

**Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and Zimbabwe's social
developmental challenges 1990-2000**

By

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**A mini- dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of International Relations in the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences in
North-West University (Mafikeng Campus).**

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Declaration

I, Buti Johannes Makgale, a student of International Relations in the North West University (Mafikeng Campus), in the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, solemnly declare that this mini dissertation titled "Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and Zimbabwe's social developmental challenges 1990-2000", hereby submitted for the requirement of a Master of International Relations degree has not been submitted by me or any other person for any degree at North West University or any other institution. It is an original work except where referenced.

Each significant contribution to and quotation in this research from works of other people has been acknowledged.

Signature

Date

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Acknowledgements

- I would firstly like to thank, first and foremost my supervisor Prof Victor Ojakorotu for his guidance and patience. He has always uplifted me even in sad days and today I do not just see him as a lecturer but as a father who has care when it comes to his children. Thank you for making this research project a success.
- I am also grateful to all the academics that have made this project a success by publishing different books, articles and journals with the relevant information relating to my topic.
- I am also thankful to the following beautiful souls, Keneile “Phontsha” Segopotse Mashinyane who has been there every day with her unconditional love, support and care, I wish her well and call upon the great Lord to protect her. How can I forget Boiketlo “Bokie”Motshegoa in whom I found a friend and a sister, who has also played an enormous role in my academic journey and in my life. I wish her well and wisdom in everything she does in life and I call upon God to protect her and her daughter Coeco Motshegoa.
- I will forever be thankful to the man who is forever happy, who motivates every soul that meets him, who has powerful words that uplifts. He is well known as Bra Zoo; his name is Kagiso Kingsley Makgwa. Since 2009 to date he has been nothing but an elder brother to me. God bless him.
- No man lives alone, I would like to thank my friends for their support; Boitumelo Daniel Seome, Lebogang Sebako, Jonathan Tshetu, Thabiso Rakgatlha, Bones and a younger brother Tshegofatso Mahuma.

- I would not be where I am if my family did not support me, I would not be who I am if they did not love me. My deepest gratitude goes to my elder brother Kabelo Makgale, my second brother Brian Makgale and my young sister Mapaseka "Phantsa" Makgale. May the good Lord protect them and give them more days on this earth.
- My second deepest thankfulness goes to my mother Jevrou Sinah Mosipidi Makgale for her unconditional love, care and support. She has always supported me and believed in me. I thank the Lord for such a great woman and for giving her more days to live. I pray the Lord to grant her more days.
- I thank the North West University for all its hard work and force. I am also grateful for the force that is in the department of Politics and International Relations. I bow to Mr Oshupeng Maseng; Mr Kgame Molohe; Mr Keebine; and Prof Lere Amusan for their contribution in my studies.
- My deepest and sincere gratitude to the financial aid office of the North West University for their financial assistance for the entire duration of my studies.
- Above and amongst all I thank the Almighty God for his protection and blessings. There were times that I wanted to give up but he gave me strength; there were times that I went home and never thought of coming back to finish this study but he brought me back and there were times in which I cried every day and he healed my sadness.

Dedication



This study is dedicated to my Mother Sinah Mosipidi Makgale.

Her words are 'Son be brave and strong, love education because no one will take it away from you and most all pray God to lead you'.

She is a mother amongst mothers, she is a parent amongst parents. Her warm love always keeps me going, her smile gives me hope and her happiness makes life worth leaving. "Ke Mosipidi sepelela bontleng, kganya ka lesedi, ruta botlhale bagago, a diphilana tsa gago di bontshe diketso tsa gago tse dintle, nna ke lesoko le ntsho ke mmoki wena o matsala mmoki phalana ya gago e direile kanatla melodi a e lle mme wena o duduetse" Mme keya go rata.

Abstract

This study examined Zimbabwe's socio-developmental challenges after the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The program was implemented to rejuvenate the economy that had gone through years of stagnation.

This study has adopted a qualitative methodology to provide an in-depth understanding of the topic. A relevant case study has been utilized in order to provide or adequately address the research questions of the study. The study has used secondary data and employed collection techniques such as using documents and official reports; journal articles; internet articles, text books and newspapers articles.

The findings of this study are very diverse. Zimbabwe had social challenges even before the implementation of ESAP. Even though the implementation of ESAP was for economic alteration or to rejuvenate the economy of the country the results opposed the objectives of the policy and the dreams of the country. The implementation of ESAP brought more devastating challenges for the country.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS- Acquired Immune Disease Syndrome

EPZs- Export Processing Zones

ESAP- Economic Structural Adjustment Program

FDI- Foreign Direct Investment

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GNP- Gross National Product

IMF- International Monetary Fund

SAP- Structural Adjustment Program

SDA- Social Dimension of Adjustment

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

WB- World Bank

ZIC- Zimbabwean Investment Centre

Contents

Declaration	I
Acknowledgements	II
Dedication	IV
Abstract	V
Acronyms and Abbreviations	VI
Chapter One: Introduction/Background	
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Problem statement.....	5
1.3 Rationale.....	6
1.4 Aim of the study.....	7
1.5 Research Objective.....	7
1.6 Hypothesis.....	7
1.7 Theoretical Perspective.....	8
1.7.1 Liberalism.....	8
1.7.2 Marxism.....	9
1.8 Methodology.....	9

1.9 Data Collection Method and Data Analysis.....	10
1.9.1 Data Collection Method.....	10
1.9.2 Data Analysis.....	11
1.10 Scope of the Study.....	11
1.11 Ethical Consideration.....	11
1.12 Organisation of the Study.....	12
 Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework	
2.1 Literature Review.....	13
2.2 Theoretical Approaches to the ESAP in Zimbabwe.....	24
2.2.1 Liberalism.....	24
2.2.2 Marxism.....	26
 Chapter Three: Data Presentation, Analysis and Findings	
3.1 Objectives that the ESAP should have implemented to enable the Economic recovery of Zimbabwe.....	29
3.2 The challenges brought about by the ESAP in Zimbabwe.....	33
3.3 Findings.....	37

Chapter Four: Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1 Conclusion.....39

4.2 Recommendations.....41

References.....42

Chapter One

1.1 Background

Many scholars have written about the history of Zimbabwe and even though that is the case it would be inappropriate for this study not to highlight the country's history. The independence of Zimbabwe came in 1980. After the accomplishment of its independence, local government of the country was like the rest of the former colonial territories, which were based on racial land division systems between the black and white people, and urban and rural areas. The urban areas were reserved for white professionals with independent local governments. Africans who were residing in municipal areas had to be employed and be registered and municipalities had the authority to evict all prohibited populace. That type of authority was enshrined in the Vagrancy Act and the Urban Areas Accommodation Act (Wekwete, 1991).

