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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

**ANALYZING THE PUBLIC POLICY FRAMEWORK IN PROMOTING
SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.**

Case study: Zimbabwe (2000-2015)

BY

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(R132337Q)

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I Coccin Maenzanise declare that:

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 - (b) Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.****

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, for supporting me and being there for me always. Your love, confidence, encouragement and advice helped me so much to reach at this academic ladder.

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Abstract

The study reviews how the interplay of socio-economic dynamics shaped policy decisions since 2000. Research findings suggest that the spirit of policy decisions bear the imprint of the prevailing macro dynamics. A climate of siege and anxiety has prevailed since 2000, when the State was in economic crisis, policy interventions were mainly contractionary and low note on local ownership social acceptance. After 2009, into the GNU and its aftermath, policy making was under highly untenable social, political and economic conditions.

The study revealed that the current public policy framework in Zimbabwe is retrogressive in nature hence inequitable and back-playing sustainable development. It is retrogressive in the sense that the governing system has revolted from socialistic ideas which promoted pro-poor policy alternatives, adopting authoritarianism which has promoted growth and legitimacy to political elites.

The research gives the historical context of public policy tracing the major changes in the types, structures and administration of public policy from crisis era of 2000 up to 2015. An analysis on the performances of the various public policies administered by the ZANU PF led Government is given, whilst, the implication of the various policy gaps on social and economic development is discussed. A cluster by cluster; Education, Health Sector, Service Delivery, Vulnerable Groups, Gender, Employment, Agriculture, Trade; analysis has been outlined to give an index on public policy performance towards sustainable development in Zimbabwe. The study also looks at the governing frameworks with regards to public policy and how these have perpetuated a retrogressive authoritarian capitalism anti-neoliberal governance system. This elitist policy making approaches has produced partisan, temperamental, exclusionary, hurried, and short-term reactive public policies.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSOT	Community Share Ownership Trust
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FTFs	Fast Track Farms
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MERP	Millennium Economic Recovery Programme
MDGs	Millennium Developmental Goals
MTP	Medium-Term Plan
NERP	National Economic Revival Programme
NGOs	Non-Governmental organizations
STERP	Short Term Emergency Recovery Plan
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the problem

Zimbabwe became a majority ruled constitutional Republic after attaining political independence from Great Britain in April 1980, following a protracted armed struggle. The socio-politico-economic dispensation of Zimbabwe began thereafter. The new government under the then Prime Minister Robert, G. Mugabe promoted socialism, partially trusting on international aid. The new government inherited one of the most structurally developed economies and effective state systems in Africa. Elections have been held every five years since then, under the British brokered Lancaster House Constitution of 1979, to choose Parliamentarians, Senators and the State President.

Policy making during the first decade was centralized and had a top-down approach; social welfare and nation building considerations were uppermost in most policy decisions. Policies of reconciliation and growth with equity provided a macro policy framework that was consistent with the imperatives of the new socio-politico-economic dispensation.

The second decade policy making had a contractionary bent in line with the philosophy of austerity that was espoused in the neoliberal Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) model. Despite visible support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB), enforcing austerity measures proved a challenge as they had a tendency of reversing important social gains of the first decade. Policy prescriptions under this decade also suffered from lack of local ownership. They were viewed as IMF and WB imposed measures as access to balance of payments was on condition of compliance with these measures (Zhou, 2009:4).

Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) policy measures also carried high political and social costs for both society and the political leadership. The political will to implement these reform prescriptions and bear the attendant social costs was low. This was worsened by the absence of enabling legal and institutional frameworks. The net picture is one of policy implementation under protest.

The third decade generally characterized policy making under turmoil and uncertainty. The period experienced a socio-politico-economic meltdown whose peak year was

2008 (Kanyenze, et al, 2011:2). On the political front, the decade witnessed a resurgence of more competitive party politics under the banner of the MDC. Torque Mude and Percyslage Chigora (2013: 23), state that Zimbabwe was in serious political and socio-economic crisis since 2000. They argue that the major cause of the crisis is attributed to western induced sanctions following the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in June 2000.

The period also saw government shifting to the Fast Track Land Reform, a process that received mixed reviews within and outside the country with most extreme reviews describing them as processes driven by political motives of expediency and survival (Kanyenze et al, 2011:3). This tense and emotional political climate produced regressive policies. This political mood was manifest in most major policy decisions and actions of the decade. On the economic front, the country experienced an unparalleled hyperinflation year after year, with the rate of 7 982 percent in September 2007 (MDGs Report, 2009:3). There was also an acute shortage of basic commodities which included maize mealie, drugs, fuel, electricity and foreign currency (Kanyenze et al, 2011:2).

For the first time since independence in 1980, the then ruling party ZANU PF felt politically threatened in elections at the local, parliamentary and presidential levels. Subsequent elections were fraught with violence, with the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections and the 27 June Presidential Run-Off emerging as the most affected. The African Union (AU), under the facilitation of the then South African President, Thabo Mbeki, facilitated negotiations towards a power sharing agreement in an effort to end the resulting impasse. On 15 September 2008 the three major political parties from the March 2008 harmonised elections signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), the Global Political Agreement (GPA), which formed the basis for the formation of an Inclusive Government. This Government assumed office on 13 February 2009. Major policies that have been crafted under the inclusive government have evolved around the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act of 2008.

The birth of the inclusive government almost coincided with the beginning of a period of strong mineral resources fever in the nation following the discovery of diamonds in the Manicaland Province; Marange/Chiadzwa area. But of all the policies made under the inclusive government, the Indigenization Policy has been the center of political controversy and contradiction. Under this policy, community share ownership trusts have been established to benefit local people. These are schemes meant for broad-based participation in the shareholding of businesses by communities living in and around

areas where mining and tourism companies are exploiting natural resources. However, these trusts have courted controversy in many ways.

The socio-politico-economic meltdown that ensued in the third decade of independence Zimbabwe, changed the policy making landscape. Zhou and Masunungure (2006) argues that the policy making in Zimbabwe reverted to interventionism, however political expediency and survival rather than long term socio-economic welfare as the driving force. The fundamentals underpinning the interventionism of the third decade were therefore radically different from the fundamentals of the first decade interventionism. Third decade policy interventionism was motivated by the need to control the apparatus of the state and safeguard the political turf of the incumbent ruling party that was under threat from opposition politics. Zhou and Masunungure (2006) closes their argument saying that policy making was thus highly unpredictable, temperamental, exclusive, top-down and short-range in focus. The nature of policy making was characterized by what can be described as “*implement first*” and “*formulate and adopt later*” (Zhou and Masunungure 2006), policies generally implemented and enforced on the basis of political alliances and enrichment.

Viewed from this angle, a three decade analysis on the public policy framework, in Zimbabwe should unravel how the interplay of socio-politico-economic dynamics in each decade influenced and shaped the policy-making approaches and practices. It should help us characterize policy making in post-independence Zimbabwe. Reference to milestone policy decisions is made throughout the study in order to analyze issues within their empirical contexts.

1.2 Problem Statement

The problem the study attempted to analyse was the relatively understudied challenges and complexities that the public policy framework encounters in efforts to promote sustainable socio-economic development.

1.3 Definition of Terms

The following definitions are provided to ensure uniformity and understanding of the terms throughout the study. The researcher cited reckon definitions in relations to the study.

Basic Income Grant: this is an unconditional grant, which is paid to every individual in the society without means-testing. According to Stuart White (1997:5), the income is paid “...on an individual basis, irrespective of income from other sources, and without regard to past or present work performance or willingness to accept a job if offered...”

Basic needs approach to development: basic needs means the general goods and services a person needs to survive and lead a dignified life. It constitutes an attempt to come to grips directly with poverty in the fields of food, nutrition, health, education and housing. Sen (1999:12) argues that it is predicated on a policy consisting of relatively high growth rates, redistribution of income, and reorientation of investment and modification of consumption and production patterns.

Public policy: policy refers to a broad statement that reflects future goals and aspirations and provides guidelines for carrying out these goals. Hill (1993:47) defines “*Public Policy*” as the product of political influence determining and setting limits to what the state does.

Public Private Partnership: these agreements between a private party and government entity, for providing a public asset or service, in which the private party bears significant risk and management responsibility is at the government side. Nevertheless there are vital important as the assist the government in public service provision.

Stakeholders: government and oppositions political personnel/spokespersons, government departments and agencies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), general citizens.

Sustainable development: According to the classical definition given by the United Nations World Commission on Environmental and Development in 1987, development is sustainable if it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.

1.4 Limitations

In the conduct of the study, the researcher witnessed a myriad of challenges; however, mitigation mechanisms were diverse to minimize compromise to the quality of the research. The bureaucratic nature of government hindered the access to statistics and

holding of interviews, and due to the unique technicality in economics, results could not be generalizable beyond the specific spectrum of general understanding. Statistical data is important because it assists in making reliable and informative conclusions regarding the impact of implemented policies. However, due to the political sensitivity of the subject in Zimbabwe, the information needed to answer the research questions, was gathered systemically, from secondary data.

1.5 Delimitations

The study concentrated on the implications of the governmental system on sustainable development in the 21st century, however this research will concentrate on Zimbabwe. A socio-economic approach will be incorporated, due to the primitive knowhow reflected on political economics for that data gathered.

1.6 Assumptions

It is assured that during this study, participant's political views will not significantly affect their perceptions; and it is assured that all participants will answer all survey questions honestly and to the best of their abilities.

1.7 Research Questions

1. How great has the government public policy shifted from been people-oriented/pro-poor to partisan?
2. To what extent has bilateral and multilateral agencies been influence in public policy making in Zimbabwe?
3. What challenges are there to sustainable socio-economic development in Zimbabwe?
4. How best can socio-economic challenges hindering sustainable development be addressed?

1.8 Justifications of the Study

The study seeks to contribute to an understanding of the complexity of assessing the impact of public policy implementation by government of Zimbabwe to promote

sustainable socio-economic development. Harare was selected based on its population size and the range of functions provided.

1.9 Literature Review

The field of public policy is crammed with literature covering a wide spectrum of issues. While various ideas of public policy have materialized in literature over the years, researchers like, Anderson (1997), Fox and Meyer (1995) and Dye (1995), definitions generally localize the source of public policy to governments. Dye (1995:4) defined public policy as, “...*whatever governments choose to do or not to do...*”, Fox and Meyer (1995:107), defined public policy as, “...*authoritative statements made by legitimate public institutions about the way in which they propose to deal with policy problems...*”, and Anderson (1997:9), saw public policy as “... *proposed course of action of a person, group, or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in effort to reach a goal, or realize an objective....*” From the above quotations, public policy can be seen as an anticipated course of action by governments and their strategies to follow in achieving set goals and objectives, and this is constantly subjected to the effects of environmental change and influence.

