IMPACT OF WATER POLICY ON POVERTY REDUCTION AND WOMEN ROLES IN WATER MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE

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GRADUATE SCHOOL
BOGOR AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY
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2012
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the thesis Impact of Water Policy on Poverty Reduction and Women Roles in Zimbabwe and the work reported herein was composed by and originated entirely from me and my supervisors. I declare that this is a true copy of my thesis, as approved by my supervisory committee and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and references are given in the list of sources.

Bogor, February 2012

Sinikiwe Dube

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ABSTRACT

SINIKIWE DUBE. Impact of Water Policy on Poverty Reduction and Women Roles in Water Management in Zimbabwe. Supervised by ARYA HADI DHARMAWAN and SOERYO ADIWIBOWO

Water management is a key factor in the battle to remove the scourge of extreme poverty and to build secure and prosperous lives for people in the developing world. The water sector in Zimbabwe is complicated by the large number of actors; it is interwoven within various ministries. The research used secondary data and review of literature to evaluate how the current water policy has contributed towards marginalising women and the poor. It looked at how actors can also marginalise or put other actors at risk thereby undermining their role through prioritisation of certain projects, stakeholder participation and usage policy. From a descriptive analysis it is found that women are further relegated and marginalised. The poor are further impoverished through marginalisation and vulnerability. The policy environment favours business and state interests against those of grassroots actors and women. It recommends the establishment of home grown pro- poor water management strategies.

Key words: water policy, women participation, poverty reduction, natural resources, Zimbabwe
SUMMARY

SINIKIWE DUBE. Impact of Water Policy on Poverty Reduction and Women Roles in Water Management in Zimbabwe. Supervised by ARYA HADI DHARMAWAN and SOERYO ADIWIBOWO

Water management is a key factor in the battle to remove the scourge of extreme poverty and to build secure and prosperous lives for people in the developing world. The government of Zimbabwe reformed water policy in through institutional and statutory reforms. This was aimed at decentralising management to catchment areas among other goals.

The water sector in Zimbabwe is complicated by the large number of actors; it is interwoven within various ministries. The research used secondary data and review of literature to evaluate how the current water policy has contributed to women roles and poverty reduction.

The specific objectives are to evaluate actor interests and roles in the current water sector in Zimbabwe; to evaluate the effect of reticulation and usage policies on women’s access to and roles in water resource management; to evaluate the contribution of water usage and reticulation policies on poverty reduction in Zimbabwe; and to propose strategies that can improve reticulation and usage policies in the country.

It looked at how actors can also marginalise or put other actors at risk thereby undermining their role through prioritisation of certain projects, stakeholder participation and usage policy. From a descriptive analysis it is found that women are further relegated and marginalised. The poor are further impoverished through marginalisation and vulnerability.

The policy environment favours business and state interests against those of grassroots actors and women. Narratives of scarcity were used to effect change and remove power from some previously powerful actors and the poor actors in the name of improving their livelihoods.
The policy has contributed negatively to poverty reduction as the poor remain poorer. Women’s ‘traditional’ roles were lost to the new modern structures. They lack equal representation in water management bodies. The study recommends the establishment of home grown pro-poor water management strategies. Capacity building and affirmative action is needed for water managers and women and poor grassroots actors to enable their participation hence defend their interests.

**Key words:** water policy, women participation, poverty reduction, natural resources, Zimbabwe
IMPACT OF WATER POLICY ON POVERTY REDUCTION AND WOMEN ROLES IN WATER MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE

DUBE SINIKIWE

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Bogor, February 2012

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Justification

Water has been linked with livelihoods since the earliest civilisation along the Nile. This could be attributed to the fact that water governance has profound impacts on people’s livelihoods and their ability to break out of poverty. Water management is a key factor in the battle to remove the scourge of extreme poverty and to build secure and prosperous lives for people in the developing world.

It is clear from news headlines and daily life in Zimbabwe that a water crisis is looming in the country. Those most affected by the water crisis are the poor and women who constitute 60% of the poor.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) on water set by the United Nations, target halving, by 2015, the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water. Achieving this goal would increase the possibility to reach the seven other MDGs since they are very much dependant on strengthened water governance. Consequently, failure to achieve the water targets is likely to provide no hope of reaching the MDGs for women participation and poverty reduction among other goals (UNDP 2010). However, with only four years to the MDGs achievement deadline there has not been a clear understanding of the existing policies on access to water, and the consideration of the poor in the framework.

The government of Zimbabwe has made efforts to address historical imbalances in access to water, which may be dated back to the colonial era, through national water reforms designed to decentralize water management; increase stakeholder participation in water management institutions; and create a more efficient and sustainable water sector in light of climate change. This attempt has been in course since 1995 through the integrated water resource management strategy (IWRMS). In so doing the government adopted a national water policy that is mainly embedded in the Water Act of 1998 (Chapter 20:24) and implemented through the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) Act of 2002 to replace the 1976 water act based on Dublin Principles. These form the legal basis for water management in the country.
However currently, 13 years later a 39% of households still lack access to improved sources of water though right to livelihood in terms of water for basic needs is given high priority in the new water act (Hellum 2001). According to UNDP (2010), 65% of all water points in rural areas are non-functional; the percentage of the population with access to safe water in rural areas decreased from 70% in 1999 to 61% in 2009. Dry taps are persistent in urban areas. In 2008 an unprecedented cholera outbreak affected all ten provinces in both rural and urban areas.

An important aspect of this Water Act is the division of water into “primary” and “productive” categories (ZINWA 2001). The primary category refers to water used for household purposes, while the productive category is for commercial uses like industry and agriculture. The previous concept of water rights was replaced with water permits and all water is now vested in the state.

The new water management institution of ZINWA, Catchment Councils and Sub-catchment Councils are to be financially autonomous (Latham 2001; Swatuk 2001; ZINWA 2002). This policy shift has had different impacts on different groups of people. Research targeting how various reticulation/usage policies have impacted on the well being of the community as a whole is scarce with most researchers focusing on agriculture and industry.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Rooted in the water reform and increasing water scarcity the problem manifests in obvious leaves like increase in frequency of dry taps; half purified tap water; long queues at water points; conflicts among irrigators; unprotected sources of water coupled with neglect of the sewage system and subsequent outbreak of diseases like cholera among others.

The government of Zimbabwe adopted a demand based approach based on Dublin principles and IWRMS. The Water Act has attempted to cater for equity in allocation by reducing water rights/permits that were held in perpetuity; and the concept of priority date system related to the granting of water permits was removed. These provisions are designed to protect the interests of the less well-off who were previously hindered from adequate access due to the extensive
granting of water rights and permits to large, predominantly white, farmers. It remains to be seen whether this will in practice lead to more equitable distribution and hence reduce poverty levels for the targeted.

Though it addressed racial inequalities, the policy shift could also have resulted in more problems for the resource poor and women, this may compromise the country ability to meet the earlier mentioned goals. Within water policy changes intended to improve efficiency and conservation, careful attention is needed to considerations of equity. Water markets can help improve water allocation and use, thereby promoting efficiency (Kemper, 2001); but unless their introduction is accompanied by appropriate provisions for vulnerable groups, and for environmental protection, the trading of water can promote social exclusion and environmental neglect.

In the current situation, water is divided into “primary” and “productive” categories (ZINWA, 2001). The primary category refers to water used for household purposes, while the productive category is for commercial uses. However in Zimbabwe’s communal lands, women use water simultaneously for both primary and productive purposes. Women activities that involve use of water that falls in between the two categories are affected. Providing water for the household and for small-scale community vegetable gardens, a stream of financial and economic benefits can rapidly be generated by users. This benefit stream, though relatively small, is reliable and accrues particularly to women in the household (Waughray and Lovell; Manzungu and Mazhangara 2004). The resource poor and women who in most cases use primary water for ‘secondary’ purposes will have to seek rights and will have to pay. Men are not as much affected since they mostly do formal work. The women in question can no longer generate income, the poorer the less empowered. Henceforth women empowerment is compromised. It remains to be seen if this policy shift will help empower women by strengthening their roles in water management.

Zimbabwe water policy documents neglect the importance of women as water users and productive farmers, an omission that significantly limits the potential effectiveness of water policy reform (Derman et al. 2000). This is equally so in Zimbabwe’s water sector where there is no special mention of
women roles and catchment councils are dominated by men. There is need to understand how the current water reticulation and usage policies have affected the use of water and access to water by women? What has been the role of women in water management for the past decade? How are their indubitable roles affected by the recent arrangements?

Due to institutional failure at ZINWA to supply water to residents, urban dwellers have to seek alternative sources of water in cases of water cuts. Residents have to walk distances to fetch water; this is the primary role of women. Girls would have to miss school; their mothers have less time for income generating activities, hence increased poverty. No education no empowerment, hence the girl child suffers.

Zimbabwe is one of the countries where the law guarantees women and men equal access to land, but women may not be aware of their rights, or customs may exclude women from de facto ownership. Women have accumulated considerable knowledge about water resources, including location, quality and storage methods because of their dependence on water resources. However, efforts geared towards improving the management of water resources and extending access to safe drinking water, often overlook the central role of women in water management. Does the Zimbabwe water policy appreciate the central role of women in this?

Access to clean water is the foundation for other forms of development. Without easy access to water that is safe, countless hours are spent in water collection, household income is spent on purchasing water and medical treatment for water-related diseases. These factors contribute to keeping people trapped in poverty.

Linking agricultural water, education, and market interventions, which are so often implemented separately, would generate more effective poverty reduction and hunger eradication programs (Munir et al. 2009). Investments in agricultural water management and complementary rural infrastructure and related policies are the pathways to break the poverty trap in smallholder African agriculture.
Intermittent changes in the policy and institutional environment for the water sector is blamed for the decline of services in water sector (Ordu 2011). Weak and politically manipulated public utilities often exclude poorer areas and under-charge wealthier citizens. (Castro 2006) argues that the inertial forces set in motion by the neoliberal model of water policy based on market-centred governance of water remains the crucial obstacle for the achievement of MDGs. Whether service providers are public or private the poor will only benefit with effective regulation that is based on equity and financial sustainability. Each actor with different power, different interests and different roles needs the water, questions arise as to:

i. What are the narratives used by actors in pursuit of their in interests and roles in the water policy arena?

ii. In what way has the water policy condition contributed towards poverty reduction in Zimbabwe?

iii. How has the policy condition affected the role of women and their access to water?

iv. What are the alternative pro poor strategies that could be used to help enhance the role of women and help reduce poverty in the water sector?

1.3 Objectives

The broad objective is to:

asses the impact of water reticulation and usage policies towards poverty reduction and women’s roles in water management in Zimbabwe.

Specific objectives are:

1. To evaluate actor interests and roles in the current water sector in Zimbabwe.

2. To evaluate the effect of water policy on women’s access to and roles in water resource management.

3. To evaluate the contribution of water policies on poverty reduction in Zimbabwe.

4. Propose strategies that can improve usage policies.
1.4 Use of the study

This study can serve to inform policy makers on the strengths and weaknesses of the current policy with regards to improving the lives of the poor and women. It helps to identify possible gaps where the poor and particularly women have been left out in the water sector. It also serves to clarify conflicting interests and roles in the water sector. To the public and private sector it contributes to information on the possibility of reaching the MDGs of water, poverty reduction and women participation with the current water policy. The study also intends to add to the existing knowledge on the current trends and changes in management of water resources.

1.5 Scope

SADC protocol on shared water courses; global trend of water reforms; among other reasons gave birth to new water policy in Zimbabwe. These policy reforms have impacts on a number of elements of development. The research will focus on reticulation and usage policy embedded in ZINWA Act and Water Act of 1998. This research will focus on the national level. Focus will be limited to those elements that are to do with usage and reticulation of water. A variety of methods are available for policy analysis, this thesis will focus on interests and descriptive analysis of the impact on poverty reduction and women roles. Impact on industry and large estates will not be part of the research.
II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Water and Poverty

Water shortage, poor water quality, or unreliable supply has profound effects on people’s well-being. Improved access to safe and affordable water supply and sanitation is an essential component to strengthen the international commitment to meet the international poverty elimination targets (DFID, 2000; White Paper on International Development; UNDP, 2010).

Lack of water is a determinant of poverty. The fulfilment of poor people’s water-related needs is fundamental to the elimination of poverty (DFID, 2000; Francis et al. 2001). At household level water is essential for a number of activities ranging from kitchen to bathing as well as small scale income generation. Water delivered to fulfil basic needs for drinking, cooking, hygiene and production of subsistence food should be a priority, affordable to households with the lowest income levels, many of which are female headed. In order to eradicate poverty, improvement in provision of water required.

Water’s main contribution to economic wellbeing is through its use for agriculture in order to improve food security. There is a positive, albeit complex, link between water services for irrigation and other farm use, poverty alleviation and food security. Access to water for agriculture can boost the yield of the main wet-season crop; secure extra dry-season crops, and enable the timing of production to match market demands. For example, a study in West Bengal villages in India found that employment in irrigated areas was almost constant throughout the year with no ‘dead’ season, but in non-irrigated areas there were two severe gaps each year with almost no work (DFID, 2000).