During this colonial era African people were the ones that were disadvantaged and whites were superior. African people resided in rural areas which were situated on land that was small, heavily populated, had underprivileged infrastructure and whose main rationale was to offer labour and markets while commercial farmers occupied mercantile farms which were located on moderately productive land and had access to highly developed infrastructure, for example electricity, roads and irrigation systems. After independence in 1980, the government then pursued a number of policy programmes which were intended to deal with the inheritance of colonial rule. These policies included increased investment in communal farming areas, agricultural support services and infrastructure; relaxed restrictions on movement and a reorganised local government system. Even though the post-colonial government of Zimbabwe inherited a highly developed economy, in 1980 the

economy was heavily reliant on South African subsidies and underpinned by agriculture; economically the country had a fiscal deficit, high unemployment and an economy dominated by price controls (UN, 2005).

Regardless of the vulnerable economy of Zimbabwe, the government implemented some programs that further destabilized the country's fragile economy. For example the government extended support to previously needy communities in the rural areas. The government incorporated amplified consent to business credit; initially heavily subsidised and ultimately complementary government agricultural inputs and equipment hire; agricultural extension irrigation services and veterinary services in the first decade of liberty (Bratton, 1987; Breslin, 1994; Alderson, 1998).

Again the Zimbabwean government established developmental points to construct towns in rural areas, to uphold employment and stop the progress of rural-urban migration (Wekwete, 1991). Developmental points were funded by the state to invest in energy; communications; water supply; social and administrative infrastructure. The expenses of improved services outweighed the reimbursement by a factor of about six to one (Bratton, 1987 & Breslin, 1994). The efforts taken by the Zimbabwean government in subsidising all the developmental programmes in education, health and integration of its citizens for example gave the country no choice but to opt for a programme that would assist it further.

In the 1990s, the government of Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Policy (ESAP) and in 1991 an agreement between Zimbabwe and the International Monetary fund was signed for a \$484 million loan intended to rejuvenate the economy that had experienced economic stagnation (Naiman & Watkins, 1999). When the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was

adopted the World Bank and International Monetary Fund advice was that the programme was meant to pursue a free market which would lead to an economic development strategy. Even though that is the case, the economic alteration condensed the responsibility of the country in the financial system; it endorsed the function of the concealed segment as a mechanism of financial expansion; it relaxed trade and the economic marketplace; it deregulated the employment marketplace in provisions of employing and dismissing employees; and it motivated home and overseas savings with the observation to spawn constant financial expansion and employment establishment. The agenda also deserted cost pedals; funding and other rules because the fiscal managers were more dependent on marketplace forces of stipulate and furnish to assign merchandise and services. Nevertheless, the liberated marketplace structure diluted the socio-economic growth of the preceding decade that resulted in momentous accomplishments, mainly in the public divisions and land allocation. The agenda had a "Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA)" constituent that was intended to moderate the collision of structural alterations on helpless clusters in society. The objectives of "ESAP's were diminution of the innermost government deficit from 10% of GDP to 5% by the financial year 1994/1995; improvement of community projects in command to get rid of the huge budgetary encumber caused by financial supports and social service restructuring in order to decrease the figure of social servants in non-critical regions". This was likely to incise the amount of the salary invoice whereas recuperating the earnings of the outstanding national servants deployed in key locations; economic policy and monetary division improvement which wanted to reinforce financial administration, sluggish credit formation to decrease inflationary forces, and to relax the actions of the economic division in order to promote investments and develop effectiveness of

intermediation actions; trade and substitute marketplace freedom, which wanted to construct a market-based overseas substitute method and a move to a tariff-based method of fortification; home deregulation and investment endorsement, which wanted to relax investment; deregulate costs and farming promotion; and, evenly significant, to eliminate or adjust bye-laws and set of laws that troubled savings; and execution of SDA's that wanted to defend the unfortunate and defenceless groups from the pessimistic intermediary belongings of financial alterations (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991).



Again the Economic Structural Adjustment Policies consisted of a package of entity alteration measures for some developing countries worked out with intercontinental agencies and tied to foreign loans. These policies involved the adoption of a series of deregulation of the domestic economy including macroeconomic measures, reductions in public expenditure and trade policies. Subsequent to the implementation of this policies, prices of maize seed, social services, fertilisers; agricultural and animal dipping equipment increased significantly (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; UN, 2005). This caused the urban poor to suffer because of loss of wages was coupled with increases in costs, and urban services and subsidies were removed (Alderson, 1998 & Potts, 2000). Again sectors such as infrastructure, health services delivery and rural and urban livelihoods had a negative impact on the poor and this was caused by the removal of subsidies.

Furthermore Economic Structural Adjustments Programs entailed huge cuts in consumer subsidies, severe cutbacks in government spending, especially social sector services (education, health provision and sanitation); extensive trade liberalization and promotion of exports, particularly the expansion of non-traditional exports (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991).

The government of Zimbabwe opted for a Economic Structural Adjustment Programme which was meant to better the country since most of the developments that were made by the country were subsidised by the government. The reason for such subsidies was because the country wanted to close the gap between whites and blacks which evolved during the colonial rule, and the country wanted to have equality. Nonetheless the adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs in Zimbabwe worsened the situation and brought more challenges for the inhabitants of Zimbabwe.

For example prices of maize went up and this meant that food supply became more expensive than before the adoption of such a program (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; UN, 2005).

The background of this study provides evidence of what are some of the challenges that the country faced after the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. Even though there is a summarized literature which highlights the background of Zimbabwe and Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, most of the facts and significant content of this study will be in the literature review. The topic of this study is the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes and Zimbabwe's social developmental challenges 1990-2000 and the focus of the study will be on three factors namely education, health and agriculture.

1.2 Problem Statement

The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme by the Zimbabwean government was an endeavour to assist the country since the country was faced with challenges namely fiscal deficit, high unemployment and an economy dominated by price controls. Secondly the government of Zimbabwe subsidised all

its developmental programmes, for example infrastructure, education and health and this was to meet its citizens half-way since most of its citizens did not have access to these social factors because of the undemocratic colonial rule.

After the adoption of this programme there was deregulation in the domestic economy including macroeconomic measures, reduction in public expenditure and trade policies. Again prices of maize seed; fertilisers; agricultural and dipping equipment increased significantly, the urban poor suffered and this was caused by loss of wages which was coupled with increase in costs of urban services and subsidies which were removed (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; UN, 2005). The programme also contributed to cuts in the consumer subsidies, severe cutbacks in government spending especially in the social sector services (education; health provision and sanitation). Infrastructure, health services delivery, rural and urban livelihoods were also impacted negatively due to the subsidies that were removed. Even though the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was meant to deal with the challenges that the country already had, this programme worsened the challenges. Therefore, this development in Zimbabwe deserves a scholarly attention.