Public policy, can also be seen as the authoritative declarations governments make with regard to what “...*to do or not to do...*” and incorporates, the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society. Public policy is therefore legally binding, public ends-driven and universal in application. They apply to those within the state and non-state sector. The issue of source as a defining characteristic of public policy that distinguishes it from private policy is aptly captured by Pal (1989:5) who observes that “...*what makes a policy a public policy is not its impact but its source...*” Dye (1995:12) also underlines this thus “*a policy does not become a public policy until it is adopted by some government institution*”. As sanitized from these definitions, public policy symbolize courses of action or inaction taken by a government in response to a known problem or set of problems.

Policy problems are those “*conditions or situations that produce dissatisfaction on a wide spectrum of people and for which government redress is sought*” (Anderson, 1997:17). The above remarks point to a gradual relationship between public policies and government institutions. The nature of government; its institutional and leadership practices, have a direct bearing on public policies while policy outcomes in turn impact

on government legitimacy. Public policies are central instruments through which the “*fundamental choices*” of the political authorities are executed (Dye, 1995:14). They regulate societal behavior and extract, allocate and distribute resources to different segments of society within the economy. They thus play key promotional roles in national socio-economic development.

Public policy is a feasible channel through which governments’ communication and provide alternatives to demands from the society. Society is enabled to read and interpret the mindset, priorities and course of the government. Public policy also serve as key instrument when outlining the domestic and international strategies of any state. For example, at the domestic level, public policy serve as a mechanism of conflict management, harnessing and balancing competing values and interests within the nation. Individuals who comprise society hold different and often conflicting values on what policy problems, goals and options should be prioritized at a given time.

Policy can never be static, it should relate to current issues; political, social and economic, but objectives are static. The strategies and courses of action of governments choose change to needs, but their objectives are fixed in terms of time. Policy has been categorized best as either reactive or proactive mainly basing on the government system. Reactive policy are developed in response to a concern, problem, or emergency whilst, proactive policy are deliberately chosen and often designed to prevent a concern, problem, or emergency from occurring. When problems exits, reactive policy is designed to remedy them. Reactive policy development often happens more quickly than proactive policy, as the problems can be pressing or even urgent. Reactive policy mechanism is that best way to handle a situation, not whether or not the situation will ever become a problem. Proactive policies can be more challenging in that it is often difficult politically to get policy-makers to commit money and resources to a problem that has not yet occurred.

Notwithstanding these positive attributes, gaps usually exist between policy intents and policy achievement. Well intentioned public policy do not always deliver benefits to target groups. It has been notoriety for benefitting third parties. Hidden agendas are always pursued under the guise of public motive. As observed by Pal (1996:6), “...*beyond official or explicitly stated goals are the unstated or hidden ones--but which in practice usually influence policy decisions...*” The public motive is best served where public policy-making process is transparent, accountable for, responsive and inclusive.

The understanding of the concepts of policy and policy formulation is vital in conducting public policy analysis. Policy formulation; goals and objectives, and strategies and conducts, should be founded on the authentic needs and deficiencies of society. Common objectives such as; what is intended, how to go about achieving it, and by what means to achieving it are important in policy formulation. During this process, alternative possibilities and cost benefit analysis are conducted. Once a policy is formulated, the policy must be authorized, by legislation in to law.

Equally important is the need to appreciate the intimate link between public policy and its ecological contexts. In fact, public policy in terms of content and practice, is usually engraved with the imprint of the environment. Each environment has its own set of socio-politico-economic dynamics which interact to either facilitate or disable sound policy-making in the political entity. Implied here is that public policy-making is inherently embedded in the politics of its environments. An analysis on public policy-making in any country inevitably raises fundamental questions on the nature of the state politics.

Many authors organize policy analysis into frameworks. Generally, policy analysis frameworks identify key policy elements vital to understanding and, or judging a policy (Theo Jans, 2007:3). The specific elements and the approach taken in evaluating the elements differ depending on the model. The frameworks presented here are discussed in terms of policy analysis; however, they are also applicable to program analysis. Two frameworks have been as most similar to the task at hand, the Popple and Leighninger (2004) and the Andrew W. Dobelstein (2002).

Popple and Leighninger (2004), model systematically focuses on all dimensions of policy. The framework includes the following elements:

- i. *Delineation and overview of the policy under analysis;*
- ii. *Historical analysis;*
- iii. *Social analysis;*
- iv. *Economic analysis;*
- v. *Political analysis;*
- vi. *Policy/program evaluation; and*
- vii. *Current proposals for policy reform.*

(Popple and Leighninger, 2004:35-37).

The first element, delineation and overview of the policy, focuses on the nature and definition of the problem being targeted. The historical analysis looks at earlier policies and the development of the policy over time. The social analysis includes the problem description, social values related to the problem, and goals of the policy. Economic analysis addresses the effects and potential effects of the policy on the functioning of the economy as a whole, as well as on behaviors of individuals, firms, and markets and opportunity cost or cost/benefit analysis. Political analysis focuses on the major stakeholders and the decision-making process during implementation. Policy/program evaluation includes outcomes, unintended consequences, and questions about cost effectiveness (Popple and Leighninger, 2004).

Andrew W. Dobelstein (2002) posits that policy analysis guides policy making activity to appropriate conclusions. His framework draws heavily from social science knowledge and research methods and includes the following elements:

1. *Identifying, understanding, or clarifying the problem;*
2. *Identifying the location for policy decision;*
3. *Specifying possible solutions (alternatives); and*
4. *Estimating or predicting the impact (outcomes) of those solutions on different populations.*

(Dobelstein, 2002:76)

The following segment provides a brief explanation of Dobelstein's approach. The primary purpose of policy is to resolve problems, so an important component of policy analysis is problem identification. The definition of a problem usually determines how it is resolved so it is critical to identify the origin, scope, and pervasiveness of the problem in order to understand the policy presented. The second step of policy analysis is to locate the place of policy decisions such as the legislature or courts. With an understanding of the location, it is essential to know that the place determines the character of analysis and policy. For instance, federal and state policies will differ greatly from administrative policies. Alternatives are explored to understand the choices available for addressing the normative issues inherent in the problem. Looking at the alternatives, they allow the exploration of the impact and unintended effects of social policy, making up the fourth component of policy analysis. There is no certainty about predictions of the future state of affairs and the actual impact may differ from predictions due to value conflicts and differences in normative views. However,

understanding potential effects on existing circumstances can be beneficial in analyzing specific policies and their alternatives (Dobelstein, 2002).

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

Research design is defined as a master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing needed information and a framework for the research plan of action (Zikmund et al. 2012:7). This is a qualitative research study, which used mostly secondary data collected from university libraries, academic journals, books, discussion papers, and online articles. Qualitative research was ideal, because of its nature to exploring the aspect of social life in depth by situating a studying in a particular social setting (Yin, 2009). Qualitative research uses an inductive approach, which means that a conclusion is arrived at by observing a certain phenomenon (Bryman, 2004). Thus, qualitative research tries to grasp the importance that people attach to the environment they live in. Through qualitative research, the researcher was able to triangulate sources of data in order to increase the scope and reliability of the assertions and assumptions made.

1.10.2 Theoretical Framework

According to Saunders et al, (2007:3) a research philosophy represents a researcher's perception on the way knowledge is constructed. There are three acknowledged research philosophies dealing with a distinctive view on how knowledge is advanced, these are positivism, interpretivism and realism.

Public policy analysis is not merely a technical functional of government alone, but rather other stakeholders like the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are important and citizen participation plays a pivotal role also. Disregard of the complex interactive processes involved, policies are influenced by the diverse nature of socio-politico-economic and the environment, but it's a democratic right of citizen participation.

The research incorporated a theory that has been used in evaluating socio-economic development. The theory which is going to be used in this research is the "*basic needs approach to development*". This is an approach that can be traced to initiatives by the World Bank in the late 1970s to create a development policy framework in developing

countries that would alleviate poverty. This approach was grounded on a realization that development needs in poor countries were peculiar, and that different approaches were needed, in comparison with developed nations.

Basically, the basic needs approach starts from the premise that developmental policy must enable the poor to earn or obtain their “*basic needs*”, like food, shelter water and clothing. The primary objective of meeting basic needs brings to a development strategy a heightened concern with the satisfaction of some elementary needs of the whole population. The explicit adoption of this objective helps gear production, investment, income, and employment policies to meet the needs of the poor in a cost effective manner and within a specific time frame.

The emphasis on making the poor more productive has remained an important component of the basic needs approach. Its distinct contribution consists in deepening the income measure of poverty by adding physical estimates of the particular goods and services required to realize certain results, such as adequate standards of nutrition, health, shelter, water and sanitation, education, and other essentials. Thus, the basic needs approach represents a stage in the evolution of analysis and policy. The country and sector studies conducted by the World Bank made important contributions to the formulation of such a program. The country studied in particular provided special insights into the problems of poverty and the dimensions of deprivation in each country emerged from them.

The complex question of whether a conflict exists between basic needs and growth has not been conclusively answered. What appeared clear is that better education, nutrition, and health are beneficial in reducing fertility, raising labor and productivity, enhancing people's adaptability and capacity for change, and creating a political environment for stable development. The more pressing basic needs can be met successfully even at quite low levels of income per head, without sacrificing economic growth. The country studied showed that even in the short-term there is considerable scope for improving basic needs performance by the better management of resources. It is evident that the redirection of policies toward meeting basic needs often requires major changes in the power balance in a society. The most important aspect of the World Bank's basic needs work program was the sector studies, which helped identify several operational policy issues (**Source:** <http://www.ponline.org/node/> .)

There is a plethora of literature on public policy that depict elites negatively as inclined to act exclusively out of self-interest and that elites hardly propose policies that

diminishes their power and influence. In other words, it is hard for elites to do anything positive for the poor because “... *This means depriving the rich and powerful*” (Moore and Putzel, 1999). On the other side, there is equally extent literature that argues that there are “*mutual dependencies*” between the interests of the poor and those of the elites (Kalebe-Nyamongo, 2010; Hossain and Moore, 2002). In other words, elites can, and sometimes do act, in the interest of the poor although their own self-interests are accommodated and guaranteed in development processes.

1.10.3 Collection of data

In pursuant of gathering relevant information concerning the promotion of sustainable development through government programmes, the researcher made use of secondary data collection as introduced above. Documentary analysis and thematic analysis was used. The research was enhanced by articles from the internet, journals, books and websites. Zimbabwe was used as a case study, were the researcher recognizes intense debates and materials regarding public policy from 2000 to 2015. Limited information has been availed regarding the policy framework of Zimbabwe, the researcher will fill the void by analysing various researches and spell it out clearly.

