



**Midlands State
University**



FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

RESEARCH TOPIC:

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE SLUMP OF THE TIMBER INDUSTRY IN BULAWAYO
AND ITS EFFECTS ON WORKERS; 2007 – 2018.**

BY

NATHANIEL TSHUMA

R156993C

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE BACHELOR OF ARTS HONOURS DEGREE IN HISTORY
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

SUPERVISOR: MR G. T. NCUBE

ZVISHAVANE

JUNE 2019

Contents

APPROVAL FORM	iv
RELEASE FORM.....	v
DECLARATION	vi
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
ACRONYMS	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
INTRODUCTION	2
PROBLEM STATEMENT	6
JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	7
OBJECTIVES	8
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	8
LITERATURE REVIEW	9
METHODOLOGY	13
DISSERTATION LAYOUT	15
END NOTES	17
CHAPTER ONE: THE HISTORY OF TIMBER IN MATEBELELAND NORTH AND BULAWAYO	20
1.1 Introduction.....	20
1.2 The use of African Woodlands and Forests in Matebeleland North before 1894	21
1.3 The Development of Timber concession in Rhodesia from 1900 – 1945	23
1.4 Challenges that undermined the Timber industry during its formative years.....	24
1.5 Conservation methods of the Forest after the Second World War	25
1.6 The importance of the Timber industry and its established in Bulawayo.....	26
1.7 Conclusion	27
END NOTES	29
CHAPTER TWO: THE DECLINE OF TIMBER COMPANIES IN BULAWAYO	31
2.1 Introduction.....	31
2.2 The Indigenization Policy	31
2.3 The impact of the Fast Track Land Reform and Timber Production.....	33
2.4 The collapse of Hardware companies and its effects on Timber Companies	34

2.5 Departure of Skilled Labour	35
2.6 Failure of government Initiatives to save the drowning Industry	37
2.7 Shortages of power and deterioration of infrastructural facilities	38
2.8 Corruption, Inflation and Flawed Fiscal Policies	39
2.9 Relocation of Timber companies to Harare and Manicaland	40
2.10 Internal Crises and change of company ownership	41
2.11 Conclusion	43
END NOTES	44
CHAPTER THREE: THE EFFECTS OF THE DECLINE OF TIMBER COMPANIES TO WORKERS	47
3.1 Introduction.....	47
Negative Effects.....	47
3.2 Loss of Employment.....	47
3.3 From Permanent Workers to Casual Labourers.....	48
3.3.1 Poor Working Conditions	50
3.3.2 Low Wages	51
3.4 Relocation to Rural Areas.....	51
3.5 Migration.....	52
3.5.1 Family Disintegration	53
3.6 Cross Border Trading.....	54
Positive Effects	55
3.7 Rise of Female Entrepreneurs in the Timber Industry.....	55
3.8 Employment Creation for the Youth and Unskilled Labour.....	56
3.9 Rise of Small Scale Timber Companies	57
3.10 Conclusion	57
END NOTES	59
CHAPTER 4: THE STRATEGIES USED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE SMALL AND MEDIUM TIMBER ENTERPRISES IN ZIMBABWE.....	62
4.1 Introduction.....	62
4.2 The Importance of the Small and Medium Enterprises in Zimbabwe.....	62
4.3 Promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises in Zimbabwe	64
4.5 Challenges that hampered the survival of Small Scale Timber Companies in Zimbabwe.....	67
4.6 Factors that enhanced the survival and growth of Small Scale Timber Companies in Bulawayo	69

4.7 Conclusion	71
END NOTES	73
CONCLUSION.....	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	78

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF STUDENT: NATHANIEL TSHUMA (R156993C)

DISSERTATION TITLE: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SLUMP OF THE TIMBER INDUSTRY IN BULAWAYO AND ITS EFFECTS ON WORKERS; 2007 – 2018.

DEGREE TITLE: BACHELOR OF ARTS IN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES HONORS DEGREE.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 2019

Permission is hereby granted to the Midlands State University library to produce single copies of this dissertation and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly, scientific research purposes only. The author reserves publication rights and neither the dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Signed

Permanent Address : 1141 Emakhandeni Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Date

DECLARATION

I NATHANIEL TSHUMA hereby declare that this dissertation is a result of my own original work and this has not been presented elsewhere for any purposes. The additional sources of information which I used have been indicated by means of references.

NATHANIEL TSHUMA

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

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my late sister Mayibongwe Tshuma who ensured that she paves a path where my feet will be glued. I also like dedicate this research to my beloved mother, my three sisters and my young brother. This is also for Shantelle Moyo.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, glory to God for my research. My gratitude also goes to the Midlands State University, the Department of History in particular for giving me an opportunity to study and pursue my childhood dream. I want to express my heartfelt appreciation to Mr G.T Ncube for his tireless supervision throughout my research. He has been a pillar of strength as well as a source of inspiration.

I would like to thank everyone who supported me financially throughout my studies. Also, I want to extend my gratefulness to Felistas Sibanda, Marygold Sibanda and Nathan Tshuma for pushing me to my uttermost end and providing emotional support. Kudos to my friends Anele Sibanda, Prince Mushove, Rodwell Mushandu, Peter Mashoma, Bongisani Nhlane and Rutendo Mlambo for standing by my side throughout this journey.

ACRONYMS

BSAC – British South Africa Company

FTLRP – Fast Track Land Reform Programme

FOSA – Forestry Outlook Studies in Africa

FOREX – Foreign Market Exchange

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNU – Government of National Unity

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

NRZ – National Railway of Zimbabwe

PTC – Postal Telecommunications Corporation

RBZ – Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe

SEDCO – Small Enterprise Development Corporation

SMEs – Small and Medium Enterprises

TPF – Timber Production Federation

ZANU PF – Zimbabwe African Nation Union – Patriotic Front

ZCTU – Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZETDU – Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission and Distribution Company

ABSTRACT

Although the deindustrialization subject in Zimbabwe has been touched upon by many historians, none of their works address the demise of the timber industry in Bulawayo. The Timber Industry played a pertinent role in sustaining livelihoods of the people in Bulawayo through the creation of employment. Its plunge affected the livelihoods of people in Bulawayo however this has not captured scholarly attention. Consequently, this research brings to the fore the factors that led to the fall of the timber industry in Bulawayo and also investigate the effects of industrial collapse upon workers (2007 – 2018). The thesis shows that collapse of the timber industry laid squarely on internal, economic and political crises. Government policies will be drawn into attention to show how they pinned down the timber industry. The study will also focus on the plight of workers after industrial closure and tactics employed by the workers to keep their heads above the water. In this manner, this study will also reveal that while the story of the collapse of the timber industry is not pleasant to tell, it presented opportunities to some workers. Government strategies to promote small scale timber companies will be reviewed. Last but not least, this thesis will examine the factors that ensured the survival and growth of small scale timber companies despite the economic meltdown. This research utilized primary and secondary sources to gather information.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Bulawayo is the second-largest city in Zimbabwe after Harare the capital and it is commonly known as the city of Kings and Queens because of its style and flair. It is the industrial hub of the country. It is commonly dubbed as "KoNtuthu ziyathunqa" (Ndebele name meaning a place that exudes smoke) because of its industrial prowess.¹ However, over the past decade, the smoke died down. In other words, the industries that used to emit smoke collapsed hence the timber industry was no exception. This is as surprising as it is disappointing. In light of the above, the sudden disappearance of the smoke that coloured the blue skies of Bulawayo has been the main reason that prompted this research.

The timber industry is one of the imperative sectors in the country which for years was responsible for quality furniture which meets the ISO quality standard. The timber industry and furniture companies have been a source of employment for many people in the country. According to FOSA, the timber industry accounted for 3% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and it employed over 50 000 workers around the country.²

The commercialization of timber in Bulawayo was initiated by the advent of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1900 after conquering the Ndebele people from Matebeleland North and utilizing the forest largely for mining, agriculture and to a small scale timber which was largely for balancing mine shafts and railway sleepers. As noted by Mashingaidze, colonial capitalists were attracted by the myth of the second rand however they diversified after the myth disappeared hence this supported the establishment of other industries.³ The forest and fertile land were cut from the native communities who were pushed to unproductive areas called reserves (Gwai Native Reserves and Shangani Native Reserves) which were relatively dry, rocky and sandy. From that point, the State assumed ownership of forest land hence this gave impetus to timber plantation and felling.

INTRODUCTION

This research seeks to examine the factors that accounted for the demise of the timber companies in Bulawayo and the plight of workers after industrial closure. It is important to note that these factors were not unique to the timber industry only but every industry in Bulawayo. Internal and External crises were responsible for the collapse of the timber companies. The former Woodforce Products company production manager, Mr Mandlenkosi Dube revealed that a plethora of factors worked hand in glove affecting the timber companies which in due course led to its collapse.⁴ Mr Mandlenkosi Dube explained that the industry was a chain hence if one industry was affected, the rest suffers. He gave an example of a hardware company where they used to buy spares for their machinery. In light of the above, the participant said that when the hardware collapsed, they found themselves having to import spares which largely affected their profit margins.⁴ Consequently, this, in turn, made the business fail slowly but sure.

Also, this study will show how the indigenization policy affected the timber industry in Bulawayo. The Mugabe administration adopted resource nationalism which gave power and ownership to locals at the expense of foreign companies. The government was trying to scratch the colonial setup which favoured foreigners at the expense of local people. In as much as this was a noble again, it is also important to note that it contributed to the decline of the timber companies in Bulawayo. For example, almost half of the timber companies were owned by foreigners while some were majority shareholders in the companies. In this regard, resource nationalism policy led to the departure of these owners and shareholders leaving the timber industry bereft.

The land reform programme had severe repercussions on the existence of timber companies in Bulawayo. A lot of Timber Production Federation (TPF) members were evicted from plantations at the height of the 'fast track' land redistribution exercise, and thousands of

hectares in woodlots were destroyed to make way for crop production. Some of the destroyed plantations were founded on soil not ideal for crop production.⁵ This constrained the planning and preparation for plantation and harvesting of timber. It was recorded that by July 2002, a total of 7808 hectares of timber plantations have been lost to resettlements and through destruction by settlers.⁶ This presentation shows that the reduction of timber in the plantations affected the timber industry immensely as it led to a sharp decline in production.

The thesis also shows that inflation contributed to the demise of the timber companies in Bulawayo. Since 1997, the Zimbabwean currency started to lose its value and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) started printing out notes to supplement the increasing inflation. The result was a nightmare for companies. The business did not run smoothly. The government started holding companies onto the Foreign Exchange Market (FOREX) from exports. The money went through the RBZ such that companies had to apply for their own money if they needed FOREX. This procedure took not less than 30 days for the money to be allocated to the companies. As the situation persisted, the money was later given half in FOREX and half in the dollar Zimbabwean dollar.

More so, this thesis also shows that blame for the decline of the timber companies can be traced in the government's failure to initiative adequate policies that supported the collapsing industry rather these initiatives contributed to the decline of these companies. Price control was one of the initiatives which turned from being a blessing to a curse. The government dictated the prices in the market without considering the problems timber companies were going through. This meant that the profit margins were reduced drastically. This caused most companies either to close or reduces its labour force. To the former Steelforce Company staff Mr Tony, this led to the genesis of the departure of skilled labour to seek for greener pastures undermining the existence of the already crumbling timber industry as they could not settle for lower payments.⁷

Inspired by the works of Mhandara, Murwira and Sachikonye, this study draws politics into the picture in a bid to establish factors that pinned down the timber industry in Bulawayo. The political cleavage within ZANU PF members affected the survival of the timber industry in particular and other industries in Zimbabwe in general. Mhandara and Murwira depict that the fights within ZANU PF during the period under study were emasculating government and were negatively affecting the governance of the country.⁸ The duo writers in question gave an example of the ZIM ASSET policy which they argue that it fell short because of factionalism. Sachikonye argues that since 2000, policies that were crafted were a panacea to the growing opposition of the ruling party and external pressures that pursued regime change. For this reason, the foregoing scholar says that Robert Mugabe's objective in policy-making was to prolong his stay in the office and that turned badly to the industrial sector in Zimbabwe.⁹ Therefore, politics also explains the fall of timber companies in Zimbabwe.

The study also wishes to establish that the collapse of the timber industry in Bulawayo brought positives and negatives to the workers even it is true that the latter outweighed the former. Labourers were transformed into casual workers as they fought for survival in a pressing economy and this had multiple consequences for the workers. Working as casual workers the major problem was that they were subjected to unfair labour practices. Lack of protective clothing was one of the challenges that haunted casual labourers. The timber companies operated dangerous machinery which was used to process teak or hardwood into planks. The timber companies were recommended to use gloves, boots, overall clothes and glasses to protect workers against dangerous machinery such as cross cutters, rip saws, woodmizers and kerfkings. The foregoing machinery was used in the processing of timber. A survey on these companies showed that none of the above was provided. This exposed workers to many unprecedented dangers such as being cut by machinery.

This thesis will also show that workers were paid low wages. Bhebe and Mahapa say statistics gathered by the Zimstat in 2011 reveals only 11% of Zimbabweans were formally employed while 84% were informally employed.¹⁰ They say that the impact of the economic decline in Zimbabwe had a disastrous impact on workers as they were obliged to give in to exploitation.¹¹ The observation by the duo scholars is close to the truth when measuring it against the fact that workers were given \$US50 for a month project. The salary involved transport and breakfast. Many labourers were complaining about this and to make matters worse, they were restricted from raising any complaints against the contractor. The authoritarian industrial relation that defined the colonial capitalist mode of operation was adopted in this scenario.

Workers were subjected to poor working condition as it will be shown in this research. A survey revealed that labourers encountered long working hours without being given overtime and the labour was intensive. Labour which was executed by machinery was replaced by human hands and this amounted to abuse. Regularly it was reported that contractors used dismissal as a weapon to scare off workers. This made workers abide by the rules of the contractor even if it was exploitation. There were also cases of poor hygiene in the timber companies. Workers cooked on dirty pots. Contractors rented old firms whose conditions deteriorated by the tick of the clock. In this regard, it was reported that during rainfall, water seeped into the firms with extremely dangerous voltages which exposed workers to injuries or worse death.

The research will document that the fall of the timber companies reduced employment opportunities for the workers. The decline of timber companies in Bulawayo led to the rise of small scale companies that sprouted around the industrial side of the city. This was disadvantageous to many workers because most firms that existed employed not more than twenty workers per firm. This meant the loss of jobs to the former contract labourers. An

industry which used to create more than twelve thousands jobs for the people had reduced to an estimated figure of one hundred and twenty workers. So the decline led to the loss of employment.

