics.
- Scott-Marshall, H. (2007) 'Work-Related Insecurity in the New Economy: Evaluating the Consequences for Health' in H. Prechel (ed), *Politics and Neoliberalism: Structure, Process and Outcome: Research in Political Sociology, Volume 16*, pp. 21-60. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
- Sen, A. (1981) *The Entitlement Approach in Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tendler, J. (2002) 'Why Social Policy is Condemned to be a Residual Category of Safety Nets and What to do About It'. UNRISD Social Policy and Development Programme November. pp. 1-24. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Townsend, P. (2004) 'From Universalism to Safety Nets: The Rise and Fall of Keynesian Influence on Social Development', in T. Mkandawire (ed.) *Social Policy in a Development Context*, pp. 37-62. Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan/UNRISD.
- UNDP and Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (1999) *Zimbabwe Human Development Report 1999*. Harare: UNDP and IDS.
- UNDP-Zimbabwe (2010) 'Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education'. Accessed 16 October 2010 < <http://www.undp.org.zw/millennium-development-goals/mdgs-in-zimbabwe/50-achieve-universal-primary-education.html> >

- UN et al (2004) 'Zimbabwe Food Security Brief': Issue No.3 April 2004. Office of the UN Humanitarian Co-ordinator in collaboration with FAO, WFP, UNDP and FEWSNET. Accessed 10 October 2010 <http://www.zimrelief.info/files/attachments/zfsb0403.pdf>
- UNRISD. (2010) 'Combating Poverty and Inequality: Structural Change, Social Policy and Politics', UNRISD Report 2010. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Williman, N. (2001) *Your Research Project: A step-by-step guide for the first-time researcher*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wuyts, M. (1988) 'The Food Balance and Economic Growth'. Working Paper-Sub-series on Money, Finance and Development No. 25. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies (ISS).
- Yeates, N. (2001) *Globalization and Social Policy*. London: Sage Publications.
- ZCTU. (1996) *Beyond ESAP: Framework for A long-term Development Strategy in Zimbabwe beyond the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)*. Harare: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.
- Zuberi, D. (2006) *Differences that Matter: Social Policy and Working Poor in the United States and Canada*. New York: ILR Press and Cornell University Press.