1.10.4 Analysis of data

Documentary analysis was seen as a useful method to gather data on public policy. Burn (2000) suggested that documents can be used to corroborate evidence from other sources and specify events and issues in greater detail. However, Burn (2000) cautioned that documents as sources of evidence may not be accurate and may contain bias and specific points of view which must be questioned.

To limit these questions, this study makes use of thematic analysis also to analyze data. Thematic analysis is usually employed as method of data analysis in qualitative research and it is mainly used to analyzing secondary data. Braun and Clarke (2006:35), pointed out that: “*a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the reserach questions and represent some level of patterned response or meaning with the data set*”. It systemizes and explains data in detail, thematic analysis also interprets diverse features of the research topic. The theoretical position is made clear by using thematic analysis. A well researched thematic analysis, will make transparent the assumptions about the nature of data and what researcher wanted to find out (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This shows that thematic analysis requires more participation and valuable in capture the difficulties of meaning with documucated data. Since this

research relies mostly on secondary data, thematic analysis will be the prime method of analysing and interpreting the data.

1.11 Contribution to Literature

By analyzing the Zimbabwean public policy framework, the study ascertains whether the framework is substantive and promote fairness and equity among the citizens. The study is motivated by the desire to understand the dynamics involved in public policy formulation and implementation in promoting sustainable socio-economic development. It seeks to outline the mismatch between the theory normally which are advocated by government intended effectiveness and impacts on one hand and the pragmatic practices which have been used by the government demonstrative results from past and current initiatives on the other hand.

CHAPTER 2

POLICY FORMULATION IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 An Overview of Zimbabwe Policy Framework - The Sociopolitical Discourse on Policy

The type of Government has a causal effect on socio-economic performance. A number of scholars have written on this subject in an endeavor to establish a causal relationship between policy and development. There are various and diverse analytic propositions on the subject. Some scholars have attempted to downplay this correlation. However, prevalent view is that a type of governance has an effect on GDP hence the correlation between policy and development. Generally, it has been argued that states with authoritarian political system are thus anticipated not to grow as rapidly as democracies. Democracies systems are believed to have positive influence on the socio-economic development patterns, for example, greater stability, human rights and extensive property rights. On the other hand, there is China, a country that has experienced and successive years of socio-economic growth and rapid industrialization albeit under one-party and authoritarian rule. The Zimbabwe socio-political discourse has been fashioned along the Chinese model, which can be referred to as authoritarian capitalism.

Form the onset, the notion of authoritarian capitalism, seems oxymoronic, since entrepreneurship in an authoritarian environment is contradictory. However, if the term is understood as a hybrid model, and from the definition of authoritarianism, then one can perceive this as an environment that has a strong Government that guides its people in certain ways, but that allows the people a certain measure of freedom in the deployment of their resources. According to Laurence (2009), “*authoritarian capitalism is the introduction of a free market system into countries which are ruled by a non-elected and or usually autocratic Government.*” Policies are introduced on a “top-down” basis from a tight political oligarchy. Thus, an authoritarian capitalist setting would have economic control shared between Government and the people, while the lion’s share of control held by Government. The need to redress the skewed ownership of productive assets gave rise to the process of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) Programmes at the aftermath of the imposed sanctions, which the ZANU PF Government took to varying degrees. These BEE Programmes initiatives has been reported to increase the role of those played by the previously marginalized population groups in the mainstream economy and to correct imbalances in resource

ownerships construed as a major cause of vulnerability and obstacle to socioeconomic growth and sustainable development. Thus, the Indigenization of the economy of Zimbabwe which other regarded as part of Third Chimurenga. The policy constituted the Land Reform Programmes and the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act of 2008, (IEE Act), and the Community Share Ownership Trust.

Nevertheless the controversial noble act has been dismissed by many as a statutory instrument designed to suit the interest of the politician elitist, contrary to assurance that it seek to empower ordinary citizens. There are also those who argue that these BEE Programmes policies were only used to position individuals in political spheres to allow them to penetrate the country's resources. The Indigenization Policy has been used by ZANU PF Government; the elite, in order to commit or justify acts of socio-economic banditry, expropriation and unfair practices. In terms of Community Share Ownership Trust, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) was made compulsory. Mabena (2013), argue that these CSR Programmes have made it legally in Zimbabwe, for companies and organizations to undergo double taxation because they pay Corporate Taxes; this tax is levied in terms of the Income Tax Act (Chapter 23:06), and the same time donating huge amounts of seed capital to CSOT. However, the success of the CSR Programmes initiatives have been sabotaged by companies and organizations, because of lack of trust in the "Top-down" approach by the ZANU PF Government.

From the definition of authoritarian capitalism provided above, one can deduce that Zimbabwe is gradually descending to totally assuming the status of an authoritarian capitalist state. Authoritarian capitalism in Zimbabwe can be understood in the context of failure and unwillingness to implement provisions in the Constitution, particularly those addressing civil and political liberties and socioeconomic rights while attempting to address socio-economic competitiveness of the economy at the behest of the International Monetary Fund's Staff Monitored Programme.

These IMF Staff Monitored Programme seeks among other things to:

“Improve Zimbabwe's repayment capacity and demonstrate that it can implement reforms that could justify a Fund-financial arrangement, which could help tackle the country's deep-rooted problems. The Zimbabwean authorities remain committed to implementing sound macroeconomic and structural policies.”

Efforts towards socioeconomic liberation were also articulated in President R. G. Mugabe's state of the nation address delivered on 25 August 2015. The state of the

nation address enunciated a 10 point plan focusing on; revitalizing agriculture and the agro-processing value chain; advancing beneficiation and/or value addition to the agricultural and mining resource endowment; focusing on infrastructure development, particularly in the key Energy, Water, Transport and ICTs subsectors; unlocking the potential of small medium enterprises; encouraging private sector investment; restoration and building of confidence and stability in the financial services sector; promoting joint ventures and public partnership to boost the role and performance of state owned companies; modernizing labour laws; pursuing an anti-corruption thrust and implementation of Special Economic Zones to provide the impetus for foreign direct investment.

The 17 July 2015 Supreme Court ruling which led to the modification of labour laws can also be viewed in the context of socio-economic liberalization and the quest to improve ease of doing business.

Zimbabwe's socio-political authoritarian nature has manifested in its human rights record, which by all standards is in liability. The Freedom House 2015 index ranked Zimbabwe as “*not free*” on civil liberties, political rights and press freedom. The 2014 Ibrahim Index of Africa Governance ranked Zimbabwe 42 out of 52 African countries for protecting human rights. The electoral politics of Zimbabwe also exhibit strong authoritarian nuances leading literature to classify Zimbabwe as a competitive authoritarian regime.

2.2 The Crisis Era (2000 – 2008)

The period was characterized by macro-economic instability and sour international relations which resulted in international isolation. The corporate sector continued to shrink as a result of political instability and unpredictable legislations that had negative repercussions on investments. In addition to increasing political repression, Zimbabwe experienced an economic crisis, as cumulative real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell sharply by 40 percent. There was sky rocketing inflation rates that were fueled by Government's quasi-fiscal activities in an increase in production cost and a slow industrial growth business was no longer profitable. Hyperinflation peaked at 500 million percent in December, and nominal GDP stood at a mere US\$35 million in 2009. Living standards and life expectancy for the estimated population of 13 million fell more rapidly than anywhere else in the world; for men fell to 37 years and 34 for women. The country's external debt was estimated at US\$6.9 billion at the end of 2010.

In 2008, Zimbabwe experienced a budget deficit of estimated at more than 200 percent of GDP, and had the world's worst credit rating. In addition, the country faced the world's most serious skills exodus, with between 3 million and 4 million people leaving the country; foreign earnings fell from US\$3.6 billion in 1995 to US\$1.3 billion in 2008.

External aid crumbled in the wake of sanctions imposed by the IMF, the World Bank, and other Western donors in 2000. Aid misallocation, non-repayments, and the country's deteriorating political climate were among some of the key reasons for the suspension of funding and other assistance to Zimbabwe. By 2002, the IMF withdrew the provision of technical assistance, and by 2003, it suspended the country's voting rights in the organization.

In his book, *Zimbabwe's lost Decade: Politics, Development & Society*, Lloyd Sachikonye (2012), examined the growing political protests from a range of actors which led to both the emergence of the MDC and ultimately the transition to what he called an authoritarian predatory state, during the 2000 – 2008 era. His examination of the economic features of that era – from the reliance on quasi-fiscal activities of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe to the proliferation of informalized economic activities, is particularly insightful. Moreover, he showed the overall decline of agricultural production due to the chaotic and violent processes of land redistribution and the adverse ramifications on the wider economy, and on food security. Such devastation to the economy and let alone political persecution of MDC members, during periods of electoral contestation, all contributed to the decision for many Zimbabweans to flight to neighboring countries. In addition to these socioeconomic consequences, there was a cultural shift, from increasing pressures on the family, growth in importance of religion, and aim of the ZANU PF elite to cultivate through media and political practices an emphasis on traditional authority and patriarchy, let alone developing a “*personality cult*” around President Mugabe.

During the same era, the Zimbabwean Government forcibly acquired commercial farmlands 10.8 million hectares out of the total 12.3 million hectares. The impetus for the massive land redistribution has been argued by many as a combination to attempts by the ZANU PF Government to stave off the ever growing support for the MDC before the June 2000 parliamentary election through supporting occupations of white farmer owned commercial farms led by veterans of the “*Second Chimurenga*”. The ZANU PF Government embarked on a Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) Programme, with the use of the “war vets” and historic and deep-seated demands by many black Zimbabweans to readdress the inequalities inherited from colonial era policies which

had awarded and reserved the best agricultural land to the white minority, whilst camping the black majority in poor native reserves lands. The ZANU PF Government undertook this land retracement agenda under the banner of Fast Track Land Reform Programme, thus commencement of the “*third Chimurenga*”. Prosper Matondi (2012), provided incredibly analysis of the whole range of aspects of the FTLRP. Unlike the critics of the processes, Matondi points out that even though an elite tied to ZANU PF gained from the, “*haphazard processes of land distribution, at the same time many poor Zimbabweans also have benefitted in terms of gaining access to land and the redistribution should not be reversed.*”

On the contrary his key argument were the insecurities for the new farmers generated through the lack of tenure hampers productivity gains. He states that the politicized and haphazard FTLRP led to many extra-legal bodies to influence access to land and the security of tenure, which he said undermined state institutions:

the state and its local protégés (War Veterans, the ruling party authorities and technical bureaucrats) have retained control over what happens on the FTFs (Fast Track Farms) . . . This means that the ability of Government officials to provide technically sound advice, extension services and regulation of land rights was curtailed, and there was nowhere to turn to for recourse, as the top levels of leadership in Government, who were also politicians, undermined their officials’ effectiveness (p. 98).