1.3 Rationale

The importance of this study is to examine the role played by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in Zimbabwe. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was instigated by the International Monetary fund and World Bank; the objective of the ESAP, now known as Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) is to assist countries to be able to have successful economic reforms and again SAPs are accompanied by rules and regulations that a country has to abide by

when adopting them. Zimbabwe adopted this programme for economic alterations because the country lacked economic backup and this was caused by the major role that the government played in subsidising all the developmental programs that were put in place. Even though Zimbabwe implemented the programme, economic alteration became a challenge. The economy of the country declined instead of growing. The study will also discuss the challenges that Zimbabwe faced after the adoption of the ESAP and also identify the aspects that contributed to these challenges.

1.4 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to evaluate the role played by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in transforming the Zimbabwean economy.

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- To examine the objectives of ESAPs as a tool for economic recovery of Zimbabwe in 1990s.
- To evaluate the challenges brought by ESAPs in Zimbabwe in the social sectors such as health, education and agriculture.

1.6 Hypothesis

The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe has further worsened its economic recovery policy especially in the areas of food, education and health.

1.7 Theoretical Perspective

Like any other course in the world, International Relations has theories that guide it. These are the theories that explain or unpack the transformation in the international system or tell how the international system functions. The researcher had to find theories that are in line with the study undertaken; even though this was not a simple task the researcher managed to identify theories that are in line with the study. There are two theories that have been identified to examine this study namely Liberalism and Marxism. Both theories have their different beliefs and assumptions; even though that is the case the researcher has managed to align them with the study.

1.7.1 Liberalism

The theory of liberalism explains that in order for states to have better development or in order for states to be developed states have to compete in the international market. Simply put, states have to align themselves with an institution that best promotes economic integration such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank and again states have to liberalize their economies. The liberal theory best explains the actions of Zimbabwe in adopting the Economic Structural Adjustments Programme and best promoted economic integration via economic institutions.

Ricardo believed that free trade binds together, by one tie of interest and intercourse, the universal society of nations throughout the civilized world (Ricardo, 1911). Rosecrance (1986) & Strange (1991) assume that states are better in the international market where institutions are responsible for promoting economic integration.

1.7.2 Marxism

The second theory, which is Marxism, differs from Liberalism. What the theory captures is that the international market divides states into two classes which are the proletariats and the bourgeois (rich and the poor). What the theory captures is that economic institutions are used to exploit the unindustrialized states, and they are made to believe that all states are equal in the international market even though that is not the case. Indeed the assumptions of the theory prevailed in Zimbabwe, because after the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme the gap between the rich and the poor widened. This was due to the policies that accompanied the programme which made life more expensive for the poor. So the assumption of the theory is visible when an analysis is done with the Zimbabwean case.

In the mid-1840s Marx and Engels wrote that capitalist globalization was transforming the international states-system. They believed that the conflict and competition between nation-states had yet to come to an end, but the main fault-line in the future would revolve around the division between the two main social classes: the national bourgeoisie that controlled different systems of government and an increasingly cosmopolitan proletariat. The outline of new social experiment was already contained within the most advanced political movements of the industrial working classes (Marx and Engels, 1977).

1.8 Methodology

Research methodology is a systematic technique or procedure for solving research problems. It is the approach or architectural design by which the researcher maps out an approach to problem-finding or problem solving. This is an in-depth study

about the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes and Zimbabwe's social developmental challenges, therefore the research approach will use a qualitative design. According to Maree (2007), the qualitative research model is based on a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand the real-world setting and, in general, the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest. In other words, research is carried out in real-life situations and not in an experimental situation.

Maree (2007) further explained that qualitative research methodology is concerned with understanding the processes and social and cultural contexts which inspire various behavioural patterns. With respect to this study, a qualitative design approach will be used to address the questions relating to the challenges that were faced by Zimbabwe following the implementation of the ESAP. This study will examine the challenges faced by Zimbabwe after the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and the focus will be on education, health and agriculture. The qualitative method will be used in this study, and in order to adequately address the research questions the study will make use of a case study design. The researcher will use secondary data and deploy collection techniques such as: documents and official reports, journal articles, internet articles, text books and newspaper articles.

1.9 Data collection method and Data Analysis

1.9.1 Data Collection Method

The researcher will use secondary data which are articles, books, magazines, newspapers, journals and the internet to collect data which is most relevant to

explain the challenges of development faced by Zimbabwe after the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustments Programmes.

1.9.2 Data Analysis

The analysis of data will certainly be the accurate reflection of content that point out the precise analysis of various people's values; ideas; data and beliefs, will be collected and qualitatively analysed and evaluated. The data collected and obtained will be analysed on the basis of the content analysis.

1.10 Scope of the study

The scope of the study is to assess the role of the economic reform program implemented in Zimbabwe, which was the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). Despite the implementation of the programme, the country still experienced instability and numerous unresolved issues. The study will focus on the three social factors which are education, health and agriculture and it will also highlight the impact that was on these social factors after the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe.

1.11 Ethical consideration

The nature of this research work is heavily dependent on secondary materials or sources. The researcher will avoid plagiarism, and reference according to the required standards of the North West University code. The researcher will apply the Harvard method in referencing as expected in the Department of Human and Social Sciences. The researcher will also take into consideration all the ethics of Social Science research and will abide by them.

1.12 Organisation of the study

Chapter One: This Chapter contains the introduction of the study; rationale; aim of the study; research objective ; hypothesis; theoretical perspective; methodology; data collection method and data analysis; scope of the study; and ethical consideration.

Chapter Two: This chapter will provide relevant literature that is meant to support the study. The chapter will further include the analysis and comparison of theories relevant to this study.

Chapter Three: This chapter contains data presentation, analysis and findings.

Chapter Four: This part of the study will conclude the study and also make recommendations.

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Chapter Two:Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

According to Timba (2015), the adoption of ESAP was because of the poor wealth that the government inherited and the inept economic policies which came with sovereignty. It was the case that no sizeable investments were channelled back into the economy. The second factor was that the government of Zimbabwe borrowed money from markets which was used to finance unproductive expenditure. Thirdly because of inadequate incentives and guarantees, investors were unwilling to invest in Zimbabwe and again there was lack of foreign currency which also contributed to lack of investment. With lack of investment, factors such as inflation, gross national product (GNP) and unemployment suffered, unemployment increased and because of too much money which was chasing too few goods there was galloping inflation. As a result of these challenges there was a spiralling budget deficit exerting pressure on the local currency which also depreciated and this made imports unaffordable and expensive (Timba, 2015) .