Water also has important economic benefits through industrial use, power generation and transport at national level. These benefits can have a profound impact on economic opportunities for poor people, and, hence, the elimination of poverty.

Water is a consumption need which is paid for with revenue gained from economic activities or in time spent collecting it. In combination with other assets can produce income (Clarke, 1998). Increased scarcity of water through
drought or access restrictions reduces household capacity to combine water with other assets in order to produce income (Nicol, 2000).

Improved access to safe water supply can reduce poverty at household level through saving time and energy. A reliable water supply ensures that poor households have more time to engage in income generating activities, better hygiene and lower health care costs. Fetching even a family’s basic water requirement can be time-consuming taking 26% of the household’s time. It is also physically exhausting, a burden that falls disproportionately on women and children (White 1972 in DFID 2000, UNDP 2001, WSP 2010). In eastern Uganda research found that women spend an average of 660 hours per year collecting water for their households, which represents two full months of labour (WSP, 2010). UNDP estimates that some 40 billion hours a year, are spent collecting water in sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2006).

Being ill with a water-related disease, or caring for an ill family member, also consumes a lot of time and money for medical attention and medicines. Water-borne epidemic of cholera can cost a country millions in lost agricultural exports, and in trying to curb the epidemic as was the case in Zimbabwe in 2008/2009.

Flood and drought are the main causes of poverty and of the displacement and migration of poor populations. Drought alleviation could reduce the annual expenditure of many million women years (a unit of measurement based on a standard number of woman-days in a year of work of effort to carry water from distant sources). Improved water management ensures wider environmental sustainability.

However, there is evidence that provision of cheaper water does not always result in people adopting the cheaper supply. Inclusive stakeholder analysis is essential as a prerequisite so as to identify the priorities of the poor (DFID, 2000). It is therefore access to water that matters. Contribution of water management to poverty reduction is not just achievable: it is affordable.
2.2 contribution of water to human development

Water contributes to human development overtly or by implication, to a number of declarations and conventions on human rights. For example: the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) article 24. This demonstrates the centrality of water supply to the exercise of people’s human rights.

Table 1: Relationship of water with other millennium development goals (MDGs)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Development Focal Area</th>
<th>KEY RESULT AREAS: LINKAGES TO WATER</th>
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<tr>
<td>Poverty Reduction &amp; MDGs</td>
<td>Promoting inclusive growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supporting MDG-based national development strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to water supply, sanitation and water resources assets main driver of poverty reduction and prerequisite to achieving most MDGs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainstreaming of water supply, sanitation and water resources management into MDG-based national development strategies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Addressing rural/urban, rich/poor inequalities in access to water services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Governance</td>
<td>Fostering inclusive participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthen responsive institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water crisis is principally one of governance, not of scarcity</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive participation in water resources management</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthening water governance institutions and mechanisms</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Integrating human rights &amp; gender equality in water governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis Prevention</td>
<td>Reducing the risk of crisis and systematic prevention of disaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restoring the foundation for development after crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reducing water-related risks and crises (drought, floods, etc.) through integrated water resources management and climate change adaptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water governance &amp; management entry point for conflict prevention at local and transboundary levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental finance market-based &amp; other financial mechanisms for water supply &amp; sanitation, sustainable management of water resources and aquatic ecosystems (cost recovery, public-private partnerships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adapting to climate change measures to reduce/minimize water stress and scarcity of clean water resulting from climate change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expanding access to environment and energy services water supply and sanitation – capacity for service delivery, community-government partnerships</td>
</tr>
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Source: adapted from UNDP, 2008
One contribution of water to human development is by improving health. Water-related diseases are the single largest cause of human sickness and death in the world, and disproportionately affect poor people (DFID, 2000). The use of increased quantities of water for personal hygiene can reduce faeco-oral transmission and prevent diseases such as scabies and trachoma (Eisray et al. 1999). Good water resources management and drainage can prevent malaria carrying mosquitoes from breeding. Water used for food production also improves health, mainly by improving nutrition. Water related diseases that affect poor people are mainly infectious and parasitic diseases. These include faeco-oral infections that cause diarrhoea and including cholera, typhoid and dysentery. Skin and eye infections, including trachoma which is a major cause of blindness are included. Absence of water may also result in poor hygiene.

Besides drinking water and sanitation, water management is essential for improving the health and livelihoods of the poor, ensuring wider environmental sustainability, reducing urban squalor and eradicating hunger. It is also critical in addressing gender inequalities and improving access to education for the poor. Livelihoods outcomes include increased income, reduced vulnerability, increased well-being, food security, sustainable use of natural resources among others.

2.3 Problems of access to water in Zimbabwe

The major challenges affecting the provision of primary water include eroded institutional and community capacity in terms of human, financial, and material resources, a weak policy framework, and a weak sector information management and monitoring system. In addition, failure to invest in the routine maintenance of water and sanitation facilities has resulted in deterioration of physical assets and, inevitably, failure to provide a safe and reliable basic level of service (MDG status report, 2010).

In rural areas, it could also be attributed to difficulty in provision for the sparse households. In years of drought most ground water sources get dry. Wells which are a common source, dry up in the dry season putting pressure on ground water sources. In cities where residents pay for water, inability to pay could result in taps locked. In some cases the taps are dry.
Natural causes like drought play a part in some years. In most cases in the rural areas and farms issues of property rights come in.

2.4 Women/ gender and water

Gender refers to socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate and ascribes to men and women (Gender and Sanitation Program, 2010). In general, women comprise an above-average percentage of those designated as poor. Therefore empowerment of women is an essential precondition for the elimination of world poverty (Mayoux, 2000). It is widely accepted that women’s involvement in the water sector should be promoted.

If water management is to be democratic and transparent and represent the needs of the people, both men and women must have an equal say. Participation of women in management structures is considered vital in ensuring that women have a voice in the management of natural resources. This includes in stakeholder consultation process as well as participation in the water management structures and dialogue platforms. Women are under-represented in the water world, with careers and training in water management dominated by men. A start has been made through the increase in the number of women serving as ministers of water and environment, but the empowerment of women as water managers must also be felt at the grassroots level.

A demand based water supply system can only meet the needs of its customers when these customers are capable of expressing their needs to water authorities i.e. through stakeholder participation. This participation can only be possible where there is relevant information so they can make informed decisions regarding their choices and the costs they are undertaking. Women have a particular need for information on possibilities for participation and on their legal rights, in order to enhance their bargaining power (Francis et al. 2001).

Since women comprise a large segment of the users of water facilities, an adequate proportion of the membership of all decision-making bodies and water-management committees should be female. Generally, a one-third proportion is regarded as creating the requisite critical mass for the interests of a group to be
effectively represented. Where representation is unbalanced, affirmative action is needed over an agreed period, governed by clearly established criteria. To ensure quality representation of women’s interests in decision-making bodies and management structures, careful analysis is required to ensure equality in the distribution of work, paid opportunities, skills-development and capacity building initiatives, as well as the benefits of any planned action. Adequate women’s participation in decision-making bodies in the water sector has to be ensured at all levels.

Despite some reported successes in developing the participation of women in projects, there is need to improve on women in catchment and subcatchments councils and to understand more fully how their current roles could be supported and enhanced. Problems connected with women’s roles in water management can vary radically because of geographical context e.g. urban and rural. This participation should neither tokenistic nor an added burden on those concerned (Nicol, 1997).

Since women are significantly over-represented among the poor, limited access to and use of water contributes to the feminisation of poverty and to the entrenchment of poverty in general. Where there are conflicting needs, those of the women have to be recognised and respected (Francis et al. 2001). Water development and management policies and programmes that exclude women as actors, and as an interest group, bypass half the population and are lower in efficiency and effectiveness (Francis et al. 2001).

Indigenous women possess traditional knowledge and skills concerning the sensing/locating of water and protection of the source. Water sources on indigenous lands are often considered a sacred element, and indigenous women may be the holders of ‘water knowledge’. Their traditional land management skills often provide the most effective method of water resource management in their settlement areas. However, indigenous peoples are seriously affected by their uncompensated and unsustainable loss of water to farming and other industries introduced from outside their communities thereby disempowering them.
The water sector can contribute to redressing inequality and can impact positively on the social, political and economic position of women. Equitable access to water for productive use can empower women and address the root causes of poverty and gender inequality. Research in rural Pakistan showed that poor access to water reduces the time that women devote to market-oriented activities and increases women’s total work burden (Ilahi and Grimard, 2000). Costa et al. empirically showed that water provision reduces the total work burden on women in rural Ghana. My personal experience in Zimbabwe confirms that. However (Coulombe and Wodon, 2008) found that access to infrastructure does not significantly affect the total number of hours women work in Ghana. But they suggest that the time saved from domestic work as a result of infrastructure provision might be used for remunerated activities.

Well targeted services can improve the health and security of women and their families, and free them to engage in social, economic, and political activities, thus tackling ‘time poverty.’ Time poverty is defined as the situation where women’s time is inflexible, consumed by routine and non-productive tasks, perpetuating their absence from decision making and other profitable pursuits (World Bank, 2006).

Well-planned water programs offer a real opportunity for women to exercise authority and leadership within a community and to extend their influence beyond community level to address the strategic needs of women in the water sector.

Lack of access (ownership) to land may be one of the causes of women’s limited access to water and a key reason for the greater poverty of female-headed households. even where women do have a legal right to land, customs often prevent them from taking de facto control of land and natural resources, not only in Zimbabwe but in other African countries such as Burkina Faso and Cameroon.

In Zimbabwe, women and female children are frequently the main providers of water for household use. Women often disproportionally bear the burden related to water shortages as the girl child may forego schooling and childhood in order to transport water from distant sources if a water system fails yet major decisions in communities are normally taken by men. The same gender
A water reticulation policy that is sensitive to women’s needs would have more public water points located near their homes, preferring connections within their houses, so as to reduce the time and energy spent on the acquisition of water. Distant water facilities increase women’s and girls’ workloads, sometimes placing severe stress on their health and their capacity to take advantage of educational and training opportunities.

Improved access for women to affordable water will contribute to poverty reduction and hence their empowerment. Policy must ensure equality of opportunity through mainstreaming women’s empowerment and gender equality in all its policies. It must ensure equity of outcomes through rethinking mainstream development to ensure empowerment and redress gender inequalities to secure greater livelihood security, access to productive assets and economic opportunities for women.

2.5 Trends in water policy

2.5.1 Water as an economic good

With the wave of neo liberalism in the 1980s the open market has been regarded as the ideal instrument for an efficient allocation of goods and services including water supplies. Thus for most international organisations, the private sector, with its capital and its technical and management knowledge, is the most suitable actor to reach the Millennium Goals. In support of this process of liberalisation of the service sector World Trade Organisation laid it down in the GATS agreement. The GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) is one of the World Trade Organisation’s (WTO) multilateral agreements on trade.

Neo-liberalism in the water sector seems to have gathered momentum worldwide. Since the early 1990s there has been further change centring on the persuasive idea that water is an economic as well as a social. The first major international expression of water as an economic as well as social good which encouraged the establishment of approaches based on expressed demand by
communities of consumers was in Dublin 1992 at the International Conference on Water and the Environment preceding the Earth Summit in Rio (Nicol, 2000).

According to the International consensus on water, Dublin Principles: fresh water is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development and the environment, water development and management should be based on a participatory approach, involving users, planners and policy-makers at all levels; women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water; water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognised as an economic good (Dublin Principles).

From Rio, Agenda 21, countries must ensure the integrated management and development of water resources; assess water quality, supply and demand; protect water resource quality and aquatic ecosystems; improve water supply and sanitation; ensure sustainable water supply and use for cities; manage water resources for sustainable food production and development; assess the impact of climate change on water resources (Agenda 21).

From the 3rd World Water Forum of March 2003 in Kyoto access to water was declared a basic need not a right. It was also agreed that water must be treated primarily as an economic good not only as a social good. It was also declared that water should get an economic value according to the market price which allows for the recovery of the total production costs including profits (WWF, 2003).

In this approach the community initiates and makes informed choices about service options and how services are delivered; the community contributes to investment costs relative to the level of service and has significant control on how funds are managed; government has a facilitative role, sets clear national policies and strategies and creates an enabling environment for all participation groups; the community or a representative legal body owns and is responsible for sustaining the facilities; community capacity is appropriately strengthened, and awareness is raised to stimulate demand.

The main debate in this new approach comes to be on who covers the cost, both capital and recurrent, and on how the cost is to be determined. This was the dilemma experienced by the water reform in Zimbabwe. Service
coverage guaranteed by the public sector gave way to an approach emphasising
government, civil society and the private sector.

The central arguments around the transition from a supply-based to a
demand-based approach are that: public sector delivery is financially
unsustainable; and giving communities a financial stake in their own supply
development is more likely to lead to durable systems (World Bank, 1993). In
addition, the rhetoric that private companies function more efficiently and that as
a result, the cost of water will decrease. However this has not proven to be so as
exemplified by cases in Indonesia and Mexico among others who liberalised their
water sector but prices are still high in some cases even higher.