Such insecurity, as argued by Matondi, helped undermine food production, employment creation and foreign currency generation, contemptuously disregard of various strategies deployed by both the Government and smallholders to adjust and minimize the greatest reduction in production in Zimbabwe’s agro-economy history.

The highlight of this period were the massive mismanagement of socio-economic policies, capital flight, reduced foreign direct investment, years of excessive money supply creation and quasi fiscal spending by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, and humanitarian aid supported society.

2.3 The Government Of National Unity Era and After (2008 -2015)

In view of the developments of 2000 – 2008 crisis era, the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed between ZANU PF and the two MDC parties (the one led by Mr. M

Tsvangirai and another smaller one after the party fractured), in September 2008 and implemented in February 2009. The GPA provided the blueprint for “Unity Government” and aimed to provide socioeconomic stability and to ensure political peace prevailed in the country. The GPA identified the restoration of economic stability and growth as a key issue to be addressed by Zimbabwe’s new power-sharing Government. The Government of National Unity (GNU), developed and launched a Short-Term Economic Recovery Plan (STERP), which was aimed to for implementation within 100 days. Hyperinflation was curbed, and capacity use in the manufacturing and service sector improved. But fundamental challenges relating to constrained infrastructural capacity, insufficient foreign currency reserves, inadequate investment, skills shortages, a restricted tax base, and poor liquidity, continued to blight the economy, which also faced persistent corruption and high levels of poverty and unemployment. The introduction of the multi-currency system in 2009 brought some stability to the economy as there was an increase in GDP. Due to the measures put in place resuscitate the manufacturing sector, industrial capacity rose to more than 30 percent.

The need to address these and other challenges led to the formulation of the Medium-Term Plan (MTP) 2010 – 2015, which sought to steer the country towards sustainable growth, rebuild its human capital, revive employment, and reverse the decline in social indicators. The GNU had estimated a need of US\$10 billion a year for these reconstruction effects. Contrary to widespread expectations within Zimbabwe following the signing of the GPA in 2008, the GNU was not able to fully attract significant funds from Western donors and China. Nevertheless financial support from external donors and international organizations was vital as they funded some of the reconstruction projects and economic recovery plans. Between 2008 and 2009, it is estimated that US\$760 million of such assistance was estimated to have been disbursed. The GNU, in May 2009, launched a coordination policy, based on the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005, in other to provide a coherent framework for interaction between the Government and its external partners on such support.

Due to poor governance; widespread politically motivated violence and arrests; and a failure to adhere to bilateral deals protecting external investments; and delays in implementing policies on issues agreed under the GPA such as media freedom; respect of human rights and rule of law; a land audit and mining standards among others, forced external assistance to be distributed mainly through non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) and UN agencies, and not directly through the Government.

The Government's efforts to increase revenue collection also failed to deal effectively with the continued national budget deficits. Allegations of corruption remained the main news in both the private and public media. Proceeds from the mining sector continued to be area of conflicts among the key stakeholders with little information about the actual amounts of revenue coming to the Treasury remaining a mystery. Furthermore, the period also saw the revenue authorities failing to tap the potential revenue from the informal sector.

The Zimbabwe Government adopted the policy document named "Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET)", which is aimed to run from October 2013 to December 2018. The policy is said to have been formulated by senior Government officials through consultations from various ministries, business community and private sector, however it was used by ZANU PF as its 2013 elections toolkit. The policy documents recognizes the continued existence of illegal sanctions, subversive activities and interference in the country's internal affairs by some hostile countries. Therefore there it points out need to come up with sanctions busting strategies and to put emphasis on reliance on local funding for the plan. The so labeled '*Blueprint*', projects that the economy will grow by an average of 7.3 percent, improve by 3.4 percent in 2013, 6.1 percent in 2014 and continue on an upward growth trajectory to 9.9 percent by 2018.

2.4 The Politics of Policy

In the book, "*Logic of Political Survival*", by De Mesquita (2003) observe that leaders who produce corruption, war and misery often remain in office for long periods, while those who produce peace and prosperity are often out of office after only a short time. Seeking to describe this phenomenon, they developed a theory of political survival that explains incentives to rulers, using two key characteristics of a polity's institutions: the size of the selectorate (S), and the winning coalition (W). These factors were used to generate a broad set of predictions concerning the type of policies rulers pursue and give explanations for the compatibility of harmful policies (Smith & De Mesquita, 2009).

The selectorate can be defined as a set of people with a say in choosing leaders and with a prospect of gaining access to special privileges doled out by leaders, and winning coalition is the subgroup of the selectorate who maintain incumbents in office and in exchange receive special privileges (Hoogeveen, 2011). According to the selectorate

theory, all political systems have two institutional characteristics that describe how they select and retain leaders (De Mesquita et al, 2003). The theory also argues that state provide two types of goods: public goods and private goods. Public goods are goods and services available to all members of the selectorate, for example, roads, economic growth, winning wars (Clarke & Stone, 2006). Private goods, on the other hand, are available, exclusively; to the winning coalition, and these include money, power, and prestige (Radu, 2012).

The theory also focuses on how the two factors govern the selection of leaders and their influence on taxing and spending decisions, leadership turnover, social welfare, and institutional change. It also probes the correlation between institutions for selecting leaders and such factors as economic growth, corruption, property rights, revolution, regime change, oppression, selection of core institutions of governance, and many more (Fredriksson & Svensson, 2003).

The major assumption of the theory is that leaders face multiple threats to their political survival, and survival is that primary objective of political leaders. In addition to surviving the threats to tenure from within the existing political systems, leaders risk begin deposed through coup (De Mesquita et al. 2003). The selectorate theory also examines how political institutions and the structure of Government finances allow leaders to contend with various depositions risk. Leaders can be removed by forces within the extant political system (Gallagher & Thacker, 2008), or, alternatively, by mass political movements such as revolutions, which seek to sweep away the existing system and replace it with a more inclusive one. Tests for leader's survival indicate that revolutionary threats increase the likelihood of deposition for nondemocratic leaders (Gallagher & Jonathon, 2009). Leaders with access to resources such as foreign aid or natural resource rents are best equipped to survive these threats. Thus each political leader faces the challenge of how to hold on to power (Radu, 2012). The strategy behind survival in office is the true essence of politics. The desire to stay in power motivates the selection of policies and allocation of benefits; thus all actions taken by political leaders are deliberate and in line with their desire to retain power (Fredriksson & Svensson, 2003).

Ruler's desire power first and foremost and they also gain utility from any Government revenues not spent on either public or private goods. De Mesquita et al (2003), focus is on those political incentives and institutions that encourage or discourage leaders from promoting socioeconomic policies that are conducive to growth and general social welfare (De Mesquita et al, 2003). The theory argues that political leaders are self-

interested, and that their actions are chosen to be politically beneficial to themselves. Bad socioeconomic policies are not discouraged, as long they benefit the leader to extend his/her tenure in office (Gallagher & Thacker, 2008).

The outcome of the policy, as seen in Zimbabwe, has been dire to the socio-economic development of the country. Instead of creating jobs, the so called Black Socio-economic Empowerment Programmes, have seen massive capital flight from investors and closure of operations by many companies who refused to comply with the policies, mostly with the Indigenization and Economy Empowerment Act of 2008. The majority of those who acquired portions of land from Government (A2 farms) were top officials from the ruling ZANU PF; also a majority, if not all of those given A1 farms were strong ZANU PF card-carrying and long serving members (Mabhena, 2012). This may as well be a sign of the Mugabe 36 year old administration conforming to the selectorate theory; where resources were allocated to his king-makers, with the intention of enhancing their prospects of retaining power.

As the coalition size increased, it became increasingly expensive and difficult for the Mugabe Administration to reward their coalition through private rewards. Therefore, it shifted towards public goods provisions. Due to the country's diverse socio-economic contexts and situations, scripted the early development of diamond mining at Chiadzwa. The discovery of diamonds in Chiadzwa occurred when the economic crisis was taking a turn for the worst and political crisis of legitimacy associated with the ruling ZANU PF party, worsening. The Mugabe administration and its high ranking party officials, mostly for the military, were quick to get involved and secretly managed the extraction and criminative smuggling of the resources. The discovery of diamonds led to violent and military expulsion of villagers and illegal miners and the same time it violently and irregularly, displacing local communities and legal title holders (Saunders, 2011).

The selectorate theory is supported by the elitist political theory, which suggest that global and local societies are under the control of big organizations such as the state and that their leaders are constantly deciding about their future, just like what was done in the 1890 scramble of Africa. The elites include top business, Government and military leaders, along with leaders of parties and other politically influential and hierarchically structured organizations and movements (Higley & Pakulski, 2008). The outcomes are that, they affect the basic stability or instability of political regimes, the forms and workings of political institutions, and the main policies followed by national Government (Higley & Burton, 2006).

In Zimbabwe, the elitist theory has openly manifested by the showing-off criminalized political networks, security and business tycoons, who have converged and accumulated themselves around opportunities arising from the so called '*Mega deals*' on behalf of the state and Government. These minority decision-makers are deciding what ought to be for the majority. Thus, dividing the society into two groups; (a), the elite, exercising control and determining how the state should be governed, and (b), the masses, governed and in total submission to the statutes of the elites, the minority. Which they have done by formulating strong rules and restrictions in order to maintain, return and safeguard power, and also avoiding political competitions.

2.5 Major Milestones in Zimbabwe's Policy System

In August 2001, the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP), was launched to address the continuing decline in economic performance through price stabilization, exchange rate stabilization and protection of the vulnerable groups. After the MERP was implemented, there was no upturn in the socio-economic indicators, the main reason being loss of macro-economic balance due to the size and nature of the budget.

February 2003, the National Economic Revival Programme (NERP), was launched to provide inter alia, humanitarian support to supplement the poor and ever falling agricultural produce, attributed to the long term drought. The NER Programme revolved around the land reform and redistribution programme, which was aimed at redressing the skewed distribution of the land and providing farms for landless black majority. Due to lack of significant agricultural output reaped from the distributed land, the success of this policy is still debatable.

Then, there was Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP), which was a short-term socio-economic stabilization programme. Its key goals were to stabilize the micro and macro-economy, recover the levels of savings, investment and growth, and lay the basis of a more transformative mid-term to long term economic programme that supposed to turn Zimbabwe into a progressive developmental country. The programme was part of implementation of the GPA and aimed to address the key issues of socioeconomic stabilization and, by laying the foundation of a more comprehensive national healing process and developmental socioeconomic framework.