As a result Sichane (2003) emphasised that in 1990 Zimbabwe implemented the five years Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) as a reaction to the economic disaster which had been upsetting the country since the late 1980s. The programme was accompanied by measures which presented elimination of price controls, elimination of wage controls, decrease of government expenditure, a 40 per cent depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar, elimination of subsidies on basic consumer goods, liberalising the foreign currency allocation system, elimination of protection of non-productive import substituting industries and increased profit remittance abroad and a radical restructuring of the various parastatals and other

public enterprise. The challenge that the country faced after the implementation of the programme is that since 1991 the dollar of the country was devalued repeatedly. Secondly the substantial liberalization of the economy ended in the lifting of protectionism which unlocked the domestic market to economical import and also caused the closing and downsizing of many labour-intensive industries. Thirdly, another factor which worsened the situation was when South Africa imposed tariffs on Zimbabwe's textile exports and adding to that was the severe drought in the country which affected the agricultural productivity which was conceived as the main source of foreign currency revenue (Sichane, 2003).

Sichane (2003) made mention of how the government of Zimbabwe abided by the laws that came with Economic Structural Adjustments Programmes and how their dollar became weak in the international market. Secondly the literature presented by Sichane (2003) seemed to be one sided when it partially highlighted that the cause of the downfall of Zimbabwe was because of the measures that accompanied the programme and not highlighting how Structural Adjustment Programmes crippled the country and how it led to the failure of its goal which was sustainability and development.

Nonetheless, according to the Government of Zimbabwe (1998), the economy of Zimbabwe under the ESAP did not perform well. In a period of two years after the implementation of the programme the economy declined significantly and this was within genuine profits and for each capita ranks of communal expenses (education, health and communal wellbeing). The monetary development of the country knocked down from a standard yearly pace of 4%, recorded between 1985 and 1990 to 1.4% throughout the improvement era. This was extreme minus than the expected yearly development rate of 5% over this era. Secondly, the rate of employment which

was impressive with a pace of 2.4% in the pre-ESAP era decelerated to a yearly average of 0.8%, far underneath the 3% yearly rate of development of the employment strength. Price increases rose by an average yearly pace of 27.6% during the ESAP era compared to 11.4% recorded amid 1985 and 1990. The financial plan shortfall rose from 10% of gross domestic product (GDP) at the commencement of monetary improvement to 12.2% by 1995. The objective of sinking the financial plan shortfall to 5% of GDP by 1995 was not attained. All this was the results that the government of Zimbabwe got after the implementation of ESAP. Instead of the programme reducing the challenges that were in Zimbabwe the programme worsened the challenges that the country had (Government of Zimbabwe, 1998).

Although the analysis of Sichane (2003) focused on the policies that accompanied the ESAP, while the Government of Zimbabwe (1998) focused on how the social sectors were hurt by the ESAP, the view of Saunders (1996) which support the analysis of the Government of Zimbabwe (1998) is that after the adoption of the ESAP public spending on health care decreased by 39% and this decline implied diminished expenses on common drugs, extension and preventative health services, specialist facilities and treatment, and other components of quality health care delivery. This decrease of spending in health forced the government's stricter enforcement of a user fees system which erected barriers to health care in the way of mainly poorer social groups who were, typically, those most in need of health services. These actions caused more mortality because of health care institutions were no longer funded properly which made them short of medical drugs. For example there was escalation in prenatal deaths caused by a diversity of factors, including the increasing rate of expecting mothers which were not booked into

facilities and babies born before arrival at facilities and decreased access to prenatal consultancies, utensils, essential amenities and, not least of all, drugs. Inhabitants of Zimbabwe could no longer afford health institutions, and doctors and nurses started to work in the private sector, which gave them better and higher wages than public clinics and hospitals. Some of the doctors and nurses flew out the country to find better pastures. This made the gap between the urban and rural areas wider and created more challenge for those who resided in the rural communities (Saunders, 1996).

Kanji (1995) added to the view of Saunders (1996) that health was not the only sector which was negatively affected by the ESAP, the implementation of the (ESAP) in Zimbabwe made changes in household incomes, expenditure, and savings and debts patterns of work, living costs and use of social services among households in a low-income settlement in Harare. The analysis of Kanji (1995) is that life became expensive and the inhabitants of the country were unable to attain basic needs such as food and education. This negative impact was more keenly felt by the poor because they are the ones that were most disadvantaged by this programme. The poor had to reduce their living standards to a lower level than the one they were already in; for example some families no longer bought expensive food which forced them to resort to cheap food; secondly some families reduced food consumption from three dishes a day to two or one dish a day. The perspective of Kanji 1995 is that the implementation of ESAP in Zimbabwe had a negative impact on development because the inhabitants of the country did not have access to basic needs (Kanji, 1995).



On the other hand a study which was conveyed by the Central Statistical Office (CSO, 1998) also supported the view of Kanji (1995) "that the occurrence of poverty

in Zimbabwe amplified from 40.4% in 1991 to 63.3% in 1996 and the occurrence of incredible poverty (families that cannot gather essential food needs) amplified from 16.7% to 35.7% during the same era. These results were harmonised by the Government of Zimbabwe (1995), which pointed out that 61% of families lived in poverty and 45% in excessive poverty. Levels of poverty were superior in families of rustic regions (75%) compared to metropolitan areas (39%). The occurrence of poverty was instituted to be superior in female headed families than within male-headed families with levels of poverty of 72% and 58% respectively" (CSO, 1998).

Kanji (1995) made mention of that after the implementation of the ESAP, life became expensive to a point at which the inhabitants of Zimbabwe could no longer afford education.

Saunders (1996) supported the view of Kanji that the other social sector which was negatively affected by the adoption of ESAP was the education sector. This was caused by the deteriorating investment of government and its burden of user fees which effectively barred easy access to education for hundreds of thousands of students from poorer households. The impact was also from primary and secondary education. Even though the negative impact in education the government managed to establish a relief system in 1995 in which it spend \$53 million helping 265 000 students with tuition and examination fees but still it fell short because basic need such as materials, uniforms, school levies and other costly items were not covered (Saunders, 1996) .

Even though Saunders' (1996) perspective according to the Government of Zimbabwe (1991), when the government implemented the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, its dream was the creation of jobs but its reversal, of

regulations which were initially aimed at ensuring job security, resulted in job losses and again made an estimation of 20 000 jobs having been lost in the private sector (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991). Kadenge et al., (1992); Chakaodza (1993); and Tevera (1998), all argued that, before the ESAP in Zimbabwe, a high level of unemployment was present, but after the implementation of the programme, the unemployment rate increased to unprecedented levels because of retrenchments, in government and the private sectors (Kadenge et al., 1992; Chakaodza, 1993; and Tevera, 1998).

The perspective of the Government of Zimbabwe (1991), Kadenge et al., 1992; Chakaodza 1993, and Tevera 1998, is that even though the country had challenges before the implementation of the programme the programme worsened the challenges of the country. For example unemployment increased and this had a negative impact on development which made the country to tremble more.

