

“Moment of Madness”: Ethnic Marginalisation and Exclusionary Development, are they not Social Development Issues?

G. Nokukhanya Ndhlovu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5736-3345>

University of Fort Hare, South Africa

khanya.nokun@gmail.com

Abstract

Even though the concept of development means different things to different people, the general consensus is that it should not be discriminatory nor exclusionary. It should also not obstruct basic human needs or real human interests. Against this backdrop, many governments have adopted integrated people-centred development that caters for all people irrespective of their location, ethnicity, race or gender, among other things. The study discusses the way in which the Zimbabwean government has used development to marginalise and exclude minority ethnicities from its development agenda. More particularly, the study discusses the way in which development in Zimbabwe has been used as a tool to exploit, sideline and disempower the amaNdebele people. The study concludes that whereas many nations have opted for people-centred development, Zimbabwe has taken a different route. For the country, the term development has a different meaning altogether. Not only is it top-down, disempowering and exclusionary, but it is also divisive, structurally violent and incredibly hateful. The study recommends that Zimbabwe openly discuss and acknowledge that tribalism exists and be willing to redress the legacy of hegemonic politics and separate development intentionally and effectively.

Keywords: ethnic marginalisation, exclusionary development, tribalism, social development, amaNdebele, Zimbabwe

Introduction

The continent of Africa has made great strides in some areas of social and economic development (African Union 2013; World Bank 2017). Although noticeable progress has been made, Africa’s challenges remain multifaceted and multidimensional (African Union Commission 2008). This is because although the continent has ratified several



people-centred treaties, it has neglected to implement socio-economic rights. Without taking away from the progress made, the International Council on Human Rights Policy (2004) explains that even though there are many summits, conferences and speeches being made at both the international and national level regarding the equal significance of all human rights, circumstances on the ground show that many African states have neither enforced nor implemented the rights, in particular, social and economic rights. This argument is supported by Agbakwa (2002, 179), who maintains that “Africa’s worsening socio-economic conditions and resulting exacerbation of civil and political strife coupled with the current lack of interest in the enforcement of socio-economic rights renders the effective realisation of human rights on the continent a remote possibility.” Against this background, the Human Rights Watch (2019) shares that Africans in some parts of southern Africa had their hopes rekindled when power exchanged hands. They hoped that the new leadership would have a respect for rights, however, their hopes were dashed when the leaders failed to live up to expectations. Zimbabwe is one such country.

Chagonda (2019) expounds on the shattered hopes that followed the new president’s failure to usher the country on a path of harmony and prosperity following the late Robert Mugabe’s reign. Similarly, Moore (2019) discusses the way in which the new government has dissipated all hopes and trust in its ability to ensure democracy and socio-economic rights post Mugabe’s rule. Chagonda (2019) mentions President Emmerson Mnangagwa’s failure to attract foreign investors which has led to his failure to improve the country’s ailing economy, and how the country also finds itself experiencing its worst political and socio-economic crunch in two decades which has consequently affected many of its citizens. In the midst of this crisis, the amaNdebele from Matabeleland are the hardest hit. This is because they are marginalised, excluded and relegated to the position of second-class citizens (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011). This has left the region “politically and economically disenfranchised and underdeveloped” (Thebe 2019, 152).

This article is fundamentally conceptual and builds on the body of literature concerning ethnic marginalisation and exclusionary development in Zimbabwe but notes the paucity of Zimbabwe-specific scholarly work that deals with this marginalisation. It therefore aims to contribute to filling this knowledge gap. The research objective was to explore the issue of ethnicity in Zimbabwe and its impact on the development of the marginalised amaNdebele community.

Research Problem

This article seeks to discuss the gaps in the Zimbabwean development strategy linking it to the issue of ethnicity and exclusionary development which has resulted in skewed control over resources and uneven access to services and rights. The article challenges the status quo in the country’s development strategies by discussing the way in which post-independent Zimbabwe has been biased towards the Shona ethnic group at the detriment of minority groups, the amaNdebele in particular. The inevitable

consequences of this are widespread deprivation and powerlessness. It is hoped that the findings of this article will help to facilitate people-centred development that does not use ethnicity as a criterion for development. It is also hoped that Zimbabwe will acknowledge the ethnic divide in the country and its impact on development and nation-building.

Conceptual Framework

Arendt's (1979) concept of statelessness is used as a framework for presenting the circumstances of the amaNdebele in Zimbabwe and for interrogating the country's development policies that do not take into account ethnic marginalisation and its impact on the quality of life of those who are marginalised. Butler's (2004a; 2004b) concepts of derealisation and humanness are also used to indicate that some lives are considered "unreal" and thus stripped of their humanity through systemic and structural marginalisation. The concepts note that certain "humans" are not acknowledged as humans and are pushed towards an "unlivable life".