The key priority area of STERP was political and governance reform (Constitution and the making processes reform, media reform, legislation reform), such issues were

intended at strengthening transparency and accountability, promote good governance and democracy, and rule of law whilst promoting equality and fairness, mostly gender. Implementation of a growth oriented recovery programme, was seen as paramount to the restoration of the value of the local currency. By so doing, it would guarantee its stability and increasing its capacity utilization in all sectors of the economy, by ensuring availability of all essential goods and services mostly food, fuel, electricity, water and at the sometime rehabilitation of collapsed social, health and education sectors.

During the tenure of the inclusive Government, the Medium-Term Plan (MTP) which was expected to run until 2015 was consummated. The MTP required an approximate of nearly US\$10 billion for its full implementation, but served a massive setback due to lack of donor support, which it was premised on. MTP aimed at growth of the economy by 7 percent between 2011 and 2015, to increase FDI levels up to 25 percent of GDP by 2016 and maintain a single digit inflation rate. Among other things it failed to meet most of the target between 2011 and 2012, and it was dropped.

Lastly, Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET), by the time of this analysis the implementation of this policy document is still underway, since it is for 2013-2018. The policy is built around four strategic clusters, which are: Food Security and Nutrition; Social Services and Poverty Eradication; Infrastructure and Utilizes; and Value Addition and Beneficiation. Given the resources constraints, the Government should come up with robust and prudent Fiscal monetary policy to buttress and boost the implementation of this Blueprint. Nevertheless there is hope that its modification will exist to guide economic activity for the targeted timeframe. The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe and Head of State and Government had this to say in a speech:

In pursuit of a new trajectory of accelerated economic growth and wealth creation, my Government has formulated a new plan known as the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET): October 2013 – December 2018. ZIMASSET was crafted to achieve sustainable development and social equity anchored on indigenization, empowerment and employment creation which will be largely propelled by the judicious exploitation of the country's abundant and human resources.

2.6 Zimbabwe Policy Framework; its inequitable and unfairness

Under authoritarian capitalism, the Government is bound to enforce absolutism, a system whereby there is unlimited authority to the ruler, whether it is a hereditary monarchy or not. In Zimbabwe it took the form for a '*Constitutional President*', whereby in Chapter 5, Section 88, of the Constitution:

- 1) *Executive authority derives from the people of Zimbabwe and must be exercised in accordance with this Constitution.*
- 2) *The executive authority of Zimbabwe vests in the President who exercises it, subject to this Constitution, through the Cabinet.*

Section 89 goes on to outline the position of the President in the executive, as “... *Head of State and Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces.*” (The Zimbabwe Constitution: 2013). The President’s absolutism is necessity assisted by ministers and officials, whom alone the President appoints and can dismiss at his own liking (Section 104, 105, 110). With the Traditional Leaders Act (2001) still in practice, as an absolute ruler, the Mugabe regime has not broken any old rules, customs and traditions. This Act “... *provide for the appointment of village heads, headmen and chiefs; to provide for the establishment of a Council of Chiefs and village, ward and provincial assemblies and to define their functions...*”, but it is the President who appoints Chiefs. Faced with this dilemma, chieftainships and rural settlers, have been the anchor of the ZANU PF long standing reign, rural areas are its support base.

The Social Welfare Assistance Act (2001), was enacted with the intent to provide for grants to person in need and their dependents, but due to massive mismanagement and bad governance, the government has not been able to meet its end of the bargain and has failed to account for the beneficiaries. The enactment of such act like the Public Order and Security Act (2004), Censorship and Entertainment Control Act (2001), were crafted and implemented with the intent to impose censorship on writing and speaking; newspapers and broadcasting networks, and the holding of meetings and the forming of associations was strictly regulated. These Acts were enacted without any public consultancy, and the government has not amended them, so they aline with the 2013 Constitution.

2.7 The State Que of ZANU PF Government Policy Positions

Levitsky and Way (2010); Przeworski et al. (2000); and Svobik (2012), argue that the term authoritarianism dictatorship, and autocracy are used interchangeably to indicate “a political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small elite that is not constitutionally responsible to the body of the people.” Levitsky and Way (2010:5) define competitive authoritarian regimes in electoral teams as

civilian regimes in which formal democratic institutions exist and are widely viewed as the primary means gaining power, but in which incumbents’ abuse of the places them at significant advantage vis-a’-vis their opponents. Such regimes are competitive in that opposition parties use democratic institutions to contest seriously for power, but they are not democratic because the playing field is heavily skewed in favor of incumbents. Competition is thus real but unfair.

Additionally, opposition forces used democratic institutions to contest for political space and at times successfully for power. However, these regimes are not democratic. Government critics experience harassment, arrest, and in some cases, violent attacks, as in the case of Itai Dzamara, an Activist who was abducted and has been missing ever since. Electoral fraud, unfair media access, and abuse of state resources are rife. The electoral playing field is heavily skewed in favor of incumbents (electoral act amendments). In other words, competition is allowed but the extent to which it is allowed is dependent on the incumbent who is both the referee and participant

CHAPTER 3

POLICY CHALLENGES

3.1 An Overview of Zimbabwe Policy Challenges

Zimbabwe has undergone a very long phase of socio-economic hardships, suffering due to a political system that served to favor the minority: political elite. Zimbabwe has migrated from being a socialist state to become more of an ‘*Authoritarian capitalist*’ state; and the prospects of it succeeding at a policy level has been undermined by its inherent challenges.

Due to its elitist nature, the minority, politically powerful interest groups have penetrated and manipulated the open public policy-making process by using their influence to produce socially inefficient policies. The policy-making process in Zimbabwe has been characterized by a lot of challenges, which explains why certain policies have not been formulated for example, Zimbabwe still has the 1961 colonial Mines and Mineral Act which has been amended 48 times, which has proven to be outdated and inadequate to deal with contemporary challenges in the mining sector. Uncertainties surrounding the exact nature of future governing and institutional framework and socio-economic policies have already slowed economic activity and negatively impacted investment, derailing sustainable development.

Some of these challenges have been encountered at the various stages of the policy cycle, thus, delaying in finalization of policies, for example the “*Zimbabwe Agricultural Policy Framework: 1995 to 2020*”, was hijacked by the ‘*War Vets*’ in the early 2000’s to fuel the 3rd Chimurenga – Land Reform and Redistribution, whilst, at the same time others have died at the agenda setting stage. Zimbabwe lack the proper governance for creating and sustaining a socio-economic policy, and this has been the main obstacle in guaranteeing real, smooth and stable transitions from its veteran government system to a more liberal democratic government system.

Furthermore, socio-political transformations in Zimbabwe has been derailed due to deficiency of representation of real opportunities for positive reforms and reconsideration of development priorities, notably regarding social justice and job creation and adoption of pro-poor policies in the context of sustainable development. Socio-economic policies depends on commonly shared perspective across a majority of

actors in the society, political leadership, and a complement of bottom-top innovation networks.

The study discovered that, the relationship in the structure between the agents and institutions have been working against the development of sensible policies founded on good comprehensive socio-economic intellectual. The nonexistence of such policy-making initiatives in Zimbabwe has affected the success of authoritarian capitalism. These budding policy challenges and significant vulnerabilities which remain are addressed, the country has the potential to be self-reliant in its sustainable social and economic development matrix.

3.2 Policy Exemptions and Motives

As a way to attract investment and facilitate trade resulting from economic instability and negative growth since the 2000's after the Land Reform and Redistribution, the government anchored development on PPP (Public-Private Partnerships) and Special Economic Zones (SEZ). The Public-Private Partnerships policy document was crafted in 2004, its goal was;

To promote sustainable economic growth and development through mutual collaboration between the government and the private sector in the efficient management and operation of infrastructure and other development project in the country (GoZ Report, 2004).

The policy documents outlines various forms of PPPs such as the management contract, leasing concessions and through de-monopolization, among others which can be subscribed, for wide sectors comprising, water, energy, transportation and telecommunications.

To protect the interest of the investors and the consumers, the policy provided the parameters for the development of an applicable legal and regulatory structure. In an endeavor to incentivize the private sector interest, the government out-rolled a number of incentives on a case-by-case basis including duty exemptions and tax holidays. Charles Massimo (2014), sees these PPPs as a noble idea which if well implemented should bring investment in zones traditionally reserved for the public sector, *“especially at a time like now when the Government is financially handicapped”*.

The indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act, is a piece of legislation that has done a little of both promote exemptions and motive. It states that in the mining sector,

foreign investors have to relinquish 51 percent shareholdings to locals, while in the manufacturing it is set at 40 percent to the locals. The Essar deal for example, was a deliberate act of omission as the Indian company had a stake that was more than the stipulated 49 percent ownership, just as has become of the so called “*Mega Deals.*”

Then there is the Special Economic Zone (SEZ), a direct attack to the IEE Act, which is the Government’s affirmative law crafted deliberately to bring locals into the mainstream economy, whilst these zones “*specific modern economic zones*”, where business and trade laws differ from the rest of the country, are aimed at increasing trade, investment and job creation. As an act of encouragement and inspiration to investors, those operating in these SEZs have been exempted from the provisions of the IEE Act and the Labour Act and also at the sometime encouraging investors to set-up in designated economic spheres where financial policies are introduced which are not applicable to other economic spheres. Policy adjustment in these zones is linked to investment, taxation, trading, quotas, customs and labour regulations, and also tax holidays.

3.3 Policy Gap

As a developing third world country, Zimbabwe’s socio-economic and even political landscape has experienced progressive and retrogressive development over the past one and half decade. The internal and external attributes to these developments have pushed the ZANU PF led Government to operation in a reactive mode, which has not been able to deal with day to day evolving issues, which diverged away from the defined policies. Due to its reactive approach to development, the ZANU PF Government, has inherent and natured policy loopholes, which have not just undermining the achievements of the 3rd Chimurenga, but the whole struggle. Sustainable, adequate and stable policies play a critical role in enabling government to deliver public utilities and promote overall socio-economic development.

3.3.1 Corruption

The 2015 Corruption Perceptions Index report by Transparency International concluded that Zimbabwe is the 150 least corrupt nation after its assessment of 175 countries. The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be, in Zimbabwe the police was rated to be the most corrupt followed by political parties, Parliament/legislature, public officials/civil servants and the

judiciary.

(<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/zimbabwe/corruption-rank>)

The Minister of Finance during the GNU, Mr. Tendai Biti, in 2011 made a claim that diamond-related revenue worth US\$1 billion owed to the national treasury was unaccounted for. The lack of transparency for the systematic underselling of diamonds and the failure to recoup losses and also misappropriation of revenue was linked to very serious high level bureaucratic corruptive nature of the governance system. The very fact that those who benefitted from the “*Land Reform and Redistribution Programme*” have also continued to do so from the “*Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Programme*” colludes with Matunhu (2012), argument the wealth of the nation has only been transferred from the minority whites to the minority ZANU PF elites.

