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Water Governance and the Colonial Legacy in Zimbabwe

By

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Studies

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Supervisor: Professor Stephen Louw

31, March 2021

Declaration

I, Gwinyai Regis Taruvinga, do hereby declare that this research is my original work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it has neither previously been submitted nor currently being submitted to any other University for a degree or any other award. Where someone else's work has been used, due acknowledgement has been given and reference made accordingly.



_____

Gwinyai Regis Taruvinga

Dedication

A dedication to my dearest Mother, Sarah Taruvinga, who continues to inspire me with each passing day!

"All that I am or ever hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

Abraham Lincoln

For my late Dad, Regis Taruvinga, and my brother, Tawanda Taruvinga who died far too soon, and are both sorely missed.

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Abbreviations

ADB –	African Development Bank
BSAC –	British Southern African Company
CMA –	Catchment Management Agency
CWA –	Community Water Alliance
DDF –	Development Funds
DRC –	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECWP –	Ethiopia Country Water Partnership
EMA –	Environmental Management Agency
ENSO –	El Nino Southern Oscillation
FTLRP –	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP –	Gross Domestic Product
GNU –	Government of National Unity
GWP –	Global Water Partnership
HRT –	Harare Residents Trust
IEWS –	Improvement of Early Warning System
IMF –	International Monetary Fund
IO –	International Organisation
IPCC –	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IWRM –	Integrated Water Resources Management
JMP –	Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene
LG –	Local Government
MDC –	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG –	Millennium Development Goals

MENA – Middle East and North Africa

MOI – Means Of Implementation

MP – Member of Parliament

NAPA – National Adaptation Programme of Action

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

RBZ – Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programmes

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SSB – Salisbury Sanitary Board

TTL – Tribal Trust Land

UC – Urban Council

UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence

UN – United Nations

UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

USA – United States of America

WAP – Water Action Plan

WASH – Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

WB – World Bank

WHO – World Health Organisation

WMZ – Water Management Zone

ZANLA – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU PF – Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZESN – Zimbabwe Election Support Network

ZINWA – Zimbabwe National Water Authority

ZIPRA – Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZWA – Zambezi Water Authority

Abstract

This dissertation seeks to explore how colonialism has had an impact on Zimbabwe's post-independence water governance policies. The dissertation is anchored on the notion of path dependence, which argues that history is an important element to consider when understanding current events and scenarios. Importantly, the dissertation seeks to explore how colonial institutions that were subsequently inherited by the post-independence government effectively perpetuated discriminatory practices. Various pieces of literature have alluded to the uneven and exclusionary measures that composed colonialism. Within this study, it is evident that the laws and institutions that the colonial government introduced were tilted towards serving the minority over the majority, and this was clear in issues concerning land and water. Various laws that were introduced, such as the 1978 Water Act, were only repealed in 1998, 18 years after the demise of the colonial government. This further points to the fact that, for the first 18 years of Zimbabwe's independence, the country was still using the uneven playing field that colonialism had used to build the Rhodesian state. Institutions such as the local government, which served the interests of the minority, would under the post-independence government, be used by the ruling ZANU PF to further its political agenda. In any country, the local government is at the heart of service delivery and the ministry must perform accordingly to ensure that citizens have access to clean running water as well basic service delivery. Challenges arise when these institutions become politicized. The politicization of local government sees the contestation of power, especially when looking at the decentralization of power to local communities. The dissertation does not argue for or against decentralisation but unpacks the various power dynamics and how they impact water governance. Furthermore, the notion that "history matters" continues to appear in how institutions continue to work in almost the same manner as the former colonial institutions. The role of institutions in this dissertation is made evident through the cholera outbreak in 2008, as well as how the Zimbabwean government has sought to address the challenges that climate change poses towards the country's water resources. This further elaborates on the importance of institutions within countries and the role they play in providing water services as this dissertation will discuss.

Keywords: Colonialism, governance, institutions, post-colonialism, path dependence

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introducing the Study

> "A new era did begin in Zimbabwe with independence in 1980, but the political and economic inheritance of the past determines many of the constraints and opportunities facing new leaders. An examination of the dynamics of White rule between 1890 and 1980 is therefore important because the new government has consciously tried to build on the strengths of the past whilst changing the inherently discriminatory parts of the economic and political system. To a great extent, the politics of independent Zimbabwe centre on coming to terms with the vestiges of the past" Herbst (1990:13).

The above statement speaks to the challenge that many African states faced upon the end of colonialism. Although colonialism had come to an end, the remnants of it, which included economic policies and infrastructure, were the foundations upon which many African states were birthed. Within the field of Political Studies, various authors, such as Mahmood Mamdani (1996), Jeffery Herbst (1990) and Martin Meredith (2013), have explored the impacts of colonialism on the post-colonial state on the African continent. The arguments that are made by these authors, as well as others, is that, although there were advantages of inheriting what was believed to be a functioning system, colonialism was an unjust system. The colonial system also had an uneven process of development that advantaged urban-white areas at the expense of rural-black areas (Herbst 1990:13). The impacts of this development model would have huge ramifications for the post-colonial state which assumed leadership of the country in 1980.

Bearing this in mind, this dissertation aims to explore how colonialism impacted post-colonial Zimbabwe's water governing policies. Like many other African countries, Zimbabwe is an agrarian economy thus making water an essential resource in the country. When the British South African Company (BSAC) led by Cecil John Rhodes settled in what is now Zimbabwe in 1890, the aim for the white minority was to obtain natural resources, however, unlike their discovery of gold in The Witwatersrand, which provided a platform for diversified urban settlement, this was not the case in Rhodesia[1]. According to Herbst (1990:13), the early settlers in Zimbabwe soon realised that the land was more suited for farming rather than mining. This

[1] Rhodesia in this dissertation represents the colonial state whilst Zimbabwe will refer to the post-colonial state

resulted in the colonial government trying to obtain all the fertile land and ensuring that they controlled the available water resources to fuel the colonial juggernaut.

Between 1896 and 1897 the indigenous population revolted against the BSAC and the company swiftly thwarted this. This, according to Herbst (1990:13), led to the whites acting as "conquerors" and they began to move the indigenous population from fertile land to newly created Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs). This description of the BSAC's efforts within Rhodesia is an important aspect as it outlines the nature of colonialism. What is evident in this regard is that colonialism, by its nature, was based on the notion of marginalisation as seen by the African population losing land and being moved to infertile tracts of land.

Between 1923 and 1945 the colonial government went through various processes which would cement their stranglehold on Rhodesia. One of the vehicles to solidify its rule in Rhodesia was through securing elements of the economy. An important element of the economy was agriculture and the movement of the African communities to TTLs was an important aspect for the development of the colony (Herbst 1990:17). This again further denotes the nature of colonialism, which not only thrived on marginalization but also stripped the African population of their dignity, which is strongly linked to the land.

The laws that the colony passed were crucial in consolidating its power in the country. In 1930, for example, the Land Apportionment Act legalised the division of Rhodesia's land and prohibited members of either racial group from owning land in areas assigned to the other (Herbst 1990:17). This Act further entrenched colonial rule as it is noted that, "By the time of the Land Apportionment Act, 50.8 per cent of the total land had been declared European, while 30 per cent had been reserved for the African population (Herbst 1990:17). Such Acts as these were to be a recurrent theme within the Rhodesian state and further increased the white minority's stranglehold on Rhodesia.

The colonial government used laws such as the Maize Control Acts of 1931 and 1934 to undermine African agriculture through exorbitant taxes (Moyo & Yeros 2005:169). The aim was to ensure that the African population was effectively marginalised. In addition to this, the discussion on the land question in Zimbabwe is an example of the inequalities that were as a result of colonialism. However, the reason that this is my starting point is since land and water and linked together and therefore cannot be separated.

The laws implemented are of significant importance when understanding water governance in Zimbabwe. As discussed thus far, the colonial government implemented laws that excluded the

majority as seen in Table 1. Water laws that were implemented by the Rhodesian government. Some of these laws included the 1927 Act, the 1947 Act and the 1976 Act. As mentioned before, the law is meant to provide a level playing field for a country and this was not the case under the colonial government. An analysis of these laws in Table 1 reveals how these laws functioned between 1927 and 1980.

Concerning water governance, the Rhodesian government passed laws which were to the benefit of the minority. The water laws that the government were as follows:

Main characteristics of water legislation between 1927 and 1980

1927 Act	1947 Act	1976 Act
• Differentiation of public and private streams • Differentiation of primary, secondary and tertiary use • Created a Water Registrar and Water Court which centralized water allocation • Required [all] people [using water] to apply for both a water right and approval of works to a Water Registrar • Set up a 'priority right' system for a drought year with applications given priority in order of time • Allowed recognition of 'combined irrigation systems' with Irrigation Boards that had certain rights and responsibilities in payments of development capital • Required registration of all dams storing over one million	• Declared that all water other than private water was registered with the governor • Reconfirmed that water rights were attached to land and not individuals • Private water was defined as 'that which naturally rises, falls or drains on to any land, provided such water is not naturally capable of entering any watercourse of natural origin' • Defined primary use as use for humans and animals and was set at 50 gallons (228 litres) per day per person resident irrespective of colour or race, which can be used in gardens, for waterborne sewage purposes or other activities • Clarified the rights of riparian landowners: 'They have the right,	• Clarified and created regulations about groundwater use for the time. No restrictions were placed on drilling except in underground or surface water control areas • Rights to use, and permits for groundwater, were linked to land • Required dams of a certain size to be registered, and design and construction to be carried out by a registered engineer • Required a riparian landowner intending to dam a public stream to notify all riparians downstream of the dam and contiguous to the dam • Rescheduled water use types so that irrigation, fish farming and feedlots were registered as agricultural use

gallons unless for a primary right	without any reference to the Water Court, to impound, divert or take any public water for primary use, and this right extends to any occupier or tenant of riparian lands. They also have, otherwise than in the public interest, a prior claim over non-riparian owners to be allocated by a Water Court for irrigation or other purposes' • Redefined priority of use as, firstly, all primary rights, then rights for irrigation purposes (based on date of issue) and then tertiary rights	

Table 1.1 **Source: Manzungu & Machiridza (2005:6)**

In understanding this table, Manzungu & Machiridza (2005:5) state, "…the main changes to the water legislation during the time [saw] agriculture [becoming a] dominant water user. By the Act of 1927 the priority right to water, granted to the mining industry within the Gold Belt areas, was modified in favour of irrigation." This points links closely to the point I made earlier whereby it was clear that the BSAC shifted from focusing on mining and instead shifted to agriculture. It is, therefore, clear that the colonial government was prepared to make changes that would fit into their agenda even if it was at the expense of the majority. The one-vehicle they used to solidify their stranglehold on Zimbabwe was through the laws as seen with Table 1.1.

To further emphasise the point of the power dynamics within the colonial state Manzungu & Machiridza (2005:6) note that the system that was in place within Rhodesia was based on a matrix of ideas of efficiency, modernity, white power, male supremacy and the belief of starving Africans of land and water. This again speaks to the nature of colonialism within the African state, and how one of its defining elements was marginalisation.

Studies linked to Zimbabwe mainly focus on constitutionalism, the land question and the governance challenge in postcolonial Zimbabwe. Various studies have been studied concerning these issues, examples include Scoones (2018), Moyo et al (2009) and Mkodzongi & Lawrence (2019) have written extensively on land reform in Zimbabwe. Authors such as Madhuku (2010) and Karekwaivanane (2017) have contributed to the understanding of the law in Zimbabwe. In summation a number of studies have been conducted relating to governance in Zimbabwe. This dissertation aims to contribute to the debates surrounding governance in Zimbabwe with a focus on institutions and water governance.

From the information provided I have outlined how the colonial government governed the colonial state. However, this dissertation needs to be clear in what it describes as "governance." "Governance", following the World Bank (WB) (1994: xiv), can be said to entail "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development", and can be said to include three distinct aspects:

(i) "the form of [the] political regime;
(ii) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development; and
(iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions."

These aspects – regime type, authority, and capacity – are considered critically in the analysis of the governance of water resources in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe in this dissertation. For example, in my description of colonialism in Zimbabwe, I briefly described the regime of the colonial government, and the governance processes they used during that time. It is on this basis that I will explore how the colonial legacy in Zimbabwe had an impact on the post-colonial state's water governance policies. Further to this, the WB further states that the term governance also refers to the conditions within a country (WB 1994: xiv). This is an important element of understanding governance as this speaks further to the environment that is within a country. The dominating environment that a government creates allows the following questions to be asked:

- Is the judiciary independent, and do other conflict-resolution mechanism exist?
- Are there constitutional features that limit the power of governments to reform the law?
- What is the political structure in the country, and are there frequent changes of government?

- Are there intermediary agencies that are capable of functioning independently of political influence and that could be involved in the regulatory system?
- Is administrative capacity in the bureaucracy and the judiciary sufficient to implement complex regulatory systems? (WB 1994:6).

These elements are important in understanding the broader debates of governance within various countries. One key element that speaks to my dissertation is the constitutional features that limit the power of governments to reform the law (WB 1994:6). This speaks to both understanding the colonial government and the post-colonial government where the development of new law was intended to provide a level playing field so that those who govern do so effectively. The Rhodesian government used the law to effectively render the native population landless and the Rhodesian government passed water laws that marginalised the indigenous population.

The challenge surrounding the constitution has been widely debated by various Zimbabwean academics. What, however, is clear is that the constitution that was inherited by the Zimbabwean government in 1980 was as a result of the negotiated process at Lancaster House. This negotiated process resulted in post-colonial Zimbabwe being birthed with a governance system that, for example, catered for the white minority through provisions within the constitution. This constitution provided for special legislative representation of 20 seats out of 100 for Europeans for a period of seven years (Chikuhwa 2004:33). The constitution in this regard worked in a manner which protected the interests of the former governing white minority and this impacted the governance of independent Zimbabwe.

In addition to the governance definitions provided for by the WB, Hakan Tropp further unpacks the other elements of governance. When alluding to governance, Tropp (2007:20) notes that "Governance is essentially about such processes of making choices, decisions and trade-offs." In this case, both the colonial and the post-colonial governments were effectively making choices and decisions as mentioned in this definition. This is important for my overall discussion on the governance of water within Zimbabwe because decisions such as the transition from the 1978 Water Act to the 1998 Water Act speak to the decision mentioned by Tropp. This also speaks to the WB governance issues which look at the type of regime in a country, the authority to implement as well as the capacity to implement (WB 1994: xiv). Another element of governance, especially in water circles, is the use of proper infrastructure. Tropp (2007:20) notes that a proper functioning infrastructure requires an enabling governance

system. In summation, as this dissertation will try to illustrate, an effective governance system is important in ensuring that water resources are used for the benefit of the general populace. However, governance extends to constitutional related matters and the constitution is an important element of any country and this also applies to my case study of Zimbabwe.

Research Question

According to Manzungu & Machiridza (2005:1), "The founding economic ideology of the colonial state that began in 1890 and ended in 1980 can be summarized as constructing a white settler economy on the back of a black working-class/peasantry. The political and social agenda of the colonial state reflected this fact." In this dissertation **I aim to explore the ways in which the legacy of this white settler economy shaped water policies since 1980 using debates surrounding path dependence. The overarching aims are to establish how the white settler economy influenced the governance of water in Rhodesia and how the post-colonial state has governed water resources in Zimbabwe.**

The research question(s) that the dissertation will aim to answer is as follows:

Primary Research Question

- What are the main historical and contemporary forces driving the economic post-colonial water policy in Zimbabwe?

Secondary Research Questions

- What differences can be drawn between the water policies under the Rhodesian government and the Zimbabwean government respectively?
- To what extent has the colonial legacy in Zimbabwe influenced the post-colonial government's efforts towards providing water for the population? In this sense, I am contributing to the literature on Zimbabwe as well as a wider literature path dependencies and development.
- How has the post-colonial government sought to address the inequalities concerning water provision that was as a result of colonialism?

Outline and Structure of Thesis

As outlined in the introductory stages of this thesis, the term "governance" is very broad and therefore difficult to define. However, for this dissertation, I will look at governance from the angle that covers how government created policies which impact the provision of water to citizens in countries with a special focus on Zimbabwe. For example, the definition from the

WB touched on the importance of an independent judiciary. This would be an important aspect of governance as an independent judiciary means that laws will be respected by political elites who in many cases often disregard the law. In addition to an independent judiciary governance also looks at the type of regime in a country and whether a country has the capacity to cater for its citizens through, for example, service delivery. The overall research paper has 9 chapters inclusive of the first chapter.

The second chapter of this dissertation focuses on the Literature Review. This chapter reviews the literature that is associated with my overall topic. The chapter reviews water governance from 3 aspects which include: water governance from a global perspective, water governance under colonialism and water governance in the Zimbabwean post-colonial state. The overall aim of this chapter is to look at the Zimbabwean case within the broader global debates surrounding the governance of water.

The third chapter analyses path dependence as the theory which lays the foundation for the dissertation. This theory is important as it reveals how the notion "history matters" plays an important role in understanding the role that is played by institutions. One of the key arguments in this chapter is that post-independence societies inherited skewed institutions, and this often led to these institutions operating in the same manner as they did under colonial rule.

The methodological section of the dissertation is covered in the fourth chapter. This chapter justifies why the research project made use of a qualitative form of research. In addition to this, the chapter further unpacks the methods which I embarked on to source information that contributed to the research project. In summation, the methodological chapter sums up the methods that led to the crafting of the entire research project.

Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter, which examines the relationship between local government and Water Governance within the Zimbabwean context. It would be futile to discuss water governance without analysing local government as in most cases local government is at the heart of service delivery in any country. The main point this chapter makes is that the politicization of local government in Zimbabwe has affected the not only water but also service delivery. One of the key examples that are used in this regard is the 2008 Cholera outbreak as well as various examples to support that standpoint that the politicization of local government has hamstrung service delivery in Zimbabwe. This chapter is also closely tied to the theory of path dependence as local government was one of the institutions that was inherited from the colonial government.

Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) is covered in the sixth chapter of the dissertation. Like the previous chapter, it is important to understand and outline how WASH is an essential aspect of water governance. Chapter 6 unpacks water governance concerning WASH and further outlines how sanitation-related diseases such as cholera can be addressed through sound government policy. Discussions conducted with experts in this field outlined the importance of having strong systems that withstand and respond to threats posed by waterborne diseases such as cholera. Continuing from chapter 5, chapter 6 outlines how the failure of institutions in Zimbabwe culminated in the 2008 cholera outbreak.

The seventh provides an overview of water governance anchored on my findings from the fieldwork process. As mentioned already, this chapter is important because it addresses the research questions of the overall report. For example, chapter unpacks and analyses the efforts made by the post-colonial government to address the inequalities that had been because of colonialism. Key to this chapter, as I mentioned earlier, is the discussion I had with experts within Zimbabwe's political and water sector. This chapter is essential to the overall report as it addresses the themes that have been raised.

The eighth chapter unpacks the impacts of a contemporary challenge which is that of climate change and how it impacts water governance in Zimbabwe. The chapter outlines the efforts that institutions in Zimbabwe have sought to address the impacts of climate change. This chapter outlines the challenges that are associated with climate change and how the Zimbabwean government, through its institutions, has attempted to mitigate the challenges that are because of climate change. The chapter unpacks challenges that have been because of the El Nino phenomenon especially seeing that Zimbabwe, as well as most of the African continent, have agrarian economies which makes water essential.

Chapter 9 concludes the dissertation and aims to address the research questions which were at the beginning of this chapter. In essence, this chapter sums up the entire research project. This chapter will shed light on water governance in Zimbabwe. The aim here is to remind the reader of what the report aimed to unpack. The chapter further revisits the overall debate of how colonialism and water governance in post-colonial Zimbabwe are related. The final stages of the concluding chapter reaffirm the current water policies in Zimbabwe, the key findings of the dissertation, the theoretical contributions of the dissertation and the personal reflections of the dissertation.

Chapter 2

An Overview of Water Governance

Introduction

Although water governance is important for my case of Zimbabwe and the overall African continent, it is important to note that this issue also affects a wider global scene. In this chapter, I aim to review the literature that relates to water governance. To dissect this, I have divided this chapter into four sections. In the first section, I shall discuss water governance from a global perspective. The aim here is to show that the Zimbabwean challenge and the African challenge are also present in other parts of the world as well. I shall also derive information from organizations such as the WB and IMF and the initiatives they have taken to address the water challenges that the world faces. The reason why I start off with a contemporary analysis is to link my Zimbabwe case study with the overall debates within water governance.

In the second section, I begin to focus on the literature that focuses on my Zimbabwean case study- my starting point being the Rhodesian government and the policies that it implemented. This section reviews the works of authors such as Emmanuel Manzungu, who have explored the governance of water in the colonial state. This section will then be followed up with a discussion on how the Zimbabwean State inherited the colonial system. I will discuss how the post-colonial government sought to redress the policies that had been created by the colonial government. The overall aim here is to shed light on matters on governance and how they impact water provision.

The final section briefly analyses the creation of a state-owned company, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA). In this section, I aim to analyse how the creation of this company did little to alleviate the water challenges in Zimbabwe's cities. This section further outlines how the economic conditions in Zimbabwe were one of the major reasons why ZINWA failed in its mandate as it did not have funding to purchase chemicals to treat which had negative impacts on the country. Importantly, however, ZINWA was an institution created with the aim of redressing the colonial system that Zimbabwe inherited in 1980.

A Global Perspective of Water Governance

The literature that focuses on water governance sheds light on how there is a global challenge that is related to the resource. Concerning water governance, many international organizations

such as the WB and the UN have been vocal about water challenges. The WB, for example, runs various water-related programs on a global level. According to the organization's website, it is working together with partners to achieve *"A Water-Secure World for All,"* through investing in water-related solutions that will enable universal access, promote water security, and build resilient societies" (WB:2019). The organisation in this regard has measures in place to address what is viewed as a major challenge. In addition to the WB, the UN has also played a crucial role in trying to shed light on the water challenges. Where the WB aimed to look at issues from a financial point of view, the UN implemented policies that would alleviate water challenges. At the turn of the millennium, the UN introduced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were later replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

In the list of SDGs, Clean Water and Sanitation is listed at number 6. In the *2018 Synthesis Report on Water and Sanitation*, the UN outlines the various challenges that the global world faces with water. This report mentions the aim to achieve safe and affordable drinking water, to improve water quality, wastewater and safe reuse and the protection of water-related ecosystems. The UN recognizes that water resources are embedded in almost all forms of development and many countries rely on the natural resource to carry out agricultural activities (UN 2018:10). This speaks to the African continent where most economies are agrarian and are heavily reliant on water as a means to earn a living. It is for this reason that many countries have embarked on water policies that ensure that the resource is not depleted.

The SDGs, as created by the UN, are part of the 2030 Agenda which created the 17 overall goals. The UN (2018:10) notes that "The 2030 Agenda established 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 global targets, relating to development outcomes and means of implementation (MOI), for the period 2015-2030." The overall aim of these goals was to address social, economic and environmental dimensions that impact the societies. Importantly, the UN speaks to the notion of governance and how important the role of the government is. Concerning meeting these goals, the UN notes that the onus is on respective governments to implement and incorporate the SDGs in national planning policies and strategies based on national realities (UN 2018:11). I will not unpack every single aspect of SDG number 6 but I will pick certain elements that speak to the notion of governance.

Echoing the broader argument in this dissertation, the UN makes reference to the important linkage between water governance and the type of governance in society at large. The UN notes that, in the best case scenario, "good water governance would be the provision of political,

institutional and administrative rules, practices and processes for making decisions and implementing them" (UN 2018:15). One of the key elements that compelled governments to better manage their water resources was the Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM). IWRM was implemented on the back of the International Conference on Water and the Environment: Development Issues for the 2lst century held between 26th 31st January 1992, in Dublin, Ireland. The following resolutions were the outcomes of this conference[2]:

1. Freshwater is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development and the environment
2. Water development and management should be based on a participatory approach, involving users, planners and policymakers at all levels
3. Women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water
4. Water has an economic value in all its competing users and should be recognized as an economic good

These principles of the IWRM were crucial in that governments were given an active role in shaping policies that related to water policies. Several African countries made an effort to implement IWRM within their existing water management policies. South Africa made great strides in including IWRM within its policies. Mtisi & Nicol (2015:87) note that in South Africa several policy documents culminated in the National Water Act (1998). This Act was important because it embraced the notion of IWRM. This is confirmed as the Act is clear that catchment management agencies[3] (CMAs) would oversee the management of water in particular regions. The use of CMAs was also evident in Uganda, Ethiopia and my case study, Zimbabwe. CMAs, within the South African context, was important because these gave a considerable amount of power (participation) to local communities to be involved in decision-making processes (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:87). This links to IWRM in the sense that the involvement of the citizenry sees an inclusion of various stakeholders which is at the heart of managing water resources.

Uganda and Ethiopia are further examples of countries that adopted IWRM within its policies. An example of this is how IWRM was enshrined in the water policies in Ethiopia. According to Mtisi & Nicol (2015:89) in Ethiopia, the National Water Resources Management Policy was

[2] International Conference on Water and the Environment: Development Issues for the 21st Century., 1992, 'The Dublin in Statement and Report of the Conference' 26—31 January 1992.

[3] Catchment areas can be defined as the "institutional platform for the broad-based participation of water users in decision-making processes related to water" (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:87).

focused on enhancing and promoting efforts towards the efficient, equitable and optimal utilization of water that would play a crucial role in the socio-economic development built on a foundation of sustainability. Not only does this speak to IWRM, but this also speaks to the UN's SDGs. Ethiopia went as far as creating The Ethiopia Country Water Partnership (ECWP). The ECWP was created under the auspices of the Global Water Partnership (GWP) and its mandate was to promote and implement IWRM principles in Ethiopia's water sector (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:89). Such an initiative was important as it confirmed the country's commitment to IWRM principles. More importantly, Mtisi & Nicol (2015:89) note that "Its broad-based membership was drawn from, *inter alia,* the federal and regional government agencies, local and international NGOs, donors, research and academic institutions, women and the private sector." This approach by Ethiopia is important because of the inclusive nature of its approach towards managing water resources within the country.

In addition to South Africa and Ethiopia, Uganda also implemented IWRM within its water policies. The vehicle through which this was achieved was The Water Action Plan (WAP) of 1994. Mtisi & Nicol (2015:90) note that this plan provided the basis for sustainable water resources development and management that would be based on IWRM principles. Furthermore, Uganda ensured that there were structures in place that would see the usage of national and subnational levels (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:90). Between 2003 and 2005 Uganda made great strides in ensuring that it had adopted IWRM principles within its water sector. During this period Uganda implemented a Water Resources Management Reform Study.

This study resulted in a recommendation that saw a shift from a centralized to a catchment-based WRM which was structured in a three-tier institutional framework (Water Management Zone (WMZ); catchment; and district level) (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:90). Like the examples before, Uganda is a good example of how IWRM was at the heart of the water policies that were adopted. Within Uganda the catchment areas that were created were run by a Catchment Secretariat who is responsible for the following:

- Coordination of planning of WRM issues within the catchment area;
- Coordination of preparation and implementation of the IWRM plan in the catchment, in liaison with local governments (LGs), relevant district officers, water users' associations and other stakeholders;
- Coordination, implementation, monitoring and enforcement of relevant acts, by-laws, guidelines, regulations, permits, plans and standards (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:90).

Uganda's case reveals the extent to which the country went to ensure that IWRM policies were implemented. As I will illustrate with my case study and later in this chapter, IWRM would be crucial in redressing colonial laws that served a minority (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:92). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the UN has advocated greatly for the adoption of IWRM principles. The UN acknowledges that although the policies of IWRM may seem relatively simple, they are complex. According to its report, it is noted that there is no universal application of IWRM policies but countries must seek their unique approach (UN 2018:15). This links directly to the notion that a participatory approach is important in the implementation of IWRM policies. In countries, finding methods that are suited for their climate it is important to draw upon all concerned stakeholders.

The economic nature of countries and reforming inherited colonial systems was extremely important for the implementation of IWRM. One example that has been used is that of South Africa. The challenge that was made evident in the country was that the management of water was concentrated within a white-dominated system which meant that the majority would be disadvantaged (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:93). This speaks directly to the notion of the colonial legacy where the post-colonial state inherits an uneven playing field that favours a minority over a majority. This also ties to the notion of good governance in relation to water governance. The UN (2018:93) notes that with good governance there is an effort to eliminate inequalities and ensure that there is equal access to sufficient, safe and affordable water as well as adequate sanitation services. Yet again, the importance of IWRM policies are seen because when these policies are closely scrutinized the role of good governance cannot be ignored.

The importance of IWRM as a vehicle for good water governance is also evident throughout the literature that looks at water governance. Schmidt & Matthews (2017:4) note that in the early 2000s, there was a rise in water governance advancement after the international conference that was held in The Hague solidified the importance of addressing the global water crisis. Before IWRM there was no clear directive to address water challenges on a global level. The Ministerial Declaration from The Hague was one of the first international calls which advocated for good governance in relation to water and also saw the World Water Council calling for an effort to make "water everybody's business" (Schmidt & Matthews 2017:5). The term governance included a number of matters that included institutions, environments and multiple actors (Cosgrove & Rijsberman 2000 cited by Schmidt & Matthews 2017:5). Although there were efforts from as early as 1977 to address water challenges great strides were only made at the turn of the millennium.

The debates surrounding water have been a global topic for a number of years but, as argued by Schmidt and Matthews, the debates only grew at the turn of the millennium. According to them, despite the decades of research that had been done regarding threats posed by water scarcity, the efforts towards water only gained traction in the early 2000s (Schmidt & Matthews 2017:5). As seen with the examples that touched on IWRM, it is clear that efforts towards addressing water related challenges started in the early 2000s with many countries adopting these water policies. One of the key debates that have also arisen is the issue of water security. Water security again speaks to the notion of governance. When describing water governance Schmidt & Matthews (2017:6) note that, "…water governance can be understood as connecting the knowledge required for effective planning, and the factors affecting actual water management decisions, to the social and political structures in which knowledge is produced and decisions are taken." By connecting knowledge as mentioned by these authors, it is clear that a successful mode of governance sees an effort to draw from various sects within society.

One of the important aspects of water governance that have to be considered stems from industrialization. The pace of industrialization and modernization required attention from a global aspect. When writing about this it is noted that the industrializing powers of the Cold War sought to gain global influence in ways that required the use of more water (Schmidt & Matthews 2017:7). From a global perspective it was decided that a strong approach was needed to address the challenges to water that were as a result of industrialization. In 1977, the first UN Conference on Water in Argentina saw the management of water and planning making part of the global agenda (Biswas 1978 cited by Schmidt & Matthews 2017:7).

One of the key elements worth considering in relation to the governance of water that has been noted by certain authors is the bureaucratic nature of governments. According to Schmidt & Matthews (2017:8), in most cases, when decisions were made within institutions, rules were often not followed mainly because of political influence. This links closely to chapter 5, where there is a discussion on local government which argues that there is a huge contestation between central government (the ruling party, which in my case is ZANU PF) and local government (MDC). In addition to this, the same authors argue that rational planning in relation to water governance is affected by two issues mainly.

The first issue is that different groups may frame problems differently thus resulting in the variables being important to one group more than the other. The second issue is that if different groups agree on the important variables they may disagree on the implementation (Lindblom

1959; 1999 cited by Schmidt & Matthews (2017:8)). In this case, it is evident to note that the element of governance needs to be able to agree, not only on plans relating to water, but governments need to agree on the implementation of these plans.

The implementation of plans and policies remains one of the biggest challenges that are faced by various governments, especially on the African continent. Richter (2014:56) notes that when considering governance matters there is a huge impact on policy making by powerful interest groups which include domineering ministries within governments. This might be key in explaining why in most cases policies are not fully implemented even if they seem achievable on paper. The various contestations that are within governments and societies at large are crucial in whether policies are carried out or not. In addition to these contestations, there is a belief that governments should also have the necessary knowledge that is required to manage water resources. Richter (2014:56) notes that:

> The challenge [of governing water] boils down to gaining an understanding of water budgets, selecting the best options for resolving or avoiding water shortages, funding and implementing those options, protecting ecological and human health, and then continuously learning and improving over time.

In this particular instance, governance is viewed from a holistic point of view which looks at the various elements surrounding water. This holistic approach looks at budgets and the overall impacts of water. This element is noticed in the principles of IWRM where one of the key points of the policy is to see the inclusion of the various challenges that surround water ranging from financial matters to environmental challenges. One of the key elements of IWRM speaks to is how communities should be encouraged to be involved in the decision-making process through participation. This is echoed by Richter (2014:57), who notes that, from a global perspective, it is important that there be a movement away from a reliance on a centralized, top-down, governmental technocracies in water management to a more inclusive and durable governing system. This has been important in several documents such as the *UN Synthesis Report on Water and Sanitation* that I cited earlier in this chapter. However, the role and regulatory responsibilities of the government is of paramount importance in seeing that the process of governing water is carried out.

There is a huge role that is played by the government and this made clear by the various articulations by IOs. When mentioning the importance of the government, Richter (2014:57) notes that most countries have taken a strong position that water should be publicly owned with the central government acting as the custodian of the natural resource. In this regard, it is

important to state that a government that decides to take on such a stance should be in a position to adequately manage the resource, which in most cases is the financial aspect. When Richer authored his work, it was at a time when water challenges had not come to the fore as the world is currently seeing. He notes, "In many countries, water remains sufficiently abundant to meet everyone's needs, and the citizens of the country enjoy open and largely unrestricted access to water sources" (Richter 2014:58).

Interestingly upon stating this, Richter ropes in Garret Hardin's *"Tragedy of the Commons."* In this essay, Hardin alludes to the fact that a tragedy of the commons results when a shared resource, like water, is depleted by individuals acting independently and according to each one's self-interest, even though they might have an understanding that depletion of that resources is contrary to the interest of an entire community (Richter 2014:58; Baviskar 2007:41). The tragedy of the commons in this regard, speaks to the challenges that come with the abuse of natural resources. In this case, it is evident for the government to put in place measures that protect the environment from such a scenario.

To shed light on the Tragedy of the Commons, Richter provides an example from a trip to India. In recalling the trip, he notes that:

> During a trip to central India a few years ago, I witnessed a tragedy of the water commons firsthand. I met a farmer who was installing a large new pump in his groundwater well. I asked him whether he was aware that groundwater levels were dropping rapidly throughout the area surrounding his farm as a result of widespread and excessive groundwater extraction. "Yes, exactly," he replied. "That's why I bought this new pump. I need to get the water before my neighbours do (Richter 2014:59).

This example depicts how not only water gets depleted, but also serves as an example of how other natural resources can also be depleted. More importantly in countries where there is a contestation between rural-small scale farming and commercial agriculture challenges water often becomes a challenge with rural areas often receiving very little water. In many cases this makes water a commodity in high demand. The demand for water is linked to livelihoods and hence Richter's experience in India is an example of the issues affecting the governance of water in many third world countries. To avoid this Richter (2014:59) states that effective governmental or communal control on the water is essential, he does, however, note that very few communities have put in place measures even when instances where water sources are being exploited in an unsustainable manner. Richter alludes to the importance that governments have to play in averting a tragedy of the commons. It is important that governments have effective water allocation processes. These processes need to be guided by governmental

regulations or policies or by cultural norms and community forums (Richter 2014:59). Governments would, therefore, be in a position to address challenges pertaining to the exploitation of water resources. In this instance, it is again important that governments put in places measures that prevent the abuse of natural resources and this can be achieved through working with communities.

The role of the government in this regard is important because it safeguards water resources. According to Richter (2014:60) some governments continue to recognise communal laws or rights that predate the formation of the existing government or legal systems. This has meant that there has been a recognition by various governments in the approach to managing water resources. One of the issues raised in the management of water by governments is that of resources. It has been argued that money is needed to build and maintain infrastructure and money is needed to pay those who oversee the management of water (Richter 2014:62). The insufficient financial capacity is one of the contributing factors to water challenges adding to the challenge that has been as a result of the tragedy of commons.

The notion of bringing in the community in this regard can be strongly linked to IWRM's decentralisation of power to local communities. As previous examples from Uganda and South Africa have alluded to, the establishments of catchment and sub-catchment organisations were mainly aimed at redressing the problems of inequitable access, high pollution levels and seasonal scarcity (Mutondo et al 2016:7). Local communities being given the opportunity to oversee their resources can help find a solution to challenges such as the Tragedy of the Commons. To further elaborate on this, Mutondo et al (2016:8) note that within the different African countries, the level of awareness to national reforms concerning water differs greatly from country to country, catchment to catchment, sub-catchment to sub-catchment, and from locality to locality. This means that governments should have initiatives that take cognizance of various communities so to avoid the dangers of depleting natural resources.

One of the key debates that continue to come to the fore is the discussion between a centralized system and a decentralized system. The Dublin Conference, which brought about the IWRM, proposed for a holistic approach to the management of water resources. There was an aim to link social and economic development with the protection of natural ecosystems (Mutondo et al 2016:9). This holistic approach, to a certain extent, speaks to the broader definition of governance which aims to cover a much wider range of issues. To further elaborate on this holistic approach, it is noted that, "…this holistic approach thus entails greater integration and

centralized decision-making in certain dimensions, while competition for resources makes feasible and increases the desirability of decentralization and stakeholder participation" (Mody 2004:8 cited by Mutondo et al 2016:9). Simply, the holistic approach brought forth by the IWRM aims to include several actors and stakeholders.

Going back to the discussion on a centralized system and a decentralized system, in terms of economic efficiency and institutional effectiveness of water governance, centralization can more easily take advantage of economies of scale whilst a decentralized system is well placed to manage hydrological interconnectedness (Mutondo et al 2016:9). However, a centralized system suffers from bureaucratic cumbersomeness and slow response (Mutondo et al 2016:9; Matthews 2017:8). In this case, although, results can be achieved under a centralized system, various challenges prevent the system from fully yielding positive results. On the other hand, whilst decentralization can yield positive results by allowing communities to fully take charge of managing their resources, it risks the danger of raising transaction costs (Mody 2004:10 cited by Mutondo et al 2016:9). What is evident from these two descriptions is that there is no perfect blueprint to manage resources. Both systems have their flaws and the onus is on the governments to ensure that management of these resources benefits societies.

IWRM Implementation Challenges

The challenges of implementing IWRM on the African continent speak directly to the challenges of water governance as a whole. IWRM is a complex and expensive process, with decentralization being a huge component of it. Within the Sub-Saharan African region, the countries "…suffer from chronic inefficiencies and gaps inherited from their recent past, and do not seem to represent a proper socioeconomic, political, and institutional environment for the fast and successful implementation of such policies in the water sector" (Mutondo et al 2016:14). This speaks greatly to how certain countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe inherited a colonial system which was skewed towards the interests of a particular race.

Not only did colonial policies impact the post-colonial state, but it is also evident that particular African countries have also struggled to implement policies as required by IWRM. It has been noted that there are main challenges which are as a result of the lack of clarity in terms of power relations and distribution of competences between central and local institutions (Mutondo et al 2016:14). This is made more clearer in the chapter that analyses local government where there is power contestation between parties in charge of central government and parties in charge of local government. In addition to this, it is noted that some countries on the African continent

have insufficient budgets and lack financial sustainability of managing agencies (Mutondo et al 2016:14). The financial aspect of water governance is one that cannot be ignored. This can be linked to corruption which Richter argues as being of great hindrance to water governance especially on the African continent.

One of the examples cited is that of Masupha Sole, the former chief executive officer of the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority in Africa. Sole was found guilty in 2002 of accepting $6 million in bribes from companies in the engineering and construction industries (Richter 2014:66). At the time of his arrest, he was overseeing a water project involving the construction of five dams and canals for water storage and transfer (Richter 2014:66). Sole's case speaks to the challenges that are brought about by corruption. Corruption within the example I just stated, cripples projects that could positively impact the lives of communities.

Corruption's impacts on water governance in that in most cases the funds needed to improve various aspects of water delivery are affected. It has been made clear that one of the biggest challenges that governments face is a shortage of funds. For example, money is needed to pay water managers, money is needed to build and maintain infrastructure to store and distribute water to users and water is needed to purchase computers that analyses data that is needed for successful water distribution (Richter 2014:62). In many cases, corruption sees funds being diverted elsewhere, rather than serving the purpose of improving infrastructure for the citizens. More importantly, corruption has a negative impact on communities that require water resources to carry out their daily tasks.

One of the biggest obstacles to local communities is the role that is played by the ruling elite, who act as gatekeepers. When writing about this, David Hardiman alludes to his observations from Gujarat. One of the key arguments he makes in his book is that "…village societies have generally been controlled by rural magnates or rich peasants who have expropriated resources for themselves in often ruthless and not particularly ecologically friendly ways" (Baviskar 2007:55). In this instance, the point made by Hardiman is linked to the vulnerabilities that are faced mainly by impoverished societies as he mentions. His observations can also be linked to many other impoverished societies that go beyond India. It is further noted that rural communities have been generally controlled by an elite who have tried to get their way especially in regards to natural resources. Baviskar (2007:55) notes that rural magnates have expropriated resources for themselves, in often ruthless and not particularly environmentally friendly ways. This is important in that an analysis of both colonial and post-colonial policies

reveals that there was a significant role that was played by the ruling elite[4]. The role of the ruling elite as mentioned by Baviskar shall be further elaborated one in the next section within this chapter. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, it was important to use contemporary literature as the basis to address water governance under the Rhodesian government and under the Zimbabwean. By shedding light on the general governance of water, the following sections will now allude to the governance practices of the colonial government and postcolonial government in my Zimbabwean case study.

Water Governance under the Rhodesian Government

When writing about the colonial period, Manzungu & Derman (2016:493) note that, before independence, ownership and control over land, water and mineral resources was entrenched in the hands of a white minority to the disadvantage of the black majority. The logical point of departure concerning water policies in Rhodesia is the law that was passed in 1913.

In 1913 the colonial government introduced the Water Ordinance, which provided riparian water right to owners of land adjacent or overlying lands to address infighting between white farmers (this law did not include the black farmers as they did not own land) (Manzugu & Derman 2016:497). In 1920, the Water Ordinance was amended to include a priority date system. According to Manzugu & Derman (2016:497), this system "provided for the priority of accessing water to those with senior water rights based on the date of application, which further marginalized black farmers who by law could not hold water rights in their own right." The power dynamics in this regard saw the class interests within the white community seeing them get their way in the same way that black political elite did at the attainment of independence. In this regard, the white farming community were able to dictate the direction which was to be taken concerning water policies. The colonial government had in this period ensured that the white minority were continuing to benefit at the expense of the black majority.

In 1930, the colonial government further marginalized the black majority by introducing the Land Appropriation Act. In this Act, the white settlers were accorded full land rights whilst blacks were disenfranchised (Manzugu & Derman 2016:497). The last law that the colonial government passed was the Water Act of 1976. According to this act, the state would assume ownership of water through the abolishment of generous rights of riparian landowners and the colonial government also saw agriculture enjoying a lower status than water for mining and

[4] My definition of the ruling elite is derived from Mamdani who argued that during colonialism the white minority acted as the elite whilst in the post-colonial state, the black elite took over the role of the ruling elite.

urban use (Manzugu & Derman 2016:497). The water governance practiced by the colonial government saw the white farmers benefiting greatly from the various water acts at the expense of the black majority.

Musemwa notes that, when the colonial government set base in what is now Harare, the idea was to cater for a population of 25,000 people (Musemwa 2010:169; Yoshikuni 2007:10). This figure is an extremely large number for the period in mention and could be a revelation of the ambitions the colonial powers had. However, it was soon discovered that the environment was suited more for farming rather than mineral exploration (Musemwa 2010:169). However, it is noted that the city, as well as the country, had various challenges, like droughts. The droughts that occurred between 1917-1918, 1923-1925 and 1928-1929 would see the city being challenged tremendously in its effort to provide water for the inhabitants.

The Rhodesian government upon realising the challenges related to water provision in the country realized that the building of dams was essential- these dams still play a prominent role in modern-day Zimbabwe. Yoshikuni (2007:11) notes that the city went through an urban revolution which saw piped water and electricity supplies. However, the urban revolution saw the building of many dams such as the Cleveland Dam in 1913, which was able to connect to over 160 houses (Musemwa 2010:172). In the mid-1970s 95% of households in Harare were now being supplied by the Morton Jaffrey Water Scheme which aimed at catering for the growing population in the country.

The colonial government passed a series of laws which reinforced its power over colonial subjects, and allowed it benefit from its governance of Rhodesia. The various laws that were introduced by the colonial government are as follows:

Date	**Event/Activity**	**Objectives in relation to land and water resources**
1890	Beginning of colonialism under the British South African Company (BSAC) rule on behalf of the British Empire (Phimister, 1987)	Maximising profits through the exploitation of the colony's natural resources, particularly mineral deposits (Manzungu and Machiridza, 2009).

		Mining sector accorded priority vis-a-vis allocation of land and water resources to the exclusion of indigenous blacks.
1898	Native Reserves Order	Blacks moved to arid and infertile areas in the 'Native Reserves' (Kramer, 1997). A once vibrant indigenous agriculture, which had supplied early white settlers with surplus produce, was fundamentally undermined (Ranger, 1985).
1920	Amendment of the 1913 Water Ordinance	Instituted the priority date system.
1923	BSAC pulled out of the colony in 1923	Insignificant profits and loss of support among white settlers resulting in a responsible government.
1927	Water Act	Sought to improve the water Ordinance which could not solve water disputes and devised a system that addressed agricultural water use (Chereni, 2007).
1930	Land Apportionment Act	Act legalized racial segregation of agricultural land that had begun in the 1900s.

		Fertile half of the total agricultural land was reserved for the minority white population. White settlers accorded full land rights while blacks were disenfranchised.
1969	Land tenure Act	Strict racial access to agricultural land (Palmer, 1977).
1976	Water Act	State assumes ownership of water through abolishment of generous rights of riparian landowners. In addition to the priority date system, water rights were issued in perpetuity. Agriculture enjoyed a lower status than water for mining and urban use. Basic water needs catered for through the provision of primary water rights.

Table 2.0 **Source: Manzungu & Derman (2016:496)**

The table is instrumental in understanding colonialism as the laws mentioned were geared towards serving the interests of the white minority at the expense of the black majority. It was noted that the "colonial state established a legal and administrative framework that governed access to, and control of, water in favour of sectional interests, namely urban areas, commercial agriculture, mining and manufacturing industries" (Kambudzi, 1997; Mtisi and Nicole, 2003

cited by Mtisi 2011:5). A brief overview of Table 2.0 confirms that the colonial system of governance was based on the marginalization of particular groups and this was evident concerning matters about the land. The laws also confirm that colonial state created a white-urban economy that was linked to a white-commercial agricultural economy and this had a massive impact on water policies.

Although this chapter does not intend on unpacking every single law, the main point that I aim to make is the fact that water, together with commercial agriculture, had laws which favoured a mix of urban-white and commercial-rural white. For example, when the 1976 Water Act is brought to the fore it is noted that access to water was based on the type of water one wants access to- private water or public water (Mtisi 2011:5). This law allowed the colonial government to differentiate between the two types of water. Private water access was vested in the owner of the land on which it was located, and use of the water belonged to such an owner (Mtisi 2011:5). Furthermore, the Act permitted the owners, lessees, or those occupying the land, to construct wells and drill boreholes of which the amount of water abstracted was not controlled (Mtisi 2011:5).

On the other hand, public water had a strong influence from the State. When writing about this, Mtisi (2011:5) notes that "Right of access to 'public water' was based on prior appropriation doctrine, which meant that access is based on the date on which an appropriation to the beneficial use of water was made." The 1976 Water Act's provisions, as they stood, did not include the black majority, thus also cemented the segregation which was evident at that particular time. Additionally, only individuals with title deeds to land could apply for, and be granted the water rights in question (Mtisi 2011:5). Since the black majority did not have title deeds to land the laws did not include their needs.

In my discussion in Local Government in Zimbabwe, one of the key arguments that the chapter makes is that decentralization of power is a hotly contested issue within the Zimbabwean political landscape. Interestingly enough, the 1976 Water Act institutionally put in place a decentralized water management framework which worked through the establishment of River Boards, which were tasked with the supervision and regulation of rights to public water within an area fixed by the Minister (Mtisi 2011:6). The Act in this regard saw the Minister in charge having a huge say in the allocation of water within these regions. Therefore, although there was the decentralization of power in this regard, it was clear the Minister in charge of water in

Rhodesia enjoyed a considerable amount of power in terms of the governance of water in particular regions.

The 1976 Act, I believe, was a major contributor to the inequalities that were seen concerning water governance in both Rhodesia and eventually Zimbabwe. This belief is echoed by Mtisi (2011:5):

> The 1976 Water Act entrenched great inequalities to water access and the exclusion of communal, resettlement and small-scale farmers in decision making on water. Such inequalities made the need for water reform increasingly urgent, particularly given the continued use of the 1976 Water Act post-1980 within a context of persistent skewed access to water.

The 1976 Water Act which the newly independent Zimbabwean state inherited was indeed one of the major contributors to the inequalities that the country witnessed in 1980. To further argue about the inequalities that the 1976 Water Act contributed to, Mtisi cites Manzungu who notes that the Act had huge elements of centralization of power. One example noted related to the Water Court. Issues relating to the application of water rights fell under the Water Court, which was located in the capital city, Harare. When one wanted to apply for water rights, one had to travel to the capital regardless of where they were located in Zimbabwe (Manzungu, 1997 cited by Mtisi 2011:7). This is yet another example that speaks to the inequalities that the Water Act of 1976 caused but more importantly, this law proves that at the time of gaining independence the Zimbabwean government had inherited a skewed system that it needed to redress.

Water Governance under the Zimbabwean Government

Upon the attainment of independence in 1980, the new Zimbabwean government was expected to address the injustices that were caused by the colonial government. This is especially considering that the black majority did not have a say in the laws passed regarding water governance. In an effort to redress the colonial heritage, the new government decided to shift its focus to the rural areas after the attainment of independence.

To do so, the Zimbabwean government had to implement policies that would bring parity to an unjust society. The government, through a plan called *Transitional National Developmental Plan*, noted that "The previous neglect in the provision of water supplies in the communal areas is to be corrected" (Musemwa 2008:5). Due to the nature of colonialism, the areas which the black majority occupied were neglected and the new government directed its efforts towards these areas. It was further noted that the government would formulate a water development and management strategy to better manage water resources in rural areas (Musemwa 2008:5). From

the onset of independence, it was clear that the government was dedicated to addressing the plight of rural citizens.

Musemwa goes as far as stating that the Zimbabwean government had a particular bias towards the rural community. In addition to the rural community being historically marginalized, the new government felt indebted to the rural community for its role in the war for independence, hence its strong focus on the rural community (Musemwa 2008:5). It was this reason that the rural community was largely beneficial to the government's new water policy. During the liberation struggle the rural community played an important role in housing guerrilla fighters and this was crucial in defeating the Rhodesian government. This was the driving factor in the new Zimbabwean government's focus on the rural community.

Surprisingly, after the attainment of independence, the government did little to actually change the colonial legislature that was in place. When writing about this, Manzungu and Machiridza argue that at the attainment of independence, the ZANU PF led government flip-flopped about an economic ideology. To substantiate this argument, Manzungu and Machiridza cite Herbst, argue that the Zimbabwean post-colonial state lacked a coherent political and economic ideology (Herbst 1990 cited by Manzungu & Machiridza 2005:9). This lack of ideology had a huge impact on the policies which were crafted by the postcolonial state. It is further noted that the nationalist movement was driven to win political power to such an extent that there was no comprehensive ideology to benefit the black population (Manzungu & Machiridza 2005:9). This point is important, as it speaks to how little was done in terms of addressing colonial laws that pertained to water and land.

With water governance, the first two decades of independence saw water being governed by the 1976 Water Act. When the Zimbabwean government created a new Water Act in 1998, it was because of a knee jerk reaction to the 1991/92 drought, the worst in the country's history (Makarau, 1999 cited by Manzungu & Machiridza 2005:10). This not only speaks to the lack of clear ideology, but this also speaks to the lack of planning by the nationalist movement concerning the water policies in the independent state.