Brain drain will also be looked at in this study. It will be asserted that after the collapse of the timber companies in Bulawayo, labourers found it difficult to settle in the country. Most timber workers migrated to Mozambique. It is also reported that many workers headed to South Africa where they changed their professions completely. Inasmuch as this was damaging to the workers it also denied the timber industry a chance for growth and stability. Zivanai adds that brain drain affects the growth of the economy since most of the skilled labour will leave the country looking for greener pastures and this affects the performance of the firms since the country will have shortages of experts.¹²

Nonetheless, despite having severe ramifications on the workers, the ruin of the timber industry presented opportunities to some workers. As a result, top members of the former declined companies became company owners. The collapse of the timber industry though it affected many workers led to the advent of locally owned timber enterprises. It led to the rise of entrepreneurs, employment for the unskilled youth labour and utilization of resources by local people. For this reason, the decline of the timber industry had some upsides though to a limited scale.

In this context, this thesis has a duo purpose. One, to account for the decline of timber companies in Bulawayo. Two, to show the effects it had on the contract labourers.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The subject on the demise of the timber companies in Zimbabwe has not attracted attention in the existing historical literature. Scholars concentrated on the fall of the commanding heights of the economy while the substantial issue of the decline of the timber industry remains

marginalized. Prior to the demise of the Zimbabwean economy, Bulawayo was the industrial hub of the country. However, coupled with the economic meltdown, the city fell from being an industrial prowess to a scrap yard. Industrial sites became churches while other buildings were left to collapse. The timber industry was one of the lucrative sector that was monopolized by the colonial capitalists alongside mining and agriculture. Much is known about the misfortunes of the mining and agriculture sectors yet the timber industry received no attention. Since the colonial period, the timber industry has always provided people in Bulawayo with labour for sustaining their livelihoods. The majority of the population in Bulawayo worked in forestry related companies. The collapse of the timber industries has become therefore a curse to the livelihood of the people in Bulawayo. It is against this background that this thesis is tipped thus it examines the fall of timber industry and how this impacted the livelihoods of labourers.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The fall of the timber industry remains one of the lesser written about episodes in the deindustrialization subject of the Zimbabwean economy. Ever since the colonial period, the timber industry has been a vital sector in the economy meeting the ISO quality standards. The sector contributed 4% of the agro – industrial products and employed more than 25 000 employees. In this manner, since the economy took a nosedive, the timber companies were badly affected in Zimbabwe in general and Bulawayo in particular. As one of the crucial sectors in the economy, the study of the demise of the timber sector remains understudied. Therefore, the foregoing created a niche for my research to be carried out and worthwhile to study.

OBJECTIVES

1. To narrate the history of the Timber industry in Bulawayo.
2. To critically examine the reasons that led to the decline of the Timber companies in Bulawayo.
3. This study will analyse the challenges faced by labourers after the decline of the timber industries.
4. To breakdown, the strategies were used by the government to revive the timber industry in Bulawayo.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How did the timber industry begin in Bulawayo?
2. What are the factors that led to the decline of the timber companies in Bulawayo?
3. What have been the challenges faced by labourers since the decline of timber companies?
4. What strategies did the government employ to promote small scale timber companies?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section acknowledges the works of other scholars who have contributed to the deindustrialization theme in Zimbabwe. It gives an account of varying approaches by different scholars and how this consequently gives way to my study.

Fanon in his book "The Wretched of the Earth: Pitfalls of National Consciousness" commented on bad governance which undermined the development of African societies. This provoked the writer to scrutinize the decline of industries in Zimbabwe particularly paying attention to bad governance. He comments that the nationalists who are the captains of economic growth possess insufficient knowledge on how to govern. He says nationalists suffer from "intellectual laziness".¹³ It is justified to say that economy and politics works hand in glove hence in a bid to address the decline of the timber companies, Fanon's works played a fundamental role for my study. Fanon does not address the decline of Zimbabwean industries; it is important because it traces the roots of deindustrialization. However, my study utilizes Fanon's observation drawing politics into the picture to explain why timber companies failed.

Sachikonye in his book "Zimbabwe's lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society", laments that the unprecedented decline of the Industries and economy in the country were by virtue of politics. He says that the economic policies that were initiated since the beginning of the 21st century were an attempt to secure former president of Zimbabwe (R. G. Mugabe) a prolonged stay in the office. He points out that the decline of the industries in Zimbabwe was due to the failure to integrate the two central economic backbones of the country thus agriculture and industry. Once the breadbasket of Southern Africa, Zimbabwe according to Sachikonye turned into a sick economy of Southern Africa. He says the failure of industry in Zimbabwe laid on ineffective policies that crippled the economy than resuscitate it.¹⁴ His works are an umbrella to the fall of the industries hence my research narrows to timber.

Mhandara and Murwiwa in their article, "Factionalism in the Ruling of the Zimbabwe National Union-Patriotic Front on National Development..." used politics in explaining the fall of the industries in Zimbabwe. The duo scholars depict that the political daylight that was amongst ZANU PF members denied the country any meaningful direction towards economic growth.¹⁵ They point that the easily identifiable costs of factional wars have been the failure on the government side to convince the public that they are the servers of the people and not their own interests. In their article, the scholars in question attempt to lay the blame squarely on politics in explaining the failure of industries in Zimbabwe. They look at big companies such as the Huletts sugar company which is alleged that it failed because of the split in ZANU PF. However, my study looks at the peripheral timber industry.

Jensen also contributes to my study in that he traces the roots of the Zimbabwe crisis to the constitutional referendum of February 2000 which gave birth to widespread occupations of commercial farms. He pointed out that the role of agriculture and industry were important to the economic growth of the country. In his words, " in Zimbabwe, the traditional roles of land, agriculture and natural resources development has been essential to the country's overall economic growth in terms of providing adequate and affordable food for the growth of the growing population."¹⁶ Jensen pointed out that when there is a surplus of food, the process of industrialization is more efficient to supply the growing labour force and supplying the industries with raw materials. In short, the failure of agriculture denied the industries a chance to grow. This is important as it gives leeway to my study to explore the reasons for the fall of timber companies in Bulawayo.

The foundation of my study is also based upon the works of A. S. Mlambo in his journal, 'From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors...'. Mlambo traces how the gigantic Industries in Bulawayo collapsed turning the city into an economy of vendors. Mlambo's article brings to the fore that a plethora of factors worked hand in glove ultimately leading to

the demise of Industries in Bulawayo. He commented on Postal Telecommunication Corporation (PTC), Zimbabwe National Roads Agency (ZINARA), Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission and Distribution Company (ZETDC) and National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ). He also comments that Bulawayo was the industrial hub of Zimbabwe hence its collapse negatively led to the fall of production hence leading to unemployment which led to low standards of living leading poverty, poverty leading to brain drain and brain drain leading to the departure of skilled labour which was central if one wishes to see industrial boom in any country. Mlambo traces the Indigenization policy, the FTLR, the quasi-fiscal activities, inflation and corruption as the major factors that contributed to the decline of Bulawayo industries.¹⁷ However, Mlambo's article is an umbrella review of the commanding heights of the economy; hence this left the story of the timber industry begging to be told. As a result, this justifies my research as it focuses on the timber industries.

Munyaka in a newspaper article, 'Industrial Empire Bulawayo reduced to a ghost town' has interesting factors that led to the decline of industries in Bulawayo. He comments that the city that is known as the City of Kings is no longer fit for the dwelling of a King. He says, "also known as KoNtuthu ziyathunqa (Ndebele for a place that continually exudes smoke) Bulawayo was for years Zimbabwe's industrial hub."¹⁸ Munyaka says, however, this smoke has died down for years and this is popular parlance for saying the industries declined. Munyaka blames this on a couple of reasons such as failure of government initiatives to support industries, relocation of the business to the capital city Harare, hostile policies and cheaper imports. This left Bulawayo industries bereft. This article is vital to my study because it highlights the important factors that also related to the decline of the timber industries. Munyaka much like Mlambo wrote about prominent industries such as Zimbabwe Engineering Company, Dunlop, Hobert Davies, Hunyani Holdings, G & D Shoes, Merlin Textiles, Stewards & Llyods. This approach has marginalized other industries in Bulawayo

hence the case of Timber industries is not an isolated case but a tip of the iceberg as there exist many industries that deserve attention.

L. Mbira also contributed to the deindustrialization of Bulawayo in 'The De – Industrialization of Bulawayo Manufacturing Sector in Zimbabwe: Is the capital Vacuum to Blame?' focuses on the lack of capital in bringing about the decline of industries in Bulawayo. Mbira shows that despite lack of funding being the major contributor to deindustrialization, unavailability of capital, untenable wages and unfavourable tax environment were also contributory factors which fast-tracked the demise of industries in Bulawayo. His work is important to my study because it helps to account for the decline of timber companies using some aforementioned points. However, it is not centred on timber companies.

Equally important to this study is the work of Bhebe and Mahapa who comments on the effects of the economic decline in 2008 on workers and workers union. They show the downside of economic breakdown in relation to labour relations. According to the duo writers, labour movement lost its base when industrial closure hit the nation such that the trade unions lost its density due to chronic unemployment. The fading away of the ZCTU paved the way for relentless labour exploitation in the nation. Bhebe and Mahapa stress out that behind the increasing rate of unemployment in Zimbabwe have been the closure and lack of viability of firms due to the harsh economic climate experienced in the country especially before the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU). The work of Bhebe and Mahapa emphasize the impact of retrenchment on workers. They say it traumatized workers such that they accepted commonplace with the fear of losing their jobs. In this regard, the Trade Unions played a peripheral role in labour relations compared to the role they had since 1980 – 2008. The contribution of Bhebe and Mahapa is crucial to my research because it provides a starting point which traces why labour exploitation was rampant in the timber

industry. Bhebe and Mahapa trace the collapse of trade unions and the labour movement. Consequently, this has manoeuvred a way for labour exploitation as works lost their voice. Therefore, the research will investigate labour exploitation as Bhebe and Mahapa only dealt with the collapse of the economy which ultimately led to the unpopularity of the ZCTU paving way for labour exploitation. Their study addresses the decline of trade unions that was the voice of the voiceless. In this regard, the aforementioned thesis is an elite interpretation of labour struggles.

METHODOLOGY

The qualitative method was central to my study. This methodology is advantageous to my research in that it is grounded hypotheses, comprehensiveness and detailed. The qualitative data collection method is apt for my study because the quantitative method was unable to express human feelings and emotions. The qualitative method on the other side was suitable because it is fact-finding. In this regard, it helped in gaining insight and being able to make sense of behaviour through interaction with participants. This approach was important because it answered the "how" and "what" questions. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather information.

In addition, interviews were also crucial in gathering information that is jotted in this thesis. In this regard, oral history was important to the researcher because the participants lived the experience. Vansina says the sources of oral historians are reminiscences, hearsays or eyewitness accounts about events and situations which are contemporary thus which occurred during the lifetime of the informants.¹⁹ Leaning towards the foregoing view, the researcher interviewed the top management of the former timber companies and workers who worked in companies such as Durawood Products, Spearhead Timbers Wood Products and Woodforce Products.

The interviews were successful. However, some participants withheld some of the information because the information was too sensitive and political. Also, the interviews were conducted with workers who laboured during the period under study. The workers were eager to narrate the challenges they faced after the collapse of the timber companies. The involvement of the participants gave a balanced account of this research.

Galgano et al say that a primary source is any record contemporary to an event or time period. The previous says primary sources may be oral, visual or physical. Physical evidence such as buildings, clothing, tools, and landscapes may also be labelled as unintentional sources.²⁰ Therefore, unintentional sources played a critical role in my study as the researcher was able to analyse some circumstances through observations made during surveying the timber companies.

The researcher also used secondary sources. These entailed scholarly books, journals, online sources and newspaper articles. They were helpful in cementing the information gathered through primary sources. Secondary sources were used to analyse and interpret information data collected hence crucial in developing a theory. Secondary sources were cheap and easily accessible ensuring a well-constructed balanced thesis.

DISSERTATION LAYOUT

Introductory Chapter

The introductory chapter comprises of the Introduction, Problem Statement, Literature Review, Research Objectives, Research Questions, Methodology and Dissertation Layout.

Chapter One: The establishment of the Timber Industry in Matebeleland North and Bulawayo

Chapter one gives a historical background of the timber industry in Matebeleland North and Bulawayo. Matebeleland North was considered in this study because it explains the existence of timber companies in Bulawayo. The growth of Timber Industries was given impetus by the forests in Lupane, Binga, Nkayi and Tsholotsho where timber was grown. For this reason, the chapter will look at the use of the forest before colonization in order to establish that since the hunter-gatherer period; indigenous people always relied on the forest for survival hence after during and after colonization, people were employed in the timber industry. It then shows that since European encroachment the use of the forest shifted to commercial use.

Chapter Two: The Decline of the Timber Industry in Bulawayo

This section deals with the factors that were responsible for the decline of the timber industry. The fall of the timber industry was traced from internal, economic and political crises that gripped the economy since the beginning of the 21st century era. This chapter will show in detail how government policies and economic distress led to the plunge of the timber industry.

Chapter three: The effects of the Decline of Timber Companies to Workers

Chapter three focuses on the plight of the workers after the collapse of the giant timber companies in Bulawayo. It highlights that the fall of the timber industry had detrimental impacts on workers. Many lost their jobs, therefore, they had to adapt to the informal sector which exposed them to exploitation. However, this chapter shows that besides the negatives encountered, the fall of the timber industry promoted indigenous people despite the fact that this was to a lesser degree.

Chapter 4: The Strategies used by the government to promote Small Scale Timber Enterprises in Zimbabwe

The concluding chapter looks at the government strategies used to help small scale timber companies in Zimbabwe to survive. This is by virtue of the fact that after the decline of the timber industry, small scale companies sprouted all over Bulawayo. In this regard, the section shows the strategies implemented to help SMEs in Zimbabwe. It studies its effectiveness. Last but not least, it addresses why the small scale timber companies continue to survive despite the enormous problems they face in the ailing economy.

END NOTES

1. T. Munyaka, “Industrial Empire Bulawayo reduce to Ghost Town”, Mail and Guardian, 2014 July 25, www.lalr.org.za/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_working_papers_1/LALRWP. (Accessed 20/03/19).
2. Forestry Outlook Studies in Africa (FOSA): Zimbabwe, www.fao.org/3/9-ac429e.pdf (accessed 01/03/2019), p2.
3. V. Mashingaidze, “Company Rule and Agricultural Development: The Case Study of the BSA Company in Rhodesia, 1908 – 1923”, Henderson Seminar no.43, University of Rhodesia, 1979, p2, <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/handle/123456789/1175>. (Accessed 23/03/19)
4. Mr Mandlenkosi Dube, interviewed by the Author, Recording, 27 March 2019.
5. <https://www.fhi.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (accessed 26 March 2019).
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. L. Mhandara and A. Murwira, “Factionalism in the Ruling Zimbabwe National Union – Patriot Front and the implications on National Development”, in A. G. Nhema (ed), Zimbabwe: The Search For Sustainable Development Paradigms, University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, 2017, p109.
9. L. Sachikonye, Zimbabwe’s Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012, p100.
10. Mr Tony Adams, interviewed by author, oral interview, Bulawayo, 10 January 2019.