Access to Justice for Development: The Case of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, the former "breadbasket" of southern Africa is spiralling out of control (United Nations Human Rights 2019). Once hailed Africa's success story, the country is on the verge of collapse. Escalating levels of poverty as well as major social, cultural, political and economic challenges continue to undermine the country's growth. As the country's economy continues to spin out of control, Zimbabweans from all walks of life find themselves facing unprecedented development challenges (Jones 2015; Mahuku 2005; Media Institute for Southern Africa Zimbabwe 2019). It seems their lives have been dismantled, pulled down and broken by their leaders. In explaining the situation in Zimbabwe, Wa Thiong'o (1982, 53) notes:

Our lives are a battlefield on which is fought a continuous war between the forces that are pledged to confirm our humanity and those determined to dismantle it; those who strive to build a protective wall around it, and those who wish to pull it down; those who seek to mould it and those committed to breaking it up . . .

This reflects the state of affairs in the country which a local newspaper, the *Zimbabwe Situation* (2018), describes as appalling and explains how it has resulted in high unemployment rates and a failure to provide basic social services. Consequently, basic commodities and medicines are very scarce and those that are available are overpriced owing to the prices that have increased rapidly. This has seriously threatened the rights to food, water and healthcare. Supporting this argument, Mavhinga (2019) stresses that Zimbabwe is going through atrocious levels of economic and social crises manifested in the absence of the rule of law, macro-economic policy instability, corruption, gross mismanagement of public funds and rights violations.

The swearing in of a new president in 2017 brought hope for millions of Zimbabweans (Nyakanyanga 2017; Seeth 2017). The new government made promises to engender justice but hopes were soon shattered as nothing came to fruition. According to the Human Rights Watch (2018), President Mnangagwa and his cabinet made many promises to redress the injustices incurred by Mugabe's regime, promising to deliver governance reforms. However, all these promises were just mere words; they lacked the political will to demonstrate their commitment to justice and they lacked accountability and respect for the rule of law. The Human Rights Watch (2018) adds that it is Mnangagwa and his government that have further inflicted injustice and paved the way for the continuation of abuses by the military and state security agents. Given President Mnangagwa's record of human rights abuses (*BBC News* 2018), it comes as no surprise that his being in power has not changed the living circumstances or the quality of life of Zimbabweans. This is because he ignores human rights provisions (Human Rights Watch 2018). This has left Zimbabweans in diverse forms of disempowerment, deprivation, poverty and marginalisation; they find themselves run-down, impoverished and frustrated as a result of the deteriorating political and socio-economic situation (*Aljazeera* 2019).

Van Breda (2015) emphasises the importance of putting human rights at the forefront of every development approach and indicates that these human rights include the right to basic services such as healthcare, housing and education. This access to justice also includes access to social welfare services and this entails a process that is equitable, equal and fair. According to Patel (2015, 82), access to justice for development involves "achieving social justice, a minimum standard of living, equitable access and equal opportunity to services and benefits, and a commitment to meeting the needs of all . . . with a special emphasis on the needs of the most disadvantaged in the society". Access to rights can go a long way in poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life of citizens. Yet, in a country such as Zimbabwe, where it is reported that the government is at the forefront of human rights abuses and where civil society can get arrested just for speaking out (*Aljazeera* 2019; Makumbe 2012), people find themselves in an increasingly untenable situation. Consequently, outside help is needed. However, the silence from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union and the international community on human rights abuses in Zimbabwe is a cause for concern (*Zimbabwe Situation* 2019). It is especially concerning that despite the fact that the African Union Commission (2008, 7) acknowledges that Africa is "an enclave economy – one that deliberately excludes and exploits the majority of the African population while benefiting a minority", not much has been done to ensure that Zimbabwe adopts a people-centred development approach that respects the rights and dignity of all, not just a few elite. To this end, Arendt (1979) highlights the failure of the international human rights to defend dehumanised citizens.