When writing about the lack of planning, authors such Musemwa pin the blame on both the Rhodesian government and the Zimbabwean government. In doing so he quotes David Beach, who notes that long-term planning was absent in both colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe (Musemwa 2012:3). The lack of planning can be seen in various ways throughout both the colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. It has been noted that 'Unfortunately, when it comes to

long-term planning, *Homo sapiens zimbabweansis* is not significantly different from *H. sapiens rhodesiansis.* Indeed the two are far more alike than many would care to concede' (Beach 1999:14 cited by Musemwa 2012:3). The lack of planning from the colonial government is evident in the urban planning that saw Harare's (then Salisbury) current location. This is summed up when it is noted that:

> Even urban planning was atrociously bad. Leaving aside the lack of thinking that left only a 45[degree] segment of Salisbury for the African population; the very sitting of the city was and is incompetent. It is well known that in 1890 the site was chosen at very short notice but what is not generally known is that in 1891 the Company (British South Africa company [sic]) did think of resisting it, considering Norton, Mvurwi, Darwendale and even Rusape. The proposal to move the town was rejected, allegedly because the other sites were a few metres lower and thus less healthy, but actually because six brick building had already been put up, and the property developers did not want to lose their investments. Consequently, the town remained where the city is, upstream of its main water supply, and thus we are condemned to drink our own recycled waste! (Beach 1999:14 cited by Musemwa 2012:3).

The lengthy extract provides an example of how the lack of planning but, more importantly, speaks to the system which was inherited by the new government after the attainment of independence. In addition to the laws that I mentioned in the previous section, it is evident that the post-colonial government also inherited an urban structure that many authors deemed to be problematic. As mentioned in chapter five, the post-colonial state as well contemporary Zimbabwe, saw a power contestation between ZANU PF and MDC. Whilst it remains that ZANU PF controlled central government and the MDC controlled local government, another important element that is important to consider is the control of the rural areas which ZANU PF has continued to do some 40 years after independence.

For example, in elections held in 2005, former President of Zimbabwe, Mugabe, noted that the rural population was the "the most consistent revolutionaries and decisive pillar of support for the party" (Kamete 2006:255 cited by Musemwa 2012:20). More importantly, the rural areas were of significant importance to ZANU PF, as many authors argued that the revolutionary party was indebted to the rural mainly because of the liberation struggle. I shall, however, return to the importance of the rural areas to ZANU PF a little later in this chapter.

With water governance in Zimbabwe, at the attainment of independence, the country faced considerable droughts but general service delivery was still efficient. One of the reasons authors point to is the fact that ZANU PF controlled local government and had no real opposition and therefore no power play was present as seen from the turn of the millennium (see Kurebwa 2015:100). Service delivery, one can argue, was efficient mainly because there

was no conflict between central government and local government as they were both under the ruling party. This, to a certain extent, brought a level of efficiency. However, the 1990s saw rampant corruption as well politicisation playing an important role in the provision of water to communities. Musemwa (2012:21) notes that in 1995 a ZANU PF executive mayor, Solomon Tawengwa, was appointed and one of the key promises he made was to root out corruption and financial profligacy, however, he was removed from this post in 1999 for gross mismanagement. Corruption in this regard can be linked to the first section of this chapter where funds that are meant for rehabilitation of water infrastructure are diverted elsewhere. The example of Tawengwa is just one of the many challenges that resulted in water challenges.

The one main challenge that has been noted is the fact that after the attainment of independence, there was a huge influx of people from rural to urban areas. This is aptly summed up by the quote below:

> Despite transforming Harare above ground (e.g. name changes and installation of digital traffic lights.) soon after independence, the 'hidden city' of pipes and sewers beneath the city streets and avenues laid by the colonial municipality did not get a parallel overhaul to meet the growing needs of an expanding post-colonial city. Inevitably, such negligence led to water wastage through visible and undetected leakages resulting in an incessant water crisis (Musemwa 2012:23).

This quote is important as it touches on some areas that pertain to the research elements of this topic. Firstly, Musemwa alludes to the process of independence brought about changes on the surfaces (which he links to name changes). Secondly, and critically, this quote speaks to the inheritance of the post-colonial state. Thirdly, the lack of planning which set the way for water challenges, in this regard, dates back to the colonial period. The challenges that Musemwa notes revealed that the problem that Harare faced were mainly "…due to poor planning, which saw colonial hydrological engineers and planners locate Harare's two main reservoirs, Lakes Chivero and Manyane, downstream from the city's sewerage works" (Musemwa 2012:23). The lack of planning, as repeatedly mentioned, has been a recurring theme throughout this chapter and is a contributor to water challenges in the post-colonial state.

The Creation of the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA)

The challenges that I mentioned in the previous section meant that reforms were necessary to address the water crises that also spanned other regions in Zimbabwe. As I stated earlier, the 1976 Water Act would continue to govern water resources in Zimbabwe until 1998, when a new Water Act was introduced.

The Water Act of 1998 was one of the major reforms to Zimbabwe's water policies and it replaced the archaic Water Act of 1976. According to this Act, perpetual water rights were replaced with water permits valid for 20 years and the state would now own all surface and underground water (Manzungu & Dzingirai 2012:93). The Water Act of 1998 was important for Zimbabwe because it was an effort to address the legacy of colonialism in the independent state. The government of Zimbabwe, according to Manzungu & Dzingirai (2012:93), notes that "Management of water resources was now based on hydrological areas that were termed catchment and sub-catchment areas, instead of provincial administrative boundaries." This was a decentralized approach that the government believed would lead to an effective governing of the water resources in Zimbabwe. The boundaries which were created are appear in fig 2.0:

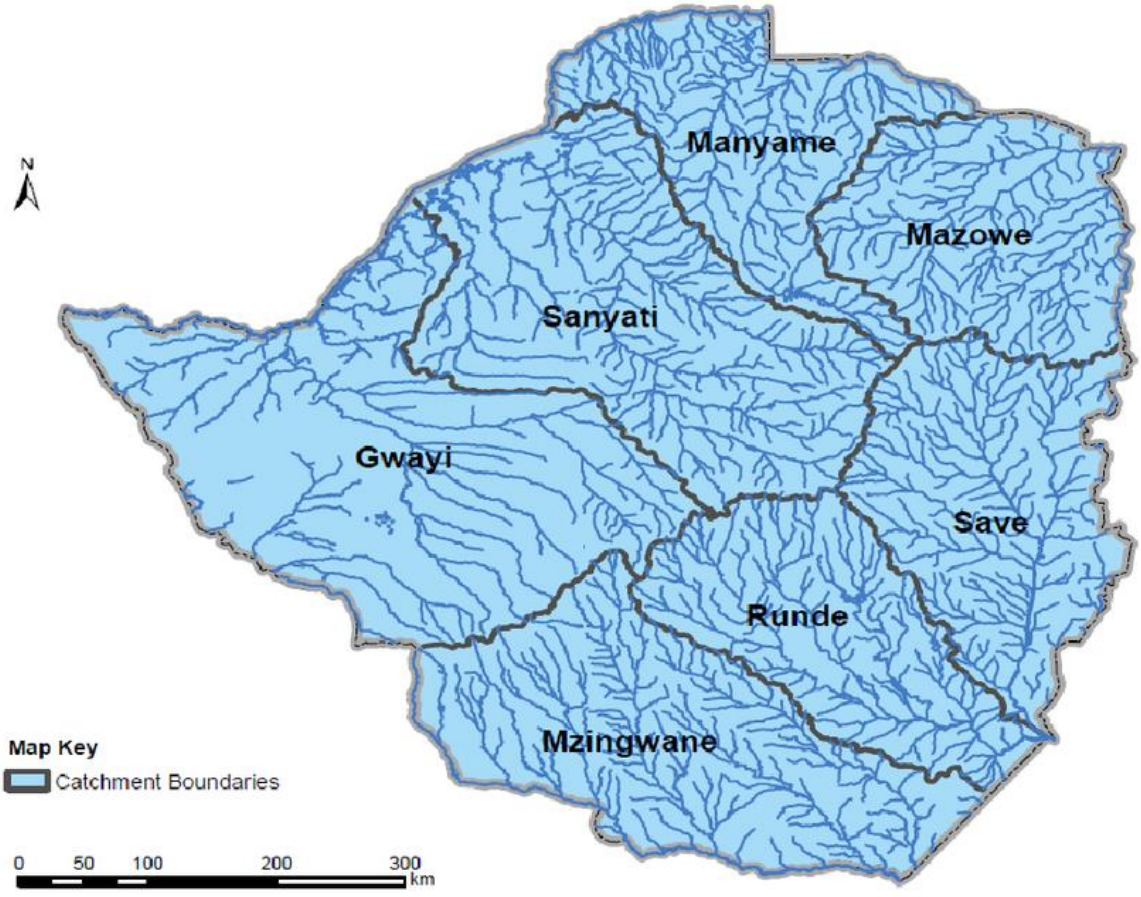


Fig 2.0 **Source: (Mtisi 2011:11)**

ZINWA created catchment areas which would oversee the management of water. According to ZINWA (2017) the following seven catchment areas were created:

1. Mazowe Catchment
2. Runde Catchment

3. Manyame Catchment
4. Gwayi Catchment
5. Mzingwane Catchment
6. Save Catchment
7. Sanyati Catchment.

Many African countries adopted IWRM policies as a vehicle of water reform. The seven catchment areas that were created in Zimbabwe were created after the key principles of IWRM were tested. Each of the catchment councils was managed by a catchment council, which was made up of water users within that specific catchment council (Mtisi & Nicol 2015:88; Mtisi 2011:12). The belief here was that there had to be an inclusion of people within the decision-making process. The catchment council was mainly meant to prepare catchment outline plans for their respective river systems, determine applications and grant water permits, regulate and supervise the use of water, and deal with challenges that might arise over usage of water (Mtisi 2008 cited by Mtisi & Nicol 2015:88). The inclusion of the local community again is an important aspect that the creation of ZINWA tried to implement from its inception.

The Zimbabwean populace received ZINWA's creation with caution. For example, in Harare, the city had experienced water shortages since the late 1990s, and the citizens had hoped that ZINWA would resolve the challenges they were facing (Musemwa 2012:27). However, for several reasons, ZINWA struggled to provide the service that many citizens had hoped for. It is noted that in Harare, ZINWA increased rates tenfold but citizens still did not have running water in their households (Musemwa 2012:27). From the onset, it would have seemed as if ZINWA was failing in the role it had assumed. However, it is important to consider that the economic climate at the time inhibited ZINWA from delivering its services to the citizens of Zimbabwe. The economic conditions in Zimbabwe at the turn of the millennium resulted in ZINWA not having adequate funds and equipment to carry out its 'cabinet-sanctioned' role (Musemwa 2012:27). It is further noted that the lack of foreign currency in Zimbabwe saw ZINWA being unable to buy chemicals to treat water from South Africa; this all but proved that ZINWA was viewed in a bad light by citizens because it had failed to provide the service that citizens had hoped for.

The creation of ZINWA is believed by authors to have been a political move by the ruling party, ZANU PF. It is important to note that ZINWA, upon its inception, took over from city councils when it came to the provision of water to citizens in Zimbabwe's cities. From the early

2000s, ZANU PF was facing a formidable challenge from the opposition, MDC. ZINWA was seen as a vehicle not to ease water challenges but rather as a vehicle to undermine the MDC's control of urban areas. Concerning this, Musemwa (2008:882) notes that this school of thought is best understood by Swyngedouw's belief that, 'controlling the flow of water implies controlling the city, as, without the uninterrupted flowing of water, the city's metabolism would come to a halt.' In this case, it would seem that the creation of ZINWA, at least on paper, aimed to alleviate the challenge of water. In practice, however, ZINWA became a political tool that ZANU PF used in its power play with the MDC.

Importantly, when looking at the local government chapter of this paper, the main argument there was that local government was politicized and this affected service delivery. When writing about this, Musemwa (2008:882) argues that ZANU PF engaged in state intrusion when it came to the management of water in the early 2000s after the ruling party had lost all urban constituencies including municipalities to the MDC. ZINWA was also heavily criticized by government officials. The former governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), Gideon Gono, was critical of ZINWA, especially considering that RBZ had funded the organization. ZINWA in the period between 2005 and 2007 had failed to rehabilitate waterworks in cities. Gono noted that the RBZ would 'not stand by and watch as service delivery deteriorates in local authorities' (Musemwa 2012:28). Not only does this prove that ZINWA was struggling but this alludes to how the state had invested heavily in ZINWA to ensure that it would deliver concerning water provision. It is further noted that ZINWA proved to have operational deficiencies, lacked the financial and technical capacity to deal with the challenges that it faced (Musemwa 2012:28).

Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to outline the challenges of water from a global perspective before linking this to the challenges that were experienced by both the colonial and post-colonial government. The first section outlined how the global challenge of water has been addressed by many organizations such as the IMF, WB and UN. More importantly, this section outlined how various countries have adopted IWRM policies to address and to better manage water resources in their countries. Examples were drawn from countries such as Ethiopia, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe. The first section is important as it alludes to how water governance, over the years, has become a global debate. Importantly, the section sets the tone

for the two sections that follow, which focus on water governance in Rhodesia under colonial rule, and Zimbabwe after the attainment of independence in 1980.

Water governance in Rhodesia is discussed in the second section. One of the key points that can be drawn from this section is the fact that the colonial state thrived on the marginalization of the black majority. This was made evident through the laws that the colonial government passed concerning water and land. The key law that sums up the colonial government was the 1976 Water Act, which saw the State assuming ownership of water through abolishment of generous rights of riparian landowners. This law was the last one that the colonial government created and it was inherited by the post-colonial state.

In the third section, the main focus is on how the post-colonial state was built on the skewed structure of the colonial state. At the attainment of independence, the post-colonial government faced numerous challenges with a system that had for so long favoured a minority over a majority. Even though Zimbabwe had gained independence, the 1976 Water Act was only replaced in 1998 by a new Water Act which paved the way for the creation of the State-owned ZINWA. The creation of ZINWA was as a result of the implementation of the IWRM which many countries had adopted. Essentially, the case study of Zimbabwe, proved that the challenges relating to water governance speak greatly to global debates on the natural resource. More importantly, to address this challenge, a holistic approach that looks at both political and economic aspects is important in addressing this.

This chapter is important as it is clear that good water governance is associated with sound institutions. The various examples that have been used in this chapter which range from infrastructure, policies and the role of the government all point to the importance of having institutions that can ensure that water is governed accordingly. This then leads to the theoretical perspective of this dissertation which unpacks how a country's institutions play an important role in not only delivering water to citizens as in this dissertation but how institutions are an important element of a functioning government.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Approach – Path Dependence

Introduction

One of the key arguments in this dissertation relates to how Zimbabwean institutions are an inheritance of the colonial Rhodesian government. One of the key theories that speaks to this debate within the social science realm is that of path dependence. Although there are various elements of this theory, my aim is to focus on the fact that "history matters" and this in many cases applies to several African countries, including Zimbabwe. This chapter's focus will be on shedding light on how institutions that are inherited are often prone to still adhere to the principles of their inception. In my case, colonial institutions that were inherited by the post-colonial governments, to a certain extent, still perpetuate the same notion of catering for the elite and this has been detrimental to matters concerning the citizenry.

The first section provides a general overview of path dependence and how various authors have aimed to unpack the theory. This is an important section as it outlines how other countries have traits of path dependence within their institutions. The second section aims to analyse the relationship between path dependence and colonialism. This section follows up from the first one and links institutions to colonialism and how that shaped the role that they played within colonized states.

This relationship speaks directly to the overall debate of this dissertation which sheds light on the impacts of colonial systems on Zimbabwe's post-colonial water policies. This then leads to the third section, which makes the important link between path dependence and institutions. In this section, I will explore how institutions continue to resemble colonial systems years after the attainment of independence. This section aims to further show how understanding history is an important element of understanding the institutions in postcolonial states like Zimbabwe and other postcolonial states.

The final section of this section briefly links path dependence to my study on water governance in Zimbabwe. In this section there will be a brief analysis of how path dependence is linked to Zimbabwe's inheritance. This theoretical approach discusses how institutions are a product of past events and this links directly towards the overall dissertation.

Path Dependence – A General Overview

Like many terms within the social sciences there is no clear definition for path dependence. Mahoney (2000:507) defines path dependence as being specific historic sequences "in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties." This definition speaks to how in essence institutions are influenced mainly by the history that led to their establishment. When further elaborating on path dependence it is noted that two dominant types of sequences come to the fore- *self-reinforcing sequences* and *reactive sequences*. In describing reinforcing sequences, it is noted that once an institutional pattern has been adopted and it yields increased benefits, it becomes difficult to transform the pattern or select previously available options, even if alternative options would have been deemed efficient (Mahoney 2000:508; Subrahmanyam 2006:85). This in many cases goes to explain how in some cases institutions within the African continent have been likened to those of their colonial predecessors where little changes in the role that is played by a particular institution.

The second type of path dependence that is explored is the reactive sequence. According to Mahoney (2000:509) "These sequences are "reactive" in the sense that each event within the sequence is in part a reaction to temporally antecedent events. Thus, each step in the chain is "dependent" on prior steps." It is noted that for path dependence to be applied to a particular event or in this case an institution, "…the overall event chain itself must be marked by processes of "inherent sequentiality" (Mahoney 2000:509). This therefore means that according to Mahoney path dependence speaks to how institutions remain the same even if they have been in place for several years. This again links to my overall debate concerning how institutions in the postcolonial state resembled those of the colonial state.

Path dependence has often been linked to authors who are historically oriented. These authors are mostly concerned with studying path-dependent sequences (Mahoney 2000:509). This also further links to a point made in the introduction where the notion "history matters" becomes extremely important in understanding institutions. In a study looking at oil-producing nations, Terry Karl notes that her argument is path-dependent because it shows that "the impact of decisions made in the past persists into the present and defines the alternatives for the future" (Karl 1997 cited by Mahoney 2000:510). This further enhances the notion that "history matters" especially concerning how institutions within the state function and the roles that they play within society.

Concerning institutions and path dependence authors often refer to critical junctures. When making reference to critical junctures Mahoney (2000:513) notes that:

> Critical junctures are characterized by the adoption of a particular institutional arrangement from among two or more alternatives. These junctures are "critical" because once a particular option is selected it becomes progressively more difficult to return to the initial point when multiple alternatives were still available.

The inclusion of critical junctures in the discussion of path dependence links again closely to the discussion I will have on the relationship between path dependence and colonialism. Critical junctures as discussed by Mahoney are an extremely important tool in understanding how path dependence can be understood.

In an article entitled, *"Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics,"* Paul Pierson contributes to the discussion on defining path dependence. For Pierson (2000:252) path dependence speaks to the causal relevance of preceding stages in a temporal sequence. Other authors such as William Sewell allude to how path dependence means "that what happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point" (Sewell 1996:262-3 cited by Pierson 2000:52). As mentioned with critical junctures there is a strong link between past events and how these events shape the present. In what is described as a narrower definition path dependence is described in the following manner:

> Path dependence has to mean, if it is to mean anything, that once a country or region has started down a track, the costs of reversal are very high. There will be other choice points, but the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice. Perhaps the better metaphor is a tree, rather than a path. From the same trunk, there are many different branches and smaller branches. Although it is possible to turn around or to clamber from one to the other- and essential if the chosen branch dies- the branch on which a climber begins is the one she tends to follow (Levi 1997:28 cited by Pierson 2000:252).

The lengthy quotation above speaks to the various labels that have been attributed to path dependence. As with the main argument of this chapter, the definitions of path dependence continue to point to the historical element of events and how they shape the present. More importantly, this particular quote speaks to the difficulties that are associated with changing systems that have been in place for a considerable time. In line with this, it would also be important to include the importance of historical institutionalism, which is linked to path dependence.

Path dependence is, in many cases, linked to historical institutionalism and the claim is that choices made when an institution is being founded, or when a policy is being formulated, have a constraining effect into the future (Greener 2005:62).

Authors such as Margolis and Liebowitz link the term to a process of "locking in." The term 'lock-in' is linked to Brian Arthur where it refers to how historical events not only shape the future but where path inefficiency is possible. In this regard, Arthur notes that, as long as information on payoffs is available to relevant decision-makers, it is linked to a third-degree of path dependency (Arthur: 1989; Liebowitz & Margolis 1995:212). Liebowitz & Margolis' work is important because it differentiates between the degrees of path dependence. According to Liebowitz & Margolis (1995:210), first-degree path dependency is best described as a scenario whereby, "What we have today is in part a consequence of what we had and what we did yesterday." In this case, various aspects of societies resembles inheritances such as language, customs and skills. When describing second-degree path dependency Liebowitz and Margolis (1995:211) note that:

> *Second-degree path dependence* occurs when an action is taken that subsequent events reveal to be inferior to some alternative. When information is imperfect, it is inevitable that some durable commitments are shown to be inferior as information is revealed with the passage of time.

The essence of path dependency still rests on the fact that historical events have an important role in shaping how present societies function. It is now important to link path dependency to my next discussion which will be on the nature of colonialism and how it contributed to the development of the African state and its institutions.

What remains clear, however, is that the term path dependence is indeed a very ambiguous term and, therefore, difficult to define. This poses a number of challenges of using it as a theory, as alluded to by Ian Greener. According to Greener (2005:65), path dependence applies to a number of fields such as sociology and economics and this leads to the term to be "overstretched." This could mean that the term could be viewed as being meaningless. The main areas of concern relating to path dependence revolve around the fact that questions such as, "…if path-dependent political processes preserve the past in their form, how do we break them? If history matters so much, how do we break from it? How does change occur?" (Gorges 2001; Hira and Hira 2000 cited by Greener 2005:64). These are very pertinent questions and I most likely will not be able to provide answers for them but as stated in the introduction this dissertation aims to use path dependence as a theory to better understand the institutions within

both the African continent and my Zimbabwean case study. Furthermore, I aim to show how path dependence as described by various authors continues to play an important role in various postcolonial states. I will proceed to discuss this in the next section where I will discuss the relationship between colonialism and path dependence.

The Relationship between Colonialism and Path Dependence

One of the key debates concerning path dependence has to do with the impacts of colonialism. The connection between colonialism and path dependence is often made through the role that institutions play in various states. In this case, the aim is to understand the consequences of the fact that many institutions and mechanisms used by colonial governments were adopted by postcolonial governments.

In *"Why Nations Fail"*, Acemoglu and Robinson discuss how post-colonial states have continued to be extractive due to the influence of the colonialism. In one particular example that speaks to my study, the authors implicitly state that "The roots of many economic and political institutions in Zimbabwe, as is the case for much of sub-Saharan Africa, can be traced back to the colonial period" (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:369). In Rhodesia the state was deemed extractive because the government controlled key resources such as land and water for agriculture and urban use. Although colonialism came to an end in 1980 the uneven structure continued. Mugabe, upon independence, took over a set of extractive economic institutions that had been created by the Rhodesian government (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:370). These extractive institutions would be the same ones that the newly elected Zimbabwean government would inherited thus resulting in the same practices continuing. Colonialism can still be linked to the postcolonial state as the institutional structure is present and continues to influence its operational mechanisms. Concerning my study, institutions play an important role in society. These roles include service delivery and maintaining law and order. Such services are made possible if the structures in place are efficient.

To better understand the relationship between colonialism and path dependence it is important to understand the manner in which colonialism functioned. When writing about colonialism the common belief with authors such as Rodney is that colonialism had negative impacts on the development of the postcolonial State. In his well-documented book, *"How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"*, Rodney notes that the nature of colonialism was such that the indigenous population would not benefit from the resources that they owned. When writing about the ownership of mines under colonialism Rodney (1972:22) is critical of the colonial

government who he says 'sucked' the African continent dry as the Europeans rather than Africans were the benefactors of natural resources. Importantly, this point resonates with Acemoglu and Robinson, who analyse colonialism with a focus on institutions. To them, colonialism left behind extractive institutions which the postcolonial state inherited and simply continued the same form of governance methods (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:341). Bearing this in mind, colonialism's impacts can still be seen in present-day postcolonial states and this links directly to my overall study.

To further elaborate on Acemoglu and Robinson's point, the authors note that colonialism was extractive and this led to the creation of a political elite which was equally as extractive (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:81). When analysing natural resources colonial institutions were geared towards supporting the needs of the colonial regime. These institutions allowed the Rhodesian government's powers at the centre to be maintained- much of this remained the same after the attainment of independence in 1980 (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:370). Where colonialism served to protect the interests of the elite, the political leadership of postcolonial countries inherited this structure which would protect their interests. To substantiate this argument, the authors derive their example from Latin America. In colonial Latin America, the Spaniards had secure private property whilst the natives' property was described as being highly insecure (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:76). From this example, it is clear that colonialism functioned in such a way that the colonizer would benefit from virtually all that the country had to offer. Remaining with colonial Latin America, the structures in the respective societies had an uneven playing field which was summed up by the coercing of citizens, all this to the benefit of the colonial government (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:76). The debate around the colonial structures is therefore a relevant one when observing the postcolonial States. Moreover, the example of Latin America as from the previous section all confirm that the nature of colonialism influenced the governing structures of post-colonial countries.

The structures of colonialism as argued by Acemoglu and Robinson are also seen to be prevalent in Rodney's argument. Rodney states that Africa is underdeveloped in comparison to Western Europe and the main reason for this is exploitation (Rodney 1972:33). The exploitation which I spoke of earlier resulted in the extractive nature which only served a select few. Moreover, Rodney also quotes J. E. Casely-Hayford who, in 1922, noted that "Before even the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our institutions, having our ideas of government" (Rodney 1972:33). In this regard, colonialism

played an important role in disrupting an already functioning system. Not only did colonialism exercise its extractive nature on natives, but colonialism also imposed a way of life on populaces that had a functioning method already.

The nature of colonialism is almost best summed up by the Berlin Conference which took place on the 15th of November 1884. Ngcukaitobi (2018:19) notes that it was this conference that resulted in the African continent being partitioned under the Doctrine of "effective occupation[5]." The Berlin Conference was instrumental and is important in understanding colonialism as it serves as an example of how colonialism imposed itself on the African continent. The conference resulted in the African continent effectively belonging to interested European parties. If African countries resisted the results of the Berlin conference, the colonial powers used brutal force as seen with the killing of 10 million Congolese by Leopold II of Belgium who had a key interest in the Congo's natural resources (Ngcukaitobi 2018:20). This brutal force was evident in various African states where colonialism faced resistance.

In addition to the Congo, the Berlin Conference in 1884 paved the way for the violence that took place in Namibia. The Nama and Herero people of Namibia were victims of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Lothar von Trotha, who justified the act by saying, "I destroy the African tribes with streams of blood… Only after this cleansing can something new emerge, which will remain[6]" (Ngcukaitobi 2018:20). These strong words by von Trotha not only speak to the brutality of colonialism but also speak to the exclusionary nature of colonialism which is prevalent throughout the theorization of colonization.

Other authors, such as Alois Mlambo, speak of the exclusionary nature of colonialism when he similarly dissects the Berlin Conference to Ngcukaitobi. When writing about the Berlin Conference he notes that the conference was meant to avoid skirmishes between the European countries that wanted to occupy the African continent (Mlambo 2014:35). He further states that the countries present were Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Holland, Belgium and Italy (Mlambo 2014:35). In this regard, it is clear that colonization was a form of marginalization as there was not a single representative of the African continent. Moreover, America and the Ottoman Empire sent representatives to the meeting (Mlambo 2014:36).

[5] "The conference introduced the principle of 'effective occupation', which permitted powers to acquire rights over colonial lands in Africa, on condition that they possessed them, i.e. if they had signed treaties with local leaders, and if they had established an administration to govern the territory and to keep order, the colonial power could then use the colony for economic purposes." (Ngcukaitobi 2018:278)

[6] http://genocide-namibia.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Class-Action-Complaint.pdf, par.41, p.12

Effectively the decision to colonize Africa was taken on foreign soil without the consent of African countries.

The Berlin Conference agreed to the following:

1. Countries should declare their intention to claim lands to others to enable them to make good on their own claims should they wish to do so.
2. Only those countries 'effectively occupied' would be respected as the spheres of influence of the claiming European country; effective occupation meant military conquest and the establishment of a colonial administration.
3. Major waterways such as the Congo, the Niger and the Zambezi rivers were to be open to all traders.
4. All countries should undertake to end slavery (Mlambo 2014:36).

The above agreements from the Berlin Conference saw the African continent being divided based on the interests of the European countries. In summation, these 4 points serve as a basic understanding of how colonialism governed colonies. Resources that included, human capital, were to benefit the colonizer as I outlined with the Latin American example where the cities were shaped in the vision of the conqueror, so it was in Africa, where the colonizers had been able to shape Africa in their image. The longevity of these institutions would have a great influence on post-colonial states. Within the Zimbabwean case, these legacies would impact access to water to commercial farmers at the expense of subsistence farmers. The institutional legacies would shape the way Zimbabwe governed its water resources after the attainment of independence.

When writing about the Berlin Conference, Herbst notes that the conference is best understood through the reading of the conference's final protocol. According to Article 34 of the Berlin Conference, the colonial powers had the right to rule the tracts of land that had been occupied and these were now an entity of the colonial government (Herbst 2000:72). To be more precise, Article 35 states that, "The signatory powers of the present Act recognize the obligation to ensure the establishment of authority in regions occupied by them…" (Herbst 2000:72). These articles not only speak to the governing structures of colonialism, but these articles speak directly to the imposing nature of colonialism whereby the European countries were driven by a desire of occupying land to exploit the resources that were in these regions.

Where the Berlin Conference showed the extractive nature of colonialism, Cecil John Rhodes proved to be the epitome of how colonialism functioned. Rhodes was at the heart of colonialism

in Southern Africa. Mlambo (2014:36) when describing Rhodes' quest to conquer Africa, noted that Rhodes was a staunch believer in the superiority of British civilisation. He believed that the British should have been able to spread to as many regions as possible. In addition to this, Rhodes was also of the belief that "I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of what we inhabit the better it is for the human race" (Mlambo 2014:36). Rhodes believed that the British were the paragon of races and their way of life had to be spread across the globe. In addition to this, Rhodes believed that the British were of a superior race as he believed that areas like the African continent were inhabited by "despicable specimens" (Mlambo 2014:36). This description fits in with previous authors who spoke of the exploitative nature and the imposition of particular beliefs on other societies.

Rhodes had a desire to expand on the British empire and this was one of the driving factors that contributed to the colonization of the African continent. Specifically, Rhodes aimed to establish rule from Cape in the south to Cairo in the north (Mlambo 2014:37). The areas that Rhodes occupied included Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) (Mlambo 2014:38). The process of expansion saw the British empire expanding throughout the Southern African continent almost speaking to Rhodes' aim of having total control of the African continent to obtain wealth and spread the British Empire's ideology.

The discussion on colonialism links to path dependence as the examples I have shown so far allude to the nature of colonialism and its exclusionary nature as epitomised through Rhodes. Moreover, the institutions as mentioned by Rodney, were instrumental in the pillaging of natural resources. It is important to note that these very extractive institutions as discussed by various authors are the same ones which were adopted by various postcolonial states. The link between path dependence is further revealed by the fact that many authors would argue that very little change occurred in the postcolonial state hence the difficulties that the African continent has faced.

One example linking path dependence, colonialism and Zimbabwe is the state of Emergency that was declared by the Rhodesian government in November 1965. The state of emergency was declared on 11 November 1965 following the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) by the Ian Smith led government. Emergency powers regulation were used to control the economic aspect of Rhodesia but more importantly these measures were also in place to counter the freedom struggle the nationalist movement wanted to wage for independence (Hatchard

1989:117). The hope of the Rhodesian government was two pronged- firstly, the aim was to deal with the international economic sanctions and secondly, the aim was to thwart the nationalist movement's efforts to gain independence. In spite of the state of emergency Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980.

When independence was obtained in 1980, Prime Minister Mugabe did not remove this state of emergency. Rather it is noted that the state of emergency continued because there was a threat of civil unrest from the Matabeleland region (Hatchard 1989:117). Further to this, the events in Matabeleland threatened the stability of the nation together with a reasonable threat from South Africa's apartheid government (Hatchard 1989:117). It can be argued that indeed the threats were real and warranted a state of emergency. However, the point I make here is that the Zimbabwean government continued the same decree that the Rhodesian government had put in place in 1965. This point further reaffirms the link between path dependence and colonialism as this example proves that elements of colonial rule trickle down into the postcolonial state. This can be linked to path dependency in the sense that Rhodesian institutions were used to prioritise the interests of the elites at the expense of the general population. The marginalisation in question saw the urban areas being prioritised over rural areas and commercial farming being prioritised over peasants. The institutional legacy of the Rhodesian government was inherited by the Zimbabwean government and this resulted in the political elites continuing to benefit at the expense of the rest of the population (see Mamdani 1996:39).

Further examples can be drawn from how, at the attainment of independence, Zimbabwe continued to use the same repressive laws as those of the Rhodesian government. The Zimbabwean government finally did away with the state of emergency in 1990. Many would have viewed this as step towards a democratic dispensation but it is noted that the ZANU PF government did this because "it reflected the ruling party's confidence that it had vanquished its political opponents"(Karekwaivanane 2017:128). This again further solidifies the link between path dependence and colonialism, as ZANU PF used the same law that the colonial government used to further its own political agenda. One could almost argue that the ZANU PF led government was in itself a mirror image of the colonial government.

Colonialism, as widely documented through the literature, worked through direct rule and indirect rule. These two forms of colonialism are important in that they go a long way in explaining the types of institutions that countries created and subsequently inherited from

colonial governments. Although the discussion of institutions and path dependence is in the next section, it is important to understand how direct rule and indirect rule contributed to the types of institutions that were inherited after colonialism came to an end.

When writing about the colonial state, Mamdani alluded to what he termed as the *bifurcated state.* This term referred to how there would be some sort of division within the colonial states. One of the challenges that were faced by the colonial government was that of the native question. Mamdani (1996:16) posits the question that, "…how can a tiny and foreign minority rule over an indigenous majority?" When answering this question Mamdani introduces the notion of direct rule and indirect rule. Direct rule would see a single legal order defined by the "civilized" laws of Europe and in addition to this, "natives'" institutions were not to be recognized (Mamdani 1996:16). Furthermore, natives had to conform to the European laws to have access to the benefits of the colonial government (Mamdani 1996:16). Direct rule was attempted by over the natives in South Africa in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. From Mamdani's discussion on direct rule, it is clear that colonialism worked on the notion of marginalization. By dividing countries, colonial governments were able to cement their hold on conquered territories.

Indirect rule, on the other hand, consisted of domination over the peasantry of a country. Mamdani (1996:17) alludes to the fact that the colonial government made use of traditional rulers (tribal rulers) to ensure that they had control over occupied territories. It is clear that the main differences between direct rule and indirect rule lie in the fact that in the former, the colonizers settled in a country whilst the latter, the colonizers used the various structures (traditional authority) within in a country to govern (Mamdani 1996:63). These two forms of colonialism had a telling effect on the post-colonial state as Mamdani goes onto argue using South Africa as an example.

When discussing the concept of colonialism, Mamdani (1991:17), notes that the colonial state was a double-sided affair, on one hand, the state was bound by the rule of law and associated regime of rights, whilst on the other hand, the subjects were ruled through coercion. This relates to the South African (see Mamdani 1991:62-70) example as well as other African countries who had been colonized. The colonizers and the colonized were governed by different governing principles. Concerning this, Mamdani noted that this posed difficulty for the natives because they had to fight on two fronts- against customary authorities in the local state and racial barriers within civil society (Mamdani 1991:19).

The differentiation between direct rule and indirect rule is of paramount importance as it explains why certain countries, although colonial, ended up with different postcolonial states. When making a link between path dependence and colonialism, it is noted that when applied to politics, path dependence means that once a country or region has started down a track, the cost of reversing that move are extremely high (Levi 1997:28 cited by Subrahmanyam 2006:85). Although this is greatly elaborated on in the next section, the link between institutions is important in understanding the types of institutions that are mentioned in the next section.

In an article entitled, *"Ruling Continuities: Colonial Rule, Social Forces and Path Dependence in British India and Africa,"* Gita Subrahmanyam gives examples of how British colonies shaped the societies that they would leave at the end of their reign. In her article she argues that the British colonial government was instrumental in the shaping of post-independence states through institutions, policies and practices (Subrahmanyam 2006:85). This speaks strongly to the overall debates within this chapter. Subrahmanyam uses India, Pakistan and some other African countries as examples of her argument.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, the nature of colonialism had an impact on the institutions that were inherited in the postcolonial period. This is confirmed by Subrahmanyam (2006:87) who notes that the purpose of British rule was not to prepare colonial inhabitants for self-government and independence but it was to maintain British territorial control and carry out economic extraction for the benefit of the metropole. This speaks directly to some authors I have used in this chapter, such as Rodney, who speak to how the colonial powers were driven by the aims of extraction and they created institutions that helped them to be extractive.

Subrahmanyam's article is crucial in this regard because her argument can be applied to a number of other British colonies. In relation to this Subrahmanyam (2006:89) notes that:

> Hence, governing arrangements in British India (Britain's largest non-white colony) may be compared with those of Kenya (the largest East African colony), Nigeria (the largest West African colony) and Tanganyika (Britain's largest mandated territory, subject to international scrutiny and control).

This is an important aspect to consider because not only is a link between colonialism and path dependence established, but there is evidence on how colonialism functioned in other countries outside my Zimbabwean case. When alluding to how Nigeria gained independence, it is argued that the manner in which the country gained independence was influenced heavily by the British colonisers. When describing this process, it is noted that Nigeria gained its

independence in the following manner: 84 years of autocratic rule with limited elective participation, followed by 11 to 13 years of democratisation, culminating in 1 to 3 years of responsible independence (Subrahmanyam 2006:91). From this, it is evident to note that Nigeria's trajectory to independence could have resulted in some of the challenges that it faced as a postcolonial state. Although this might not directly link to path dependence, the point here is that former colonial powers used their influence especially through institutions to shape post-colonial states. These institutions and patterns such as the Nigerian example show that colonial powers were instrumental in how post-colonies were shaped.

The same can also be argued for countries like Kenya and Tanganyika where there was a similar route to independence. For Kenya, the country experienced 66 years autocracy with limited elections, this was followed by two years of democratisation, ending with six months of responsible government before the attainment of independence (Subrahmanyam 2006:91). For Tanganyika, there was 39 years of autocratic rule where elections were not allowed, this was followed by one year of democratisation and less than one year of responsible government prior to independence (Subrahmanyam 2006:91). The examples of Kenya and Tanganyika show how the colonial powers effectively decided as and when they wanted to grant independence without taking into consideration the ramifications. More importantly, however, path dependence continues to be evident in how these countries progressed after the attainment of independence. In many instances, it is evident that the challenges as a result of the manner through which independence was gained played an important role in the postcolonial state.

The use of India as an example further shows how the British held all the cards in shaping the trajectory of the postcolonial state. In India the country followed this path: 61 years of autocratic rule with some elections and this was followed by a period of 28 years of democratisation (Subrahmanyam 2006:91). When comparing to Kenya and Tanganyika it is evident that the periods of democratisation were far much shorter in the two countries. It is further noted that Indians never enjoyed full internal self-government, even at provincial level under the British rule and some Indian provinces were autocratically ruled chief commissioners up until the attainment of independence (Subrahmanyam 2006:91). These examples expound on the power dynamics that became associated with British colonialism.

It is further important to note that the period after the attainment of independence was clearly shaped by the practices of the colonial government as these examples have clearly shown. Various examples such as the strong reliance on old security forces and infrastructure (see

Karekwaivenani 2017) and a centralised system that oversaw the management of water infrastructure in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the link between path dependence and colonialism is made clear as there is clarity in how the post-independence era was shaped by colonial powers. This is further confirmed by Subrahmanyam (2006:92) who notes that:

> The evidence here suggests that British officials did not successfully prepare colonial inhabitants for self-government and independence. None of the colonies surveyed here achieved any viable form of self-rule under British control. Particularly in East Africa, British rule represented a stifling of genuine political self-development through succession of official majorities and tokenistic forms of representation.

The above quote sums up the colonial government did not fully ensure that the colonized countries would be in a position to fully govern themselves. This again further reaffirms my main argument that indeed the understanding of history is extremely important in understanding how former colonial states, especially through their institutions, were as a result of colonialism.

Institutions and Path Dependence

So far, I have shown the relationship that exists between path dependence and colonialism. It is now important to make the link between institutions and path dependence. Authors such as Nathan Nunn would argue that events such as slavery continue to harm many states. When dissecting slavery, Nunn (2008:142) notes that the African slave trade was unique in those individuals of the same ethnicity enslaved one another and this fuelled tribal divisions and political instability. One could view this as a critical juncture as many African countries are presently divided along tribal lines. To further elaborate on how the past has had an important role to play on postcolonial states, Nunn (2009:67) notes that the identity of the colonizer determined which law system a country adopted and this would influence the development trajectory of the colonized country. When institutions are considered, authors such as Acemoglu and Robinson would agree with Nunn, especially when considering the structural nature of institutions in postcolonial states.

The link to slavery, it seems, also had an impact on the institutions on the African continent. With particular reference to the Atlantic slave trade, it is noted that the African continent was a long source of slaves for the global trade and this had huge ramifications for the African continent's institutions. When writing about the impacts of slavery on African institutions it is noted that even though slavery had come to an end in many regions countries like Sierra Leone still had slavery "lingering" to such an extent that it was estimated that one quarter of the labor force were coerced, living and working in conditions close to slavery (Dalton 1965 cited by

Acemoglu & Robinson 2010:31). This again is another example that links to the overall debates within this chapter. An understanding of history is important as shown by Acemoglu and Robinson.

Slavery further ensured that the African continent would lag behind other regions of the world. Slaving led to the distinct deterioration of economic institutions in Africa at a time when it was falling behind industrializing Britain and Western Europe (Nunn 2008 cited by Acemoglu & Robinson 2010:32). In this instance, the events surrounding slavery can be linked to the element of "locking in" as well as critical junctures which inadvertently meant that the African continent was at a disadvantage.

Nunn's example on the legal structures adopted by countries can be directly linked to the Zimbabwean case. Zimbabwe's independence came about through a negotiated settlement. These negotiations occurred at the Lancaster House conference between September and December 1979. When writing on this Karekwaivanane (2017:162) notes that:

> The new government inherited an established set of legal institutions that were staffed by experienced and well-trained professionals. However, these institutions were founded on racial difference, and had long been used in its authorisation and reproduction.

The Zimbabwean example as stated here speaks almost directly to the point raised by Nunn that looks at how colonial powers shaped laws that would shape the trajectory of countries. Importantly, the nature of these institutions were based on inequality thus became the same laws that were used by countries after the attainment of independence.

The inherited colonial legal system would also become a mode through which the ZANU PF government would perpetually subvert the will of the citizenry especially those in opposition politics and civil society. Again further solidifying the points made by authors such as Nunn, Robison and Acemoglu, it is noted that one of the main factors that explained legal repression after the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe was the inherited institutional legacy of the settler state (Karekwaivanane 2017:185). In addition to this, the new Zimbabwean government inherited a security apparatus that had been geared towards crushing political dissent (Karekwaivanane 2017:186). The examples I have shown here reemphasize how colonialism continued to have an impact within the postcolonial state.

When writing about Zimbabwe and its institutions the link to colonialism and path dependence is a consistent theme with various authors. For Acemoglu and Robinson colonialism played an

important role in the extractive nature of the ZANU PF government. According to Acemoglu & Robinson (2013:369):

> The roots of many economic and political institutions in Zimbabwe, as in the case for much of sub-Saharan Africa, can be traced back to the colonial period. In 1890 Cecil John Rhodes's British South Africa Company sent a military expedition into the then-kingdom of the Ndebele, based in Matabeleland, and also into the [neighbouring] Mashonaland.

The link between path dependence and institutions is made clear through how Acemoglu and Robinson trace Zimbabwe's institutions to the colonial regime's institutions which were extractive by nature. In summing up why nations have struggled economically it is noted that, "The most common reason why nations fail today is because they have extractive institutions" (Acemoglu & Robinson (2013:369). This is mainly due to the inherited institution from colonial governments. When confirming this Acemoglu & Robinson (2013:370) note that:

> Upon independence, Mugabe took over a set of extractive economic institutions created by the white regime. These included a host of regulations on prices and international trade, state-run industries, and the obligatory agricultural marketing boards. State employment expanded rapidly, with jobs given to supporters of ZANU PF. The tight government regulation of the economy suited the ZANU PF elites because it made it difficult for an independent class of African business men, who might then have challenged the former's political monopoly to emerge.

As I have tried to show under this section, the institutions from the colonial period were inherited and the white minority were replaced by a black political elite as seen through this example. In essence, the end of colonialism did not bring to an end the extractive nature that had become part of the country. After the attainment of independence, the Zimbabwean government did little to change these institutions. Although there was no longer discrimination against the majority the institutions remained extractive with only a small group benefitting (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:372). This speaks again to the overall argument I make in this chapter that path dependence can indeed be applied to the Zimbabwean case study. When summing up Zimbabwean institutions, Acemoglu & Robinson (2013:372) note that the extractive institutions that Ian Smith oversaw were replaced by an extractive, corrupt regime led by Robert Mugabe. This further confirms the entrenchment of the colonial system within postcolonial Zimbabwe's institutions.

The Zimbabwean case does not stand in isolation within the African continent but it mirrors a number of other African states. One example is that of Ghana which is brought forth by Joy Asongazoh, who notes that the colonial legacy is summed up through political structures, culture and general polity which was mainly inherited by the elite nationalist ruler (Alemazung

2010:64). The ruling elite is also mentioned by various other authors who agree that the ruling elite from the colonial period was replaced by a new black political elite (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:76; Fanon 1963:44; Mamdani 1996:39). Post-colonialism in this regard sees an inheritance of governing structures as well as rules and regulations that colonial governments had used.

The colonial legacy is made evident and is manifested in various ways within the post-colonial state. It is noted that many nationalist movements adopted the methods which were used by the colonial government. As an example, it is noted that the colonial ruling style of oppression that colonial administrations used was adopted by nationalist movements after the attainment of independence (Alemazung 2010:64). Here, Alemazung alludes to how colonialism's form of leadership was adopted by African leaders at the attainment of independence. In addition to this, the post-colonial state in Africa has been one that has been plagued by ethnic divisions. When writing about this several authors agree that the ethnic divisions are as a result of colonial rule (Alemazung 2010:65; Meredith 2005:155-158; Rodney 1972:125; Mamdani 1996:187). Ethnic divisions have been made evident in various countries with Kenya (2007 election violence) and Rwanda (1994 genocide) being examples that come to mind.

In Nigeria, it is noted that the political scene shows that there is an "entrenched political power [play] on regional lines" (Ogunbadejo 1979:86 cited by Alemazung 2010:65). Ethnic divisions in this regard have revealed that the methods which the colonial government used to govern colonies are still affecting the post-colonial state. Ethnic divisions further plagued the African political scene as there was a formation of political parties along ethnic lines which later contributed to the marginalization of groups that were not aligned to a particular party, in addition to this, ethnic divisions can be seen as major contributors to some conflicts that have happened on the African continent (Alemazung 2010:65). This inheritance, although not directly institutional, speaks greatly to nature of what post-independence states resembled.

In an article entitled, *"The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa?"* Young gives an overview of the African state after the attainment of independence. This analysis by Young shows that when African countries gained independence the effects of colonialism affected the post-colonial African state greatly. One of the examples he uses is drawn from the colonial period in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where he argues that the leadership of Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila were similar to that of their Belgian predecessors (Young 2004:24). Young speaks to the governance structures that were inherited. Further to this, the

use of the DRC as an example speaks greatly to the point I made earlier where Mamdani differentiates between direct rule and indirect rule. These two forms of colonialism had an impact on the institutions that that were inherited after the attainment of independence.

It has often been argued that African institutions are weak. Jefferey Herbst argued that, "…colonial authorities wrestled with the same physical constraints and failed, leaving behind a state apparatus too weak to govern effectively over its exogenously created political territories" (Whatley 2014:461). This argument relating to African institutions, stems from the fact that colonial governments themselves failed to adequately create institutions geared towards occupied territories. Upon leaving, the postcolonial governments inherited and for the most part continued to support these institutions, thus perpetuating the same challenges that had been faced by the colonial governments. Again this also contributes greatly to how the element of history plays an important role in the postcolonial setup's institutions.

The relationship between institutions and path dependence is important, because the historical element is continually used to shed better light on postcolonial states. One of the key outcomes of colonialism is a dual system- European laws for colonial rulers and a variety of "customary" laws for colonial "subjects" (Mamdani 1996 cited by Whatley 2014:461). This argument speaks to how the colonial system was based on two systems- one for the minority and one for the marginalized majority. This system expanded to institutions as well meaning that the post-independence era inherited what in many cases was skewed system which had institutions that were both extractive and exclusionary. This also relates to another point I made where Acemoglu and Robinson alluded to how President Mugabe's regime in essence replaced the white elite with a predominantly black political elite (Acemoglu & Robinson 2013:370). This had huge ramification for post-independence Zimbabwe.

In the beginning of this section I made reference to Nunn, and how his study on the impacts of slavery had an effect on the African continent. To reaffirm this point it is noted that:

> …by the end of the seventeenth century, the European demand for slaves had brought about a profound transformation of African societies of the Slave Coast. Although this was primarily an economic transformation, it had dramatic effects in the political sphere also, in the collapse of political order leading to the rise of the new state of Dahomey" (Law 1991:345 cited by Whatley 2014:462).

Nunn makes a key argument that slavery created legacies of mistrust and these legacies inhibited the formation of impersonal institutions that treated people equally. This is similar to

post-colonial institutions where institutions have often been personalised and are viewed negatively by many who are excluded (general populace) from how these institutions are run.

Countries such as the DRC, with its ties to Belgium as former colonial power, are the extreme cases of the relationship between path dependence and institutions. When summing up the impacts of colonialism on Africa's institutions Acemoglu & Robinson (2010:33) note the following:

> The colonization of African that took place in the 19th century further reinforced Africa's path of institutions. It did this in several ways. Even where European rule did not involve the type of plunder and loss of life that it did in the Congo, it blocked any possibility of endogenous institutional reforms along the lines that Japan implemented to change its development path. An interesting comparison here is with Latin America. Though Latin America suffered a highly extractive form of colonization by the Spanish and Portuguese it was at least independent after 1820.

Acemoglu and Robinson, in this regard, note the impacts of colonialism on African institutions linking to the point I made earlier that colonialism was in fact a critical juncture that shaped the direction which the continent would follow. Furthermore, by using the DRC as an example the nature of colonialism is also revealed where the plundering of natural resources created institutions that aided colonialists to carry out these illicit activities. When this is coupled with the events that were taking place in Europe the element of path dependence is further magnified as it becomes clear that the historical events on the African continent played an important role post-independence period.

The Dual Economy

The dual economy I mentioned in this section is yet another repeated link to the path dependence and institutions. The example of dual economies is aptly summed up by Acemoglu & Robinson (2010:33), who note that the example of the dual economy (also touched on by Mamdani) shows that "just as important as the forces which influenced economic growth during colonization were the ones that shaped what happened after colonial rule." As noted with the impacts of slavery, the matter of the dual economy is again brought to the fore linking colonial institutions to the ones inherited after colonialism had ended. To further reaffirm this point, Acemoglu & Robinson (2010:36), note that the dual economy was not a natural or inevitable phenomenon but it was a creation of European colonialism. The dual economy as mentioned speaks to the marginalization that was as a result of colonialism. Previous examples of this dual economy is seen through how colonial governments used their institutions to, for example, favour commercial farming over subsistence farming. This dualized system of

governance would result in post-colonial governments maintaining the same form of governance resulting in the perpetuating cycle of marginalization.

One example that links to this is drawn from South Africa's homelands under apartheid. Apartheid was based on segregation, and these homelands were predominantly homes to the African population. The homelands were a far cry from the areas that the white community resided in.

When writing about the homelands Acemoglu & Robinson (2010:36) note that:

> Yes the Homelands were poor and technologically backward and people were uneducated. But all of this was an outcome of government policy, which had forcibly stamped out the African economic renaissance and created the reservoir of cheap uneducated African labor to be employed in European controlled mines and lands.