This shift from service supplies to demand has had major implications for
communities especially the poor. The link this new relationship creates with
household livelihoods and the wider social and political policy environments is
argued to be far stronger (World Bank, 1993).

**Challenges/ weaknesses of demand based approach**

Not all livelihood environments (especially in poor rural areas) are
necessarily conducive to operating a demand-based system, particularly where
financing approaches require a cash-based economy. This is an important part of
understanding knowledge environments, including requirements for, dispersal of
and participation in knowledge acquisition (World Bank, 1999).

The objectives may include improving social conditions and
strengthening weaker sections of society, but the ‘willingness’ to take
responsibility for maintenance and management is likely to be confined to those
‘able’ to do so. Due to privatisation, people who could not afford to pay for the
services were cut off. Demand, therefore, will come from those with the
necessary assets and skills, which will work largely against the poorer strata of
society (Nicol, 1997). According to ANSA (2007) in Ghana and South Africa, for
example, community-based organisations are taking up the battle against water
privatisation.

If the principle is accepted that water is an economic and social good that
should be managed at the lowest appropriate level, services must be planned on
the basis of demand from future users. Gender-disaggregated data must be used
to determine effective demand within different social strata so as to incorporate women.

In practice these policies not only have failed to extend these essential services to the poor but have also contributed to deepening existing inequalities of power resulting in the weakening of state, local government, and civil society capacities to exercise democratic control over private water monopolies in most developing countries. Reversing this imbalance is one of the crucial challenges ahead in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (Castro, 2005).

Inertial forces set in motion by the neoliberal model of water policy based on market-centred governance of water remains the crucial obstacle for the achievement of the goals (Castro, 2005). As a precondition for progressive change, the prevailing view that social services are merely commodities to be bought and sold would have to change.

Opponents argue that water is a fundamental human right and not a commodity that can be bought and sold for profit. This is in line with the November 2002 ruling of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that states that access to adequate amounts of clean water for personal and domestic use is a fundamental human right.

Recent empirical evidence shows that privatisation in developing countries can have negative consequences in terms of water distribution for the poor, who are unable to pay for adequate supplies

Privatisation has not by any means always provided the required result. Studies demonstrate that private companies in a non-competitive market (for mostly a monopoly situation is involved) are not necessarily more efficient than other forms of management. Abuses and corruption occur in the private sector too. In many cases water price multiplied after privatisation of the drinking water sector: e.g. Indonesia, Bolivia, Argentina, the Philippines

2.5.2 Water as a Social Right

Since the international water conference in Dublin in 1992, the international community has continued to institutionally refuse to recognise the access to water as a human right, i.e. as a universal, impartible and untouchable
right. The debate in the international community has in the last 15 years been sometimes quite contentious.

On July 28, 2010 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution declaring clean and safe water and sanitation a human right. Although this resolution is non-binding, it has a significant political meaning. There is a consensus about the fact that access to water is best insured by considering water as a public good that better remains in the government’s hands. However the right to water for everyone was not incorporated into the ministers’ final declaration of the World Water Forum in 2006.

This was due to the fundamentally rejecting attitude of some rich countries like US and other developed nations seeing market in the developing world’s water sector. They were probably considering selling their water resources as a commodity, which is rather contradictory in the context of water being a human right. On the other hand due to a number of developing countries who did not wish to have water supplies as a legal obligation in their country, since they cannot realise it e.g. South Africa. They fear that the resolution would give tools to their own population to use against them.

During the 1960s and 1970s, international and national efforts focused on the achievement of coverage levels through governments extending supplies to communities, based on the premise that governments could provide the maintenance and management capacity required. This focus remained during the 1980s ‘Water Decade,’ although community-level participation and appropriate village-level operation and maintenance became increasingly important as optimistic international targets set for clean water coverage ‘for all’ required greater levels of community input. However, in Zimbabwe constant lobbying by the white elite ensured they remained with the upper hand. Efforts to push water issues into the top agenda in COP 17 failed.

Opponents claim the resolution is too vague, that not enough responsibility is laid with the national governments, and that there is a lack of international laws supporting the right to water. This resolution could undermine the preparatory work within the Geneva-based UN Human Rights Council. Public sector delivery is financially unsustainable. Free provision of water may
result in people not conserving it. However these services were not provided for free.

2.6 Water problems/scarcity in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, like Botswana, Namibia and South Africa are reaching the point where water scarcity could represent a serious hindering factor to their future economic growth (Turton et al. 2006). At the moment, many international river basins in the Southern African region including Zimbabwe are facing point of closure meaning that their water resources have been fully exploited and no 'surplus' water can be utilized in other economic activities. Models generally show a drying trend for much of the 21st century in the area. Delayed seasonal rainfall onset is predicted in the northern parts of southern Africa (Zimbabwe) (Shongwe et al. 2000). Recent hydrological data shows rainfall amounts have been almost constant in the past decades with seasonal droughts.

Water scarcity and its uneven distribution throughout the region is a function of physically available supplies that is, geographic and climatic factors. It is also a function of factors such as the quality of water, efficiency of various uses, and the institutional capacity to meet rising demands (USGS, 2008; Swatuk and Furlong, 2005).

Water scarcity in Zimbabwe is related to the legacies of colonial rule. The situation is complicated and conflictual due to the fact that water has a “long history of politicization (Turton, 1999; Swatuk, 2005). Colonial policies forced large sectors of indigenous population to move onto marginal lands that are distant from water sources, introduced water intensive agricultural practices better suited to Europe rather than Southern Africa. They established a segregated domestic water supply network that subsidized white households at the expense of the excluded indigenous population.

Despite post-independence egalitarian rhetoric, in countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe inappropriate models (piped house connections in the urban areas, high technology irrigation schemes in the agricultural sector), combined with weak macro-economies and poorly formulated sectoral policies have actually exacerbated the disparities in access to water. Zimbabwe
20 exemplifies the current set of disconnects between land and water reform even though at the local level land and water are integrated (Hodgson, 2004; Derman et al. 2005).

Preserving urban Africa’s scarce water supplies requires recognition of urban–rural water cycle linkages and holistic, coordinated, and equitable regional policies and practices that support ecosystem function (Showers, 2002). According to (Nhapi, 2009) Harare cannot overcome its water-related problems under the current set-up. He recommends that a corporatised body, free from political influence and with a higher degree of autonomy, be established to run the water services for Harare and the neighbouring towns.

There is existence of a right to water and livelihood, which can be responsive to gender and poverty in local norms and practices in Zimbabwe (Derman and Hellum, 2006). These local norms and practices can be incorporated within water management laws and policies at regional, national and local levels.

Water scarcity results in an increase in the incidence of water-related diseases and environmental contamination. Evidence suggests that water scarcity in Bulawayo represents a huge cost to residents and the environment (Manzungu et al. 2010).

2.7 Water management is the Southern African Development Committee (SADC)

SADC states embarked in a series of efforts aiming at promoting regional cooperation in the water sector. The culminating point of these efforts has been the signing of the Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems (PSWS). Water resource scarcity has been a strong motivator to regional cooperation between SADC states rather than triggering conflict between states. This is pro-peace and seems in contrast with those that affirm that the next wars will be water wars.

In line with PSWS several SADC states have reformed their legal arrangements in the water sector to align them with the principles of IWRM. If this undoubtedly represents a significant “move forward” from the apartheid era, it is also evident that while these concepts of regional cooperation and sustainable development are well accepted in the political terminology they don't seem to
have as yet, a practical application. The concept of regional cooperation is therefore still very immature and is still not well established in state practice.

National interest continues to play a predominant role in the management of water resources where each state, attempts to “secure” as much water as possible through the building of dams or the adoption of complex interbasin transfer schemes. The difficulty in achieving regional cooperation is also the result of an uneven regional power distribution. Water policies inherited from the past and centered on the building of large dams and securing water through interbasin transfer schemes have deleterious effects on the river ecosystem. They also appear to be a short term solution to the problem of water scarcity.

Water management approaches aiming at augmenting the supply of water resources have a double effect. On the one hand IBTs and dams end up exacerbating the already unequal water distribution that characterizes the SADC region, on the other hand the environmental impacts associated with these policies renders the water supplied in this way highly unreliable. Furthermore, the increasing industrialization of the region and its extremely high population growth has led to the overexploitation and pollution of water resources further reducing the possibility of employing them in economic activities. At the moment, many international river basins in the Southern African region are facing point of closure (Turton and Ashton, 2008).

2.8 Trends in water policy in Zimbabwe

The four Dublin Principles shaping water policy in the SADC including Zimbabwe are: (1) Freshwater is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life; (2) water is an economic and social good; (3) Water development and management should be based on a participatory approach involving users, planners and policy-makers at all levels; and (4) Women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water.

The water act of 1998 succeeded the 1972 water Act which was biased towards the interests of commercial farmers. The cornerstone of the Rhodesian Water Act of 1976 was the private ownership of water. Water rights were considered ownership rights and were issued by the Administrative Court on the principle of the “first come, first served”
Throughout the 22 years, this principle remained untouched due to the strength of the lobby of (mainly white) largescale, estate farmers and fear of loss of investment. Moreover, until at least 1996, some 60% of the total storage capacity of dams was in the hands of private estate farmers, of the remaining 40% (controlled by the government) most of the available storage was committed in long term contracts to private farmers as well as to large sugar cane estates.

The comprehensive revision in 1998 was in order to promote an integrated water resource management approach, the sustainable use of water resources and stakeholders participation. The revised water act was designed to protect the interests of the less well-off smallholders and farm labourers. These were previously hindered from adequate access due to the extensive granting of water rights and permits to large, predominantly white, farmers (Black, 2003). It remains to be seen whether this will in practice lead to more equitable distribution.

Main changes in this act are that water is considered as an economic good with targeted subsidies for the poor. The nation’s water resources are vested in the State. The act introduces the polluter pays principle. The funds are to be used for clean up. The environment is considered an independent user. Water is subdivided into primary and productive categories. Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), an independent water authority was formed to manage all water resources. ZINWA is to be responsible for operational aspects of what was previously of the work of the Department of Water Development and city councils. Policy and regulation remained with the Ministry.

ZINWA is supposed to operate on a commercial basis, save for non-commercial functions for which levies would be imposed on certain groups of water consumers. However the provision of water in some cases was handed back to local authorities (such as the Harare Water Authority and the Bulawayo Water Authority) at the beginning of 2009. ZINWA continues to hold residual obligations on raw water (to farmers and towns) and primary water (to end-users in small towns, rural and growth areas). ZINWA operates at the national level in the development of small and large dams, and boreholes that are sources of water for the urban, rural and mining water supplies, as well as agricultural irrigation.
water. It also develops and operates distribution systems for some urban and rural water supplies. The treatment and distribution of water to clear water reservoirs is also the responsibility of ZINWA.

All stakeholders must participate through representative in the catchment councils that are formed through the ZINWA Act. Schmeer defines a stakeholder as actors (persons or organizations) with a vested interest in the policy being promoted. Available stakeholders can be grouped as follows: international/donors, national political (legislators, governors), public (ministry of health, social security agency, ministry of finance), labor (unions, medical associations); commercial/private for-profit, nonprofit (nongovernmental organizations [NGOs], foundations), civil society, and users/consumers.

Pioneering efforts at decentralising entrustments over use and management of resources to the peasant communities have largely resulted in decentralisation at the district level, where such efforts are still practised in the trickle-down mode (Mandondo, 2000). (Mtisi and Nicol, 2003) questions the sustainability of such decentralised resource management institutions, particularly as many richer members of the 'community' have no investment in the community sources as they increasingly have access to private water supplies. However according to (Machingambi and Manzungu, 2003) rural people are willing to participate in the management of domestic water sources. However, limited capacity to finance establishment of water points was a problem. Stakeholder involvement in urban areas faces a challenge because they are not included uncoordinated, involved a few stakeholders (it excluded the generality of the residents) and tended to occur outside the designated formal channels. Interference from central government is another problem (Manzungu and Mabhiza, 2004).

Water permits of limited duration are allocated by Catchment Councils (CC). Water permits replace the previous system of water rights and first come first serve. Permits would only be renewed subject to water availability and evidence of efficient use. The Minister may also issue regulations regarding permits (issue, amendment, or withdrawal) and the fee charged to permit holders. The permits last for 25 years and are for own use and sale, in which case the
permit must include such authorization. ZINWA and other operators also need a permit to extract and use water, and dispose of wastewater.

The water resources are to be developed and utilized in line with the principles of integrated water resources management that has been in course since 1995 giving birth to the current policy condition.

Integrated water resource management embeds this principle so as to ensure sustainability of water resources. This is characterised by building of large dams and demand based supply. This kind of management is supported by powerful proponents ranging from international regimes like World bank, UNDP to regional organizations e.g. SADC’s harmonised water-sector policies and legislation by 2006 down to National government and NGOs.