11. Q. Bhebe and M. Mahapa, “The Decline in Trade Unions Density in the 21st in Zimbabwe: A case of Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union”, Journal of Human Resources and Labor Studies, Vol 2 (1), 2014, p70.
12. B. Zivanai, “Investigating the De-industrialization process in Zimbabwe since 1980”, Department of Developmental Studies (unpublished thesis), <https://ir.msu.ac.zwi8080/spui/bitstream/11400/2038/1/Brenda%20disertation%205%20final.pdf> (accessed 15/02/2019).
13. F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Atlantic Inc, New York, 1961, p152.
14. L. Sachikonye, Zimbabwe’s Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012, p96.
15. L. Mhandara and A. Murwira, “Factionalism in the Ruling Zimbabwe National Union – Patriot Front and the implications on National Development”, in A. G. Nhema (ed), Zimbabwe: The Search For Sustainable Development Paradigms, University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, 2017, p112.
16. S. Jensen, “Land, Growth and Governance: Tenure Reform and Visions of Progress in Zimbabwe”, in A. Hammer, B. Raftopoulos and S. Jensen (eds), Zimbabwe’s Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the context of Crisis, Weaver Press, Harare, 2003, p245.

17. A. S, Mlambo, “From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors: Over Two Decades of Economic Decline and De – industrialization 1990 – 2015”, Journal of Developing Societies, 33 (1), 2017, p111.
18. T. Munyaka, “Industrial Empire Bulawayo reduce to Ghost Town”, Mail and Guardian, 2014 July 25, www.lalr.org.za/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_working_papers_1/LALRWP. (Accessed 20/03/19)
19. J. Vansina, Oral Tradition as History, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1985, p12.
20. M. J. Galgano, R. M Hyser and J. C Arndt, Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Carlifornia, 2007, p57.

CHAPTER ONE: THE HISTORY OF TIMBER IN MATEBELELAND NORTH AND BULAWAYO

1.1 Introduction

This chapter brings to the fore the history of timber in Matebeleland North and Bulawayo. Since the hunter – gather period or as much as time can date back, people particularly Africans have been depended on the forest for survival. Prior to colonization, the forest was a source of survival for the native people as it provided fuel, food, a place for social and religious activities. However, due to European encroachment, the use of the forest was reformed facilitating largely mining, agriculture and timber production. In this manner, this thesis will explore the use of the forest prior to colonization. It will show that the forest was part and parcel of the indigenous people hence the policies that pushed the natives from their lands to unproductive dry and sandy places brought nothing but anathema towards the imperialists.

The chapter will then concentrate on the development of the timber industry since 1900. The development of the timber industry was in three phases. During the first phase, the timber industry did not encounter rapid growth during its early formative years as it was crippled by a number of challenges to be highlighted in this chapter. Mostly during this period the forests were monopolized through concessions. The second phase was the period after the Second World War where the capitalists realised the worth of timber due to its growing importance around the world. Unlike the first phase, this period was coupled with controlled forest management strategies to protect timber from extinction. The last phase was the era from independence to the period until it declined. During this time frame, this thesis seeks to explore the significance of the timber industry in the livelihoods of the people in Bulawayo as it is beyond any doubt that since the development of wage labour, people in Bulawayo in

particular and Matebeleland North in general provided a steady working force for the industry and timber industry in specific. In this regard, this thesis seeks to show that a long history of the livelihoods of the people in Bulawayo was largely dependent on the timber industry hence its demise affected the people.

1.2 The use of African Woodlands and Forests in Matebeleland North before 1894

Woodlands were central to people's spiritual needs and sacred groves were conserved for customary rain deities found throughout the miombo of Southern Africa.¹ Kwashirai says that the Teak Woodlands were synonymous with the survival and livelihood of the people and are found in present day, Umguza, Tsholotsho, Lupane, Hwange, Nkayi Bubi and Binga district.² The forest was pertinent for African people not only in Zimbabwe but across the continent. It was used for many purposes hence it is safe to argue that the life of natives was solely linked to the forest hence one could not place an iron curtain between the people and the forest. So important was the forest to the people that many strategies were devised to conserve it by all means necessary. Taboos were even created to protect land degradation and deforestation. Land was at the hands of those in power to ensure that it was conserved. Phimister for this reason refutes the view by hunter – traveller Frederick Selous that forests were void and empty landscape falling short of manipulation and utilization.³ The previous scholar adds that this notion was coined to cushion colonization.

More so, in pre – European Matebeleland and Mashonaland forests served multiple purposes. The activities ranged economic to religious. The economic activities covered firewood for cooking, bark for ropes, and fabrics, heating poles for building and fencing, browsing livestock, herbal medicine and food in form of fruits, roots, nuts and honey for the family.⁴ In light of the above assertion, it can be deduced that the forest played a crucial role with regards to the survival of the people. Following this line of thought, Clarke and Matose also

adds to the above postulating that the *gusu* (Forest) provided numerous economic opportunities such as pasture and wild animals, bee keeping and more recently the development of tourism.⁵ This evidence is a continuous illustration of the importance of the forest to the indigenous people. The capitalist perception that the *gusu* was under-utilized was somewhat overlooking of true facts in a bid to push the insatiable desire to monopolized African resources. For this reason, it is not surprising that during the verge of colonization, wide range of bias literature was produced to undermined indigenous people way of living in every way.

In addition, the forest was crucial to the indigenous people because it was sacrosanct. It facilitated religious ceremonies like rainmaking and initiation ceremonies for adolescent boys and ritual dances.⁶ More broadly, a myriad of economic, ideological and religious needs and views, dictated sustainable forest practices and a pursuit of essential harmony with the nature was evident between men and the forest.⁷ This rendered the forest sacred. Therefore, the forest was part and parcel of indigenous people as far as men can date back.

However, the emergence of capitalists changed the fortunes of the indigenous people as they were separated from the forest pushed to the unproductive reserves. After the defeat of the Ndebele by the BSAC, the forest management practises changed. Mashingaidze says that from the onset African rights to land were written off and land was regarded as the BSAC's commercial asset.⁸ Kwashirai says that as natives were pushed away from the forests, the BSAC hurriedly began to assess the forests of Matebeleland for commercial value therefore indigenous people were pushed into Gwaii Native reserve and Shangani Native reserve so as to aid capitalist business enterprise thus mining, agriculture and timber production hence this study is grounded upon the latter.⁹

1.3 The Development of Timber concession in Rhodesia from 1900 – 1945

The genesis of the timber industry can be traced in the Private Land Ordinance of 1898 which pushed indigenous people into reserves giving way to timber commerce enterprise. Alexander et al say that officials redefined African customs as theft of government property and therefore they limited access to the land.¹⁰ Beinart concurs that colonial states generally imposed conservation knowledge and technology upon Africans whose own ecological ideas and practises were sufficient but generally regarded as superstition by colonial governments.¹¹ These laws were proposed for the sole purpose of pushing the exploitation of the forest which was not only rich in minerals and agriculture but teak timber production. This marked the exploitation of woodlands for commercial purposes.

Katerere argues that the Sim report fed into the imaginations of timber concessionaires because it proclaimed fifty *gusu* species as commercially viable. The expert demonstrated the significance and economic potential of the region for the development of the timber industry as hinted by native commissioners of Gwai, Tangwani and Inyathi.¹² The foregoing scholar argues that the opportunity of an early industrialization process based on locally available timber as a raw material appears to have attracted government interest in the character and values of *gusu* and its management. They reported that *mkusu* (Teak) and Mtshibi accounted for approximately 80% of the *gusu* and the local teak resembled the American or Burma Teak.¹³ This undoubtedly raised hopes of a profitable business parallel to mining and agriculture. The value of timber was beginning to take firm root in Western Zimbabwe.

Mudekwe and Mushaka add that timber exploitation by private concessions was first recorded in Baikiaea forest in 1904. They argue that harvesting was concentrated on three commercial species thus the Zambezi Teak, Blood wood (mukwa/kiaat) and mchibi for railway sleepers, furniture and flooring hence various timber concessionaires who operated

during this period monopolized the foregoing species.¹⁴ The timber concessions were contractual agreements which were made by concessionaires and the forestry commission, private commercial farm and rural district council. A legal framework of licensing for periods not exceeding ten years regulated the concession system.¹⁵ Also during this era emerged the Matebele Timber Trust which was sought to shoulder the business venture.

Kwashirai points out that timber was used by mining organizations for the purpose of railway sleepers and building shafts.¹⁶ During this era, timber was exploited without control at alarming rates to fuel the craze of mining. However, the potential of timber was not fully recognised as it was used to facilitate mining hence this explains why there were no provisions for conservation. As it will be shown in the next section, due to the fact that timber was neglected, it encountered challenges that undermined its potential to be a powerful industrial sector. In this manner it should be noted that from the period 1900 – 1945 timber was monopolized by private individuals.

1.4 Challenges that undermined the Timber industry during its formative years

Following its formative years, it is important to note that the timber industry did not suddenly flourish however it gradually took time. It encountered many challenges. What clearly undermined the industrial boom of timber was mining and agricultural sectors where the hope of profit was placed upon by the capitalists. Katerere points out that in 1900 – 1908; there was only limited commercial felling of hardwood trees with the Matebele Timber Trust being granted a license to cut the mkusi (teak) and mtshibi species from 1905 – 06. Illegal wood cutters like Douglas and others operated with licenses.¹⁷ The lack of the forest officer led to unabated felling by the concessionaires. This was because the timber industry by this period was a neglected sector. The year after 1910, the forest branch was created within the ministry of Agriculture. It was tasked with the responsibility of dealing with forestry related issues and

ensuring the forest was managed with forestry related issues and ensuring the forest was conserved. Unfortunately the forestry lacked any forest officer or a dedicated member staff prior to 1920. In 1917, the BSAC signed a deal with Hepker Brothers (Rhodesia Native Timber Concessionaires). As many concessions were signed, the more exploitation occurred in the forest hence the lack of adequate conservation methods ensured the risk of timber extinction.

Henkel the part time forest officer reported that the timber industry like mining was doomed to extinction observing the method of felling which was practised in the forest. For this reason, it is important to note that the failure to realise the potential profit of timber made the BSAC during the early days neglect the sector which exposed it to persistent felling which led to the danger of deforestation. The company lacked skilled personnel to control the forests. This undermined the timber industry a chance to grow. The lack of a legal framework supporting local use of protected forests resulted in the destruction of forests and degradation of forest resources through poaching of forest products, causing of wild fires and overgrazing. In all this way, the timber industry did not blossom.

1.5 Conservation methods of the Forest after the Second World War

Conservation and the timber industry are duo elements that go hand in glove. Conservation of the forest was to become a prime priority for the colonial government lest the species went into extinction. Therefore, after the Second World War the timber industry was beginning to take firm root and there was growing concern by the colonial government to conserve the forests because of the realization that the industry was profitable and equally important as much as other industries in the country. For this reason, the Forest Act was designated in a bid to conserve the forest for timber commercialization. Katerere says that due to the economic and ecological importance of Baikiaea forests to the nation in particular and the

local people in general, there was an early development of interest in conservation and management of the forests in the 1900s, particularly with respect to the gazettement and protection of forest reserves. The preceding scholar says that the forest development was established in Southern Rhodesia in 1920 under the Ministry of Agriculture but it was until 1925 that a forest officer was posted to manage the Baikiaea forests in Western Zimbabwe.¹⁸ During the early 1920s as highlighted early, the conservation of the forests was not fully implemented up to the period after the second world war. Rai and Uhl say that the demand for non – timber forests for subsistence and encroachment into the forests for agriculture and settlement increased the rate of forest loss and forest degradation in many places in the world.¹⁹

The government under the Forest Act (1948) designated protected forests so as to curtail degradation and deforestation. In this instance the forest which catered for wildlife and timber production was placed in the hands of the government and could not be monopolized at will. The state had the power to grant permits for use, occupancy and management of these forests to individuals or private enterprises under the provision of the Forest Act. The conservation methods in this regard ensured the success of the timber industry even after independence.

1.6 The importance of the Timber industry and its established in Bulawayo

It is vital to note that one cannot talk about the establishment of the timber industry in Bulawayo without tracing its roots from Matebeleland North as the forests which enhanced the growing of timber were found in Nkayi, Tsholotsho, Lupane and Binga. Sawmills gave impetus to the establishment of timber companies in Bulawayo. Matebeleland North was the market where unprocessed timber was acquired and it became a lucrative business.

During the period 1966 – 1988, timber production increased internationally and hardwood rose by 54%.²⁰ Since hardwood was of the world's finest commercial timbers, it became the

major species to be exploited for commercial gains. From 1966 – 1988, timber concessions were replaced by major industrial companies that were established in Bulawayo.

Timber supplied railway sleepers, building construction, doors, parquet flooring and furniture wood. The timber industry has been a source of employment for people living in Bulawayo because of its diversity. After independence, companies such as Spearhead Timber Products, Durawood, Wood Force and Wood Warehouse were established in Bulawayo and timber became one of the booming industries in Bulawayo. The timber industry gave impetus to other wood related companies such as carpentry. For a long period of time, Bulawayo has been responsible for producing quality furniture for the nation and it is important to note that almost a quarter of the working percentage in Bulawayo depended on the timber industry or wood related companies. For this reason, the timber industry was important because it was a source of employment to the people in Bulawayo. However, its decline affected the working force in several ways which will be explored in this thesis.

1.7 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter highlighted the origins of the timber industry in Bulawayo. It unpacked that the existence of Timber companies in Bulawayo owed its existence to the Matebeleland North *gusu* where hardwood species were grown and felled. It is pertinent to note that during its early formative years, there only existed timber concession private companies who carried out felling and this industry was side-lined because the core industries were mining and agriculture. However, after the Second World War the timber industry expanded which saw the established of major timber companies since 1966. The survival of the timber and forest in Matebeleland North owed much to the Forest Act which controlled the protected forests from unprecedented random use by private and individual entities. Even after independence the forest was placed under the prerogative of the government. This was

vital to the timber industry because its survival relied on controlled use of the forest. After 1966, the timber enterprise became lucrative such that many companies were established in Bulawayo.

END NOTES

1. K. Kwashirai, Green Colonialism in Zimbabwe: 1890 – 1980, Cambria Press, New York, 2009, p34.
2. Ibid.
3. I. Phimister, “Discourse and Discipline of Historical Context: Conservationism and Ideas about Development in Southern African”, Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol 12(2), 1986, p264.
4. K. Kwashirai, “Green Colonialism in Zimbabwe...”,p36.
5. F. Matose and J. Clarke, “Who is the Guardian of Indigenous Forests”, D. G. Gumbo and D. J. Pierce (eds), The Ecology and Management of Indigenous Forests in Southern Africa, Proceedings of an International Symposium, Harare, 1993, p63.
6. <https://arboriculture.wordpress.com/2010/12/30/a-history-state-forestry-in-zimbabwe>. (Accessed 20/03/2019).
7. Ibid.
8. V. Mashingaidze, “Company Rule and Agricultural Development: The Case Study of the BSA Company in Rhodesia, 1908 – 1923”, Henderson Seminar no.43, University of Rhodesia, 1979, p2, <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/handle/123456789/1175>. (Accessed 24/03/19).
9. J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T. Ranger, Violence And Memory: One hundred years in the “Dark forests” of Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, Currey Press, Oxford, 2000, p 312.
10. V. C. Kwashirai, "Poverty in the Gwai Forest Reserve, Zimbabwe: 1880–1953." Global Environment 1, 2008, <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/4222>. (Accessed 25/02/2019).