This again aptly sums up colonialism, its nature and more importantly the institutions that it created. The homelands such as Ciskei and Transkei went through a relative decline after the adoption of the Native Land Act of 1913 (Acemoglu & Robinson 2010:37). In this case this colonial law set the tone for the citizens who resided in these regions. To shed more light it is noted that between 1911 and 1921 (following the Native Land Act) miners' wages fell by 30 percent. To further compound on this it is noted that in 1961, in spite of South Africa's economy doing relatively well, the wages were still 12 percent lower than they had been in 1911 (Wilson 1972:66 cited by Acemoglu & Robinson 2010:37). This caused relative inequalities in South Africa which are still evident in present day South Africa. Subsistence farming was common in South Africa's black homelands and many of them had scarce water resources as much of the water was diverted to commercial farms in predominantly white areas.

The South African example is important because it speaks on the lasting legacy that colonialism has on postcolonial states. It is noted that, "Initial shocks such as colonization trigger a path-dependent institutional evolution that has an impact long after the initial event has ended" (Spolaore & Wacziarg 2013 cited by Maseland 2018:260). Like the many examples I have used in this chapter there is a clear indication that colonialism shaped the direction in which many African countries took. It might be the political regime in Zimbabwe, the plundering of natural resources in the DRC and the economic inequalities in South Africa the common link as shown in this chapter is that the impacts of colonialism cannot be ignored. This is further summed up by Maseland (2018:260) who notes that, "The kind of institutions a country faces today are thus strongly determined by its history, colonial or otherwise." This further reaffirms the point I am trying to make as, for example with South Africa that was under apartheid, the period

after the end of apartheid shows that the country was greatly affected by the nature of the institutions as well as the governance system.

One key question that continues to be persistently asked is why some colonial countries have been able to develop whilst others have not? Predominantly the literature that focuses on African countries, as I have alluded to in this chapter, shows that various states are weak institutionally and are prone to extractive governments. However, in comparison to countries like the DRC, countries like Botswana are viewed to have steered themselves away from the negative form of governance that is associated with African governments. When writing about this, Maseland (2018:260) notes that it is most likely that the colonial history in this regard shaped and therefore influenced why Botswana and DRC are at odds when analysing the two countries. Yet again, the institutions can again be traced back to the colonial government.

For example when analysing the DRC, the role of King Leopold cannot be ignored. He was at the heart of the institutions that oversaw the plundering of natural resources in the DRC. It is believed that the situation in the DRC was untenable to the extent that other colonial powers pushed for Belgium to adopt a more civilized form of colonialism in Belgian Congo (Maseland 2018:261). This goes a long way in explaining the manner in which the DRC has since been governed and most of this can be traced back to King Leopold and the institutions that he set up in the DRC. The institutional setup of the DRC under King Leopold is described as being, "…a harsh and unabashedly extractive rule" (Doyle 1909; Conrad 1899 cited by Maseland 2018:261). This further reaffirms the notion of path dependence and how it relates to the countries that were formally under colonial rule.

Many authors have looked at the impacts of colonialism and they have linked them institutional persistence which links strongly to my overall argument in this chapter. There is a great belief and to a larger extent, an agreement that African states continue to be plagued by the impacts of colonialism (Maseland 2018:262). This further reaffirms the point that there is indeed a strong link between the institutions in Africa with path dependence. Various authors have also added to this debate with links being made to cultural transmissions, biological transmissions and political and economic transmissions (which I have focused on greatly in this chapter) (Maseland 2018:263). In this regard, there is a clear body of literature that makes strong reference to the impacts of colonialism on the African states' institutions. Take for example economic institutions, I have made consistent reference to Acemoglu and Robinson in this regard, their core argument is as follows:

> …the roots of institutional persistence in the interdependent relation between economic institutions and the distribution of *de jure* and *de facto* power. Their core argument is that economic institutions affect the distribution of resources, which may be invested in gaining political influence. More political influence, in turn, allows one to define the direction of change in economic institutions, normally further increasing the bias towards incumbent elites (Acemoglu et al 2005 cited by Maseland 2018:263).

This also shows that the other important element in this debate is about power. Essentially, the colonial governments had the power within the country thus obviously using it to their advantage. More importantly, however, the colonial government set the direction that countries would follow. Continuing with this argument, it is further noted that the colonial legacy set countries on a path of extractive institutions and this had an enduring effect as postcolonial elites benefitted and continue to benefit from this institutional system (Maseland 2018:263). Institutions were designed in a way that maintained and reflected the colonial regimes' power through centralisation when it came to access to resources, through a state apparatus that was coercive and marginalisation of certain groups over others.

However, for a country to escape this route the institutions created within it need to be inclusive. Colonies that had perceived inclusive institutions enter a different dynamic whereby there is an open access to decision making processes and this results in superior institutions (North et al 2009 cited by Maseland 2018:263). This point here is important in understanding the previous example I noted about Botswana and how it is perceived to have more inclusive institutions than say, the DRC.

As repeatedly shown in this chapter, the institutions used by colonial governments were meant to serve the needs to the white minority and this can be linked again to my overall study on Zimbabwe. For example, in the 1950s, the colonial government in Rhodesia implemented price controls with the aim of securing the interests of the white population (Herbst 1990:22). These price controls ensured that commercial farmers were benefactors of a system that set prices for their crops. This helped promote the interests of the white urban population through the protection of commercial agriculture.

The governing structures within Rhodesia were geared towards the point that I have consistently tried to make throughout this chapter. In summing up the Rhodesian government's methods Herbst (1990:22) notes that:

> Therefore, despite frequent declarations of their belief in capitalism, the settlers by the 1950s were clearly developing a system best described as 'Socialism-for-the-Whites.' In this system the state sought to provide an economic life for Whites that was basically shock-free with a near guarantee of an extraordinarily high standard of living.

The above quote confirms the fact that colonial institutions were meant to protect the interests of the white minority and this can be linked to post-independence where ZANU PF used the same methods in 2007-2008 during the height of the country's economic crisis. As argued previously, the notion of history becomes very important as this in some way can explain the institutions that were inherited by the postcolonial regime in Zimbabwe.

The Relationship between Colonialism and Water Governance in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

It is clear that like many African states, Zimbabwe at the attainment of independence in 1980, inherited an unequal society. When discussing this system Herbst (1990:13) notes that, "To a great extent, the politics of independent Zimbabwe centre on coming to terms with the vestiges of the past." This speaks to the uneven system that the newly independent state of Zimbabwe inherited.

Concerning water governance in Zimbabwe it is evident that it took the newly independent state almost 20 years to address the colonial laws that were being used, even though independence had brought colonialism to an end. At the attainment of independence the government of Zimbabwe had dedicated its efforts towards redressing the impacts of colonialism that had seen majority of Zimbabweans marginalized. In this regard, the government sought to direct its efforts towards redeveloping rural areas that had been ravaged by the liberation war. The government directed most of its efforts towards redeveloping these areas and this was advocated for through the *Transitional National Developmental Plan* which aimed to address the water supplies in the rural areas.

One of the key challenges the post-colonial government faced was the lack of ideology in governing Zimbabwe upon the attainment of independence. This was made evident when the colonial government's 1976 Water Act was only repealed some 20 years after the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe. Authors such as Herbst and Manzungu tend to be in agreement with the fact that the main focus of the post-colonial government was to develop the rural areas for reasons mentioned earlier.

The Zimbabwean case speaks to the broader debates on the African continent where colonialism continues to have a lasting impact on the post-colonial state. The dissertation, which consisted of a series of academic interviews and archival research, showed that Zimbabwe, to a certain extent, is still experiencing the long-term ramifications of colonialism. The Rhodesian government had managed to build a system that centralised power in an

extractive state and which marginalized the majority and this has been well documented. The Rhodesian government made use of laws as a vehicle to solidify its grip on the country. One law that comes to mind is the Land Appropriation Act of 1930 which saw white settlers being accorded full land rights at the expense of the majority black population (Manzungu & Derman 2016:497). Such laws were at the heart of the colonial government's structure. Another law which comes to the fore is the 1976 Water Act which I mentioned on several occasions. This law is important because the Zimbabwean government only repealed this law in 1998 some 20 years after independence. The 1976 Water Act is a an example of the colonial inheritance in Zimbabwe.

The Water Act of 1976, like the previous colonial laws, cemented the colonial regime's extractive state. This speaks strongly to the relationship between colonialism and water governance in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Not only does this prove that Zimbabwe inherited an unequal society, but it further shows that the newly independent state was built on the foundations of laws such as the 1976 Water Act which all but cemented segregation between the white farmers and the majority black farmers. The inequalities as a result of this Act would be the foundations upon which the post-colonial state was built.

Marginalization was an effective tool which was used by the colonial government to divide the country along racial lines. This, as authors like Mamdani would allude to, cause a huge divide in the colonial state especially between the rural areas and the urban areas. The divide between the two areas would plague the post-colonial state as after the attainment of independence a lot of the previously marginalized groups moved to the capital city with the view of seeking better opportunities. There was a significant increase in the numbers of people who were now residing in the urban areas and this caused an obvious strain on the resources and infrastructure available in the urban areas. The increase links directly to marginalization as the services available in the urban areas were only meant to take care of a small number of people (the minority). The attainment of independence and the massive movements of people saw the urban areas struggling with the increase in population.

One of the key examples I will use to show how little has changed in terms of the colonial impacts stems from the 2008 cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe. This example showed the divide between the low density areas and the high density areas. Under colonial rule, the high density areas had been reserved for Africans who were working in the urban areas. However, after the

attainment of independence there was a huge influx of people who had moved from the rural areas to the urban who were now residing in these areas.

This speaks directly to the impacts of colonialism in that after the attainment of independence little was done to develop the infrastructure that had been inherited in the country. Interviews in the following sections of this dissertation from organizations such as AFDB will show that infrastructure, especially in cities like Harare, was poor and often times was still designed for the colonial population. In the first years of independence, the Mugabe led government invested heavily in the rural development but this was impacted on negatively by the impacts of the ESAPs. This resulted in very little development being seen in Zimbabwe's rural areas. The cholera outbreak showed that the infrastructure and the institutions within the country had collapsed and this resulted in the outbreak in Zimbabwe's high density suburbs which had already been underdeveloped dating back to colonialism.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to discuss path dependence and how the theory applies to my overall study. To unpack this theory effectively the chapter discussed a general overview of path dependence, the relationship between path dependence and colonialism and a section that described the relationship between institutions and path dependence. The chapter also included a brief section which unpacked the link between path dependence and current debates surrounding water governance in Zimbabwe.

The chapter was able to explore the nature of colonialism and how the institutions that were created by colonial governments were subsequently inherited by postcolonial states. One of the key elements of this chapter was understanding that the nature of colonial rule and how it was extractive and also based on the notion of marginalization. Institutions and laws under the colonial regimes thus represented this. Examples can be drawn from countries such as Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe the institutions in these countries are strongly linked to colonialism.

Path dependence, although it does not have a clear definition, is key to understanding the challenges that the African continent has faced, especially politically and economically. Authors such as Acemoglu and Robinson argued that these challenges in many cases can be traced back to colonialism. Other authors such as Nunn argue that events like slavery shaped the direction that countries. For instance, whilst countries like the Great Britain were industrializing, countries in African were facing challenges that stopped from embarking on

such massive events. Further to this, this chapter aimed to make it clear that the fact that "history matters" is important when looking at the institutional challenges that the African continent faced. Again, various examples from former colonies were used to make this argument clear.

This dissertation aims to further use path dependence as a vehicle to better understand Zimbabwe's water governance structures and how they can be traced back to the Rhodesian government. Important arms of government such as local government have become tools for political mileage, and this again can be traced to Rhodesian institutions which were founded on the principle of segregation and marginalization. This chapter has used various examples from the African continent to show how in many cases institutions that were inherited after the attainment of independence were skewed in favour of the minority. This resulted in these systems, in many ways, functioning in the same manner as they did under colonial rule.

Concerning the governance of water in Zimbabwe, the dissertation proceeds to unpack how the nature of Zimbabwe's institutions has seen the country grapple with water challenges. There are indeed other challenges surrounding water governance in Zimbabwe such as climate change as I show in chapter 8 but ultimately institutions are at the heart of the challenges in the country. For example, local government, which is at the heart of service delivery, has been highly politicised and this has resulted in citizens failing to receive water in their homes. This chapter lays the foundation for the rest of this dissertation which unpacks how Zimbabwe's institutions play an important in the governance of water within the country. This chapter is also important in that it has outlined how history plays an important role in the outcome of institutions within a postcolonial such as Zimbabwe and other countries.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to outline the various strategies and methods that were used in order to obtain data to carry out this dissertation. Explanation is further provided as to why there was an adoption of a case study project as opposed to other approaches. The chapter will firstly discuss the research design. This section will shed light on the processes that led to the collection data. One of the key features in this section is the interview aspect as well as the document analysis that was conducted for the dissertation.

The chapter proceeds to provide a description of the processes that were involved in analysing and interpreting the data. This element is important for any research project as there has to be a clear method that allows the collected data to be valid and reliable. Ethics considerations are also extremely important for any research project and that will be discussed in the last section of the chapter.

Just as a reminder, the overall research project seeks to understand the following:

- The forces driving the economic post-colonial water policy in Zimbabwe
- The difference between the water policies under the Rhodesian government and the Zimbabwean government
- The extent to which the colonial legacy in Zimbabwe has influenced the post-colonial government's efforts towards providing water for the population
- How the Zimbabwean government sought to address the inequalities in relation to water provision that were as a result of colonialism
- This dissertation is anchored on path dependence as a theory

Research Design

This dissertation adopted a qualitative method in order to source data. According to Creswell (2018:254), "Qualitative methods demonstrate a different approach to scholarly inquiry than methods of quantitative research." He goes onto state that although the two are similar, qualitative methods often rely on text and image data and therefore have unique steps in analysis of data and draw on diverse designs (Creswell 2018:254). In this regard it is important

to note that qualitative data draws from an array of approaches such as images and texts. When further shedding light on the difference between quantitative research and qualitative research, Neuman (2014:17) notes the following:

Quantitative Approach	**Qualitative Approach**
Measure objective facts	Construct social reality, cultural meaning
Focus on variables	Focus on interactive processes, events
Reliability the key factor	Authenticity the key factor
Value free	Theory and data fused
Separate theory and data	Values present and explicit
Statistical Analysis	Thematic Analysis
Researcher detached	Researcher Involved

Table 4.0

Table 4.0 outlines some of the main differences between the two forms of approaches. For this dissertation, qualitative research is best because the nature of the topic requires a thorough historical analysis which links to present day events. Neuman (2014:17) rightfully states that each approach has its strengths and limitations and he also allude to how there are topics where each approach excels. In this regard, the onus is on the author to choose a method that works best for the project that is being conducted.

It is important to note that I did supplement the qualitative analysis with some quantitative material when analysing the increase in population in the post-colonial state, when analysing the vast amounts of money, the post-colonial government dedicated towards building dams and reconstructing the rural areas and sourcing information from Census reports. The point here touches on Neuman's point which shows the flexibility that comes with a qualitative approach.

Importantly, adopting either a quantitative or a qualitative approach speaks broadly to the debate surrounding conducting social research. Accordingly, Neuman (2014:22) notes that research is meant to expand people's understanding of the social world and have an indirect impact on broad public knowledge. This speaks directly to this dissertation where I hope to contribute to the broad public knowledge surrounding water governance in Zimbabwe.

Research based findings are important element within the field of social sciences. When alluding to this, Neuman (2014:22) notes that "research-based findings yield better informed, less biased decisions than the guessing, hunches, intuition, and personal experiences that were previously used." In this regard it is important that research-based findings within social sciences are an important element developing new ideas as the results of such forms of research

are based on, for example, lived experiences or are based on a thorough interrogation of archival policy documents to understand a current debate.

When understanding social research, as for this dissertation, it is important to note, people, either the researcher or the audience, are at the heart of the research process. Even though attention is given to principles, rules, or procedures, social research is driven by human activity (Neuman 2014:23).

Unlike in other research designs, a qualitative approach includes "comments by the researcher about their role and their self-reflection (or reflexivity, it is called), and the specific type of qualitative strategy being used" (Creswell 2018:256, 258). In this instance, the positionality of the researcher is extremely important as this will address challenges that might arise in relation to biases amongst other issues. As stated before, the researcher is key in the research project. In relation to this, Creswell (2018:257) notes that qualitative researchers collect the data themselves through the examination of documents, observing behaviour or interviewing participants. Even though other instruments like tape recorders are used, the researcher gathers the information and provides interpretation (Creswell 2018:256).

Qualitative researchers, in most, cases collect multiple forms of data. These include interviews, observations, documents and in some cases audio-visual information (Creswell 2018:257). What is evident is that qualitative research allows a researcher to draw from various types of sources. When further elaborating on this, it is noted that these multiple forms of data are open-ended forms of data in which participants share their ideas openly and are not constrained by predetermined scales or instruments (Creswell 2018:257). Again, as mentioned by Neuman, Creswell reiterates the fact that the researcher is in charge of reviewing all the data collected. The process of data collection should lead the researcher to make sense of it and present this information to their audience (Creswell 2018:257).

Through qualitative research, researchers are also able to use an inductive and a deductive form of data analysis. According to Creswell (2018:257):

> Qualitative researchers typically work inductively, building patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organizing the into increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process illustrates working back and forth between the themes and the database until the researchers have established a comprehensive set of themes. Then deductively, the researchers look back at their data from the themes to determine if more evidence can support each theme or whether they need to gather additional information. Thus, while the process begins inductively, deductive thinking also plays an important role as the analysis moves forward.

The lengthy extract from Creswell sheds light on how inductive and deductive methods are associated with quantitative research. More importantly, an inductive and a deductive method further shows the efforts that are involved in assessing data. The inductive and deductive methods further prove that with a qualitative form of research, there is an increased method through which to achieve a holistic approach. In relation to a holistic approach, Creswell (2018:258) alludes to the fact that qualitative researchers try to report from multiple perspectives through an identification of many factors involved in a situation and "sketching the larger pictures that emerges." The use of multiple perspectives in this regard is important as it allows the researcher to explore the necessary avenues and channels that relate to a particular topic.

Single Case Study Approach

This dissertation has opted to adopt a single case study, which focuses on Zimbabwe. As stated by Gillham (2000:1), a single case study is important because it allows for one to answer a set of specific questions. A single case study will also allow for an understanding through the use of an in depth analysis and a multiple case study approach would lack the ability to provide an in depth analysis. Additionally, a single case study also focuses on changes over time. Gillham (2000:8) states that single case studies are important, because they are better able to pick up the nuance and complexity of changes than multiple case studies where data is aggregated. Case studies therefore play the role of solidifying a particular stance towards an argument.

The Zimbabwean case study is also important, in that it speaks to the broader debates on decolonisation in the African continent. The challenges Zimbabwe faces in relation to the impacts of colonialism on the post-colonial state can also be seen in countries such as Tanzania and South Africa. By using a single case study, I was able to focus and zoom in on a case to further delve into these challenges. If for example, I had decided to conduct a comparative study, the study would have been too broad and would not have been able to focus entirely on the challenge at hand.

To further elaborate on why a case study approach was suitable for the dissertation, Neuman (2014:42) notes that a case study approach examines many features of a few cases and the data obtained from a case study could be detailed, varied and extensive. Further to this, a case study approach allows a researcher to focus on a single point in time or a duration in time (Neman 2014:42). It is also clear that, again, the use of a case study links closely to the previous section where there was a discussion on qualitative research. In relation to this, it is noted that,

"Qualitative and case-study research are not identical, but "almost all qualitative research seeks to construct representations based on in-depth, detailed knowledge of cases" (Ragin 1994a:92 cited by Neuman 2014:42). This further confirms that the use of a case study allows for an in-depth analysis of a particular case with the view of constructing representations based on that.

With the Zimbabwean case that this dissertation is based on, I was able to provide a holistic analysis of the components of colonialism within the country. Through the use of a single case study approach, I was able to analyse Zimbabwe from as far back as 1890. This links closely to Neuman (2014:42), who notes that a case study studies both details of a case's internal features as well as the surrounding situation. In this regard, with the Zimbabwean case, the analysis of the colonial government's actions led to how that became the foundation of the post-colonial state. Again, it is important to bear in mind how this particular case study can also be applied to various other African countries.

Issues such as understanding the impacts of colonialism on the post-colonial state are complex in terms of unpacking and understanding. The use of a case study, aids in trying to simplify a somewhat difficult topic. This is proven by Neuman (2014:42) who notes that, "…case studies provide evidence that more effectively depicts complex, multiple-factor events/situations and processes that occur over time and space." This speaks to how a case study allows a researcher to fully explore all the elements of a study in order to shed light on a topic irrespective of how complex it maybe. Neuman (2014:42) further notes that a case study research can incorporate an entire situation and multiple perspectives within it.

As repeatedly stated thus far in this chapter, the Zimbabwean case also serves as a broader case in understanding the African continent in terms of colonialism and also water governance. The case study approach speaks perfectly to the broader element of the study. Although case studies have a detailed focus, they can be used to tell a larger story (Neuman 2014:42). Chapter 7, that looks at climate change, is a perfect example of the use of a case study. Although Zimbabwe faces the effects of climate change, the effects are also evident in not only Africa but in the global north as well. This again reveals how a case study was the best approach for this dissertation.

To further understand the use of the case study it is important to understand the difference between cross-sectional research and longitudinal research. When defining the two, Neuman (2014:44) notes that cross-sectional research can be "exploratory, but it is most consistent with a descriptive approach," whilst longitudinal research is when data is gathered at multiple time

points and provides more of a "moving picture" of events, people, or social relations across time. There is great difficulty when distinguishing between the two. However, Neuman (2014:44) notes that "Deciding whether a study is cross-sectional or longitudinal is not always simple. It is more than simply a matter of length of time." For this dissertation, the cross-sectional approach is more applicable as the research incorporates the elements that are exploratory and descriptive. For example, the researcher explores the nature of colonialism, through the theoretical approach, and further links this to the post-colonial element.

Reflexivity

The process of collecting data within the qualitative realm is one that can, like any other project, bring out a number of challenges. Creswell (2018:260) notes that, due to the fact that qualitative research is interpretative, the researcher is involved in a sustained and intensive experience with the participants. This also leads to ethical concerns, which are important within conducting qualitative research. In relation to reflexivity, Creswell (2018:260) notes the following:

> With these concerns in mind, inquirers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal background, such as gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status (SES) that shape their interpretations formed during a study. In addition, gaining entry to a research site and the ethical issues that might arise are also elements of the researcher's role.

In this case there are a number of considerations that need to be made in relation to a particular research project. Factors such as history and culture play an important role in shaping the researcher's perceptions on topics that are being studied. Two important things come to the fore when looking at reflexivity and these include *past experiences* and how *past experiences shape interpretations.* To further shed light on these terms it is noted that *past experiences* include past experiences with the research problem, or with the participants and other elements that could tie the researcher to the study (Creswell 2018:260). To mitigate this problem, Creswell (2018:260) advises:

> Be explicit, then, about how these experiences may potentially shape the interpretations the researchers make during the study. For example, the experiences may cause researchers to lean toward certain themes, to actively look for evidence to support their positions, and to create favourable or unfavourable conclusions about sites or participants.

In relation to the overall research, I have since studied various elements of the Zimbabwean political landscape since embarking on post-graduate studies in 2014. In 2014, at Honours level, I studied the nature of the 2008 General Elections and the resultant Government of National Unity (GNU) that was established between ZANU PF and MDC. The following year,

I focused on the Governance of Natural Resources within the Zimbabwean state with a focus on the Marange Diamond Fields. So, to a certain extent, I have had a considerable amount of knowledge that relates to matters pertaining to governance within Zimbabwe. This also makes biases an inevitability.

It is easy for anyone who studies Zimbabwe to lean towards blaming the country's challenges on the ruling party, ZANU PF. However, for this dissertation, the researcher tried to detach this emotional element and rather employ an academic approach that analyses facts. For example, one of the key debates relating to local government in Zimbabwe is that of corruption. The argument, however, extended to the political culture in Zimbabwe whereby I argued that both ZANU PF and the MDC are guilty of corruption. The interviews in this regard, were important as many interviewees bemoaned corruption not as a ZANU PF issue but rather as Zimbabwean culture problem which sees both parties being accused.

During the collection of data, the research was able to make use of written memos. These memos were small notes that I recorded during interviews (Creswell 2018:260). These reflective notes helped me reflect on my "own personal experiences and consider how their personal experiences may shape their interpretation of results" (Creswell 2018:260). Importantly, considering the observations from my previous projects, these notes were important in guiding me the through the data collection process.

Reflexivity is extremely important especially when considering the interpretation of data. In relation to this, Creswell & Poth (2018:302) note that, "All researchers shape the writing that emerges, and qualitative researchers need to accept this interpretation and be open about it in their writings." This is extremely important in any research project because this speaks to any potential biases that an individual might have in relation to a particular topic. I stated earlier that I have, since, 2014 studied the Zimbabwean political scene and due to that, as I showed in the research projects, might have been inclined to believe that ZANU PF was at the heart of the challenges Zimbabwe has faced since 2000. Although this might be true, my dissertation has transcended this stance, and this is proven by how I focus on the political culture of Zimbabwe. Concerning this, I grew up in the so called "low density" areas of Mandara (1991-1996) and Glen Lorne (1996-present). Individuals who reside in these areas tend to have boreholes and other alternative forms of water. Again, this might be true, however, in my case, since moving to Glen Lorne in 1996 I can count the amount times the area has had running water, in spite of the area being deemed as an affluent neighbourhood.

This brings the issue of positionality to the fore. Commenting on this, Creswell & Poth (2018:303) note:

> Reviewing and then discussing how biases, values, and experiences impact emerging understandings is actually the heart of being reflexive in a study, because it is important that the researcher not only detail his or her experiences with the phenomenon but also be self-conscious about how these experiences may potentially have shaped the findings, the conclusions, and the interpretations drawn in a study.

It is common knowledge that a researcher may fall into this trap of projecting their biases onto a particular project. It is important to note acknowledge these biases and how they might potentially affect the final outcome of a research project.

Field Work Reflections

I conducted my interviews in Zimbabwe between May and August 2018. It is important to note that my research focused greatly on water and governance experts within Zimbabwe and not lived experiences. As I will show in the next section, the list of individuals that I drew from were either political individuals, NGO researchers and technical experts such as an engineer and a well-respected sanitation expert in South Africa. These interviews were extremely important in unpacking the water challenges within Zimbabwe.

Due to the fact I am a Zimbabwean citizen and the fact that I am very familiar with the country, especially the capital city, tracking down and meeting interviewees was not much of a challenge. The individuals selected for the interviews were experts who had been widely quoted and cited in journal articles, policy documents and newspaper articles. In addition to this, I had a brief stint at a local NGO based in Harare and that helped me with tracking down some of the interviewees. From the original list of 20 potential interviewees, I was able to interview 14. The other 6 were unavailable and more importantly I was able to further supplement the 14 interviews with archival documents from Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I was able to employ a Research Assistant, Munyaradzi Chiwota, who accompanied me to all my interviews in Zimbabwe. He was also able to transcribe (and made translations where necessary) all the interviews. Due to the fact that he attended all the interviews I was able to verify the information he had captured. In addition to this, I also made use of the National Archives in Harare, however, the information on Zimbabwe's contemporary history was readily available in Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand as I stated earlier. Due to the fact that my topic did not invoke any political concerns, the interviewees spoke to

me in their own capacity and none of them requested for anonymity. Moreover, at the time of the interviews, President Emmerson Mnangagwa had just served a few months of his presidency, after having taken over from Mugabe in November 2017, which marked a period of relative openness in Zimbabwe. Because of that euphoria, people were open to speak about the governance issues that Zimbabwe faced.

When defining field research, Neuman (2014:51) describes it as being "research in which the researcher directly observes, and records notes on people in a natural setting for an extended period of time." This process as described by Neuman sums up the interviewing process that I went through during the time period in Zimbabwe. When further discussing field research, Neuman (2014:56) notes that:

> Field research begins with a loosely formulated question, then selects a group or site for study, gains access to, and then adopts a social role in the setting and begin observing. Field researchers carefully observe and interact in the field for a few months to several years.

This speaks directly towards my field work. My interviews were able to speak to the questions that I had developed and more importantly they were also able to introduce a different dynamic to the project. One example is that of climate change. At the proposal stage of the project, I had not envisaged embarking on a research project that would speak to climate change. However, after the field work process, I have since added an empirical chapter that analyses the impacts of climate change on Zimbabwe as well as the Africa continent. In this case, the field work process was able to introduce different dynamics which would slightly change the trajectory of the project. Climate change became relevant because it speaks to the broader debates surrounding water governance and the institutional capacities of a country to address the challenge.

Interviews

As stated in this chapter, I interviewed 14 individuals for the research project. This number is acceptable as the data for this project was derived from experts in the water field and the governance field. The interviewees are listed in table 4.2:

Interviewee	**Organization/Position**
Mrs Kudzai Mubaiwa	Ran for Council for Ward 6 in Harare
Professor Emmanuel Manzungu	University Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, Agriculture Department
Mr Precious Shumba	Chairman of the Harare Resident's Trust
Mr Farai Manzira	Head of Operations Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA)
Mr Israel Rwodzi	President of the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers
Mr Herbert Nyakutsikwa	Engineer at the African Development Bank
Honourable Tendai Biti	MP for Harare East and former Finance of Zimbabwe (2009-2013)
Mr Timothy Chitambure	Community Water Alliance Researcher
Mr Hardlife Mudzingwa	Community Water Alliance Researcher
Mr Alois Madhekeni	University Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, Public Administration
Mr Kumbulani Murenga	Executive Director, Institution for Sanitation and Water Development
Dr Jenifer Fitchett	University Lecturer, University of the Witwatersrand, Geography Department
Professor Lucille Blumberg	Deputy Director of the National Institute for Communicable Diseases
Mr Gavin Mwanza	Engineer at Aquamat (Water Treatment Plant)

Table 4.2

Table 4.2 indicates clearly that the interviews that I conducted were with experts who were able to provide information that made up this research project. The individuals selected for the interviews were experts in their field and many cases some of these individuals were widely quoted in policy documents, journal articles and newspaper articles. For example, the interview with the former Finance Minister of Zimbabwe, was important as it shed light on how the government funds other ministries such as Local Government. Another extremely important interview that was conducted was with Farai Manzira, who represented the state-owned water company, ZINWA. This interview revealed the operational challenges that the company has faced. This list of experts was instrumental in shedding light on my research questions with Professor Manzungu and Mr Hardlife Mudzingwa being crucial in unpacking the colonial legacy and its impacts on the Zimbabwean post-colonial state.

Interviews are an important mode of obtaining data for projects such as the current research project I embarked on. This is also true of qualitative data in general as outlined by Neuman (2014:56) who states that field research includes ethnography, participant observation and depth interviewing. In my case, depth interviewing was important as it allowed me to engage

with the experts, I was discussing the research project with. In an article entitled, *"Twelve tips for conducting qualitative research interviews,"* McGrath, Palmgren & Liljedahl (2019:1002) outline 12 steps to consider when embarking on an interviewing process and these are listed as follows:

1. Identify when qualitative research interviews are appropriate
2. Prepare yourself as an interviewer
3. Construct an interview guide and test your questions
4. Consider cultural and power dimensions of the interview situation
5. Build rapport with your respondents
6. Remember you are a co-creator of the data
7. Talk less and listen more
8. Allow yourself to adjust the interview guide
9. Be prepared to handle unanticipated emotions
10. Transcribe the interviews in good time
11. Check the data
12. Initiate analysis early

These steps are important in relation to an interview process, and I adopted most these steps in my approach. I will not unpack every single step, but I will briefly explain how I used some of these elements in my interviews. Concerning interview preparation, it is noted that successful interviews involve planning procedures that consider the focus and scope of the research questions (McGrath, Palmgren & Liljedahl 2019:1002). Every interview that I conducted was tailored to the individuals I was interviewing. For example, my interview with Biti was unique in the sense he is a lawyer with extensive knowledge of the constitution, he is a current MP and he also served as a Finance Minister. This, therefore, meant that because he wore many hats the interview was conducted in such a way that captured all the positions he held or currently holds. In addition to this, I had conducted an in-depth literature review for my research proposal, and I had good enough understanding of the concepts I wanted to unpack during the interviewing processes.

There are various ways in which interviews can be conducted by a researcher. More importantly, interviews can either be open or structured. In relation to this, McGrath, Palmgren & Liljedahl (2019:1003) note that:

> An unstructured or semi-structured interview guide may include only one or a few predetermined questions allowing the interviewer to explore issues brought forward by the interviewee. It is important that the interview guide aligns with the methodological approach.

In my case the interview guide played an important role in the nature of the interviews that I conducted. Another important point from the 12 points listed briefly is that of the power dimensions within an interview situation. In reference to this McGrath, Palmgren & Liljedahl (2019:1004) note that because people are cultural beings there is always going to be a scenario whereby, they might have different expectations of an interview situation. Biti's interview, was to a certain extent, a high-profile interview so he wanted me to be specific as to which capacity I was interviewing him. This again goes back to the several positions that he holds within the Zimbabwean political field. As I stated earlier, most of the interviews were tailored to the individual being interviewed, this made the interviewing process a little easier. This also addressed any power dynamics as due to the nature of the questions I allowed the interviewees to fully express themselves.

When writing about qualitative interviews it is important to note that there are many ways through which this form of research can be conducted. Creswell (2018:263) notes that:

> In qualitative interviews, the researcher conducts face-to-face interviews with participants, telephone interviews, or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group. These interviews involve unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants.

All the interviews that I conducted for my research project were face-to-face interviews and none of them required a telephonic conversation. The nature of my project did not require me to conduct focus groups. It solidifies why in-depth interviews were best for the project that I embarked on. The experts chosen for the interview process were able to provide answers stemming from the position they held.

Document Analysis

Another important element of qualitative research is document analysis. When describing document analysis Bowen (2009:27) notes that various organizational and institutional documents have often be described as a "staple" within qualitative research. This applies greatly to this research project as I drew from several reports and policy documents to supplement my academic interviews. When aiming to shed light on the colonial inheritance I engaged extensively with the following documents published by the post-colonial government:

- Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development 1981 (23-27 March)

- Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan (1982/83-1984/85)
- Zimbabwe First Five Year National Development Plan (1986-90)

These documents were instrumental as they outline the efforts the government made in terms of addressing the impacts of colonialism on Zimbabwe. In addition to this, these documents also outlined the amount of money that Mugabe's government invested into developing the rural areas as well as improving the water sector in the country.

Document analysis is an important tool for engaging policies as well as journals, books and in some cases audio visuals. Document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen 2009:27). This definition as stated by Bowen speaks directly to the information I unpacked when analysing official government policies. For example, in the local government chapter I noted that the 2013 Zimbabwean constitution outlined the importance of devolution in section 264. However, through interviews and engaging secondary literature such as journals it was clear that politicization had resulted in devolution not having taken place in Zimbabwe. An examination of the constitution also showed that in section 77 the government is mandated, by law, meant to provide the citizenry with "safe, clean and potable water[7]." Although these are clearly stated in the constitution, these are yet to come to fruition which speaks greatly to the governance aspect which this dissertation unpacks.

Since my research collected data through various forms it can, to a certain extent, be described as a form of triangulation. When writing about this Bowen (2009:28) notes that:

> By triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide 'a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility.' By examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study.

The use of different data collection methods in many cases assists a researcher to provide thorough evidence. This evidence is an extremely important element of the findings that a dissertation produces. Further to this (Bowen 2009:28) notes that, "triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a study's findings are simply an artefact of a single method, or a single source, or a single investigator's bias." In both instances, Bowmen mentions bias and its problematic nature. A process of triangulation, from these descriptions,

[7] See section 77 of the Zimbabwean Constitution which also states that "…the State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within the limits of the resources available to it, to achieve the progressive realization of this right."

allows a researcher to limit biasness as analysing multiple texts will limit the elements of bias that might arise.

Documents such as the ones I provide link strongly to Bowmen who outlines how documents assist a researcher. Documents assist a researcher to uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem (Bowmen 2009:29). In my dissertation, understanding history is an important starting point. The use of documents was important in that regard as there is great difficulty in gaining accurate information especially if it pertains policy documents. This links closely to the element of developing an understanding. To shed light again, the review of the policy documents also showed that Mugabe, at some point, wanted to embark on a socialist form of government and this had implications in terms of carrying out policies. Such an understanding can only be provided by engaging documents such as the ones I mentioned earlier.

Documents can be used for several purposes within a research project. Firstly, documents can provide data on the context within which research participants operate (Bowmen 2009:29). As with any research project, the context is very important, and this applies to my project. Secondly, data drawn from documents can suggest questions that need to be asked and situations that need to be observed in the research project (Bowman 2009:30). Going back to the example of the 2013 Constitution, because most elements of the constitution had not been implemented, some of my interviews discussed the implications of this. It is, therefore, important to note the engagement of documents served as a starting point for some of the interviews.

Another important element of data is that it provides supplementary research data. In relation to this Bowmen (2009:30) notes that:

> Information and insights derived from documents can be valuable additions to a knowledge base. Researchers should therefore browse library catalogues and archives for documents to be analysed as part of the research process.

This again is some of the processes which I undertook in crafting this dissertation. Before going for interviews, I had engaged with several scholarly documents that drove and pointed me towards who to speak to and the kinds of questions to ask during the interviews. This further confirms the importance of perusing and engaging documents as a major part of a research project.

The historical aspect of my dissertation is extremely important, and this also played a role in my document analysis. Bowmen (2009:30) notes that documents provide a means through which change, and development can be tracked. This is an important element of my dissertation as the engaging of documents allowed me to be able to trace Zimbabwe's transition from being a colonial state to a post-colonial state. The analysis of documents allowed for me to see what changes had occurred and what changes had not occurred. More importantly, the interrogation of documents was crucial in discussing the colonial legacy and how it had impacted the post-colonial state.

Evidence plays an important role in all research projects that are conducted, and document analysis plays an important role in this. Documents can be analysed to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources (Bowmen 2009:30), and to supplement interviews and vice versa. Documents in most cases serve as evidence. Examples can be derived from policy documents as well as various forms of documents such as newspaper articles. When looking at newspaper articles, for example, they were able to unpack the nature of corruption within Zimbabwe. This was corroborated by some of my interviewees who bemoaned how corruption had hamstrung the way in which urban councils in Zimbabwe were performing. It is believed that sociologists use document analysis to verify their findings (Bowman 2009:30). This all but confirms that documents serve as a method to authenticate information pertaining to a particular topic.

Document analysis is summed up aptly by Bowmen (2009:30-31), who states that:

> In sum, documents provide background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources. Moreover, documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten the details.

Again, as I have repeatedly stated, the historical aspect of my dissertation places great importance on documents. The engagement of documents in that regard, especially those published by the government, gives an element of authenticity and credibility that avoids biasness. The aim is always to produce accurate information and the correct use of document analysis can go a long way in achieving this.

Document analysis also gives permissions to the researcher to choose what is relevant to the conceptual framework that a research project is testing. Bowen (2009:33) notes that the researcher as analyst should determine the relevance of documents to the agenda of the entire

research project. Like any other research project, it is important that the researcher's documents of choice are authentic. The onus is on the researcher to assess the documents to determine the authenticity, credibility, accuracy, and representativeness of selected documents (Bowen 2009:33). This is an important element that I had to consider for my overall project. I had to ensure that the documents, especially those pertaining to government policy, were authentic. Documents, such as those that touched on the post-colonial government's policies towards addressing the inequalities caused by colonialism, were proven to be authentic because they had government stamps and in most cases the forward of the documents was authored by Mugabe as Prime Minister at the time.

Moreover, the use of documents provided me with the foundation for the empirical findings. Bowen (2009:33) notes that:

> Document analysis, then, is not a matter of lining up a series of excerpts from printed material to convey whatever idea comes to the researcher's mind. Rather, it is a process of evaluating documents in such a way that empirical knowledge is produced, and understanding is developed. In the process, the researcher should strive for objectivity and sensitivity, and maintain balance between both.

The above lengthy quote sums up my approach to the overall dissertation. The use of documents allowed me to articulate in great detail how colonialism had a clear impact on the Zimbabwe's governance of water resources. This was achieved through a thorough analysis of documents that directly proved this. The use of evidence allowed for a balance to be maintained between objectivity and sensitivity.

Analysis and Interpreting the Data

The interpretation of data is an extremely important aspect of any form of research. Neuman (2014:477) notes that to analyse data one needs to connect it to concepts, advance generalizations and identify broad trends and themes: "To analyse data means systematically to organize, integrate, and examine; as we do this, we search for patterns and relationships among specific details." This definition is an important starting point in relation to understanding the interpretation of data. The data that I used for this research project fits into these descriptions.

For example, my use of archival documents showed how, under colonialism, the rural community had been marginalized. My analysis explored how the rural communities were marginalized, and the consequences of this marginalization. The use of archival documents also showed that the post-colonial government aimed to redress these inequalities by investing

financially into the rural areas. This was also confirmed by interviews with Professor Emmanuel Manzungu and Hardlife Mudzingwa, who provided extensive information relating to the impacts of colonial water governance policies as well as the efforts that the post-colonial government embarked on to redress these inequalities. Analysis should allow for an improvement in understanding, should expand theory and it should advance knowledge (Neuman 2014:477; Flick 2013:3). This was provided for by the data that I collected.

In relation to data analysis, the aim is to reach a conclusion based on evidence. Neuman (2014:478) defines reaching a conclusion based on evidence as being "to infer." It is also important to note that within the qualitative research the information is derived from the empirical details of social life. This also links closely to the adequacy of the collected data. When referring to this Neuman (2014:478) cites Morse (1994:230) who noted the following:

> In qualitative research, *adequacy* refers to the amount of data collected, rather than to the number of subjects as in quantitative research. Adequacy is attained when sufficient data has been collected that saturation occurs.

The amount of data that one collects for a project is also another element that influences the outcome of a research project. In my research project, I made use of 14 interviews. Initially, my aim was to have 20 interviews, however, upon conducting the 14 that I used for the project the information received was sufficient. Due to the nature of the project, adding more to the interviews that I had conducted would have distorted the main argument of the overall project. The 14 interviews I conducted were with experts within this field thus making the content very relevant to the overall topic. The archival documents, books, journals, government documents such as census reports and newspaper articles supplemented the interviews thus giving me a solid amount of data to use for the overall project.

Data collected for qualitative research provides an array of explanations pertaining to a particular topic. Neuman (2014:479) notes that through the analysis of data, researchers can develop explanations or generalizations that are close to concrete data and contexts. These explanations are important as they bring an understanding to a topic that is being researched. An interrogation of data, such as the vigorous process I went through, allows for an understanding as various sources bring reveal different kinds of information. In relation to my dissertation, the challenge of water governance was not merely due to the lack of the resource. However, it was evident that it was due to a failure in governance. One of these failures had to do with the planning from both a colonial perspective and post-colonial perspective. An interrogation of data in this regard was instrumental in coming to this conclusion.

As my dissertation focuses on the impacts of the colonial legacy on the post-colonial state it is evident to note that various concepts come from this topic. With qualitative research, new concepts are formed or refined based on the data (Neuman 2014:480). As I mentioned earlier, the interrogation of data all but proved that a governance culture within Zimbabwe has led to service delivery being adversely affected. The interrogation further showed that the dominating narrative that corruption is associated ZANU PF is slightly misdirected as MDC can also be adjudged to be corrupt. This, therefore, confirms that the challenge within Zimbabwe is that of a political culture.

My dissertation also adopted a narrative analysis during the writing process. This process has also been used in various fields such as anthropology, archaeology, history, linguistics, literary criticism, political science, psychology, and sociology. When alluding as to why this process is used Neuman (2014:494) outlines that, "We use narratives for several purposes. They can address the issue of "who are we" as individual people, or they can be public narratives that link us to larger groups, communities, or nations. Some narratives describe social forces that act on us." The historical element of my project, to a certain extent, makes the overall project a narrative one. The tracing of the colonial legacy and its impacts on the post-colonial state make for a narration hence the adoption of one by this dissertation.

One could allude to the fact that my overall dissertation seeks to tell a story. This is linked to Neuman (2014:495) who notes that in relation to narrative text, the intention is to describe data in a way that expresses meanings and understandings in social life. The understandings of social life within this project are because of the collection of data and more importantly, how this data was arranged. In defining narrative analysis in line with how my research links to it, Neuman (2014:496) notes that "Both a type of historical writing that tells a story and a type of qualitative data analysis that presents a chronologically linked chain of events in which individual or collective social actors have an important role." As I have repeatedly stated in this dissertation, the starting point of this research project is the white settlers led by the BSAC settling in Zimbabwe in 1890. The description of these events leads to 1980 when Zimbabwe gained its independence, ushering in the post-colonial government.

One of the key elements of narrative analysis is path dependence which I describe at length in my theoretical approach. Path dependence is described as a way that a unique beginning can lead to a sequence of events create a deterministic path (Neuman 2014:497). One of the arguments in my dissertation in relation to colonialism is that it led to an uneven playing field

that favoured the white minority over the majority through institutions. When describing this element of path dependence Neuman (2014:497) cites Haydu (1998:497) who alludes to the fact that:

> When building a path dependency explanation, start with an outcome. You then show how the outcome follows from a sequence of prior events. As you trace and demonstrate each event's effect on another, you go backward in the process to initial events or conditions. The initial events or conditions. The initial conditions you identify are a "historical fork in the road"

In this case the outcome is the unequal society inherited by Mugabe's government with the starting point being the BSAC settling in Zimbabwe in 1890. By unpacking the laws that the Rhodesian government introduced I show how these disadvantaged the majority. This is even clearer in my literature review that unpacks water governance under the Rhodesian government. The colonial legacy is further summed through path dependency when Neuman (2014:497) notes that path dependency is, "An analytic idea used in narrative analysis to explain a process or chain of events as having a beginning that triggers a structured sequence so that the chain of events follows an identifiable trajectory over time." This speaks strongly to my research project which, as I stated earlier, traces the impacts of colonialism on the post-colonial state.

As I have showed this section the analysis of data is almost the single most important element of qualitative data. Flick (2013:3) notes that data analysis is the central step within qualitative research. Irrespective of what the data is, the analysis thereof forms the outcomes of the research (Flick 2013:3). In relation to my outcomes several factors are evident in and these factors played an important role in the current state of water governance in Zimbabwe. As I have showed in this chapter, the use of data such as transcribed interviews and scholarly material contributed greatly to the information this dissertation used to convey various issues. For example, Herbert Nyakutsikwa from the African Development Bank (ADB), bemoaned the poor state of infrastructure in Zimbabwe. This argument was clear from a number of interviewees as well as a number of scholarly articles argued the same point. In essence the interrogation of data in this regard played an important role.

Ethics

My research topic did not involve any vulnerable individuals. However, as required by the University of the Witwatersrand, I was awarded with an Ethics Certificate on the 15th of September 2017. The protocol number was **H17/09/39.** I presented this certificate to who I was

interviewing. I have since attached the certificate as an appendix to this dissertation. Further to the ethics certificate I also provided the interviewees with a letter setting out my objectives for the interview and the overall research project. This has also been attached as an appendix to this dissertation.

Ethics is an important element of any form of research especially when the research project looks at human subjects. Before embarking on this research project, I followed Neuman (2014:145) of preparing and considering ethical practices long before speaking to individuals. As seen with my ethics certificate, by 2017 I had already obtained ethics clearance even though I only conducted my interviews in mid-2018. There are various ways in which ethics are defined. For the purposes of this report, ethics will be defined as "what is or is not legitimate to do or what "moral" research procedure involves" (Neuman 2014:145). This refers, in essence, to the protocols that researchers follow when trying to obtain information for a project.

In relation to ethics, power dynamics, again come to the fore. The relationship between an interviewer and an interviewee could potentially raise several power dynamics that could bring about ethical considerations. When writing about this Neuman (2014:146), notes that, "A researcher's authority to conduct research comes with a responsibility to guide, protect, and oversee the interests of the people he or she is studying." Within my data collection process, mainly interviews, the interview questions were structured in such a way that the interviewee was given ample opportunity to speak. As I have stated in this chapter, I mainly spoke to experts, so this made the process a little easier because the interviewees tended to be comfortable throughout the entire process. I was, therefore, able to guide the interview as I was clear from the beginning of the interview as to what I wanted to achieve.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodological process that this dissertation followed. The chapter was divided into 3 main sections that discussed the research design, the analysis and interpretation of data and the ethical considerations. Within the research design I outlined and justified why I embarked on a qualitative research process in order to obtain data. One of the key points I made in that section was how the use of a single case study was also suitable for me to articulate my argument that related to the governance of water resources within Zimbabwe.

Within the research design, I was able to further unpack the processes I went through when conducting interviews. In relation to interviews, I was able to outline why I used the candidates I decided to use, and I also outlined how the transcriptions were an important aspect of my empirical chapters. I also discussed potential biases that might have arisen within the interviewing processes and how there was an effort to ensure that these biases did not impact my overall interpretation of data.

This chapter also outlined the importance of ethical considerations and the process I went through so that I could obtain the necessary clearances from the University. Moreover, I outline why ethical considerations are important for any research process that one might embark on- be it a quantitative approach or a qualitative approach. The overall aim of this chapter was to outline the methodologies that made up this dissertation.

The dissertation proceeds to discuss water governance in Zimbabwe through unpacking the country's institutions and how they influence water governance.

Chapter 5

Local Government Politics

Introduction

Local government politics is at the heart of post-independence service delivery in Zimbabwe as it is in any other country. In 2013, when Zimbabwe adopted a new constitution, the role of local government was acknowledged in Chapter 14. Under this section of the constitution, the roles and the functions of local governance are addressed. In this chapter, I aim to discuss the role of local governance within Zimbabwe. Local government is an important aspect of this dissertation because it is one of the institutions that can be linked to path dependence as argued in the theoretical approach. One of the key debates within this chapter is that of decentralization and this is covered at length. I, however, do not make a claim for or against decentralisation but I aim to explore how the institution of local government was inherited from the colonial government and how during the post-independence era it became politicized to the detriment of the citizenry.

Authors such as Mapuva (2007:12) state that local governance in Zimbabwe dates back to colonial times when the BSAC established the Salisbury Sanitary Board (SSB) to administer local affairs. Bearing this in mind, it will be clear that the notion of local governance in Zimbabwe dates back to colonial times where the colonial government aimed to administer the country to suit its particular needs. The colonial model was functional in that central government was able to influence local government to further its agenda whilst after independence, the government sought to experiment with decentralization but as I will show, the government shifted to a top down model. By making the colonial period the starting point I will be able to situate my overall study with my aim of analysing how the colonial legacy affected the provision of water in the post-colonial state.

This chapter not only focuses on Zimbabwe but looks at the broader debates on the African continent. In the first section, the main focus is on the African continent and how local government functions in these countries. I will draw on the experience of countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Botswana to show how local government is a widely debated topic especially in how it relates to power dynamics in various states. The chapter proceeds to discuss local government in Zimbabwe and the power dynamics that surround it. This section traces local government in Zimbabwe from the colonial period up until the period after the new 2013

Constitution came to the fore. One of the key debates relating to the African continent is that of the decentralization of power. This chapter will discuss this at length to show the complexities relating to local government within both the Zimbabwean and African context. The chapter also analyses how path dependence is evident within the context of post-colonial Zimbabwe's local government.

Local Government- An African Perspective

The discussion on local government on the African continent cannot be complete without discussing colonialism and its impact on the post-colonial states governing structure. When writing about local government on the African continent, Olowu & Wunsch (2004:30) note that, beginning in India and eventually spilling over into Africa, some colonial governments used indirect rule, which entailed the use of compliant traditional rulers. These rulers would serve at the interest of colonial governments (see Mamdani 1996:17). Other authors are also of the same belief that local government on the African continent was because of the impacts of colonialism. For example, when writing about Zimbabwe it is noted that, "Local government was not provided for in the Constitution but became a creature of statute which meant that the local government system did not have constitutional protection" (Mapuva 2014:12).