Since the entire nation’s water resources are vested in the State this presents a challenge in developing and improving water resources for the private sector. The question of rights and responsibilities comes in. The challenges of water rights and responsibilities can be raised. National water law typically seeks to have the government become the sole owner and manager of water resources; while at the local level in Zimbabwe (and elsewhere in southern Africa) there has been minimal acceptance of this idea (Manzungu, 2003)

The Water Act vests the Minister of Water Resources Development and Management with the development of policies to ensure the availability of water and its equitable and efficient allocation, subject to quality and environmental requirements. The Minister regulates quality and consumer protection standards for water supply provided and ensure that affordable primary water reaches underprivileged communities.

The institutional arrangement of the water sector is illustrated in Fig 1. ZINWA works through regional offices with representatives from each of the seven catchment councils as shown in the diagram. Sub catchment areas are made up of elected representatives of all stakeholders. Financing mechanisms were developed for water resources development with recognition that the water sector contributes to public health and economic growth.

Catchment councils are deliberative decision making bodies incorporating public and private stakeholders and integrating policymaking across different
policy areas. They are not organizations in the strict sense, but rather bring together stakeholders from various agencies and water-use sectors. Their role is coordination, conflict resolution, and review of water resources allocation or management (Jaspers, 2001).

Fig 1. Institutional arrangement in the water sector in Zimbabwe

Decisions regarding management and use of water resources have been decentralized to the local level, through the creation of catchments and subcatchments councils; so as to allow stakeholders to participate in the process. The Minister regulates quality and consumer protection standards for water supply. In addition it is his duty to ensure affordable clean water reaches underprivileged communities.

With regard to water quality, studies revealed widespread use of indigenous knowledge and practice by communities. They are aware of what causes water pollution and the effects of pollution on human health, crops, animals and aquatic ecology. They have ways of preventing pollution and
appropriate interventions to take when a source of water is polluted. Local knowledge systems could be integrated into the formal water quality monitoring systems in order to complement the conventional monitoring networks (Nace et al., 2008).
III. METHODS

3.1 Study area

The study covers Zimbabwe. The country lies in northern part of Southern Africa (between 15 and 22° south and between 26 and 34° east) and is bordered by three large rivers. These are Zambezi, Save and Limpopo. There are four lakes which are Chivero, Mutirikwe, Darwindale and Kariba. The climate is largely subtropical with one rainy season out of four seasons spanning 3 to 4 months. Average annual rainfall is estimated to be 657 mm ranging from 400mm in the Lowveld to 1 000 mm in the Highveld.

Fig 2. Zimbabwe water map


3.2 Approach

According to IDS (2006) policy processes can be reviewed in three main ways. One emphasises political economy and the interactions of state and civil society, and different interest groups. Another examines the histories and practices linked to shifting discourses, and how these shape and guide policy problems and courses of action. The third gives primacy to the roles and agency (or capacity to make a difference) of individual actors (Keeley 2003 in IDS 2006). This research looked at this last method as described in Bryant and Baiyley (2000) looking at individual actors, their interests, roles and power.

Actors. Actors were grouped into four main categories according to their interests. These were state- this refers to all government departments and parastatals; business- this includes large scale commercial farmers, industries, mines and those involved in the commercial sector; civil society – this includes urban residents, subsistence farmers and rural communal farmers. Women were treated as an individual actor because of their special mention in the IWRMS and by virtue of being the focus of the research.

Networks. Networks, coalitions and alliances of actors (individuals or institutions) with a shared vision, similar belief systems, codes of conduct and established patterns of behaviour are important in spreading and maintaining narratives through chains of persuasion and influence such as journals, conferences, education or informal introductions. Through networks and institutions ‘norms of good and bad practice are reinforced, research agendas are set, and orthodoxies or conventional wisdoms are reiterated and, very often, dissenting opinions or unconventional views are suppressed’.

Narratives. A ‘story’, having a beginning, middle and end, outlining a specific course of events which has gained the status of conventional wisdom within the development arena. Policy makers often base policy decisions on the stories outlined in development narratives. A narrative can be part of a discourse if it describes a specific ‘story’ which is in line with the broader set of values and priorities of a discourse (Sutton 1999). Hajer (1995) in Wittmer and Birmer,
(2003) defines a story-line as a generative sort of narrative on social reality “through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding”. The narratives were analysed by answering a series of questions. Is there a water crisis? What is the cause and consequently how can it be solved?

**Role and interests.** The thesis looked at how each actor does its role and how the role is defined and affected by their interests and other actors. The conflicting roles and interest of individual actors were also considered. How each actor roles are affected by the status quo and the policy change is analysed. Official roles and personal/individual interests were evaluated to reveal conflict interest. The study looked at how actions by other actors have affected the roles of women and the poor in the water sector. The physical manifestation of these actions will determined the genuineness of the idea.

**Role of women.** The number of women in water management groups as well as their ratio in relation to men gives a measure of their level of appreciation of their role. However membership does not necessarily imply inclusion since some members may not even attend the catchment meetings. Their role in these groups was examined from reports and focus group discussions. How much women know about the water management institution and the ways they can contribute could imply their inclusion in the process. Review of literature on women’s knowledge of water resources and the institutional arrangement shed light on their role and power in water management. Focus group discussions reports gave an insight of roles of women in water management and how they have been affected. Workshop proceeding and surveys from previous research were used. A descriptive analysis was carried out.

**Poverty reduction.** A review of secondary data relating to water reticulation and access to water by residents was carried out. Access to improved drinking water sources affects a number of livelihood aspects in terms of time and resources. The trend was analysed descriptively in relation to findings from literature. However influence from other related policies like land reform, development policies local governance among others were taken into account.
The poor roles and interests in the water sector were analysed. Summarised information is provided on table 1.

Table 1. Methods Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective Area of Curiosity</th>
<th>Mission Question</th>
<th>Method of collected data</th>
<th>Data to be collected</th>
<th>Method of analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To evaluate actor interests and roles in the current water sector in Zimbabwe.</td>
<td>What are the narratives behind the current water policy?</td>
<td>Desktop review of journal articles. Theses, official information, books, workshop proceedings</td>
<td>What is the ‘policy narrative’? Who are the actors? What are their power dynamics? What are their roles and interests?</td>
<td>Descriptive analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To evaluate the role of women in water management and how has this role been affected/associated? How have they been affected by the new arrangement?</td>
<td>Desktop review of data obtained from official statistic from UNDP and Government of Zimbabwe.</td>
<td>women participation power dynamics policy options</td>
<td>1. Women participation 2. Power dynamics 3. Policy options</td>
<td>Descriptive analysis (taking into account the influence of related policies like education, development, land reform etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To evaluate the contribution of water policies on poverty reduction in Zimbabwe.</td>
<td>How has the water policy contributed towards poverty reduction? What have been the trends in poverty levels since its implementation and how is this connected?</td>
<td>Desktop review of official data obtained from UN and government of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>1 Access to improved drinking water source (both rural and urban) 2 Frequency of water related diseases 3. Indicators of poverty levels.</td>
<td>Descriptive analysis (recognizing the influence of related policies like education, development, land reform etc)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Limitations of the Study

Since this research used secondary sources of data, the quality of the primary reports are unknown and may carry interests of the researcher or sponsoring organization. Some of these were carried out with different objectives and therefore not specific to the needs of the objectives of this study though related. The full versions of reports and publications were rare to find, in which case papers and summary versions were used, therefore some of the information could have been lost. Some of the papers are also not timely as some were published in different years and conducted in different years.

Due to financial and resource constraints the research was conducted using mostly online sources which are also limited. It is worth noting that the conclusions are therefore deductive from logical analysis. However the research can serve to reveal areas that lack information and need more primary research. An on the ground study is therefore recommended to validate the conclusion presented.
CHAPTER IV: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Water resources in Zimbabwe: conditions and context

Climatic conditions in Zimbabwe are largely subtropical with one rainy season, from November to March, a cool winter season from April to August and the hottest and driest period from September to mid-November. Zimbabwe has a long-term average annual precipitation of 657mm/year by depth and 256.7 km³/year by volume. Rainfall ranges from over 1 000 mm in the Eastern Highlands to around 300-450 mm in the lowveldt in the south. Only 37 percent of the country receives adequate rainfall to refill groundwater. For the rest of the country the rainfall pattern is insufficient, erratic and unreliable making supplementary or full-time irrigation indispensable for successful agriculture. Rainfall decline over the years in Zimbabwe is estimated to be 5% per century. Seasons have since shifted with first rains delaying till end of November and in some years December. Deviation of rainfall from the mean is insignificant as shown in Fig 3. The second graph shows the amount of precipitation in millimetres that was a departure from the long-term mean amount for the time period 1910 to 2000.

Deviation of temperatures from the mean remains insignificant as shown in Fig 3. The first graph shows the number of days with a minimum temperature of 12 degrees Celsius and the number of days with a minimum temperature of 30 degrees Celsius from 1950 to 1990. However in recent years record temperatures have been recorded up to 40 degrees Celsius.

Institutional and statutory reforms in water management tried to incorporate neoliberal and social principles. The state took pride in taking the lead in the SADC. The government also seeks to iron out racial differences that have long persisted in the post colonial state.

An independent water management body ZINWA with catchment structures manages and develops all aspects of water resources which are all vested in the state. This body is supposed to be financially autonomous; it has to operate on demand based approach so as to be able to recover the cost.
Fig 3. Climate trends and deviation from the mean temperature and rainfall

Water rights system replaced the previous permit system and allowed new users to get access to existing waters. Water use was divided between primary and secondary so as to allow secondary users to pay. There is volume limit but it is divided by use. This approach is to let catchment councils set the limits.
Empirical data suggests that the rights of some communities can be infringed upon. This underlines the need to review and expand the definition of primary water use. The best way is to increase the quantity of water defined as primary water or define it where it is not.

All stakeholders must participate in decision making at an ‘equal’ level regardless of their status through catchment councils (CCs). Stakeholders also have ‘equal’ chances to granting of permits. Catchment councils have to be financially autonomous. While demand based approach will be applied, necessary subsidies will be put for the poor. The safety nets that are provided in the act do not seem to be of practical consequence.

Water Resources Management Strategy (WRMS) paper from which the current water policy was born was drawn by a technical working group to support the water reform process. This was in 1995 by the Government of Zimbabwe, with donor assistance from the Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, and Germany. Prior to that constant lobbying by ‘white’ commercial farmers kept the situation unchanged.

However despite institutional reform a large number of people still lack access to drinking water. In 2002, population access to improved drinking water sources was said to be 100 percent in urban areas and 74 percent in rural areas. The proportion of people in rural areas with access to safe drinking water declined from 70% in 1999 to 61% in 2009. Currently 65% of all water points in rural areas are non-functional and there are persistent water shortages in urban areas (UNDP 2010). Total population is estimated at about 12.9 million of which 64 percent is rural. 80% of the rural are women. The estimated annual growth rate is about 1.02 percent.

There are over 80 major dams in Zimbabwe, ranging from Kariba (the world’s largest artificial lake) to small masonry weirs serving communities in rural areas. Dams are essential to provide a reliable source of water for domestic, industrial, agricultural and mining use. Agriculture draws the largest amount (16.59%) of water from the total water resources per capita as shown in table 2. Hence, management of agricultural water is core to management of water in
general. It is through agriculture that most rural people and women draw their livelihoods.

About 70% of rural areas rely on ground water (deep wells, boreholes and springs) for their everyday water needs. The rest rely on shallow wells, rivers and small dams. These uses include household use and small gardens irrigation. They often don’t have access to large dams unless they have a permit. Majority of poor people and women live in rural areas while their husbands work in the cities.

### Table 2: Water withdrawal (km³) by sector 2001-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Withdrawal (km³)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>3.318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>0.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0.298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total water withdrawal per capita 513.6

Source: ministry of water resources

According to a workshop on Poverty reduction Forum in 2002, 1,514 water facilities (boreholes and wells) are required in rural areas to improve access to water. If these were to be constructed at a rate similar to the previous years, that can be done within a year. With the fast track land reform, more than 36,483 families were resettled meaning at least 230 more boreholes are required.

From the 1990s a number of boreholes have been drilled in rural areas as shown in table 3. The trend shows more water points were drilled year by year reducing the distance people have to walk to fewer water points. The trend on wells took a sharp increase in 98. However after 2002 this has since stopped. Recently focus has been on cleanup pollution in dams like Chivero and building dams that had been in plan from the previous era. This too was daunted by the economic and political crisis that sprang after the land reform.
Table 3. Rural water development in Zimbabwe before policy change in units, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>91</th>
<th>92</th>
<th>93</th>
<th>94</th>
<th>95</th>
<th>96</th>
<th>97</th>
<th>98</th>
<th>99</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boreholes</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>1243</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>6169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep wells</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>2959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shallow wells</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>2174</td>
<td>329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>2026</td>
<td>2120</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>3232</td>
<td>1421</td>
<td>14013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.2. Actors, politics and interests

The water sector in Zimbabwe is complicated by the large number of actors which is interwoven within various ministries. Ministry of Water Resources is the main actor. Other ministries involved include ministry of Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, irrigation and agricultural development; Lands; Rural Resettlement and Agriculture, Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, Finance and Economic Development, Environment and Tourism.

Stakeholders include national government, Local Government, National Institutions, International Institutions, Local Institutions, NGOs, Farmers and other grassroots actors, Private Sector. These can be grouped in four categories as follows: State (Government sectors); business and private sector; grassroots actors (civil society and NGOs representing them) and women.