11. W. Beinart, "Introduction: Politics of Colonial Conservation", in Journal of Southern African Studies, 15 (2), 1989, p. 159.
12. J. M. Katerere, "Legal and policy studies for Shared Forest", Management. Report produced for Forestry Commission/DFID Shared Forest, Management Project, Bulawayo, 2000.
13. Ibid.
14. J. Mudekwe, "The impact of subsistence use of Forest products and the dynamics of harvested woody species populations in a protected forest reserve in Western Zimbabwe", University of Stellenbosch, Cape Town, South Africa (unpublished thesis), 2006, p29.
15. Ibid.
16. V. C. Kwashirai, "Poverty in the Gwai Forest Reserve, Zimbabwe: 1880–1953." Global Environment 1, 2008, <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/4222>. (Accessed 25/02/2019).
17. J. M Katerere, "Legal and Policy studies for shared Forest..."
18. Ibid
19. N. D. Rai, and C. F. Uhl, "Forest product use, conservation and livelihoods: The case of Uppage fruit harvest in the Western Ghats, India". Conservation and Society, 2, 2004, p290.
20. <https://arboriculture.wordpress.com/2010/12/30/a-history-state-forestry-in-zimbabwe>. (Accessed 20/03/2019).

CHAPTER TWO: THE DECLINE OF TIMBER COMPANIES IN BULAWAYO

2.1 Introduction

This chapter solely addresses the factors that led to the decline of the timber companies in Bulawayo. It shows that multifaceted factors worked hand in glove thereby leading to the collapse of companies under review. As one of the important sectors in the country, the timber industry has been neglected hence as an outcome its contribution in the economy was often overlooked. Against this backdrop, this chapter seeks to trace how the timber industry went from being at the apex to be at its knees hence contributing the disappearing smoke that used to exude the blue skies of Bulawayo. In light of the above, the question to be addressed is how did the timber industry as the one of the country's important sector shift from prominence to rapid meltdown. The answer, it will be suggested, lies in a complex mix of points which entail, the decline of other industries, the indigenization policy, relocation of industries, inflation, politics, power shortages, lack of adequate government initiatives, departure of skilled labour, change of ownership, internal crises and the fiscal policy.

2.2 The Indigenization Policy

The Indigenization policy was a noble idea which sought to empower local people. Despite its clear purpose, it is important that it had very detrimental effects in the country's economy which undoubtedly led to the collapse of many industries in the country hence the timber industry also fell victim. Mlambo says that focusing on manufacturing, the year 2000 marked the start of a rapid and relentless de – industrialization process where a volume of manufacturing fell by 33% by 2005. The previous scholar adds that the indigenization policy was a controversial legislation which was designed to promote the indigenization of business operating in the country ranging from mines to manufacturing companies and other ventures.¹

The preceding scholar stresses out the policy in discussion served a duo purpose. On one hand, it sought to empower local people at the expense of foreigners. Weber and Mathews say this is resource nationalism a feature which was not peculiar in world politics. They highlighted that many countries even the USA adopted resource nationalism to protect their interests blocking Chinese investments and tightening of fiscal regimes in the extractive sectors.² On the other hand, it was used as a campaigning strategy by the ruling party to win the 2008 presidential elections.³

However, the results of the indigenization policy did not yield the desired outcome. It is important to note that the indigenization frustrated foreign investors such that the country fell short of foreign currency. Criticism of the recent notice is widespread, including within government circles. Key critics including the late former prime minister and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, argued that the notice was unlawful as it was not approved by the Zimbabwean cabinet. They have also voiced concern that the notice would threaten foreign investment into the country.⁴ Following this line of thought, Zimbabwe became an undesirable destination for investment.

Shumba argues that Zimbabweans interpreted and understood the Indigenisation Act differently. She gave daylight in stance between Francis Nhema (the former Minister of Indigenisation) and Saviour Kasukuwere. Shumba adds that during his term, Kasukuwere's primary goal was to obtain at least a 51% stake from foreign-owned-businesses in all segments of the economy. He seemed to be using a one-size-fits-all policy in dealing with different companies and mines, causing panic among foreign investors.⁵ The foregoing stresses out that the indigenization policy encouraged lawlessness as they were cases of individuals who tried to take over foreign owned companies under the pretext of indigenization.⁶ The aforementioned scholar gave a case where the ruling party's youth allegedly invaded buildings owned by foreigners claiming to be implementing the policy. The

indigenization policy was unpredictable and this proved to be a major blow for the timber companies in Bulawayo.

The politics around the implementation of the indigenization laid a dark cloud for the timber companies especially those who were foreign owned like Woodforce Timber Products. Shumba says that the foreign owned businesses blamed the Zanu Pf elite for lawlessness. The previous school of thought says that the investors might leave a country when they faced undesirable business risk tied to political instability and this was evident in Zimbabwe in which companies closed down because they felt threatened by hostile political environment in the implementation of indigenization.⁷

The former production manager of Woodforce Mr Mandlenkosi Dube recalled a board meeting with the owner of Woodforce Inio Diparma (Italian) who addressed his staff that he could not continue venturing in Zimbabwe. Blame was placed on the Indigenization policy which favoured local owned companies giving them 51% power. Since most timber companies were foreign owned, the results were predictable.⁸ The owners packed their bags and left, leaving the timber industry bereft. Steelforce, Woodforce and Wood Warehouse are all hardwood companies that collapsed due to the departure of their owners.

2.3 The impact of the Fast Track Land Reform and Timber Production

The timber or forestry industry plays an important economic role in Zimbabwe. In the financial year 2002, March the timber industry has generated Z\$9, 586 million in local sales of timber product, and Z\$104 (USD 419.3) million in export sales. The products include wattle extract, charcoal, paper, board products and matches.⁹ According to the previous stats, the timber was subjected to decline because of the complex issues that rose for the controversial land reforms.¹⁰ A lot of TPF members were evicted from plantations at the height of the 'fast track' land redistribution exercise, and thousands of hectares in woodlots

were destroyed to make way for crop production. Some of the destroyed plantations were founded on soil not ideal for crop production. As the future of timber looked uncertain, this was disastrous in that it constrained the planning and preparation for plantation and harvesting of timber. As of July 2002, a total of 7808 hectares of timber plantations have been lost to resettlements and through destruction by settlers.¹¹ This shows that the undermining of the timber sector in policy implementation affected the survival of the big timber industries in Zimbabwe in general. The production of timber scaled down due to the land invasion.

Jensen approaches a different angle when deliberating about the fall of industries in Zimbabwe with regards to the FTLRP. The foregoing says that in Zimbabwe agriculture played a critical role when one talks about industrialization. Agriculture was deemed as crucial because it provided food supplies for the growing population which was to supply labour and in providing raw materials. He postulates that when Zimbabwe had a good agricultural season, almost all categories of business thrive.¹² Sachikonye also leans towards the similar view adding that Zimbabwe failed to rise to the occasion to implement a land reform process that dovetailed with a growing manufacturing industry.¹³ The land reform also turned Zimbabwe into a pariah nation as it shun foreign investments and invited sanctions. This was the beginning of a bad omen to the timber industries. Foreign shareholders and company owners left the country and gave up their businesses.

2.4 The collapse of Hardware companies and its effects on Timber Companies

The collapse of Hardware companies affected the Timber industry in several ways. Hardware companies served the timber companies with spares that serviced their machinery, sharpened their blades, sold belts that ran the machinery and also other facilitated the buying of new blades. Mr Mandlenkosi Dube narrated that industry is a chain and in this regard if one

industry sneezed, the rest of other industries caught the cold.¹⁴ This was true in relation to the importance of the hardware companies to the timber Companies. As the economy took a nose dive, most hardware companies were closed and they were replaced by Chinese hardware shops. It is no exaggeration to posit that China products were and are still a popular parlance for “fake”. This was disadvantageous to the timber industries as fake products did not serve them accordingly. When machinery broke down spares to replace broken machinery could only be bought abroad hence with the collapse of the currency it was difficult to replace spares. As a result, as machinery deteriorated, production fell and companies were at the verge of collapse.

Mr Mandlenkosi Dube stressed out those owners resorted to selling their machinery so as to acquire profit.¹⁵ This led to the ultimate breakdown of the timber industry which led to the advent of small scale companies that relied on casual labour. The main reason for this predicament was that when owners sold their machinery, one could buy a set of machinery for a certain department like timber ripping or cross cutting. This led to a new trend of chain small scale industries where one industry concentrated on ripping while the other on crossing cutting and drying in kilns. In this manner, the size of the timber industry reduced drastically. These industries employed around 14 unskilled personnel. This proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the timber companies took a nose – dive.

2.5 Departure of Skilled Labour

The poor fortunes of the timber industrial sector cannot be fully appreciated without understanding the very damaging impacts of brain drain. Tavera and crush supports the foregoing assertion adding that brain drain or departure of skilled labour has been labelled as one of the development changes affecting African countries.¹⁶ The foregoing scholar states that emigration of skilled professionals poses a critical problem of replacement of the skilled

emigres, the loss of transfer of experience to younger cohorts.¹⁷ These scholars blame the failure of the Zimbabwean economy arguing that there would be no brain drain if conditions at home were conducive for skilled people to stay home and the duo scholars in study point out that the push – forces in terms of domestic conditions intensified considerably over the last decade. Zivanai is in support of this view pointing that one of the reasons which led to brain drain was the contraction of formal employment owing to companies' downsizing, reducing working periods and low salaries. In this regard, to Zivanai, the employment levels fell.¹⁸ Brain drain undoubtedly was a curse to the timber industry as it affected the growth of the industry such that most of the reliable workers left to pursue fertile soils and this led to the downscale in the performance of the industry since it ran out of experts.

Nginga of the Durawood Products in Bulawayo pointed out that when their company started downsizing and cutting off salaries from top management to general workers experts handed out resignation letters than to continue working under strenuous conditions.¹⁹ Also, in an interview with Miss Winnie Moyo of Woodforce, the researcher was told that some of the experts that left wanted to secure their future. The foregoing participant stated that the economic conditions in Zimbabwe were unpredictable and therefore most experts could not take the risk.²⁰ In this context, timber experts departed to Mozambique and South Africa. Some of the top management were beneficiaries of liquidation such that they left their companies with machinery and therefore started small scale enterprise.

A survey of the small scale timber companies that existed in Bulawayo during the period under study shows that the owners of these companies were the staff of the declined gigantic timber industries. Experts in this context preferred to start their businesses than to work under what they deemed as unfair labour practises. As more experts departed to varying destinations, the more timber industries fell. Therefore, those seeking for factors responsible

for the collapse of the timber industries in Bulawayo must seriously consider departure of skilled labour as one of the factors.

2.6 Failure of government Initiatives to save the drowning Industry

During the period under study, the government failed to come – up efficient strategies that were necessary to revive the timber industry in Zimbabwe. This stemmed from the fact that the government possibly was focused on other industries that were deemed vital to the economy. The timber companies in Bulawayo were neglected and it became difficult to revive the decaying companies. With inadequate funds, the timber companies were at the bottom of the packing order meaning to say that it was utterly impossible or even a dream if those funds dedicated to revive the economy reached the timber companies because they were obviously inadequate.

Munyaka argues that fixing Bulawayo's woes was beyond the government's capabilities such that even the \$40 million deal available in 2011 to revive the distressed industries was nothing but a drop in the ocean.²¹ Munyaka adds that the then minister Mike Bimha admitted that the resources were limited and could not have met industry's requirements. Even the former president of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe admitted that the cities were dying; Bulawayo which was once a thriving industrial hub had become a sorry industrial scrapyard.²² Therefore, it is of paramount significance to note that the timber companies especially those who were foreign owned needed loans to boost the new management and save the companies from collapsing. By virtue of lack of government initiatives from the government, most companies preferred liquidation which was the final blow to the survival of the timber companies.

There were complaints from the timber company top management because of the hostile policies that did little to help the struggling industries. As a result, after passing the

indigenous policy the government failed to provide incentives that would help the companies. The policy was ambiguous and therefore affected the industries in Bulawayo.

2.7 Shortages of power and deterioration of infrastructural facilities

The fall of the timber industry in Bulawayo can be explained in terms of decay of infrastructural facilities and shortages of power. A well-developed transport and communications infrastructure network is a prerequisite for the access of less-developed communities to core economic activities and services. Effective modes of transport, including quality roads, railroads, ports, and air transport, enable entrepreneurs to get their goods and services to markets in a secure and timely manner and facilitate the movement of workers to the most suitable jobs.²³ Spearhead Timber Products general worker during the period recalled a time when there was no fuel in the city such that the logs that were to be acquired from sawmills in Lupane was a failure.²⁴ This example is a tip of the iceberg as there were many accounts where the business had to stop because of transport issues.

The shortage of electricity in Zimbabwe during the period under study is another factor that vividly explained the collapse of the timber companies in Zimbabwe. Economies also depend on electricity supplies that are free of interruptions and shortages so that businesses and factories can work unimpeded. Zimbabwe produced 1 237MW of electricity against a peak demand of 2 200 MW of electricity thereby leaving a deficit that had to be imported but because of foreign currency shortages and a liquidity crunch, power shortages became the order of the day making industrial capacitation nearly impossible.²⁵ In this regard, companies found it very difficult to work under these conditions as they relied solely on electricity for production of timber.

The constant power cuts during the year 2010 – 2012 affected the timber companies. Mr Mandlenkosi Dube (former Woodforce production manager) complained that due to load

shedding, the production of the company was compromise such that they had to pay workers to continuously work overnight so as to balance the lost hours during the day.²⁶ He says this affected the profit margins as workers demanded way too to work at night. The use of generators was costly because of the shortages of fuel in the country. Fuel was found at black markets where prices were ridiculously high such that the Woodforce Company opted to work at night. This contributed towards the decision of liquidation of the company. The Italian Inio Diparma opted to close the company.

2.8 Corruption, Inflation and Flawed Fiscal Policies

The researcher ascertain that corruption, inflation and flawed fiscal policy are factors that worked hand in glove in bringing about the fall of timber companies in Bulawayo as one factor led to the other. One can no longer be faulted to argue that the roots of inflation and flawed fiscal policy dated back from the year 1997. Raftopoulos says that the government made a huge blunder where it succumbed to war veterans' grievances who demanded compensation for their war efforts. Thus, the government responded by offering huge sums of money to the soldiers which crippled the economy. Raftopoulos adds that former president Robert Mugabe sent soldiers to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to protect Kabila's regime. This further strained the country's currencies.²⁷

Zimbabwe had one of the strongest economies in Southern Africa but this led to inflation which hit the nation hard in general and the timber companies in particular. It then became difficult to run things smoothly and things became so hard for the timber companies until the currency became valueless.