The same can be said about Botswana where local government is viewed through six phases, starting with the pre-colonial proceeding through to the present day (Mothusi 2006:4). To further solidify this standpoint, Mothusi (2006:4) notes that between 1934 and 1957 the period of indirect rule saw chiefs and tribal authorities increasingly become agents of the government and responsible for administration. This administrative aspect speaks to the functional approach of decentralization which I shall speak to in this chapter. The Botswana case further shows how colonialism played an important role in governing the local structures of the colony. Another country where colonialism played an important role in the governing of local structures in Kenya. With Kenya, D'Arcy & Cornell (2016:252) note that after the attainment of independence historical legacies saw MPs contributing to self-help development projects with the hope of being re-elected. The Kenyan example shows how the notion of power is important within the local government sector in many African countries.

Within the African context, the notion of power is at the forefront of local government politics. This is strongly related to colonialism, as I have shown with the examples from the previous paragraph. One of the arguments that are associated with local government politics is decentralization, which also dates back to the colonial form of government. Decentralization

became prominent on the African continent after World War II when colonial powers began to consider decolonization for political, economic and humanitarian reasons (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:30). The colonial governments agreed to this because there was "continuing agitation by the newly educated elites in the colonies against colonial rule, especially against indirect administration" (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:30). In many of the colonies, the African population was gaining education and they became very vocal against colonial rule. This then led to a contestation between educated Africans and the colonialists. Oluwu & Wunsch (2004:30) note that the educated African population directed its efforts to indirect administration which was seen as a way through which traditional leaders were being used by colonialists.

The humanitarian reason for decentralization stood mainly because it was associated with the self-determination of all the people of the world and the economic argument grew out of the view that European countries realized that running colonies was becoming expensive hence the need to cede power (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:31). The main areas of contestations were those that affected local communities, which is why indirect rule came to the fore. One key event that emanated from the economic challenges that were associated with the running of colonies was the 1947 dispatch of the British secretary of state for the colonies. He noted that a successful African administration was one that focused on the development of an efficient and democratic system of local government (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:31). As a result of this, there was a clear change in the running of local government. This is confirmed further when Olowu & Wunsch (2004:31) note that in British Africa, local government councils were democratized fully or partially, independent revenue sources were established for the local governments and a genuine effort was made to ensure that there was an element of efficiency brought to local government.

After the attainment of independence, the newly formed African governments sought to change the legacy that the colonial governments had left behind. On the economic front, the African leaders subscribed to central planning through adopting a socialist ideology for development with Kwame Nkrumah arguing "…political independence was a springboard for economic and social development" (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:30). At the attainment of independence, it was clear as seen with the Nkrumah's Ghana, that African countries almost aimed to dismantle the colonial governmental structures.

The adoption of the socialist ideology shows a shift to the centralization of power. Examples can be drawn from leaders such as Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda in

Zambia, and Sekou Touré in Guinea, as well as several other African leaders who followed in the same footsteps (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:30). African countries as shown by the litany of examples opted to centralize power. To further shed light on this, Olowu & Wunsch (2004:33) notes that consolidation of the state was aimed to be conducted via a single-party mechanism. Local government reforms were used, not as development tools, but rather as a reinforcement of the one-party state mantra or the advancement of a military state (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:33). Instead of using the local government as a vehicle for economic development, it became a vehicle for political manoeuvres, which assisted parties to maintain their stranglehold on power.

In these African countries, decentralization became more of a myth as the local communities were not truly empowered. An analysis of African local governments began to show that local administrations were designed for the maintenance of power centralization. It is further noted that "Leaders also claimed they were pursuing political objectives such as participation, but these led mainly to consultative assemblies that had no real power over the officials actually in charge of the local governments" (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:33). Decentralization, therefore, became distorted – instead of widening access to power it became a means for the political centre to maintain power.

When describing the local government in Africa, Philip Mawhood noted that:

> In the 1960s, (there followed) for most countries a swing away from local autonomy in favour of central planning and greater control over public resources. A deconcentrated administration was left in charge of the locality, similar to, but weaker than the colonial one. It was aided by committees that hardly had a role beyond discussing development plans and giving help in their implementation" (Mawhood 1983:3 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:33).

This statement alludes to how African leaders in most cases weakened the existing colonial governing structures to serve the interests of those who were in charge. Where decentralization through indirect rule raised the possibility of challenging the political centre, the post-colonial governments moved quickly to protect their control over local populations. This belief was further expounded on Olowu who reviewed policies on a global level. He noted that decentralization processes "were attempts at window dressing increasing centralization (Olowu 1988a:40; Wraith 1972 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:30). This further confirms the constant belief that many African authors have had on the notion of decentralization on the continent. It is, however, interesting that in 1984 Nyerere alluded to the fact that:

> There are certain things I would not do if I were to start again. One of them is the abolition of local governments and the other was the disbanding of cooperatives. We were impatient and ignorant… We had these two useful instruments of participation and we got rid of them. It is true that local governments were afraid of taking decisions but instead of helping them we abolished them. Those were two major mistakes (Nyerere 1984:828 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:34).

Nyerere, in this case, was speaking to the difficulties that had bedevilled African leaders after they had taken over from colonial governments. The post-colonial African state faced many challenges that were because of the centralization of power. The centralization of power by leaders such as Nyerere would prove to be a huge challenge for the African states going forward.

During the 1970s and the 1980s, African countries faced huge economic challenges that led to a rethinking of the governing structures. It was during this time that African countries resorted to seeking funding from international financial institutions. To deal with the financial state of the African continent many countries resorted to structural-adjustment programs (SAPs). Decentralization, in this regard, was seen as a way to cut back on central government expenditures. The initial form of decentralization that came about because the efforts by the World Bank (WB) were unsuccessful. One of the major drawbacks stemmed from the belief that the early experiments of decentralization paid little attention to the particular characteristics of the local institutions that had been created (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:34). Moreover, it is further noted that decentralized entities were mere extensions of the central government (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:34). In this regard, it is evident that decentralization did not necessarily take cognizance of the local communities that were being decentralized. It rather became a vehicle for the central government to solidify its stranglehold on the state.

SAPs affected how decentralization was conducted on the African continent, however, it is important to note that African governments had already put in place measures to go through with decentralization. African leaders advocated for decentralization intending to cede powers to local government and community groups- this was because resources were declining because of the economic downturn African countries were facing (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:35). One of the key examples of how African countries had begun to decentralize power was seen in Kenya through the *"Harambee"* project. This project saw communities providing basic resources for building infrastructure with central government complementing these efforts (Oyugi 1990;

N'gethe 1998 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:35). Other examples were seen in West Africa (Barkan, McNulty, and Ayeni 1991; Nchari 1990; Olowu 1999c cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:34). With these examples, it is clear that most African states were indeed in the process of ceding power to local communities.

The implementation of SAPs, it can be argued, coincided with African governments processes of decentralization. SAPs formalized these initiatives into policies through the WB. The WB emphasized that borrowers should utilize parallel or informal economies and institutions as other instruments of delivering services to communities (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:35). It was clear that the local communities in this instance were in control of providing services. In addition to the ceding of power, the WB encouraged decentralization to focus on two elements- *provision and production.* In this case, provision was linked to deciding what public goods and services ought to be provided in what quantity and quality and production were linked to the technical transformation of resources and into the delivery of these goods and services (Silverman 1992; Ostrom and Ostrom 1977 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:34). As I stated earlier, at the time, the adoption of SAPs was mainly since most African states were facing an economic downturn. This meant that governments had to find ways to fund decentralization.

By focusing on provision and production, the role of the private sector was given prominence in many African countries. The inclusion of the private sector made life extremely difficult for citizens as they were made to pay for basic services such as healthcare and education (Silverman 1992; Corkery, Land & Bossuyt 1995; Leighton 1996 cited by Olowu & Wunsch 2004:36). The economic downturn that these countries were facing harmed the lives of the citizenry as they had to bear brunt of the government's cost-cutting measures. The inclusion of the private sector within local government has been viewed as challenging within the academic realm. Authors have all had a different view on the role of the private sector. Due to the economic conditions of some African countries, poverty renders service delivery in local government unattainable for the poor (Cabral 2011; Rondinelli 1989; Nangoli et al 2015; cited by Makara 2018:26).

Local government in Africa has been a contestation between two centres of power- local and central government. When writing about this Olowu & Wunsch (2004:36) note that decentralization in most African countries had given powers to (or at least tried to) local governments and the production responsibilities whilst central government remained in charge of the provision of responsibilities. This contestation was evident through the introduction of

the private sector. Many analysts who advocated for the introduction of the private sector within local government were driven by the following beliefs (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:36):

1. Substantial reduction in the functions and size of all governments including local ones;
2. Possibility of improved capacity of local governments more limited range of economic management activities;
3. There was going to be a reduction of local government expenditures in relation to both investments and staffing;
4. An increase in finances availed to local government from the private sector- this would reduce local government and public sector deficits;
5. The competitive nature of privatization would result in the improvement of the delivery of services

By taking, the five (5) points mentioned into consideration it is clear that there were clear opportunities that contestations would arise as in most cases centralization was meant to keep power at the centre. By privatizing local government, it would almost function independently from the central government. When further shedding light on this Makara (2018:23) notes that on the African continent the initial post-independence attempts at decentralization failed mainly because political leaders were concerned with the control of power. In Uganda, it is noted that although decentralization had taken place, Uganda's level of accountability for public resources and service delivery "remain deplorable" (Ojambo 2012:80). Inadvertently it is clear that the African continent was going to face huge challenges about local governance because whilst the SAPs were advocating for a more liberal approach the governments at the helm were almost reluctant to cede powers to the local communities.

To further solidify my key argument this contestation was seen in Zambia's case of decentralization. One of the key objectives of decentralization was to give communities the power to better manage their resources (Makara 2018:24). In the Zambian case, the structures created led to the formation of development funds or agencies (DDFs). These structures would allow communities to have a say on how their resources-both financial and natural- were used. However, appointed officials from the central government and a handful of local people were given the tasks of running the DDFs (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:37). The Zambian case shows that although power was ceded central government was still playing an instrumental role in the appointments to ensure that they could control local government. In Zambia, health and education services were taken away from local government thus defeating the principle of

decentralization (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:37). In essence, within the African context, decentralization of local government services resulted in central governments trying to influence the governing structures.

One of the major challenges clearly shown by the decentralization process in Africa can be linked to the role of the state. Sabiti Makara argues that African governments failed to make use of the inherited colonial system. Makara (2018:24) argues that "The authoritarian practices of the post-colonial state in Africa were inherited from its predecessor – the colonial state. While the colonial state sowed seeds of authoritarianism, the post-colonial state failed its mission of significantly reforming the state for the benefit of its peoples." Makara's argument links to the inheritance of a system that functioned despite its shortcomings. Moreover, Makara's argument is linked to one of the key debates that surround why African states opted to centralize power. This is noted when it is stated that post-colonial leaders were obsessed with maintaining their grip on power by creating "cliques of cronies and ensuring unquestionable loyalty" (Ake 2000 cited by Makara 2008:24). Other authors such as Acemoglu and Robinson, which I mentioned in the theoretical approach, speak to how at the attainment of independence systems of patronage were built to maintain power. Institutions such as local government became vehicles, which were oiled by a system of patronage, which would see central government appointing people it could influence as I showed briefly with the Zambian case.

Concerning decentralization, Makara notes that various interested parties all hoped to improve local governance through this process. For example, economists believed that decentralization would reduce rent-seeking from leaders in central government, as they would have ceded power. Pluralists believed that it would give interest groups a space to organize and mobilize, autocratic leaders advocated for decentralization as it would act as a substitute for democracy and finally, democratic leaders saw decentralization as a way of making governments more responsive to the needs of local communities (Makara 2018:25). In this case, the various actors viewed decentralization as a vehicle that would help them achieve particular goals.

Makara also notes that decentralization also came about as an admission by the central government that it had failed to deliver some basic services that local communities needed. The most important factors included the realization by central government that it was unable to offer a high level of service delivery, was failing to deal with the high levels of poverty in rural areas and the failure of centralized organizations to function efficiently (Makara 2018:26).

Makara alludes to the failure of central government in delivering basic needs that were of great importance to the functioning of local government. Within the African context, it is evident that decentralization came about due to several factors that mainly rotated around the challenges that were faced by central government in administering the local government.

For decentralization to be successful there needs to be strong political will from both central and local government. Makara (2018:27) notes that the success of decentralization depends on the political commitments of both central and local government. To further solidify these points Makara derives her standpoint from Manor who notes that the real reason why national politicians accept decentralization is that they have a desire to "use decentralization to connect their regime with social groups and to sustain or revive their party organizations" (Manor 1999 cited by Makara 2018:27). As I have reiterated throughout this chapter, local government becomes the arm of central government with the aim of political survival.

The example of Uganda comes back to the fore as Makara alludes to how President Museveni's government was motivated to decentralize because this was seen as an alternative to full political democratization (Makara 2018:27). The Ugandan case shows that the politicization of local government results in it failing to fully play its role in supporting local structures. In addition to this, decentralization begins to resemble a scenario whereby it "conceal[s] more than it reveals" (Makara 2018:27). This example is similar to my Zimbabwean case study that is in the next section of this chapter.

In a study that was conducted on decentralization in Uganda, it is argued that little attention has been paid to how the newly established form of decentralization has functioned at the local level (Francis & James 2003 cited by Makara 2008:27). The Ugandan case, according to this, showed that decentralization became mainly a promoter of two principals- technocracy and patronage. The "technocratic mode" worked to address national targets relating to poverty reduction whilst "patronage" drew on language from participatory planning which saw the elite play an important role in capturing natural resources (Nsibambi, 1998; Francis & James, 2003 cited by Makara 2008:27). The Ugandan example further shows how in most African countries local government is a vehicle used to achieve the motives of powerful figures in communities who are mainly from the ruling party in central government. Additionally, authors have noted how the local governments in Uganda do not have the technical capacity in areas relating to planning, implementation and monitoring of government policies (Jenkins, 1998 cited by Makara 2008:27). This is an important aspect of local government as it fully functions through

sound public policy, which hinges on the appointments of individuals capable of implementing policies.

The writings on local government focus on the importance of implementing sound policies. Within the African context, it is evident that policies related to local government have not necessarily yielded positive results for communities. When writing about decentralization, in particular, Michelle D'Arcy and Agnes Cornell write about the difficulty of implementing the policy within Kenya. Decentralization, from the perspective of donors, was seen an institutional "fix" for problems that African states faced such as corruption (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:247). As I have shown with other examples from countries like Uganda, reforms to local government have been conducted at a slow pace.

In the Kenyan case, it is evident that the reforms in mention were drawn out of a long discussion period. Just like the Zimbabwean case, decentralization came about as a compromise from the highly contested election in 2007. The reforms in Kenya make the country distinctive from other African countries in that the reforms emerged from a long historical discussion around federalism- it is because of these origins that many were optimistic that the decentralization process would be meaningful (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:247). The belief here is that decentralization will bring some form of cohesion and structure to the local governing process.

Similar efforts can be seen in Ghana where decentralization was presented as a way bringing back democracy under Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings- the main challenge stemmed from the fact that the central government was keen on holding on to power (Olowu & Wunsch 2004:43). The same can also be said of Kenya where local government had been eroded through patrimonialism and authoritarianism. The removal of the Daniel Arap Moi led government led to various sects within Kenya hoping that this would lead to an improved local government structure (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:247).

In an article entitled, *"Devolution and Corruption in Kenya: Everyone's Turn to Eat",* D'Arcy & Cornell show the challenges that the concept faced within the Kenyan political scene. Although this paper speaks to the Kenyan context it also speaks to the broader debates on the African continent where devolution of power has been a major challenge. With devolution, it is noted that many who advocate for it do so because it gives more groups access to resources (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:248). Communities are given the opportunities to govern their territory with a limited role played by the central government. When defining decentralization, it is noted that the term refers to a downward accountability mechanism whereby politicians

make use of public funds efficiently and it allows electorates to monitor politicians so to avoid corruption (Ndegwa cited by D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:250). This theoretical description of decentralization concerning fighting corruption is ambiguous. D'Arcy & Cornell (2016:247) further note that the relationship between corruption and decentralization is inconclusive as in most cases corruption had been reduced whilst in most cases it had increased (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:250). It is therefore clear that the results of decentralization are difficult to deduce.

To further define the term devolution concerning Kenya the element of ethnicity is seen to be a heavy influence on the policy. This also serves as an example of how elites find a way to benefit from decentralization. According to D'Arcy & Cornell (2016:256); just like in many African countries, Kenya faces ethnic divisions and devolution became a vehicle to increase rent-seeking opportunities for losing elites and patronage opportunities for ethnic groups that were marginalized. As mentioned earlier, the Kenyan case shows that devolution was meant to see the central government cede power to local communities, especially after what had transpired during the controversial 2007 election. A veteran Kenyan politician who noted that summed up the ceding of power within the Kenyan context:

> I have always suspected that the real logic for devolution was to allow ethnic elites a second chance to eat. After losing the contest at the national level for [the] presidency and the national government, which left a lot of elites very bitter and organizing their people to fight and resist the results of the elections, somebody must have said: 'You know what, this devolution can help us. For all these guys who don't make it at the top, let's give them a second layer of something that they can take home.' And I think to that extent it has worked (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:256).

In this way, and despite initial intentions, devolution often ended up serving as a vehicle to advance the needs of new elites, many of which were at odds with central government. This again brings to the core the contestation between the central government and the local government. To further confirm this, D'Arcy & Cornell (2016:256) note that in most cases MPs can benefit even more if they have access to both central government funds and local government funds- they refer to these as double 'winners.' As stated earlier, devolution and decentralization of power are meant to empower communities but the Kenyan case shows otherwise. In Kenya, the devolution process was accompanied by expectations among both voters and politicians- it was seen as an opportunity for everyone 'to eat' (D'Arcy & Cornell 2016:261). This showed that Kenyan society in itself had been sanitized into believing that

devolution would offer an opportunity to loot resources, which were present within communities.

The case of Kenya, Uganda and other African countries show that decentralization, in theory, is a positive development tool for many impoverished societies. When writing about decentralization and the desired outcomes the distribution of resources, party politics and executive-legislative relations come to the fore. In this regard, it is noted that the bureaucracy that surrounds the central government influences the local government- either positively or negatively (Dickovick 2011:18). As noted in the early stages of this chapter within the Africa context the politicization of local government has affected local government's ability to provide service delivery.

Local Government Politics in Zimbabwe

A Historical Perspective of Local Governance in Zimbabwe (1890-1980)

Local government in Zimbabwe can be traced back to 1890 when the BSAC settled in what is now presently Zimbabwe. Mapuva (2014:12); Kurebwa (2015:96) note that the Rhodesian government created the SSB to run local affairs in the country. As argued throughout this dissertation the colonial government thrived on the marginalization of natives and this applied to the Rhodesian government in mention. When writing about this it is noted that the centrally defined local institutions were designed to deny Africans the freedom to govern themselves (Mapuva 2014:13). It is further noted that the centralized local government in Rhodesia imposed substandard and centrally-defined programmers on African and Native councils- this was what the post-colonial government inherited in 1980 (Mapuva 2014:13). The system used by the Rhodesian government was centralized and only benefitted a select few. This marginalisation meant that there was a huge gulf, which would affect the post-colonial state at the attainment of independence.

What is even more striking about the colonial government is that it dismantled the African methods of rule that had already been present. Before colonization, a traditional system of governance was present and it was run by traditional leaders that included kings, chiefs, headmen and village heads (Chigwata 2018:67). The two distinct dominant groups at the time of the British conquest were (ma) Shona and Matabele kingdoms. The Shona political kingdom was made up of *Hera, Dzete, Rozvi, Njanja and Ndobvu* who spoke *(chi)Shona* dialects. When describing these tribes Chigwata (2018:68) notes that "The basis of the political, administrative, religious and social systems of these tribes was patrilineal ancestry – each tribe

or clan had a ‘common ancestor who united its members and from whose name the hereditary title of the chief was derived.” Decentralization, which is a heated topic within the Zimbabwean political realm, was evident in how governance operated within the Shona kingdom. The Shona kingdom was politically organized in “autonomous chiefdoms” which had elements of decentralization (Chigwata 2018:68). Concerning making decisions, the chief would make decisions with the assistance of advisers and councillors. Importantly, the decisions made by the traditional council (also known as a *Dare*) were consensus-driven (Chigwata 2018:68). For my argument, it is evident that the colonial government disrupted what already seemed to be a fully functional governing system. This can also be seen with the Ndebele kingdom.

With the Ndebele kingdom, it was divided into provinces, which were controlled by a ‘great chief’ (Chigwata 2018:70). The Ndebele kingdom was very much similar to the Shona kingdom in terms of how it was governed. The provinces, which were within the Ndebele kingdom, were further divided into regiments and wards (that were governed by a headman) saw the headman being assisted to govern by a council, which was made up of adult men (Chigwata 2018:70). With this in mind, it was clear that both the Shona kingdom and the Ndebele kingdom had a functioning system, which governed, their respective systems (see Chigwata 2018:68-71).

Between 1890 and 1980, the Rhodesian government used several various governing systems. A common feature of these systems was that the methods of governance were consciously designed to further the interests of the colonial government (Chigwata 2018:71). The colonial government put in place methods that weakened the natives and strengthened their foothold on the economy. This was in line with extractive growth the settler population used coercive methods to administer locals with the aim of having an advantage within the agricultural sector. The effects of colonialism led Chigwata (2018:71) to state that by the attainment of independence in 1980, a small minority of whites were wealthy and well educated, they had control of the economy, they dominated the political scene whilst the African majority were poor, lacked education and were political destitute. The colonial government in this regard had the sole purpose of ensuring that it controlled all aspects of life within the state at the expense of the African majority.

As I have repeatedly stated, the colonial government dismantled the system of governance that had been created by the Shona and Ndebele kingdoms. The BSAC established a system similar to match those that were seen in conventional colonies of Britain (Chigwata 2018:72). Alois

Sibanda propagated the belief that the colonial government used the urban areas as their space. He notes that although the urban areas were reserved for the white minority, the African population that resided in the urban areas were immigrant workers from neighbouring territories (Sibanda 2014:83). The immigrants were only allowed in urban areas because they would serve the interests of the white minority. When the BSACs rule ended in 1923 Southern Rhodesia was declared as a British colony. After the white minority had rejected a referendum to join the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia adopted a new constitution that provided for a form of self-government (Chigwata 2018:72). This new constitution became a vehicle for the politicization of local government, which would plague the Southern African country even after the end of colonial rule in 1980.

This new constitution saw many changes that would result in the British government having an important say in how the country would be run. Provisions were made, which saw the introduction of a Legislative Council, Executive Council and Administration. The British government retained the power to legislate, appoint the governor (whom they would instruct at will) (Chigwata 2018:72). One major issue with this system was that it was "undemocratic in that it disenfranchised the black population" (Chigwata 2018:72). It is clear that from the establishment of the Zimbabwean state that the notion of marginalization was at the core of how the state functioned.

As I have already reiterated, the Rhodesian government reformed local government some times between 1890 and 1980. When noting this Chigwata (2018:75) states that the local government system in Zimbabwe was because of the BSAC's need to consolidate power and developing the occupied territory for their own needs. It was this belief that led the colonial government to structure local government in a manner that benefitted them greatly. For example, the colonial government created the SSB to run the capital city which was then known as Salisbury. The sanitary board replaced the board of management, which had failed to fulfil its role (Chigwata 2018:75). The sanitary board was better resourced, and this was instrumental in how local government functioned. In 1894 such was the success of the boards that the passing of the Town Management Ordinance saw more sanitary Boards being created in Bulawayo, Umtali (now Mutare) and Gwelo (now Gweru) (Chigwata 2018:75; Kurebwa 2015:95). In 1897, the Municipal Ordinance converted the Salisbury and Bulawayo sanitary boards into municipalities that had elected councils (Chigwata 2018:76). This conversion was based on the English model and this would be the pattern that Zimbabwe would follow until the attainment of independence.

The system of local government in Rhodesia continued to evolve, despite that its fundamentally racist character remained intact. Chigwata (2018:76) notes that:

> The system of local government which developed was racist, discriminatory and based on ethnic division. In areas which were dominated by blacks. Local government structures were designed to control the black population and implement colonial policies.

Although the local government system under the colonial regime was inclusive of the majority, it was still evident that the system still thrived on marginalization. In 1953, significant progress was made towards incorporating the natives in the governing system. With the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland formation, great emphasis was placed on the inclusion of Africans in decision-making structures- this was aimed at having a more inclusive method of governing. (Chigwata 2018:77). In 1969, a new constitution was introduced which was aimed at bringing in this element of inclusion. The following were included in this new constitution (Chigwata 2018:77):

- House of Assembly – 50 European and 16 African members (eight elected and other eight were nominated by chiefs)
- Shona and Ndebele leaders were equally represented
- The Senate – 10 Europeans, 10 African chiefs and three members who were appointed by the head of the state.

The white minority governments in this regard wanted to build a peaceful environment hence the inclusion of the African traditional rulers. However, these efforts failed because during the late 1960s and 1970s the confrontation between the colonial government and nationalist movements turned violent with many lives being lost on both warring sides (Chigwata 2018:77).

The Rhodesian government's system of local government was based on the notion of segregation. For example, the system that was being used saw land ownership being based on race with white Africans being given the preference over black Africans (Chigwata 2018:77; Kurebwa 2015:95; Stoneman 1981:11). The segregation within the Rhodesian state was further cemented by the various laws that were passed by the government. Legislation such as the Land Apportionment of 1930 and Land Tenure Act of 1931 ensured that land would be reserved for Europeans at the expense of the African natives (Kurebwa 2015:95; Chigwata 2018:78). These laws all but cemented the racist nature of the Rhodesian state was revealed through these laws.

The politicization of local government in Rhodesia was further revealed in 1957 through the introduction of the African Councils Act. Through this act, the chiefs were appointed vice presidents of African Councils whilst the District Commissioner was president of the African councils (Kurebwa 2015:96). In 1970, at the height of the liberation struggle, the Rhodesian government used the local government in a power play with the nationalist movement. It is noted that "The chiefs and African Councils were further empowered; especially as African nationalism took root in the 1970s, to counterbalance the emerging threat of nationalism" (Kurebwa 2015:96). This politicization, as I will show in subsequent chapters, is still practised with the main area of contestation being between ZANU PF and the MDC. When further writing about African Councils Chigwata (2018:85) makes it clear that the colonial government-appointed officials to the councils to control the native population. He further notes that, "…African Councils remained an effective tool in the hands of the colonial government to control the African population and counteract independent political organization among the native population" (Chigwata 2018:85).

Traditional leadership is seen as an important aspect of the African context. Within the Rhodesian political system, it was again evident that traditional rule was seen as a political tool to further the agenda of the colonial government. It is noted that the colonial government had very little respect for native culture and traditions and by 1940 the Rhodesian government had made it clear that they aimed to "eliminate many of the diehards and replace them in time by fewer and better chiefs" (Chigwata 2018:86). The colonial government in this regard felt that traditional rule would only work if it were to serve its interests hence the need to replace with more subservient servants who would serve their interests.

One of the key elements when analyzing local government under colonial rule is bearing in mind that the system was based on the notion of marginalization. Such was the state of affairs that Chigwata (2018:89) notes, "The colonial regime successfully managed to alienate the black population from their traditional leaders and local government." The Zimbabwean government inherited this system after the attainment of independence in 1980.

Local Governance Politics in Zimbabwe: The First Two Decades (1980-2000)

It is important to note that at the attainment of independence, the Zimbabwean government inherited a racially skewed system. Various authors have written at length about the system that the Zimbabwean government inherited. Mapuva (2014:13) notes that the post-colonial establishment has been often blamed for failing to redress the centralized model of government

that was inherited. Authors such as Lionel Cliffe note that, "…the country [Zimbabwe] has inherited on the one hand the state structures of colonial Rhodesia and on the other the nationalist movement" (Stoneman 1981:8). Other authors such as Sarah Rich Dorman argue that from the onset, the new government of Zimbabwe attempted to unite the country through a process of nation-building that was aimed at redressing the inequalities that were as a result of colonialism (Dorman 2016:45). I shall continue to draw from some other authors as I proceed, however, the underlying belief is that at the attainment of independence the political system with the inclusion of local government was structured in such a way that it favoured the white minority.

Since local government was a vehicle to further the interests of the white minority, Mapuva (2014:13) notes that the centrally defined local governance institutions that were inherited were instituted to deny Africans the ability to govern themselves. It is, therefore, clear that under colonialism the motive was that of marginalization. To address this, the post-colonial government embarked on a process of redressing the inequalities that they had inherited and this saw the government introduce the Rural District Councils Act. This resulted in the amalgamation of the African Councils into District and Urban Councils (Mapuva 2014:13; Dorman 2016:55). One of the key elements that the government sought to introduce was decentralization as a mode of governance. The introduction of the Rural District Councils Act as mentioned by Mapuva was part of the government's broader efforts to redress past injustices.

The government's main aim was to address the racial discrimination that the colonial government had thrived on. It was no surprise that the government's reforms were aimed at removing restrictions that were based on race, ensuring that all race participated in local government elections and more importantly, the government wanted a redistribution of resources (Helmsing (1991) cited by Kurebwa 2015:96). These efforts by the government were all aimed at redressing the inequalities that they had inherited. In 1980 the Government of Zimbabwe went as far as creating a new single Local Government ministry which saw all the three types of local government institutions (urban, African and native councils) and all legislation coming under one ministry (Kurebwa 2015:96). By creating a ministry on local government, the Government of Zimbabwe was attempting to manage better a system that had been used to subvert the will of the African community.

It is clear that from the onset of independence, the Government of Zimbabwe sought to use decentralization as a vehicle to bring development to the rural communities that had been

largely neglected under colonial rule. When looking at the broader context of decentralization, the Government of Zimbabwe sought to increase the decision-making powers of local authorities and provide a platform where they could respond effectively and efficiently to the needs of local citizens (Chatiza (2008) cited by Kurebwa 2015:96). If anything, the efforts made by the Government of Zimbabwe at the attainment of independence were to address the inequalities that had been caused by colonialism. When writing about this, Dorman (2016:69) notes that, "…Zimbabwe's transition, like that of South Africa and Namibia, was the product of a negotiated ceasefire and transition to majority rule," she goes onto to note that, "Not only do institutions remain with their histories and practices, which are powerful constraints in and of themselves." If anything this goes to show the enormous challenge that, the Government of Zimbabwe faced at the attainment of independence. A clear indication concerning decentralization after the attainment of independence is that the Zimbabwean government embarked on this process as a vehicle to develop rural areas after the liberation war against the Rhodesian government.

One of the directives that were aimed at addressing this was the *Prime Minister's Directives on Decentralization 1984 and 1985.* This directive introduced rural local government changes. In 1984, this directive outlined the organizational structures through which peasant communities at a sub-district level fit into the district local governance framework (Kurebwa 2015:97; Muchadenyika 2014:1371). This initiative was driven at including the marginalized rural community. More importantly, Kurebwa notes that this local government structure is still present to this day. These directives were a huge shift from the colonial system, which was based on marginalization. With these directives, local government legislation was enacted to capture a new system, which was inclusive universal adult suffrage (Kurebwa 2015:97). More importantly, these directives spoke to the importance of a decentralized system of government. Decentralization, in light of these directives, showed the importance of an inclusive system of governance that took cognizance of communities' needs.

The directives showed that the government was driven by the belief of decentralization. When writing about this it is stated that "Decentralization brings an important dimension of good governance, accountability and transparency" (Kurebwa 2015:97). In this case, decentralization was a huge shift from the centralized nature of the colonial regime. This was an important venture by the Government of Zimbabwe as it showed a commitment towards moving away from the archaic colonial system. In 1985, the Prime Minister's directive created the office of ten Provincial Governors. The functions of these were to co-ordinate and

implement development plans for their respective provinces (Kurebwa 2017:97). In this case, the directives were driven by the aim of allowing communities to govern their regions in a way they saw fit. This again was a huge change from the colonial government's form of rule.

In 1988, the Government of Zimbabwe enacted the Rural District Councils Act. Kurebwa (2015:98) notes that this was the last major decentralization reform that the Government of Zimbabwe embarked on. The Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:15] was promulgated with the view of unifying both the district and rural councils- the hope here was to end the dual system of rural local government (Kurebwa 2015:98). However, this became a huge challenge as it only became effective in 1993. It is noted that the Rural District Councils Act became effective in 1993, when 45 Rural Councils were amalgamated with District Councils to form 55 Rural District Councils, which covered all communal land in Zimbabwe (Kurebwa 2015:98). This directive was important in that it played a crucial role in dismantling the racial discrimination that had been because of colonialism.

Although the new government has made efforts towards addressing the effects of colonialism the country still grappled with them. A careful reading of contemporary sources on Harare shows that the city was a regulated colonial city (Dorman 2016:25). Urban agriculture has been a huge challenge for city officials and this dates back to the colonial period as well. In addition to this, black Rhodesians had laid claim to the capital city to such an extent that the Rhodesian government's hostility and the liberation war's rhetoric of land and peasants were being challenged (Dorman 2016:25). One of the reasons that the nationalist movement waged war on the Rhodesian government was because of the land question. The urban agriculture that was occurring in Harare before 1980 was showing how the African population had found access to land albeit it under different circumstances.

The new government, under Prime Minister Mugabe, was, however, accused of focusing its development agenda at the expense of other provinces in Zimbabwe. Areas in Zimbabwe such as Matabeleland, the Zambezi Valley and Chipinge are viewed by many authors as having received less in the way of post-independence reconstruction and improved services (Dorman 2016:47). The belief in this regard was that the new government was marginalizing certain regions within Zimbabwe. Other regions such as Mugabe's home region of Zvimba was seen to be receiving excess largesse, however, despite this belief, it is noted that there was widespread poverty in both the so-called wealthier commercial farming areas of Mashonaland and the peripheral districts in Manicaland and Matabeleland (Dorman 2016:46). The

underlying belief from these facts is that the Zimbabwean government was struggling to develop most of its communities in Zimbabwe especially those in the rural areas. The irony here is that the rural areas are where the new government sought to develop because they were badly affected by the war of liberation (see Musemwa 2008:5; Sachikonye 2011:1-23).

Despite the government's attempts to redress the inequalities that they had inherited, the country still mirrored the colonial government. Dorman (2016:55) notes that despite the modernized approach used by the government local government still showed that there was a separate mode of administration for communal areas and commercial farm areas. This separate mode of administration can be attributed to the institutional challenges the post-independence government inherited from the colonial government.

When reforms were made to address this through policy, it was noted that there was still great difficulty in addressing the inequalities. When reforms were made in 1993 farmworkers, mineworkers were disenfranchised, and divisions between communal, commercial, urban and resettlement wards existed (Dorman 2016:55). This speaks to the post-colonial state of Zimbabwe's struggle to address the unequal society that it had inherited.

One of the major challenges that the government faced in urban areas was the rise in population. To address this the Zimbabwean government embarked on several clean-up projects to ensure that the capital city would not be overpopulated and this resulted in the development of many squatter camps. The first major clean-up was in 1983 and it was dubbed 'Operation Clean-up.' In this operation, police arrested over 6,000 women in urban areas on the belief that they were ridding the city of prostitutes (Dorman 2016:59). This act was viewed in a negative light. This was mainly because the women arrested included the elderly, pupils and women with babies who were carrying out their daily tasks (Dorman 2016:59). The government's clean-up process extended to other cities such as Gweru. When writing about this Dorman (2016:59) notes that:

> In Gweru and Harare, they were taken first to prisons; in Mutare, to a football stadium; and then from all over the country, they were taken to the Zambezi Valley, where some were kept for weeks. On release, they were told to go to their rural homes. A similar operation took place in 1986, dumping women in the Zambezi Valley at Mushumbi Pools – 'cleaning up' the city in preparation for the Non-Aligned Summit.

From the above, it is clear that the government of Zimbabwe had borrowed the same tactics that the colonial government used to use. For example, the arrested were informed that they had to return to their "rural homes", this was reminiscent of the colonial government where the belief was that there was no room for the natives in the urban areas. Worryingly, in the urban

areas, the riot police were always ready to quell any form of resistance that the population might show. As Dorman (2016:59) notes, "…in urban areas the availability of riot police and the visibility of informal practices on the landscape made them more vulnerable to authoritarian and intolerant state practices," the police had become a vehicle to subvert the will of the populace. This would become very common at the turn of the millennium.

The population figures in the cities at the attainment of independence affected the housing conditions in the urban areas. The citizenry was becoming very critical of government policies and the government itself was beginning to see that its policies were yielding the desired results. For example, the governed had hoped that there would be "housing for all by the 2000", however, a target they had set in 1985 was not going to be realized (Dorman 2016:76). In addition to this, in 1991 there was an estimated deficit of 70,000 dwellings in Harare and Bulawayo and the waiting list was 38,900 (Dorman 2016:76). The population increase and the operations to clean up the cities in Zimbabwe all showed that the new government was struggling to adequately fulfil its promises. The government's inability to fulfil its promises would set the stage for collusion with the populace.

Due to the effects of ESAPs and the deteriorating living conditions the period between 1996 and 2000, many protests were organized through the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). The ZANU PF government tried to weaken the trade union but it continued to be influential. In December 1997 and March 1998, effective protests against the war veterans' levy and food and fuel tax increases, in response to this the government agents attacked Morgan Tsvangirai in his offices (Dorman 2016:99). The ZCTU was growing in strength to such an extent that many would have viewed it as a political party.

Local Governance Politics in Zimbabwe: Multiparty Competition (2000-2013)

The formation of the MDC in late 1999 would change the political landscape in Zimbabwe and this harmed local government politics. The formation of the MDC gave birth to political violence, murder, assassinations, destruction of properties, politically instigated migrations both (locally and internationally) and an economic downturn which reached its peak in 2008 (Jonga 2014:79). These factors saw ZANU PF engaging in methods that would ensure that they would retain power even if it meant that the economy and the country as a whole would suffer greatly.

Since the year 2000, Zimbabwe began to face a deterioration of rule of law, which resulted in several events such as the FTLRP and Operation Murambatsvina. When writing about this,

Jonga (2014:79) notes that "The deterioration of the rule of law in Zimbabwe has influenced the deterioration of public institutions like urban councils whose duty is to provide public goods and services to communities in a democratic manner." These events link to my overall argument in this chapter that the politicization of local government has led to the failure of local government in delivering essential services such as water and refuse collection. These, in turn, led to crises such as the Cholera outbreak in 2008.

It is important to note that local government in Zimbabwe has been a relatively democratic space since the attainment of independence in 1980. Although the system that the Zimbabwean government inherited was racially skewed, it is noted that the system was decentralized and specifically devolved (Jonga 2014:79). One can, therefore, argue that the system inherited was functional. It was this belief that led to The Prime Minister's Directive which resulted in Urban Councils and Rural District being created (Jonga 2014:80). As I showed with the directives in the previous section, the aim was to address the unequal system that had been inherited. The setup of the local government system encouraged the formation of political opposition to ZANU PF. When writing about this Masunungure & Shumba (2012:127) noted that:

> The logic of this is that considerable competition is allowed in respect of the local government and legislative elections; more competition for the former than the latter. On the other hand, it appears the inner sanctum, i.e., the presidency (or State House, in the case of Zimbabwe) is a preserve where competition is highly constrained and all sorts of spanners are thrown at opposition candidates to prevent them from capturing the throne.

The above quotation speaks to the nature of Zimbabwean politics. The two authors allude to how democracy in Zimbabwe only prevails when it came to entities such as local government. However, when it came to central government ZANU PF would present barriers that the authors described as "spanners", to ensure that power was retained. It was therefore clear that the process of politicization played an important role within local government in Zimbabwe as it was pitted against the central government.

Within the Zimbabwean political landscape, the main concern of those linked to local government was the control of resources. For example, it is noted that by the year 2002 ZANU PF officials owed the City of Harare US$7.3 million in unsettled bills (Kamete 2000b:11 cited by Jonga 2014:82). ZANU PF, in this case, was viewed to be using local government as a vehicle to further its agenda. This led to poor service delivery as the City Councils in Zimbabwe were weakened. Like stated in the first section of this chapter, service delivery is highly dependent on a functioning local government.

The role of local government is to ensure that, "Basic services must be available, accessible, culturally acceptable, and affordable, of good quality and provided on a non-discriminatory basis" (Madzivanyika 2011:14 cited by Jonga 2014:82). Throughout the period between 2000 and 2008, many residents failed to receive basic services. The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) argued that in 2008 residents throughout Zimbabwe had to contend with a plethora of problems which included uncollected refuse, bursting sewers, erratic water supplies, roads filled with potholes (ZESN 2008:1 cited by Jonga 2014:82). Local government, in this case, was struggling to provide basic services as per the norm.

Other areas such as Chitungwiza just outside the capital Harare were also showing local government's failure to carry out its mandate on service delivery. The state-owned Herald, on the 22nd of November 2005, reported that officials from the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development revealed that 15 trucks, and 11 tractors plus several services were grounded (Herald: 2005 cited by Jonga 2014:83). These revelations showed the state of local government in Zimbabwe where the grounding of these vehicles had debilitating effects on the communities in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it was also reported that the failure to collect garbage had become a health hazard that had been further compounded on by burst sewer pipes and water shortages (Herald: 2005 cited by Jonga 2014:83). The state of affairs in these councils spoke to the nature of local government in Zimbabwean cities where mismanagement was at the heart of the affairs.

The failures of the urban councils are summed up below were between 1993 and 2008 there was an upsurge of cholera outbreaks in Zimbabwe.

Year	Number of Cases	Fatalities
1993	5,385	381
1998	1,000	44
1999	5,637	385
2002	3,125	192
2008	92,000	4,000

Cholera Outbreaks in Zimbabwe **Source: Jonga (2014:83)**

The table shows how cholera had been affecting the Zimbabwean population since 1993, reaching its peak in 2008. Several issues resulted in the outbreak in 2008. A first being that the economy in 2008 was at a standstill, the second being that the country had reached a political impasse over the contested election in 2008 and thirdly, the 2008 outbreak were all events that had been because of central government's interference within local government. It is important to note that from the year 2000, the MDC was gaining considerable support in the urban areas and ZANU PF viewed this as a threat to its stranglehold on power. In 2005, the Minister of Local Government, Dr Ignatius Chombo, issued a directive, which revoked water management functions from UCs and transferred its management to a state-created entity ZINWA (Madzivanyika 2011:33 cited by Jonga 2014:84). This starved the opposition ran city councils of much-needed revenue as the state-owned ZINWA had taken over the day to day running of water provision in Zimbabwe. This had huge ramifications for water management as there was no revenue coming to the UCs coffers as central government had directed it towards its company, ZINWA. This resulted in a number of challenges for the provision of water and the maintenance of water infrastructure. Under Chombo, local government became entrenched in the "central government vs local government" dynamic as I will show throughout this dissertation.

The Ministry of Local Government continued to be used as a vehicle to further the interests of the ruling ZANU PF. In many cities where the opposition was running city councils central government, through the relevant ministry moved to dissolve the councils that had been democratically elected. The ZANU PF led government dissolved many councils in Harare, Mutare, Chegutu and Kariba and these were replaced by Commissions (ZESN 2008:2 cited by Jonga 2014:85). These areas had seen domination by the MDC and ZANU PF used the relevant minister to cripple the efforts the MDC wanted to make in local government. The Minister of Local Government in Zimbabwe held power within the Zimbabwean government. For instance, concerning making by-laws, the Minister was granted the power to approve laws that were made by councils (Marumahoko 2010:47).

Again, this would see a clear conflict between central government and local government. If the city council that was led by the MDC the Minister of Local Government could easily block it. Jonga (2014:85) sums it up perfectly when he states that, "The Minister has been given excessive control powers over the activities of local governments." The role of the Minister has proven to be a contributor to the major contestations that have occurred between ZANU

PF and MDC. The power that the Minister yields also extends to the revenue that city councils use.

With the Zimbabwean case, councils do not have permission to change laws that influence revenue generation (taxes) without the approval of the Minister of Local Government (Jonga 2014:85). It is further noted that "UCs can only raise, for example, property taxes, surcharges or borrow within limits set by the minister" (Madzivanyika 2011:35 cited by Jonga 2014:85). The central government in this regard was always in constant conflict with the MDC, which was running the local government.

One of the other major challenges that were faced within Zimbabwe's Local Government was the constant changes to the mayoral systems. It is argued that between 1980 and 1995 municipalities and cities in Zimbabwe used the ceremonial system (Zimunya 2004:2 cited by Jonga 2014:86). When this system is described, it is clear that the position of mayor was not necessarily powerful as seen the Minister of Local Government. The ceremonial system was eventually changed to an executive mayoral system. The change was because the central government had adjudged the decision-making process within the ceremonial mayoral system to be weak and ineffective (Jonga 2014:87). Furthermore, the absence of a politically astute individual who would direct affairs in urban councils also contributed to the change in mayoral systems.

However, the politicization of the process did not resolve the challenge that local government in Zimbabwe. Again, the role of the Local Government Minister came to the fore. The minister issued three serious directives that harmed both councils and mayors. The directives were as follows:

1. Council was instructed to refer to the Minister all council resolutions that related to human resources and finances
2. Mayors were banned from attending Cabinet Action Committee meetings (Jonga 2014:87).

These directives ensured the central government had a stranglehold on the affairs in Zimbabwe's local government. This further showed that the efforts towards decentralization were being usurped by central government. It also further confirms that decentralization effectively meant the loss of power and elites stepped in with the aim of protecting their interests. When further elaborating on this Jonga (2014:87) notes that these directives were aimed at clipping the wings of the new city administrations, which the central government

viewed as being driven to outperform previous ZANU PF led administrations. In most cases, there were clear clashes between the MDC and ZANU PF in local government. The poor state of democracy within Zimbabwe could be viewed as one of the contributors to the politicization of local government within the Zimbabwean context.

Authors such as Makumbe (2009:26) goes as far as saying that authoritarianism is visible in Zimbabwe. This has manifested itself in various ways as we have seen with the contestations between the MDC and ZANU PF. Jonga (2014:89) states that within the Zimbabwean context there is limited public participation in decision-making, lack of transparency and the interventions of the Local Government Minister is an example of how the power dynamics within the Zimbabwean political landscape function. The continual involvement of central government within the local government in Zimbabwe shows the challenge of democracy that the country faces.

One of the key struggles within the Zimbabwean local government in Zimbabwe has been the power that has been yielded by ZANU PF. Zimbabwe's local government can be viewed as being weak because it is heavily dependent on central government. Local government conditions in Zimbabwe are such that central government is viewed as having a considerable amount of power (Chatiza 2010:12 cited by Jonga 2014:91). This was compounded on further by the fact that ZANU PF saw the domination of the MDC in the urban councils as being a threat to its stranglehold on Zimbabwean politics.

Local Governance Post 2013 Constitution

The 2013 constitution was an important juncture in Zimbabwe's history because for the first time since the attainment of independence local government was included. Chapter 14 of the Zimbabwean constitution refers to a devolved system of governance. Mapuva (2014:14) notes that this was a paradigm shift from previous local government systems, which saw vague if not little constitutional recognition. As I have argued concerning local government in Africa, devolution has been followed by many African countries including Zimbabwe. In a devolved system, it is expected that certain aspects of political, administrative and fiscal management powers will be transferred and distributed between the central government and the "constitutionally-established Provincial/Metropolitan and Local Authority tiers of Zimbabwe" (Mapuva 2014:14). It is clear that the constitutional recognition of the local government was important in addressing the challenges that the sector had faced especially at the turn of the millennium.

To further elaborate on this point, Chigwata (2018:97) notes that in the Lancaster House constitution, the principles of decentralization were void of substance and did not seem to signal any intent towards decentralization of 'real' powers to lower governments. Chapter 14 of the constitution is important because it sheds light on the role of local government explicitly. The constitution of Zimbabwe that was introduced in 2013 saw the inclusion of a multi-level system of government. When writing about this, Chigwata (2018:100) notes that Zimbabwe is a unitary form of government that has authority vested at three levels – national, provincials and local. This is made clear in Section 5 of the Zimbabwean constitution. More importantly, as I have stated, the 2013 constitution is important because it acknowledges the role of local government, which the old Lancaster House constitution did not recognize.

At the national government level, the power is distributed through the separation of powers, which refers to the executive, judicial and parliamentary arms of government (Chigwata 2018:100). This separation of powers is meant to ensure that local government functions accordingly. However, in this regard, it is evident the Minister of Local Government is still viewed as yielding considerable powers. It is noted that the minister administers the legislative policy framework that governs activities of provinces and local authorities (Chigwata 2018:101). In addition to this, this same author states that the minster has the power to approve or refuse to approve specific actions or projects, approve the borrowing powers, and intervene at subnational levels (Chigwata 2018:101). It is clear again that the minister continues to yield a considerable amount of power.

The second tier of local government is the provincial government. This tier of local government, as stated by the constitution requires that the provinces of Zimbabwe be administered by Provincial and Metropolitan Councils (Chigwata 2018:103). This, again, reveals how there is an attempt to ensure that local government's duties are successfully carried out. However, as I have argued in this section the role of central government continues to be seen. ZANU PF has been seen as being reluctant to make the appointments that would fulfil the requirement as stated by the Zimbabwean constitution. Rather than making the appointments as required by the constitution, ZANU PF, under the auspice of former President Mugabe, appointed Ministers of State responsible for Zimbabwe's 10 provinces (Chigwata 2018:103). ZANU PF in this regard was seen to be usurping the constitution as it was making an appointment that would suit its political agendas. Because the appointed ministers were ZANU PF members, it was clear that yet again, central government was interfering with local government affairs. The ministers appointed essentially substituted provincial and

metropolitan councils as required by the constitution (Chigwata 2018:104). This again speaks to how central government continually acted in its interests.

The lowest tier of government is made up of urban and rural local authorities. The local authorities together administer almost all of Zimbabwe's 390 757 square kilometres (Chigwata 2018:104). The rural local authorities are in charge of the rural areas and administer the affairs of rural regions. Rural local authorities are also inclusive of chiefs, headsmen and village heads[8]. To fully understand table 2 expounds on how the urban councils function:

Categories of Urban local Authorities

City Councils	Municipal Councils	Town Councils	Local Boards	Total
Harare	Chinhoyi	Chiredzi	Epworth	
Bulawayo	Chitungwiza	Chipinge	Hwange	
Gweru	Chegutu	Gokwe	Chirundu	
Kadoma	Bindura	Mvurwi	Ruwa	
Kwekwe	Gwanda	Norton		
Mutare	Kariba	Karoi		
Masvingo	Marondera	Lupane		
	Redcliff	Rusape		
	Victoria Falls	Shurugwi		
	Beitbridge	Plum Tree		
		Zvishavane		
7	10	11	4	32

Table 5.1 Source: Chigwata (2018:106)

[8] See Chapter 15 of the Constitution

The functioning of the UCs has been, however, negatively affected by the dire state of the Zimbabwean economy. Chigwata (2018:106) notes that the challenges concerning service delivery are because of the economy's poor performance and the taxes availed to the UCs tend to have weak resources-raising potential. This lack of financial support for local government contributes greatly to the challenges that have failed to challenges including service delivery.

One of the key arguments I have made in this chapter is that the politicization of local government has harmed the role it is supposed to play. Devolution remains one of the aspects of local government that has been highly politicized. Again, devolution has been mentioned in Section 264 of the Zimbabwean constitution, which leads one to believe that it is of utmost importance. The belief is that through devolution, provinces will now be able to make their own developmental decisions in line with dictates of the resource-based theory (Mapuva 2015:183). According to Mapuva, devolution is linked to local communities having a say in how their communities are run. Devolution in this regard is linked to a regional form of development where regions do not rely on central government to assist in development projects. Within the Zimbabwean case, devolution is important because it is a movement away from previous policies, which centralized power, at least in theory.

Section 264 of the Zimbabwean Constitution states the following[9]:

Devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities

(1) Whenever appropriate, governmental powers and responsibilities must be devolved to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities which are competent to carry out those responsibilities efficiently and effectively.