Furthermore Conyers' (2001:178) perspective is that after the implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), the government of Zimbabwe abandoned its unique policies in favour of a conservative neoliberal approach to economic improvement and this was because of the increasing disappointments that increased through effects of the policies to decrease spatial inequalities and the rate of economic growth of the country as a whole. Now it was in 1990 when the unique policies of the government were changed and this was due to the dissatisfaction but again the influence of International Monetary Fund and World Bank also played a role. Things became more problematic because the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme came with components that had to be implemented, namely deregulation of the domestic economy, the removal of restrictions on foreign trade and the increases in user charges for public services and such components were

implemented but things went more or less according to plan. Again attempts of reducing public expenditure and sales of parastatals were moving very slowly and to make matters worse economic growth became a factor which was unachievable because of the adjustments that were made that did not have the desired effects in terms of growing the economy (Conyers, 2001:178).

Conyers' (2001) standpoint is that the opportunity that came with ESAP programmes and progress was that in order for the country to reap the anticipated benefits in terms of economic growth and prosperity, the government had to create an atmosphere which was conducive for private investment and give the private sector a chance to be the major actor, not forgetting that the main goal was that by the end of 1995 the main adjustments would have led to economic growth, but sadly that was not the case because the dream flew with the uncontrolled wind mostly felt around midnight. In short things didn't go according to plan. Even though the policies that came with the programme were implemented by the country economic development became a challenge.

The Sunday Mail (1991), also highlighted challenges that Zimbabwe faced, adding to the standpoint of Conyers (2001), is that after the implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme low-income households increased in number and this was because of the suggestions of the removal of government price controls for the people of Zimbabwe. Values logically rose as well as inflation. For example, in May 1991, the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe stated that the average price increase mounted to 47% and in 1992-3, Chakaodza (1993:65) conveyed that inflation was close to 50%. According to Kadenge et al. (1992), the increase in prices implied the erosion of real incomes given that there was no equal increase in nominal wages and/or incomes. Chakaodza (1993:65) argued that costs increased

for the working people and this was because of removal of price controls. Unfortunately this in turn caused increased social problems like unprecedented levels of crime, begging by street kids, prostitution, the AIDS epidemic and drug abuse, as well as the disadvantage of division between the urban and rural populations was led by these actions. Tevera (1995) argued that because of price controls, removal of food price control and transport fares that rose rapidly, vulnerable groups in both urban and rural areas were unable to meet basic needs such as food, shelter, education and health. Kanji's (1995:39) viewpoint is that a direct result of the lifting of food subsidies and not the importation of food as a result of drought increased prices of basic foods in that period.

The government of Zimbabwe opted for price controls in order to try and balance the gap between the poor and the rich but this resulted in a great challenge faced by the country. The implementation of the ESAP indeed brought more challenges to the country.

However Bloch and Robertson (1996:73-74) point out that the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme is not to be blamed for the unsuccessful economic growth and development and embrace the view that the implementation of spatial development was made difficult by a number of problems that Zimbabwe had as a country and such problems included high population growth, limited skills, limited capital resources, limited entrepreneurial skills, high government spending, high unemployment, high levels of corruption and large budget deficits, high taxes and excessive debt burdens (Bloch and Robertson, 1996:73-74). The viewpoint presented by Bloch and Robertson (1996:73-74) is that the programme that was adopted in Zimbabwe for economic growth, ESAP, was the best option that the country adopted in order for economic growth. Even though there were some

policies that came with the programme that were seen as unequal policies, still there were domestic issues that contributed to the failure of economic growth in the country. So for some reason the domestic challenges are also to be blamed for the failure of economic growth in Zimbabwe rather than the policies that came with the programme.

Conyers (2001) supports the standpoints of Bloch and Robertson (1996) that because of policies that were introduced in Zimbabwe, such as the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) that ran in conjunction with ESAP, the programme ended up being a failure. EPZs was a policy that was discussed in the launching of ESAP, but because of arguments of desirability and location the necessary legislation was only promulgated in 1997. The reason for such a delay was because of the rivalry between politicians and other influential people who wanted their own areas to be identified as export zones. As a result ESAP export processing zones that were introduced in the 1990s did not have a major effect on reduction of spatial inequalities in the national economy. The problem of spatial inequalities also played a role in the failure of ESAP, and political factors and conflicts between various government agencies which were involved hampered the implementation of development (Conyers, 2001).

Standing (1991) adds to the standpoint of Conyers (2001) and Bloch and Robertson (1996:73-74) that the failure of economic growth in Zimbabwe was not only because of ESAP but there were other factors that contributed to the failure of economic growth such as levy of employment security that had been hurt which made conditions worsen and this was because of deregulation (Standing, 1991). The view of Standing (1991), is that we must also look at factors like tax and deregulation because they also played a role in the failure of Zimbabwe's development.

Davies (1988:14) added to the viewpoint of Standing (1991), another factor which contributed to the failure of ESAP in Zimbabwe is the spatial inequalities that were in the country. The issue is that Zimbabwe lacked reference to spatial studies and analytical methods or spatial policy, and again spatial analysis and planning did not receive the attention they deserved in circumstances that highly favoured and progressed towards the application of spatial analysis was hesitant. The argument presented by Davies (1988:14) is that spatial implications played a role in the development planning of Zimbabwe but even though there was no explicit reference to spatial policy, there were also no explicit reference to spatial studies and analytical methods even though national development planning contained major spatial implications (Davies,1988:14).

Timba (2015) adds to the views of Bloch and Robertson (1996) and Davies (1988) that the other factor which contributed to the collapse of Zimbabwe was the drought that the country experienced in the first year of ESAP operation which ravaged Southern Africa. The combination of the two left Zimbabwe in a terrible state. The economic reform involved cost-recovery measures which meant that the government had to reduce expenditure and the budget deficit; this involved reduction of the deficit by 25% over a five-year period. Secondly cost-recovery measures were made in health and education sectors and hospital fees were raised which denied inhabitants who earned below Z\$ 150.00 access to health care (Timba , 2015).

Bloch and Robertson's (1996:73-74) view does not contradict the views of Davies (1988); Conyers (2001) and Timba (2015) but rather add that spatial development was made difficult by issues such as unemployment, lack of skills, high population, limited capital resources; in short, domestic challenges that were overlooked by the government.

According to Kamidza et al, (1999) who also agreed with the standpoint of Davies (1988); Bloch and Robertson (1996:73-74); and Conyers (2001), the failure of the monetary development programme was because of a numeral of deep-seated matters which surrounded it. The fundamental issues include lack of stakeholder talks throughout the design of the programme; lack of state possession; failure to issue in the probable collision of exogenous issues, mainly drought; a mixture of roughness and structural susceptibility; and slanted admittance to resources. Again the execution of ESAP was categorized by political style and stumpy dedication (Kamidza et al, 1999).