3.3.2 Alignment

There are several pieces of legislation which the government should consider to align to the new Constitution adopted in 2013, the researcher pin-pointed a few which should enhance social development (Section 57; 61; 62; 64). Section 57 of the Constitution guarantees a right to privacy, which also includes the right not to have the privacy of one’s communications infringed. Section 61, guarantees media and academic freedom of expression, Section 62 guarantees citizens and permanent residents right to information held by the Government and Section 64, gives everyone the right to choose and carry on any professions, trade or occupation.

In support of alignment, the government has not amended nor has it changed the legislation to tally with the constitution. The Broadcasting Services Act which supports the formation of the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe, has not been able to represent the opinions for every Zimbabwean both local and abroad. The Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe lacks political neutrality, fairness and freedom, it has been the vehicle for propaganda to the rural marginalized populace by the ZANU PF Government.

The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act still restricts freedom of participation in the production and distribution of information either through newspapers or media, giving the Government total right and only agency for informing the citizens. The Citizenship Zimbabwe Act has not been amended yet so that it is alignment with Chapter 3, which protects the rights and limits the conditions in which citizens can be deprived their citizenship. Lastly, the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act still has provisions that allow trades and occupations to be reserved

for particular groups of the society, which is a direct infringement with Section 56, which prohibits unfair racial discrimination. The lack of any action toward legislative changes, is a major hindrance to achieving a liquid sustainable socio-economic environment for development.

3.3.3 Inconsistency

Public policy clarity and good governance are paramount substance for brewing a conducive environment for sustainable development. Investor confidence and willingness to part or partner in any socio-economic development programme is hanged on the certainty of return investment, which is mostly assured by policy consistency, which has been the weakest link in the ZANU PF Government over the years.

Most of their economic policies have been fraught with inconsistencies and at times policies openly contradicting each other. Who can forget the time when the country was desperate for foreign currency, but at the same time we were trampling on property rights and seizing farms thereby making would-be investors who would bring the forex develop cold feet...

Maxwell Saungweme; Political Analyst

At one point the President of the Republic, made it clear that the Republic was not in need of any form of help from the west, but the Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Mr. Patrick Chinamasa was in the soul of the western civilization London, lobbying for financial and humanitarian Aid. The absences of social cohesion on various issues which include indigenization, FDI, and re-engagement with western international community, as Economist Godfrey Kanyenze point it out, “the discord shows lack of harmony in Government and this happens when there is no political will and courage to deal with the structural reforms which are necessary for economic growth.”

The documentation of policy is vital as it outlines intended objectives, expected inputs, outputs and outcomes on a logical timeframe, by so doing the Government will be in a position to avoid policy clashes and inconsistencies. However, it is not so in the case for the “*Look East Policy*”, it has no policy document except a sentence in the foreign policy and nor has the Ministry of Foreign Affairs outlined the tenets of this policy.

“Look East” has become more of a slogan, for ZANU PF counter-attack to the regime change initiative and Sanctions on the elite ZANU PF and their enterprises.

Policy inconsistency has made strategic planning a long-term impossibility for the ZANU PF led Government. The Government lacks of containment, ability, partnerships and commitment among other things, has resulted in loss of confidence, brewing of confusion, economic meltdown and failure to support pro-poor programmes, on the long run, thus, its poor governance nature has hindered socio-economic recovery.

3.3.4 Politicization

The misappropriation implementation of policies, has scared away potential investors. This negatively impacted foreign direct investment (FDI), thus has affected employment creation and economic growth. Due to the political interference, most foreign investors seem not willing to invest under the yardmaster of the Indigenization Policy, which clearly outlined that government will be the major shareholder making the investors minority shareholders and effectively investments.

Policies in Zimbabwe have been designed to defend, enrich and empower the ZANU PF elite. Some argue that the land policy was deviated from supporting the underprivileged to reward senior party officials and other ZANU PF loyalists. Just as what was done by Cecil John Rhodes after failing to find the ‘Second Rand’, Rhodes granted farming land to settler pioneers, turning away from mining to farming, ZANU PF government has done the same. After the agricultural production plummeted, ZANU PF elites have turned their attention to the mining sector. Thus, structural, regulatory and institutional reforms are paramount before there is any consultations on policy reforms. Any policy alterations is just new wine in old wine skin, therefore it is such reforms that spearhead sustainable socio-economic development.

3.3.5 Legal uncertainty

The constitution of Zimbabwe expressly requires that the government at all levels consult citizens in the formulation and implementation of policies that affect their livelihood. In terms of Section 13 of the Zimbabwean constitution:

- 1) *The state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavor to facilitate rapid and equitable development...*
- 2) *Measures referred to in this section must involve the people in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes that affect them.*

Since the adoption of the 2013 constitution, the government, local authorities and other service providers have come up with various new policies without the participation of the citizens. Policies governing the informal economy, electricity use, social welfare, among others, have been introduced by the political elite, for implementation without consideration of the views of citizens and civil society.

The Labor Act ruling in 2015 by the Constitutional Court, allowed companies to sack employees without their exit packages, the banning of importation of second hand clothing and the taxing of the informal sector was about-turn from a just constitution that has been shaped towards promoting peace, democracy and social justice. In spite of the development and enforcement of legislation, there is still room for improvement.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF POLICY IN ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

4.1 An Overview of Policy and Development in Zimbabwe

The first decade of the 21st century in Zimbabwe saw the purportedly nationalist Government embarking on sweeping agrarian and empowerment reforms of a national scale. Different schools of thought have been put across to explain these developments. Other scholars have attributed the initiatives to political grandstanding by the ZANU PF Government whilst others have seen it as a genuine approach towards transforming the remnants of the colonial structures that were both a source of conflict and a source of economic discrimination.

Public policy-making, by its nature is a political process that involves disagreements and agreements; disputations and bargaining, accommodation, compromise, and more often, assumed collective gains. The idea of pro-poor politics is about sticking a balance between distributive, regulatory and distributive policies. It is inevitable that public policy-making result in both losers and winners. However, the poor: the majority in developing third world countries, are always at a disadvantaged position when it comes to decision making. By virtue of owning and controlling vital production forces entities and directing Government and state instruments and levers of political power, coercion and domination, the elites ultimately dominate public policy making processes.

The extent to which any public policy introduced by the elites become pro-poor depends on the manner in which they choose to implement the policy in the name of the poor, argues Adrain Leftwich (2008). According to Mbeki (2005), the major cause of anti-poor and unresponsive politics has been the unchecked power and influence of the elites. This unbridled dominance of the elites has resulted in '*State capture*', where the State has become a tool for self-aggrandizement. The exclusion of the poor by transforming political processes and public policy decision making from public formal spheres into complex socio-politico-economic spheres controlled and dominated by the elites, has rendered them as anti-developmental.

Poverty alleviation policies and programmes are designed and implemented by both Government and the donor community. The Government is the responsible authority in as far as citizen and welfare administration are concerned while the donor community has the needed resources both financial and material so much so that it can determine

the direction and pace in which development and welfare programmes are developed. The Government of Zimbabwe has crafted policies and laws to deliberately empower and protect locals from unnecessary competition economically. However, some of the initiatives have lost steam along the way while others have been deliberately manipulated to benefit selected individuals in society. As the donor community in collaboration with the people on the ground realized the areas that need attention and intervention, the mandate is given to the Government to design provisional frameworks through which any interested part could intervene.

The most critical and missing ingredient in the socio-economic development matrix of autocracies glaringly missing in Zimbabwe is the presence of effective institutions. According to North (1990), “*the fundamental role of institutions in a society is to ambiguity by establishing a stable . . . structure to human interaction.*” In this nominal sense, institutions promote socio-economic growth through positive impact on certainty. Although political institutionalization is difficult to demarcate, there seems to be general agreement that processes in a well-institutionalized society are, “*functionally differentiated, regularized (and hence predictable), professionalized (including meritocratic methods of recruitment and promotion), rationalized (explicable, rule based, and non-arbitrary), and infused with value (legitimate).*” Acemoglu and Robinson (2012:55) assert that as *institutions influence behavior and incentives in real life, they forge the success or failure of nations. Individual talent matters at every level of society, but even that needs an institutional framework to transform it into a positive force.* The Government has positioned itself such that it can operate policy development without other stakeholders like non-state actors, the international community, civil society institutions, and the ordinary men and women.

In support of African grown economic empowerment initiatives, Andreasson (2010), settled for the view that Zimbabwe’s Indigenization and Economic Empowerment has become a preferred strategy for reconstructing post-colonial legacy neo-colonialism. In principle, Black Economic Empowerment Programmes supported by the Indigenization Act have been well received because they seem to have given the people a sense of ownership and control of their local resources and the means of production, but in reality prowling political selfish interests have turned the process into a political tool. And one glaring conclusion is that both scholars and the media tend to gloss over the realities of how this politicization has affected the general populace. Lastly, there is need for mainstream of sustainable development principle into national development national agendas, so as to create new financial mechanisms and policies that support

investment in poverty reductions and job creation. This includes the areas of sustainable public procurement, taxation, development investment incentives and microeconomics.

4.2 Social and Economic Development

Within the context of Sustainable Development, governance is defined as a collective design and execution of common actions towards achieving common goals for a specific society. This means that clear goals must be identified and recognized by all stakeholders in the society. In other words, a participatory approach for development process is necessary, as well as a clear allocation of authority and responsibilities, argued values, accepted rules and institutions, and negotiation process where different views exists. In this regard, a policy mix of command and control and awareness education, skills development, and capacity and institution building are required for the transition towards sustainable development.

The Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2012 – 2015 had this to say:

As outlined in the 2010 Country Analysis Report, the last decade has seen economic decline, which led to rising levels of poverty, unemployment and underemployment. Tackling these challenges and ensuring economic growth and development requires a multifaceted approach that combines macro- and microeconomic interventions, and addresses both the quantity and quality of employment and economic growth. As shown in the 2010 Country Analysis Report and the 2010 MDG Status Report, poverty in Zimbabwe has worsened the human development index, the human poverty index and the food security situation, making it difficult for the country to achieve MDG 1 on eradication of hunger and extreme poverty by the year 2015. Zimbabwe's Human Development Index of 0.410 is in the low human development category, having fallen by 12 percent from 0.468 in 1995. This was mainly driven by contraction in the indicators on income, poverty and health.

Good governance and respect for fundamental human rights and basic freedoms are prerequisites for sustainable human development. Accordingly, Zimbabwe is a signatory to the Millennium Declaration, which recognizes the central importance of

good governance in creating an environment that is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty.