In Zimbabwe, the development or socio-economic justice issues are specifically skewed along ethnic lines and in explaining this, Jakwa (2017) highlights the futility of Zimbabwe's post-independence politics which have failed to speak to the country's root

socio-economic challenges, especially those pertaining to the amaNdebele. Mabhena (2014) argues that politics of development and the issue of ethnicity have played a role in shaping the development plan in Matabeleland. To this end, Noyoo (2000) maintains that in places plagued by poverty such as sub-Saharan Africa, the state plays a key role in resource mobilisation for its citizens. However, in countries where the state has been “hijacked” by an ethnic group “upward social mobility becomes a preserve of such groups, who use the state machinery for selfish ends as opposed to national development concerns” (Noyoo 2000, 59). In Zimbabwe, there is a strong sense that the state has been “hijacked” by the leaders of the Shona ethnic group which has left the amaNdebele on the margins of development, with inadequate access to socio-economic rights (Mabhena 2014). In line with this argument, Mtetwa, Dziro and Takaza (2013, 32) explain that this “socio-economic marginalisation, stigma and discrimination” has propagated untold poverty for the amaNdebele. Thebe (2019) suggests that development in Zimbabwe be understood from an ethnic and regional standpoint. Against this background, the government’s meaning of development when it is purposefully and intentionally excluding other ethnic groups, is in serious question.

Understanding Ethnic Marginalisation

Ethnic marginalisation is when a group of people are isolated, dehumanised, relegated to a position of insignificance and their developmental needs disregarded because of their ethnicity. In essence their lives do not matter. Ethnic marginalisation is systemic because it is directed at particular groups purely because they are members of that group. As a result, persons from a minority group are treated as outsiders and can be subjected to all forms of abuse by their fellow citizens simple because they are insignificant (Regus 2017; Young 1990). This has a negative impact on development, because it means that a certain group benefits at the detriment of another. As Noyoo (2000, 59) puts it, “it becomes a powerful force that leads to the vices which in turn define the redistribution of a country’s resources. Those who do not come from the ruling ethnic group are neglected by the state.” Young (1990, 63) expounds that this “group-directed violence is institutionalised and systemic”. Consequently, minority groups are blocked from accessing basic human rights and face many development challenges.

Arendt’s (1979) concept of statelessness can be used to describe the situation of ethnic marginalisation as it explains the way in which some people are neither acknowledged nor regarded as citizens of a particular country. In this instance, a “whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination” (Young 1990, 53). In ethnic marginalisation, “certain lives are not considered lives at all, they cannot be humanised; they fit no dominant frame for the human” (Butler 2004a, 25). To this end, Butler (2004a, 17–18) poses pertinent questions, “who counts as the human?”, “whose lives count as lives?”, and “what makes for a grievable life?” The question of the human posed by Butler (2004a) is significant in understanding the circumstances of ethnic marginalised people as stateless people who do not count as human, whose lives do not

count as lives and who are not “grievable” (Arendt 1979; Butler 2004a). Butler (2015) further explicates that an “ungrievable” life is one that cannot be grieved because it is not a life and has never been considered one.

Unpacking the Dynamics of Exclusionary Development

Development is about meeting the real needs of all people, without excluding some people or particular groups. It entails ensuring that previously marginalised people are embraced and included into mainstream society. It is about the promotion of equity, rectifying structural shortcomings, and advocating human rights and empowerment. It is about outlining one’s needs and having those outlined needs met (Ife 2002; Patel 2015). However, in some countries certain groups are treated as foreigners as illustrated by Wa Thiong’o (1982, 43), “our people think: I, Wangari, a Kenyan by birth – how can I be a vagrant in my own country . . . as if I were a foreigner.” This encapsulates what exclusionary development is all about; it describes what happens when certain groups of people are discriminated against and hindered from accessing rights and resources. These groups are left on the margins of society, suffer exclusion and are isolated from participation in mainstream society. They should have rights on the basis that they are human but instead they are only seen as a “mere naked human being” in a “condition of complete rightlessness” (Arendt 1979, 296).

According to Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005), exclusion explains deprivation and vulnerability, where a group of people is prevented from fully enjoying the general prosperity of the society. Sen (2000) suggests that exclusion is a process of discrimination that keeps certain social groups on the margins of power and resources. It is a very powerful tool that is used to isolate people from the economic, cultural, religious, social, political and educational spheres of social life and it normally turns into a structure of domination and subjugation (Sen 2000). Rispel, Molomo and Dumela (2008) put forward that it is a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon that has its roots in unequal power relationships and its sole aim is to exclude certain groups of people from fully participating in social life. Accordingly, in exclusionary development, development does take place but certain groups are intentionally and purposefully excluded from participating because they belong to the “wrong” group. It is therefore used to segregate and discriminate. As Gil (1992) puts it, it is not just individual choices or circumstances which shape the chances of social exclusion, but also national policies and local policies. In exclusionary development, policies are therefore used to deliberately exclude groups of people from development.