Bond (2009) supported the view point of Kamidza (1999) is that if there is someone who is to blame for the fundamental issues that contributed to the failure of ESAP is the government which was meandering among marketplace freedom, companion industrialist fraud and the state. Secondly the missing economic reforms were also linked to the government's failure to control public spending (Bond, 2009). This caused the pay-out of finances, beneath the Improved Structural Adjustment Service, to be pendant in September 1995 which resulted in a growth that put the nation in a gloominess programme for six months. In 1999 the financial support was ultimately reserved (Kanyenze, 2007).

Notably the above analyses prove that the adoption and implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe did not assist the country in any manner but instead worsened the country's challenges and little attention was paid to the developmental challenges of the country.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to the ESAP in Zimbabwe

International relations as a study is guided by theories and each theory has its form of ways that it uses to explain challenges that are identified in the international system and why some factors are present in the international system. There are many theories that can be used to analyse this study but the researcher has identified two dominant theories for this study, namely Liberalism and Marxism theory.

2.2.1 Liberalism

The assumption of liberal scholars is that the prospects of cooperation have increased over time due to the procedures of industrialization and modernization (Goldgeier and McFaul, 1992). The assumption of liberal scholars such as Keohane and Nye (1977) is that, via affiliation with international institutions, states can meaningfully extend their conceptions of self-interest in order to broaden the latitude for cooperation. Compliance with the rules of these organizations does not only depress pursue of narrow national interest, it also deteriorates the sense and appeal of state dominance (Keohane and Nye, 1997).

The hypothesis of Neo-Liberals is that commercial traders should be permitted to interchange money and goods without worry about national barricades. Firstly, there should be rare lawful limitations on international commerce and no artificial protection or aids limiting the freedom to exchange. Secondly free trade must maximize economic development and make the competition that will endorse the well-organized use of resources, people and capital. The theory's standpoint is that nation states should uphold policies of open global market. Thirdly, policies which defend uncompetitive industries from market ideologies corrupt the international

trade, misrepresent market demand, artificially lower prices and inspire incompetence, while reprimanding just traders. Protection is conceived as a cry of special or entrusted interests in a society and should be repelled by government in the national interest. The view point of the theory is that states must do away with protections and upholding barriers of trade but rather they must relax their policies so that they can be able to exploit their domestic advantage in economical labour (Burchill, 2009:75).

On the other hand the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) make the provision of finance to unindustrialized societies provisional on their unilateral approval of free market rules for their economies and these comes with “conditionality’s” which come with Structural Adjustment Programs. When states surrender to the conditions of the IMF and World Bank they are also expected to abide by the free market suggestion which is playing along with the Washington Consensus rules and regulations. What the Washington Consensus entails is that states should open up their economies for foreign direct investments, cutbacks in government spending and budgetary arrears, financial de-regulation, privatization of government preserved enterprises, the elimination of protection and grants, developing trade positioned financial prudence (Burchill, 2009:78).

The argument presented by the liberal theory is that in order for a state to develop it has to abide by the Washington consensus rules and regulation. The intervention of the Zimbabwean government after the implementation of the programme of economic reform in their country is not supported by this theory; government should have let the market move freely in their country. The Liberal theory would have said to the government of Zimbabwe that economic reform did not take place in their country because of the intervention from the government. The theory supports the

action of Zimbabwe when it adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and also implemented policies that came with the programme, for example, cuts in government expenditure and cuts in government subsidies.

Even though this was the case, the economic reform that was supposed to assist Zimbabwe to achieve economic reform was a failure. The policies that accompanied Economic Structural Adjustment Programme made the challenges that the country already had worse.

2.2.2 Marxism

Marx's assumption is that power over nature had increased to unprecedented levels, but individuals were trapped within an international social division of labour, exposed to unfettered market forces and exploited by new forms of factory production that turned workers into supplements to the machine (Marx, 1977). He furthers his assumption that capitalism had produced levels of global interconnectedness that had reduced fear and estrangement between societies. Nationalism he observed had no place in the political imagination of the advanced sections of the proletariat which supported a cosmopolitan project. But capitalism was a system of largely unchecked human exploitation in which the bourgeoisie controlled and profited from the labour power of subordinate classes. It was the root cause of an alienating condition in which the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat was at the mercy of global structures and forces which it had created.

Marx observed that freedom and equality under capitalism meant that the bourgeois and proletariats entered into a labour contract as legal equals, but massive social inequalities placed workers at the mercy of the bourgeoisie and exposed them to the

effects of growing inequalities and the disastrous effects of periodic and inevitable capitalist crises (Linklater, 2009) .

The argument presented by the second theory is different from the first theory. Marx argues that the bourgeoisie is using its institutions to suppress the proletariat. The industrialized states know that developing states are hungry and they will do everything to fill their stomach and the argument presented by Marx is evident because Zimbabwe had a challenge of unemployment and development. The country opted for Structural Adjustment Programs in order to develop and the government even assumed that it would create jobs, which resulted in job loss. The country wanted to end poverty and enjoy stability in the country. After ESAP implementation the gap between the poor and the rich widened. This is exactly what Marxism theory highlights; that even though developing states know that the rules that comes with economic reform will cripple them they still opt for economic reform programmes. The argument presented by Marx is that the goal of having a classless society where everyone benefits is far from being achieved and this is caused by industrialized states who want to be forever supreme. Industrialized states use developing states for self-enrichment; even though they argue that the international market is equal, the programs presented by the international economic institutions contradict the equality in the international market.

Notably an analysis of the two theories is different. The liberal theory is from the perspective that states should liberalize their economies in order to have successful economic reforms; even though the country of Zimbabwe liberalized their economy the country was crippled by the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. The second theory, which is Marxism, captures that what the liberal theory presents is only to uphold the interest of the industrialized states. Even

though those responsible for the economic reform programmes knew that Zimbabwe was in no state to implement its policies the country had no choice but to implement these policies. The theory of Marxism's standpoint is that the international market is used to exploit states and to widen the gap between the poor and the rich. The argument of classes presented by Marx was visible because after the failure of ESAP in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe was seen as a state that had failed economically and that could not even compete in the international market and its dollar was devalued.


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Chapter 3: Data Presentation, Analysis and Findings

3.1 Objectives that the ESAP should have implemented to enable economic the recovery of Zimbabwe

The implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in Zimbabwe occurred after the country saw a need for economic development. The decision that the country took was not because it was directly forced to enter into reform programmes but it was because it needed reform and during those years ESAP was the programme that was used to assist states to develop economically. Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes are accompanied by rules, regulations and objectives that are followed when a country implements or adopts them. Every single rule, regulation and objective that accompany this programme has to be followed.