As a panacea to the foregoing were defective policies that only added assault to injury. These solutions were dedicated to solving inflation. From printing valueless papers to introducing fiscal policies that further damaged the economy, this was a sign of the government in panic

and short of ideas. Rather coming up with ideas which supported the industries, the government further disadvantaged them. The government started holding onto companies for FOREX from exports. All the products from exports went through the RBZ bank and company were told to apply for their money if they needed FOREX. Mr Mandlenkosi Dube explained that at first it took 30days to be allocated one's money but it changed to 90 days. The next thing companies got their money half in Zimbabwe dollars and half in forex.²⁸ At the end of the day it became very strenuous for companies to work under these restricting conditions.

The companies fell short of foreign currency to order spares from South Africa and Botswana because FOREX could not be acquired. This contributed to the nose – dive of the ailing timber industry in Bulawayo. Perhaps Mbira was closer to the truth in pointing out that whilst lack of funding was a significant contribution to de – industrialization of Bulawayo, there were other primary factors that had a hand and these included the unavailability of capital, low demand and unfavourable tax environment.²⁹ The price control that was initiated by the Zimbabwean government discouraged invest in Zimbabwean industries. Most investors choose to invest elsewhere rather than settle for an unprofitable business venture. Price control also led to reduction of salaries and retrenchments as the company owners wanted to make profit. Therefore, it is against the preceding view that the companies of timber buckled.

2.9 Relocation of Timber companies to Harare and Manicaland

As more companies liquidated and downsized, others opted to relocate and hence the obvious destinations were Harare and Manicaland because the former had better conditions for industrial survival while the later was one of the most major companies of timber in Zimbabwe. As the economy dwindled, it is of paramount significance to note that it suffered

from uneven development. This is to say that developments in the country differed according to province by province. Due to the centralization of power, Harare became a beneficiary such that when the cancer of industrial closure was spreading in other big industrial regions, Harare was to a less extent feeling the weight. Industries and businesses were supported such that this attracted companies in Bulawayo to relocate to Harare hence by virtue of this predicament companies preferred Harare to Bulawayo.

Also another route for loggers and timber companies in Bulawayo was Manicaland. The major companies that manipulate timber in Manicaland were Wattle Company and Border Timbers. The environment and weather conditions in Manicaland were best suited for the production of timber in Zimbabwe, Manicaland stood as the largest timber producer in the nation. Its impact can be seen in that according to Murisa it more than 15 000 people.³⁰

This presented a clear opportunity for the struggling timber companies in Bulawayo to shift their companies to better suited areas and Manicaland was the destination. For this reason, the researcher noted that the case of relocation by Bulawayo companies particularly timber has not been researched hence it will be of paramount significance if such a contribution is made which is offering a study on the relocation of industries. Consequently, relocation utterly destroyed the once upon a time industrial hub leaving the industrial sites a house of churches and Chinese warehouses and wholesales. The city was bereft and it no longer exuded smoke but has become the mecca of religious ceremonies where thousands flock during weekends to church. This shift revealed that the government was not dedicated to revive the industries in Bulawayo. For this reason, the gigantic industries vanished.

2.10 Internal Crises and change of company ownership

It would be faulty to narrate the fall of timber companies without delving into the internal calamities that were a final nail to the coffin. The first major problem was mismanagement.

Most timber companies were subjected to mismanagement. Mrs Winnie Moyo complained that during the eve of company closure, top management were monopolizing resources to suit their own needs.³¹

Secret deals were made with customers where managers were selling timber in secret to private customers. Private customers preferred to buy timber secretly from private deals because it was cheap and they used foreign currency which attracted secret deals because people were not getting paid so the deals were attractive to them. This was the advent of black marketization of the timber company. Other claims suggested that those who had power also had lost zeal to work for their companies after several complaints of low wages. As a result, the timber companies were ran on a slow pedal. This was also facilitated by the departure of skilled labour.

The breakdown of machinery also undermined the existence of the timber companies. The decline of hardware companies was a blow to the timber companies because wood processing machines required constant check-ups hence the closure of hardware companies was a curse to the timber companies. It is important to note that spares were imported from South Africa and Bostwana. For this reason, the companies needed foreign currency to trade however the chances of getting access to foreign currency were slim. This destroyed machinery such that such that closure was more reasonable than enduring.

Also change of company ownership affected the survival of timber companies. This was prompted by the indigenous policy. One case in point was the fall of Wood Warehouse which was owned by Fredric Sage before indigenization. The foreign investor found conditions in Zimbabwe difficult after the indigenization policy such that he sold the company to locals. The decline of Wood Warehouse products was due to the consistent change of company ownership. From the period 2010 – 14, Wood Warehouse was reported to have changed

owners three times. This was a symbol of instability hence as a result the company declined. In the case of take-overs, the new owners tended not to have the knowledge, experience and connections to reach anything like the former levels of productivity, so their returns, as well as their output, declined sharply which led to the fall of the industry.³²

2.11 Conclusion

In summation, those seeking for factors that were responsible for the collapse of timber companies must look no further than the preceding factors. It has been revealed a plethora of reasons from internal to external crises worked simultaneously in facilitating the downfall of the timber companies in Bulawayo. Information gathered was largely based upon participants who laboured in the timber companies during the period under study. Companies studied were the Spearhead Timber Company, Durawood Products, Woodforce and Wood Warehouse. In light of the above assertion, the indigenization policy, flawed fiscal policies, corruption, mismanagement, change of company ownership, decline of hardware companies, shortages of electricity, relocation of companies and internal company crises worked hand in glove in bringing the timber company to its knees. The next section focuses on the effects of the decline of timber companies on workers.

END NOTES

1. A. S, Mlambo, “From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors: Over Two Decades of Economic Decline and De – industrialization 1990 – 2015”, Journal of Developing Societies, 33 (1), 2017, p115.
2. M. Weber, “Nations and Nationalism: Political Economy before Political Sociology”, The Canadian Journal of Sociology, Vol 29 (3), 2004, p50.
3. Ibid, p50.
4. B. Patel, “Indigenization Law to affect more sectors in Zimbabwe”, www.homewemadeitinAfrica.com/indigenization-law-to-affect-more-sectors-in-zimbabwe/19150. (Accessed 23/04/19).
5. B. M. Shumba, “An Evaluation of Indigenization Policy in Zimbabwe”, http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/12058/shumba-sibusisiwe_monica_an_evaluation_of_indigenization_policy_2014.pdf. (Accessed 30/04/19)
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 10 February 2019.
9. <https://www.fhi.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (accessed 26 March 2019).
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. S. Jensen, “Land, Growth and Governance: Tenure Reform and Visions of Progress in Zimbabwe”, in A. Hammer, B. Raftopoulos and S. Jensen (eds), Zimbabwe’s Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the context of Crisis, Weaver Press, Harare, 2003, p248.

13. L. Sachikonye, Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012, p96.
14. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 20 March 2019.
15. Ibid.
16. D. S. Tevera and J. Crush, The new Brain Drain From Zimbabwe, Southern African Migration, 2003, www.samponline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Acrobat29.pdf
17. Ibid
18. B. Zivanai, "Investigating the De-industrialization process in Zimbabwe since 1980", Department of Developmental Studies (unpublished thesis), <https://ir.msu.ac.zwi8080/spui/bitstream/11400/2038/1/Brenda%20disertation%205%20final.pdf> (accessed 15/02/2019).
19. Interview with Nginga, Esigodini, 12 January 2019.
20. Interview with Miss Winnie Moyo, Bulawayo, 23 March 2019.
21. T. Munyaka, "Industrial Empire Bulawayo reduce to Ghost Town", Mail and Guardian, 2014 July 25, www.lalr.org.za/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_working_papers_1/LALRWP. (Accessed 20/03/19).
22. Ibid.
23. "The history of De-industrialization in Bulawayo" <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/the-history-of-de-industrialization-in-Bulawayo>.
24. Interview with Nginga, Esigodini, 12 January 2019.
25. "The history of De-industrialization in Bulawayo" <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/the-history-of-de-industrialization-in-Bulawayo>.
26. Interview with Mr Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 02 April 2019.
27. B. Raftopoulos, "The Labour Movement and the Emergence of Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe", in B. Raftopoulos and L. Sachikonye (eds), Striking Back: The Labour

Movement And the Post – Colonial State in Zimbabwe 1980 – 2000, Weaver Press, Harare, 2001, p8.

28. Interview with Mr Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 26 March 2019.

29. L. Mbira, “The De-Industrialization of Bulawayo Manufacturing Sector in Zimbabwe: Is the Capital Vacuum to Blame?” International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management, vol 3(3), March 2015, p2.

30. Ibid.

31. Interview with Miss Winnie Moyo, Bulawayo, 25 March 2019.

32. <https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (Accessed 10/04/19).

CHAPTER THREE: THE EFFECTS OF THE DECLINE OF TIMBER COMPANIES TO WORKERS

3.1 Introduction

The collapse of the timber companies in Bulawayo had devastating effects on its workers. This chapter seeks to look at these effects in depth. In this account, it is important to note that at first the timber company sustained its workers such that many had houses and were living decent lives in Bulawayo. This chapter establishes that the effects of the decline were damaging to the workers. The decline of the big industries led to the advent of small scale companies which were a remedy to many employees who lost their jobs after the decline. Moved by desperation and a push for survival, workers flocked into these small scale companies as a result they were subjected to many challenges. These included low payment, poor working conditions and long working hours. Apart from the aforementioned, the decline led to loss of jobs, relocation to rural areas, poverty and loss of property, family disintegration, migration, and cross border trading. However, despite being overshadowed with gloom, the slump of timber companies was optimism of grace to some workers. The decline gave birth to small scale locally owned companies, creation of employment to the youth and rise of female entrepreneurs. This section asserts that while the downside of the decline of timber companies is not a pleasant story to tell, some positives can be drawn from it.

Negative Effects

3.2 Loss of Employment

The closure of timber companies led to unemployment as workers lost their jobs. According to Sachikonye, the decade long crisis caused significant de-industrialization as well as

underutilization which had sunk to about 15% in some sectors in 2008. The foregoing scholar says that retrenchments were widespread.¹ He adds that these developments combined with around 80% unemployment contributed to the growth of the informal economy.² Most workers struggled to keep their heads above the water. The period from 2009 saw many timber companies closing because of the combined factors that were dealt with in chapter 2. Mlambo asserts that by 2014, de-industrialization reached catastrophic levels with 4, 610 companies closing since 2011 which resulted in the loss of 55 000 jobs.³ Industries faced erratic power and water supplies, liquidity constraints and competition from imports. They were faced with low product demand, lack of working capital, machine breakdown, and high cost of production.⁴

Durawood, Spearhead Timbers and Woodforce employed more than 20 000 workers combined hence after these companies shut down, three quarters of the aforementioned figure found themselves jobless. Mr Frank former general worker of the Spearhead Timber Company confessed that it was hard to cope because the fall of their company was not expected or else it came rather too soon.⁵ He says that when retrenchments were announced only 20 general workers retained their jobs with the rest asked to leave. This case was not isolated to Spearhead companies. Wood Warehouse is another company where many workers were dismissed due to the company struggles.⁶ For this reason, a chain of timber companies started closing leaving workers in desperation as their contracts were cut without compensation. Loss of employment had a negative impact on the workers as it led to the following factors to be discussed.

3.3 From Permanent Workers to Casual Labourers

One of the most notorious factors of the decline of the timber companies in Bulawayo such as Durawood, Spearhead Timbers, Woodforce Products amongst others is that it to the sprouting

of small scale timber companies all over Bulawayo. Mr Gumede one of the owner of small scale companies that were started after the collapse of the gigantic companies revealed that when big industries collapsed, many permanent workers sought salvation from these companies.⁷ The foregoing lamented that the unfortunate part about these industries was that it took and utilized casual labour for many reasons one which was the fact that the industry was still premature and worse lacking financial injection from the government. In this regard, most permanent were the first preference to these companies because they were familiar with the job. As a way of keeping their heads above the water, most permanent workers turned to small scale companies as survival tactics. However, working in those companies the workers were subjected to unfair labour practises.

Working as casual workers the major problem was that they were subjected to lack of protective clothing. Mlibazisi Moyo (woodmizer operater) said that protective clothing was of the major problem they encountered as casual workers. He narrated that small scale timber companies offered no clothing that protected them from perilous machines. The timber companies operated dangerous machinery which was used to process teak or hardwood into planks.⁸ The timber companies were recommended to use gloves, boots, overall clothes and glasses to protect workers against hazardous machines such as cross cutters, rip saws, woodmizers and kerfkings used in the processing of timber.

A survey on these companies showed that none of the above was provided. This exposed workers to many unprecedented dangers such as being cut by machinery. Mlibazisi Moyo said that they were numerous accounts where cross-cut operators were being cut by machines due to the lack of gloves. Another case at Teakwood Timbers (a small scale company) was when one of the labourers was injured by a log while offloading the truck. Offloading before industrial closure was achieved through the use of machines however small scale companies

used human labour.⁹ As a result, most of the former permanent workers resorted to staying home than working under life threatening circumstances.

3.3.1 Poor Working Conditions

Working as casual workers in the small scale timber companies, former timber workers were exposed to poor working conditions. Sachikonye argues that as a result of broader economic crisis, most of those engaged in the informal economy led a hand - to - mouth existence as they worked excessive hours and yet generated incomes that were not sufficient to sustain their basic needs.¹⁰ One of the small scale company in Kelvin (an Industrial site in Bulawayo) which dealt with blocking of logs was reported to work from 7am up to 8pm.¹¹ The small scale timber companies were very demanding due to the need for high returns. However, the use of limited workforce forced the existing workers to sweat.

A survey revealed that labourers encountered long working hours without being given overtime and the labour was intensive. Labour which was executed by machinery was replaced by human hands and this amounted to abuse. Logs were pushed by hands into machines. One of the informants who laboured at Belmont Construction gave an instance when a particular driver from King George School visited the company to buy firewood and the driver observing what the workers were doing lamented that the working condition were tantamount to human slavery. In the words of the informant, the driver said, “even in this pressing economy, no human being deserves to suffer like this.”¹²

Bhebe and Mahapa say retrenchments made workers to subconsciously give in to exploitation. They argue that driven by desperation to surviving in a sinking ship, the workers were forced to submit to any circumstances as long as they got something out of it.¹³ There were also cases of poor hygiene in the small scale timber companies. Workers cooked on dirty pots. Contractors rented old firms whose conditions deteriorated by the tick of the clock.

In this regard, it was reported that during rainfall, water seeped into the firms with extremely dangerous voltages which exposed workers to injuries or worse death.¹⁴ From the above, it is clear that the decline of big enterprises exposed workers to unprecedented exploitation.

3.3.2 Low Wages

Despite the fact that workers laboured long working hours under precarious conditions, they were also being paid peanuts. Employees were in survival mode such that they were paid \$US50 for a two weeks project. The salary included transport and breakfast. Many labourers were complaining about this and to make matters worse, they were restricted from raising any complaints against the contractor. The authoritarian industrial relation that defined the colonial capitalist mode of operation was adopted in this scenario. This shows that big industry closure to workers was a curse as they fought hard to survive in these instances.