(2) The objectives of the devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities are—

(a) to give powers of local governance to the people and enhance their participation in the exercise of the powers of the State and in making decisions affecting them;

(b) to promote democratic, effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government in Zimbabwe as a whole;

(c) to preserve and foster the peace, national unity and indivisibility of Zimbabwe;

(d) to recognise the right of communities to manage their own affairs and to further their development;

(e) to ensure the equitable sharing of local and national resources; and

[9] See Section 264 of the Zimbabwean Constitution

(f) to transfer responsibilities and resources from the national government in order to establish a sound financial base for each provincial and metropolitan council and local authority.

As shown by the extract from the constitution it is clear that devolution of power is important within local government in Zimbabwe. Authors such as Mapuva (2015:183) and Moyo & Ncube (2014:292) argue that the process of devolution should allow communities to make their own developmental decisions. Yet again, it is evident that devolution empowers communities. It is also evident that devolution limits the reliance on central government. Within the Zimbabwean context, it is evident that devolution would remove powers from the Minister of Local Government who in many cases had used their position to politically frustrate the opposition who were running local government (Mapuva 2015:183). It is important to note that the centralization of power that had been as a result of ZANU PF's rule in Zimbabwe led to the inclusion of devolution within the 2013 constitution. Centralization of power remains a challenge because if decision-making powers are vested in central government then local authorities have no or very little power to make independent decisions (Mapuva 2015:184). With centralization, the decisions would be made by one entity, which in the Zimbabwean case would be ZANU PF. This decision would influence communities in the whole country thus limiting the needs of communities.

Centralisation of power sees communities being side lined mainly because in most cases the central government would not be fully aware of the challenges that communities face. Devolution then serves as an important tool in this regard, as it transfers power to the local communities. With devolution, local authorities have the mandate to make decisions without seeking approval from central government (Mapuva 2015:184). To further shed light on this, Mapuva (2015:185) notes that, "A devolved state exists within a unitary system where political and administrative power is shared between a national government and lower-level spheres of the state…" Section 264 of the Zimbabwean constitution has also opened up political debate. According to Mapuva (2015:186), the interpretation of devolution has caused a lot of controversies especially in the Matabeleland region where the Mthwakazi have used devolution as a vehicle to demand secession. Secessionism is prohibited in the new constitution and this speaks to the volatile political scene within Zimbabwe's regions.

In addition to secessionism, devolution in Zimbabwe has presented other challenges as well. Although the constitution mentions devolution it does not provide conditions necessary for it to take place and the constitution does not provide a timeline on the process of devolution

(Mapuva 2015:190). This again speaks to the main argument of this chapter, which focuses on the politicization of local government. It is made clear that with devolution in the sense that, the provision is found within the constitution, but it is vague in terms of implementation. Furthermore, the clause for devolution states it would occur 'whenever appropriate.' This is a major cause for many as it leads some to believe that central government has the mandate to decide how or when to implement it (Mapuva 2015:190). The role of central government shows the political uncertainty that surrounds local government in Zimbabwe.

The 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution propagates for participatory democracy and this is concerning communities and how they govern their regions. Within the Zimbabwean context, it is evident that ZANU PF would not want to cede too much power to local communities. Mapuva (2015:190) is blunt in this and he believes that "…there may rise situations when central government may deem it inappropriate to devolve power and responsibilities, thereby making a mockery of participatory democracy as enshrined under this section of the constitution." It is again clear that central government continues to play a role in influencing how local government functions in Zimbabwe. As I have repeatedly stated, in Zimbabwe's previous constitutions there was never a provision for local government and its functions. This would mean that democracy concerning local government was lacking. In Section 264,[10] one of the provisions states that:

> to promote democratic, effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government of Zimbabwe as a whole

This speaks to the nature that had surrounded local government in the past. Such clauses, like the one stated above, speaks to rectifying the inefficiencies that had plagued local government in Zimbabwe. Transparency and accountability have always been absent in local governance over the years, mainly because of the role that has been played by the minister responsible for local government (Mapuva 2015:190). In this regard, the 2013 Constitution can be seen as a vehicle to rectify local government.

One of the key fundamentals that are evident from the new constitution is the notion that people should be able to drive the developmental processes in their regions or local communities. International organizations such as the WB have always been vocal about the role that people have had to play. The WB states that citizen participation "ensures that majority needs are heard" and "helps increase the voice of poor people in local affairs" (WB Report cited by Moyo

[10] See Section 264 of the Zimbabwean Constitution

& Ncube 2014:293). The inclusion of the citizenry is of paramount importance, especially about local government.

The 2013 Zimbabwean constitution is important in this regard as it gives the citizens the platform to be actively involved in the decision-making process within the communities. The local voice has been considered the hallmark of good governance and is seen as one of the drivers of locally relevant service delivery and local development (Moyo & Ncube 2014:293). This is important especially for countries like Zimbabwe that are politically polarized. The inclusion of the citizens goes a long way in addressing political as well as developmental challenges. In addition to this, "participation can be used as an 'incorporation strategy' where local populations are encouraged to participate in political structures that have no real control over developmental resources" (Balogun 2000:154 cited by Moyo & Ncube 2014:293). The essence in this regard is that a devolved system provides local citizens with the chance to have a say in the governing of their local communities, which in most cases is not possible in a more centralized form of government.

Zimbabwean politicians for several reasons have advocated for a devolved system. The two main debates that arise are the marginalization of particular regions and the use of natural resources. For example, many authors argue that the Matabeleland region has been marginalized greatly since the attainment of independence in 1980. Chirisa, Muzenda & Manyeruke (2013:91) argue that in Matabeleland, the region is marginalized and underdeveloped; furthermore, they note that the region has continued to face internal colonization. In a scenario such as this one, devolution will allow Matabeleland to take charge of development mandate so to undo the marginalization the region has faced for many years.

The second debate, as I have stated, is closely linked to the use of natural resources within a region. One of the key issues can be derived from the discovery of diamonds in Marange in the Manicaland region. This region has become a source of revenue for Zimbabwe; however, the communities where this discovery was made did not receive any proceeds (Chirisa, Muzenda & Manyeruke 2013:91). Devolution in this regard would again bring structure in that communities would be consulted as to how the discovery of resources would benefit their communities. It is noted that "The discovery of the precious mineral, which has the potential to contribute more than half of the country's GDP, has had the effect of entrenching centralized approaches to harnessing the revenues" (Chirisa, Muzenda & Manyeruke 2013:91). A devolved system will allow these communities to pursue development projects.

Conclusion

This chapter showed that local government is an important institution within any country. Examples were drawn from various African countries which showed that the power dynamics within a country have a profound influence on the role that local government plays. One of the key debates within this chapter was that of decentralization. Although I did not argue for or against it, I tried to unpack the power dynamics which play out within local government.

Various examples were drawn from countries such as Uganda and Kenya. These examples showed that the decentralization of power remains a huge challenge within many African countries including Zimbabwe. For example, rather than being a vehicle of empowering the citizenry, the decentralization of power has been seen as a vehicle for politicians to gain access to rents especially in resource-rich areas as seen with Kenya. Whilst with Uganda it was evident that central government still has control over the processes of decentralization thus only making it only effective in theory rather than in practice.

Within the Zimbabwe case, it is evident to note that ZANU PF, especially from 1999 when the MDC was formed, has been reluctant to go ahead with the process of decentralization. Even though the 2013 constitution adopted by Zimbabwe is clear in Section 264 that the decentralization of power is to be carried out in the country. There is still yet to progress even though this constituted was passed almost 7 years ago. This speaks to the broader debates surrounding governance in Zimbabwe whereby although there are provisions on paper the implementation is often lacking. In this regard, it has been made clear that the devolution of power has been highly politicized and this stems from the power dynamics within Zimbabwe.

Although this chapter did not directly speak to the governance of water it has outlined the institutional challenges that surround the governance of it. This discussion is important because local government is intrinsically linked to service delivery which looks includes the provision of water. The political background, which dates back to the colonial period, reveals how the post-independence government used local government as vehicle to protect its interests. Further to this, the element of path dependence has been revealed to show how local government as an institution was shaped by its colonial history. Path dependence becomes clear as the newly independent Zimbabwean government inherited a local government that the previous regime had used to its advantage.

The next chapter puts this chapter into context by analysing how local government became crippled as was seen through the 2008 Cholera outbreak.

Chapter 6

Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) and the 2008 Cholera Outbreak

Introduction

Zimbabwe's economic crisis reached a point of no return in 2008, summed up aptly by the cholera outbreak that the country experienced that year thousands of citizens who resided in the so-called "high-density" suburbs lost their lives. In this chapter, I analyse the importance of issues pertaining to the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) sector in Zimbabwe. The argument that this chapter makes is that Zimbabwe's economy as well as the poor levels of sanitation in Zimbabwe made the environment ripe for a cholera outbreak. The argument is that the practices of ZANU PF as a political party also contributed to the outbreak. This chapter outlines how the Zimbabwean institutions, especially in 2008 had all but collapsed thus making the cholera outbreak an inevitability. This brings context to chapter 5 which outlined the nature of local government in Zimbabwe.

Firstly, I discuss WASH with the aim of giving an overview of the sector and how it relates to water governance. In this discussion, I shed light on sanitation using records that have been collated by UN organizations. One of the methods used to measure levels of sanitation in a country is the Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene (JMP). This an important starting point as it will show where countries rank in relation to sanitation. Secondly, I will proceed to discuss the importance of sanitation and how it relates to waterborne diseases breaking out with a special focus on cholera. In this section I draw from interviews which were conducted with sanitation experts as a continuation of the previous section. Thirdly, there will be a discussion on the 2008 cholera outbreak. This section will shed light on the economic conditions as well as the political conditions that resulted in the cholera outbreak.

Overview of WASH

WASH is an important aspect of water governance and this has been greatly articulated by organizations such as the UN. According to the UN (2018:43), "A safely managed sanitation system is essential for protecting and improving the health of individuals, communities and the environment." Sanitation is important in this regard, because its mismanagement can lead to

potential health related challenges to a community. An example used by the UN states that leaking latrines and untreated faecal sludge are harmful to both the environment and humans (UN 2018:43). Ensuring that communities have clean water to drink is an important element of WASH and this helps in addressing and avoiding the outbreak of diseases like cholera, which are associated with contaminated water streams.

As I showed previously, SDG 6 focuses mainly on Clean Water and Sanitation. The message by the UN states that the aim is to achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene, end open defecation and also pay close attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations (UN 2018:43). It is important to note that those affected by WASH related challenges are the poorer sects within society. In most cases these people do not have secure access to potable running water. Whilst under normal circumstances water is readily available in households, poorer communities often have to travel long distances to fetch water for household purposes. In many cases children and women bear the brunt of water challenges, as they are the ones who in most cases travel long distances in search of water.

The belief is that if water resources are moved closer to households this will ease the burden on women, children and disadvantaged groups. The UN (2018:43) states that bringing drinking water closer to home will benefit women and children as it will give them time to pursue other activities such as education and work. This has made the debate surrounding WASH even more pertinent as it links closely to gender related issues. In order to monitor WASH globally the UN, through its partnering organizations WHO and UNICEF, introduced the Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene (JMP) ladders which show where countries stand statistically in relation to drinking water, sanitation and hygiene. According to the JMP website the terms have been defined as follows[11]:

- **Drinking water** services refers to the accessibility, availability and quality of the main sources used in people's households for drinking, cooking, personal hygiene and various domestic uses
- **Sanitation services** are linked to the management of excreta from facilities that are used by individuals through emptying and transportation of excreta for treatment with the aim of reuse

[11] https://washdata.org/monitoring

- **Hygiene** is associated with the conditions and practices that help maintain health and prevent spread of disease including handwashing, menstrual hygiene management and food hygiene.

The JMP is important in that it monitors and sheds light on the inequalities that relate to WASH, the role of schools and the role of health care facilities. Fig 6.1 gives an example of an overview of sanitation from a global perspective

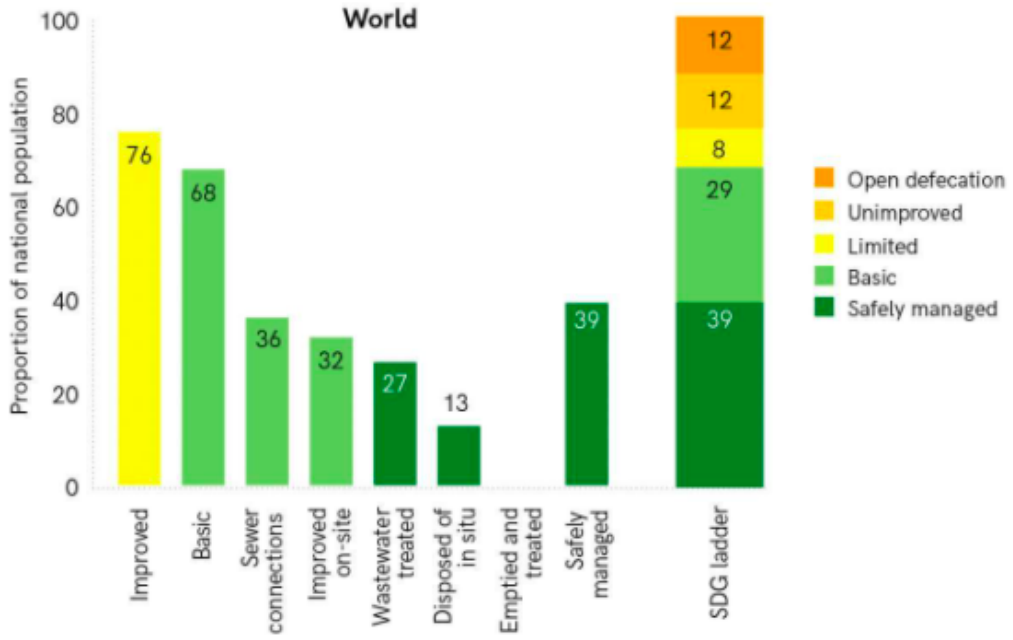


Fig 6.1 **Source:** https://washdata.org/monitoring/sanitation

As shown at the beginning of this section, one of the key elements of understanding WASH is linked to SDG 6. The JMP service ladders which have been provided for sanitation are used to benchmark and compare service levels across countries (JMP:2019). This comparison is important because it shows where the global community stands in relation to sanitation. When defining improved sanitation facilities JMP (2019) notes that these facilities are designed to hygienically separate excreta from human contact. This is an important element of understanding sanitation because humans should not have to come in contact with excreta. This remains a huge challenge within countries like my case study of Zimbabwe where cholera outbreaks have been as a result of the failure to deal with poor sewerage systems that result in humans coming in contact with excreta. Moreover, JMP states that there are three ways in which a sanitation service can be deemed to be safely managed. According to JMP (2019)

people should make use of sanitation facilities which are not shared with other households. In addition to this, excreta should be:

- treated and disposed in situ,
- stored temporarily and then emptied and transported to treatment off-site, or
- transported through sewer with wastewater and then treated off-site (JMP:2019).

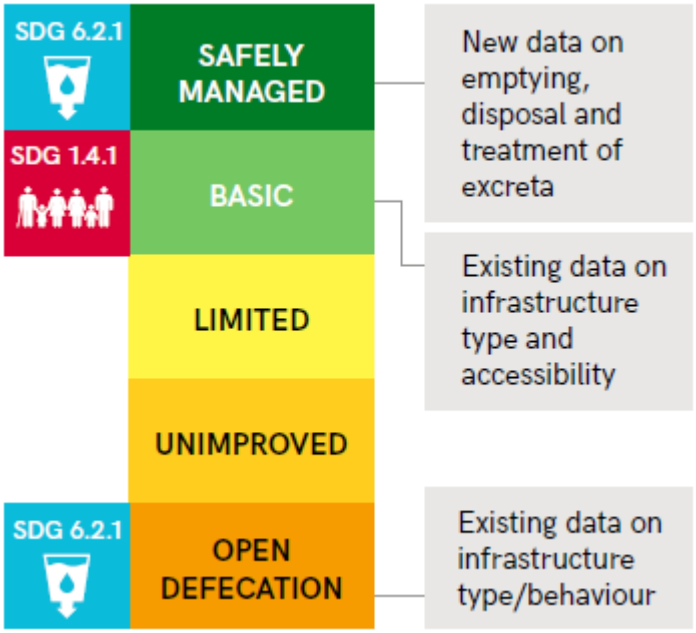


Fig 6.2 **Source:** https://washmatters.wateraid.org/blog/incentives-accountability-and-indicators-assessing-sanitation-progress-through-a-total-service

The ladder in mention articulates the classifications in relation to the disposal of excreta. The ladder mentions the following (JMP: 2019):

- **Safely Managed** – This speaks to an efficient system that sees facilities not being shared with other households and where excreta are safely disposed in situ or transported elsewhere to be treated
- **Basic** – This sees the use of improved facilities which are not shared by other households
- **Limited** – In this instance there is a sharing of facilities between two or more households
- **Unimproved** – Pit latrines are without a slab or platform or bucket latrines are used
- **Open defecation** – Open defecations sees the disposal of human faeces in fields, forests, bushes and open bodies of water.

This data is important because it provides an efficient method through which WASH can be monitored. The JMP (2019) website states that it [JMP] is mainly responsible for official reporting on global SDG indicators related to drinking water, sanitation and hygiene. This overview is extremely important as it allows countries to see where they stand within the global system.

Various countries have taken the initiative in terms of ensuring that sanitation levels are at an acceptable level. Within the South African context, the South African Water Services Act of 1997 states that local authorities that do not have the means to provide a high level of sanitation are allowed to pursue alternative options which will enable citizens to have a high level of sanitation (Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett 2004:16). In this instance it is evident that the South African government has put in place measures that give local governments the necessary powers to provide an essential service. The main area for concern in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe is that there have been very few measures in place to assist illegal informal settlements (Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett 2004:16). This has left the role to be taken up by Nongovernmental Organisations (NGOs) who have filled this gap.

Water supply remains one of the biggest challenges concerning the provision of adequate sanitation for citizens. In many African cities the poorer urban communities use water for different purposes and these might differ from the traditional uses of water. Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett (2004:19) note that in most cases tap water is used for drinking and cooking whilst water from wells and rivers used for washing. It is also important to note that the distance travelled to obtain water remains an important element towards addressing inequalities that are associated with water. In most cases the tap with the safest form of water is situated further from households (Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett 2004:19). This also speaks to a point made earlier which looks at how women and children bear the brunt of searching for water as in most cases they are the ones who travel to fetch water for daily chores.

Another key element when analysing sanitation is the contamination of water sources which in most cases is linked to open defecation. One of the key challenges within African communities is ensuring that there is a safe excreta disposal facility. A safe disposal of excreta ensures that water streams and sources are not contaminated. In a study that was conducted in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe disposal of excreta was at the heart of sanitation challenges. Solid Waste Management (SWM) according to, Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett (2004:24), is given low priority. Countries such as India have seen over 60% of local government budgets spent on

SWM. This goes to show the importance of a successful SWM in addressing sanitation related challenges.

SWM and the JMP ladders show that the governance of water has different facets. These facets are important when understanding sanitation and there is a clear link between sanitation and the sustainability of water. When looking at WASH, examples such as the Rural Water Supply Network have developed tools that look at the potential role of technology (Olschewski & Casey 2012 cited by Mehta & Movik 2015:39). National governments have a key role to play and this is clear from the WB's hosting of the WASH Sustainability Forum in 2013. The focus of this event was on the role of collaborations between international organizations and national governments to address the challenges in relation to water (Mehta & Movik 2015:39). The government continues to play an important role and in most cases the government's role is important in ensuring that the policies in place bring forth solutions to communities who might be in urgent need of assistance.

As I showed with water, there is also a global monitoring system for basic drinking water that looks at how countries are faring in relation to the provision of water. The 2030 vision for WASH is linked to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17, which looks at "addressing social, economic and environmental aspects of development, and seeks to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all" (WHO: 2017). This can be directly linked to the provision of water which in many cases is linked to poverty and other global challenges. As stated previously, the role of respective governments is important in ensuring that the aspirational goals set by the UN are met and citizens have access to basics such as clean water and sanitation (WHO:2017). The WHO in Fig 6.3 show how countries rank in terms of the population with basic drinking water services.

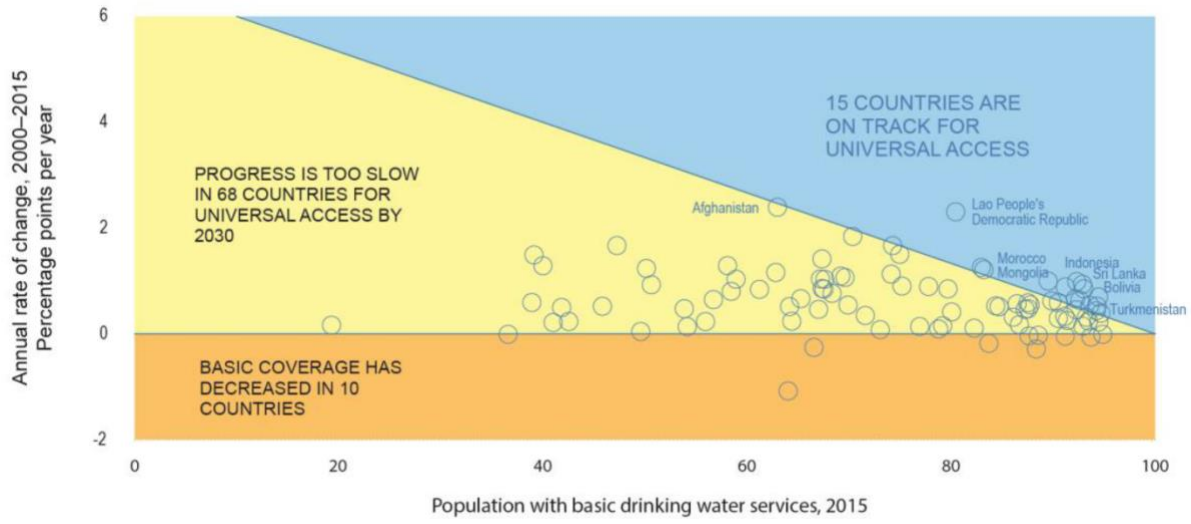


Fig 6.3 Source: "Progress on Drinking Water, Sanitation and Hygiene 2017"

In the report, *"Progress on Drinking Water, Sanitation and Hygiene 2017,"* the WHO sheds light on the countries that are on track of achieving universal access to water by 2030. The graph in fig 6.3 shows that between 2000 and 2015, the proportion of the population that had access to basic drinking water services increased by an average of 0.49 per year (WHO 2017:11). It is also clear that most of the increase was significantly faster in Eastern Asia and South-eastern Asia. The graph also speaks to the different levels of economies and how that plays a role in achieving universal basic drinking water services. Countries such as Australia and New Zealand as Europe seem to be on track towards achieving the goal (WHO 2017:11). More economically developed countries in most cases are in better positions to meet the requirements towards achieving universal basic drinking water. In addition to this, (and I will elaborate on this in the next section) it is clear that countries that experience cholera outbreaks are usually those that are not as economically powerful as Australia.

The main concern from the graph remains the plight of women and the poorer countries. For example, 844 million people who still lacked basic drinking water in 2015 made use of improved sources of water that exceeded 30 minutes from their households (WHO 2017:11). This would be a limited service according to the JMP ladder. In relation to gender, it was noted that women and girls are responsible for water collection in 8 out 10 of households with water off premises (WHO 2017:11). Yet again, it is evident that the burden of water collection affects women; this is the result in many lowly economically developed countries.

In relation to sanitation, which differs slightly from basic drinking water services, the WHO has also released information pertaining to basic sanitation services globally. Fig 6.4 and Fig 6.5 show the proportion of the global population that has basic or limited sanitation services and the national population with basic sanitation services. Like in the previous section, which looked at basic water, services the graphs on sanitation show that the situation in third world countries is dire.

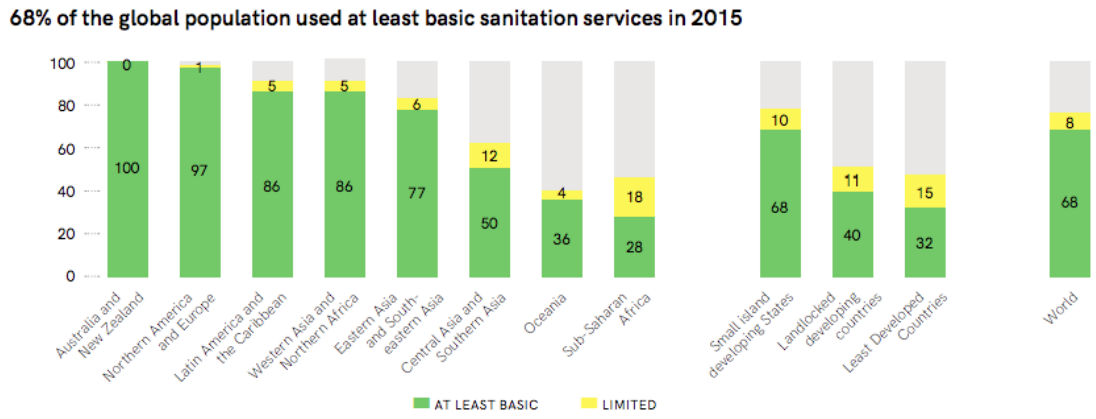


Fig 6.4

Although the situation is dire in third world the overall picture shows that great strides have been made in relation to sanitation. Globally, the use of basic sanitation has increased more rapidly than the basic drinking water services (at an average of 0.63 percentage points per year between 2000 and 2015) (WHO 2017:14). As shown in Fig 6.4, the SDG regions face a formidable challenge in meeting sanitation goals. According to the WHO (2017:14), "…no SDG region is on track to achieve basic sanitation by 2030." As stated in relation to water, Australia and New Zealand are the only two countries that have a chance of meeting its sanitation goals.

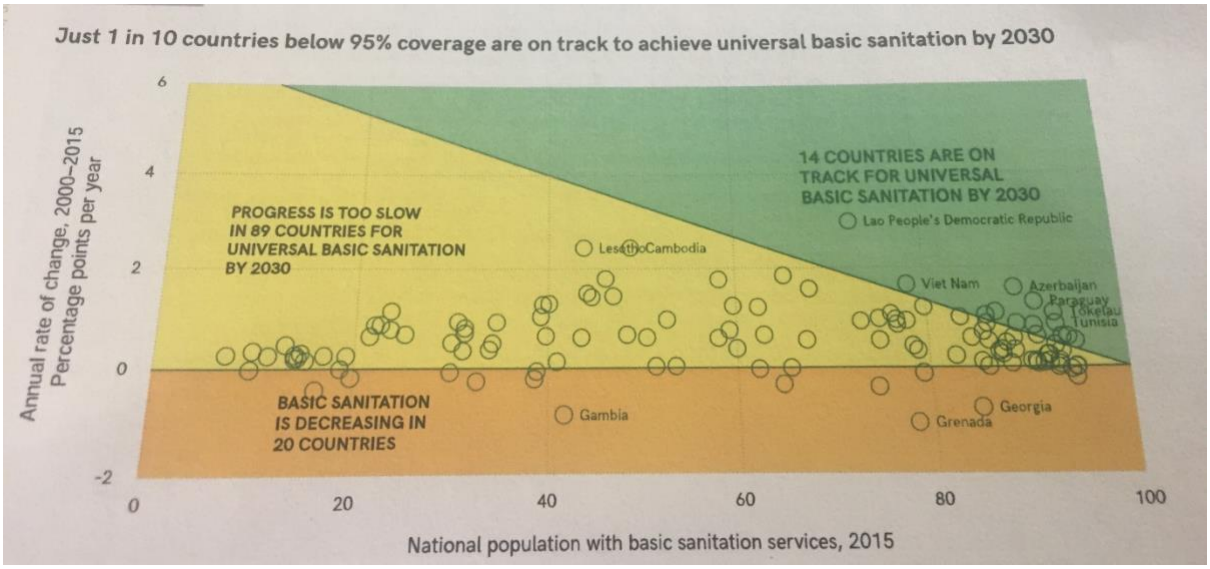


Fig 6.5

The National population with basic sanitation services (Fig 6.5) shows where countries stand in relation to basic sanitation. 9 out of 10 countries where more than 5 percent of the population lacked basic sanitation in 2015 were seen to be moving too slowly towards the goal of achieving universal basic sanitation (WHO 2017:14). This proves and shows the difficulty that is faced globally with sanitation. As I mentioned, open defecation remains one of major contributors to the contamination of water sources in many African countries.

Sanitation in Relation to Waterborne Diseases – The Case of Cholera

From the previous section it is clear that there have been great strides towards ensuring that sanitation related challenges are addressed. Cholera remains one of the major diseases that has been caused by poor sanitation in communities. According to Mulenga, Manase & Manase (2004:27), diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria, hookworms and bilharzia are as a result of poor sanitation. For example in 2004, diarrhoea had caused 43,000 deaths and 3 million illnesses in South Africa (Mulenga, Manase & Manase 2004:27). Not only does this show the importance of sanitation but it also shows how a failure to provide safe sanitation can have huge ramifications for the lives of citizens.

One of the key elements in curbing diseases can be linked to the state of healthcare facilities. For example, in poor urban areas within some African countries, citizens who reside in informal settlements are subjected to discriminatory treatment. This sees them finding alternatives to healthcare facilities that many others have access to. When writing about this it is noted that some citizens in Zimbabwean townships rarely sought treatment since they were

charged twice as much as other residents (Mulenga, Manase & Manase 2004:27). The vast majority that are faced by these sanitation challenges are the poorer sects in society who in most cases do not have access to health facilities as this example from Zimbabwe has shown. This discrimination in many cases be linked back to the colonial period where the government focused on the urban areas at the expense of other areas. This would continue under the post-colonial government thus linking to my overall debate.

One of the organizations that is at the forefront of addressing sanitation in South Africa is the National Institute for Communicable Diseases which is based in Johannesburg. According to Blumberg (2019) one of the key elements of addressing sanitation challenges is by focusing on affected communities. This is important as outbreaks of water related diseases usually affect communities that in most cases do not have the means to deal with such outbreaks. In this regard, engaging the community is an important vehicle for educating communities on the importance of clean sources of water and more importantly, fight waterborne diseases. This links to challenges that Zimbabwe faced with a shortage of water which inevitably led to the cholera outbreak. The outbreak symbolizes the state of governance within Zimbabwe that resulted in an event that could have easily been avoided.

So for instance with a cholera outbreak, governments have crucial role to play with the spread of the disease. Blumberg (2019) notes that "…cholera is [a] bacteria, it's mainly water borne and its transmitted to people through contaminated water and that water will be contaminated by a human faecal source…" In this essence it is important to note that human activity has an important role to play in curbing the disease. The contamination of water is also linked to a point made in the previous section where open defecation is seen as one of the methods that sees water sources being contaminated. The time that governments take in reacting to a potential outbreak is important in ensuring that the disease does not spread in a particular region. It is, therefore, important to identify the first patient early, look at where they might have been infected and more importantly investigate the number of people with access to that particular water source (Blumberg 2019). Response to a potential outbreak is, therefore, important as this could be crucial in stopping the disease from spreading.

As I will show in the next section, in most cases cholera outbreaks affect the poorer societies within countries. However, the role of the government again comes to the fore as governments are meant to provide clean and safe drinking water to citizens. In most cases when a cholera outbreak occurs the government would have failed in this regard and it is important that

governments provide safe water. This means that people should have access to adequate amounts of water that come out of their taps that is properly chlorinated (Blumberg 2019). When people do not have access to safe drinking water they are then forced to access water in rivers where chances of obtaining diseases are extremely high.

After Cyclone Idai affected Mozambique in early 2019 measures were put in place to ensure that waterborne diseases did not affect communities that had been affected by the disaster. International organizations such as the WHO were instrumental in ensuring that cholera did not compound on the effects of Cyclone Idai. Blumberg (2019) notes that the vaccine for cholera is consumed orally and it has been found to be very effective in preventing the spread of cholera. It is again evident that the role of the government becomes important in how it reacts to a potential cholera outbreak. This drug was crucial in ensuring that cholera did not spread in Mozambique after the Cyclone Idai had destroyed infrastructure. The Mozambique case serves as a good example in terms of response because the country ensured that the drug was readily available and the government ensured that teams were mobilized to issue out the drug (Blumberg: 2019). This reaffirms the importance of a speedy response to a potential outbreak.

Cholera has been often defined as a poverty disease mainly because of the fact that there is a lack of social development in the areas in which it occurs (Kariuki: 2017). This again speaks closely to how it is important to ensure that communities have the necessary understanding required in containing the disease. Many other experts believe that one of the conditions that make for a breeding ground for the disease are the inadequate access to clean water, poor facilities for camps accommodating internally displaced persons or refugees and other humanitarian crises such as flooding and earthquakes (Kariuki: 2017). As I have reiterated in this section, it is important that governments, through the relevant ministries, provide the citizenry with the necessary infrastructure to have access to clean running water. These services should also be made available to informal settlements. The provision of communal toilets, water vending points and improved sewer disposal systems have yielded positive results in Kenya and Ghana (Kariuki: 2017). Although these are great strides it has been noted that it is important general public health facilities need to be provided for the vulnerable sects within society.

The Institution of Sanitation and Water Development based in Harare, Zimbabwe plays an important in assisting communities in addressing sanitation challenges. As shown in this

section, cholera affects poorer sects of the community and educating these communities is important in curbing the disease. One of the roles of this organization is to develop capacities for individuals, communities and institutions. The organization works in water and related sectors through five pillars which are research, training, knowledge management, information services and technical advisory (Murenga: 2018). The aim in this regard is to ensure that communities receive the necessary knowledge that will allow them to develop systems to understand their water resources.

The main challenge that is seen in relation to waterborne disease is the quality of the water that communities have access to. This again links to SDG 6 which focuses on the provision of clean water. Murenga (2018) notes that clean water is a huge issue for many individuals and communities and he also notes that for many individuals, communities and societies the availability of clean water is also a challenge. As shown in this chapter, one of the vehicles that has seen the contamination of water is open defecation. Organizations such as the WHO have been at the forefront of addressing this challenge. Moreover, the African Ministers Councils signed a declaration in 2015 which looks at the challenge posed by open defecation in Africa (Murenga: 2018). This shows the challenge that is faced in relation to maintaining water sources for communities.

The Institution of Sanitation and Water Development has taken the initiative to provide the knowledge that communities might need to better govern their water resources. The organization's training runs across training individuals, training communities, training institutions that are involved in the management of water and sanitation with the main focus being on technical and vocational education (Murenga: 2018). The importance of educating communities here remains an important aspect of governance because the engagement of communities serves as a vehicle to improve not only their lives, but potentially educate them on the importance of understanding water resources which in turn could curb waterborne diseases. In theory, decentralised local government, which is closest to the people, should be well placed to do this.

Zimbabwean Cholera Outbreak 2008

When Zimbabwe faced a cholera outbreak in 2008, the country was experiencing a tumultuous economic period that reached its peak that year. In this chapter, I have noted how the role of the government (as institution) is important in ensuring that citizens have access to clean and safe drinking water. In fact, within the Zimbabwean context, the constitution is clear that the

government has a prescribed responsibility in ensuring that its citizens have access to water[12]. In order to fully understand the cholera outbreak of 2008 one needs to take into consideration the events that led to operation Murambatsvina[13] in 2005. One of the key points made in chapter 4 which focused on Local Government in Zimbabwe was that the politicization of local government resulted in the crippling of service delivery. Murambatsvina, as many authors would argue, was used by ZANU PF as a way of punishing the urban citizenry for voting for the opposition, MDC.

When writing about Murambatsvina, Deborah Potts notes that one of the key challenges that the Zimbabwean government faced had to do with the growth in population that was experienced in the urban areas. By September 2003, the urban situation in Zimbabwe showed that 72 per cent of households were defined as poor; and this also included 51 per cent who were deemed to be very poor, which in most cases meant that these citizens could not afford food and other basic necessities (Potts 2006:274). These figures reveal the levels of poverty that the urban population faced. The levels of poverty in the urban areas played an important role in the growth of a number of informal settlements, which were used as makeshift businesses. When summing up the conditions in these areas, Potts (2006:274) describes them as representing an "extraordinarily rapid decline of urban living standards so that, by 2005, they were no longer remarkable when compared to other African cities and towns and indeed, were worse than many." This speaks to the living standards that were within these areas.

The ramifications of Murambatsvina were greatly felt in 2008, when the cholera outbreak hit the urban poor. One of the reasons why there is a link between the cholera outbreak in 2008 and Murambatsvina is mainly because by destroying houses that were deemed illegal, citizens were forced to live in debilitating conditions which made the cholera outbreak a certainty., Herbert Nyakutsikwa, who is an engineer at the AFDB, alluded to how the levels of dilapidation of water and infrastructure was at a high (Nyakutsikwa: 2018). The poor infrastructure is one of the reasons that led to the cholera outbreak, as citizens were forced to look for alternatives of water as the government had failed in its mandate.

The amounts needed to fund the redevelopment of infrastructure also remains a huge challenge in the Zimbabwean water sector. For example, the capital, Harare needs over $US500m to

[12] See section 77 of the 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution

[13] Operation Murambatsvina is a term when directly translated from the Shona language means 'Drive out the rubbish' or 'Restore Order'

ensure that its infrastructure is at a standard that will allow it to serve its populace (Nyakutsikwa: 2018). The amount of money needed to repair and refurbish the infrastructure in Zimbabwe remains one of the biggest impediments towards ensuring that citizens have provision of essential services. Furthermore, many citizens have since emigrated to other countries in search of a better life, thus resulting in the significant loss of experts such as engineers. Nyakutiskwa (2018) notes that so municipalities are run without a town engineer, yet this position is meant to drive water and sanitation service delivery. This has left people who lack experience in charge of important portfolios which are meant to be run by experts. The lack of skilled personal also affects the ability of city councils to respond to emergency as and when they occur. In relation to this Nyakutsikwa (2018) notes that:

> …let's say there is a burst or blockage sometimes something that should take say a day or two days to do will take 3 months and it's all because of a lack of the right skills to do the work and at the same time its exasperated. They may not even have the right equipment to be doing that, you will find them digging up a pipeline manually using hands instead of having an excavator which will facilitate and make things easier.

This again speaks directly to the challenge that the country faces in relation to its sanitation infrastructure. This poor structure was one of the reasons that led to the cholera outbreak in 2008. When speaking on this Nyakutiskwa (2018) notes that:

> …because of the high dilapidation state of the sewage works and the water supply system, these two created an environment which was conducive to the breakout and proliferation of the cholera outbreak because the environment was just too rich to promote that event…

In this case, the poor infrastructure contributed to the cholera outbreak in 2008. Operation Murambatsvina in 2005, as well as the general economic crisis, compounded the crisis. This is important as this also encompasses the notion of governance when looking at Zimbabwe in 2008. It is almost clear the governance structured had all but failed resulting in the outbreak. Precious Shumba who represents the Harare Resident's Trust (HRT) who advocate for effective service delivery also bemoaned the role that the government played in the events that led to the cholera outbreak in 2008.

In reference to the outbreak in 2008, Shumba (2018) states the government (at central level) has not prioritized the funding of health service delivery by local authorities. What Shumba alludes to here can again be linked to local government, where there is a contestation between ZANU PF and MDC. Additionally, this shows that there is a crippling of services which in turn leads to outbreaks, such as the one seen in 2008. Further alluding to the challenges that the government has faced Shumba states that local authorities especially in Harare are

overwhelmed. Harare, for example, has two referral hospitals and when cases of cholera come from outside its jurisdiction the hospitals fail to cope (Shumba: 2018). This speaks to the importance of having a functioning health system which is well prepared for events such as the cholera outbreak in 2008.

The cholera outbreak that occurred in 2008 affected Zimbabwe's townships mainly[14]. As I showed in the first section, the outbreaks of cholera not only affect women and children but it also affects the poorer communities. One of the poorest communities in Zimbabwe resides in Epworth which is located South-East of the capital city, Harare. Studies show that this area lacks the infrastructure necessary to address sanitation challenges. In article entitled, *"Water Supply and Sanitation Services for the Urban Poor: A Case Study of Epworth, Zimbabwe"* Liliosa Pahwaringira and Rejoice Madobi discuss the poor levels of sanitation that are in this area. In the areas that they worked in 87% of the respondents indicated that their source of income was from informal employment (Pahwaringira & Madobi 2015:3). Yet again, this speaks to the state of the Zimbabwean economy and how it had a negative impact on citizens such as those that resided in areas such as Epworth. What was even more telling about their observations was the different water sources that were used in this area.

If anything the cholera outbreak that occurred in 2008 mirrored the difficulties that former President Mugabe's regime had in running the country. The outbreak in 2008 resulted in 98,585 cases being reported (Cunoe et al 2017:2). However, the events that led to the outbreak were mainly due to the ways through which ZANU PF governed the country. The outbreak happened within two months of two violent rounds of presidential elections, between Mugabe and Tsvangirai. It is again important to bear in mind that at the time of this election being held Zimbabwe was facing an economic downturn which resulted in service delivery being negatively impacted. From this chapter, one of the important issues that has come to the fore is that infrastructure is extremely important in combating cholera as well as other sanitation diseases. Within the Zimbabwean case there was a breakdown in the most basic elements of water and sanitation infrastructure and this underpinned the cholera outbreak (Cunoe et al 2017:8). This dilapidated infrastructure remains to this day one of the biggest challenges that the Zimbabwean water sector faces.

In addition to the poor infrastructure the governance of Zimbabwe also comes to the fore. One example that comes to mind relates to how ZANU PF reacted to the opposition's victory in the

[14] These have also been described as low-density suburbs

urban areas in 2005. On May 9, 2005 ZANU PF issued a national directive to overturn the 1976 Water Act and bring municipal water authorities across the country under ZINWA (Cunoe et al 2017:8). This decision came at a time Zimbabwe's political climate was volatile. Operation Murambatsvina which I mentioned earlier also happened at this time and this saw 70,000 Zimbabweans – who were adjudged to be opposition followers being evicted from their homes (Cunoe et al 2017:9). This knee jerk reaction to the MDC's victory would have huge ramifications for Zimbabwe's city councils. ZANU PF's decision to usurp municipal authority over water which the opposition controlled resulted in the following:

1. MDC-controlled city councils were deprived of the financial muscle that came from bills which would have been useful to maintain infrastructure
2. ZANU PF was given a new stream of revenue as it assumed the role that ensured it would gain access to this revenue in its capacity as the ruling party
3. ZANU PF had another vehicle to maintain its stranglehold on Zimbabwean politics – the ruling party has had a history of politicizing access to food especially in periods of droughts (Cunoe et al 2017:9).

The opportunistic nature of ZANU PF since the attainment of independence has seen the ruling doing everything it can in order to stay in power. The decision to effectively nationalise water meant they had crippled the opposition under the guise of "…taking a step toward relieving Zimbabweans of "persistent water woes."" (Cunoe et al 2017:9). Further compounding on this, ZANU PF raised water rates for residents whilst neglecting infrastructure and diverting revenue to the military and security forces (Cunoe et al 2017:9). It is clear that governance of Zimbabwe made the cholera outbreak an inevitability. It is also important to note that before 2008, some cholera outbreaks had already been reported.

In March 2006, 27 cholera-related deaths were reported by civic groups with some describing the situation as a "cholera time bomb" (Cunoe et al 2017:10). The dire state of the infrastructure resulted in a scenario that culminated into the number of deaths that were recorded in the 2008 outbreak. ZINWA as the organization that was mandated to provide water failed to provide for the citizens. To bring further dismay on ZINWA, it was reported that in August 2007 the organization was pumping raw sewage into Lake Chivero which is the main source for Harare (Cunoe et al 2017:10). This would result in the contamination of an important water source. In addition to this, the water quality deteriorated.

The 2008-2009 cholera is believed to have begun in late August in Chitungwiza which is a high density suburb. Unsurprisingly, Chitungwiza's main source of water is Lake Chivero which ZINWA, due to mismanagement, was accused of polluting resulting in poor quality of water (Cunoe et al 2017:10). Again, ZINWA's role as a water provider comes to light as it can be clearly implicated in the cholera outbreak. Furthermore, Murambatsvina, had also affected Chitungwiza in 2005. By November 2008 many citizens in Zimbabwe had been totally cut off from the water supply as ZINWA had ceased pumping water from its main treatment planning after running out of aluminium sulphate (Cunoe et al 2017:10). Although ZINWA was mismanaged, the Zimbabwean economy at the time played an important role in cholera spreading.

Under Mugabe's auspices, Zimbabwe's human rights record was highly contested. The cholera outbreak during the 2008-2009 period has been adjudged to be a human rights violation by many authors. As mentioned, most of the policies that ZANU PF made an implemented were made in order to stifle the opposition, MDC (Cunoe et al 2017:11). Events such as Murambatsvina are typical examples of how ZANU PF can be blamed for the demise of the Zimbabwean state. Indeed the collapsed infrastructure did have an important role to play in the spread of cholera but the collapse of the health sector equally contributed to the spread of cholera. When writing this, Cunoe et al (2017:12) note that:

> The Zimbabwean government's public health response was characterized by early denial of the epidemic, suppression of health information, inadequate resourcing of health care centres, and abandonment of other health care priorities. As a results of these failures, the epidemic assumed a high initial case fatality rate, over five times the international standard of <1%.

Within the Zimbabwean case, not only had everything virtually collapsed, but the government proved to be incompetent in dealing with the crisis that was at hand. Failures in water and sanitation infrastructure served to precipitate the epidemic and permit the outbreak to spread (Cunoe et al 2017:12). ZANU PF had overseen the running down of elements that saw the cholera outbreak spreading throughout the country. For example, policies such as the land reform programme from the early 2000s resulted in the agrarian based economy collapsing. Such was the collapse that in July 2008 inflation was recorded at 2,000,000% (Cunoe et al 2017:12). The land reform programme would effectively see the collapse of various services which resulted in sectors such as the health sector collapsing.

With the cholera outbreak in 2008, ZANU PF tried to underplay the event in the country. It is noted that when the outbreak begun to surface the ruling party initially tried to suppress

information about it (Cunoe et al 2017:13). It has been argued that the reason for taking this stance was mainly to make it seem as the ruling party had the outbreak under control. When this stance failed it is further argued that the ZANU PF led government fabricated date and refused to be assisted by local physicians to control the situation at hand (Cunoe et al 2017:13). Rather than trying to curb the crisis that was at hand the government tried to paint itself in a positive light in the midst of a crisis. At a political rally, former President Mugabe, went as far as saying that there was no longer a cholera outbreak and therefore the international community need not worry (Berger:2008). Mugabe's utterances in this represented the form of governance that ZANU PF was practicing whereby there was no accountability in terms of addressing crises.

Earlier in this chapter I noted that cholera requires a timely response to the crisis as it occurs. The ZANU PF government was more concerned with power retention and did not want to look as if they were failing. This also explains why Mugabe would always try to underplay crises in Zimbabwe. Again pointing to the health sector, Cunoe et al (2017:14) note that in the early days of the cholera outbreak there was a near-complete cessation of the public health sector at a time when interventions would have been useful in serving the population that had been affected by the disease. Such was the state of affairs that on the 17th of November 2008 one of Zimbabwe's largest hospitals, Parirenyatwa Hospital shutting down because of water shortages (Cunoe et al 2017:14). Other hospitals and state owned institutions shut rendering resulting in essential services not being administered.

In an article which looks extensively at the governance of Zimbabwe Jeremy Youde speaks to the politicization of water in the same way the chapter of local governance analysed. In an article entitled *"Don't drink the water – Politics and cholera in Zimbabwe"* Youde speaks to the similar points that I have raised in this chapter. However, he delves deeper into the decisions that the ZANU PF government made and how these decisions were politically motivated. In 1998, as I showed in chapter 2, the Zimbabwean government repealed its Water Act with the aim of addressing the inequalities that had been as a result of colonialism. I will not discuss the nuances of the water act as this has been discussed earlier in this dissertation. However, the point I want to make is how ZANU PF played a critical role in the cholera outbreak that happened in 2008.

The creation ZINWA meant that the organization took over the development and management of national water resources, this also included the infrastructure (Youde 2010:11). The creation

of ZINWA was also meant to alleviate the water challenges that had been faced by citizens but the process became politicized as at the time, ZANU PF was fighting for political survival. When describing how ZINWA was run, Youde (2010:11) noted that, "…ZINWA became an element of Mugabe's political machinations and a funding source for ZANU PF." It was clear that the role ZINWA was supposed to play got diluted with the political nature. I mentioned earlier that Mugabe and ZANU PF, downplayed the outbreak and this was evidenced by former Minister of Information, Sikhanyiso Ndlovu, who alleged that, "Cholera is a calculated racist terrorist attack on Zimbabwe by the unrepentant former colonial power which enlisted support from its American and Western allies so that they can invade the country" (Youde 2010:12). Rather than acknowledging and working on improving the infrastructure, the ZANU PF led government sought to shift the blame and this resulted in the outbreak getting out of control.

The Zimbabwean cholera outbreak in 2008 mirrored the economic challenges that Zimbabwe was going through. More importantly, the cholera outbreak was a reflection of the how ZANU PF had governed Zimbabwe since the attainment of independence in 1980. When writing about resolving future outbreaks, Youde (2010:18) notes that the government of Zimbabwe must undertake a significant, wide-ranging evaluation of its economic and political policies to ensure that there is stability within the country. Interestingly, this point remains relevant even though it is from far back as 2010. Under the Presidency of Emmerson Mnangagwa who took over from Mugabe in 2017 the similar challenges that Mugabe's regime faced remain. A clear example of this is how there was a cholera outbreak that occurred in 2018. Similar conditions that led to the 2008 outbreak were also present in this regard. The fact that two outbreaks can occur in a space of 10 years speaks directly to the governance structures within Zimbabwe.

Another key issue that needs to be addressed that relates to the cholera outbreak is the loss of experienced personnel. The 2008 cholera outbreak, although is as a result of a collapsed health sector, was also as a result of the government failing to see that the interconnected nature of its policies would have ramifications for the country as a whole. In summing this up, Youde (2010:19) notes that, "It is not enough to address cholera simply as a health issue, since its emergence was the result of so many more decisions that go far beyond the realm of public health." This reiterates the point that the governance structure within a country is important in ensuring that health hazards like cholera do not pan out within a country.

In 2008, Mugabe and ZANU PF's biggest challenge was that of legitimacy. The same could be said of Mnangagwa after the 2018 election who the opposition has accused of being

illegitimate due to the nature of the 2018 election. When writing about this Youde (2010:19) argues that the ability of a government to provide public goods is a key element of a government strength. In 2008, the ZANU PF government had failed to provide these services thus bringing their legitimacy to be questioned. Further to this, the election held in 2008 and the controversy that shrouded it did little to aid Mugabe's Presidency. Addressing this is an important element ensuring that diseases like cholera do not cause untold suffering for the general populace of a country as evidenced through the 2008 cholera outbreak. Fig 6.6 shows the devastating impacts of the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe.