In order for ESAP to have been a success in Zimbabwe, the country had to implement the policies that came with the programme, which are elimination of subsidies on basic consumer goods, decrease of government expenditure, liberalising the foreign currency allocation system, and elimination of price controls (Sichane, 2003). These are some of the objectives that accompanied the implementation of the Programme in the country. Zimbabwe supported the policies that came with implementation of ESAPs because it believed that with the implementation of policies that came with ESAP it would have a successful economic reform.

Conyers (2001:178) theorized that the action that was taken by the government of Zimbabwe was to abandon its unique policies so that Structural Adjustment Programmes should be successful. For example the country liberalized its economy

and gave the private sector an opportunity to rule. This decision was also in favour of Structural Adjustment Programmes and in support of the objectives of the programme. The reason for implementing all these objectives was because the country's core was to have a successful reform and this was to be visible in 1996 after the end of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme which was to run from 1990-1995.

Mudzonga (2009) speculated that the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme that was implemented in the country was accompanied by reforms in trade, foreign exchange and also financial reforms. Measures such as industrial delicensing which included removal of quantitative restriction which was through the abolition of the import licensing system that was coupled with a rapid expansion of the list of items that were to be import under the Open General Import Licence (OGIL), the removal of subsidies as well as privatization were taken. Secondly the other action that was taken by the government was phasing out the foreign currency exchange allocation with omission of tariffs and this was because the government wanted to protect its local industry. The interference of government after the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes was because the government had its own objectives. As much as the ESAP promoted privatization, the government on the other hand wanted to promote their local market which is what the structural adjustment programmes do not promote.

The government also liberalised its economy which is one of the rules that comes with structural adjustment programmes. It gave foreign ownership in manufacturing, mining, quarrying and in mineral exploration as well as full foreign ownership in hotels used for tourism. The government also opened a Zimbabwean Investment Centre (ZIC) which was responsible for foreign direct investment but it was

unsuccessful in promoting foreign direct investment (FDI) and this was due to the unfavourable climate for investors that prevailed in the economy. The only success that was made was liberalizing the Zimbabwean economy (Mudzonga, 2009). One of the objectives of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes is that government does not interfere with the business of the programme. The actions taken by the Zimbabwean government were not acceptable and as a result such actions contributed to the failure of the ESAP in Zimbabwe. The government of Zimbabwe should have not interfered with the programme.

Even though the literature review of this study seems to be more inclined to the view that ESAP failed the country of Zimbabwe, there are other factors that contributed to the failure of ESAP in Zimbabwe. Bloch and Robertson (1996;73-74) posit that ESAP is not to blame for the unsuccessful economic growth and development; factors such as high population growth, limited skills, limited capital resources, limited entrepreneurial opportunities, high government spending, high unemployment, high levels of corruption, and large budget deficits, high taxes and excessive debt burdens are the ones that contributed to the failure of economic growth. If such factors were dealt with before the implementation of the programme, economic reform would have been a success in Zimbabwe (Bloch and Robertson, 1996;73-74).

Another factor which would have also contributed to the economic growth of the country if it had been attended to immediately when it became a challenge are the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) that were in conjunction with ESAP, which took time to be promulgated. This was caused by influential people and politicians who wanted bigger shares of the pie, and who also wanted their own areas to be used as export processing zones. As a result the export processing zones that were introduced by ESAP in the 1990s did not have a major effect on spatial inequalities

in the national economy. Maybe if the government of Zimbabwe had used the exports processing zones that were introduced by ESAP, economic reform would have been a success (Conyers, 2001).

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was also affected by levy of employment security that were hurt which made conditions worsen and this was because of deregulation (Standing 1991).

Davies (1988) posits that if the government of Zimbabwe had dealt with spatial inequalities that were in the country ESAP would have been a success. Spatial inequalities played a role in the development planning of Zimbabwe even though the case Zimbabwe did not make means to resolve the matter. There was no explicit reference to spatial studies and analytical methods even though national development planning contained major spatial implications (Davies, 1988). This is another factor which became a challenge to ESAP and this factor also contributed to the failure of the programme.

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme failed because of need of discussions throughout the design of the programmes; need of state possession; disappointment to aspect in the probable collision of exogenous aspects, chiefly drought, a mixture of roughness and structural susceptibility and slanted admittance to resources. Secondly the factor that made things more problematic for the ESAP in Zimbabwe is because the ESAP was categorized by political style and low commitment. These are some of the factors that should have been ignored when implementing the programme (Kamidza, 1999). Bond (2009) also supported the view of Kamidza (1999) that the corrupt government and a state that was zigzagging between market liberalisation caused economic growth to be unsuccessful and

ESAP to become a failure; because of such interference disbursement of funds under ESAP were suspended. As a result in 1999 the funds were eventually withdrawn.

The perspective of the UNDP (1996), is that economic growth is not human development. A country may have a stable economy but a stable economy does not mean human development. If the citizens of the country are not developed then a country still has major challenges even though it has met its target of economic growth. The UNDP further speculated that the role that the market plays is different from the role that the government should play; for example the market plays a role in economic development and the government's role is to play a role in human development. The implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe did not meet the expectations of the country which was economic development and stability even though the country respected and abided by the rules and regulations of the programme at most times.

3.2 The challenges brought about by ESAPs in Zimbabwe

It is often said that any decision taken by humans has its negatives and positives. The decision that was taken by the country of Zimbabwe had both; the positive is that the country of Zimbabwe had confidence and assumed it will achieve stability in the country after the end of ESAPs and the negative is that the dream became impossible.

Dr Kanji (1995) posits that not only did Structural Adjustments Programmes change the unique policies of the government of Zimbabwe; the programme also changed the life of the Zimbabwean inhabitants. After the adoption of the programme life became expensive, the inhabitants of Zimbabwe could not even afford basic needs

such as food and education. The adoption of Structural Adjustments Programmes brought unbearable challenges in Zimbabwe. Even though the country had challenges of its own before the adoption of the programme, the situation that the country was in after the adoption was worse than the one the country was in before.

Ranga (2015) concurs with the challenges that Dr Kanji (1995) mentioned, but differs that the phase of Economic Structural Adjustments in Zimbabwe did manage to resolve the gap between rural and urban inhabitants; rather it broadened the gap between the two classes. Ranga postulates that the gap between the urban and the rural inhabitants is that rural inhabitants relied on agriculture while the urban dwellers had the power of a cash economy.

The adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme not only made life expensive for the inhabitants of Zimbabwe but it also brought a division of classes or class conflict because the rich benefited and the poor became poorer.