3.4 Relocation to Rural Areas

Mr Dube (former Woodforce Timber Products production manager) said that during the era when industries were still functioning normal, all workers were living conducive as there was no exploitation to talk about. He added that workers were well paid such that they could afford to buy house stands, homesteads and farms and they were paid weekly in the old firms.¹⁵ However, coupled with economic hardship, workers' fortunes changed such that most had to relocate to rural areas. In an interview with Mkhululi Tshuma former Woodforce Timber Products employee, Mkhululi disclosed that when the company closed in 2010 he was forced to take his wife and two sons to Nkayi where he resides currently.¹⁶ Mkhululi Tshuma said that due to the decline, the going got tougher such that he was not able to pay rentals for the house he rented therefore he resorted to dwell in the rural areas. Mkhululi

Tshuma also pointed out that many of his friends either went to South Africa or dwell in the rural areas. The economic decline hit hard on the timber workers hence it led to poverty.

3.5 Migration

Crush and Tevera says when modern states go into terminal decline or fail altogether, the predictable response of ordinary people is to get out, as soon as they can, to wherever they can go. Zimbabwe has now joined the list of 'crisis-driven' migrations which includes such recent African crises as Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Somalia and Sierra Leone.¹⁷ The duo scholars in question say that after 1990, the accelerating social, political and economic crisis in the country led to a rush for the exits. An economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression and deepening poverty proved to be powerful, virtually irresistible, push factors for many Zimbabweans.¹⁸ Following this line of thought, it is vital to note that the closure of timber companies in Bulawayo prompted the departure of many workers to neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Botswana.

Most workers gave up their professions to go and work in South Africa and Botswana for low salaries. Attracted by the myths and realities about the neighbouring countries, most workers saw South Africa and Botswana as a destination where they could survive. It should be noted that migration cannot no longer be viewed as "simply migration" thus an easy transition from destination A to destination B, because of the impacts it had on the people who migrated. Most people died during illegal cross border migration in the dangerous Limpopo River. Senelisiwe Ndebele (former Woodforce employee) said that her loss of the job at Woodforce Timber Products had very destructing effects in her life as she had to leave her mom and brothers for South Africa to try and survive. Mlambo is of the view that as soon as the forces propelling this unprecedented out-migration are reversed, there is a possibility that Zimbabwe

will attract back many of those who have left, becoming once again a country of both origin and destination.¹⁹ This view reveals that people who migrated to neighbouring countries detested how their lifestyle dropped and by any chance given they could return home. Senelisiwe Ndebele also pointed out that leaving Zimbabwe for South Africa affected her dream of pursuing journalism in carpentry as she had to work in a coffee shop in South Africa.²⁰ Migration also had led to family disintegration.

3.5.1 Family Disintegration

The loss of jobs resulted to migration and as an end result migration led to family disintegration. It is of critical importance to note that as former timber workers fought for survival after job loss, migration seemed to be the most sensible way of surviving and feeding the family. For this reason, most workers left their families to head to South Africa and Botswana. Migration of the family heads left children to bear many responsibilities which affected their childhood. Mazibuko posits that from a traditional viewpoint, a father is the head of the family and he is responsible for decision making while the mother plays an advisory role.²¹ Due to migration, the child is expected to carry the hopes, dreams and ambitions of an entire family.²² Winnie Moyo (former Woodforce employee) confessed that when she lost her job, she left her children, girl and a boy aged 14years and 10years respectively to work in Botswana. She recalled that she had to place her hopes on her first born daughter.²³

Demurger says that due to family disintegration the education of children is affected. The foregoing argues that a child starts dreaming about his/her migration in the future. This in turn might either encourage or discourage a child's education, depending on perceived returns to education in prospective jobs.²⁴ Demurger also says that the parents' migration may lead to a redistribution of decision making and responsibilities with the household, which can

affect child schooling because the new decision makers cares more or less about investment in education than the migrating parents.²⁵ This observation by Demurger is closer to the truth as the interview held with Blessed Bidi reflects his views. Blessed Bidi was one of the victims of family disintegration because of migration. He said that after his two brothers who worked at Durawood departed to South Africa, he lost the zeal to continue schooling because the future looked gloom in Zimbabwe.²⁶ In this manner the informant had to drop his secondary education to live with his brothers in South Africa.

3.6 Cross Border Trading

Another escape route for the former timber workers was to engage in cross border trading. Cross border trading was a source of survival for the imminent danger of starvation and poverty sparked by joblessness. Cross border trade between South Africa and Zimbabwe spiralled due to economic crisis in Zimbabwe. Chani argues that this was due to a complex of factors which entailed high unemployment, high inflation, shortages of foreign currency, shortages of goods and commodities, high levels of poverty, and food insecurity.²⁷ Leaning towards the similar view, Mwaniki says that unemployment in Zimbabwe which stood close to 94% had forced many people to shift to the informal sector where they hoped to earn a living among such group were cross border traders who frequently travel to neighbouring countries to sell their products and return home with more goods for re-sale and some foreign currency.²⁸

As cross border traders, many people were exposed to life threatening situations. Chiliya certifies this argument pointing out that people who engaged in cross border trading faced many challenges which included sexual harassment, crime, theft, extortion, bribery, accommodation problems, harassment by police, stigmatization of women as witches and prostitutes.²⁹ Rutherford indicated that cross border trading heightened xenophobia where

many traders were targeted especially in Cape Town and Gauteng provinces. The previous scholar adds that in townships such as Alexander there was widespread of hostility towards foreigners.³⁰ In an interview with Winnie Moyo (former Woodforce worker), the informant revealed that when she was travelling to Botswana and at times South Africa to acquire goods to sell in Zimbabwe, she was victimized and she gave an account of some people who were lost in Limpopo river when they were cross to South Africa. Even worse, she narrated that she wants lost all her goods and money in the Zimbabwean such that she had to sleep in the bush for three days.³¹ Such were the effects of timber industrial closure to the workers. Many workers found themselves in life threatening situation because of the need to survive.

Positive Effects

3.7 Rise of Female Entrepreneurs in the Timber Industry

It is a true worth acknowledging that when people talk about the effects of the demise of any company on workers they tend to concentrate on the downsides. While this assumption is justified, this section attempts to show that despite causing damage to many workers, the slump of timber companies presented some opportunities to a handful of workers. The first notable positive which came along with industrial collapse is that it paved way for female entrepreneurs in Bulawayo in relation to the timber industry. In light of the above assertion, an innovative entrepreneurial firm in Bulawayo called Teakwood was owned and run by Duduzile Dube. The firm concentrates on timber processing and making house roofing, door frame, wooden tiles, benches for schools and restaurants in Bulawayo. Duduzile Dube said that before the collapse of the gigantic timber companies, it was very strenuous to engage in small scale timber production because of stiff competition.³²

Also in Makokoba (Bulawayo) there were about three small scale timber companies that were reportedly ran by women according to Duduzile Dube. She said that though the collapse of the big timber companies was a curse to many, she was proud that it paved way to women to also test local resources.³³ The timber industry was male dominated and even on recruitment, there were less than 5% women who were employed in the industry because of the traditional view that men had the ability to work in the industry than women. However, the rise of small scale timber companies led to a new trend of women engaging in the timber business.

3.8 Employment Creation for the Youth and Unskilled Labour

In an interview with Mr Mandlenkosi Dube the owner of a small scale timber company in Bulawayo, the informant revealed that the rise of small scale timber companies all over Bulawayo is a blessing to the people of Bulawayo. He narrated that even though they cannot recruit as many people as the large timber companies did during their era, the small scale timber companies are a panacea to the stress of galloping unemployment in Bulawayo.³⁴ The informant added that the big timber industries' recruitment policy was very strict such that less people were getting jobs in that industry. He said this was covered by economic stability such that people were employed in other sectors and given a chance that the timber industry survived in face of economic slump, that weakness was going to be exposed.³⁵ The big timber industries employed people with qualifications such as 5o' levels and diplomas. This made it difficult for the unqualified youth and unskilled labourers.

However, the rise of small scale timber companies offered an opportunity for the youth and unskilled labour to earn a living in the depressing economy. Duduzile Dube said their recruitment policy targeted one major problem thus to halt the suffering of the youth in the city which creates problems such as crime in the city. She said that even if they did not

recruit as many youths as they would have liked to because of the limitations of their company, they targeted the youth.³⁶ The small scale timber companies employed the youth and the unskilled. In this manner, it is important to note that the fall of the timber companies paved way for the consideration of the youth and unemployed.

3.9 Rise of Small Scale Timber Companies

The collapse of the big timber companies in Bulawayo led to the advent of small scale timber companies who were locally owned. Since independence, many people were in sullen silence over the manipulation of local resources by the whites. Though this was popular in agriculture and to a small scale mining, also the timber industry was one of the sectors that was flooded by white people. Almost half of the timber companies that existed in Bulawayo since independence were foreign owned. Fredrick Sage and Inio Diparma were owners of the biggest timber companies in Bulawayo namely Woodware house and Woodforce respectively. The sprouting of small scale timber companies given impetus by the indigenization policy led to locally owned companies. This polishes the notion that the fall of timber companies in Bulawayo was not a complete disaster as it led to the rise of small scale timber companies.

3.10 Conclusion

As shown in this chapter, the collapse of the timber companies in Bulawayo had death threatening effects on the workers. The timber workers were exposed to many challenges that made it tough to survive after the collapse of the companies. One of the major bearings of the decay of timber companies was job loss. Many workers were retrenched as companies either closed or downsized. The effects were awful to labourers. They transformed from permanent workers to casual workers. As a result, they were subjected to low wages and poor working

conditions. By virtue of company closure, family disintegration, migration, cross border trading and relocation to rural areas were amongst the challenges that haunted the workers. Nonetheless, this thesis also revealed that despite total darkness, there was a ray of light after the collapse of timber companies. The collapse of the gigantic timber companies led to the rise of small scale timber companies. Women were involved in the timber enterprise and there was job creation for the youth and unskilled. The next chapter deals with strategies undertaken by the government to resuscitate the ailing timber business in Zimbabwe in general and Bulawayo in particular.

END NOTES

1. L. Sachikonye, Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012, p103.
2. Ibid, p103.
3. A. S. Mlambo, "A History of Zimbabwean Migration", in J. Crush and D. Tevera (eds), Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration and Survival, Southern African Migration Programme, Kingston, 2010, p73.
4. Ibid, p73.
5. Interview with Frank, Bulawayo, 10 March 2019.
6. Ibid.
7. Interview with C. Gumede, Bulawayo, 10 March 2019.
8. Interview with Mlibazisi Moyo, Nkayi, 12 February 2019.
9. Ibid.
10. L. Sachikonye, Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012, p104.
11. Interview with Proud Mpfu, Bulawayo, 5 March 2019.
12. Interview with Goodwill Dube, Bulawayo, 5 March 2019.
13. Q. Bhebe and M. Mahapa, "The Decline in Trade Unions Density in the 21th in Zimbabwe: A case of Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union", Journal of Human Resources and Labor Studies, Vol 2 (1), 2014, p70.
14. Interview with Kelvin Mbambo, Bulawayo, 12 March 2019.
15. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.
16. Interview with Mkhululi Tshuma, Nkayi, 6 February 2019.
17. J. Crush and D. Tevera, "Existing Zimbabwe", Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration and Survival, Southern African Migration Programme, Kingston, 2010, p1.

18. Ibid, p1.
19. Interview with Senelisiwe Ndebele, Bulawayo, 14 March 2019.
20. Ibid.
21. R. P. Mazibuko, “The Effects of Migrant Labour on the Family System”, University of South Africa, South Africa, https://www.uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/18183/disertation.mazibuko_rpth_e_effects_of_migrant_labour_on_the_family_system.PDF?sequence=. (Accessed 20/03/19).
22. Ibid.
23. Interview with Winnie Moyo, Bulawayo, 21 February 2019.
24. S. Demurger, Migration and Families left behind, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01179060/file/migration-and-families-left-behind-1.pdf> (Accessed 16/03/19)
25. Ibid.
26. Interview with Blessed Bidi, Bulawayo, 24 March 2019.
27. C. Chani, “Informal Cross – Border Trade: A review of its impacts on household Poverty reduction in Zimbabwe” University of Fort Hare, Pretoria, South Africa (Unpublished Masters Dissertation), 2008.
28. J. Mwaniki, The Impact of Informal Cross Border Trade on regional Integration in SADC and its Implications for Wealth Creation, https://www.streetneat.org.za/wp-content/pdf/corn,the_impact_of_informal_cross_border_trade_on_regional_integratio_in_sadc_and_its_implications_for_wealth_creation.PDF (Accessed 1/04/19).
29. N. Chiliya, “Challenges Facing Zimbabwean Cross Border Traders Trading in South Africa: A Review of Literature”, Chinese Business Review, Vol 11(6), 2012.

30. B, Rutherford, Zimbabweans Living in the South African Border Zone: Negotiating, Suffering and Surviving, www.concernedafricafricascholars.org/docsacasbulletin.80-6. (Accessed 10/04/2019).
31. Interview with Winnie Moyo, Bulawayo, 21 February 2019.
32. Interview with Duduzile Dube, Bulawayo, 12 March, 2019.
33. Ibid.
34. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.

CHAPTER 4: THE STRATEGIES USED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE SMALL AND MEDIUM TIMBER ENTERPRISES IN ZIMBABWE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the strategies used by the government to promote Small and Medium Timber Enterprises in Zimbabwe. As articulated in previous chapters, the plunge of the big timber industries saw the emergence if not genesis of small scale timber industries sprouting all over Bulawayo. In this manner this chapter will concentrate on the strategies used by the government to promote SMEs particularly Timber SMEs. The section will cover the importance of SMEs in Zimbabwe, government plan to promote SMEs, effectiveness of these strategies and challenges faced by SMEs timber companies despite measures employed by the government. Lastly, this chapter will analyse the factors that ensured the survival and growth of small scale timber companies despite enormous challenges they faced in the bedridden economy.