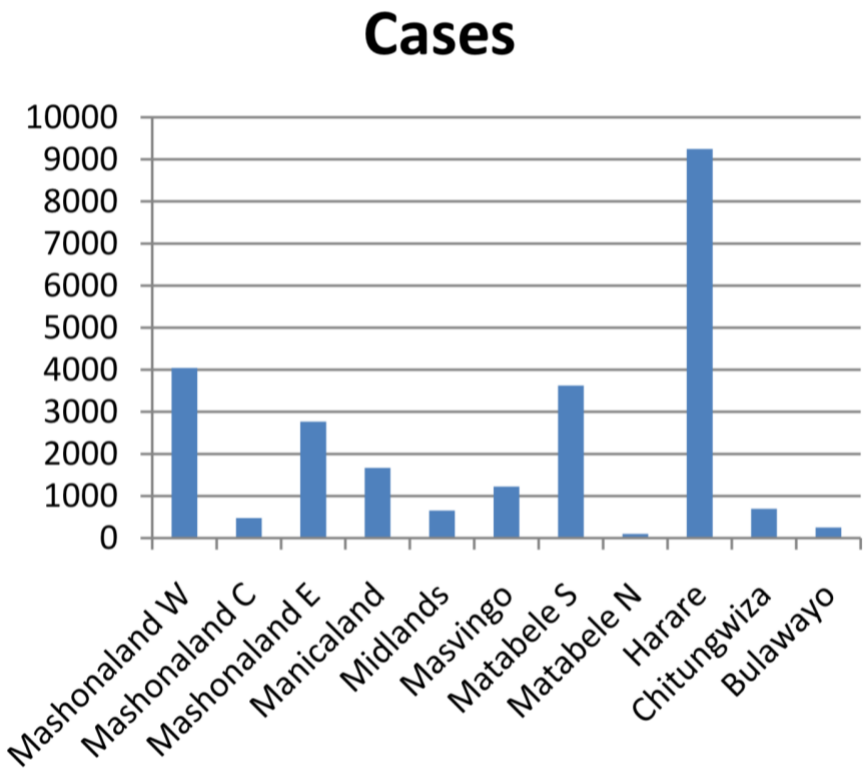


Fig 6.6 **Source: Mason (2009:150)**

As fig 6.6 shows, the cholera outbreak had an impact throughout the whole country. However, the capital, Harare, Mashonaland West and Matabeleland South were the once who were affected the most. Mason (2009:149) notes that the original outbreak started in Harare and then spread to the rest of the country.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to outline the relationship between sanitation and the outbreak of waterborne diseases with a special focus on the cholera outbreak that occurred in Zimbabwe. One key points that I made in this chapter is that the government has an important role to play in the provision of basic sanitation services. The Zimbabwean case is a clear example of how a failure in governance results in the collapse of important entities that serve the people.

With the Zimbabwean case, various ministries such as the Ministry of Health and the ministries that were responsible for water provision were incapacitated because of the economy. In addition to this, the political environment in Zimbabwe was heated because this was at the peak of the contestations pitting ZANU PF and MDC. I derived my starting point from a number of UN documents which are important in shedding light on where other countries stand with sanitation. The more developed countries have the adequate infrastructure that allows them to cope, however, with countries like Zimbabwe the dilapidation of infrastructure was crucial in the spread of the cholera outbreak.

This chapter was able to use the JMP ladders as a starting point to discuss how countries are ranked when looking at the provision of clean water. Furthermore, there was also a discussion on the importance of a strong sanitation system avoids situations such as the one that panned out in Zimbabwe. The ability to act in swift manner is crucial in addressing a potential outbreak. Acting in a swift also depends on the capabilities of a government in mention. The Zimbabwean government, due to the effects of economic policies, was unable to react accordingly in dealing with the outbreak- this speaks to the importance of governance which is at the heart addressing the outbreaks of diseases such as cholera.

Together with governance, institutions play an important role in ensuring that citizens have running water. From this chapter, it is evident when institutions fail through mismanagement by governments the ramifications are of high proportions. As seen with this chapter the failure of governance institutions played a crucial role in the cholera outbreak. Importantly, this chapter speaks to the broader debates within this dissertation. What is evident in this chapter is that there has been a huge neglect of various areas within Zimbabwe. This neglect includes areas such as low density areas and rural areas. This chapter is important as it is a follow up from the previous chapter that looked at the impacts of the politicization of local government on the citizenry.

There is a clear challenge that stems from the contestation of power between ZANU PF at central level and MDC at local government level. At the heart of this challenge is devolution which in theory is meant to see local communities given more powers with little to no central government interference. Although the opposition has been allowed to assume its role in local government, the ruling ZANU PF has in many cases often thwarted its efforts through decisions that often undermine them. This powerplay resulted in the challenges that led to the cholera outbreak in 2008. Decisions such as those that resulted in Operation Murambatsvina serve as an example of the power dynamics within Zimbabwe. The chapter brought into context the discussion from chapter 5 which discussed local government within Zimbabwe.

The dissertation now proceeds to discuss how the Zimbabwean government has attempted to address the impacts of climate change in the country.

Chapter 7

Water Governance in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This dissertation has, thus far, shown how colonialism impacted the post-colonial Zimbabwe's water governing policies. Colonialism was based on systematic marginalization which, in Zimbabwe's case, had huge ramifications for the country's water governing policies and water infrastructure. Through the use of laws as well as other measures, colonialism was able to ensure that the minority benefited from the resources in Rhodesia at the expense of the majority. At the attainment of independence in 1980, the post-colonial government in Zimbabwe inherited this system which was deemed to be skewed towards a minority group. One of the key debates that this dissertation set out to analyse was the notion of path dependence. Path dependence effectively showed that historical events set countries on particular trajectories. Within the Zimbabwean case study, the nature of the colonial institutions was instrumental in the ways through which the post-colonial government was governed. One key example would be how the 1978 Water Act was only repealed in 1998, 18 years after independence had been attained. This section draws from the definition derived from the WB in chapter 1 which outlined that the type of regime in a country, the authority to implement as well as the capacity to implement policies is important when look at defining governance (WB 1994: xiv). The type of regime in a country, in this case an extractive government, will result in the abuse of power as this chapter aims to shed light on.

The main argument that this chapter aims to make is that the challenges that Zimbabwe faces in relation to water governance are as a result of the inherited colonial structure as well as the institutional legacies that came with this inherited system. Although, it would be misleading to state that all of Zimbabwe's challenges are as a result of colonialism, this chapter will rather unpack how the foundations of Zimbabwe are an inheritance from the Rhodesian governing structure.

In order to unpack the impacts of colonialism on post-colonial Zimbabwe this chapter has been divided into 3 main sections. The first section unpacks the colonial inheritance. This section briefly outlines the elements that the newly independent state inherited from colonialism. This section analyses economic policies such as the *Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan* which sheds light on how the government would redress the inequalities that were as a

result of colonialism. The second section of this chapter provides an overview of governance in Zimbabwe. The aim of this section is to provide an understanding of the governance culture within the country.

This is important as it sets the foundation for the third section which sheds light on how the Zimbabwean government, since the attainment of independence, has sought to address the water challenges within the country. Importantly this chapter analyses various elements of water governance in Zimbabwe such as water policies under the colonial government, water policies under the post-colonial government, the subsequent introduction of a new water policy in 1998, dam building within the Zimbabwean context and wetlands and their relation to water governance in Zimbabwe.

The Colonial Inheritance

Zimbabwe attained its independence from British rule in 1980. Although independence ushered in a new form of governance, it is important to note that the new government inherited the very same systems that the colonial government used- this chapter aims to continue this discussion as the colonial inheritance is an important aspect putting into perspective the challenges that Zimbabwe faces. I noted that the Zimbabwean government, for example, inherited the laws such as the 1978 Water Act which was only repealed after 20 years in 1998. This effectively meant that Zimbabwe continued to use colonial laws even though the country had attained independence.

Between the 23rd and the 27th of March 1981, the Zimbabwean government hosted the *Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development* in Salisbury (now Harare). One of the issues that was discussed at this conference was the inheritance and this related to *Land Settlement and Rural/Agricultural Development.* At the attainment of independence, the new government sought to "rationalize land policies and redress the imbalances of a past system founded on the inequitable division and occupation of land on a racial basis" (Zimbabwe Government 1981:37). What has been clear from the onset is that there was a recognition from the post-colonial government that colonial government's policies had caused inequalities, especially in relation to the land question which resulted in the protracted liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Further to this, it was noted that because of the colonial system, there was the creation of a dual economy which saw the neglect of peasant farming sector and uneven development which resulted in the armed conflict which I mentioned earlier (Zimbabwe Government 1981:37).

One of the key arguments in the theoretical chapter stated that colonialism and its institutions was based on the notion of marginalization. In this regard, colonialism within the Zimbabwean context resulted in the neglect of tribal areas[15] (where the majority African population resided) which resulted in a lack of infrastructural development in these areas (Zimbabwe Government 1981:42). In addition to this, because of the war, the rural areas were further incapacitated because infrastructure had been destroyed.

Concerning water development, the post-colonial government sought to establish an efficient method to govern water resources. According to the Zimbabwe Government (1981:107):

> Government policy is to own and operate all major storage works so as to ensure efficient management of the river systems, uphold safety standards for dam construction, and control pollution. Surface and underground water resources and possible dam sites for future development are being investigated. Hydrological and hydro-geological data are continually collected and analysed by the Division of Water Development. The construction of urban and industrial water supplies assists in the expansion of industrial growth and obviates restrictions on water consumption.

The Zimbabwean government in this regard had set up measures which it believed would have been able to better manage water resources. For example, the government alluded to the fact that it wanted to "uphold safety standards for dam construction" shows that the government had a clear directive in relation to developing the colonial system in a way that it will benefit the rest of the country. The Zimbabwean Government (1981:107) had also set aside the following amounts for the development of water infrastructure:

Capital Costs in $ 000

	1981/82	**1982/83**	**1983/84**	**Total**
Urban and Industrial Water Supplies	19 529	25 047	10 361	54 937

Table 8.1

It is clear that the Zimbabwean had set aside a considerable amount of money to aid the development of water infrastructure. Although there was a significant drop in funding in the 1983/84 period, the Zimbabwean government had invested in water infrastructural development.

[15] These were rural areas were the indigenous population resided. The areas in mention had infertile land and scarce amounts of water

There was also considerable investment that was made in urban development. At the attainment of independence, the colonial system which catered for the white minority, was overwhelmed by the migration of the rural population which moved into the urban areas with the view of looking for better employment opportunities. This view is made evident when the Zimbabwe Government (1981:110) noted that, "The urban population has increased sharply in recent years with the inflow of people to the towns from the rural areas seeking security and jobs." Colonialism, as repeatedly stated, thrived on marginalization and this was one of the key challenges that the Zimbabwean inherited as a result of colonialism.

In order to address this, the Zimbabwean government aimed to build 91 400 low-cost houses (Zimbabwe Government 1981:110). During the 1980/81 period more than 20 000 houses were under construction and the government aimed to make loans available for the purchase of building materials to those wanting to build houses (Zimbabwe Government 1981:110). The aim of the government was to cater for the increase in population.

In relation to Housing and Urban Infrastructure the Zimbabwe Government (1981:110) devoted the following funds:

Capital Costs in $ 000

	1981/82	**1982/83**	**1983/84**	**Total**
Housing	81 731	120 150	149 240	351 121

Table 8.2

	1981/82	**1982/83**	**1983/84**	**Total**
Urban Infrastructure	78 510	90 521	81 338	250 369

Table 8.3

Again, it is evident that the Zimbabwean government had invested heavily in assisting the country to deal with the inequalities that were as a result of colonialism. The colonial inheritance was also something that Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe acknowledged after the attainment of independence. In the *Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan 1 1982/83 – 1984/85,* Mugabe noted that, "Zimbabwe has emerged from a protracted and bitter war of liberation from social and economic exploitation and political oppression. The triumph of the forces of liberation has given the people and vestiges of exploitation, unemployment, poverty, disease, ignorance and social insecurity" (Zimbabwe Government 1982:1). This speaks to how the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was meant to give the people of Zimbabwe the opportunities that the colonial government had excluded them

from. When addressing the aims of Mugabe's cabinet, the Zimbabwe Government (1982:1) notes that:

> The task before my Government in the post-war era of independence and peace is… to lay the foundation on the basis of which our people can regain their history and, as active participants, make their lives go forward in prosperity and happiness. The task facing us in Government is indeed challenging and daunting. It involves rehabilitating our economy, particularly in the rural areas, resettling thousands of our people, as well as making sure that vital social services are restored or introduced for their benefit.

Mugabe in this regard, not only addresses the inequalities of colonialism, but also alluded to the mammoth task that was faced by the post-colonial government in catering for the previously disadvantaged African majority. Moreover, there was a drive to shift development projects to wards rural areas because of the impacts of the war. To further sum up the aims of the post-colonial government the Zimbabwe Government (1982:1) noted that:

> While the inherited economy, with its institutions and infrastructure, has in the past served a minority, it would be simplistic and, indeed, naïve to suggest that it should, therefore, be destroyed in order to make a fresh start. The challenge lies in building upon and developing on what was inherited, modifying, expanding and, where necessary, radically changing structures and institutions in order to maximize benefits from economic growth and development to Zimbabweans as a whole.

Again, it remains clear the post-colonial government aimed to use the colonial structures and institutions as a foundation upon which to build a system that would include those who had been marginalized under colonialism. concerning water resources, as I mentioned earlier, the idea was for the government to improve the inherited system which was skewed in favour of the white minority. According to the Zimbabwe Government (1982:26), "Water resources will be developed to reduce, as far as possible, dependence on (often) unreliable rainfall." There was an acknowledgment that the inherited system was mainly reliant on rainfall which, as we continue to see currently, is erratic. The government sought to promote interregional and multipurpose projects to serve growth points and irrigation water will be given primary consideration in the development of all water schemes (Zimbabwe Government 1982:26). There was an obvious drive by the post-colonial government to redress the impacts of colonialism by having a more inclusive system that focuses on the rural areas that had been previously been marginalized.

Under the colonial government, water was intrinsically linked to agriculture and this was the same under the post-colonial government. The Zimbabwe Government (1982:61) noted that most of the water within the country was diverted towards agriculture and the optimum development of water resources required the preparation of development plans for the

country's major river systems. Due to the agrarian nature of Zimbabwe's economy water was and remains essential in Zimbabwe. Mugabe's government was driven by the creation of policy in order to address the challenges of water. The consistent mantra of the government, however, was the development of the rural community. The Zimbabwe Government (1982:62) noted that:

> The majority of people living in the communal areas have no adequate access to clean drinking water. To correct this, Government will provide storage reservoirs for the larger villages from which water can be reticulated to communal standpipes or individual connections for schools, community premises, etc. In sparsely populated areas supplies will be provided from boreholes or wells. Supplies for irrigation and stock watering will be developed as part of integrated rural development programmes.

The government had in this regard strived to ensure that efforts were made to address the plight of the rural community that had been marginalized under the colonial government. Due to the lack of infrastructural development within rural communities, water has and continues to be a huge challenge. Chapter 10 of the *Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan 1 1982/83 – 1984/85* focuses on Natural Resources within Zimbabwe. One of the key points mentioned by the government state that under colonial rule natural resources such as water and minerals were under the control of foreign entities. However, the post-colonial government aimed to introduce a system that saw an increase in public ownership, control and public access to natural resources (Zimbabwe Government 1982:61). More importantly, the post-colonial government sought to ensure that the exploitation of resources, especially non-renewable resources, was cognisant of the needs of present and future generations (Zimbabwe Government 1982:61). Colonialism, as seen in many African regions, plundered natural resources, the Zimbabwean government sought to bring in place an element of governance that would better manage natural resources to benefit the country.

In 1986 the Zimbabwean government published the *Zimbabwe First Five-Year National Development Plan 1986-90* the government further outlined its plans in moving the country forward. In this report Mugabe noted that, "In prosecution of our national revolution and socialist transformation and for the second time since independence, my Government is giving the people of Zimbabwe a national development plan covering the whole spectrum of our economy" Zimbabwe Government (1986:i). This is a significant statement as this was one of the first instances whereby the Mugabe outlined the fact that ZANU would use a socialist ideology to redress the inequalities of colonialism. Mugabe further noted that the socialist policy his government would embark on would be a vehicle to see through the second

revolution- *"War for Economic Liberation"* (Zimbabwe Government 1986:i). Again, it remains evident that the rural population was at the heart of the government's policies. During the period between 1980 to 1985 the government made great strides in addressing water resources in rural areas. It is noted that seven major dams were completed and there was a major increase of water supply stations (an increase from 363 to 425) and over 6 000 boreholes were drilled (Zimbabwe Government 1986:33). The emphasis was on rural areas which lacked the basic infrastructure.

In 1985 the Zimbabwean government implemented the National Irrigation Fund to fund projects in the rural communities. The Zimbabwe Government (1986:33) noted that, "Priority in the development of irrigation schemes will be given to projects that have potential for improving the economic base in rural areas and, in particular, in agricultural production." Irrigation, which was and remains important for agriculture, was a sector that the Zimbabwean government invested heavily in at the attainment of independence in 1980. The government also introduced the *National Master Plan for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation* which was meant to address sanitation in rural communities (Zimbabwe Government 1986:33). The commitment to the rural community is confirmed as the government earmarked part of $581 million to be split between investment in electricity and water supply (Zimbabwe Government 1986:33).

As stated earlier, water challenges were evident for both the colonial government and the post-colonial government. In relation to this, the Zimbabwe Government (1986:32) noted that the aim was to develop adequate water supplies for agriculture. As I mentioned earlier in this section the government sought to shift to a system which would see rainfall not being the main source of water. Rainfall, because of its sporadic nature, had become and continues to be, unreliable. This was also the case in the 80s. Table 8.4 shows the unpredictable nature of rainfall:

Year	**Rainfall**
1980-1981	870 mm
1981-1982	440 mm
1982-1983	403 mm
1983-1984	464 mm
1984-1985	746 mm
1985-1986	703 mm
1986-1987	421 mm

Table 8.4

Table 8.4 is a clear example of the disadvantages that are associated with the reliance of rainfall as a mode to base a water system on. One of the major contributors to the erratic rainfall has been droughts. In table 8.4, four of the seven seasons were drought years (Zimbabwe Government 1986:32). This remained as a stumbling block to developing efficient water systems. The government, in order to alleviate the challenge posed by drought, embarked on an effort to build dams. Table 8.5 shows the expenditure that the government planned to use in order to build dams for the country (Zimbabwe Government 1986:33).

Capital Expenditure: Conservation Work 1986/87 – 1989/90 ($'000)

Expenditure during year: 1986/87	**1987/88**	**1988/89**	**1989/90**	**Cumulative expenditure 1986/87-1989/90**
18 275	20 060	25 075	28 344	91 754

Table 8.5

The Zimbabwean government's aim was to use the building of dams as a measure to address the challenge that had been as a result of the droughts that Zimbabwe was facing as shown in Table 8.5. In the period 1987 to 1988 the government built a number of dams that were aimed at meeting agricultural needs as well as for day to day activities. Table 8.6 shows the dams that the Zimbabwean government embarked on building in the country's various provinces (Zimbabwe Government 1986:33):

Dam	**Cost ($m)**
Ngezi Dam, Mashonaland West	22,4
Shashani Dam, Matabeleland South	13,0
Siwaze Dam, Matabeleland South	5,9
Murambinda Dam, Manicaland	2,0
Mondi Mataga Dam, Midlands	8,0
Mahusekwa Dam, Mashonaland East	2,6
Hollins Block Dam, Matabeleland South	2,4
Lungwala Dam, Matabeleland North	5,0

Table 8.6

Table 8.6 indicates the efforts that the government had made towards addressing the challenges that had been faced by the rural communities concerning water. This heavy investment embarked on by the government is a sign of the commitment towards addressing the inequalities within the rural communities that had been as a result of colonialism.

Concerning irrigation, the government, as it had done with previous policies, made that an important area of investment as well. According to the Zimbabwe Government (1986:33) the following dams were built for the purpose of irrigation:

Dam	**Cost ($m)**
Mazikadei, Mashonaland West	38,6
Mwenje, Mashonaland Central	5,6
Osborne, Manicaland	47,0
Dande, Mashonaland Central	19,3
Manyuchi, Masvingo Province	2,8

Table 8.7

As shown in Table 8.7 great investment was made in the rural communities, especially for irrigation and basic agricultural activities. In addition to these dams the Zimbabwe Government (1988:33) noted that there were efforts to build dams such as Moza, Biri, Insukamini and Hama, Manyame and Shamva Balancing Dams. It remains clear that the commitment by Mugabe's government was aimed at assisting the rural communities. The Zimbabwe government went as far as implementing *The National Water Master Plan for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation.* The Zimbabwe Government (1988:34) noted that the Master Plan was to achieve the following:

> The main objective of the rural water supply programme is to provide the rural masses with adequate, safe and accessible water. In assessing the demand, however, close attention will be paid to the potential for livestock watering and small irrigation schemes in order to stimulate food production and raise incomes of rural people.

The efforts in this instance were directed towards ensuring that the livelihoods of citizens within the rural community were protected. As seen with the previous years the Zimbabwe Government (1988:34) dedicated the following resources which are shown in Table 8:

Investment in Rural Water Supply Schemes for the Period 1986/87-1989/90 ($'000)

Expenditure to 30/6/87	**1987/88 allocation**	**1988/89 estimated expenditure**	**1989/90 estimated expenditure**	**Cumulative 1986/87-1989/90**
16 350	14 648	18 310	22 888	72 196

Table 8.8

Table 8.8 is, again, a clear indication of the financial efforts that were directed towards the development of the rural communities' water sources. The government's policy was also further driven by community participation (particularly women). The government deemed this as an important vehicle to plan, implement and maintain rural primary water supply

programmes (Zimbabwe Government 1988:34). The inclusive nature of the decision-making process represented a huge shift from the colonial system that had marginalized certain sects of the Zimbabwean community.

The Zimbabwean government, in order to further develop the rural communities, embarked on various projects in Zimbabwe's respective provinces. Table 9 shows the dams that the Zimbabwe Government (1988:35) built in each of Zimbabwe's provinces in the period following independence:

Development of Water Resources According to Provinces

Province	**Dams and Cost ($m)**	
Mashonaland East	Wedza	1,6
	Rufaro	4,8
	Mahusekwa	1,25
	Longlands	7,5
	Mudzi	0,5
Mashonaland West	Clifton O.R.S.	3,6
	Manyame Balancing Dam	2,1
	Ngezi	22,5
	Claw Dam Gates	4,7
	Mhondoro Dams (3)	5,1
Mashonaland Central	Chimanda	1,4
	Dande	19,3
	Bindura	25,8
	Lionshead	18,0
	Silverstroom	18,0
	Jumbo	23,4
	Concession	12,0
Matabeleland North	Kalope	1,5
	Lugwala	2,7
	Silalabuhwa	0,25
Matabeleland South	Mangwe	3,8
	Shashani	13,0
	Siwaze	5,0
	Madabe Raising	1,6
	Hollin's Block	2,4
	Sivule	0,72
	Mayfair Gates	3,6
	Shobi	37,4
	Bert Knott	3,9
	Mtshabezi	10,0
	Mwanakaridza	21,5
Manicaland Province	Osborne	49,0
	Chitowe	150,0
Midlands Province	Biri	1,4
	Hama	4,94

	Insukamini	5,57
	Sadza Raising	0,15
	Modi Matanga	9,0
	Swenoro Dam Raising	13,2
	Murezu	2,5
	Mtanke	4,0
	Sungai	1,5
	Musipane	1,92
	Lower Damba	2,45
	Hozori	10,0
Masvingo Province	Manyuchi	38,0
	Mushwe/Mashava	6,35
	Roswa	1,5
	Neshuro	0,3
	Mbindangombe	1,3

Table 8.9

Table 8.9, as I mentioned earlier, shows the amount of investment that went into each Zimbabwean province in relation to water resources. This is important to consider as this speaks to the colonial inheritances as the government sought to redress the uneven playing field that was as a result of colonialism. The investment, as shown in Table 8.9, is a clear example of the efforts that were directed towards to areas that had been clearly marginalized.

In addition to the inherited infrastructure that I have discussed so far, the Zimbabwean government also faced an insurmountable challenge as a result of the growth in population. It is important to remember that colonialism resulted in the African majority having restrictions in place that stopped them from frequently visiting the capital city. The attainment of independence saw a huge influx of people migrating from the rural areas to the urban areas with the hope seeking better working and living conditions. Zimbabwe conducts its census data collection on a 10-year cycle- 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012. I will try to draw from these reports to show how the growth in population is an important factor when analysing both water governance and understanding the colonial inheritance. Table 10 speaks to the differences in population in 1969 and 1982 (Zimbabwe Government 1988:47):

Population Distribution by Province, 1969 and 1982 Censuses

	1969	**1982**
Zimbabwe (total)	5 099 340	7 546 759
Manicaland	766 380	1 099 202
Mashonaland Central	375 580	563 407
Mashonaland East	879 720	1 495 984
Mashonaland West	617 300	858 962
Matabeleland North	578 820	885 339
Matabeleland South	406 370	519 636
Midlands	754 110	1 091 844
Masvingo	721 010	1 031 697

Table 8.10

Total Predicted Population by Sex, 1982-1992 (in thousands)

	1982	**1985**	**1987**	**1990**	**1992**
Male	3681	4008	4239	4601	4850
Female	3836	4167	4700	4768	5020
Total	7517	8175	8639	9369	9870

Table 8.11

Both Tables 8.10 and 8.11 show that there was a significant increase in population between 1969 and 1982. The predicted population as seen in Table 11 is further confirmation that there was an estimated rise in population within Zimbabwe. For example, the total population between 1982 and 1992 was expected to rise from 7517 to 9870 respectively (a difference of 2353) over a 10-year period. When further analysing the infrastructure within Rhodesia it is important that it was meant to cater for a small population, however, independence saw a huge strain.

The census report from 2002 further confirms the impacts population has had on not only water resources but on the country's entirety. Table shows the results of the 2002 census as published by Zimbabwe National Statistics:

Zimbabwe Population 2002

Province	Males	Females	Total
Mashonaland West	609 778	614 892	1 224 670
Mashonaland Central	488 695	506 732	995 427
Mashonaland East	545 898	581 515	1 127 413
Harare	947 386	948 748	1 896 134
Midlands	703 831	760 162	1 463 993
Matabeleland North	340 475	364 473	704 948
Matabeleland South	309 316	343 738	653 054
Bulawayo	323 550	353 100	676 650
Manicaland	747 242	821 688	1 568 930
Masvingo	702 429	618 009	1 320 438

Table 8.12

The total population for males and females equals to 11 631 657 with the males standing at 5 634 180 and the Females at 5 997 477 (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2002:1). The difference in population increase between 1982 and 2002 is that of 4 084 898. This shows that, like any country, the growth in Zimbabwe is an important aspect in understanding how the governance of water resources within a country works. Concerning water resources, there is a clear indication that the growth in population has had an impact as little has been done to improve the colonial infrastructure.

When looking at the 2002 Census Report, it is clear that rural communities were still struggling to gain access to safe drinking water. For example, within Mashonaland Central it was noted that, "Seventeen percent of the households had water on premises and about 37 percent fetched their water from within a distance of less than 500 metres while a large proportion (46 percent) had this facility more than 500 metres from the dwelling unit" (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2002:123). Worryingly, 46 percent still having to travel for more than 500 metres from their dwelling units shows that water resources are hard to come by in these regions. More importantly, this stat shows that in most cases, and not all cases, women are the ones tasked with collecting water for the family. This, therefore, means that the marginalization of women is evident in this regard. In addition to this, this stat also shows how the Zimbabwean government has struggled to improve the plight of the rural community.

Interestingly, the Census Report of 2002 shows that Harare, the capital city, had fared better than most of the other provinces in Zimbabwe. Ninety-nine percent of households in Harare had water on their premises or fetched water from a distance of less than 500 metres (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2002:123). This is indicative of the colonial legacy, whereby the capital had

been more developed whilst the rural community remained at the wrong spectrum in relation to development.

The same census report touches on another important aspect relating to water governance which is sanitation. In relation to toilet facilities, the report noted that 36 percent of households in Zimbabwe had access to flush toilets, 20 percent made use of blair toilets[16], 11 percent made use of pit latrines and 28 percent of the households were "not using any type of toilet facility at all" (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2002:124). 28 percent is a significant number of citizens to not have access to toilet facilities at all. This speaks to the health hazards that many communities, not necessarily only in rural areas, but also in the high-density suburbs.

According to Zimbabwe National Statistics (2002:132), in Matabeleland North 60.72 percent of the population had no access to toilet facilities, 46.29 percent of the population in Midlands had no access to toilet facilities and 46.29 percent of the population in Masvingo also did not have access to toilet facilities. This again reveals the challenges that the rural community has continued to face in relation to toilet facilities. The 2002 Census Report showed that in Harare only 0.23 percent of the population did not have access to toilet facilities whilst in Bulawayo, the second largest city, 0.65 percent of the population did not have access to toilet facilities. There is a clear divide between rural communities and urban areas, and this can be traced to the colonialism where the urban areas that catered for the white minority had an improved infrastructure. What is almost evident from these statistics is that very little has changed in Zimbabwe when considering the plight of the rural community that the government sought to cater for after the attainment of independence in 1980.

The report published 2012, 10 years after the 2002 Census continued to show that there was an increase in the population in Zimbabwe. Table 8.13 shows the population distribution in Zimbabwe in 2012 (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:1):

[16] This is a ventilated pit latrine commonly found in many rural areas in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe Population in 2012

Province	Males	Females	Total
Mashonaland West	747 475	754 181	1 501 656
Mashonaland Central	567 140	585 380	1 152 520
Mashonaland East	651 781	693 174	1 344 955
Harare	1 025 596	1 097 536	2 123 132
Midlands	776 012	838 929	1 614 941
Matabeleland North	360 776	388 241	749 017
Matabeleland South	326 967	356 926	683 893
Bulawayo	303 346	349 991	653 337
Manicaland	830 697	922 001	1 752 698
Masvingo	690 749	794 341	1 485 090

Table 8.13

The total population in 2012 as released by Zimbabwe National Statistics amounts to 13 061 239. This population sees a total of 6 280 539 males and 6 780 700 (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:1). The difference between the total population in 2002 and in 2012 (11 631 657 and 13 061 239 respectively) is 1 429 582. Bearing in mind the population increase, the government is meant to provide infrastructure that takes this rise into consideration in order to cater for the citizens. The 2002 Census report showed that the rural population was still facing considerable challenges in obtaining water resources. The 2012 report continued to show that the rural community was still experiencing the same challenges.

The challenge that the rural communities faced was made clear when observing Mashonaland Central. In this province it was noted that sixteen percent of the households had water on their premises, a further 36 percent sourced water from a distance of less than 500 metres whilst a large population consisting of 44 percent had to travel more than 500 metres from their dwelling units (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:125). In relation to safe drinking water, Table 8.14 shows the households that access to drinking water (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:125):

Households with Access to Safe Drinking Water 2002

Province	Percentage
Mashonaland West	64
Mashonaland Central	69
Mashonaland East	72
Harare	94
Midlands	67
Matabeleland North	71
Matabeleland South	67
Bulawayo	96
Manicaland	74
Masvingo	64

Table 8.14

An analysis of Table 8.14 shows that, Zimbabwe's two largest cities, Harare and Bulawayo, have the highest numbers of households that have access to safe drinking water. This speaks to the previous point that was raised concerning the 2002 report which again showed that the two cities had the fewest households without access to toilet facilities. This can be linked to the great divide between the urban areas and the rural areas. Again, this can be traced back to colonialism whereby areas such Harare and Bulawayo would cater for the minority and therefore had the adequate resources to cater for that small population. However, as I have so far shown, independence resulted a huge influx of migrations from the rural to the urban areas.

The 2012 Census Report also showed the communities made use of various forms of water sources for their daily needs. These forms of water sources included the following:

- Piped water inside house
- Piped water outside house
- Communal tap
- Well/borehole protected
- Well – unprotected
- River/stream/dam (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:128)

The 2012 Census Report also revealed that some citizens were willing to travel for a distance of more than 1km to fetch water from unsafe water sources. It was seen that 26.6 percent of the population were traveling for more than 1 km to fetch water from unprotected water sources (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:128). This statistic is of major concern mainly because of the challenges that were shown in the sanitation chapter. The use of unsafe water sources has been one of the major contributors to the spread of waterborne diseases such as cholera and

typhoid. Table 8.15 shows the percentage distribution of households by main source of water for drinking and cooking (Zimbabwe National Statistics 2012:129):

Percent Distribution of Households by Main Source of Water for Drinking and cooking and by Distance (metres) to the source, Zimbabwe 2012 Census

Source of Water	On Premises	Less than 500m	500m to 1km	More than 1km	Missing	Total
Piped water inside house	47.9	-	-	-	-	18.0
Piped water outside house	32.6	8.4	1.2	0.5	1.8	14.8
Communal Tap	1.5	10.6	3.1	1.6	0.6	4.2
Well/borehole protected	14.6	55.0	59.5	51.3	5.9	38.2
Well-unprotected	2.9	19.2	22.2	18.4	2.8	12.8
River/stream/dam	0.1	5.8	12.8	26.6	2.0	7.4
Other specify	0.1	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.4	0.5
Missing	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	86.5	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	**1147151**	**808290**	**603401**	**367880**	**132294**	**3059016**

Table 8.15

Table 8.15 further elaborates on the percentage of people who make use of the different sources of water for drinking and cooking. 47.9 percent of the population has piped water on the premises whilst, as mentioned earlier, a significant part of the population still makes use of unprotected sources of water for cooking and drinking. Importantly, from table 8.15 it is clear that boreholes are an important water source for communities. It is noted that 55.0 percent of the population travels less than 500m to make use of borehole facilities with 51.3 percent of the population traveling more than 1km to make use of the same facilities. In this regard, the use of boreholes is extremely important, and it is of paramount importance that boreholes are drilled for communities as many citizens make use of them.

The divide between the urban areas and the rural areas is revealed through the toilet facilities which are available, this refers to a point I made earlier. According to the Zimbabwe National Statistics (2012:126):

> About 33 percent of the households in the country mostly used flush toilets. The proportion of households which mostly used blair toilets was about 22 percent while that which mostly used pit latrines was 13 percent. There was a significant proportion (24 percent) of households which was not using any type of toilet facility at all.

The fact that 24 percent of the people did not have access to toilet facilities, four years after a devastating cholera outbreak, again, speaks to the challenges that were evident due to matters pertaining to WASH. To further shed light on this the Zimbabwe National Statistics (2012:126) further notes that,

> The largest proportions of households which mostly used flush toilets were in Bulawayo (93 percent) and Harare (85 percent). The proportion of households without any toilet facility ranged from less than one percent in Harare to 56 percent in Matabeleland North.

This again reveals the disparities between the urban areas and the rural areas whereby in Matabeleland North 56 percent of the population do not have access to toilet facilities whilst in the capital, only one percent of the population does not have access to toilet facilities. More strikingly, at the attainment of independence, the government had pledged a significant amount of finances to developing the rural communities but from these reports it is clear that there is still some considerable that still needs to be done in this regard.

Overview of Governance in Zimbabwe

Before delving into water governance within Zimbabwe, it is important to first discuss the governance dynamics within the country as a whole. So far in this chapter, I have shown how at the attainment of independence Mugabe and his government inherited an unequal society. In spite of that, the government embarked on various projects that were aimed at developing the rural areas which had been neglected as a result of colonialism which had thrived on marginalization. From as far back as 1890 when the BSAC settled in Zimbabwe, the question on governance has been widely debated.

Members of Parliament (MP) are an important aspect of governance within any functional democracy. Tendai Biti[17] notes that in any functional state an MP is very important because the MP is the embodiment of the people's will (Biti: 2018). This is an important departure point as in this case, it is the role of the MP to represent the people who would have voted for them in parliament. Within the Zimbabwean context, Biti notes that in his time as an MP, the challenges that he and many others, especially in the opposition, have faced are structural challenges. These structural challenges are as a result of working in an environment of oppression and an environment of fear (Biti: 2018). The environment Biti mentions is as a result of the challenge that the opposition, MDC, posed to the ruling ZANU PF from the turn of the millennium. Examples can be drawn from chapter 5 which showed how local

[17] Tendai Biti is the current MP for Harare East Province and also served as Finance Minister of Zimbabwe between 2009 and 2013

government in Zimbabwe is a hotly contested realm between central government (ZANU PF) and local government (MDC).

Biti also notes that in addition to structural challenges MPs in Zimbabwe also face procedural challenges. When discussing this Biti (2018) notes that:

> The procedural challenges that we faced as an opposition party… we [do] not have resources, we [do] not have library centres, we don't have [this] particularly for rural MPs. There is no assistance on developmental assistance… people need roads, people need boreholes and so forth.

Biti, here mentions the lack of developmental assistance that has seen a number of areas, particularly areas, being neglected, resulting in them not having the necessary infrastructure to take care of their needs such as the drilling of boreholes. The other element that Biti touches on is the nature of the Zimbabwean state which has resulted in the failure of provision of water resources, electricity and other basic services. When describing the Zimbabwean state Biti (2018) notes that:

> The [Zimbabwean] state is a captured one, the state is a bastardized one, the state is owned by one party and that is ZANU PF. So, there is a closure of political space so it's very difficult for an opposition to operate in dominated social formations such Zimbabwe, Angola, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Cameroon and at the present moment, Equatorial Guinea. It's an old African story of capture, control and monopolization of power.

Biti confirms the power contestations that are evident in Zimbabwe between ZANU PF and MDC. In addition to this, Biti also mentions how the political scenario is evident in many other Africans where the opposition faces obstacles that are as a result of ruling political parties. In relation to governance, Biti notes that it remains one of the biggest challenges in post-colonial Zimbabwe. More importantly what Biti refers to is mainly linked to the political culture in Zimbabwe.

In relation to political culture, Khabele Malosa's article, *"Political Culture and Democratic Governance in Southern Africa,"* describes culture as being a crucial determinant of the history, identity and destiny of any given society (Matlosa 2003:85). In this case, Biti's description of the Zimbabwean state, which he describes as being "captured", goes a long way in unpacking the political culture within Zimbabwe. Further to this, Matlosa (2003:85) states that, "The dynamics of a social fabric of any society, therefore, revolve principally around the culture of that society" (Matlosa 2003:85). Again, the political culture in Zimbabwe is again what Biti has alluded to in relation to the governance of Zimbabwe.

Seemingly in agreement with Biti, Kudzai Mubayiwa, who ran for Council in Harare's Ward 6[18]. Mubayiwa's observation also seemingly looks at the political culture in Zimbabwe and she is also of the belief that the opposition in Zimbabwe has perpetuated this cycle of poor governance in Zimbabwe's local government. Mubayiwa notes that corruption has been of major hindrance to service delivery in Zimbabwe. It is important to note that the opposition, MDC has been running most of the urban areas in Zimbabwe since 2000. When alluding to the challenge facing Harare for instance, Mubayiwa (2018) notes that:

> So, my feeling is that ultimately the biggest thing is corruption. Now I know that the ruling party, which is MDC, and I'm saying this because I've said this in the public domain before. You [the opposition] argue that your work was interfered by the Local Government [Ministry]- appreciated! But I do know that they [the opposition] were able to attain some loans for refurbishing our water works and stuff like that. And it seems that some portion may have gone or never, I don't have the exact facts, looking from both sides and the line that's in the middle may or may not have been misappropriated…

Mubayiwa's observation in this regard is important because it shows how corruption within Zimbabwe is not mainly due to the ruling party, ZANU PF alone, but the opposition itself, MDC, has been embroiled in a number of corrupt activities in the running of the urban City Councils in Zimbabwe. The corruption by the MDC Alliance was also made clear by the leader of the opposition, Nelson Chamisa. Concerning the running of the second largest city in Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Chamisa noted that (Ndlovu 2019):

> Our deployees in government are supposed to be guided by procedure, good governance, sound policy, rule of law and constitutionalism. Our deployees in government have to act in a manner that shows excellence of councillors.
> Anything that is below that mark is un-MDC. Anything that is below that mark attracts a very strong response from the party and its leadership…

In this case, the leadership of the MDC Alliance acknowledged that indeed that there was a challenge that was as a result of corruption in the running of urban councils by the opposition party in Zimbabwe. Further to this Ndlovu (2019) notes that corruption had been long associated with the MDC run council in Bulawayo. Other than Bulawayo, it was also reported that the MDC councils running Chitungwiza and Harare city councils had also been crippled by corruption.

Concerning Chitungwiza, in an article entitled, *"Chitungwiza graft exposed,"* The Standard Newspaper unpacked a number of cases of corruption that involved both MDC and ZANU PF councillors. One of the main issues in Chitungwiza relates to the sale of land for residential

[18] Ward 6 is the Central Ward for Harare which includes the Avenues as well as the Central Business District

houses. The Standard (2019) noted that, "Chitungwiza is the only local authority where the two main political parties are united for the purposes of stealing land and that is why they refused to implement recommendations to charge competitive rates pegged in US Dollars." In this case it is clear that the nature of corruption in this regard extends to both ZANU PF and MDC thus confirming that the challenge is much broader and can be linked more to the extractive political nature within Zimbabwe which can be linked to colonialism.

In another article, *"All corrupt councils must face the music,"* there are further allegations that the city councils of Chitungwiza and Harare have both been unable to provide basic service delivery for its resident. In Chitungwiza, for example, the city council has failed to provide basic services such as running water and refuse collection all while still expecting the citizens to pay their monthly bills (The Herald: 2019). This has been one of the main challenges for citizens within Zimbabwe, whereby in most cases, they are paying for a service they are not receiving. Mubayiwa also mentions this as being one of the main problems with the city councils in Zimbabwe. She notes that there is a huge misconception that citizens willingly do not pay for their bills. Mubayiwa (2018) notes that:

> There is often the misconception that people don't pay for services. It's always these shoddy services that require an individual to pay before getting a service. Take for example when you order a meal in a hotel. You first order your food, eat and then you pay. So now the citizens have been made into monsters that do not pay, and now even someone who pays for a service and then the individual does not get the service that they paid for- how do you expect that person to feel? So the discipline has to start somewhere. Offer the residents quality water and they will definitely pay their bills on time so let us believe in our people.

Mubayiwa, here raises a valid that links to the governance of Zimbabwe as a whole. Due to the extractive nature of the state, the citizens bear the full brunt of a state that expects people to pay in the absence of a service. This, again, further sheds light on the governance within the Zimbabwean state. When alluding to this Biti (2018) notes that:

> …the ZANU PF regime is run rough shored over power, over governance in this country because they operate on the basis of entitlement, they operated on the basis of impunity, the operated on the basis of indifference *"munotiita sei[19]"* "because *takakusunungurai[20]*."

This further sheds light to an earlier point raised on political culture within Zimbabwe that has resulted in both ZANU PF and MDC being guilty of contributing to the poor governance structures within Zimbabwe. As alluded to in chapter 5, the politicization of local government in Zimbabwe has resulted in the failure to deliver the services that communities require.

[19] Translated directly from Shona – "What can you do to us?"
[20] Translated directly from Shona – "We freed you [from colonial rule]"

Concerning councils, Mubayiwa (2018) notes that councils have been used as places by political parties to reward those that helped them get into power, thus rewarding them with a place in local government. In this regard, local government fuels systems of patronage that hinder local government from providing what citizens require.

The politicization of local government in Zimbabwe was very prominent under the auspice of former Local Government Minister, Ignatius Chombo. In 2013, the ministry wrote off debt equating to US$55m which resulted in the state owned ZINWA failing to pay its workers. In a clear example, that alludes to the political culture in Zimbabwe and governance in Zimbabwe, Muzulu (2013) notes that, "ZINWA was owed US$100 million by local authorities, and through the cancellation, it joined power utility ZESA (US$170 million), state telecommunication company TelOne (US$80 million) and local authorities which cancelled debts totalling over US$2 billion after the July 31 elections." The cancelation of debt by the government was not meant to assist citizens, however, it was viewed as a ploy to garner votes from the citizenry.

Under the government of Mugabe, ZANU PF is believed to have used the debt cancellations as a campaign tool. The announcement of the debt cancellation was issued a few weeks before the 2013 general election. Chombo issued a directive that ordered 92 councils to write off debts (Muzulu: 2013). The ramifications of this debt cancellation were severe and are believed to have crippled many councils in Zimbabwe. Muzulu (2013) notes that Harare lost over US$166 million, Bulawayo lost US$46 million, Masvingo lost US$6,7 million and Masvingo Rural District Council lost US$4,8 million. These staggering figures ensured that the incoming councils, which in most cases were from the opposition, inherited councils that were struggling financially.

The timing of the debt cancelation (a few weeks before the 2013 general election), point to a clear political move by ZANU PF. The Herald (2013) noted that:

> While councils can cry foul that they have been caught offside, their service delivery standards were so poor that they did not justify the money they were charging ratepayers. In addition, councils were being accused of having dubious exchange rates when they converted Zimbabwe dollar balances into US dollars.

This speaks to the contestations between ZANU PF as central government and MDC in local government. The debt cancellation all but confirms the contestation as central government in this regard, blindsided local government by imposing a directive which would have a negative impact on local government. Further to this, the Herald notes that many would have viewed

this as a "populist election fever policy", however, this was not the case as the entire country would have benefitted from this policy (The Herald: 2013). Although this might have been the case at face value, the impacts of the policy were politically driven.

One of the ZINWA directors who was interviewed in relation to the debt cancellation alluded to how the process had hindered the organization from paying its workers. The Finance Director of ZINWA at the time, Honest Murindagomo, noted that, "The debt write-off had a severe knock on our cash flow and we are looking towards a turnaround in the short-term" (Muzulu: 2013). According to ZANU PF every Zimbabwean citizen would benefit from the debt cancellation there were negative impacts on organizations who relied on ratepayers' payments to remain functional. In one other example, it was noted that the bulk of the money owed to ZINWA was from farmers. It was noted that, "Farmers owed us considerable amounts of money, particularly those who were involved in irrigation farming, but we hope that now they will start from a clean slate and service their debts" (Muzulu: 2013). This is a clear example of bad corporate governance which would cripple ZINWA thus affecting the organization's ability to provide the service it was meant to.

One of the other issues relating to governance is the debate surrounding devolution which was raised in chapter 5. The topic surrounding devolution is one of the most polarising topics within Zimbabwe. Even though the 2013 Constitution in Section 264 clearly outlines that devolution must be carried out, this has yet to happen thus again speaking to the broader debates surrounding governance in Zimbabwe. In relation to devolution, Biti (2018) notes that:

> Power is so much centralized in Zimbabwe, even state institutions are actually an individual. Mugabe held both *de facto* and *de jure* [forms of power]. So we have to *"deMugabenize"* and *"deZANUnize"* the state. The constitutional provisions are not the problem. The constitution provisions are what you would find in many other countries. Many other countries have got weaker governance legal infrastructure from the constitutional point of view but it is the practice.

The post-colonial history of Zimbabwe is dominated mainly by Mugabe and his ability to centralize power. Biti notes that Mugabe and ZANU PF had centralized power. This quote concerning devolution also further links strongly to path dependence as one can argue that under Mugabe the Zimbabwean government extended the top-down structure of power that the Rhodesian government had made use of. Zimbabwe under Mugabe and now Mnangagwa represent a very centralized state that centres on ZANU PF.

The example of debt cancelation by Chombo is a clear example of how power has been centralized in Zimbabwe. The challenge that Biti alludes to here is the implementation of the

frameworks as seen within the constitution. When describing why devolution is important for Zimbabwe Biti (2018) notes that:

> …you can't expect a minister sitting in Harare, in Rhodes Avenue, to know whether to put a bridge in Nyadire or to build a school in Nyadire, or to put a building in Nyadire or a school in Nyamuzuwe in Mutoko. But only a person in Mashonaland East will know that, "No guys, it's more important to put a school in Nyadire than it is to put [one] in Mapereke. That is what is meant by devolution.

In this case, devolution sees power being ceded to communities as they will have the technical understanding of how their communities will work. Biti (2018) notes that devolution is focussed on two points- the right to develop communities and the right to determine how the local community should operate amongst themselves. Mubayiwa also spoke about the importance of devolution within Zimbabwe. In relation to the management of water Mubayiwa (2018) notes that, "With water, we want there to be a devolution of sorts. Divide the ward perhaps into five or so spaces by direction and then of course a centre. Put in ward representatives because the issues that each area in the ward faces are kind of unique." In this case devolution is an important tool that MPs feel will allow communities to develop ways to better manage themselves.

As repeatedly mentioned in this section, the governance culture within Zimbabwe requires a fundamental shift. Concerning this Biti (2018) notes that, "Devolution is a component of organizing and rethinking governance and governance culture in Zimbabwe- and it [devolution] is so key." As mentioned earlier, because of Mugabe's dominance over the Zimbabwean political landscape discussions over the ceding of power were always avoided. Biti (2018) notes that ZANU PF did little in relation do devolution because they were heavily opposed to it during the constitution negotiating process between 2009 and 2013. ZANU PF effectively decided to "kill devolution by disuse by not enacting the requisite law" (Biti: 2018). The power dynamics which see ZANU PF and MDC at loggerheads continue to be evident. In summing up why ZANU PF is against devolution Biti (2018) notes that:

> …[ZANU PF is against devolution] because devolution creates competing centres of power. Devolution decimates monopolization of power and ZANU PF is power and it is intoxicated with power. It creates fresh narratives. If you go to Nigeria where there is [federal] devolution, there are about 35 states in Nigeria, governors compete and those governors become so powerful and they don't need central government and ZANU PF is afraid of that.

The centralization of power in Zimbabwe has seen ZANU PF enjoy a stranglehold on the Zimbabwean political landscape. From Biti's observation it is clear that ZANU PF does not entertain any discussion that sees the party having to cede power in any form. Devolution of

powers to local government is viewed in a negative light because of the threat it poses to ZANU PF's hold on power.

As we saw in chapter five above, local government is an important aspect of post-colonial governance in Zimbabwe. Alois Madhekeni, is a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe's Public Administration Department, is of the belief that the nature of politics within Zimbabwe has contributed greatly to the challenge of local government in Zimbabwe. When shedding light on Zimbabwe's post-colonial state local governance system Madhekeni (2018) notes the following:

> [After] independence in 1980, there were two political parties [ZANU and ZAPU]. Two leaders- Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. The one was Shona and the other was Ndebele respectively. In the first election Mugabe lost dismally in the Matabele region and Nkomo also lost dismally in the Mashona region and so the country was sharply divided. So what then local governance does is that even though you do not necessarily have a national appeal as with the case with ZAPU but still have power in terms of local governance.

Madhekeni here refers to the point I made in both the fifth chapter and the first section of this current chapter. In the fifth chapter the main argument I made was that the politicization of local government sees ZANU PF at central government level at loggerheads with MDC at local government level. Madhekeni (2018) makes a similar point, however, he makes reference to the two nationalist movements that contested the election that would usher in independence in 1980. Not only does he reveal that Zimbabwe was polarized, but he also alludes to how the ZANU vs ZAPU scenario is similar to the current ZANU PF vs MDC scenario.

To further shed light on these contestations Madhekeni refers to how at central government level the "winner takes all" mentality sees an exclusion of parties that do not meet the numbers. However, at local government level there is an inclusion of smaller parties. When discussing this Madhekeni (2018) notes that:

> …at National level there is one winner and the winner takes all. At local level there are different winners from different political parties and there is more competition for power. So in my view that's what explains the lack of enthusiasm to reform local governance just after independence, simply because reforming and empowering it was going to mean that ZAPU was going to have some relevance, traction, stronghold and some powers at the local government level.

The above extract speaks to how little was done after the attainment of independence to change the governing structures within the country. ZANU in this case, ensured that the opposition would struggle to make meaningful progress within local government. According to Madhekeni (2018) this was achieved by taking away the revenue generation powers from the

local authorities so that the opposition would have to rely on central government for funding. Strikingly, although this refers to a period after independence this is similar to the current scenario between the current regime and the opposition.

An Overview of Water Governance in Zimbabwe

Water Governance under Colonialism

As noted in the first section of this chapter, Zimbabwe inherited an unequal society from the colonial government in 1980 and this also applied to the water sector in the country. The BSAC moved swiftly to enact laws that would protect the interests of the colonial settlers. Manzungu (2018) notes that the laws that were crafted by the BSAC advantaged the white settlers and disadvantaged the blacks. This marginalization would be the foundation upon which the colonial state was built. In relation to water Manzungu (2018) notes that:

> In short you got a progression of the dispossession of blacks from water resources in two ways: you take them from well-watered places like region 1 and 2 and move them to regions 4 and 5 and thus resultantly cutting off the blacks. Number 2, they passed the water laws around 1913 and I think the most well quoted one was the 1927 Act and amended as the 1976 Water Act.

Manzungu here alludes to the marginalization of black communities that the BSAC used to ensure that they would be the benefactors of the Southern African country's water resources. This further speaks to the nature of colonialism and how it functioned, this has been repeatedly emphasized throughout this chapter and the overall research paper. The relationship between land and water is intertwined and under colonialism, the native population was moved to infertile land, thus meaning the native population had less access to water. According to Manzungu (2018), if one did not have access to land that meant that one had no access to water. In other words, the laws were exclusionary in the sense that the native population had no access to land thus meaning they had no access to water.