An individual actor may attempt in their role to control access of other actors to the water resource. They may even limit access to the area where the water is more available as in the colonial state in pursuit of their interest through their roles. In a manner powerful actors therefore can determine directly or indirectly who can access water and to what level.

Actors can also marginalise or put other actors at risk thereby undermining their role through prioritisation of certain projects over others. They can also undermine the role of others through discursive means, by framing narratives. These ideas are never innocent but try to challenge existing social and consequently economic arrangements (Schmink and Wood, 1987 in Bryant and Bailey, 2000). For the triumph of their interests over those of others, actors seek to legitimise this by attempting to assimilate them to ‘the common good’.
4.2.1 State

This includes individual government ministries and departments within the ministries as well as parastatals.

**Role.** The state in general is supposed to act as a steward to the water resource and facilitate equitable distribution. The state should act as a bridge in regional cooperation. To a larger extent some cooperation has been realised. The culminating point of these efforts has been the signing of the Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems (PSWS). Water resource scarcity has been a strong motivator to regional cooperation between SADC states rather than triggering conflict between states. This is pro-peace and seems in contrast with those that affirm that the next wars will be water wars. However in practice states including Zimbabwe have been obstacles to regional cooperation in the SADC by refusing to submit its sovereignty to river basin management committees. The state remains a steward and an interested party in water issues, game keeper cum poacher.

State is mandated to develop policies to guide the orderly and integrated planning of the optimum development, utilization and protection of the country’s water resources in the national interest; to ensure the availability of water to all citizens for primary purposes and to meet the needs of aquatic and associated ecosystems particularly when there are competing demands for water; to ensure the equitable and efficient allocation of the available water resources in the national interest for the development of the rural, urban, industrial, mining and agricultural sectors; design, construct and maintain medium to large size dams and water supplies to satisfy present and future water requirements; develop sustainable groundwater resources; provide raw and/or treated water to growth points, rural service centres and urban areas in consultation with the Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development; manage and administer the water fund through the Zimbabwe National Authority; and to participate in the development and implementation of SADC and other regional and international organisations’ water resources management frameworks.

The role of the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) which is supposed to be the watchdog against overexploitation and environmental
pollution has been relegated. Its political constituency is relatively small as compared to mining, agriculture and other interested ministries who have advantages in bureaucratic conflicts. They are not being granted the power to pursue its mandate of developing an integrated approach within the sector. It has few incentives to offer and no power of enforcement.

The state’s national security concerns though not necessarily related to external threats reflect official disquiet over perceived threats to national security arising from groups within the country. This is much clearer with large scale commercial farmers and new farmers. The state encourages the irrigation farmers to grow food to fill the national granaries and encourages cash crops for export e.g. tobacco. These ‘new’ farmers are also encouraged to clear land and increase their fields. To reduce social discontent in communal lands people were resettled, this meant clearing of the land even more, the state encouraged this. This reduces ground water refill and increases runoff. These resettlement programs have political security benefit for the state in that they served to pacify unruly grassroots groups living in marginalised land.

Networks. The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) is one of the signatories of SADC revised Protocol on shared water courses. Actually the research branch of SADC water, WaterNet is located in Zimbabwe. The GoZ drew its water policy with donor assistance from the Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, and Germany. Researchers, academics from WaterNet and various universities took part. A coalition of politicians, large scale commercial farmers, and international organizations from Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, and Germany form part of the actor networks. Multilateral institutions like World Bank were influential in the reforms though they later withdrew. It worth noting however, that these multilateral institutions often play the role of ‘hand maiden’ of the first world. They also represent capitalist interests which the first world promotes though they may profess otherwise. These first world organisations have appointed themselves as catalysts of ‘development’ in the third world.

State and business leaders have a close symbiotic relationship; business therefore forms part of their network. Therefore the state supports policies that are lobbied for by business. Farmers in particular are so rapacious in rent seeking
such that they can even be labelled as kleptocracies. These are actual and potential political supporters and are important in efforts to retain political power in case of the inability to do so without extra help. Actually the state has every reason to somehow maintain the status quo regarding farmers. These networks are important in spreading and maintaining narratives through chains of persuasion and influence such as journals, conferences, education or informal introductions.

**Interests.** Agriculture and mining being the backbone of the Zimbabwe economy, policy interests that favour these above sustainability are inevitable. Government interest is influenced by its networks and funders as well as individual goals. NGOs from the developed world are more interested in liberalisation of water. They are probably seeking new market for their equipment and water firms. The large-scale, state-directed, capital-intensive irrigation schemes coincide with the interests of business, the engineering industry, the bureaucracy, and the ‘development’ and political elites which are part of the actor network. The state had plans to reform land issues to the interest of the ‘less privileged’ blacks. Bureaucrats holding positions in these sectors were looking forward to getting these farms of which they did, they probably looked forward to being the new ‘white’ farmers and therefore were preparing the ground in advance. That probably explains why they could not lobby for a typical black hydraulic mission. Such stories of black/white have been used not only in the land and water sector but in other sectors as well to push the elite agenda in the name of reforming colonial policies. If the government really intended to bring a pro-black water reform it should be pro poor since blacks make up majority of these. It should have been pro communal rather than commercial farmers. The government however still keeps quite a large number of those colonial policies in the water sector.

Individual ministries within the water circles hold their own ministerial interest. For example local governance has interest in ‘profitably/efficiently’ providing water to the residents. Agriculture is interested in boosting agricultural production and believes this is best done through improving commercial agriculture hence more water to the Large Scale Commercial Farmers (LSCF).
Environment and tourism is interested in environmental conservation and tourism etc. This situation may lead to bureaucratic conflicts and also conflicts with grassroots actors in performing their duties. The real water world does not fit neatly into the categorisation it is given. For example water itself is environment and yet environment is regarded as a user. Water cannot be separated from agriculture just like agriculture and land cannot be separated. Water is on land. Agriculture happens on land. Departments keen to maximise their power within the state hierarchy continue to squabble over water resources. This struggle is on relative priority where water uses conflicts with another which water act gives power to stakeholders to decide. It therefore becomes inevitable for the more powerful stakeholders to gain hegemony. The environmental management agency (EMA) is less likely to emerge victorious in this struggle as a user and so are grassroots actors. Other departments have more extensive political contacts than their colleagues in EMA.

The interests, embedded assumptions and prior commitments of the powerful groups in the bureaucracy and those with commercial priorities play important roles in water policy options. There is an inherent conflict between the state’s roles as a developer and as a protector of the water resources. It is also the protector of grassroots actors (the poor). This paradox means the state will have to choose. The need for political security may lead the state to neglect its stewardship role to satisfy indigenous business people and farmers for development. This they do with the advice of western professionals in the water sector as shown in their networks. This further marginalises grassroots actors and women as was in the colonial times.

Narratives. Because of the power the state posses over other actors it is able to use ‘scientific’ arguments in order to ‘rationalise’ its actions/position. A water crisis is often an opportunity for other actors. These actors are likely to give an impression of crisis even where it does not exist. Narratives of scarcity and black majority discrimination have been used in water reform not only in Zimbabwe but in many other countries like India, Mexico, South Africa etc. This is with the intention to further the state’s interest and remove resource control from local users to the state and powerful stakeholders.
Large commercial farmers deny local people access to the local water resources whereby they should be equally participating and accessing water. The white hydraulic regime sidelined the black majority in access to water sources. Mismanagement by city and town and rural councils are inefficient and corrupt in management of water resources and granting of permits. There is need for a single independent water management body.

Besides policy change, drought and climate change have resulted in dwindling rainfall. Increased temperatures have subsequently increased evaporation. Shorter rainfall season has also led to a longer dry season hence more evaporation. This story has been told and retold such that every Zimbabwean believes drought and dwindling rainfall are responsible for water scarcity.

Retelling of this narrative has ‘manufactured’ local, regional and national images of water scarcity which have become naturalised and depoliticised. Due to its scarcity water has to be considered an economic good. A demand based approach is the way forward. Apparently, solutions are obvious for the country that is; building more large and small dams (whose numbers the government boasts of in every election campaign).

"Harare has been facing a major water shortage and implementation of Kunzvi Dam is the solution,"

Water Resources Minister told a Chinese delegation, which was on a five-day visit to the country to explore areas of possible cooperation in 2009.

The seemingly obvious solution to water scarcity in region 5 and 6 is interbasin transfer (IBT). This would provide a ready supply of extra-basin water. Indeed, there is apparently no alternative. For example the Matabeleland Zambezi Water Project (MZWP), seems to be the only hope for Bulawayo and its water woes. The minister of water resources was quoted in press as saying:

“When President Robert Mugabe appointed me as Minister he said he wanted the Matabeleland Zambezi Water Project done but the problem has been a lack of finance,”

I have heard every politician talk about this in my constituency since my earliest memories despite the geological difficulty in implementing this project.

Whatever the cause of scarcity, action has to be taken to curb the
situation. Which way is best depends on the dominant narrative to the cause of scarcity. The dominance of the story of colonial laws and decreasing rainfall has therefore given birth to the current policy condition. Actually the discourse of IWRM is backed by the narrative of scarcity of water resources rather than any other story. However we can not dismiss IWRM in Zimbabwe as mere rhetoric considering a lot has been done in places like Mazoe and taking the lead in the SADC.

4.2.2 Business and private sector

These are industries and large scale commercial farmers and miners. They have played a central role in politicising the water sector since the colonial times.

Role. These promote farming, mining and industrial activities that promote water pollution and overexploitation as well as social in equality with the support of the state. Their constant lobbying saw this continuing in the post colonial Zimbabwe. With the discovery of diamonds, the expected growth of the mining sector is expected to put more pressure on the water resources. Large commercial farms and private sector are predicated on the elimination of most traditional local water management practices, thus the loss of control by grassroots actors.

The lax nature of environmental regulations allows the industry to pollute at no cost though they say polluter pays but who actually monitors them? Manufacturing industries, mining and heavy irrigation pollute waters through their discharge. Gold panning causes siltation of rivers. A study in Manyame showed that all stakeholders perceived gold panning as the major problem through siltation and river bank disturbance (Zwane et al. 2006). The Mines and Minerals Act of 1996 remains the most powerful legislation leaving those interested in protecting water resources marginalised. Mines and their pollution of rivers and depleting water table, localised deforestation, dumping of toxic chemicals in water resource leave the externalities to be borne by farming community especially the poor. The ability of irrigation farmers to produce is greatly affected by the reduced amount of water and the pollution. These should also participate as stakeholders in CCs. Since they are productive users they must
pay even though they own their own dams because all water virtually belongs to the state. However the fact that these are partners (powerful stakeholders) in sustainable management of water is akin to putting the foxes in charge of the chicken coop. The role of business seemed to be weakened by indigenalization, social justice and environmental conservation.

**Interests.** Business and state have similar but not identical interests. Their activities are often in the ‘national interests’ as in large scale farming for the national granaries and for export. They require ‘goods’ that only the state can provide this forces mutual accommodation between the two. So they often solicit state support.

Business people often have a close rapport with state leaders or officials, as is the case with new farmers. In some cases the farm owners are officials themselves or they have family connections. The new farmers for example are concerned about making the land reform a success and hence are concerned with maximising production. In this they get all the government support.

Business interests to obtain as much water as possible at the lowest cost possible, or to discharge into water bodies as much as possible at the least cost, embroils them in conflict with grassroots actors. They then consider these communal farmers as obstacles to free trade in water resources. LSCF are interested in obtaining water for their crops, the more they share this water the less is available for them. In the previous system these constantly lobbied for the maintenance of the status quo since they already had water rights by priority date system.

Other local and transnational businesses may benefit if the sector were to be fully privatised. Industries need the water as a raw material and for disposal of waste. Gold panners wash their gold in river banks and dispose of the unwanted material in rivers. They are therefore interested in a system that allows them to do this without being taxed for it. The government however gives priority to the mines act above the water act and EMA. Equity and environmental concerns are secondary.
Narratives. They share the same narrative of dwindling rainfall as the cause of water crisis. Because the previous institutional arrangement was in their favour they constantly lobbied against institutional change casting the blame on hydrological reasons. That is why changes delayed by 18 years. It so happens that some individuals happen to be bureaucrats and at the same time business people. Their interests then begin to conflict. For this reason the narratives of hydrological scarcity gained hegemony. Though there was a general agreement over redistribution to allow new holders to access water. LSCF consider water as a free good though they are willing to pay for maintenance costs. This is shown in statements like these:

“I have my own dam here; I maintain it no one has ever come here from the ZINWA to help me maintain the dams and the pumps that I installed. Why then am I being made to pay and yet I do not receive any services in return?”

This was a response by a LSCF when he was asked if he is satisfied to pay for water (Kujinga, 2006).

A narrative contrary to that of state that took a swift wave following ZINWA take over in 2002 accused ZINWA of inefficiency. This was spread over the cities and residents were mobilised. It became an issue with city of Bulawayo refusing take over. However City of Harare and Bulawayo water were handed back their water utilities. Here their interests conflicted with that of state.