4.2 The Importance of the Small and Medium Enterprises in Zimbabwe

Madavanhu at el say SMEs are regarded as the seed – bed for the development of large companies and are life blood of commerce and industry at large.¹ The previous scholar adds that the growth of SMEs is a critical ingredient in the sustainable development of developing economies as the history of economic development suggested that promotion of infant industries was one of the major drives behind the success of industrialization particularly in Europe.² The ever growing influence of the SMEs in Zimbabwe triggered by deindustrialization has forced recognition. Onyenechere purports that the sectors employs a lot of people averaging 50% of the workforce in Sub Saharan Africa. The sector as revealed by the preceding scholar is no longer dominated by the urban poor and survivalist, but skilled

and well educated people.³ This shows that the informal sector is now a reality and a true urban phenomenon. The growth of the informal sector has been given impetus by the perpetuating shrinking of the formal sector. Ncube argues that in Zimbabwe a lot of people lost their jobs during the Structural Adjustment Programme when 400 000 workers were retrenched between 1991 and 1995.⁴ This was further worsened by the decade of economic meltdown since the beginning of the 21st century which saw many people lose their jobs. In the timber industry more than 50 000 people in Bulawayo lost their jobs after industrial closure.⁵

The role played by the informal sector can longer be underrated as this sector has developed to be the major source of livelihood for the semi – skilled and unskilled workers who could have been otherwise redundant. This statement was confirmed by Duduzile one of the owners of a small scale timber companies in Belmont, Bulawayo. She said that her firm targets the unskilled and youth mostly. She said that the SMEs paying particular attention to timber are a shock absorber for many unprecedented disadvantages that comes along with chronic unemployment such as crime, prostitution and migration to other countries.⁶

It is important to note that the SMEs have not fully offered a panacea to the problems of unemployment in the country as they continue to employ fewer people than big industries however their contribution cannot go without being noticed. Since the decline of the timber companies in Bulawayo, the small scale companies have been a source of employment for many desperate workers. This alone stresses out that the SMEs plays a significant role in the economy. For this reason, Nyamwanza at el says that the growing influence of the informal sector to the economies of the developing world resulted in a dramatic change of attitude towards the informal sector where most government are now engaging this sector rather than destroying it.⁷

4.3 Promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises in Zimbabwe

The government engaged in multiple strategies to ensure the growth and survival of the SMEs in Zimbabwe. Chigwenya says that in the process of engagement, the government of Zimbabwe had taken a lot of initiatives towards promoting the activities of the informal sector. They recognised that in order to promote the activities of the of the informal sector there is need to allow the sector to participate in government activities hence they amended the State Procurement Board Act.⁸ The foregoing scholars say that the amendment allowed for the government to create a quota system for the informal sector in government procurements and contracts. The government made it a policy that in all tendering and contracts to supply state goods and services, 25% was reserved for the formal sector.⁹ Foreign investors were also encouraged to invest in this sector.

The growing importance of SMEs prompted the government to engage in the development of human capital. Koush says that management skills affected firms in all industries. Basic management skills are important regardless of the nature of the business that the SMEs undertakes and failure to have it will result in suboptimal decisions and eventual collapse.¹⁰ Mandlenkosi Dube owner of an untitled timber company in Bulawayo said that capacity building was one of their major concern of their company. As they also employ unskilled labour. In this manner, they conduct teaching programmes on how to operate timber machinery and forestry laws.¹¹ Nyamwanza at el add that there are also initiatives to develop the human capital base in the informal sector and the government realizes that the development human capital is a very important move towards developing asserts of people in the informal sector.¹²

The programme that enhances human capital is run by Small Enterprise Development Corporation (SEDCO) which is an arm of the government with an already established

ministry. This organization is supposed to give training to the people in the informal sector and these training programmes includes courses on entrepreneurship.¹³ It is important to note that the course are expected to give business people the necessary knowledge to administer their business. Chigwenya reasons that the corporate government skills equip practitioners with skills on business ethics and corporate government. In line with the aforementioned, the previous scholar points out that the ministry of SMEs plays a very critical role in coordinating linkages between the informal sector and various educational institutions.¹⁴

The government has also played an important part in an attempt to promote goods and services produced by the informal sector by organizing operators into a cluster based development units and each unit receives support that is specific to the nature of its business and it is aimed at promoting and fostering business potential of each cluster in order to enhance export growth and industrial expansion which entailed agriculture, mining, transport, light engineering and capentry.¹⁵ Local businesses were also encouraged to do business with the informal sector and there are incentives in place to encourage this and thus established companies that are in business with the informal sector receive tax reliefs or tax break.¹⁶ The SMEs were also encouraged to participate in International trade as the government promoted the Look East Policy where it targeted the insatiable market of China, India and other Asian countries hence the informal sector is encouraged to take part in those policies and sell their products.¹⁷

This initiative has largely boosted the survival of the small scale timber companies in Bulawayo. Most timber companies engaged in timber trading with the foreign countries especially in Botswana, South Africa and Asia where the market was ripe. Duduzile Dube of Teakwood timbers said the initiative by the government to open the doors of international trade enabled the survival of their business despite the enormous challenges they experienced as SMEs. The engagement in international trade largely contributed to the survival and

growth of timber companies in Bulawayo. The government through the Forestry Act endorsed the selling of timber products outside the country. As a result, the processed timber has market in Africa and Asia. The foregoing shows the growing influence of the small scale timber companies in Bulawayo. This shows the importance of the role played by the government in appreciating SMEs as a result this has given them an edge in surviving.

4.4 The Effectiveness of the strategies used by the government to promote Small scale Timber firms

This section shows that the strategies used by the Zimbabwean government in promoting SMEs achieved less success. Madavanhu at el say that in Zimbabwe, the growth and development of SMEs is generally undermined by a lot of challenges resulting in a high rate of failure of such business.¹⁸ According to SEDCO, 64% of SMEs fail in the 1st year of establishment, 25% fail within the first three years and the remaining 15% are likely to survive.¹⁹ The SMEs generally fail to survive beyond three years irrespective of the type that is ventured into and none had survived in excess of ten years. Jovanovic says this implies that the SMEs have not survived their infancy stage while probability of survival was close to none as they experience high death rate.²⁰ The foregoing problems can be traced to the failed government policies. Zindiye at el says that Zimbabwe was known for crafting brilliant policies while implementation was the main problem.²¹ Mandlenkosi Dube revealed that when small scale timber companies started after the collapse of big industries in 2011, almost 15 small scale timber companies emerged during that time. However, by the end of the time only 5 companies' remained.²² Much of the blame was placed on the failure of government policies in supporting small scale timber companies.

Nyamwanza says that the strategies by the SEDCO were not effective enough to address the challenges faced by the informal sector. The foregoing says that there are so many different

activities in the informal sector and to choose only one to be representative of the provincial profile of the informal sector will be very difficult if not impossible.²³ The government assumed a one size fit all strategy in policy making for the SMEs and this largely affected the survival of the informal sector. In small scale timber companies no direct strategies has been implemented to save the industry and assure its expansion. Nyamwanza at el say that it was found that there is inconsistency on the government's part in addressing the SMEs concern evidenced by the macro – policies such as ZIMASSET which also seek to address a host of other areas of the economy. The preceding scholars comment that under such settings, instead of SMEs being regarded for their worth, they are viewed as peripheral issues.²⁴ The next session discusses the challenges brought by lack of effective government strategies in assuring the survival of the SMEs in Zimbabwe.

4.5 Challenges that hampered the survival of Small Scale Timber Companies in Zimbabwe

There are many challenges that hamper the growth of SMEs in Zimbabwe in general and timber companies in particular. The first and perhaps vital factor that challenges the survival of SMEs in Zimbabwe is the lack of credit facilities. Bass says that the most common constraint facing SMEs include lack of capital, difficulties in procuring raw materials and lack of access to relevant business information.²⁵ Mandlenkosi Dube explained that the banks were not giving out loans to help the survival of the SMEs.²⁶ Chigwenya argues that the availability of credit is an important factor affecting the survival of SMEs in entirely all clusters. All firms require loans to finance working capital or make new investment that would ensure continuity and growth.²⁷ The major challenge that was suffered by Small Scale timber companies in Bulawayo was the lack of capital to enhance growth.

The small scale timber companies rose from inheriting old machinery that was used by big firms as most of the small scale timber companies were former workers of the big timber companies. Mr Tony said that after liquidation they were given machinery to compensate their salaries. He lamented that though the machinery inherited facilitate the consuming of their business, the major problem they encountered was that the machinery acquired was too old hence they needed finances to buy new machinery however this request was not considered.²⁸ Raw material cost was another problem that confronted the small scale timber because of lack of funds. Bhekumuzi Nyoni said that this was heightened by economic crisis and monetary issues that haunted the Zimbabwean economy. He said in 2010 when the nation used the South African Rand and the American dollar, his budget for hiring the truck to carry logs, loading of logs, registration and paying workers was \$US3, 000 in 2017 with the introduction of the Zimbabwean bond notes his budget ranged at \$7, 000 bond notes.²⁹ Therefore, this undermined the expected growth of the small scale timber industry.

Another challenge that hampered the growth of small scale timber companies were accommodation problems. This stemmed from the fact that the informal sector was side-lined in urban areas due to the rivalry that existed between urban planners and practitioners. The urban planners were rigid and unresponsive to the plight of the informal sector such that they did not provide space for the informal sector.³⁰ Urban planners simply discarded the informal as illegal activities that affected the city of Bulawayo. They treated SMEs with contempt despite their influence. Chigwenya states that the sector has been regarded as an eye – sore by many local authorities as they deem it as a source of social vices bedevilling urban areas and hence they had been no provision for this sector in urban planning system. The preceding scholar adds that the only notable relationship between practitioners in this sector and local authorities was that of hostility where their goods were confiscated and practitioners arrested for illegal dealings.³¹

The hostility between urban planners and the SMEs can be traced in allocation of areas for operation. Mandlenkosi Dube said that there are many instances where his company was asked to relocate to pave way for other activities even the site was suitable for teak production. He gave an instance in Belmont industrial site where the local authorities asked him to move his company elsewhere so that they could make room for a church. In this regard, Mandlenkosi Dube narrated that his business had to stop for months due to accommodation problems. He said that as timber millers they tried to lob the government to assist the small scale timber companies but for years and years this has not come to fruition.³²

The one – size – fit all policy undoubtedly undermined the growth of SMEs in Zimbabwe in general and the small scale timber companies in particular. The assumption that the policies relevant to other sectors can work in the timber companies was a huge miscalculation because the government did not come up with policies that were directed to the development and growth of timber companies. As a result, the timber companies suffer hence this explains the evaporation of other small scale timber companies within few years of establishment.

4.6 Factors that enhanced the survival and growth of Small Scale Timber Companies in Bulawayo

It is important to note that despite the alarming rates of the death of many SMEs in Zimbabwe, the small scale timber companies managed to survive. While this is surprising, this section seeks to document that a plethora of aspects determined its survival. One of the major factors that ensured the survival of the timber companies was the forestry conservation method by the Forest Act in Zimbabwe. The forest where timber was cut was placed under the authority of the government. The forest Act prohibited random cutting of timber and exportation of raw timber. This saved the timber from depleting down as many concessionaires would be tempted to cut the raw timber at unprecedented rates with prospect of foreign currency since most of the timber companies were driven by the hunt for survival.

In this manner, the Forest Act enabled the controlled felling of teak. Unlike during the colonial era, steps taken to enable concessionaires to fell timber were strict hence this ensured the growth of the timber industry.

Mandlenkosi Dube said that the availability of timber was another factor that drove the growth and survival of the timber companies in Bulawayo. He said that the decline of the giant industries in Bulawayo did not mean the raw materials vanished also. He gave an example of the big mines such as Howmine. Mr Dube said that if the mine was to close, the extraction of resources would not stop as illegal miners will flock into the area attracted by the prospect of rich resources. He said the same with timber companies. The availability of raw materials attracted former timber workers to start their own enterprises.³³ The decline of giant industries opened doors for small scale companies to monopolized local resources. The timber industry was a lucrative industry hence the availability of raw material and the prospect of profit pushed timber concessionaires to continue on the enterprise.

The demand for timber internally and externally was also another factor that ensured the survival of small scale timber companies in Bulawayo. The market for timber was ripe. Timber had high demands in Zimbabwe. As a result, despite the challenges that strangled SMEs in Zimbabwe, the timber industry managed to survive because of the ever demanding market. Realising this gap, small scale companies ventured into timber business in Bulawayo and their survival was rooted upon market demand.

It is important to note that most SMEs failed because of the lack of knowledge on how to run a business. Jelili and Adedibu say that the sector is no longer dominated by the urban poor and survivalists, but skilled and educated people.³⁴ The foregoing assertion is true when measuring it against the reasons for the survival of the timber companies. Munyaradzi Chisi (former Durawood Products general worker) said that the small scale timber companies were

started and ran by the former top managers of the collapsed industries. He claimed that these people had the experience.³⁵ In this manner, despite challenges facing SMEs experienced and skilled management fostered the survival of timber companies. Three quarters of the small scale companies that existed in Bulawayo were managed by former top management of the wood industry.

The combination of the foregoing factors ensured the growth and survival of the small scale timber industries in Bulawayo. Despite any clear policy that drives the survival of the SMEs particularly the timber industry, availability of raw materials, ripe market and skilled management defied all the odds ensuring the growth and survival of small scale timber companies in Bulawayo.

4.7 Conclusion

Since the decline of giant timber companies, small scale timber companies uprooted in Bulawayo and they had played a huge part as the shock absorber for the bereft timber industry. In this manner, this chapter reviewed the strategies endorsed by the Zimbabwean government to support the ever growing SMEs. The formation of the ministry of small and medium enterprises was the first step towards the recognition of the informal sector in Zimbabwe. Human capital development, promotion of goods and services of the SMEs through the amendment of the Procurement Act and promotion of international trade are some of the strategies that were initiated by the government to promote SMEs. The chapter examined the effectiveness of these strategies. The strategies were less effective largely because of policy inconsistency. Due to policy inconsistency the SMEs were subjected to many challenges such as access to credit, hostility between urban planners and practitioners, accommodation problems, lack of skilled management and lack of funds. Last but not least, the chapter revealed that the continuous survival of small scale timber companies was

cemented by the availability of raw material, conservation methods of the forest, ripe market and experienced management.

END NOTES

1. V. Madavanhu, S. Bindu, L. Chiguswa and L. Muchambaiwa, “Determinant of Small and Medium Enterprises failure in Zimbabwe: A case study of Bindura”, International Journal of Economics, Vol 2(5), 2011, p82.
2. Ibid, p83.
3. E. C Onyenechere, “The Informal Sector and Environment in Nigeria Towns: What we know and what we still need to know”, Research Journal of Environment and Earth Sciences, Vol 3(1). 2011, p64.
4. M. Ncube, Employment, Unemployment and Evolution of Labour Policy in Zimbabwe, Zambezia, vol 27(1), 2000, p174.
5. Ibid, p175.
6. Interview with Duduzile Dube, Bulawayo, 12 March 2019.
7. L. Nyamwanza, L. Paketh, C. Mhaka and N. Moyo, “An Evaluation of the Policies instituted by the government of Zimbabwe in promoting survival and growth of SMEs: The Case of Glenview Area 8 SMEs”, International Journal of Novel Research in Marketing Management and Economics, vol 2(2), August 2015.
8. A. Chigwenya, “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal Of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013.
9. Ibid.
10. Y. Koush, “Why Do small firms fail? Some Evidence from Korea, Korean Journal of Economics, Vol 79(1), 2012, p20.
11. Mr Mandlenkosi Dube, interviewed by author, recording, 21 March 2019.