Conyers (2001) posits that even though the government of Zimbabwe liberalized its economy nothing worked in their favour because their economy was still deregulated.

Mudzonga (2009) posits that the heart of Zimbabwe's economy was from the agricultural sector with its contribution being marked in sectors such as exports, employment and value addition to locally produced raw materials, and, most importantly, to the Gross Domestic Product of the country. The argument that is taken further by the author is that in the 1980s one of the crucial sectors that played a role in the high Gross Domestic Product that was in the country was the manufacturing sector which was followed by the agricultural sector but because of certain uncertainties namely deep political and economic crises with hyperinflation,

capital flight, deindustrialisation, international isolation, acute foreign currency shortages, dilapidation of the infrastructure, its GDP fell prominently. The Central Statistical Office on the other hand proved that with the challenge that the manufacturing and agricultural sector faced employment decreased from 206 000 to 155 000 between 1991 and 2004 (Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), 2007). Zimbabwe depended more on the agricultural sector and this was one of the sectors that contributed to the economic growth of the country, but the agricultural sector lost its value when the country was hit by drought. Not only did Structural Adjustments Programs bring challenges to Zimbabwe but factors such as drought which are natural disasters also contributed to the challenges that the country went through.

After the adoption of ESAP the economy declined significantly and this was in the real incomes and per capita levels of social expenditure (education, health and social welfare) (Government of Zimbabwe, 1998). Public spending on health decreased and this caused doctors and nurses to go to work in private sector because of better wages, which had a negative impact on the rural areas (Saunders, 1996). Another sector which was also negatively affected by ESAP was the education sector because of cut of subsidies from government which was because of ESAP and as a result easy access to education was barred for hundreds of thousands of student from poorer households (Saunders, 1996).

The Central Statistical Office (COS) (1998) posits that after the implementation of ESAP, poverty increased for example households were not able to meet basic food requirements and the Government of Zimbabwe (1995) added that the rural communities were the ones that experienced poverty more than the urban communities.

Chakadoza (1993:65); Kadenge et al (1992) have the stand point that inflation rose after the implementation of ESAP and the increase in prices implied the erosion of real incomes given that there was no equal increase in nominal wages and or incomes. Chakadoza (1993:65) posits that costs increased for the working people and this was because of removal of price controls. As a result these led to social problems like crime; begging by street kids; prostitution; the AIDS epidemic and drug abuse; and the division between urban and poor areas was led by ESAP. Tevera (1999) added that because of price controls prices of food and transport fares rose and people in both urban and rural areas were unable to meet basic needs such as shelter; education and health. Kanji posits that lifting of food subsidies and non-importation of food as a result of drought increased prices of basic food in that period.

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme adopted by the government of Zimbabwe is not the only factor that brought challenges in the country but was accompanied by a natural disaster which was the drought that hit the country in the early years of ESAP; the two left the country in a devastating position. Such factors should also be taken into consideration when the challenges that the country went through after the implementation of structural adjustment programmes are assessed. The adoption of economic reform was based on achieving stability in the country, but that did not happen as had been expected by the Zimbabwean government. Lastly the objective of Structural Adjustment Programmes was to assist Zimbabwe in having a successful economic reform but its objective led to an economic downfall. Both the government and Structural Adjustment Programme had different core objectives that they wanted to achieve but unfortunately none of them were achieved. The analysis of this study, which was done through the literature of

different authors points to evidence that even though ESAP brought challenges to the country factors such as domestic factors that contributed to the failure of ESAP implementation and economic reform should also be considered.

3.3 Findings

The major findings are provided below:

- Before the implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe the country already had social challenges it faced which made things more problematic for ESAP implementation in the country.
- After the implementation of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme the challenges of the country intensified for example the unemployment level raised.
- The gap between the rich and the poor widened after the implementation of Economic Structural Adjustments Programme.
- The cause of the agricultural downfall was not because of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme only but because of natural disasters such as drought.
- The challenges of development that Zimbabwe faced was not because of Economic Structural Adjustments Programme only but the bad governance of the country also played a role.
- The government of Zimbabwe implemented all the rules that came with Economic Structural Adjustment Programme but they didn't achieve their dream of economic reform.
- The only achievement that Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was able to meet was liberalizing the economy of Zimbabwe.

- Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes played a role in the downfall of Zimbabwe's economy and the social challenges that the country faced.
- The adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in Zimbabwe made life expensive for the inhabitants of the country.
- After the adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes the inhabitants were unable to acquire their basic needs like food, education and health.
- The government of Zimbabwe invested more in education and health and this was to balance the scale between the rich and the poor, but their plan failed because of lack of funds, as government subsidies were cut after the implementation of ESAP.

Chapter Four: Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

The African continent has been a play ground where colonial masters have played especially with their economic institutions. Firstly they came with their ships and mirrors then they fought with the African inhabitants to be their slaves. When slavery started to tear up the whole of Africa all the African countries stood against it. Zimbabwe is one of the African countries that fought against slavery and won against their colonial masters who called the country Rhodesia. After their freedom from their colonial masters they were considered as the bread basket of Africa not knowing that one day the country would be worse than other African countries that were not rich as Zimbabwe. The decade of independence in the Zimbabwean country was also a decade of terror; for example the country was hit by a high rate of unemployment and the gap between the poor and the rich became wider.

The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe was after the country decided to reform their economy and this was one of the programmes that they opted for in order to make their notion an achievable one. Nonetheless ESAPs in Zimbabwe did not bring the Zimbabwean dream which was economic reform; rather it made matters worse.

The gap between the rich and poor widen and social sectors such as education and health were also hurt. Matters became worse for the citizens of the country as most of them could not even afford their basic daily needs. ESAPs now known as SAP should not only focus on economic development but should also make human development a key objective in their policies. Economic development does not necessarily mean there will human development.

Recommendations:

- The government of Zimbabwe should have allowed the programme of structural adjustment to operate on its policies and rules.
- The government should have never interfered with the programme so that the programme operated smoothly without any government interference.
- The country of Zimbabwe should have addressed the policies that were inherited from the colonial masters before they opted for Structural Adjustments policies.
- There polices of structural adjustment programmes should have been adjusted because they also played a huge role in the downfall of Zimbabwe.
- Zimbabwe should opt for another economic reform programme from other institutions besides the ones they borrowed in the 1990s.
- The country should have implemented all the policies that came with the economic reform and also made sure that there is sustainability in their country, and secondly they should not have interfered much with the economic reform programme thatthey opted for, for example the export processing zones (EPZs) that were implemented by ESAP from the beginning of the program should have been left alone to operate accordingly.
- The only way that Zimbabwe will come out of the misery they are in is to fully adopt another structural adjustment programme and abide by it until it is sustainable; after they are economically sustainable it is then that they can start to implement their own policies.

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