As alluded to earlier in this dissertation, the colonial system made use of the riparian system. When describing this system Manzungu (2018) notes that:

> The riparian system simply means that if you are closer to a water system you have rights to the water and that stood for a long time. So, if my farm was adjacent to a water source, I had rights to it … [the riparian system] went on for a while until there were issues of the fact that it's only the people who are closer to a water system [who benefitted]. So, what about those that were far? So even among white farmers themselves they begun to argue, and it was later on amended so that you had to apply for a water right because with the riparian system you could just get your water.

In relation to the riparian system, Hardlife Mudzingwa, the Programmes Manager for the Community Water Alliance (CWA) based in Harare, notes that the 1976 Water Act had a huge impact on Zimbabwe. By further shedding light on Manzungu's description on the riparian system, Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …in Chegutu, the farmers around has pieces of land and those pieces of land there were dams. The local authority of Chegutu wanted to abstract water from those dams for distribution to residents but because the law provided for private ownership, they could not do that. The law by then also provided for priority dating system… this was contained in the 1976 legislation.

This is related to Manzungu's earlier point whereby it is clear that at the attainment of independence little was done to change the water laws as the example from Chegutu shows. When summing up the overall colonial system Manzungu (2018) notes that marginalization under the colonial government worked in two ways- colonialism took the land from the indigenous population and colonialism also enacted laws that entrenched dispossessed the natives from their land.

Water Governance in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

In relation to governance, the new government in 1980 did little to change the laws up until 1998 when a new Water Act was introduced. Concerning water governance in post-colonial Zimbabwe, Manzungu notes that it is important to look at it in two phases- the period between 1980 and 1998 and the period between 1999 and 2000. Manzungu (2018) notes that although Zimbabwe had been independent from colonial rule, the country was still using the colonial 1976 Water Act which was only repealed in 1998. Effectively for the first 22 years of Zimbabwe's independence the country continued to use the colonial water law. During these 22 years it was noted that the system in use at the time was "the same" with changes only in practice and not by law (Manzungu: 2018).

The dramatic change that occurred in 2000 was mainly due to the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) that took place in the early 2000s. Manzungu goes as far as stating that the land reform programme changed water governance dramatically (Manzungu: 2018). The 1998 Water Act saw the introduction of catchment councils whereby councils would each manage their own water resources. One of the huge challenges with the 1998 Water Act was that the marginalization that had been experienced under colonialism was, still to an effect, playing a role in post-colonial Zimbabwe. In one example Manzungu (2018) notes that:

> When I started in 2000, the white farmers were still there. In one of my articles I said that in 1999, if you went to the typical catchment council meetings, you'd find a white farmer as the chairperson and a white woman as the secretary and a few of the black farmers. This was a strange environment for these black farmers. They did not understand the system and English was the preferred language. At times they would say, "In the rural areas we don't have boreholes." The white farmers would say, "We are not talking about boreholes, we are talking about water resource management."

The marginalization that the colonial government had overseen was almost still intact from Manzungu's description. However, with land reform, Manzungu (2018) notes that "everything exploded." Although my focus is not on Zimbabwe's land reform, it is important to note that the land reform programme changed the dynamics within Zimbabwe's agricultural sector. Manzungu (2018) notes that the catchment areas that were introduced by the 1998 Water Act remained in place, albeit it in name only. The main challenge that arose for the catchment areas after the land reform programme was related primarily to funding. The revenue that covered the operational costs for catchment areas was sourced from farmers' levies but because there were no longer farmers (as they had been removed from the farms) the revenue stream dried up (Manzungu: 2018). Even when the GNU was created in 2009 little changed in how the catchment areas operated.

In summation, Manzungu (2018) notes that between 1980 and 1998 Zimbabwe used the same colonial law, between 1999 and 2000, new water governance laws were introduced but were never really given a chance.

Water Governance Under the 1998 Water Act and the Creation of ZINWA

The establishment of the 1998 brought about changes in Zimbabwe's water governance laws. This discussion concerning ZINWA is a more contemporary debate on the organization. A more contemporary understanding of ZINWA is important because it not only outlines the operations of the organization, but it also sheds light on the active role the organization is meant to play without political influence. In relation to water governance, Mudzingwa notes that it is important to look at it from 4 areas. According to Mudzingwa (2018), to understand water governance the following needs to be taken into consideration:

1. Law, policy and legislation
2. Institutional framework on water
3. Capacity of those who are meant to provide water, local authorities and residents in their understanding on matters pertaining to water
4. Stakeholder participation

When looking at the previous water laws that had been introduced in Zimbabwe, especially the 1976 Water Act, the above were not considered. The 1998 Water Act saw the creation of the stated owned company, ZINWA, which aimed to cater for the points I mentioned. According to Mudzingwa (2018), the new water act abolished private ownership of water and water was established as public good and it also, as I have just mentioned, created ZINWA. The creation of ZINWA now meant that one had to have been in possession of a permit in order for them abstract water from the ground, even on a privately-owned piece of land (Mudzingwa: 2018). This in essence was the government's efforts towards redressing the colonial 1976 Water Act.

Importantly, the 1998 Water Act saw an end to the monopolization of water resources simply because they happened to be on a piece of land that a farmer owned (Mudzingwa: 2018). The 1998 Water Act also introduced a stakeholder participation. This was an extremely important aspect as, before, this was only a privilege that was only for a few. Mudzingwa (2018) notes that, "…there are competing interests now; there are some who would want water for commercial and economic activities and residents would want water for domestic purposes…" The 1998 Water Act catered for this, and for the first time, there was a sense of inclusion which had not been evident in times past.

When looking at the 1998 Water Act it is also important to note that the new law included the environment- this was not included in the previous water act. When expounding on this, Mudzingwa (2018) notes that with the previous act, the environment was not recognized as a user of water. This is extremely important especially when taking into consideration how climate change has had a debilitating impact on the environment. The inclusion thereof was an important aspect of water governance in Zimbabwe.

Farai George Manzira, who currently serves as a catchment manager with ZINWA[21] for Umzingwane[22] catchment, confirms that ZINWA was established out of a process of stakeholder consultation. According to Manzira (2018):

> The process that led to the creation of ZINWA was basically stakeholder consultation to achieve equitable access to water for the Zimbabwean population. Basically, before that allocation of water in the country was based on the priority date system where it was on a first come first serve basis such that only those who had applied to have water rights would have access to water at the expense of the "newcomers" in the sector.

[21] This discussion on ZINWA speaks to the current ZINWA operations
[22] Umzingwane catchment covers Matabeleland South and parts of Midlands and Masvingo provinces

Here, Manzira, alludes again to how ZINWA was not only driven by stakeholder engagement, but how the organization aimed to redress the 1976 Water Act and how it functioned. When alluding to the organization of ZINWA, Manzira (2018) notes that the organization is an operational wing of the Ministry of Water in Zimbabwe. Manzira (2018) notes that the organizational structure is as follows:

- Board of Directors at a national level where the Chief Executive is an ex official member
- The Chief Executive has three directors below him- the Finance Director, Water Supply Operation Director and the Engineering Services & Hydrology Director

The creation of ZINWA to some has been seen as a mode to privatize water within Zimbabwe. Concerning this Mudzingwa (2018) notes that ZINWA is a vehicle that will see the privatization of water in Zimbabwe. The literature used throughout this dissertation has also pointed to the fact that ZINWA might be viewed as the process that kickstarted the privatization of water. To further solidify this standpoint Mudzingwa (2018) notes from his observations, with Harare water, there were discussions undergoing of forming a company by the name Harare Metropolitan Water Private Limited which will be a company that will be responsible for the provision of water. In this case Mudzingwa raises an important issue to the profit incentive that is likely to influence the provision of water to citizens in Harare.

Mudzingwa notes that one of the major challenges that has been faced in relation to the 1998 Water Act is the capacity needed to carry out the necessary changes. When expanding on this Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …we have a serious gap on capacity within Zimbabwe especially local authorities. It's a serious challenge for some where there is some sort of "better" in terms of capacity. The understanding when you talk to an engineer about water- they talk to you about pipes and water treatment plants. They are not worried about rivers, river discharge of streams or whatever happens before you talk about the dam and that's a serious challenge.

Mudzingwa refers to the disconnect between the people who are making important decisions and the people on the ground within the Zimbabwean water sector. On one hand, you have engineers and on the other hand, you have stakeholders such as citizens. It is, therefore, important to take into consideration the notion of stakeholder participation which sees the closing of the gap between, for example, engineers and the wider communities. Capacity, according to Mudzingwa, also refers to the maintenance of water infrastructure such as pipes. Concerning this, Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …in Harare, we are losing about 52% of treated water. Currently City of Harare is producing 520 mega litres of water per day and out of that 520, 52% of that water is unaccounted for. How do you explain such a situation? At times it shoots up to as high as 62% so it's an expression of serious gaps.

The management in this regard becomes extremely important and further links to a point that was raised in chapter 5, which showed that the lack of experience by water authorities has been a huge disadvantage for water distribution. As Mudzingwa rightfully noted, there has to be an effort to address these gaps, especially taking into consideration the vast amounts of water that are being lost due to poor infrastructure.

The purpose of ZINWA is extremely important, especially in the broader context of the 1998 Water Act and water governance within Zimbabwe. Manzungu (2018) notes that ZINWA is mainly responsible for managing water resources and it is important to note that ZINWA does not craft policy as this role is meant to be reserved for the government. In terms of judging the effectiveness of ZINWA since its inception a number of factors such as the state of Zimbabwe's economy have to be taken into consideration. Manzungu (2018) states that the following in relation to the financial side of ZINWA:

> … [at the time of its inception] there was no revenue because ZINWA is supposed to serve bulk water or raw water. So, it could not operate effectively because there was no funding stream. I mean if ZINWA had money they would have been a success. So, it has not been managing very well because there is no funding really.

Manzungu's point in this regard is that important funding has not only crippled ZINWA, but it has also affected various efforts aimed at basic service delivery. In addition to funding, there is also a belief that there has, again, been a politicization of ZINWA with Ministers and political elites having a say in how the organization is run, this relates primarily to the payment of levies. Manzungu (2018) notes that:

> … [with water levies] they have been reduced by government to about $1 per mega litre which used to be $3 per mega litre and this was too expensive for farmers [who] said reduce it to $1 per mega litre. Also, my suspicion is also because after land reform a lot of government officials have farms, so I think there is also self-interest…

As noted in relation to Zimbabwe, the governance culture in the country is that self-interest by politicians and elites is prevalent in the country and this is evident through this pricing mechanism. Mudzingwa previously noted that in most cases there is a disjuncture between certain actors within the water governance sector in Zimbabwe. Manzungu echoes the same belief in relation to ZINWA's relationship with city councils. There have been great

disagreements between city councils and ZINWA in relation to the provision of water. Manzungu (2018) alludes to the following:

> The water supply has been, for example in Gwanda town, affected by the endless arguments between ZINWA and that particular municipality. The government says, "ZINWA, you can only charge this, these are our charges." You see what ZINWA does? It usually serves bulk water to industries, mining and even agriculture. Now in urban areas they treat water and they bill the city council or the town council. The city council goes to collect its money from the rate payers (citizens). So, what happens is that city council or the town council collects money from the rate payers, but they don't pay ZINWA. So ZINWA sometimes turns off the water and the moment you do that there is an uproar of course. I mean how can you shut down the whole city. So, the government then say open the water and it continues like that so that's the problem.

The above further confirms the difficulty and the gravity of the situation that ZINWA faces in relation to sourcing funding and managing water resources in Zimbabwe. There is not only a disjuncture between ZINWA and the city councils, however, there is a lack of accountability. This lack of accountability has crippled ZINWA financially and this lack of accountability has seen city councils not paying for a service they are receiving. The relationship between ZINWA and Zimbabwe's city councils is meant to be a complimentary one. When alluding to this Manzira (2018) notes that most cities are bulk consumers and ZINWA provides bulk water and untreated water. One example Manzira (2018) points to is derived from Gweru, whereby the Gwenoro and Amapongogwe Dams are there to serve the purpose of selling raw water to Gweru's city council.

It is clear that ZINWA is facing considerable challenges in carrying out its role. When pointing out one of the key challenges that ZINWA faces as an organization, Manzira (2018) says that there is a lack of appreciation by the Zimbabwean population of the value that ZINWA brings to water resources management to achieve service delivery. Manzungu earlier mentioned that ZINWA success or lack thereof had been down to the availability of financial revenue. Manzira, seems to also acknowledge that ZINWA had faced considerable challenges in its role within the Zimbabwean water sector. Manzira (2018) like Manzungu, acknowledges that funding is of huge hindrance to ZINWA, however, he notes that the organization has made considerable progress in terms of allowing the government to have a greater role in the management of water resources. Previously, power lay in the hands of river boards that were controlled by farmers. The creation of ZINWA thus changed this by allowing a supposedly neutral actor (the government) to manage water resources.

Dam Building and Water Governance in Zimbabwe

As mentioned in chapter seven above, Zimbabwe remains an agrarian economy, meaning that it is reliant on rainfall. However, another important element to consider is the building of dams. Since independence, the Zimbabwean government has invested heavily in building dams. Israel Rwodzi, who is the President of the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers and a registered large dams engineer has worked extensively on the building of dams in Zimbabwe.

Within the Zimbabwean context, the building of dams is seen as extremely important. Rwodzi (2018) notes that dam building in Zimbabwe is important because it helps to ensure water availability across both the dry and wet seasons. What is of further importance in this regard, is the fact that the main source of water stored in dams is sourced from rainfall thus again showing the importance of rain within countries like Zimbabwe. When further alluding to the Zimbabwean situation in relation to the building of dams, Rwodzi (2018) notes that dams in Zimbabwe capture about 25% of the water that comes into the country through rain whilst the rest of the water captured in Zimbabwe is lost through the rivers that go out of the country such as the Zambezi River and the Limpopo River.

Rwodzi, confirms the fact that after the attainment of independence in 1980 the government invested a considerable number of finances to the building of dams. Rwodzi (2018) notes that from the attainment of independence, a number of dams were built, and these were mainly aimed at assisting commercial farmers in Zimbabwe. The building of these could be viewed as a way the Zimbabwean government sought to address the challenges as a result of colonialism especially seeing that these dams were crucial for agriculture. Some of the dams that have been since built are the Mazvikadei Dam, the Osburne Dam, the Zhovhe Dam and the Wenimbi Dam. These dams are examples of the intensive fiscal input the government put into the construction of dams in Zimbabwe. In addition to these dams, Rwodzi further notes that many there was also heavy investment by the private sector in the building of dams in the early 1980s. The three dams that Rwodzi (2018) mentioned included the Mazowe Dam, the Muteri Dam and the Bharaji Dam which were privately built and funded through the private sector.

During the GNU between 2009 and 2013 Zimbabwe also saw a number of other dams being added. Under his tenure as Finance Minister, Biti (2018) noted that he was able to oversee the building of the Tokwemukosi Dam, the Wenimbi Dam. Further to this, Biti (2018) noted that a number of irrigation schemes were introduced. This is further evidence that the Zimbabwean government invested heavily in dams with the aim of assisting the farming sector. Rwodzi's

experience goes back again, to a point previously raised in this research paper where the loss of experts has crippled the water sector. When discussing this Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> If you look in the diaries, in the origination of these dams they were done in 50s and 60s. These are very old investigated sites. So, assuming things were going on, you would find that all those would have been by now developed.

In this case it is evident that having experts such as engineers is an important element of water governance within Zimbabwe. A combination of experts, as well as stakeholders mentioned in the 1998 Water Act, is an important aspect of ensuring that dams have been built to satisfy the needs of farmers. The building of dams and agriculture share a symbiotic relationship. When discussing this, Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> The agricultural sector relies mainly on dams because our rainfall patterns are very erratic and as you know our climatic zone requires that we have internal storage so it's a gap filler and dams actually to some extent help to purify water.

The description of dams as a gap filler sheds light on the importance of dams within the Zimbabwean farming industry. Dams, therefore, serve, as important tools for storing water to use when rainfall has receded or in times of drought. Further to this, it is important that there be a conveyance system that links dams. In relation to this point Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> We can have as many dams as possible, but the most important thing is the conveyance system that links the dams. For example, when you have the Osborne Dam which is 400 million cubic meters, the usable quantity depends on whether you have put the canals like the years when I was the projects engineer, we were trying to do the canals to actually use more than 30% of the Osborne water. The other water was to be used downstream in the Chisumbanje area. Now if you look at it when you are down in Chisumbanje we are losing probably 34 litres per second per kilometre whereas when you have got a proper conveyance canal pipeline the losses are actually reduced. So, agriculture, I'm assuming that when you say agriculture you are incorporating the conveyance.

It is clear that the building of dams is a delicate process and, therefore, needs to be conducted in similar fashion. In this case a conveyance canal pipeline is an important element that needs to be considered when building dams. Moreover, the government and stakeholders have an important role to play in ensuring that the plans incorporate the needs of communities who need dams. Dams are strongly linked to water governance and this is an important element to bear in mind considering Zimbabwe's agrarian economy. The water that is stored in dams becomes crucial within commercial farming especially in seasons where there is poor rainfall. Dams in this case become important investments for commercial farmers and the agrarian economy as a whole. As stated by Rwodzi (2018) the building dams influences water governance in Zimbabwe because the country mainly relies on stored water.

Zimbabwe sources its purified water from dams but unfortunately, most cities in Zimbabwe are built upstream of the storage dams. When further elaborating on this, Rwodzi (2018) notes that this is unfortunate because there is a high number of contaminations being swept into the dams. This makes water within many cities in Zimbabwe unsafe to use. This increases the chances of waterborne diseases within these cities. Further to this, the cities were built by the colonial government and some of the dams in Zimbabwe are also a product of the colonial inheritance within Zimbabwe.

The location of the towns and cities in Zimbabwe has inadvertently affected the quality of water in Zimbabwe's cities. When discussing this Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> The quality of water in the dams actually affects the cost of running cities. For example, if you're in Mutare and you are using the Odzani dams, these dams are up in the catchment. They have got good water to an extent that I'm not sure about today but some years back they were just chlorinating. Otherwise, there was no need for sediment removal. Now compare with Harare where you have sediments. You have more than eight chemicals that you apply. You apply carbon to remove the smells, you pre-chlorinate, sometimes you remove algae and then chlorinate afterwards. So, you have got high costs of service provision in terms of water.

In this case municipalities are seen to be investing heavily in chemicals and other products to ensure that the water that is produced is safe for consumption. It is no secret that drinking water in Zimbabwe is unsafe, this belief is echoed by Rwodzi (2018) who notes that the quality of drinking water in urban settlements has deteriorated. Further to this, diseases such as cholera have further compounded to the crisis thus proving that dams are an important element of water provision within Zimbabwe. Biti is also of the belief that the state of drinking water in Zimbabwe is a governance issue and it, therefore, speaks to how ZANU PF has governed the country since the early 2000s. When alluding to this, Biti (2018) notes that:

> We were only there for four and a half years[23] and we could not even undo 35 years of waste before and then when we left no one seemed to care and ZANU were now on their own so we are back in this mess again where any person, where no person actually drinks City of Harare water from a tap. Even I don't even do that because you know the mess that is there, so you know the problem.

The political aspect speaks directly to the point raised by Rwodzi. The building of dams is therefore both a political element and an economic element within Zimbabwe. However, another important element often ignored in relation to the building of dams is the aspect of corporate governance. There is an important role to be played by organizations such as the

[23] Biti here is referring to the GNU between 2009 and 2013 where there was a power sharing deal between the MDC and ZANU PF

Environmental Management Agency (EMA) as they are the regulators of issues pertaining to water and the overall environment. There are various examples within Zimbabwe that show a lack of corporate governance and one example is the City of Chinhoyi. When elaborating on the failed corporate governance in Chinhoyi, Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> Look for example [at] a town like Chinhoyi, when you pass through there, you see that there is a lot of sewerage discharge and they draw their water upstream of that. So, imagine if they were drawing their water downstream. That would force them to clean. So, what I am trying to say is that it's more of compliance and integrated planning.

Institutions such as EMA as well ministries in charge of water resources are seen to have a key role to play in the management of water in Zimbabwe. Moreover, there is also a need for channels that will hold institutions accountable for pollution as the ramifications are felt by the citizens. However, finances remain a major challenge for the building of dams in Zimbabwe. When alluding to this Rwodzi (2018) notes that:

> The biggest challenge, which I always say is that the finance, which is a common factor, normally I try to put it at the last, but I think for this I have to [put it at the beginning], but also the cost of building, you will find that the cost of raising infrastructure here in Zimbabwe is relatively higher than the other countries. One can argue that that these are different economies, but I think that we have good natural resources to build dams but we have very limited capacities in terms of inputs.

Even though, after the attainment of independence in 1980, there was heavy financial investment in dams, currently the financing is a challenge as mentioned by Rwodzi. The government needs to have in place measures to source funds for the building of dams within Zimbabwe. Worryingly, Rwodzi further notes that some projects that have been completed are not serving their purpose thus making these projects "dead investments" (Rwodzi 2018). It is, therefore, of paramount importance that when embarking on building dams and other infrastructure that they serve a purpose and for this to be possible there has to be a strong working relationship between stakeholders and technical experts.

Another important element of dam building in Zimbabwe is the expensive nature of pursuing infrastructural development. When alluding to this Rwodzi notes that there has be a good rationalization process related to the building of infrastructure such as dams. According to Rwodzi (2018):

> We import fuels [and] we import machinery, but we have got good raw materials as well as labour- it's to make sure we rationalize the cost of building. The cost is quite high and compliance issues to make sure that the planning is really done [thoroughly]. As I said earlier on, it's integrated because you get some projects that have been finished and they are not serving their purpose so it's a dead investment.

Rwodzi in this regard confirms, not only the high costs, but he also reaffirms the importance of having a sound planning that will see projects coming to fruition rather than them being rendered as being "dead investments." Further to this, it also evident that the government has to put in place measures that will see external investments in building dams. According to Rwodzi (2018) the business aspect of building dams "has to be articulated deeper in a more robust way so that it attracts investment." This investment remains extremely crucial and the government needs to source these funds to fully utilize the potential dams bring to the Zimbabwean water sector.

The investment for the building of dams was revealed at the Water Resources Infrastructure Investment Conference held between the 4th and the 5th of June 2018. The aim of this conference speaks directly to the point raised by Rwodzi where there is a clear need for investment in the building of dams. Zimbabwe's President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, notes that although Zimbabwe is ranked second on the African continent in relation to the building of dams (second to South Africa), the country has potential for the construction of more dams (Mnangagwa: 2018). The President further notes that the dams Zimbabwe needs are important especially for agriculture, power generation, fisheries industry and eco-tourism sector (Mnangagwa: 2018). This again, speaks directly to the needs of the country and more importantly how dams can alleviate challenges such as power generation. The President further echoes the need for investment which will see the building of dams coming to fruition. According to Mnangagwa (2018):

> We look forward to forging partnerships with the private sector and other development partners to compliment efforts that government has already taken to develop the water infrastructure in the country. Accordingly, our expectations are that we will see projects being taken up for implementation so that together we can explore novel ways of financing water and related infrastructure projects…

In this case, there is a clear indication that the Zimbabwean governments seeks to explore various channels to source funds for the building of dams. According to the Water Resources Infrastructure Investment Conference Prospectus there are 51 dams that need investment. Table 16 and show the dams that Zimbabwean government has listed for construction[24]:

[24] Water Resource Infrastructure Investment Conference Prospectus 2018 pg. 25

Project Name	Location	Estimated Capacity (m^3)	Purpose	Estimated Cost (US $)
Mazowe-Nyagui Dam	Mashonaland East	3.6 Billion	Irrigation, Water Supply to Harare	40 million
Swiswamayo Dam	Mashonaland East	2.0 Billion	Irrigation	350 Million
Nyakapupu Dam	Mashonaland West/Central	2.0 Billion	Irrigation	350 Million
Chimbadzi Dam	Mashonaland West	1.0 Billion	Irrigation	150 Million
Angwa Dam	Mashonaland West	3.0 Billion	Irrigation	380 Million
Sisije Dam	Mashonaland West	2.5 Billion	Irrigation	360 Million
Sakurgwe Dam	Mashonaland West	4.0 Billion	Irrigation	450 Million

Table 8.16

Table 8.16 shows some of the dams the Zimbabwean government has aimed to build in the country's various provinces. Some of the other dams mentioned in the prospectus show that the government seeks to invest heavily in the building of dams that have potential to boost the agricultural sector, and also alleviate the power challenges that have come as a result of the over reliance on the Kariba Dam.

One of the other dams with the potential to aid both in agriculture and in power generation is the Chitse Dam which is to be located in the Mashonaland Central Province. The dam is believed to have potential to for the following:

- 1,000ha irrigable land under wheat, tobacco, cotton, maize, sugar beans, tomatoes, onions, cabbage
- MW mini-hydro power station (plant capacity to be provided by feasibility report)
- Fisheries, eco-tourism and recreational facilities (Zimbabwe Government 2018:24)

Although the prospectus does state that this project is at the planning stage, the potential benefits of the dam cannot be ignored. However, as noted in this section, the effective planning, the availability of investors and the inclusion of stakeholders will be key in seeing the Chitse Dam (and other projects) project bearing fruits for Zimbabwe.

Wetlands and Water Governance in Zimbabwe

Wetlands are another important element of understanding water governance in Zimbabwe. The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) is the regulatory body that oversees the management of wetlands in Zimbabwe. According to the agency, "Wetlands are areas of land that are flooded with water, either seasonally or permanently" (EMA: 2018). Mudzingwa (2018) from the Community Water Alliance (CWA) based in Harare further describes a wetland in the following manner:

> …it's looking at an area of marsh or an area that is wet either seasonally or throughout the year- that is what a wetland is. But if you also want to go beyond legal definitions to look at the scientific definition it has to incorporate the type of soils that are found on that particular piece of land. But it's normally defined by wetness, but in Zimbabwe wetlands go beyond flares which are called *matoro/mapani* in Shona to also include rivers. [These] are also classified as wetlands and to also include dams.

The definition of a wetland in this regard refers to both a legal and scientific term, which are important starting points for this discussion. One of the difficulties that has arisen in relation to wetlands within Zimbabwe is the failure to understand their sheer importance to the country. Mudzingwa (2018) alludes to the fact that citizens mainly treat wetlands as wastelands and there is a failure to link water provision to the preservation of wetlands. This failure to understand the importance of wetlands has led to the reckless depletion of them which could have huge ramifications for Zimbabwe's water resources.

EMA in its capacity as the management agency in charge of wetlands has gone through great lengths to shed light on the importance of wetlands within Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is signatory to the Ramsar Convention which was adopted in Ramsar, Iran, in 1971. It is noted that this treaty "embodies commitments to its member countries to maintain the ecological character of their wetlands and to plan for the "wise use," or sustainable use, of all wetlands in their territories" (EMA: 2020). The Ramsar Convention confirms and reaffirms the importance of wetlands. In line with this convention the EMA earmarked Ramsar Sites in Zimbabwe. This serve as the important wetlands in Zimbabwe and are listed as follows:

- Victoria Falls
- Driefontein Grasslands
- Lake Chivero
- Middle Zambezi/Mana Pools
- Chinhoyi Caves
- Monavale Vlei

- Cleveland Dam

According to EMA (2018), these seven sites have been reserved as 'Ramsar Protected Wetlands' and cover about 28 582.40ha. This is an important point to consider here as the areas should be protected by ensuring that there is no construction of buildings or any activities that could greatly affect the state of these wetlands. In terms of wetlands' importance, the EMA (2018) notes that wetlands act as natural earth sponges and are sources of all rivers and streams, wetlands soak up rain slowly and recharge ground water, rivers and streams and wetlands are important in times of helping flood protection by absorbing excess water. Evidently, the EMA points to the natural aspect of wetlands and the role that they play in everyday society. The EMA (2020), as seen in Fig 8.1 has also shown how wetlands are distributed throughout Zimbabwe.

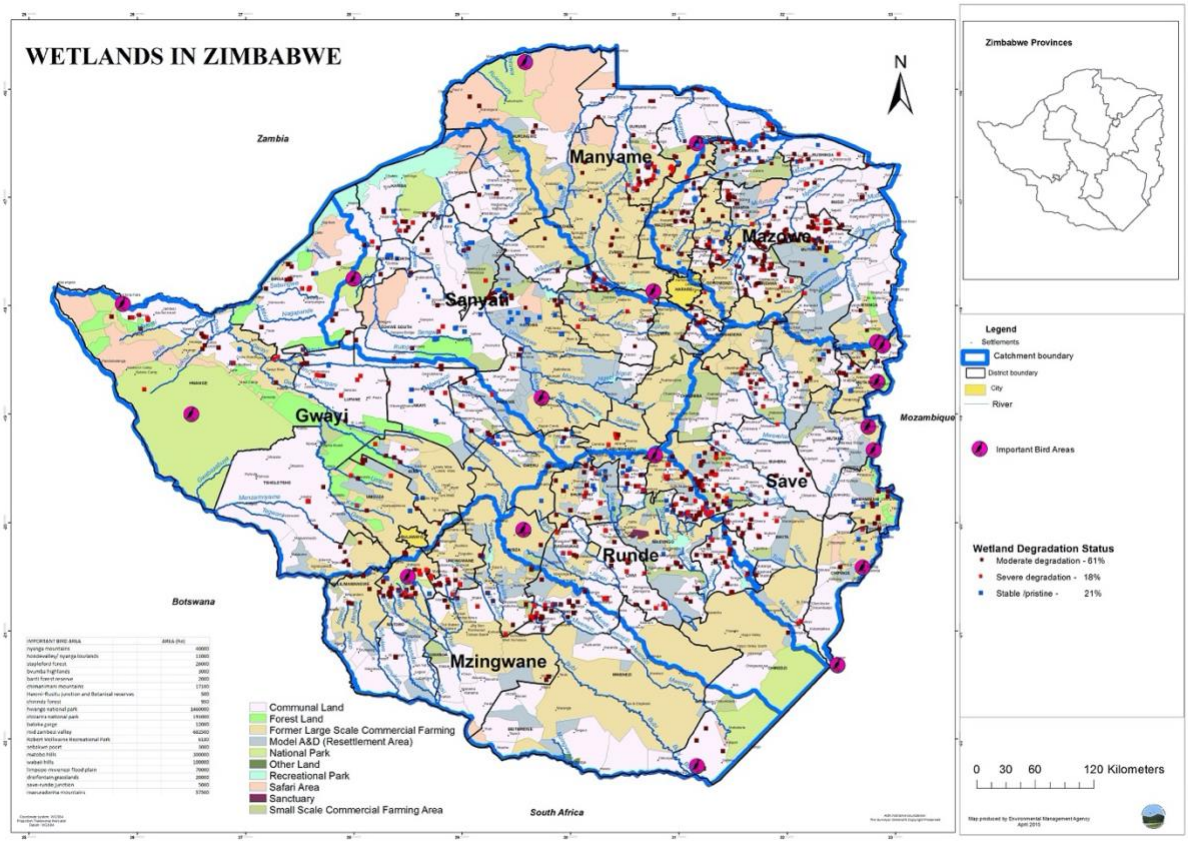


Fig. 8.1 **Source:** https://www.ema.co.zw/agency/downloads/file/maps/Wetlands%20in%20Zimbabwe%20%20%20%204.jpg

Fig. 8.1 shows that Zimbabwe is endowed with a number of wetlands, however, the utilization of these wetlands remains a huge challenge. For example, EMA (2018) notes the degradation of wetlands in Zimbabwe has been caused by housing and infrastructure developments,

agriculture, industrial activity-effluent discharge, grazing, mining and deforestation. These activities are more or less linked to human activity and this has seen a number of wetlands being depleted. Mudzingwa notes that the land question within the Zimbabwean political landscape has resulted in various activities taking place on wetlands. For Mudzingwa (2018), war-veterans who had been promised land needed land in urban areas for houses and this proved to be a challenge as land is a finite resource. Due to this, land, regardless of what inhabits it, in this case wetlands, has been affected by the building of houses and various other infrastructure. The aspect of governance becomes important because there are laws and regulation concerning the building of infrastructure on wetlands. Mudzingwa (2018) points to a politicization of wetlands in Zimbabwe that is similar to many other cases pointed to in this dissertation. It has also become, as I will reveal later, that the politically connected are often allowed to develop on these pieces of land. The political elite often use their power to disregard laws which protect wetlands and this has detrimental effects on the environment.

From Mudzingwa's observations, there seems to be a clear misunderstanding of the role that is played by wetlands in society. It was earlier noted that many citizens treat wetlands as wastelands but another major challenge for wetlands in Zimbabwe is the role that is played by urban agriculture (Mudzingwa: 2018). Urban agriculture has been a huge challenge in Zimbabwe's cities, and it has had a negative impact on the wetlands as farming activities affect the soil as well as other elements.

Concerning the conservation of wetlands, the EMA (2018) notes that citizens need to have an understanding of

- ecosystem services that wetlands provide
- the uses of wetlands have to be mainstreamed and integrated into land use plans
- remaining wetlands have to be used wisely and citizens need to be educated about the benefits of wetlands

Evidently, more needs to be done to ensure that the general populace has an understanding of wetlands and how they impact the environment. The CWA, which Mudzingwa belongs, to has embarked on such initiatives that will ensure that citizens are educated in relation to the importance of wetlands. The CWA has created Community Based Organizations (CBOs) where the belief is that, "people at the lower levels should be stewards of the environment" (Mudzingwa: 2018). The idea here is to empower communities so that they have an understanding of wetlands and more importantly, that they protect the wetlands within their vicinity.

Although there have been mechanisms in place to protect wetlands through laws, this has not been as effective in achieving the desired results. The law states that if an individual wants to construct on a wetland, they are supposed to have an Environmental Impact Assessment Certificate before embarking on constructing. Mudzingwa (2018) notes that corruption has taken root by stating that:

> The person who wants to develop [the wetland] looks for his or her own consultant to determine whether he or she can continue or stop developing. So normally it's obvious that you would look for someone who passes or gives you a green light to say go ahead with the construction. So, this opens room for corruption and it also opens room for shoddy deals that are happening…

Mudzingwa's point is pertinent as it goes a long way in explaining why there are so many properties that have been built on wetlands in Harare. One can easily manipulate the measures in place to construct on a wetland. Mudzingwa also alludes to the political element that is linked to the construction of buildings on wetlands. When alluding to the political element Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> [one of the issues] is political. Look at the questions on the Longcheng Plaza where the government without even an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). That building has no EIA. In fact, it's an illegal building but there was involvement of the military…

In this case it is evident that the role of capital as well as political might play an important in circumventing the regulations surrounding the construction of buildings on wetlands. Fig. 8.2 shows the construction of Longcheng Plaza which is situated on the outskirts of Harare and believed to be constructed on a wetland.



Fig. 8.2 **Source:** **https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/zimbabwe/zimbabwes-wetlands-threatened-illegal-development-goes-unpunished/**

In an article entitled, *"Zimbabwe's Wetlands Threatened, as Illegal Development Goes Unpunished,"* the author, Linda Mujuru, quotes Steady Kangata from the EMA who confirms Mudzingwa's statement that the mall was built without an EIA. As Mujuru (2018) notes, the lack of an EIA by the Chinese constructors of this mall make this infrastructure illegal, however, no one has been held accountable. The inability of the government to put in place measures to protect wetlands has contributed to activities similar to those such as Longcheng Plaza. According to Mudzingwa (2018):

> …there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of wetlands and the link to water provision. That's why you would see [construction of infrastructure] on that same piece of land. That's why you would hear Mr Karikoga Kaseke[25] would say we, "We cannot preserve frogs, we cannot stop construction for the purposes of preserving one or two frogs." So, to him, he doesn't see the link between wetlands and water delivery.

There is an active role that is being played by the political elite in Zimbabwe on the construction of infrastructure on wetlands. Mudzingwa's example of Kaseke shows the challenge that is posed by powerful elites in relation to developments such as Longcheng Plaza. Although, there

[25] Karikoga Kaseke served as the Chief Executive Officer of the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)

are laws in place to protect wetlands, it remains evident that they have done little to protect wetlands. When citing the construction of Longcheng Plaza as an example, Mudzingwa (2018) notes that a number of prominent individuals in Zimbabwe such as former first lady, Grace Mugabe as well as army elites stood to gain from the building of this mall. This, therefore, meant that it was highly likely that the environmental impacts of the mall were always going to come second.

There also seems to be a huge disjoint between the actual policy framework and how the citizens of Zimbabwe understand it. According to Mudzingwa (2018):

> There is a disjoint in the policy framework of a country and the general understanding of citizens on the ground so people do things [as they please]. There is some sort of community practice that happens at community level. Normally, which is not connected to what is provided in our laws and policies.

The implementation of the laws is an obstacle to the protection of these wetlands. Moreover, the lack of understanding that is evident between the citizens and the laws contributes further to the depletion of wetlands. The implementation of these laws is important as wetlands have an important role to play within the environment. Zimbabwe is landlocked which puts an important emphasis on wetlands as a major water source. When shedding light on the importance of wetlands in Zimbabwe Mudzingwa (2018) states that:

> Every stream in our country starts from a wetland. I think that's the first point we need to appreciate and understand. We don't have oceans here in our country. I can give you an example, you look at Marimba River that flows through Longcheng, it starts from the University of Zimbabwe, the lower part of it. There is a wetland below the university- that's where the stream starts. You look at Mukuvisi River- these are rivers that feed into Lake Chivero. It starts in Mabvuku- so the first function is on recharging streams.

Mudzingwa in this regard outlines how wetlands are an important water source for many of Zimbabwe's lakes. Taking Mudzingwa's point into consideration, it is important to note that, for example, Lake Chivero which is an important water source for Harare, stems from a wetland. Mudzingwa (2018) goes as far as referring to indigenous knowledge where he mentions that older generations would use water from wetlands as it was pure enough to replenish the body. This understanding of wetlands seems to be lacking within Zimbabwe and this has had a negative effect on the protection of wetlands.

Wetlands could also play an important role in curbing municipality spending for chemicals to treat water. For example, it has been noted that the Harare City Council spends about US$2.5 million on a monthly basis to purify water (Mudzingwa: 2018). This is a significant amount

which speaks to the quality of water within Harare's vicinity. Wetlands can play an important role in purifying water from Zimbabwe's rivers. Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …[Harare is currently] requiring 10-12 chemicals to treat the water. But if you have got intact wetlands they do that function free of charge. Long back, here in Harare, we used to have sewage ponds on wetlands. The understanding there was that if liquids go through a wetland they would seep through it and the water would be cleaned. The moment the water reaches the river it's clean and we wouldn't need the 10 chemicals that we are using.

From this perspective, wetlands could go a long way saving the country vast amounts of money in treatment fees. This, again, further proves that the understanding of wetlands is lacking and understanding their importance will go a long way in addressing some of the needless challenges municipalities face in relation to treating water. Wetlands could be used as a mechanism to fight climate change. When speaking to this, Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …a wetland is often cold. The total wave radiation from the sun is what is absorbed by the atmosphere, it hits the ground then comes as long wave radiation but when there is excess carbon dioxide it absorbs a lot of the sun's rays that's why you end up having heatwaves but *pabani hapana*[26] carbon dioxide. All of it is absorbed by the wetland when it's intact. So in that way it prevents global warming.

This understanding, if made clear to citizens, would go a long way in addressing the impacts of climate change that Zimbabwe currently faces. In addition to providing a buffer for climate change, wetlands help to reduce siltation. When elaborating on this Mudzingwa (2018) notes that:

> …wetlands also help to reduce siltation. If left intact, siltation doesn't occur, no matter how much water passes through with a lot of sand, sand won't go through. Then they also reduce floods. The play flood attenuation services that's why *hapana bani riri intact rinopfuura mvura ichimhanya stereki*[27]. But the moment you construct on a wetland you increase surface runoff and the function goes away. So those are the functions played by wetlands.

Similarly, to what was made evident with purification of water and combating climate change, wetlands have an important role to play in protecting the land from flooding and siltation. In the event that there is construction on a wetland there is increased surface runoff exposing land to floods and other disasters (Mudzingwa: 2018). An example of a house built on a wetland is shown in Fig. 8.3.

[26] Direct translation from Shona – "On a wetland, there is no…"
[27] Direct translation from Shona – "No amount of water speeds through a wetland"



Fig. 8.3 **Source:** https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2017/01/15/authorises-building-wetlands/



Fig. 8.4 Source: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-zimbabwe-housing-wetlands/construction-on-wetlands-ramps-up-water-stress-in-zimbabwe-idUSKBN19I0YN

Fig. 8.3 and 8.4 are examples that show the implications of constructing property on a wetland. In an article entitled, *"Caution: Building in a Wetland Can Be Hazardous to Your House,"* the author, Michael Lipske (citing Ed Parry), sums it up aptly when he writes that, "Build your house in a wetland, and you've got a hobby for the rest of your life… you will be fighting that water forever" (Lipske: 1998). In this case it is evident that constructing on wetlands has huge implications for both the environment and citizens alike. The EMA (2018) outlines the dangers of wetland destruction such as depletion of water tables which results in the drying up of boreholes, cracking of houses and the pollution of underground water through sewer systems.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show how colonialism had an impact on post-colonial Zimbabwe's water governing policies. The information drawn from this chapter was sourced from a qualitative form of research which included academic interviews and the analysis of secondary data. Although Zimbabwe's governing challenges are as a result of colonialism, it would be futile to pin the blame entirely on colonialism. However, what this chapter has revealed is that the main challenge at heart of water challenges in Zimbabwe is governance.

The first section that looked at the colonial inheritance showed that after the attainment of independence the Zimbabwean government under the auspice of Mugabe invested heavily in redeveloping the rural areas. Vast amounts of money also went towards building dams with the aim of bridging the divide that had been as a result of colonialism. More importantly, as repeatedly stated throughout this dissertation, the nature of colonialism was such that the majority were marginalized in relation to basic rights. This explains why the Zimbabwean government invested heavily in the rural areas as they had been neglected by the colonial government.

Governance, from both the colonial perspective and the post-colonial perspective, has been a major challenge and this was revealed through the section that provided an overview of governance within Zimbabwe. One example that comes to mind, is the corruption that is evident within many of Zimbabwe's city councils. Interestingly, the corruption includes both the ruling ZANU PF and the opposition MDC which prompted a brief discussion of

Zimbabwe's political culture. The political culture has seen corruption being rampant and it has also resulted in the politicization of entities that are meant to provide service delivery for citizens as shown in the local government chapter. Examples of corruption were also evident in how these developments of property on wetlands have been which continue to have huge ramifications for areas and citizens alike.

Another important within post-colonial Zimbabwe is the lack of planning that is evident. One key example was derived from the building of dams where some projects fail to come to fruition. It is clear that the government needs to do more in terms of planning and ensuring that projects have adequate funding and more importantly serve the communities. The management of wetlands is another example that shows the lack of planning by the Zimbabwean government. If wetlands are preserved or more is done to preserve them, they could go a long way in addressing water challenges in Zimbabwe as well as dealing with the threat that has been caused by climate change.

If anything, the role of institutions such as the EMA and ZINWA again reemphasises one of the key points of this dissertation which is that institutions are important within the governance of water in Zimbabwe. As I showed with the theoretical approach, the challenges that Zimbabwe faces within its water sector stem from colonialism and the inherited structures which are inclusive of institutions. I will now proceed to revisit this debate in the closing chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter 8

Climate Change and Water Governance in Zimbabwe

Introduction

The Zimbabwean government has, since the attainment of independence, put in place measures to address some of the challenges caused by climate change. Like many other African countries, Zimbabwe is a predominantly agrarian economy and rainfed agriculture is an important aspect of farming. Due to climate change, water resources have been affected as rising temperatures have seen water resources being depleted. In this chapter I am not necessarily arguing about climate change or its impacts, but I am analysing how water infrastructure has been affected and what the Zimbabwean government has done concerning the impacts of climate change with a contemporary approach. I will shed light on policies that the Zimbabwean government has since introduced to mitigate the challenges that have arisen because of climate change. Climate change is an important aspect of understanding the contemporary issues affecting water governance in Zimbabwe.

In a book entitled, *"The Uninhabitable Earth Life After Warming,"* David Wallace-Wells unpacks and paints a deem picture of the impacts that climate change will have on a global scale. It is important to note that although my discussion centres on climate change, I link climate change to how it affects water resources. Climate change, as stated earlier, is a contemporary topic which links closely to the core arguments in this dissertation that unpack path dependencies and infrastructure within post-colonial Zimbabwe. According to Wallace-Wells (2019:197), 71% of the planet is covered by water with 2% of that water being fresh whilst only 1% of that water being accessible. He further states that the rest of the water is trapped in glaciers (Wallace-Wells 2019:197). This information is pertinent as it shows how much water the world has access to. When further shedding light on this Wallace-Wells (2019:197) states that only 0.007% of the planet's water is available to the seven billion global population. What is important to note concerning this chapter is that climate changes poses a huge threat to water resources and governance is important in attempting to address the challenge.

To unpack the impacts of climate change this chapter is divided into three sections. In the first two sections I briefly look at the impacts of climate change on a global stage and the impacts of climate change on the African continent. These two sections are important because they show the importance of institutions in addressing the impacts of climate change. The final

section of this chapter speaks directly to my case study that looks at the impacts of climate change on Zimbabwe's water resources. The key aim of this chapter is to show how the government and institutions has an important role in addressing the impacts of contemporary challenges such as climate change.

Brief Overview of Climate Change

Authors such as Frederick & Major (1997:8) state that climate change will impact water planning, project evaluation (this includes changes in precipitation and runoff patterns), rises in sea levels. Further to this, the increase in temperatures was believed to accelerate the hydrological cycle thus altering precipitation and increasing the likelihoods of floods. Concerning my case study, the points made here allude to the challenges that countries like Zimbabwe (formerly colonised) are facing especially seeing that the infrastructure has already come under immense pressure from other impediments already.

As I showed with the discussion on Sanitation, the wealthier countries are able to bear the brunt of natural disasters whilst poorer countries (as seen with Cyclone Idai, which affected Mozambique and Zimbabwe) fail to deal with natural disasters. This is a point that has been also made by Wallace-Wells (2019:200) who argues that in scenarios whereby countries suffer the effects of natural disasters countries such as the United States of America (USA) have the reassurances of wealth which can "buy stopgap solutions and additional short-term supply." This reaffirms the fact that countries in regions such as Africa and Asia are greatly affected by climate change-induced natural disasters. What this also shows is that countries that are not plagued with governance challenges as I mentioned previously are better placed to mitigate the challenges posed by climate change. Within the Zimbabwean case where politicians are mainly at the forefront power contestations remain a huge challenge and this has a negative impact on addressing climate and other similar challenges.

When looking at the data that relates to climate change and water governance the facts that are presented by Wallace-Wells are ominous. The following have been made clear from Wallace-Wells' (2019:200) observations:

- The glaciers of the Himalayas will lose 40 per cent of their ice by 2100
- As soon as 2020, 250 million Africans could face water challenges as a result of climate change. This number could reach a billion people in Asia
- In 2030 India will have half the water it needs.

This point, as I have repeatedly stated thus far, shows how much of a challenge climate change is in relation to water resources from a global perspective. The second point is of paramount importance as it speaks to the challenge that is likely going to be faced by countries on the African continent. This further links to the overall debates in this dissertation that look at governance and infrastructural debates surrounding water governance. The fact that 250 million people are likely to be affected by water shortages as a result of climate change points to the ever-growing importance of having adequate measures to mitigate this challenge.

An important distinction that is made is one that reveals how the challenge of climate change is both an urban and a rural challenge. Wallace-Wells (2019:209) notes that "14 of the world's 20 biggest cities are currently experiencing water scarcity or drought." Further to this, 4 billion people are believed to be residing in regions that are experiencing water shortages at least one month each year (Wallace-Wells 2019:209). This again shows the challenges that are as a result of climate change. Water challenges have been exacerbated by climate changes and this has been evident globally. To reiterate this exacerbation, climate change is described as acting as a "threat multiplier." Climate change is seen in this light because it interacts with social, economic and political variables (Sowers, Vengish & Weinthal 2011:600). This is an extremely important aspect because it shows the climate change challenge cuts across a number of variables (social, economic and political) that are important within societies. This again points to the importance of governments having measures in place that will alleviate the challenge posed by climate change. This becomes even more important seeing that the challenge is multifaceted. Zimbabwe being largely an agrarian economy puts more emphasis on the important role the government has to play.

Climate Change - An African Perspective

From this discussion so far, there is a clear indication that climate change has had a huge impact on regions that rely on agriculture. It is, therefore, no surprise that many regions within the African continent have been adversely affected by the impacts of climate. For example, in Lesotho, it is noted that within the agricultural sector, projected changes in rainfall are expected to impact maize, sorghum and wheat positively, however, there is also a possibility that this could be exasperated by the incidence of fungal disease (Irish Aid 2015:5). Fungal diseases, which are as a result of climate change, will have debilitating impacts on the soil which in turn impacts crops.

Other than soil quality, a number of other elements of agriculture are impacted as a result of climate change. Staying with Lesotho as an example, livestock productivity is expected to be

negatively impacted as a result of climate change. Changes in hydrological cycles will cause dry spells, droughts and flash floods which will lead to reduced grass and vegetation cover (Irish Aid 2015:5). Flash floods are an African phenomenon as seen with Cyclone Idai which affected Mozambique and parts of Zimbabwe in the SADC region. Due to climate, too much rain will result in floods which do more harm than good, especially in relation to agriculture as well as infrastructure.

In order to deal with climate change, the Lesotho government introduced The National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA), which was meant to address and find lasting solutions to deal with climate change in the country. Upon consultation with the citizens through conducting participatory vulnerability assessments, the following adaptation projects established and ranked in order in the following manner:

1. Improve Resilience of Livestock Production Systems Under Extreme Climatic Conditions in Various Livelihood Zones in Lesotho
2. Promoting Sustainable Crop Based Livelihood Systems in Foothills, Lowlands and the Senqu River Valley
3. Capacity Building and Policy Reform to Integrate Climate Change in Sectoral Development Plans
4. Improvement of an Early Warning System Against Climate-Induced Disasters and Hazards
5. Securing Village Water Supply for Communities in the Southern Lowlands
6. Management and Reclamation of Degraded and Eroded Land in the Flood Prone Areas (Pilot Project for Western Lowlands)
7. Conservation and Rehabilitation of Degraded Wetlands in the Mountain Areas of Lesotho
8. Improvement of Community Food Security Through the Promotion of Food Processing and Preservation Technologies
9. Strengthening and stabilizing eco-tourism based rural livelihoods
10. Promote Wind, Solar and Biogas Energy Use as a Supplement to Hydropower Energy
11. Stabilizing Community Livelihoods which are Adversely Affected by Climate Change Through Improvement of Small Scale Industries (Irish Aid 2015:5-6).

These 11 points are the mechanisms through which the Lesotho government aimed at addressing the challenge of climate change in the country. More importantly, the government

consulted all stakeholders involved before developing these points. It is noted by Irish Aid (2015:6) that priorities (3) and (4) were in the process of being implemented through a project- "Improvement of Early Warning System to Reduce Impacts of Climate Change and Capacity Building to Integrate Climate Change into Development Plans (IEWS) which was established in 2011. As stated from the previous section countries that rely on agriculture are likely going to be at the receiving end of the impacts of climate and strong emphasis needs to be placed on putting in place mitigating measures. Again, there is a strong emphasis on having strong institutions that are unlikely to be influenced by politicians to ensure that swift measures are put in place.

Due to the fact that water is at the heart of many African communities, the South African examples shows that the shortage of water led to a number of other challenges. For example, agricultural losses, especially for many commercial and small-scale producers during this time period, resulted in the death of livestock due to the lack of food and water (South African Government 2016:67). Further to this, major crop losses for farmers were reported thus resulting in the increase of food prices which in turn impacts poor rural households negatively (South African Government 2016:67). The impacts of climate in South Africa, although they extend to water resources, also lead to impacts on livelihoods which remains a huge challenge for many African countries.