4.2.3 Grassroots actors

These include residents who need water for everyday purposes. Small holder farmers and rural/communal dwellers are part of this. They generally have related interests. They are largely characterised by marginality and vulnerability. During the floods of Cyclone Eline, they were the most affected; in years of drought as in 2002, 1992, they were the most affected. They are often at the losing end of the struggles. These however often don’t just accept their fate passively. This is seen in cases where residents demonstrate to their municipal authorities, where communal farmers illegally fetch water in dams without rights etc (in press). This has also resulted in emergence of residence organisations in cities e.g. Progressive resident’s association, Residence associations, etc. These
however have limited scale and impact. After all city residents are not legally recognised as stakeholders in the water sector.

Livelihood concerns are a central issue in access to water by grassroots actors which in turns is related to power relations with other actors. Their ability to have control over their local water resources depends on the power of other actors to control them. The livelihoods of communal and small scale irrigation farmers concentrate heavily on water resources. Nearby rivers and boreholes in communal areas provide water for gardens.

Water which was a common property resource is literally being taken over by the state (all water belongs to the state) for large scale use by its agencies (ZINWA), or by allied business interests (LSCF, mining and industry) using the legal and political powers of the state. Colonial powers did the same in land acquisition and consequently water resources. This habitually exploitative styled ‘development’ include cash crop production, dam construction etc. They have promoted and benefited from these as powerful actors. Ecologist (1993) refers to this as tragedy of enclosure. This tragedy of enclosure in the water sector has eliminated the need for grassroots water committees, forcing them to participate through CCs (stakeholders should participate through Cc structures).

This also serves to further marginalise the communal dwellers and increase their vulnerability in the measure that their access to water essential for livelihoods is restricted or denied. Poor women have apparently borne a disproportionate share of costs associated with this marginality, due to their role as immediate users.

**Interests.** Survival in the short term is their primary interest. For this they largely depend on local water resources. Municipal residents are interested in obtaining a reliable supply of running water from their home taps. Thus a supply based rather than demand based system makes better sense for them. However they are not considered as stakeholders on their own. They are represented by municipalities who also have other interest besides connecting household. Most of these have farms, breweries and other businesses.

Pastoralists are seen to be concerned mainly with water for cattle, farmers with irrigation water and women with drinking water. It is in the interest of all
grassroots actors to manage water resources sustainably mainly because their livelihoods depend on their maintenance in a way that is usually not the case with powerful actors.

**Actor networks.** Actor networks include a network of NGOs, village working groups and local traditional systems. These could be linked to coalitions of alternative-minded academics. Though locally rooted, but this network is still connected to a global activist network of NGOs and academics.

**Narratives.** A story from the villagers and A1 farmers: water is from God. It is given us free from the sky. It is meant to sustain us and absence of it is meant to punish us for its mismanagement. Water must be treated with respect and everybody has a right to it even for small scale irrigation and income generating activities.

Water should be managed and allocated using local knowledge, the quality and safety is also checked using local knowledge (Derman *et al.* 2002). The existing ways of management do not need to change for that’s what they have known since time immemorial and has been passed on from their forefathers. In addition to this grassroots organisations and NGOs also shared a narrative with municipals of ZINWA institutional failure.

**Limitations.** Extreme poverty, land rights, complex institutional and legal arrangement, policy condition. Local/traditional water management knowledge was belittled as primitive and inefficient from the colonial era in an effort to control water resources for to the interests of settler farmers.

**4.2.4 Women**

This discussion put women as a separate group because of their special mention and their central role in water management. Poor women have apparently borne a disproportionate share of costs associated with this marginality, due to their role as immediate users. The reduction in quantity and quality of water has impact on diet of women.

**Role.** Women play a special role as providers of water and immediate users in the household. City women use water for sanitation, and other household
purposes. In cases of water cut they have to search for water. Rural women also use water for these purposes. They also use it for beer brewing, brick moulding, small gardens etc close to water points from which they derive their livelihoods. Women in small holder irrigation plots (A1) use water for irrigating their crops for livelihood purposes.

A socio-economic survey showed that most of the respondents would prefer women to represent them in discussions about water issues. Sixty five percent of the respondents said that women are most suitable to represent the community on water issues. More than sixty percent of the respondents said that women should be responsible for managing water in the community (Manzungu, 2006).

Rural women possess traditional knowledge and skills concerning the sensing/locating of water and protection of the source. Water sources on indigenous lands are often considered a sacred element, and rural women may be the holders of ‘water knowledge’. Their traditional land management skills often provide the most effective method of water resource management in their settlement areas. However, rural women are affected by their uncompensated and unsustainable loss of water to farming and other industries introduced from outside their communities thereby disempowering them.

**Interest.** By virtue of their use of water women are interested in water points that are close to home. They are more interested in volumes as that would free them for other economic activities. Because majority of the poor are women (60%) provison of free or cheap sources is what suits them most. Minor, but economically and socially critical water use often remains invisible in formally established catchments. This includes the use of water for beer brewing, brick moulding, and the rearing of small livestock – the very means by which poor people (particularly women) may secure a living.
4.3 Marginalisation and vulnerability of weaker actors

Water as a natural resource can be classified as having an everyday or episodic dimension. This is so in cases of day to day access and management as well as in cases of drought and floods respectively. The rate of impact can therefore be gradual and may not be perceived for a long time. It can also be sudden and occasionally drawn out.

The nature of the impact can be cumulative and typically highly unequal; the poor are the main losers. In cases of drought/floods the impact may be general but unequal exposure means that the poor are the main losers. The political response for these is usually through ‘disaster’ relief. Are the poor and women put in a vulnerable situation? In the everyday case the political response is usually livelihood protests or resistance. Women and the poor find themselves marginalised, directly and indirectly.

It is worth noting that there is no absolute scarcity of water for meeting basic household needs. John Lane, calculates that providing sufficient water for basic needs (40 liters per capita per day) to all those classified as “unserved” today and the extra two billion people expected by 2025 would require less than 40 cubic kilometers of water per year (McCully, 2002). Conflict is not on whether water resources should be exploited commercially or not but on the conditions under which exploitation should occur, viz laissez-faire use vs restricted use.

Clearly, the business and political interests in agro rich catchment areas are likely to be prioritised over the poor in water allocation. Since catchment councils will have to be financially autonomous it makes better business sense to allocate more water to business and large scale farmers over the poor locals and environment. Because they are more powerful they can easily lobby and influence distribution of permits in the CCs. It is less likely that this will improve access by the poor rather it will tax them more as they compete on ‘fair’ ground with business and LSCF. This further marginalises and reduces the ability of grassroots actors to break out of poverty.

The story of ‘dwindling rainfall’ (which is ironically estimated to be 5% per century) conceals the fact that, due to bad water-management practices and
inappropriate state policies, water has been misused, and legislation is constantly quibbled. Locally appropriate solutions that are different from the colonial European suited water management measures would be the way to go. These would include boreholes, wells, local rainwater harvesting, replenishment of groundwater resources, and measures taken upstream to check reservoir siltation. It also undermines the fact that building dams upstream denies downstream users enough water. Usually these are meant to serve the city and business, marginalizing local populations.

The story of institutional problems neglects the fact not just institutional reform is required but also greater inter-agency co-operation, and the introduction of a demand-driven approach that doesn’t tax the poor, but curbs the wasteful consumption of water by industry and rich irrigators. This is what the government tried to do in the water reforms. From all angles it is clear that the state needs to adopt a strategy that will improve the situation of water stress.

Rural people desire better government support. Despite policy change there is continued use of social and cultural norms of decision making in ‘modern institutions, which often results in the reproduction of old hierarchies of gender ethnicity and generation (Hellum 2001). This further marginalizes the marginalized, women and the poor. Odgaard (2002) on gendered access to land and water in Tanzania identifies processes of ‘double safeguarding ‘where people choose to use both traditional and modern structures to further their interests. This can result in the double marginalisation of people who fall foul of the dominant norms; women, poor people, and particular ethnic groups.

4.4 Struggle over water resources

4.4.1 Stakeholder participation

A participatory approach involves raising awareness of the importance of water among policy-makers and the general public. It means that decisions are taken at the lowest appropriate level, with full public consultation and involvement of users in the planning and implementation of water projects. That means the stakeholders have the power to influence the type of projects to be prioritised. This should take women’s rights to participate and own property on
an equal basis with men onboard. Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda 21 and The Dublin Statement on Water and Sustainable Development as well as the state emphasise that women are an important user group that should participate in the decision-making, allocation, management and use of water resources.

Studies found out that the majority of stakeholders in the agricultural sector do not have knowledge about water management transformation; stakeholders in the agricultural sector are not participating in water allocation; the majority of irrigators are not paying for water, nor participating in determining the rates that should be paid; stakeholders in the Middle Manyame Subcatchment Council have not had an opportunity to resolve water issues. (Kujinga 2010; Fatch et al. 2010) There is very limited stakeholder participation despite the presence of adequate supportive structures and organisations (Nare et al. 2005).

Stakeholder representation, particularly of the formerly disadvantaged people, has been observed to ensure a mere headcount of the stakeholders at the water table rather than on strategic representation. Strategic representation emphasizes stakeholder identity instead of consensus (Manzungu 2002).

In the cities residents i.e. the poor are not even considered as stakeholders though there was some degree of stakeholder participation, which, however, was compromised by the fact that it was uncoordinated, involved a few stakeholders and tended to occur outside the designated formal channels (Manzungu and Manase 2004). For the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), stakeholders are the paying permit holders. Feedback on water quality is also given to these.

According to water and ZINWA act all stakeholders must participate in water management in CCs. There are no guidelines on how a dissatisfied member of the public can raise a complaint although some stakeholders carry such complaints to Catchment Council meetings. Stakeholders especially the less powerful, generally feel it is not their duty to participate in allocation of water but that of government departments. One A1 user was quoted in (Kujinga 2008) as saying:

“It is the business of the Department of Agriculture Research and Extension and our Irrigation Management Committee to know all about water allocation. They
must ensure that my field has water. That is why they are there. I must not be worried about who else is using this water.”

This is a clear refusal to participate or take responsibility. They have somehow been made to believe it is not their duty because of representation. However, even if they wanted to participate, power dynamics in CCs would disadvantage them.

Domination of men in decision-making processes remains very apparent. Among goals of the water reform was to broaden women’s access to water and to enhance their participation in water management. Furthermore, it is meant to address inequalities in access and management. A pilot study showed that the dialogue platforms established in Mazowe catchment were not sensitive to women’s participation and the women were generally excluded from the decision-making processes. This is one way in which powerful actors discourage participation of weaker actors (women), by creating an unfavourable environment.

Catchment councils are themselves dominated by men and the powerful in society. Save catchment council is an all man group with 8 black and 8 white representatives (Dube and Swatuk 2000). For example Mzingwane Catchment Council (MCC) comprises males only (Love et al. 2005). Mazowe Catchment council initially had three women out of a total of fifteen members. By 2004, only one woman was regularly attending meetings of the Mazowe catchment council as a member. Nyagui and the Nyadire sub-catchment councils were men only. These sub-catchment councils did not have a single woman out of an average of twenty members per sub-catchment council.

In the all males MCC the chairperson is a large scale commercial farmer / game rancher. He is deputed by a manager at one of the largest sugar estates owned by Triangle Ltd. Of these elected members 2 are white and 2 are black. Communal farmers and women are not even included at that level. Their views and interests are therefore less likely to be considered. In essence the council is made up of business people, it is therefore inevitable to further interests of business. The difference in scale of consumption makes it impossible for the poor especially women to participate at ‘equal’ level. For example in Mwenezi,
Mwenezana estate uses more water than all the other users combined. This inequality exists in commercial farm areas and creates a disparity among stakeholders.

4.4.2 Attaching economic value to water

According to the IWRMS and the Dublin principles, primary water should be recognised first as the basic right of all human beings to access at an affordable price. In developing and using water resources, priority has to be given to the satisfaction of basic needs and the safeguarding of ecosystems. Beyond these requirements, however, water users should be charged appropriately. The water act applies this principle and stresses that it is the state’s responsibility to make sure that the poor are served.

Water sources in the communal areas used for domestic purposes have by conventional economic standards been seen as unproductive while producing crops for sale from the same water is seen as productive. There is a contentious relationship within this narrow conception of productive water use. Besides even some irrigation areas poor women are either forced to abandon their land because they cannot get the permit.

As shown in table 5 a large number of stakeholders seemed not satisfied with paying for water. Let alone the poor communal women who cannot speak for themselves. Surprisingly the two A2 farmers were not satisfied with paying for water yet they are using it for commercial purposes. All the A2 farmers paying for water are not satisfied with the charges and believe no one but God produces water;

‘water is a gift from God to all his creation and no one has a right to demand payment for this gift.’

The same is seen in large scale black and white commercial farmers. Those who responded that they are satisfied, being asked why gave reasons of maintenance rather than value of the water and profits they derive. A paying large-scale white commercial farmer is satisfied with the payments because it guarantees his water allocation probably not because he thinks it is an economic good. The amount is irrelevant as long as he received what has paid for. Four of
the dissatisfied white farmers felt they were paying too much in relation to the services they were receiving. One of them was quoted in Kujinga 2006 as saying:

“I have my own dam here; I maintain it no one has ever come here from the ZINWA to help me maintain the dams and the pumps that I installed. Why then am I being made to pay and yet I do not receive any services in return?”