During the past one and half decade, Zimbabwe experienced socio-economic difficulties which resulted in the deterioration of human living standards. Significant challenges were experienced in education, health sector, service delivery, employment, vulnerable groups, gender, farming, debt and trade.

According to the Economic and Social Inclusion Corporation, social development means investing in people to improve their well-being. It requires the removal of barriers so that all citizens can journey toward their dreams with confidence and dignity. It is about refusing to accept that people who live in poverty will always be poor. It is about helping people so that they can move forward on their path to self-sufficiency. Other investments in people that contribute to the economic prosperity of society include youth programmes and services, post-secondary education, job creation, promotion of healthy, active living and safe and secure communities. Economic development involves that seek to improve the economic well-being and quality of life for a community by creating retaining jobs and supporting incomes and tax base. Public policy should be crafted with the agenda to foster social and economic development.

The need for economic empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe stems from the historical marginalization and exclusion of the black majority in the mainstream economy stemming from the colonial era. The colonial historical context of the Zimbabwe witnessed a period of protracted economic development and created a human capital that is largely unskilled, uninformed and restricted from meaningful participation in the economy.

Empowering these previously disadvantaged groups exposes them to the development pillars enabling them to become agents of economic change while facilitating their escape from abject poverty. The origin, imperative and the need of having empowerment policies within Zimbabwe, has based on the reality that an economy can flourish if it can meet the needs of its citizens and their enterprises in a sustainable and developmental manner (Gaomab, 2010). As such, economic empowerment can play a vital role in human and economic development only if the political, economic, social or legal systems build on the full potential of all persons and communities across the length and breadth of a country.

Sustained developmental autocracies, according to Kelsall (2013), have addressed the issue of leadership and the will to develop by embedding the leader in a wider leadership

group, for instance a political party. Furthermore, if the party has clear provisions or guidelines of leadership succession, leadership changes may not be so destabilizing to investor confidence. Svulik (2012) buttresses this point positing that some well-institutionalized autocracies such as china, even set term limits on their leadership. However, these succession guidelines and regulations are nonexistent in ZANU PF leading to internecine succession battles. The succession predicament in ZANU PF has had multiplier effects on the broader economy. It has necessitated deep-rooted nervousness in the market and has emerged as an oasis of socio-economic policy unsustainably and uncertainty corroding the social and economic sector.

4.2.1 Education

Lack of financial resources to adequately fund the educational system is the main challenge and will remain so for a long time to come. Zimbabwe, just like any other developing country relies on donor funding for some of its educational projects. According to the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (2001), about 94 per cent of the Government's allocation to the education systems goes towards paying salaries. Only 4 per cent remains to fund development projects. These financial constraints result in the shortage of staff and training materials thus compromising the quality of education. With this poor funding, it is impossible to implement reforms that improve academic achievement, and proficiency and hence provide quality education.

Zimbabwe Government has made tremendous strides towards availing every citizen some kind of education so much such that it simply fell short of declaring primary education free (Mtetwa, 2013). In this light, the Zimbabwe Education Act, (2006), as amended provides, inter alia, that: *“Every child in Zimbabwe shall have the right to school education”*. It is the objective in Zimbabwe that primary education for every child of school-going age shall be compulsory and to this end, it shall be the duty of the parents of any such child to ensure that their child attends primary school.

As an effort to further educational institutions, the Government embarked on a university per province scheme which saw the establishment of Bindura University of Science and Technology Act of 1999, Chinhoyi University of Technology Act of 2001, Harare Institute of Technology Act of 2006, Lupane State University Act of 2004, Masvingo State (now Great Zimbabwe) University Act of 2002, Midlands State University Act of 1999. However there has not been a match between investment in education and industrial development. Investment in education alone seems

meaningless as there is a massive growing need for thriving industrial and formal sector that will absorb the graduates and reduce unemployment.

4.2.2 Health Sector

The country's health sector has been guided by the "*National Health Strategy for Zimbabwe: 2009-2013, Equity and Quality in Health: A People's Right*". This policy succeeds the "*National Health Strategy: 1997-2007; Working for Quality and Equity in Health*", whose major thrust was to improve the quality of life of Zimbabweans. Lack of funding for social services by both the Government and development partners due to the political climate harmed the achievement of intend objectives. This unswervingly contributed towards an extraordinary deterioration of health infrastructure, loss of experienced health professionals, shortages of medication and a massive decline in the quality and provision of public health services. Patients had to seek health care from the private sector; church run health facilities and traditional health practitioners because state owned health centers were downsizing and were near closer.

Nevertheless the "National Health Strategy for Zimbabwe: 2009-2013, was a forward looking policy. It set timeframes which were achieved through scenario planning and forecasting. It managed to promote health behaviors, reduce maternal and under five mortality rate and it reduced the burden of non-communicable diseases.

4.2.3 Service Delivery

Zimbabwe over the past decade (2004-2014) has seen a continued deterioration in its water and sanitation system as evidenced by persistent erratic water supply services, long distance walk to nearest water sources, increased open defecation, open dumping of waste and continued burst sewer pipes. Local Authorities and ZINWA form the major bodies charged with the mandate to manage water and sanitation services. These are guided by legislative instruments such as the Water Act of 1998 and ZINWA Act of 2000. The effectiveness and efficiency of the two bodies and legislative instruments in alleviating the situation remain an issue for debate.

Zimbabwe continues to struggle providing adequate water and sanitation services to its people. The quality and quantity of water supply and sanitation services have been continuously described as insufficient and poor.

Failure to maintain and improve the country water and sanitation system has costed the country's health sector. In 2008 the Zimbabwe was hit by a cholera outbreak which claimed a total 4000 people including children. Without recovery of the water and sanitation sector, Zimbabweans will face further cholera outbreaks, more deaths, illnesses, continuing poverty, and negative impacts on livelihoods, industry, tourism, food production and agriculture, pollution of rivers and water courses. This essentially translates to more hardship, particularly for women and children (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

4.2.4 Vulnerable Groups

In any society, mostly during a time of socio-politico instability, a blind eye is usually casted upon the economically inactive members mostly the incapacitated. During a time of economic recovery, various joint venture programmes, are introduced to be implemented with the intention to address the need for social protection. Some of such programmes have classified the incapacitated; disabled individuals as social welfare cases. The Government, under the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development and also the Ministry of Youth, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment have been mandated to address these and other social welfare cases among the vulnerable groups.

The lack of clear formal policies and administrative infrastructures to equip with skills, knowledge and opportunities have hindered the realization of marginalized and vulnerable groups' participation in the development of the country. The Disability Discrimination Legislation of 1992, the "*Disabled Persons Act*", last amended in 2001, classified an individual with a physical, mental or sensory disability together with any who has a visual, hearing or speech functional incapacity which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers inhibiting the individual from participating at an equal level with other members of society as a disable person. Disregard of the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with disabilities in 2013, due to so cry of inadequate resources, the Government has neglected social assistance to the vulnerable, leaving it to the donor community to implement programmes to assist their welfare.

4.2.5 Gender

Through massive lobbying, awareness and advocacy campaign from the international human rights community, gender considerations, mostly equity, has become a major prerequisite in modern day development pattern in the 21st century. As part of the national drive towards women empowerment and gender equality, the Government of

Zimbabwe undertook legislative reforms and introduced policies to support this noble course. Since 2000, Zimbabwe has had two policies aimed at addressing gender related issues, the first “*National Gender Policy*” (NGP) was adopted in 2004, which was then repealed and replaced by other “*National Gender Policy*” in 2012.

The 2004 NGP rallied behind the theme “*Growth with Equity*” which aimed at addressing gender and race inequities. The changing socio-politico-economy environment both at local and regional level outclassed or rather overtook the policy and it came short of authenticity to address the prevailing issues emerging and meeting international standards. The GNP of 2012, has been seen as an outward looking policy, which was crafted to address the shortcomings of its predecessor, which had been overtaken by both domestic and foreign events. The policy captured recommendations and new priorities from the 2005 Beijing +10 global review, the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, the UNSC Resolutions in 2008 and 2009, the 2011 Broad Based Women’s Economic Empowerment Framework among others.

Although efforts to promote gender equity by the Government, local Civil Societies and NGOs, and the international community at large, through progressive legislative reforms and supportive programmes, the patriarchal cultural norms, beliefs and traditions still holds all equity initiative at ransom. This strong patriarchal society excludes women participation in decision-making processes and at socio-politico-economic issues; in the spheres of governance, women participation is restricted, where constituted whether in elected office, the civil service, the private or academic sectors, there are underrepresented.

4.2.6 Employment

Just like most developing economies the world over, Zimbabwe is in a state of transition from near death to recovery. During this phase, it is expected that the economy recovers and be able to create employment for most of its needy citizens. Presently, Zimbabwe’s unemployment rate stands at over 85 percent and literacy rate at over 92 percent despite the 2012 census report’s assertion that employment rate stands at over 89 percent.

In that regard, in 2010 the Government of Zimbabwe adopted the “*National Employment Policy*” framework which aimed at putting employment at the center of the policy. The policy intended to make available the necessary articulate and harmonized approach that summarizes complementing policies on dual perspectives; specific intercessions to help the underemployed overcome exact obstacles to their access into the labour market and a combined approach for growth and advancement of

morally standard and fruitful employment. The framework was also established following a realization of a failure especially without a clear employment policy where economic and social objectives were unified deliberately into the growth matrix, approaches and programmes taken to deal with unemployed and underemployment and poverty reduction (ZiNEPF, 2009).

Due to lack of any clear Government job creation programmes, informal businesses have taken over the economic, informalizing the economy. These informal business operators have proven difficult to formalize by register, due to their high mobility and inconsistency, and are non-taxable therefore cannot contributing to the national revenue collection base.

4.2.7 Agriculture

Agriculture has been the backbone of Zimbabwe's economy since colonial era, in this sector, the country produces maize, tobacco, cotton, beef, sugar, tea, coffee, wheat, soya beans, fruits, timber, floriculture and horticulture products, livestock and dairy. Zimbabwe has operated under an agriculture policy that dates back to 1994, the "*Zimbabwe Agricultural Policy Framework: 1995 to 2020*". The policy was crafted during the ESAP era, which emphasized on free-market solutions to the sectors over grown problems. The policy aim was to transform smallholder farming into commercial farming system. Given the several changes to the socio-economic environment that has been witnessed in the sector since 2000, that policy became outdated, unsustainable and warranting a review. The "*Agricultural Policy Framework*" had set massive quantifiable policy targets by 2015. However, given that the policy had set very long term targets, over a twenty year period, all these targets have since been overtaken by socio-politico-economy events in the country. Thus a shorter time horizon could have been ideal to assess whether it satisfies forward looking characteristics.