Africa still struggles with exclusionary development and one cannot ignore this skewed development which has become an instrument of oppression used to disempower minority ethnicities in many African countries (Fanon 1963; Noyoo 2000). This exclusionary development has brought about political, social and economic devastation for minority ethnicities. Fanon (1963) maintained that post-independence governments did not live up to their promises, instead they are destructive and non-egalitarian. Greed and misuse of power characterise many African countries which have a negative impact

on their development agenda. Development entails “improved access to life chances and opportunities. . . . When these life chances are blocked, due to the fact that people may be from one ethnic group or another, then development is impeded” (Noyoo 2000, 58). In Zimbabwe, exclusionary development and ethnic marginalisation intersect to ostracise the amaNdebele in many ways.

Ethnic Marginalisation and Exclusionary Development in Zimbabwe

The Grand Plan

The efforts by the Zimbabwean government to marginalise the amaNdebele is a concerted effort to create ethnic divisions in a country already ravaged by huge socio-economic challenges. The following excerpt by an unconfirmed source has been circulating on social media:

We have driven the Ndebele out of Matabeleland and Bulawayo over the past 34 years and our census back up this evidence and is a confirmation of our Grand Plan . . . the plan to destroy Bulawayo economically has spectacularly succeeded. Our census reveals that this is so as thousands remain jobless in Matabeleland . . . We have broken the backbone of Matabeleland by invading the heart of the Ndebele which is Bulawayo City Council . . . We are currently working on reforming the housing department so that 90% of the accommodation belongs to the Shona land lords with the remnants of them remaining lodgers . . .

This excerpt has been referred to as an update of the Shona grand plan of 1979 because it deals with similar issues. Important to note is that everything highlighted in the excerpt is happening on the ground as evidenced by the number of Shona-speaking councillors in the structures of the Bulawayo City Council (Nkala T., email message to author, 9 November 2018). Shedding light on the grand plan, *Bulawayo24* (2014) defines it as a toxic and dangerous document that officially opened the gateway for the “golgothisation” of the region of Matabeleland which subsequently led to the Gukurahundi genocide that the late Robert Mugabe called a “moment of madness”. This “moment of madness” which was never acknowledged for its role in human rights abuses led to the death of about 20 000 defenceless people (Jakwa 2017; Maedza 2019; Ndlovu 2014; Raftopoulos 2019). To this end, Butler (2004b, 33) states that those “who are unreal have, in a sense, already suffered the violence of derealisation,” in this case, the thousands of people whose lives were destroyed during the “moment of madness”, yet remain unacknowledged and “unmourned”. It seems clear that the intention of this grand plan, which was revised from 1979, was to marginalise Matabeleland people. The contents of the document give an indication of the way in which Matabeleland was marginalised as well as a claim that the plan to marginalise the province has been a success (Ndlovu 2014).

The Case of the amaNdebele

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) highlight the role that ethnicity continues to play in shaping and influencing the political and socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe. To this end, in 2017, three chiefs from Matabeleland held a closed-door meeting with President Mnangagwa over the marginalisation of Matabeleland in various sectors of the economy. In addition, the chiefs also requested fair treatment in employment as they noted that people from other regions are recruited in Matabeleland while qualified people in the region are overlooked especially in the government sector (Langa, Sibindi, and Nyoni 2017). In June 2018, employees from Bulawayo's TM Hyper supermarket staged an angry protest stating that their contracts were terminated in favour of people coming from outside Matabeleland (*ZimEye* 2018).

Similarly, in October 2019, the opposition Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) called for a protest against Matabeleland's two biggest hospitals accusing them of marginalising people from Matabeleland. It noted that out of 24 nurses that were recruited for training at the Mpilo Hospital, only four were from Matabeleland while the rest came from Mashonaland. Likewise, at the United Bulawayo Hospital, it was reported that of the 27 trainees, only four were from Matabeleland (*AllAfrica* 2019). In the Gwanda Hospital, not even one student was recruited in Matabeleland South where it is located, while St. Luke's Hospital only recruited one person from Matabeleland North (*ZimEye* 2019). The continued deployment of Shona teachers to Matabeleland has also been a sore point for amaNdebele schools (Kunene 2016). Ncube and Siziba (2017) also explain the way in which Shona supremacy is forcing some amaNdebele artists to adopt the Shona language in order to appeal to a Shona audience. The authors note that amaNdebele artists who do not perform in Shona, face marginalisation.

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) discuss the exclusion of the amaNdebele from both the economy and politics by governing Shona groups. Gumbo (2014) propounds that people from Mashonaland have immensely benefited from the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front's (ZANU-PF) system of tribalism, nepotism, favouritism and party affiliation. This has seen them getting first preference in almost every development agenda while other tribes are denied that opportunity in their own country. Consequently, this discrimination has seen many non-Mashonaland people leaving the country to better their lives.