Ironically the A1 farmers who are using this water for subsistence farming (which is a basic need) are willing to pay. They are more obedient to the legislation which is even oppressing them. Majority of these are women struggling to fend for their families.

Perhaps the state should have taken into account the particular problems faced by these rural women and the significant roles which they play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in these non-monetarised sectors of the economy. Though the state gives itself that mandate it has since done nothing about it. A number of these good clauses of the water act have not been put into use.

It is the duty of the minister to secure the provision of affordable water to consumers in under-privileged communities and to ensure that water resources are utilised at all times in an efficient manner having special regard to its value and the economic and other benefits that may be derived from it. However, efficient irrigation equipment is unavailable to A1 and communal farmers. Large scale commercial farmers also don’t practice soil water conservation techniques to improve efficiency and the minister has done nothing about it. They have no incentive to do so. The Water Act of 1998 penalized water savers through loss of any unused water in their permits to other users.

In contrast to principle, catchment and sub-catchment councils are eager to raise revenue and tend to work against the realization of these, thereby showing very weak ideological commitment to a noble concept. Manzungu (2006) documented cases in Gwayi catchment where there was a suggestion to levy a charge for every herd of cattle, which contradicted the legal provisions. In Save catchment cases, levies were proposed for any water use where some income was realized. Where does this leave the poor woman with her market gardens? This is in a way to exclude the poor man from watering his cattle and the poor woman from watering her crops for fending the family
The state is clearly failing in its mandate. Minister has the responsibility to ‘ensure the availability of water to all citizens for primary purposes but day in and out residents in high density suburbs go without water as seen in news headlines (Herald 24 October, ZBC 20 Oct, daily news 7 Oct 2011, Herald 22 Oct, News day April 2011, Oct 29). Mabvuku and Tafara for example have gone without water for years, according to reports.

Table 5. Payment of water and stakeholder satisfaction among farmers, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder group</th>
<th>Are you satisfied with paying for water?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2 farmers¹</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSWCFs²</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSBCFs³</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallholder irrigators⁴</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adopted from Kujinga, 2008

A1 model farms: Poor smallholder farmers living in a villagised manner.
A2 model: Resettled medium and large-scale commercial schemes.
LSWCFS: Large scale white commercial farmers
LSBCFS: Large scale black commercial farmers

Most cities pay for primary water which they don’t even get, especially for service delivery not for profit. Residents at water points in Harare were quoted as refusing to pay

“There is no reason why we should keep paying bills to the city council because we do not get the service we require. The boreholes are not able to cater for the large population; that is why people are spending the whole night queuing for water.”

Currently the government is constructing large dam that is said to ease the water woes in cities (e.g Pungwe in Mutare, Kunzvi for Harare and Tokwe Mukos in Ngundu).

All water users must pay, through permits.. According to a research by Kujinga in middle Manyame catchment area, stakeholders generally feel water is a free good and they have rights to it. Payment is unnecessary except for
maintenance of infrastructure. However, there is evidence that provision of cheaper water does not always result in people adopting the cheaper supply. Inclusive stakeholder analysis is essential as a prerequisite so as to identify the priorities of the poor (DFID, 2000). It is therefore access to water that matters.

4.4.3 Women’s roles in water sector in practise

State is obliged to take appropriate measure to eradicate legal, social, economic and cultural barriers that impede women’s participation in water management and access to water on an equal basis with men. The state has made considerable progress in mainstreaming gender at the ministerial level. Departments which are involved in the actual implementation of water programmes however do not have clear gender policies.

Although gender equity was one of the main goals of the water reform, most poor women and men were not involved in the consultations. Neither Water Act nor the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) Act addresses gender in explicit terms (Manase et al. 2003; Manzungu 2002). Actually the word ‘women’ does not appear in the water act or ZINWA act. There is therefore no legal provision for strengthening the role of women. It is only stated that no one shall be discriminated on gender. The legal documents therefore appear gender-neutral but in practice it means that large groups of female water users are disfavoured. There is no special arrangement that acknowledges the role of women in water management as they say. This is manifested in the CCs membership discussed in the previous section.

Accepting the principle that women play a central part in water management and implementing this principle requires positive policies to address women’s specific needs and to equip and empower women to participate at all levels in water resources programmes, including decision-making and implementation, in ways defined by them.

At the implementation level, the promotion of a gender balance is often lacking. In the water reform program this is evidenced by the conspicuous absence of women from the water management structures. (Francis et al. 2001) argues that it is not enough to accord women paper rights through policy, law or institutional reform. Instead, the overall goal of any gender strategy for the water
sector should be: to develop a framework which ensures that both women’s and men’s concerns and experiences are an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of water projects as well as of legislation, policies and programmes.

Some programmes are being implemented for gender mainstreaming in the water and sanitation sector, including training programmes aimed at a variety of levels in some parts of Zimbabwe (GWA 2006), but that is not enough. The new arrangement therefore does not in anyway improve the role of women in water management but rather worsens the situation by requiring payment for productive use. The poor rural woman has to walk to get the water and pay more for it as compared to their city counterparts.

Women’s pivotal role as providers and users of water and guardians of the living environment is not reflected in the institutional arrangements for the development and management of water resources. Men tend to be more interested in the availability of water for skilled labour activities, industrial production or commercial agriculture. The current policy favours this as seen in construction of dams, canals etc. Past experience in water resources management has demonstrated that even a people centred approach does not automatically ensure that women’s and men’s needs and priorities are reflected in programming (SIDA, 1998). Therefore, emphasis on mainstreaming gender perspectives should be systematically incorporated into the national water policies and programmes.

Not only mainstreaming gender as “gender” is often deliberately misinterpreted and reinterpreted to mean only social roles (Goetz and Baden 1997; Kabeer 1994). Hellum (2001) reports a case whereby gender was being twisted, bent and re-interpreted to suit other interests than women’s.

‘On a meeting in July 1999 where stakeholders were invited to discuss the reform, I asked one of the male officials why no measures had been taken to ensure women’s participation in water management. He answered that gender was social and not biological. What mattered was not biological sex but the attitude of the man or woman who was elected.’

The shift from a supply-side focus to a demand-oriented one based upon the user pay principle will inevitably affect existing gender inequalities in terms of access to water. It is in itself against women’s needs as the majority of them can not express demand. This may bring about shifts in women’s and men’s crop
production choices so as to push women with lower abilities to pay out of the production of irrigated vegetables (Ferguson 1998). Common property rights to water and land that a large number of women rely on for their vegetable production in rural areas will be negatively affected by a more market oriented water management model (Hellum 2002). Distinction between primary and productive water marginalises the poor woman. Nicol (2000) questions this from a livelihood perspective. Since CCs are supposed to be financially autonomous, they are likely to prioritise productive use at the expense of primary water.

4.5 Impact of the water policy on women’s roles and access to water

The policy emphasizes gender roles, with women’s roles primarily in the domestic sphere, and not gender relations or power relations between women and men, which are articulated through practices, ideas, and representations, including the division of labor. This notion reflects a larger problem of ignoring women’s contributions to all types of production. They are ignored for their contributions as productive farmers and irrigators (Derman, Ferguson, and Gonese 2000; Ferguson 1998; Walker 2006; Zwarteveen 1997). In Zimbabwe, female-headed households comprise 60% of rural households (WRMS 2001), but the WRMS paper rarely discusses women as productive farmers (Derman et al. 2000). Consequently, women’s contributions to productive agriculture are ignored and their knowledge, expertise, and interests are marginalized in debates over productive agriculture. However emphasis is placed on mainstreaming women’s participation in water management based on their managing water for domestic use. Their role as productive users is ignored.

The water policy does not directly address the 4th principle that women can and should play an important role in programs addressing water. It offers no translation of this principle in to practice and into legal documents. With no statutory power these remain on paper.

It does not challenge the gendered division of labour that naturalizes women’s responsibility for domestic water needs. Without this critique, women’s involvement in productive agriculture will remain invisible. Challenging the naturalization of the gendered division of labour also entails understanding how
authority and property relations shape the gendered division of labour and access to natural resources (Carney 1996; Walker 2006).

The policy treats water as an economic good. This is presented together with recognizing water as a human right and concerns about basic needs and subsidies for disadvantaged groups. However, it does not give significant attention to how this will affect different actors, particularly women, given their importance in water management. Studies have shown that these safety nets have not been put in use. This does not broaden access to water but rather excludes more users from this critical resource. Furthermore, it has a negative impact on the quality of water resources that people (especially women and the poor) depend on to sustain their health and livelihoods. This approach bases on conventional neo-classical economic arguments privileging economic incentives without examining issues of access and equity.

This demand based approach has a number of important issues regarding women’s access to water. It has the potential to “erode people’s informal rights to free water” (Mehta 2003). Informal rights are rules of use and access that are unwritten or implicit, and include cultural norms that define how resources can and should be used. In communal areas, women’s access to water is often based on informal rights and rules of access mediated through social and kinship networks (Nemarundwe and Kozanayi 2003). Under the Water Act, water for domestic purposes (including food crops) is classified as primary and thus entitled to everyone. Nonetheless, people must negotiate access to water through asymmetrical power relations. Therefore, this trend towards enclosing what were once common-pool resources have potentially serious implications for women and men who rely on informal rights of use and access. It is likely that water will be displaced from use on food crops and steered toward market-oriented cash crops (Zwarteveen 1997).

The chance of the liberalization of water benefiting women is unlikely. In general, it tends to strengthen the rights of some groups, such as community leaders and household heads, to the detriment of women and other marginalized groups. Women are disadvantaged by the market system because they are likely to have less income, less political power, no property, and a family to care for.
On paper, Zimbabwe’s Catchment Councils offer an equal opportunity for catchment stakeholders to participate, but in practice, women face a number of constraints that may limit their participation. Owing to family obligations to, women are not able to attend meetings and even if they have the time the cost of transportation to and from the meetings are prohibitive. In Mzingwane for example CC offices are located in the city of Bulawayo, far from communal people. Women also face cultural constraints, such as norms defining appropriate gender roles that discourage them from attending these meetings or speaking out at public meetings (Mtisi and Nicol 2003). Different stakeholders embody different levels of status and negotiating power, thus restricting the voices of more marginalized attendees. Honestly how does a communal farmer discuss on the same table with professional large farm owner or miner?

According to Zwarteveen (1997), securing women’s rights to water is a critical entry-point for women’s empowerment. Women’s water rights may increase women’s bargaining position within the household and enhance their social and political rights.

In the water sector and other sectors women are portrayed as a homogenous group with similar interests, experiences, and power. Recognising differences in women’s positions is crucial to understanding how women negotiate access to and use of resources such as water. Class, ethnicity, age, inheritance, and gender are important in shaping women’s access to water and other natural resources, as well as in shaping their experiences and interests in the environment (Jackson 1993; Rocheleau et al. 1996 in Walker 2006). Inequalities among women exist even at the household level where seniority frequently patterns divisions of labour, access to and control of resources, and decision-making powers.

Recognizing the differences that exist among women in the context of water management is important in assuring that different women have a voice in decision-making and management practices. Women’s water needs are shaped by their position in the gendered division of labour, household composition, wealth, ecological conditions, etc. These differences have to be accounted for in policy (Hellum 2001).
Table 6: Impact of water policy on women roles in Zimbabwe, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>No discrimination on gender</td>
<td>No mention of special preference for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No specific legal provisions or quota for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td>Socio cultural roles conflicting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Double safeguarding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Catchment centres far from homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Absence of land ownership <em>(de facto)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder participation</td>
<td>Equal participation</td>
<td>Absence of well defined structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respondents prefer to be represented by women</td>
<td>Most committees are male dominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where they are socio-cultural reasons impede this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men dominate discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most women are not aware of their rights to participate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Some are not aware of the arrangement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive use</td>
<td>Mention for equal chances of granting permits</td>
<td>Most permit holders are men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s productive use of water is insignificant to be discussed at catchment level thereby reducing chances of being granted permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cost is too much to afford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can not express demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No limit lower limit or upper limit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Literature Review

Women have a particular need for information on possibilities for participation and on their legal rights, in order to enhance their bargaining power (Francis and Sybille 2001). However a large number of them do not know about their legal provisions. In summary, the water policy does not adequately address the differentiation of women water users, particularly regarding women as productive farmers. Issues of power within household are not addressed in implementing programs. Neither do they address issues of power within households and communities that shape men and women’s participation in both informal and formal water management institutions, as well as their access to water resources. In addition, the emphasis on water as an economic good and thus subject to market rules will undoubtedly have important implications for women and these are not addressed in practice. The overall impact is therefore negative.
4.6 Impact of water policy on poverty reduction

The water act was designed to protect the interests of the less well-off smallholders and farm labourers. Despite post-independence egalitarian rhetoric, in Zimbabwe inappropriate models (piped house connections in the urban areas, high technology irrigation schemes in the agricultural sector), combined with weak macro-economies and poorly formulated sectoral policies have actually exacerbated the disparities in access to water.