12. L. Nyamwanza, L. Paketh, C. Mhaka and N. Moyo, “An Evaluation of the Policies instituted by the government of Zimbabwe in promoting survival and growth of SMEs: The Case of Glenview Area 8 SMEs”, International Journal of Novel Research in Marketing Management and Economics, vol 2(2), August 2015.
13. Ibid
14. A. Chigwenya, “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal Of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013, p3.
15. Ibid, p3.
16. Ibid, p3.
17. Ibid, p4.
18. V. Madavanhu, S. Bindu, L. Chiguswa and L. Muchambaiwa, “Determinant of Small and Medium Enterprises failure in Zimbabwe: A case study of Bindura”, International Journal of Economics, Vol 2(5), 2011, p83.
19. Ibid, p83.
20. M. Jovanovic, “Economic Intergration and Spatial Location of firms and Industries”, <https://www.local.gov.uk> (Accessed 23/03/19).
21. S. Zindiye, M. Roberts – Lombard and G. Herbst, “An Empirical Investigation into the factors affecting the performance of SMEs in the manufacturing sector in Harare, Zimbabwe”, University of Fort Hare, Pretoria, South Africa (unpublished thesis), 2014.
22. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, 21 March 2019.
23. L. Nyamwanza, L. Paketh, C. Mhaka and N. Moyo, “An Evaluation of the Policies instituted by the government of Zimbabwe in promoting survival and growth of

- SMEs: The Case of Glenview Area 8 SMEs”, International Journal of Novel Research in Marketing Management and Economics, vol 2(2), August 2015.
24. Ibid.
 25. H. Bass, SMEs Development in the 21th Century, Routledge, New York, 2012.
 26. Interview with Mandlenkosi, , Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.
 27. A. Chigwenya, “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013, p3.
 28. Interview with Tony Adams, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.
 29. Interview with Bhekumuzi Nyoni, Bulawayo, 23 March 2019.
 30. A. Chigwenya, “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013, p4.
 31. Ibid
 32. Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.
 33. Ibid.
 34. M.O Jelili and A. A. Adedibu, Land Use classification and the Informal Sector question in Ogbomoso, Journal of Human Ecology, Vol 20 (4), 2006, p280.
 35. Interview with Munyaradzi Chisi, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.

CONCLUSION

The central purpose of this dissertation was to examine the factors that led to the collapse of the timber industry in Bulawayo and weigh the impact of the collapse on workers (2007 – 2018). In this context, it is vital to note that the fall of the timber industry was triggered by internal, economic and political crises even though the economic and political crises were that not peculiar to the timber industry. Under internal crises, the survival of the timber industry was largely undermined by the departure of the skilled labour. This was because when the economy was sharply retrogressing, timber companies started retrenching employees and cutting salaries for top management. It is against this backdrop that professionals who were important to the timber industry departed to better-paying companies in South Africa and Mozambique hence this was a huge blow to the timber enterprise. More so, economic factors explained the plummet of the timber industry. Inflation affected the operation of the timber industry. Timber companies were forced to trade in FOREX. This made companies opt for closure than succumb to unclear monetary policies. Worse, the government failed to initiate proper government strategies to save the drowning the industry. The funds that were dedicated to reviving the economy were like a drop of water in an ocean thus they did little to save the bedridden timber companies. No credit facilities were offered to help the timber industry therefore ultimately they closed. Also, price control hugely compromised profit margins and this discouraged investments as many investors pulled out. The FTLRP affected the timber industry as people were given land on an area designated for timber and game. This led to unabated deforestation such that production was greatly compromised. The indigenization policy was also amongst other factors that led to the decline of the timber industry. A noble idea designed to enrich local people was a curse to the timber industry. Most timber companies in Bulawayo were owned by foreigners therefore when the policy was passed company owners liquidated their companies. This left a huge

vacuum that remaining management failed to fill. For example, when the owner of Durawood left, the company changed ownership over four times in a course of fourteen months and ultimately the company collapsed. In this regard, the downfall of timber companies was led by the foregoing points.

The slump of the timber companies affected the workers negatively as well as positively. The plight of the workers after industrial closure was disastrous to a greater extent. As small scale companies sprouted in the city, they used casual labour and for this reason, former timber workers flooded into these companies however they were subjected to unfair labour practises. Some workers relocated to rural areas while others became cross border traders. It is also pertinent to note that the collapse of the timber industry presented some opportunities to a handful of workers. It led to locally owned small scale companies, it led to the rise of female entrepreneurs in the timber business and the rise of locally owned companies presented an opportunity to the unskilled and the youth to acquire employment. The rise of SMEs across the nation made the government employ several tactics to help promote small businesses. This thesis established that the government did not impose strategies that catered for the needs of the timber companies that were growing as they assumed a one – size – fit all policy to various SMEs that emerge. As a result, most of the small scale timber companies collapsed at infancy stage however what prompted the survival of the timber companies despite enormous challenges they faced was the availability of raw timber, ripe market home and abroad and experienced ownership. All in all, despite the demise of gigantic timber companies, complete shutdown was prevented by the uprooting of small scale companies that were established all over Bulawayo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews

Interview with Blessed Bidi, Bulawayo, 24 March 2019.

Interview with Mandlenkosi Dube, Bulawayo, 27 March 2019.

Interview with Tony Adams, Bulawayo, 10 January 2019.

Interview with Nginga, Esigodini, 12 January 2019.

Interview with Frank, Bulawayo, 10 March 2019.

Interview with C. Gumede, Bulawayo, 10 March 2019.

Interview with Mlibazisi Moyo, Nkayi, 12 February 2019.

Interview with Proud Mpofo, Bulawayo, 5 March 2019.

Interview with Tony Adams, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.

Interview with Bhekumuzi Nyoni, Bulawayo, 23 March 2019.

Interview with Muunyaradzi Chisi, Bulawayo, 21 March 2019.

Interview with Goodwill Dube, Bulawayo, 5 March 2019.

Interview with Kelvin Mbambo, Bulawayo, 12 March 2019.

Interview with Mkhululi Tshuma, Nkayi, 6 February 2019.

Interview with Senelisiwe Ndebele, Bulawayo, 14 March 2019.

Interview with Winnie Moyo, Bulawayo, 21 February 2019.

Newspapers and Reports

Munyaka, T, “Industrial Empire Bulawayo reduce to Ghost Town”, Mail and Guardian, 2014 July 25.

Katerere, J. M. “Legal and policy studies for Shared Forest”, Management. Report produced for Forestry Commission/DFID Shared Forest, Management Project, Bulawayo, 2000.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books and Journals

Alexander, J. McGregor, J and Ranger, T. Violence And Memory: One hundred years in the “Dark forests” of Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, Currey Press, Oxford, 2000.

Bass, H. Small and Medium Enterprises Development in the 21th Century, Routledge, New York, 2012.

Beinart, W. “Introduction: Politics of Colonial Conservation”, in Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol 15 (2), 1989.

Bhebe, Q and Mahapa, H. “The Decline in Trade Unions Density in the 21th in Zimbabwe: A case of Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union”, Journal of Human Resources and Labour Studies, Vol 2 (1), 2014.

Chigwenya, A. “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal Of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013.

Chiliya, N. Challenges Facing Zimbabwean Cross Border Traders Trading in South Africa: A Review of Literature, Chinese Business Review, Vol 11(6), 2012.

Chigwenya, A. “The Small and Medium Enterprises policy in Zimbabwe: A narrative of Strides taken to mainstream the informal sector activities in Urban Local Authorities in Zimbabwe”, International Journal of Politics and Good Governance, Vol 4(4), 2013.

Crush, J. and Tevera, D. “Existing Zimbabwe”, in Crush, J. and Tevera, D. Zimbabwe’s Exodus: Crisis, Migration and Survival, Southern African Migration Programme, Kingston, 2010.

Fanon, F. The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Atlantic Inc, New York, 1961.

Galgano, M. J. Hyser, R. H. and Arndt, J. C. Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, Wadsworth Publishing Company, California, 2007.

Jelili, M. O. and Adedibu, A. A. “Land Use classification and the Informal Sector question in Ogbomoso”, Journal of Human Ecology, Vol 20 (4), 2006.

Jensen, S. “Land, Growth and Governance: Tenure Reform and Visions of Progress in Zimbabwe”, in Hammer, A. Raftopoulos, B and Jensen, S (eds), Zimbabwe’s Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the context of Crisis, Weaver Press, Harare, 2003.

Kwahirai, K. Green Colonialism in Zimbabwe: 1890 – 1980, Cambria Press, New York, 2009,

Koush, Y. “Why Do small firms fail? Some Evidence From Korea, Korean Journal of Economics, Vol 79(1), 2012.

Madavanhu, V. Bindu, S. Chiguswa, L and Muchambaiwa, L. “Determinant of Small and Medium Enterprises failure in Zimbabwe: A case study of Bindura”, International Journal of Economics, Vol 2(5), 2011.

Matose, F and Clarke, J. “Who is the Guardian of Indigenous Forests”, D. G. Gumbo and D. J. Pierce (eds), The Ecology and Management of Indigenous Forests in Southern Africa, Proceedings of an International Symposium, Harare, 1993.

Mbira, L. “The De-Industrialization of Bulawayo Manufacturing Sector in Zimbabwe: Is the Capital Vacuum to Blame?” International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management, Vol 3(3), March 2015.

Mhandara, L and Murwira, A. “Factionalism in the Ruling Zimbabwe National Union – Patriot Front and the implications on National Development”, in A. G. Nhema (ed),

Zimbabwe: The Search For Sustainable Development Paradigms, University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, 2017.

Mlambo, A. S. “From an Industrial Powerhouse to a Nation of Vendors: Over Two Decades of Economic Decline and De – industrialization 1990 – 2015”, Journal of Developing Societies, 33 (1), 2017.

Mlambo, A. S. “A History of Zimbabwean Migration”, in Crush, J and Tevera, D (eds), Zimbabwe’s Exodus: Crisis, Migration and Survival, Southern African Migration Programme, Kingston, 2010.

Nyamwanza, L. Paketh, L. Mhaka, C and Moyo, N. “An Evaluation of the Policies instituted by the government of Zimbabwe in promoting survival and growth of SMEs: The Case of Glenview Area 8 SMEs”, International Journal of Novel Research in Marketing Management and Economics, vol 2(2), August 2015.

Ncube, M. “Employment, Unemployment and Evolution of Labour Policy in Zimbabwe”, Zambezia, Vol 27(1), 2000.

Onyenechere, E. C. “The Informal Sector and Environment in Nigeria Towns: What we know and what we still need to know”, Research Journal of Environment and Earth Sciences, Vol 3(1). 2011.

Phimister, I. “Discourse and Discipline of Historical Context: Conservationism and Ideas about Development in Southern African”, Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol 12(2), 1986.

Rai, N. D. and Uhl, C. F. “Forest product use, conservation and livelihoods: The case of Uppage fruit harvest in the Western Ghats, India”. Conservation and Society, Vol (2) 2, 2004.

Raftopoulos, B. “The Labour Movement and the Emergence of Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe”, in Raftopoulos, B. and Sachikonye, L. (eds), Striking Back: The Labour Movement And the Post – Colonial State in Zimbabwe 1980 – 2000, Weaver Press, Harare, 2001.

Sachikonye, L. Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society, Weaver Press, Harare, 2012.

Vansina, J. Oral Tradition as History, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1985.

Weber, M. "Nations and Nationalism: Political Economy before Political Sociology", The Canadian Journal of Sociology, Vol 29 (3), 2004.

Unpublished

Chani, C. "Informal Cross – Border Trade: A review of its impacts on household Poverty reduction in Zimbabwe" University of Fort Hare, Pretoria, South Africa (Unpublished Masters Disertation), 2008.

Mudekwe, J. "The impact of subsistence use of forest products and the dynamics of harvested woody species populations in a protected forest reserve in western Zimbabwe", University of Stellenbosch, Cape Town, South Africa (Unpublished PhD Thesis), 2006.

Zindiye, M. Roberts – Lombard, M and Herbst, J. "An Empirical Investigation into the factors affecting the performance of SMEs in the manufacturing sector in Harare, Zimbabwe", University of Fort Hare, Pretoria, South Africa (Unpublished Masters Thesis), 2014.

TERTIARY SOURCES

Online Sources

Demurger, S. Migration and Families left behind, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01179060/file/migration-and-families-left-behind-1.pdf> (Accessed 16/03/19).

Forestry Outlook Studies in Africa (FOSA): Zimbabwe, www.fao.org/3/9-ac429e.pdf (accessed 01/03/2019).

Kwashirai, V. C. "Poverty in the Gwai Forest Reserve, Zimbabwe: 1880–1953." Global Environment 1, 2008, <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/4222>. (Accessed 25/02/2019).

Mashingaidze, V. "Company Rule and Agricultural Development: The Case Study of the BSA Company in Rhodesia, 1908 – 1923", Henderson Seminar no.43, University of Rhodesia, 1979. <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/handle/123456789/1175>. (Accessed 23/03/19)

Mazibuko, R.P. "The Effects of Migrant Labour on the Family System", University of South Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa, https://www.uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/18183/dissertation.mazibuko_rp.PDF?sequence=. (Accessed 20/03/19).

Mwaniki, J. "The Impact of Informal Cross Border Trade on regional Intergration in SADC and its Implications for Wealth Creation", <https://www.streetneat.org.za/wp-content/pdf/corn.PDF> (Accessed 1/04/19).

<https://www.fhi.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (Accessed 26 March 2019).

<https://arboriculture.wordpress.com/2010/12/30/a-history-state-forestry-in-zimbabwe>. (Accessed 20/03/2019).

<https://arboriculture.wordpress.com/2010/12/30/a-history-state-forestry-in-zimbabwe>. (Accessed 20/03/2019).

<https://www.fhi.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (Accessed 26 March 2019).

Patel, B. Indigenization Law to affect more sectors in Zimbabwe”, www.homewemadeitinAfrica.com/indigenization-law-to-affect-more-sectors-in-zimbabwe/19150. (Accessed 23/04/19).

“The history of De-industrialization in Bulawayo” <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/the-history-of-de-industrialization-in-Bulawayo>. (Accessed 25/03/19).

<https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/sites/media/documents/resource-resource-zimbabwe-labor-assessment.PDF> (Accessed 10/04/19).

Jovanovic, M. “Economic Intergration and Spatial Location of firms and Industries”, <https://www.local.gov.uk> (Accessed 23/03/19).

Rutherford, B. “Zimbabweans Living in the South African Border Zone: Negotiating, Suffering and Surviving”, www.concernedafricafricascholars.org/docsacasbulletin.80-6. (Accessed 10/04/2019).

Shumba, B. M. “An Evaluation of Indigenization Policy in Zimbabwe”, http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/12058/shumba-sibusisiwe_monica_2014.pdf. (Accessed 30/04/19).

Tevera, D. S. and Crush, J. The new Brain Drain From Zimbabwe, Southern African Migration, 2003, www.samponline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Acrobat29.pdf

Zivanai, B. “Investigating the De-industrialization process in Zimbabwe since 1980”, Department of Developmental Studies”, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe (Unpublished Thesis).

<https://ir.msu.ac.zwi8080/spui/bitstream/11400/2038/1/Brenda%20disertation%205%20final.pdf> (accessed 15/02/2019).