Matshazi (2017) comments that the country is plagued and haunted by a tribal problem, which it finds uncomfortable to deal with. Matshazi (2017) further explains that even though tribalism has plagued Zimbabwe for decades, the country has shown no willingness to deal with it because of the belief that it might divide the country. However, pretending that it is not a challenge could prove to be more detrimental to the country's well-being. This argument is supported by Muleya (2017), who states that even though tribalism is a cancer that continues to threaten the country's efforts at cohesion and nation-building, the ruling ZANU-PF party continuously refuses to openly discuss or acknowledge the issue, yet it needs to be confronted head on and uprooted.

Muleya (2017) further states that ignoring the issue with the hope that it will miraculously disappear is “delusional”.

Role of Ethnicity in Development

Butler (2004a, 2) maintains that “the terms by which we are recognised as human are socially articulated and changeable. And sometimes the very terms that confer ‘humanness’ on some individuals are those that deprive certain other individuals of the possibility of achieving that status, producing a differential between the human and the less-than-human”. Even though it is not acknowledged, Moyo (2018) states that the issue of ethnicity in Zimbabwe is established and palpable, one can almost touch it. Although the issue is worse than racism, the parliament has never discussed it or its impact on human rights, which has seen many Zimbabweans leaving to be what he calls slaves in other countries (Moyo 2018). Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) also explain the Zimbabwean government’s politics of silence and its unwillingness to engage in the issue of ethnicity and its role in both the economy and politics.

It appears that ethnic marginalisation is a tool that Zimbabwean leaders use to keep people under control as observed in the words of Wa Thiong’o (1986, 191), “do you know the biggest weapon unleashed by the enemy against them? It was not the Maxim gun. It was division among them. Why? Because a people united in faith are stronger than the bomb.” By not dealing with the issue of ethnicity, the government has adopted the divide-and-conquer tactic which has further marginalised the amaNdebele. Kunene (2016) adds that while in other African countries, wars about ethnicity are orchestrated by citizens, in Zimbabwe, the government is the major cause behind the tensions between the amaNdebele and the Shona people. Matshazi (2017) laments that it is disheartening to note that almost 40 years into the country’s independence, Zimbabwean leaders find it normal to hold on to the mentality of divide and rule used by colonialists despite the fact that it has torn the country apart.

Bulawayo24 (2019) reports that many Bulawayo residents feel excluded from the system and that the culture of marginalisation continues to haunt them. Acknowledging the issue of tribalism, the Movement for Democratic change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) president Nelson Chamisa, spoke against what he called the “Shonalisation” of Zimbabwe indicating that tribal conflicts were a hindrance to the country’s development agenda. Chamisa also noted that non-Shona speaking tribes were marginalised and that intentional tribalism was the reason behind Matabeleland’s underdevelopment (Ndlovu 2018). Mothobe (2014) explains that tribalism is still very much a part of Zimbabwean life albeit in a subtle manner of genocide characterised by hate speech, exclusion from social and infrastructural development, marginalisation and numerous other practices by the ruling government. The government employs a system of exclusionary development to keep the amaNdebele out of mainstream development. This exclusionary development has brought many adversities for them. Regus (2017) sees this as an issue of statelessness, which is a calculated national political move aimed at excluding and marginalising minority groups pushing them into becoming stateless.

Regus (2017) adds that other people may also find themselves stateless as a result of intolerant policies which consider minorities “non-citizens” and “stateless persons”. Stateless people are neither seen nor treated as fellow human beings. In explaining this, Arendt (1979, 296) posits “a man who is nothing but a man has lost the very qualities which make it possible for other people to treat him as a fellow man”. In support of this view, Muleya (2017) discusses the need to embrace “civilised” ways of dealing with tribalism without moving the country towards the dangerous route taken by countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC and Kenya.

As Gil (1992, 40) states, “people in many societies at different times, and in different situations, have indeed acted selfishly and competitively in pursuit of perceived material interests and they have related violently, cruelly and destructively toward other individuals, classes, and peoples in order to dominate and exploit them for material gain.” The same can be said for Zimbabwe and as a result, the amaNdebele find themselves marginalised. The government of Zimbabwe does not seem committed to keeping ethnicity in check, instead it thrives on keeping the amaNdebele on the margins. This argument is supported by Mabhena (2014) who speaks of the internal colonisation of Matabeleland and describes the way in which the province has been ethnically marginalised by the state from social and economic development. Mabhena (2014) adds that development in Matabeleland is shaped by ethnicity and the politics of control. Butler (2004a, 2) expounds that ethnicity plays a role in understanding the human and as a result of that, “certain humans are recognized as less than human, and that form of qualified recognition does not lead to a viable life. Certain humans are not recognized as human at all, and that leads to yet another order of unlivable life.” This ethnicity is the major stumbling block to people-centred development and democracy.