The Government in 2009 recognized the necessity of market-related policies to guide agricultural production decisions. Attempts to come up with an agriculture policy have not been successful, largely due to financial challenges, in 2012 the "*Comprehensive Agricultural Policy Framework (2012-2032)*", was drafted (which is still in its draft form). The draft policy addresses issues concerning crop and livestock production, marketing and trade taking account the current situation and constraints to give the broad policy goals and objectives. If this is passed, it could go a long way in improving some of the limitations in the current policy.

4.2.8 Trade

Zimbabwe's trade policy over the last decade has been guided by various bilateral, regional and multilateral trading arrangements that the Republic is a signatory to and different Ministries have administered trade-related laws and regulations on behalf of the Government. In 2011, under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, "*The National Trade Policy (2012–2016)*", was developed, to ensure the effective and meaningful participation of Zimbabwe in the global market.

Since 2000, as the economic challenges worsened, the agriculture, mining and manufacturing sectors experienced negative growth. However, during the era of the GNU, the economy experienced a gradual recovery as favorable international commodity prices and improved output of export commodities from agriculture, mining and manufacturing sectors. Zimbabwe was classified as a net food-importing developing country within the WTO. South Africa has become Zimbabwe's largest trading partner, where it accounts for at least 40 percent of exports and 60 percent of imports, the Look East Policy, mainly China covers the rest; 60 percent exports and 40 percent imports.

Zimbabwe is endowed with a diverse and rich resource base with the potential to generate substantial export earnings for the country. The diversified manufacturing, agricultural, mining, tourism and other service sectors possess enough potential to give the country the necessary comparative and competitive advantage for sustained economic growth and development.

4.3 The Informal Sector in Zimbabweans Socio-Economic development pattern.

Any economic activity outside the formal norms of economic transactions established by the state and formal business practices constitute into the informal sector. (Cross, 1997). According to Marjo-Riitta Liimatainen (2002) cited in Clainos Chidoko, et al (2011), the term "*Informal Sector*" was for the first time used by the ILO World Employment Programme reports on Ghana and Kenya in the beginning of the 1970s. The sector it's attributed with tendency of absorbing jobseekers, into self-employment and others into small production units (Chidoko, et al, 2011). In developing countries, like Zimbabwe, which has an economy classified as recovering, the informal sector seem to be representing the growing proportion of economic activities. The informal sector has been efficient in generating opportunities for self-employment into small and

medium enterprises by absorbing the sudden rising unemployed and underemployment, mostly those who cannot obtain jobs in the formal economy.

The informal sector comprises of street traders, flea markets operators, furniture manufacturers, agricultural products, fast foods traders, vendors and hawkers these activities are characterized by low levels of capital, skills, markets and technology. Through this sector, cheaper goods have been made available to the market. Within this sector, laws like, "*Hawkers and Street Vander By-Laws, 1978*" (last Amended in 1982) by the City of Harare, have been crafted deliberately and corruptly to limit individuals from penetrating and participating. Thus, due to lack of clear written policies and laws/by-laws to govern the conduct of operators, a lot of illegal and corrupt operations of business have dominated the sector, as operators seek to control and access valuable resources, to increase ones market share.

The Government has often argued that the informal sector is providing employment, just like in the formal economy, but has failed to collect taxes as expected in an economy with employed citizens. With this regard, the Government through the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises embarked on a mission to formalize the informal sector, but has been failing mainly because the Government's approach was not pro-poor and inclusive. This approach lacks capital support from the Government and banks, and also, due to undefined markets, the registration requirements have been fruitless.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Socio-Economic Policy in General

Policy reform in Zimbabwe has not resulted in improved socio-economic welfare for the populace. Consequently, socio-economic decline has resulted in widespread political discontent and disaffection with the ZANU PF government. A country's socio-economic development depends heavily on the policies begin adopted in the society and economy. Hence, a good policy should entail better development pace. There is a common name that defines good policies that do not work, or rather that end up not working, the term is '*Blueprint*'. Well drafted socio-economic policies, should be easily adopted, well-funded and accurately implemented through proper communication between sectors of both of society and economy. A socio-economic policy is a course of action that is intended to influence or control the behavior of the society and economy. Such policies are typically implemented and administered by the government, their effectiveness can be assessed in one of the two ways known as positive and normative socio-economics.

Positive socio-economics attempts to describe how the society and economy on one hand and socio-economic policies on the other hand, work without resorting to value judgments about which results are best. The distinguishing feature of positive socio-economic hypothesis is that they can be tested and confirmed or rejected. Normative socio-economics involves the use of value judgments to assess the performance of society and economy in one corner and the socio-economic policies on the other corner. Most of the disagreements among economists concern normative socio-economic hypothesis, because there in on benchmark for what can be said a higher level of inflation or lower tax ratio. The goals of socio-economic policy consist of value judgments about what policy should strive to achieve and therefore fall under the heading of normative socio-economics. While there is much disagreement about the appropriate goals of socio-economic policy, several appear to have wide, although not universal, acceptance. These widely accepted goals include: improve standards of living, increase life expediency, economic growth, job creation, price stability, reduce cost of doing business and prolong stay in power.

Most African countries have made much progress in improving the quality of their socio-economic policies over the past ten years, notably South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Botswana, after many years of disappointment and stagnation. Growth is up, inflation is down, and external and fiscal imbalance have narrowed, good results and evidence of improved macro-economic performance. In Zimbabwe there is clear need to do more. Growth must be raised to achieve a significant reduction in poverty and offer Zimbabweans rising population a chance for a better life. Zimbabwe has struggled to narrow down the rich-poor gap and to catch up with other developing countries, mainly due to its slow action to integrate its socio-economics into the global marketplace.

Socio-economic policies in the 21st century have been crafted under the termed '*New Policies*' that run for a specified period with set targets and desired achievements. These '*New policies*' have been adopted usually in line with the politics period, that is, they are linked to political climate, environment and system, during that moment in time. Socio-economic policies revolves around issue of transparency and accountability; good governance and democracy; citizen consensus and participation. Therefore, for Zimbabwe to achieve sustainable socio-economic development, it is in its best interest that it ensures the formulation and implementation of good and globalized socio-economic policies.

The government should recognize the importance of the right institutional and political frameworks for policy-making and work constantly toward improving it, so as to limit the scope for potentially damaging policy mistakes. Sustainable development is enhanced by increasing cooperating among various stakeholders both locally and internationally. Locally, government has to nurture the partnership with its citizens, cooperating with them in setting out objectives of policy and involving them as directly as possible in the process of their actions, whilst internationally it has to see other as equal partners, working together and learning from each other to strength socio-economic performance.

5.2 The Major Problems that Public Policy-Makers Encounters.

- The lack of legitimacy;
- Too powerful State structures which undermine citizens' policy inputs;
- Fewer channels for citizen participation in policy making and where they exists are weak and cosmetic;

- Lack of empirical research informed policy-making and decision-making;
- Lack of horizontal and vertical accountability;
- Overreliance on foreign models of policy making; and
- Making policies without thinking strategically about their transferability and possible negative ramifications on the well-being of the poor.

5.3 The Necessary Framework for Policy Formulation and Implementation.

Institutional frameworks are necessary for the success of the various adopted policies in Zimbabwe. This means that everyone engaged in the conduct of public policy-making should be aware that the government has some scope for flexibility, in order to respond to exceptional circumstances, or to deal with challenges not anticipated in advance. A rules-based approach is best guarantee of the impartiality, consistency, and predictability of government actions.

Economic policy reform in Zimbabwe has not resulted in improved socio-economic welfare for the populace. Consequently, economic decline has resulted in widespread political discontent and disaffection with the present regime. As political tensions have reached a political impasse, there are concerns that Zimbabwe's economy is on the brink of total collapse.

It is no secret that the indigenization process was long overdue in the Zimbabwean context, but it is high time forthright and critical researches are done around the implementation framework so as to inform the crafting of a proper indigenization framework, which transcends beyond political rhetoric and historical justifications.

Institutions of government should have clearly defined responsibilities and competencies, as well as the necessary financial capacity and human resources to carry them out. Where the rules and regulations are clear, and where institutions apply them predictably and impartially, economic security will flourish, and social justice becomes possible. Some of these institutions include:

- A competent and politically independent judiciary, across all field of law and assuring all rights: social, political and economic;
- An autonomous central bank charged with the conduct of monetary policy;

- Independent regulatory agencies charged with the supervision and prudential oversight of key sectors, such as financial institutions, insurance companies, public utilities, health, among others;
- Agencies that guard against anticompetitive practices in both public and private industries, banking and trade; and
- A Parliament that has access to all the information needed to exercise oversight and control over the executive branch of government, and the resources necessary to do so effectively.

To minimize risks and challenges for creating such institutions, the national budget should be:

- programmed following established rules and open transparent procedures;
- it should be submitted for discussion and approval by the Parliament;
- it should be carried out as approved, with no recourse to extra budgetary spending or unapproved taxation, under continuous internal supervision and control; and
- Its execution should be subjected to ex-post verification and supervision.

5.4 The Necessities of Policy Success.

The success of any socio-economic policy depends on the stability of its assumptions, of which these assumptions should be socio-economic sensible and which can conform to changes within the system of government and politics. Policy-making should be based on actual facts and attributes of the economy and society, but rather not drafted on wishes and hopes.

This requires lot of commitment and consistency or rather effectiveness on all stakeholders, thus, there is need for straightening collaborations among stakeholders: government, private sector, citizens and the international community; increasing exports and improvement of local products; brewing of a supportive nature across all agent of state; and the government should not adopt damaging policies.

The government should establish a set of mutually agreed, fair ground rules for private activity and enforce them equitably and consistently; it should provide internal and

external security for its citizens; and it should focus its resources on fostering the development of human capital and basic infrastructure.

It should also be realized that Zimbabwe does not exist in isolation of the rest of the global economy. For it attempt to appropriate into the main world economic system and political dynamics, it has to be guided by several of the regional and global commitments and standards. Zimbabwe can strengthen its sovereign status by engaging in well-coordinated and regionally integrated economic ties not only with the East, but indeed, with all the major economic powers of the world. The time for cheap politics is over in this global village.

Zimbabwe should increase its voice in accountability, rule of law, absence of corruption, government effectiveness and regulatory quality so as to get the confidence and trust from the global friends instead of denouncing publicly those that can assist the country. In the absence of strategic direction and a commitment to the strategic priorities, prioritization to crucial sectors that have strong linkages to other sectors is the key, otherwise, sustainable socio-economic development will remain a paralyzed venture.

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