In South Africa, climate change has had hydrological impacts on the country. It is noted that periods of extremely low storage were experienced in the early 1980s with the lowest level being recorded on 15 November 1983 (34% of full capacity), 15 November 1995 (34.4% of full total capacity) and 2 January 2006 (56.0% of full capacity) (South African Government 2016:67). The report notes that "Since 2006, the total storage percentages have been maintained for nine years above the low level of 56% recorded in that year" (South African Government 2016:81). However, the impacts of climate change are made evident from 2014 were dam levels begun to drop significantly. This drop was more significant in 2015 reaching a value of only 53% of storage nationally by mid-2016 (South African Government 2016:81). This drop in water levels is mainly linked to the rise in temperatures. These statistics are important in that they show the negative impacts that climate change has had on agriculture in South Africa. The considerable drop of dam levels has an impact on the ability for a country to provide water for its citizens as witnessed in South Africa's Cape Town.

One of the challenges in mitigating climate change stems from the fact in many cases, African countries and developing countries at large have not caused climate change. When alluding to this Fitchett (2019) notes that:

> So adaptation and mitigation are quite a difficult thing to tackle. There is a pressure on one hand about mitigating the actual climate change itself and I think in developing countries they were quite inclined to say we didn't cause the problem and that's quite true- we didn't. But we continue to produce coalfide electricity and we are continuing to have a much greater proportion of cars per number of people on the roads particularly in our major cities. So I think there is a degree to which we should be mitigating our contribution to climate change even if it is minor relative to the US, or China or Russia in terms of trying to deal with the impacts of climate change.

For African countries, it is, therefore, important to put in place measures that place countries in better standing in relation to fighting the impacts of climate change. Fitchett (2019) notes that although the African continent has done little in terms of Green House Emissions, the continent has contributed greatly to climate change through the use of resources such as coal. It is, therefore, important that the continent finds alternatives that will cater to the needs of the environment.

One of the ways to mitigate the challenges that are because of climate change is through raising awareness. Fitchett (2019) notes that informing farmers that they might be moving into a drought period or maybe moving into an above-average rainfall period would go a long way, especially in the planning process. If farmers are made aware of impending droughts, they will likely make the necessary plans that will allow them to avoid the pitfalls of climate change. More importantly, there is a greater role that can be played by governments. In relation to the role of the government, Fitchett (2019) notes that the building of roads, the building of bridges and the building of infrastructure to deal with storm events or new droughts or likely disasters can go a long way in further addressing the challenges posed by climate change.

So far, agriculture, as I mentioned before, has been affected negatively, however, in the case of Cape Town, tourism seems to have also been negatively affected. When discussing the impacts of climate change on tourism in Cape Town Fitchett (2019) notes that:

> …at the beginning of the Cape Town drought, before the water restrictions were implemented, it was the perfect destination for tourism. Because even in winter there was very little rainfall, sunny days and tourists could be outdoors. They [tourists] could be outdoors, they could be taking the Table Mountain cableway and they could be doing all kinds of things that, ordinarily, they wouldn't be able to do. The summers were warm and sunny. The problem is that when [the summers] reach extremes- that's what happened with the Cape Town drought.

From this section it is clear that the African continent is greatly affected by climate change and this mainly affects agriculture. Again the overall theme of governance which this dissertation looks at is important as governments have an important role to play in ensuring that countries are not at the mercy of the impacts of climate change.

Zimbabwe – Water Governance and Climate Change

Climate change within the Zimbabwean case has had a negative impact on the country's water resources. In 2019, the Zimbabwean government implemented load shedding that saw the country experiencing power cuts that were going for as long as 16 hours. Zimbabwe relies heavily on hydro-electric power generation and the receding levels in the Kariba Dam affected power generation significantly. The load-shedding, which is as a result of climate change, affected the daily lives of citizens thus showing the negative impacts of the phenomenon. Kariba Dam is the largest dam in Zimbabwe and the dam is one of the 8,000 in Zimbabwe and has a capacity of 1.8 million megalitres (Brazier 2015:14). It is believed that Kariba supplies 80% of Zimbabwe's electricity, meaning that electricity generation will be affected as shown in this section (Brazier 2015:14).

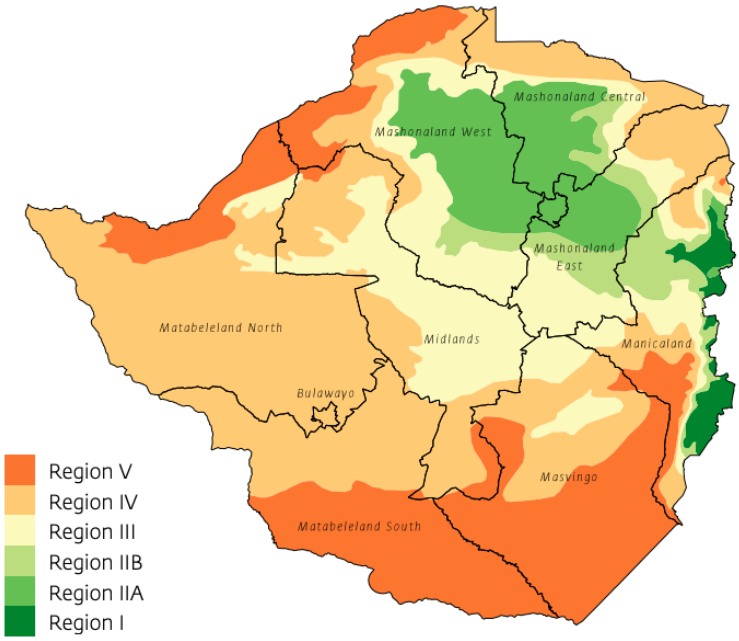
In an article entitled, *"Zimbabweans work at night to beat hydropower shortage as drought bites,"* the author, Problem Masau, notes that Zimbabwe experienced some of its worst power outages in memory as the effects of drought-affected hydropower production at Kariba Dam (Masau: 2019). The Zimbabwean economy, which had already been in the doldrums, was further affected by a series of these blackouts. This is an important point to note as the power cuts show how climate change has had a rippling effect which has a broader effect on the country.

Big companies such as Zimbabwe's mobile operator, *Econet*, lamented the effects of climate change. It was noted, "The Company is incurring high production costs by use and servicing of generators, while its prices have remained constant. We have made attempts despite serious fuel shortages to increase diesel allocated to our base station sites" (Masau: 2019). This further shows how climate change has had an impact on Zimbabwe. To further shed light on this, Masau (2019) alludes to the fact that hydro-energy has increasingly become unreliable because of the frequency of droughts in Zimbabwe.

It is further noted by the Zambezi Water Authority (ZWA), that oversees the management of dams, that as of the 24th of July 2019 the level of usable water in the lake was down to 25% which made the production of electricity difficult. The reliance on this dam for electricity,

again, shows the clear impact of climate change. To further state the dire situation in relation to the levels in the Kariba Dam, Masau (2019) states that the Kariba Dam is designed to operate between 475.50 and 488.50 metres, but as of the 24th of July 2019 the level was now at 479.01 metres (a drop of 11cm). The impacts of climate change in this regard further show how rainfall has been affected by climate change.

One of the key sectors that have been deeply affected by climate change is the agricultural sector. As stated throughout this dissertation, Zimbabwe, like many African countries are reliant on rain for agriculture. Figure 1 shows the natural regions that are in Zimbabwe.



Zimbabwe's Natural Regions **Source: Brazier (2015:10)**

These regions are extremely important in relation to understanding the effects of climate change in Zimbabwe. Brazier (2015:10) notes that the regions are as follows:

- Natural region I: High rainfall (over 1,000 mm per year), low temperatures and steep slopes. It is suitable for high-value arable farming, dairy, horticulture and forestry.
- Natural region II: Medium rainfall (750–1,000 mm per year). Temperatures are not extreme and soils are generally good. It is suitable for intensive farming, including horticulture and dairy.

- Natural Region III: Low rainfall (500-750mm per year), with mid-season dry spells and high temperatures. This is a semi-intensive farming region suitable for field crops such as maize, soya, tobacco and cotton as well as livestock
- Natural Region IV: Low rainfall (450-650mm per year) with severe dry spells during the rainy season and frequent seasonal droughts. Suitable for livestock and drought-tolerant field crops such as sorghum, millet, cowpeas and groundnuts.
- Natural Region V: Very low rainfall (less than 650mm per year) and highly erratic. Suitable for livestock, wildlife management, beekeeping and non-timber forest products.

A quick glance at the regions shows that climate change, as based on the sections in this chapter, will have an impact on the regions in Zimbabwe. When alluding to this, Brazier (2015:11) notes that communities that reside in natural regions IV and V are at the "mercy of climatic extremes." This likely means that as a result of climate change, poverty levels are likely to increase as livelihoods in these regions are negatively affected. In addition to this, due to climate change, these regions are changing. For example, some scientists have noted, "that the natural region map is redrawn because of climate change, with regions IV and V taking up more area and me, III and IV less" (Brazier 2015:11).

These regions, as I have repeatedly stated are important especially when taking the importance of rain into consideration. At the beginning of this section, it was made evident that Kariba Dam had been affected by climate change and how this has had a ripple effect within Zimbabwe. The same can also be said about agriculture which is important for the regions shown in Fig. 1. Due to the increase in temperatures, underground water is likely going to evaporate at an ever-increasing rate. Water is important especially for irrigation, livestock and for humans who mainly rely on shallow wells (Brazier 2015:13). It is clear that water is a key ingredient for communities' activities and climate change has the potential to impact the resource.

Professor Emmanuel Manzungu, a Lecturer and Researcher in the Water, Irrigation and Climate Department at the University of Zimbabwe, has done extensive research on the impacts of climate change in Zimbabwe. In relation to climate change, Manzungu (2018) notes that projections say that there would be less surface water thus meaning that there will be a requirement for the storage of water. The storage of water will ensure that there is a surplus of water that can be used for irrigation and other activities. One of the other discussions relating

to the storage of water relates to the construction of dams and canals. The debates surrounding climate change in Zimbabwe, according to Manzungu (2018), have shifted towards introducing more innovative methods to deal with the effects of climate change on agriculture. These innovative methods are important because of the multifaceted nature of climate change. New innovative methods, for example, allow communities to develop ideas to deal with the impacts of climate change. This further links to the importance of having communities at the forefront of addressing the effects of climate change on water resources.

The main challenge surrounding climate change is the discourse behind the phenomenon. In many instances, some of the people affected by climate change know little about it. When discussing this, Manzungu (2018) notes that:

> …if I go to a farmer and I am talking to [them] and I am saying, "there will be climate change," [they] will [begin] asking me what I am talking about. So it's very difficult just to engage with the farmers. There is a conversation, but most of the time, you find responses like "haa, you know we are going to do changes in plant variety." With climate change, changes in plant variety don't mean much. So we are going to require a fundamental shift, not just a small adjustment.

It is, therefore, important that there is effective engagement with all stakeholders in relation to the effects of climate change. In this instance, farmers and communities in rural areas are important as these communities are the ones that are affected greatly by the impacts of climate change. These are the steps that the Zimbabwean government have since taken in mitigating the challenges of climate change. One of the first few policies in relation to climate change in Zimbabwe is, *"Zimbabwe's National Climate Change Response Strategy."* This strategy was implemented by the Ministry of Environment, Water and Climate. In relation to water, the strategy is defined as follows (Zimbabwe Government 2014:v):

Water Resources Availability Issues

a) Strengthen and intensify monitoring institutions for hydro-meteorological parameters.
b) Conduct more frequent yield assessments of surface and groundwater resources.
c) Promote water use efficiency in all sectors.

Water Development Issues

a) Develop, rehabilitate, maintain and protect surface and groundwater resources.
b) Invest in management of the effects of extreme events.

Water Management Issues

a) Strengthen stakeholder structures in water resources management.
b) Promote more efficient water use practices.
c) Promote catchment protection.
d) Adopt data analysis and prediction tools that incorporate climate change.

It is important to note that *"Zimbabwe's National Climate Change Response Strategy"* encompasses various elements, however, for my argument, I will draw on the aspects that speak to my overall topic on Water Governance in Zimbabwe. Rainfed agriculture remains as one of the farming methods that many farmers rely on in Zimbabwe. In the previous section, the challenge within the African continent has been the rise in temperatures which have a negative impact on water resources. In Zimbabwe, the country needs to prepare for less rainfall and less runoff in rivers as a result of climate change (Zimbabwe Government 2014:20). Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, the hydrological cycle comprises of 1.3×10^9 cubic kilometres of water of which 2.8 per cent which is available as freshwater (Zimbabwe Government 2014:20). This freshwater is used for various activities such as agriculture, sanitation and energy generation.

When factoring in climate change, the water sector in Zimbabwe will be affected in various ways as seen with the power shortages which were as a result of the receding water levels in Kariba Dam. The rises in temperatures have affected Kariba Dam and this is because rises in the temperatures will result in an increase in evaporation which will affect the quantities of available water (Zimbabwe Government 2014:21). It is clear that there is a gloomy picture when climate change's impacts on water resources are analysed. In relation to this, the Zimbabwe Government (2014:21) notes that:

> The impacts of reduced available water will include lower carry-over storage capacities in dams from year to year thus reducing reservoir yields; reduced river flow and groundwater recharge; longer walking distances to more reliable water sources; diminished water security for livestock and gardening; and increased exposure to diseases such as malaria, typhoid and cholera.

The effects of climate change are already evident in present-day Zimbabwe with waterborne diseases on the rise as shown in the WASH chapter. In addressing the challenge related to shortages of water the Zimbabwean government established the following strategies (Zimbabwe Government 2014:21):

a) Strengthening and intensify monitoring networks for hydro-meteorological parameters.
b) Conduct more frequent yield assessments of surface and groundwater resources.
c) Promote water use efficiency in all sectors.

These initiatives are an important step towards addressing the effects that relate to the impacts of climate change on water resources. In addition to this, it is important to recognize the importance of infrastructure in relation to the mitigation of climate change. Zimbabwe Government (2014:21) notes that dams, canals and culverts (hydraulic infrastructure) will need to incorporate the occurrence of extreme events. In Chapter 6, I mentioned Cyclone Idai which affected Mozambique and parts of Zimbabwe. If dams and canals are designed in a manner which anticipates flooding there could be minimal damage. Areas such as Lower Save, Lower Manyame, Tsholotsho and Muzarabani have had increased flooding and infrastructure could go a long way in alleviating the results of such occurrences (Zimbabwe Government 2014:21).

The Zimbabwean government also notes that it is important to exploit groundwater. It is noted "Water development will need to be broadened in scope to include groundwater exploitation, construction of multi-purpose storage works and promotion of rainwater harvesting" (Zimbabwe Government 2014:21). Similarly, with the discussion on infrastructure, the potential of exploring other avenues such as the exploitation of groundwater could go a long way in assisting communities that are at risk of being affected by the effects of climate change. The strategies that have been mooted by the government in this regard are as follows:

a) Develop, rehabilitate, maintain and protect surface and groundwater resources.
b) Invest in management of the effects of extreme events (Zimbabwe Government 2014:22).

It is evident that concerning Zimbabwe's natural resources, water resources are likely going to be the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. This is as a result of the variations in water availability and quality (Zimbabwe Government 2014:22). The challenge relating to WASH is likely going to be exacerbated as a result of climate change and communities will be forced to find alternatives. Communities are likely going to resort to using unsafe water sources thus fuelling the rise of waterborne diseases (Zimbabwe Government 2014:22). It is, therefore, important that the government has in place measures to deal with the challenges that are as a result of climate change. The strategies that relate to water management in relation to climate change are as follows (Zimbabwe Government 2014:22):

a) Strengthen stakeholder institutions in water resources management.
b) Promote more efficient water use practices.
c) Promote catchment protection.
d) Adopt data analysis and prediction tools that incorporate climate change.

These strategies are important because successful implementation of these policies will go a long way in coping with the effects of climate change.

In November 2017 the Zimbabwean government published the *National Climate Policy* which was a follow up to *"Zimbabwe's National Climate Change Response Strategy"* which was published in 2014. One of the key features of this document is the role of water and its link to agriculture. The acknowledgement of climate change from the government is derived from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) who note that there is sufficient scientific evidence that shows that climate-related hazard such as droughts are likely going to increase (Zimbabwe Government 2017:1). In this case, as with the previous policy, there is a clear recognition that climate change will affect the agricultural sector due to the link it has to water. It is further noted that "…climate change is a major driving factor for most of Zimbabwe's socio-economic and activities such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is tightly linked with rainfall patterns" (Zimbabwe National Water Policy 2012 cited by Zimbabwe Government 2017:1).

The Zimbabwean government intends to embark on a holistic approach when it comes to addressing climate change. According to the Zimbabwean Government (2017:3), addressing climate change should be country-driven, gender-responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach with the aim of including vulnerable groups, communities and ecosystems. This approach proves that the effects of climate speak to the various sects within society but the marginalized groups are more likely to be at risk. Government policies are meant to, therefore, to address this challenge in a manner that encompasses all the challenges.

In relation to water governance and climate change, the Zimbabwean government has acknowledged that there has to be an effective adaptation and that there has to be an understanding of the sectoral vulnerabilities (Zimbabwe Government 2017:5). As repeatedly shown in this chapter, climate change affects various sects within society. For example, although it might affect water resources, it inadvertently affects other sectors such as WASH and as seen with the Kariba Dam, electricity generation. In response to this challenge, the Zimbabwe Government (2017:5) has sought to introduce the following:

- Undertake comprehensive hydrological analyses to understand vulnerability levels and identify potential adaptation actions for Zimbabwe

- Periodically review existing national and water-related sectoral policies (such as agriculture, energy, environment) to ensure that they adequately address climate-related challenges
- Develop sectoral related Master Plans such as the Water Master Plan, which explicitly integrate climate change
- Strengthen conjunctive groundwater and surface water assessment, monitoring and regulation
- Periodically review expected yields for each catchment taking into account temperature and precipitation changes expected under climate change
- Ensure climate change is mainstreamed in water resources infrastructure design including in the development of relevant guidelines
- Ensure water sources for domestic consumption are within national standards radius of household reach
- Ensure that the children's right to quality and safe drinking water to help them stay healthy is observed
- Ensure improved water supply for livestock, wildlife and environment in line with the changing climate
- Promote water harvesting for domestic, animal, agriculture and industrial use
- Maintain and promote the conservation of wetlands as part of a water/river source protection strategy in line with a changing climate
- Establish a Centre of Excellence in Water and Climate Change to undertake essential research on the impacts of climate change on water resources
- Increase support of transboundary water management
- Strengthen the use of ICT and the latest technologies in water resources assessment

These mentioned initiatives by the Zimbabwean government show how there has been an acknowledgement that the challenges of climate change are multi-faceted thus the approach to address them needs to follow the same pattern. Examples of this holistic approach include the attempt to ensure that children have access to clean water for their health (Zimbabwe Government 2017:5). This serves as an example of the Zimbabwean government's approach towards addressing the scourge of climate change.

In addition to the government's efforts, local farmers in Zimbabwe have also put in place measures to address the effects of climate change. According to Mutekwa (2009:241), the

challenge with smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe is that these farmers are poorly resourced in terms of agricultural capital and technology. Farming, in this regard, is already viewed as a challenge, climate change further compounds on this challenge. From as far back as the 1980s Zimbabwean farmers have been aware of the impacts of climate change. Mutekwa (2009:247) notes that climate extremes such as drought and excessive precipitation occurred at an average frequency of about 8 to 15 years- this rhythm enabled smallholder farmers to deal with challenges that might have arisen because of climate change. This speaks to the knowledge that local communities have in understanding the impacts of climate change within their regions. More importantly the understanding that can be derived from this shows that climate change is not a new phenomenon but has been an ongoing one.

In order to address the challenges of climate change, many farmers have opted to re-examine how land is used. One of the ideas mooted has been the use of crop diversification. Mutekwa (2009:248) notes that crop diversification improves household food security as crops are affected differently by the same climatic conditions. Farmers have opted to plant crops such as sorghum, rapoko and finger fillet because of the high frequency of mid-season dry spells and shortening of the rain season (Mutekwa 2009:248). These are strategies that have been used by many farmers to deal with the challenges posed by climate change.

In one particular ward, Murowa, the effects of climate change has also seen an array of water and soil conservation strategies being mooted by farmers. It was noted that 38 per cent of the smallholder farmers in Murowa have turned to water harvesting activities and various NGOs such as the Zvishavane Water Projects have been at the forefront of these initiatives (Mutekwa 2009:249). Whilst, in this case, Mutekwa provides a synopsis of how farmers in Murowa mitigated climate change, Mucha Musemwa, provides an interesting historical perspective. This historical perspective shows that climate change has been an ongoing challenge for a long time.

Drought has always affected South-Western Matabeleland. When writing about this, Musemwa (2019:6) notes that:

> The effects of this drought were compounded by the cumulative consequences of extended periods of below-average rainfall and droughts that had occurred in 1901, 1907, 1911, 1915-1918, 1921-1922, 1934-35, 1946-47, 1959-60 in semi-arid areas, particularly Southwestern (SW) Matabeleland, a province of colonial Zimbabwe and also the hub of the country's beef industry during the colonial period, where water scarcity regularly resulted in food and grazing insecurity for both humans and livestock, respectively.

The excerpt from Musemwa's article, *"Climate and Societal Interaction in Southwestern Matabeleland, Colonial Zimbabwe: The Drought of 1964-66 and its Antecedents,"* shows that events such as droughts are not a new occurrence as they can be traced back to the colonial period. In this instance, the droughts had an impact on the livelihoods of citizens, which is one of the main arguments I make. The poorer citizens in society are affected negatively by the impacts of climate change which are manifested through water shortages which in turn affects cattle and crop production. Ndebele communities formulated ways in which to address the challenges that were as a result of climate change.

As I mentioned in this chapter, the poorer sects within society are affected the most by climate change and the policies I briefly touched on this chapter show that African governments have tried to plan with this in mind. However, Musemwa shows how the Ndebele community managed to find ways to address climate change. Due to drought, the Matabeleland region faced water scarcity challenges, crop failure, poor grazing and death of live-stock from lack of access to water (Musemwa 2019:9). This shows that the impacts of climate change are multifaceted and this remains one of the biggest challenges within the African context. In order to address this challenge the Ndebele community, in conjunction with state authorities, undertook the following steps:

1. The large-scale storage of food when harvested in abundance to cater for moments when ecologically driven calamities struck
2. The relocation of the entire settlement from one place to an area relatively endowed with freshwater sources (Musemwa 2019:9).

As I showed with the Murowa community, the Ndebele community serves as an example of how although climate change proves to be a challenge, communities have methods in place to address the climate change challenge. In addition to these methods, it is also noted that early Zimbabwean people minimized the depredations that came about due to prolonged periods of abnormally low rainfall by migrating to environments endowed with good water sources and grazing for livestock (Iliffe 1990 cited by Musemwa 2019:9). The use of history is important as it is at the heart of my overall project. In this regard, the work of Musemwa confirms that in most cases understanding the historical impacts of droughts can go a long in planning on how to assist vulnerable communities.

Missionaries such as John Moffat, from as far back 1859, would allude to the fact that Matabeleland had experienced water scarcity which in turn led to the famine in 1862

(Musemwa 2019:10). To further elaborate on water scarcity and how communities at times took the lead in alleviating the resulting challenges, Musemwa (2019:12) notes that, "Confronted by water scarcity both for their own consumption and that of their livestock, Africans in this region did not passively wait for the colonial state to intervene and provide forms of drought relief." In this case, it is clear the communities understood the impacts of climate change and put in place measures to address it, at times doing so without the assistance of the colonial government.

Furthermore, in critical times such as droughts, Africans in this region fell on their own resources to cushion themselves from climatic events as seen in these regions (Musemwa 2019:12). More importantly, Musemwa's work is important because it further solidifies the point that African communities are strongly reliant on rain for agriculture. Climate change, as argued throughout this chapter, affected rainfall. Musemwa (2019:13) notes that in the occurrence of poor rains, African agriculture was "almost always" rain-fed was hardest hit. This speaks to one of the key points of this chapter that the agrarian nature of the African countries' economies stands to be affected by climate change.

Musemwa's work also touches on the importance of local ecological knowledge, which is also referred to as indigenous knowledge. In many instances, it is clear that local communities, as seen in Matabeleland, have extensive knowledge about their communities. Kupika et al (2018:1) note that local communities have the ability to interpret and construct climate change trends within a cultural setting. Rural communities, therefore, as with the topic on climate change, would be able to trace and shed light on the rain patterns. This, in most cases, assists researchers with information on climate change. It is further noted that the growing body of knowledge on local indigenous knowledge about climate change impacts on biophysical systems and helps shed light on climate change (Kupika et al 2018:2). The role of communities plays an important role again as in many cases communities understand and have knowledge that many researchers seek to find in issues pertaining to climate change and other important issues.

The knowledge that communities possess is an important element of understanding climate change. This is further confirmed by Kupika et al (2018:2) who note that local communities' daily traditional practices such as weather forecasting go a long way in predicting and analysing patterns. Analysing these patterns goes a long way in assisting governments to plan and address challenges such as agricultural food security.

Conclusion

Climate change has had an impact on Zimbabwe's water resources and this aimed to unpack the way through which the government has tried to address the challenge posed. The main aim of this chapter was to link the importance of institutions and governance in addressing the impacts of climate change. In the first two sections I briefly outline the impacts of climate change on global scale and on the African continent respectively. This was important because it showed how climate change affects countries and how the having strong institutions and strong government policies to mitigate the impacts of climate change.

The main focus of the chapter is the third section which analyses the impacts of climate change in Zimbabwe. Within the Zimbabwean case, for example, it became evident that because of climate the Kariba Dam levels receded thus affecting power generation. This resulted in Zimbabwe experiencing 16-hour power cuts in 2019. This is an example of how climate change challenges extend to beyond water. In addition to this, the Zimbabwean government introduced various policies aimed at addressing the impacts of climate change on the Southern African country with agriculture being at the fore of these policies. Another important element worth noting in relation to climate change in Zimbabwe has been indigenous knowledge which shows the importance of communities in crafting policies. More importantly, indigenous knowledge plays an important role in that an analysis of previous rain patterns can show and measure the impacts of climate change over a sustained period of time.

The theme of governance and institutions is also evident in this chapter. The impacts of climate change can only be mitigated through having effective institutions that will be able to ensure the countries are in a good position to address the challenges that are posed. The various policies as shown in countries like South Africa and Lesotho show how governments need to play a leading role in limiting the impacts of climate change. Climate change remains one of the contemporary concerns associated with water governance in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter brings the dissertation to its conclusion. The main aim of this dissertation was to explore how colonialism and its institutions had an impact on Zimbabwe's post-colonial water governing policies. Bearing that in mind, this chapter aims to reaffirm its standpoint in how the inheritance of an uneven system of governance based on marginalization would affect Zimbabwe at the attainment of independence in 1980.

This chapter is divided into five sections that aim to summarize the findings of the dissertation. In the first section I discuss the relationship between colonialism and water governance in post-colonial Zimbabwe. As this was the foundation of this dissertation it is logical to make this the starting point. The following two sections unpack my findings concerning Zimbabwe's current water policies and my key findings in that regard. The final two sections shed light on the dissertation's theoretical contributions and my personal reflections on the dissertation.

Zimbabwe's Current Water Policies

Zimbabwe's current water policies are based on the 1998 Water Act, which replaced the 1976 Water Act. One of the key elements of this policy saw the introduction of ZINWA as the authority that would oversee the management of Zimbabwe's water resources. The introduction of the 1998 Water Act saw the country being divided into seven catchment areas. These catchment areas would oversee the water resources within their respective regions. This decentralization would empower local communities to better manage water resources at their disposal.

More importantly, the 1998 Water Act would be in place in order to address the vast inequalities that had been caused by colonial laws such as the 1976 Water Act. The 1998 Water Act also took IWRM into consideration. IWRM was an important aspect of global water governance as great emphasis was placed on marginalized groups. IWRM further cemented the role that communities had to play in the governing of their respective water resources. In Chapter 1, I outlined how my definition of governance stems from the WB's 1994 definition. This definition spoke to the arms of the state such as the judiciary and the presence of constitutional features that would limit the power of governments to amend constitutions at will- this also extended to various aspects within a country as well.

In Zimbabwe, the centralization of power by ZANU PF and more especially under President Mugabe's regime (1980-2017) had a telling impact on the country. These impacts were felt in relation to the laws and the abuse of the constitution within the country. Various examples showed how because of the nature of Zimbabwean politics Mugabe was able to thwart political opposition and use state resources for ZANU PF's political gain. In Chapter 5, I made special reference to local government and how it had been politicized. This politicization was first made evident between ZANU and ZAPU and eventually panned out again in early 2000s when the MDC formed. One key example was the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina which was meant to rid the city of illegal structures. The opposition viewed this as a way of thwarting its efforts in unseating ZANU PF.

Although there is a new water Act in Zimbabwe introduced in 1998 the governing structures of the country remain weak, hence the continual challenges surrounding the country. Since 2000 the political scene in the country has been dominated by conflict between the ZANU PF and MDC, including conflict at the level of local governance, and this politicization has hamstrung service delivery which includes water provision in the country. As shown with the cholera outbreak in 2008 and a few more outbreaks thereafter the country's infrastructure has failed to cope. Further to this, as shown through the interviews, the failure of the government to develop infrastructure has also seen the country failing to deliver water to the citizenry. The immergence of a viable opposition at local government level posed as a threat to ZANU PF's hold on power and local government often suffered due to the contestation between the government and MDC.

The main challenge concerning water policies in Zimbabwe (and other policies too) remains the implementation. The 2013 Zimbabwean constitution has made the provision of water a basic human right. This means that the onus is on the government to provide the citizenry in Zimbabwe with access to water. As I mentioned earlier my definition of governance stems from the WB's definition which looks at the overall governing structures within a country. Because of Zimbabwe's political structure, there is almost no way to hold the government accountable concerning delivering this resource. This is a far cry from countries such as South Africa, where there are regular protests in areas where service delivery is deemed to be poor. Despite there being the 1998 Water Act, the inability to hold the government accountable remains one of the biggest obstacles to the successful delivery of water to the citizenry.

One of the biggest developments in Zimbabwe's water governing policies was the FTLRP that was conducted in 2000. As I said earlier, although Zimbabwe has sound policies on paper the implementation of the policies remains a challenge. The land reform programme, although shrouded in controversy, was instrumental in that it gave farmers who had been previously marginalized a voice. In Chapter 8, Manzungu alluded to how before the land was 'redistributed' black farmers did not have a say in community meetings which were largely conducted by white farmers- the land reform programme changed this.

Upon the completion of the programme, it was evident that more African farmers were given the opportunity that they would not have had under normal circumstances. Evidently, on paper this was a good policy, but in reality there were various accusations labelled at Mugabe's government. The FTLRP affected water governance in the sense that the catchment areas lost funding that was instrumental in keeping the farms running. Even though the government had introduced a policy of addressing challenges related colonialism, the nature of how it was conducted had huge ramifications as seen in this regard.

With water governance in Zimbabwe, the policies between 1980 and 1998 were colonial and after 1999 the policies introduced did little to address the water challenge in the country. The water governing structures in Zimbabwe speak more broadly to the overall debates of governance within Zimbabwe as a country. The current state of water governance in the country is also a reflection of Zimbabwe's current governance systems, and chapter 5 speaks to this. The continual politicization of local government pitting ZANU PF and MDC against each other has been one of the major contributors of the water challenges in Zimbabwe.

Climate change also poses a serious threat to Zimbabwe's water governance as the country relies heavily on rainfall for farming and hydroelectricity. In chapter 8 I showed how the government has in place policies to mitigate climate change, however, implementation remains a huge challenge for the country. I also mentioned how wetlands could be important in mitigating climate change but again the role of the political elite in the country are proving to be a stumbling block to their preservation. This again looks at the institutional challenges and the governance challenges that Zimbabwe has as the country has sound policy in addressing climate change but the role of the powerful within society undoes the policy efforts.

Key Findings

In the previous chapter of this dissertation, corruption at local government level was viewed and this was attributed to the political culture in Zimbabwe. I drew examples from how both

ZANU PF and MDC have been viewed to be corrupt in their activities at central government and local government respectively. This, coupled with the political clash between the two parties, has been one of the challenges that has bedevilled water provision in Zimbabwe. The political culture in Zimbabwe has been such that both these political parties have used the power they possess at both levels of government (central and local) to further their agendas at the expense of the citizenry.

Again this dates back to the institutional legacies which I mentioned in the theoretical approach. Understanding the nature of colonialism in Zimbabwe, and to a larger extent Africa, aids one in understanding the nature of the post-colonial state. As argued by authors such as Meredith, Acemoglu, Robinson, and Mamdani, in many instances African leaders inherited the same governing structures and institutions that colonial governments used. In many cases these systems were predatory (mainly extractive states) and were vehicles to loot natural resources which many ruling parties used to cement their hold on the levers of the state. The colonial state can in many cases be viewed as an extractive state because it focused investing in sectors that were geared toward an extractive order.

With the Zimbabwean case, this has been evident in many instances. Contemporary literature focusing on Zimbabwean politics has often showed that the ZANU PF government has in many cases repressed opposition in the same way that the colonial government did. To shed light on this, the Zimbabwean government only repealed the 1976 Water Act in 1998, some 20 years after independence. The Zimbabwean government also took part in the redistribution of land in the early 2000s in a chaotic manner that had huge ramifications for Zimbabwe's economy. These points are testament to how colonialism had an impact on the post-colonial state. This further confirms my point that the post-colonial state is almost certainly a direct product of the colonial state. In one way or the other, ZANU PF has used colonial elements to justify its actions as the party claims to right the wrongs of the past.

One of the challenges that ZANU PF faced in governing Zimbabwe at the attainment of independence is the lack of a clear political ideology. When writing about the flip flopping in political ideology Tendi (2020:224) notes the following:

> 'Ever since the coming to power of ZANU PF in 1980, there has been so much rhetoric on Socialism by ZANU PF Ministers and Members of Parliament, with varying degrees of accuracy', Maurice Nyagumbo, ZANU PF's national organizing secretary, wrote in 1983. Socialist rhetoric that was inconsistent with policy and practice, reflecting politicians' duplicity and general lack of ideological clarity, caused bemusement among both sceptics and supporters of ZANU PF's professed commitment to socialism.

This lengthy quote sums up how, to a certain extent, ZANU PF was ideologically inept. Although there was a submission to socialism, the ideology was not clearly put in practice by the political party. The statement is clearer in that it speaks of socialism as being rhetoric meaning that the party did not have a clear guideline as to how to implement socialism in the running of the state. Tendi (2020:224) goes onto further quote Nyagumbo who notes that:

> …Nyagumbo announced that ZANU PF's Second National Congress in 1984 would 'address the ideological question and work out a concrete programme' on issues such as 'permissible class alliance', the transformation steps from capitalism to socialism and 'the identification of the primary enemy at each stage'.

As I also argued in the dissertation, on paper, Zimbabwe has had clear policies but the implementation of these policies has been a major challenge. This links directly to Nyagumbo's statement which speaks to the lack of ideological grounding within ZANU PF within the first five years of independence. Ironically, it was further revealed by Tendi (2020:225) who quotes ZANU PF's leadership code that:

> 'ZANU believes that a leader who concentrates on acquiring property or who personally engages in the exploitation of man by man rapidly becomes an ally of the capitalists and an enemy of Socialism, and of the masses of the population'…

The irony here is that many within ZANU PF, including both the former President Mugabe and current President Mnangagwa, have been believed to have amassed vast amounts of wealth even though the party prescribed to a strict policy on paper. This had a huge impact on the post-colonial state as the lack of a political ideology led to various challenges as I showed with the governing of water in the country. This could also further explain why the post-colonial government only introduced a new Water Act 20 years after the attainment of independence. This lack of political ideology had a telling effect on the Zimbabwean state. After the attainment of independence 1980, the ZANU PF government invested heavily in developing rural areas. There was also a need for the government to address the colonial laws that had been one of the key drivers of the unequal society that was inherited in 1980.

The post-colonial government had a challenge in developing the infrastructure that had been inherited from colonial government. This can be traced back to Chapter 6, where an interview with Nyakutiskwa, who works with the AFDB, argued that the poor infrastructure was one of the major contributors to the cholera outbreak in 2008. At the attainment of independence in 1980, Mugabe stated that the post-colonial government would build on the foundations set by the colonial government and would not destroy them. The 2008 cholera outbreak showed that the poor infrastructure, in many cases, had been dilapidated and was no longer in a condition

that would allow it to serve the citizenry. The lack of development and the increase in population strained the infrastructure resulting in the outbreak. The cholera outbreak showed the governing structures and institutions in Zimbabwe had all but failed and the outbreak all but confirmed this belief.

An interview with Professor Blumberg from the National Institute for Communicable Diseases shed light on the importance of having infrastructure that can withstand outbreaks and pandemics. Again, using the 2008 Cholera outbreak as an example, it would be evident that the country had collapsed economically thus leading to the collapse of the country at so many levels including the health sector and education sector (institutional). In addition to this, the political crisis as a result of the contested 2008 presidential election saw the country on the verge of total collapse.

As I showed in Chapter 6 of the dissertation one of the key reasons why there was an outbreak was mainly due to the poor infrastructure and poor governance within the country. More importantly, the outbreak was a good example of what transpires when governance structures fail. Such crises as this one in most cases can be traced back to the government and its provision of certain services. Chief among these services was water delivery which had been non-existent at the time. In addition to this, in the event that a crisis breaks out hospitals and clinics need to be well equipped but this was not the case as the collapse of the economy had crippled the health sector in Zimbabwe. Governance, as shown in this dissertation, is important in how countries are able deal with outbreaks such as cholera outbreaks. The Zimbabwean reaction to this crisis is an example of how governments need to have in place measures to curb outbreaks so that they do not spread. It is also important to bear in mind that there is a host of factors that led to the cholera outbreak such as the decay of infrastructure due to financial neglect. There was also the collapse in governance capacity and it resulted in an economic decline as well as the loss of capable workforce of engineers and planners who migrated out of Zimbabwe to seek opportunities in foreign countries.

This dissertation has outlined the importance of a strong governance system. By governance system I am referring to the ability of the government to provide the basic needs such as water and electricity. In addition to this governance also extends to how the authorities in a country react to a crisis. The 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution is an important aspect that needs to be considered as an important vehicle for governance within the country. Key sections include Section 77 which speaks to the right to water and Section 264 which speaks to the devolution

of power. These sections are important and pertinent to the dissertation in its entirety. Section 77, for example, shows that the government is struggling in this regard as citizens still do not have access to running water. This has resulted in citizens having to find alternatives to the government's inefficiencies. The failure to implement devolution as stated by the Zimbabwean constitution points to politicisation of service delivery. Due to the fact that ZANU PF feared that MDC would make great strides at local government level devolution became politicized and it has not been implemented by the ZANU PF led government.

Section 264, on the other hand, has become very controversial and has again brought to the fore the power contestations within Zimbabwe. Importantly, devolution remains a hotly contested topic within many African countries other than just Zimbabwe. In Chapter 5 of the dissertation I outlined how since the introduction of the 2013 Constitution devolution is yet to be implemented within the Zimbabwean political landscape. In interviews I conducted, a discussion on devolution showed how the process had become politicized. One aspiring law maker spoke to the necessity of devolution as essential to the governance of water in Zimbabwe whilst one MP was clear in stating that the only reason why the ruling ZANU PF does not want to adhere to devolution is because of the fear of losing power.

As I showed with examples from countries like Uganda and Kenya devolution is a powerplay between the ruling party and the opposition. This is evident in the Zimbabwean case where the opposition enjoys significant support at local government level. Empowering such communities will see the opposition being put in a position where they can threaten the stranglehold of the ruling party- this was made clear in chapter 5. Further examples also showed that because of the fact that central government in many cases control the coffers that finance local government there is a reluctance to fund local government as central government in most cases would not want to empower local government financially. The dynamic that is seen within local government is an important aspect that needs consideration as it speaks strongly to the overall governing structures within Zimbabwe. Ideally, the relationship between central government and local government should be cordial but because of the centralized power dynamics in many African states the power contestations often result in the crippling of essential services to the citizenry.

Governance from the definition I gave in the first chapter of the dissertation also speaks to the notion of effective planning. The Zimbabwean government has, in many cases, often seen to have failed to plan. This is evidenced through the 2008 Cholera outbreaks and further outbreaks

that occurred a few years after that. Outbreaks are common in many countries but it is important the government(s) plan accordingly. For the Zimbabwean government, it was and it remains important the country puts in place initiatives that ensure that citizens have access to potable water.

In many areas boreholes have been erected to assist citizens alleviate the water challenge in the country. Although these have, to a certain extent, alleviated the water challenges in Zimbabwe more investment is required in developing dilapidated infrastructure and also upgrading the infrastructure to cater for the growth in population especially in the urban areas. Planning also extends to supporting the development of water treatment plants such as those that are seen many other countries like South Africa. *AquaMat South Africa PTY LTD* is a water treatment plant that is based in Johannesburg, South Africa. One of the engineers based at this company, Gavin Mwanza, notes the company is a "water treatment solutions provider [and we focus] on engineering solutions on water treatment and wholesale of water treatment components" (Mwanza: 2019). Water treatment plants, as with the ones provided for by *AquaMat* are important for the provision of water especially for a country like Zimbabwe which is water scarce.

The use of companies such as *Aquamat* is important within the water sector as such companies provide innovative solutions to water challenges. The use of technology is an important element that needs to considered in the treatment of water. In relation to technology Mwanza (2019) notes that:

> Technology is very important. A few years ago, let's say some decades ago the only possible way to treat sea water was to do distillation, but now we have reverse osmosis which is cost effective. But its relatively an expensive exercise to treat water and that's because of the energy that's required to treat water for reverse osmosis… With technological advancement this can become easy in the future, so what costs half a million today might cost a hundred thousand in future and this is only possible [through research and adoption of technologies]…

An adoption of such strategies within the Zimbabwean water sector would go a long way in resolving the water challenges that the country has continued to face over the last few years. The incorporation of technology has been seen to improve certain sects of human life. The same can also be said about the water sector as Mwanza alludes to.

Water treatment plants are important in that they also allow water sourced from rivers which can be deemed to be unsafe to be safe for consumption. When shedding light on this Mwanza (2019) notes that water from rivers in most cases is of poor quality and to improve that type of

water treatment plants become important. The use of water treatment plants and the use of technology is also an important vehicle to ensure that the quality of water is improved.

Chapter 8 of this dissertation focused on how climate change has had an impact on Zimbabwe's water resources. The government policies in this regard were important as they show that the government has put in place measures to mitigate the challenges. However, like many countries in the world, climate change remains one of the biggest challenges to water resources. In addition to this, climate change, as shown in chapter 8, produces multiple challenges. For example, in chapter 8, it was evident that Zimbabwe's electricity supplies were affected negatively by the receding levels of water in Kariba Dam. In this case, climate change's effects have indirectly businesses that need electricity and there has also been a negative impact on the lives of the population.

Climate change has also had a negative impact on the African continent in that most of the economies on the continent rely heavily on agriculture (agrarian economies). It is clear that, climate change is at the heart of the water challenges on the African continent. Bearing this in mind, the Zimbabwean government needs to implement some of the policies I drew them from chapter 8 to ensure that the country has measures in place to mitigate climate change. One of the vehicles I mentioned was the use of wetlands which can be a cost free method to combat climate change. As I mentioned in chapter 8, the corruption that has seen wetlands being used for building houses and malls needs to be reined in to protect the environment. Sadly, the governance of wetlands as I showed in chapter 8, speaks to the broader debates of governance in Zimbabwe whereby the ruling elite have used their powers. Furthermore, the corrupt nature of the Zimbabwe has seen organizations such as EMA being used as vehicles of corruption at the expense of the environment.

Theoretical Contributions

One of the key contributions this dissertation makes is the impact colonialism had on the post-colonial state in Zimbabwe's water governance system. Although, my case study focuses on Zimbabwe, the examples spoke to a number of former colonies on the African continent. The report further analyses how the inherited system would affect the post-colonial state. When writing about this Herbst (1990:13) notes that:

> With the settlers' decision to move into farming, forced removal of Africans from rich farm areas to tribal Reserves, many with poor quality land, became an essential aspect of the development of the colony.

This quote speaks to the system that Zimbabwe inherited after the attainment of independence in 1980. Furthermore, the quote aptly sums up the skewed system that was inherited by the post-colonial government. This dissertation further contributed to this school of thought but with a focus on water governance in Zimbabwe. The theoretical approach showed that path dependence is important in understanding Zimbabwe's water governing policies after the attainment of independence. The theory also outlined how Zimbabwe's water challenges can be traced back to the institutions created in 1890 by the colonial powers.

With path dependence for example, the idea was to trace Zimbabwe's history with the view of bringing to light how particular moments such as the forced movement of the African population to TTLs would create an unequal society some 90 years later. One key example would be how the laws that were introduced by the colonial government continued to be used by the post-colonial government. The 1976 Water Act and how it was only repealed 20 years after the attainment of independence in 1980 comes to mind. Effectively, even though independence came to Zimbabwe, the colonial laws such as the 1976 Water Act were still governing the country.

Another important theoretical contribution is the link between governance and colonialism. This point also speaks directly to the theoretical approach of this dissertation. Ultimately the governance system in present-day Zimbabwe is inherently linked to the colonial system especially when understanding the laws. In chapter 8, one of my discussions when looking at the inherited system looked again at the 1978 Water Act which outlined that inequalities within the water sector were only addressed 20 years after independence. This meant that the minority white farmers were still benefactors of the colonial system even though independence had meant that there had to be a levelling of the playing field.

The analysis of the use of power by the State in Zimbabwe is another useful theoretical contribution that this dissertation makes. One key example is that of the governance of wetlands in Zimbabwe. In one of the cases I brought to the fore how the political elite had used their power with the aim of building on wetlands. Again, this can be traced back to the colonial government where the use of central state power resulted in inequalities. The same applies to the politicisation of local government where, again, there is a contestation of power between the ruling party (central government) and opposition (local government). These power plays continue to plague the Zimbabwean State as well as various African states.

Limitations and Scope for further research

As with any research project some areas were left unexplored and present themselves as opportunities for further research. Due to the scope of the project and, in some cases, lack of financial support some areas were left unexplored. These areas, which other researchers can explore, include:

- The impacts of land reform water governance in Zimbabwe
- Gender dynamics and water governance in Zimbabwe
- Climate change, wetlands, and water governance in Zimbabwe
- A study on water harvesting as a mechanism to address water challenges within communities
- The relationship between water governance and food security

Personal Reflections

When summing up the reason for conducting research Neuman (2014:514) notes that:

> Social research may be imperfect, but its ultimate goal is to discover knowledge, expand understanding, and seek truth.

This, to a large extent, speaks to my aim in relation to the governance of water in Zimbabwe. Various academics who have written about Zimbabwe have often pinned the blame of the challenges Zimbabwe faces on either Mugabe or ZANU PF. However, I aimed to delve deeper into the discussion by analysing the system which was inherited. My dissertation is no way perfect in terms of unpacking the challenges Zimbabwe's water sector faces, however, the aim was to contribute to the debate surrounding water governance.

From the onset of independence in 1980, I am of the belief that ZANU PF was driven by the aim of creating a just society whose foundations were based on reconciliation. Furthermore, the government was leaned towards developing the rural areas which had been ravaged by the civil war for independence. However, from 2000, the emergence of the MDC as a political party created a huge threat to ZANU PF's stranglehold on power, particularly at the level of local government, and as a result the ruling party shifted to 'survival mode.' This shift resulted in the government neglecting basic services such as water services with the aim of surviving politically.

This not only speaks to water governance but this also speaks to the overall governance structures in Zimbabwe. The 2008 Cholera Outbreak is a typical example of how politicization crippled service delivery. The neglect of the water system, which was barely upgraded from

the colonial government, led to a crisis of mammoth proportions. The political culture in the country which sees corruption further compounding on the challenges Zimbabwe already faces has been one of the major contributors to poor service delivery, as seen in chapter 7 of this dissertation.

The water sector in Zimbabwe faces a number of challenges and the failure of government, both at central and local level, has contributed greatly to the challenges at hand. A total recalibration of the governance system is required. This should be driven by implementing the 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution. This will go a long way in undoing poor governance systems and see the country fulfil its mandate to its citizens.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Taruvinga

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/09/39**
PROJECT TITLE	Water governance and the colonial legacy in Zimbabwe
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr G Taruvinga
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences /
DATE CONSIDERED	15 September 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	15 October 2020

DATE 16 October 2017 **CHAIRPERSON** J. Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr S Louw

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 2 – Consent Form

WITS UNIVERSITY

Title of Project: Water Governance and the Colonial Legacy in Zimbabwe

Researcher: Gwinyai Regis Taruvinga

1. **Purpose of the Study:** The purpose of this research study is to explore the impacts of colonialism on post-colonial Zimbabwe's water governing policies

2. **Procedures to be followed:** ****

3. **Duration:** 1 hour

4. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The data will be stored and secured at *(location)* in a *(locked/password protected)* file. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, your name will be used in the presentation of the findings of this project. Should you disagree with this, the researcher will make use of anonymity.

5. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

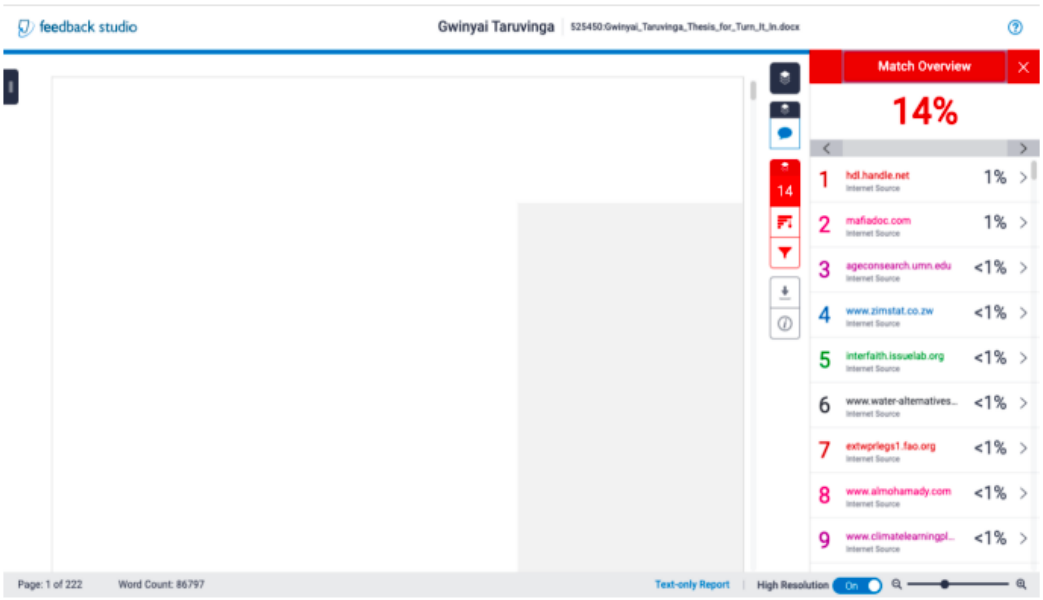
_____ _____

Participant Signature Date

_____ _____

Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix 3 – Turn It Report Score



Appendix 4 – List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Organization/Position
Mrs Kudzai Mubaiwa	Ran for Council for Ward 6 in Harare
Professor Emmanuel Manzungu	University Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, Agriculture Department
Mr Precious Shumba	Chairman of the Harare Resident's Trust
Mr Farai Manzira	Head of Operations Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA)
Mr Israel Rwodzi	President of the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers
Mr Herbert Nyakutsikwa	Engineer at the African Development Bank
Honourable Tendai Biti	MP for Harare East and former Finance of Zimbabwe (2009-2013)
Mr Timothy Chitambure	Community Water Alliance Researcher
Mr Hardlife Mudzingwa	Community Water Alliance Researcher
Mr Alois Madhekeni	University Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, Public Administration
Mr Kumbulani Murenga	Executive Director, Institution for Sanitation and Water Development
Dr Jenifer Fitchett	University Lecturer, University of the Witwatersrand, Geography Department
Professor Lucille Blumberg	Deputy Director of the National Institute for Communicable Diseases
Mr Gavin Mwanza	Engineer at Aquamat (Water Treatment Plant)