Dauids, Theron and Maphunye (2005, 52) suggest that “the role of the state must be to provide goods and services in the interests of the people”. This provision should be done irrespective of one’s ethnic group or background. It is the role of the state to keep ethnicity in check, as stated by Noyoo (2000, 59) who notes, “fair play and social justice must be entrenched by the state, thus keeping ethnicity in check at the national level.” However, in Zimbabwe it appears that fair play does not exist; the state, which is mandated to assure the liberty of its people is the one abusing them. Foucault (1984, 245) expresses the same sentiment by arguing that the “liberty of men is never assured by the institutions and laws that are intended to guarantee them”.

Butler (2004b, 33) talks about humans who are not regarded as humans and those whose lives are rendered unreal and cannot be mourned. She further talks about the issue of derealisation and asks, “What is real? Whose lives are real? How might reality be remade? Those who are unreal have, in a sense, already suffered the violence of derealization.” Ethnic marginalisation renders some lives unreal, dehumanises groups of people, thwarts their living circumstances and jeopardises their quality of life. Ncube and Siziba (2017) explain this by discussing Zimbabwe’s “Shona-centric habitus” and the way in which it functions as an implicit edict used to undermine non-Shonas. Arendt

(1979) observes that citizenship is what gives human beings the “right to have rights”; however, it seems that as citizens of Zimbabwe, the amaNdebele do not have the “right to have rights”. To this end, Thebe (2019, 152) shares the way in which “retributive violence and development embargo” have left a legacy that continues to haunt Matabeleland’s economic landscape.

Conclusion

Within the ambit of social development, the issue of ethnicity seems to be overlooked. This article has therefore interrogated the way in which Zimbabwe’s development policies are flawed because they do not take into account ethnic marginalisation. It discussed the way in which the lack of development in Matabeleland in post-independent Zimbabwe has raised numerous questions, chief among them, the government’s unwillingness to improve the quality of life of the amaNdebele. Using Arendt (1979) and Butler (2004a; 2004b), it focused on the way in which ethnic marginalisation in Zimbabwe is structural and systematically created prioritising Shona groups at the detriment of minority groups. This separate development which has created a wide disparity in access to resources and services between Shona people and minority groups continues to derail people-centred development, democracy, transformation and equality – indicating that ethnic marginalisation and exclusionary development are fundamental social development issues.

It is recommended that Zimbabwe openly discuss and acknowledge that tribalism exists to redress it at the roots. Acknowledging it will enable various role players to discuss the conditions of living of ethnic marginalised people and to develop and share information on various aspects of ethnic marginalisation. The role players should include the government, civil society, social science academics and practitioners; and these discussions should take place in a safe environment that does not further infringe on the rights of people. It is important for Zimbabwe to have a government that is not a “respector of persons” but one that has everyone’s interests at heart and is intentional and willing to promote equality, equity and access to basic human rights. The country needs a government that is prepared to bring about tangible people-centred development, but first Zimbabwe needs to redefine the term people-centred development because currently, it responds in ways that suggest that non-Shona-speaking people are not included in the term.

References

- African Union. 2013. “Africa Making Great Strides toward many MDG Targets yet Serious Challenges Remain. New Report Says.” Accessed 22 October 2019.
<https://au.int/en/newsevents/26655/africa-making-great-strides-toward-many-mdg-targets-yet-serious-challenges-remain>.
- African Union Commission. 2008. *Social Policy Framework for Africa*. African Union Commission.

- Aljazeera. 2019. "UN Envoy: Zimbabwe's Economic, Political Situation Deteriorating." Accessed 20 June 2020. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/9/27/un-envoy-zimbabwes-economic-political-situation-deteriorating>.
- AllAfrica. 2019. "Zimbabwe: Zapu to Stage Sit-Ins over Nurses Recruitment Bias." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://allafrica.com/stories/201910210458.html>.
- Agbakwa, C. A. 2002. *Reclaiming Humanity: Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as the Cornerstone of African Human Rights*. Yale Law School Legal Scholarship Repository.
- Arendt, H. 1979. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- BBC News. 2018. "Emmerson Mnangagwa: The 'Crocodile' who Snapped Back." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41995876>.
- Bulawayo24. 2014. "Nathan Shamuyarira: Author of the 1979 Grand Plan Document?" Accessed 3 August 2019. <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-opinion-sc-columnist-byo-48601.html>.
- Bulawayo24. 2019. "Chamisa's MDC Underplays Tribalism in Bulawayo." Accessed 3 October 2019. <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-national-byo-166398.html>.
- Butler, J. 2004a. *Undergoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. 2004b. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.
- Butler, J. 2015. "Precariousness and Grievability – When is Life Grievable?" Accessed 3 August 2019. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2339-judith-butler-preciousness-and-grievability-when-is-life-grievable>.
- Chagonda, T. 2019. "Zimbabwe's Deepening Crisis: Time for Second Government of National Unity?" Accessed 30 May 2020. <https://theconversation.com/zimbabwes-deepening-crisis-time-for-second-government-of-national-unity-122726>.
- Davids, I., F. Theron, and K. J. Maphunye. 2005. *Participatory Development in South Africa: A Development Management Perspective*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Hammonds Worth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. 1984. "Space, Knowledge and Power." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by P. Rabinow. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gil, D. 1992. *Unravelling Social Policy: Theory, Analysis, and Political Action towards Social Equality*. Rochester: Schenkman Books.
- Gumbo, M. 2014. "Tribalism is Real in Zimbabwe." Accessed 1 August 2019. https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/zimsit_tribalism-is-real-in-zimbabwe/.

- Human Rights Watch. 2018. *Zimbabwe: Events of 2018*. Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch. 2019. *Southern Africa New Leaders can do more for Rights: Expectations for Transitions Fall Short*. Human Rights Watch.
- Ife, J. 2002. *Community Development: Community-Based Alternatives in an Age of Globalisation*. Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia.
- International Council on Human Rights Policy. 2004. *Access to Human Rights*. Geneva: International Council on Human Rights Policy.
- Jakwa, T. 2017. "The Perils of Replacing Mugabe." Accessed 1 August 2019. <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/the-perils-of-replacing-mugabe/>.
- Jones, I. B. 2015. "The Role and Importance of Democratic Political Institutions: Zimbabwe's Regression towards Authoritarianism." Master's dissertation, Stellenbosch University.
- Kunene, T. 2016. "Ndebele, Shona Tensions Reach Boiling Point." Accessed 25 September 2019. <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-opinion-sc-columnist-byo-93485.html>.
- Langa, V., S. Sibindi, and M. Nyoni. 2017. "Chiefs Take on Mnangagwa over Mat'land Marginalisation." Accessed 3 September 2019. <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/05/chiefs-take-mnangagwa-matland-marginalisation/>.
- Mabhena, C. 2014. "Ethnicity, Development and the Dynamics of Political Domination in Southern Matabeleland." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 19 (4): 137–49. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-1943137149>.
- Maedza, P. 2019. "'Gukurahundi –A Moment of Madness': Memory Rhetorics and Remembering in the Postcolony." *African Identities* 17 (3–4): 175–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2019.1657000>.
- Mahuku, D. M. 2005. "External Donors, Domestic Political Institutions and Post-Colonial Land Reform: A Comparison of Zimbabwe and Namibia." Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Makumbe, J. 2012. "Zimbabwe: Political Context Study." Accessed 1 November 2018. <https://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/research/projects/ripoca/rn/10-2011.pdf>.
- Matshazi, N. 2017. "The Politics of Labelling: Zimbabwe's Tribal Problem." Accessed 12 August 2019. <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/10/politics-labelling-zimbabwes-tribal-problem/>.
- Mavhinga, D. 2019. "Ramaphosa cannot Stay Silent on Zimbabwe." Accessed 11 October 2019. <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-01-23-ramaphosa-cannot-stay-silent-on-zimbabwe>.

- Media Institute for Southern Africa Zimbabwe. 2019. "Dialogue: Panacea to the Zimbabwe Crisis?" Accessed 15 December 2019. <https://crm.misa.org/upload/web/t-beyond-march-2019.pdf>.
- Moore, D. B. 2019. "Fantasy that Mnangagwa would Fix Zimbabwe now Fully Exposed." Accessed 30 May 2020. <https://theconversation.com/fantasy-that-mnangagwa-would-fix-zimbabwe-now-fully-exposed-110197>.
- Mothobe, T. 2014. "Tribalism is Real in Zimbabwe." Accessed 11 October 2019. <https://thisisafrica.me/politics-and-society/tribalism-real-zimbabwe/>.
- Moyo, C. 2018. "Tribalism in Zimbabwe so Prevalent, so Thick that you can even Touch it." Accessed 21 October 2019. <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-opinion-sc-columnist-byo-130941.html>.
- Mtsetwa, E., C. Dziro, and S. Takaza. 2013. "Poverty and Rural Development: Tapping from the Grassroots." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Intervention* 2 (5): 21–35.
- Muleya, D. 2017. "Zanu PF must Shun Tribalism." Accessed 13 September 2019. <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2017/08/08/zanu-pf-must-shun-tribalism/>.
- Muzondidya, J., and S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni. 2007. "'Echoing Silences': Ethnicity in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe, 1980–2007." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 7 (2): 275–97.
- Ncube, G., and G. Siziba. 2017. "Compelled to Perform in the 'Oppressor's' Language? Ndebele Performing Artists and Zimbabwe's Shona-Centric Habitus." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (4): 825–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2017.1313609>.
- Ndlovu, N. 2014. "It's the 1979 Zanu PF Grand Plan: Dabengwa." Accessed 15 August 2019. <https://www.southerneye.co.zw/2014/08/08/1979-zanu-pf-grand-plan-dabengwa/>.
- Ndlovu, N. 2018. "Chamisa Bemoans Tribalism, Supports Ndebele King." Accessed 15 August 2019. <https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/chamisa-bemoans-tribalism-supports-ndebele-king/>.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2011. "The Changing Politics of Matebeleland since 1980." Accessed 15 August 2019. <http://solidaritypeacetrust.org/994/the-changing-politics-of-matebeleland-since-1980/>.
- Noyoo, N. 2000. "Ethnicity and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 15 (2): 55–68. <https://doi.org/10.4314/jsda.v15i2.23859>.
- Nyakanyanga, S. 2017. "Op-Ed: Zimbabwe – A Damascus Moment for President Mnangagwa." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-11-27-op-ed-zimbabwe-a-damascus-moment-for-president-mnangagwa/>.
- Patel, L. 2015. *Social Welfare and Social Development*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Raftopoulos, B. 2019. "Repression and Dialogue in Zimbabwe: Twin Strategies that aren't Working." Accessed 12 February 2020. <https://theconversation.com/repression-and-dialogue-in-zimbabwe-twin-strategies-that-arent-working-122139>.
- Regus, M. 2017. "Statelessness: What Hannah Arendt can still Teach Us." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.themantle.com/international-affairs/statelessness-what-hannah-arendt-can-still-teach-us>.
- Rispel, L., B. Molomo, and S. Dumela. 2008. *South African Case Study on Social Exclusion*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Sen, A. 2000. *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny*. Manilla: Asian Development Bank.
- Seeth, A. 2017. "'The Beginning of a New Era' for Zim as Mnangagwa is Sworn in, sans Mugabe." Accessed 23 October 2019. <https://city-press.news24.com/News/the-beginning-of-a-new-era-for-zim-as-mnangagwa-is-sworn-in-sans-mugabe-20171124>.
- Thebe, V. 2019. "Ethnopolitics and Regionalism Discipline and Punishment. The Matabeleland Development Question in Post Crisis Zimbabwe." In *Rethinking and Unthinking Development: Perspectives on Inequality and Poverty in South Africa and Zimbabwe*, edited by B. Mpfu and S. J. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni. New York: Berghahn Books.
- United Nations Human Rights. 2019. "Once the Breadbasket of Africa, Zimbabwe now on Brink of Man-Made Starvation, UN Rights Expert Warns." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=25363>.
- Van Breda, A. 2018. "Developmental Social Case Work: A Process Model." *International Social Work* 61 (1): 66–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872815603786>.
- Wa Thiong'o, N. 1982. *Devil on the Cross*. London: Heinemann.
- Wa Thiong'o, N. 1986. *A Grain of Wheat*. London: Heinemann.
- World Bank. 2017. "Social Inclusion in Africa." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/brief/social-inclusion-in-africa>.
- Young, M. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Zimbabwe Situation. 2018. "Overall Human Rights Situation." Accessed 1 August 2019. <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/overall-human-rights-situation-in-zimbabwe/amp/>.
- Zimbabwe Situation. 2019. "Anger over SADC, AU Silence on Zim." Accessed 1 May 2020. <https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/anger-over-sadc-au-silence-on-zim/>.

ZimEye. 2018. "Breaking – Updated: Police Spray Live Canon-Water Guns at TM Workers." Accessed 1 August 2019. https://www.zimeye.net/2018/06/28/breaking-video-police-rush-in-as-workers-explode-over-shonas-hired-to-matebeleland-above-locals/?fbclid=IwAR3UmwD9zMbuzIGIWK_6vIS56zA3NNeTJiDGv22hxoObB-crE4b_UnXJ4qk.

ZimEye. 2019. "Matabeleland Collective Threatens to Shut Down Nursing Schools in Protest against Recruitments." Accessed 22 October 2019. <https://www.zimeye.net/2019/10/15/matabeleland-collective-threatens-to-shut-down-nursing-schools-in-protest-against-recruitments/>.