As discussed earlier, marginalisation entraps one in poverty so does vulnerability. These are key to preventing the breaking of the poverty cycle. Because the poor are generally marginalised, their ability to break out of poverty is difficult. Water is key to small holder farmer development. Otherwise they may need to rely on rainfall which is erratic and insufficient. Stakeholders will have different agendas, and it will take time for them to sit down to develop a management plan openly and honestly.

Government and ZINWA have little or no interest in rural drinking water systems. It is probably not financially sustainable to connect poor and dispersed rural populations who mainly depend on local water sources. In the same way rural populations in Zimbabwe cannot afford the huge costs of water from centralized water systems dependent on large reservoirs, pipelines, aqueducts and pumping stations. Besides more dams/large reservoirs is not tantamount to development e.g. Zimbabwe has twice the storage capacity per person as Australia which is developed. It makes better sense to develop more boreholes and wells close to their homes than build these dams and interbasin transfers that will serve the already better served city dwellers at the expense of their rural counterparts.

UNICEF drilled a number of boreholes in cities some of which are already non-functional, due to hydrological reasons and lack of maintenance. These could have served better to relieve the rural woman and where ground water withdrawal is not very high. After all rural people are willing to communally manage their water points. This channelling of resources towards productive water marginalises women (Cleaver and Elson 1995, Cleaver 1998 Zwarteveen 1997).
The focus on drinking water is mainly towards the cities yet they are already better served though they have recent outcries that could be linked to institutional failure and political reasons. The government is even currently building a dam (Kunzvi) in rural Goromonzi to serve the city of Harare. Where does that leave the Goromonzi people? Rural populations are remembered when it comes to agricultural water where they are also underdog stakeholders among powerful commercial farmers.

Rural women clearly prefer water systems that are close to their homes and allow them to do gardens and other small projects. These are not for profit but subsistence. Given the opportunity to choose for themselves, poor communities will usually opt for systems that are affordable and locally sustainable.

To store water in large dams rather than in underground and obtain it through wells and boreholes is more pro poor and pro women and environment. It’s better protected from contamination, more equitable access and no evaporation. Decentralized and community-led approaches are less costly than the large schemes that government talks about each time the water issue arises and they are more relevant in meeting the needs of the poor. If well promoted the cost of meeting water needs will be much lower and there will be less talk of lack of funds. The poor users will therefore pay less too in maintenance. But the state insists on this because of its interests as well as interests of business as discussed in the previous chapter.

Since the government talks of scarcity, IBT have been known to further degrade freshwater and related ecosystems. The MZWP (Matabeleland Zambezi Water Project) is bound to be expensive due to hydrological reasons. What makes me wonder is what is it that is driving government to do this expensive IBT from one end of the country to another despite geological and political challenges?

Designing tariffs in a way that does not discriminate against the poor has proved hard to achieve in practice. Tariffs remain even as politicians seek to gain popularity. The poor are even disadvantaged since they often pay for services they don’t even receive.
Table 7. Impact of water policy on poverty reduction in Zimbabwe, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>14.8 of the poor (UNDP, 2011) lack access to drinking water. Frequent dry tapes Average spend about 27 532 hours per household per year collecting water. (Sullivan 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>health</strong></td>
<td>Cholera outbreak in 2008 Absence of water affecting choice of crops grown hence nutrition Limited access, less food grown and surplus to supplement staple maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Productive use</strong></td>
<td>Project preference towards business at expense of the poor. Unable to express demand in irrigation therefore not allocated Need for payment for this use favouring the rich Loss of small livelihood projects eg brick making, beer brewing, market gardens Loss of cultural use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State to make special provisions for the poor Urban tariffs kept low</td>
<td>Financially powerful stakeholders will always dominate the process, while protecting their own interests. Unfair platform, unequal power among stakeholders therefore poor marginalised. Burdening because of distance, time and costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>participation</strong></td>
<td>Legal provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal provision</td>
<td>Financially powerful stakeholders will always dominate the process, while protecting their own interests. Unfair platform, unequal power among stakeholders therefore poor marginalised. Burdening because of distance, time and costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>When income is lacking girls are first to drop out, males also drop out in poorer families. Uneducated, breaking out of poverty is a nightmare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low tariffs for urban poor</td>
<td>In productive water communal farmers pay making their returns lower Not involved in determining cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dependency</strong></td>
<td>Dependency of small holder farmers on richer farmers for allocation of water Dependency of poorer on the richer who can afford water to access drinking water. IBT and large dams which benefit the powerful and expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>degradation</strong></td>
<td>Water pollution resulting in lower crop yields, land degradation. Too much pressure on water transferred to other basins through IBT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Analysis of various sources in chapter 4
The matrix in table 7 shows how stakeholder participation, choice of projects, differentiation of water use as well as paying for water marginalise and traps the small holder in poverty. School children drop out, or forego studying in order to help in water collection and to supplement income. This lack of education further traps them.

The poor then find themselves solely dependent on government aid and on powerful stakeholders. This further impoverishes them as they can easily be used.

Table 8. Primary Water Policy Impact on women and poverty, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-poor sanitation hence health problems</td>
<td>- role as productive water users lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- lost livelihoods</td>
<td>-Time poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- lost time positive</td>
<td>-unconducive structures for participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-privileged over rural</td>
<td>-not elected in committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Lost time</td>
<td>-Payment for productive use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-relegated- not regarded as stakeholders</td>
<td>-no allocation(not enough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- role as productive water users lost</td>
<td>-water rationing in drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-theoretical privileges</td>
<td>-destructions in times of floods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-few water points(long distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-no proper representation in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>management bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-unconducive environment in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>management bodies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: review of various studies

Water-related diseases are the single largest cause of human sickness and death in the world, and disproportionately affect poor people (DFID, 2000). In 2008 a cholera outbreak hit mostly the poor communities in the country. Caring for the poor and hospital bills is a burden that falls to women and further stresses the financial resources of the poor. However treatment methods for marginal water exist (JIK, purification pills etc), but these are expensive too and may have
side effect. They also cost the government through campaigns. Limited amount of water can also affect choice of crops grown and compromise nutrition. Limited access means less food grown and surplus to supplement staple maize. Carrying water (25l) pause health threats for poor women.

Over-extraction by commercial farmers reduces water flow in rivers and water levels in groundwater. This affects poorer farmers and household consumers usually women, subsistence farmers and the poor.

Disparities also exist between women of different social strata and occupation. This is shown in table 8. City women have to assume the role of fetching water like their rural counter parts which previously was provided continuously to their houses. These women other roles are also affected as they have to allocate some more time to water fetching. This is seen in cases where some women have to wake up as early as 4am to queue for water. This thereby puts them in time poverty. However with the growth of cities and the building of dams that is in plan, their previous roles will be restored. This will in contrast have a negative impact on the rural women living down stream and around the dammed area.

Rural women with their livelihood concerns have their roles compromised as seasonal drying up of ground water sources means walking further to get water. Participation in local water management where the source is far is burdening.
Table 9. Productive Water Policy Impact on farmers of different strata in Zimbabwe, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strata of farmers</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Poverty reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communal farmers and subsistence farmers(A1)</td>
<td>Negative impact</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Not represented</td>
<td>-limited representation</td>
<td>-relegated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-No legal provisions</td>
<td>-participation in water</td>
<td>-vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>management bodies</td>
<td>-no adequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-cultural and traditional</td>
<td>representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-inability to express demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium to large scale commercial farmers(A2)</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Not participating</td>
<td>-full participation in water</td>
<td>-rationing in years of drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-No special provisions</td>
<td>management</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-determine water allocation and pricing</td>
<td>-full representation in CCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-state support</td>
<td>-flexible legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-powerful</td>
<td>-state support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large scale commercial farmers(LSCF)</td>
<td>Sector dominated by men</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-full representation</td>
<td>-covered in times of drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-state support</td>
<td>-State support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-powerful</td>
<td>-power in stakeholder decision making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-conducive environment</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-supportive projects</td>
<td>-No incentive to conserve water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-increased number of users</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: review of various studies

4.7 Alternatives to improve role of women and reduce poverty

The legal arrangements should perhaps make specific reference to women rather than gender as this can be twisted in practise. When there is no explicit mention and identification of the different roles, responsibilities and circumstances of men and women, rich and poor, the policy will probably benefit some groups more than others. Probably a quota system applying to all levels would make a difference though participation and allocation should not be tokenistic.
Rural women should be left to manage their water resources using their traditional methods as these have proved to be successful for them.

Women have a particular need for information on possibilities for participation and on their legal rights, in order to enhance their bargaining power (Francis et al. 2001). Therefore educating women about the existing opportunities for their participation may lead to the improvement of their roles in practice.

All institutions in the water sector, including NGOs, should have clear gender policies, include a gender perspective in their organisation culture and practices and address strategic gender needs through training, education and supporting productive use of water. Well-planned water programs offer a real opportunity for women to exercise authority and leadership within a community and to extend their influence beyond community level to address the strategic needs of women in the water sector.

To ensure quality representation of women’s interests in decision-making bodies and management structures, careful analysis is required to ensure equality in the distribution of work, paid opportunities, skills-development and capacity building initiatives, as well as the benefits of any planned action. Affirmative action to promote self confidence and the expression of their ideas should be done alongside participation. Water managers should be trained in how to enable an inclusive dialogue on water issues.

Treating gender as a marginal issue and relegating the concerns to gender desk or consultants will make real change difficult. There is need for know-how, interest, or commitment on the part of those responsible for implementation of water policy. There is need to promote more transparent systems of allocation and accountability that report gender-based information, allow for and promote gender sensitive participation, and analyse water budget effects on women’s welfare.

Gender blindness still exists among decision makers and this could be due to a traditional point of view that assumes that communities are homogeneous. There is need for education about and research about heterogeneity and assortment of individuals and groups who command different levels of power, wealth, influence and ability to express their needs, concerns and rights.
Cultural gender stereotypes need to be ironed out. In most cases, women and poor find it hard to speak out about their water problems and needs.

Formal administration and decision-making are misconceived as men’s work even though women may manage water in practice. In these situations, women’s interests and concerns are ignored and their roles within the water system are lost. This misconception need to be ironed out. Well targeted services can improve the health and security of women and their families, and free them to engage in social, economic, and political activities, thus tackling ‘time poverty.’

Time poverty is defined as the situation where women’s time is inflexible, consumed by routine and non-productive tasks, perpetuating their absence from decision making and other profitable pursuits.

A water reticulation policy that is sensitive to women’s needs would have more public water points located near their homes, preferring connections within their houses, so as to reduce the time and energy spent on the acquisition of water. Distant water facilities increase women’s and girls’ workloads, sometimes placing severe stress on their health and their capacity to take advantage of educational and training opportunities.

Disparities in access to water between rural and urban need to be ironed out not by channelling rural water resources into cities as is being done, but through serving people with what they need. More resources channelled towards building boreholes and wells will improve access to water by the rural thereby helping them break out of poverty. A pro poor approach to water management is desirable to solve the country’s water woes and at the same time tackle poverty. Otherwise, left to compete freely neoliberal practises win over the social agenda and the poor suffer.

A demand based approach with a privatised on profit water company has not by any means always provided the required result, let alone where it is a monopoly like the case of ZINWA. Studies demonstrate that private companies in a non-competitive market (for mostly a monopoly situation is involved) are not necessarily more efficient than other forms of management. Abuses and corruption occur in the private sector too. In many cases water price multiplied after privatisation of the drinking water sector: e.g. Indonesia, Bolivia, Argentina,
and the Philippines. Tariff systems that are both affordable and economically sustainable in the socio-economic context of a population should be created, that don’t burden the poor and women at the advantage of the rich male dominated productive users.

According to Nhapi (2009), Harare cannot overcome its water-related problems under the current set-up. He recommends that a corporatised body, free from political influence and with a higher degree of autonomy, be established to run the water services for Harare and the neighbouring towns.

To preserve the scarce water supplies requires recognition of urban–rural water cycle linkages and holistic, coordinated, and equitable regional policies and practices that support ecosystem function (Showers 2002). This also applies to local policies.

4.8 Conceptualisation

This study conceptualises that because of power relations and politicisation of the water environment, it impossible to have a water policy that is fair to all. The water sector will remain dominated by the more powerful actors unless supporting policies are put in place to support the weaker actors. This too will result in marginalisation of other actors that will take the position of the position of weaker actors.

Arguments and projects in management of natural resources including water are simultaneously political-economic projects and vice versa. They are never politically or socially neural. Politics and power relations shape the water environment. According to Bryant and Bailey (2000) understanding these power relations is key to solving these problems.

In the case of the water environment in Zimbabwe, this study conceptualises that stronger actors exert control over weaker actors (women and poor) by reducing/controlling their access to the resource. This is so as to make sure that economic benefits associated with its exploitation accrue mostly to the actor in question. The state in a way through ZINWA and the ministry as well as the powers it has over catchment councils determine who uses water, under what
conditions and for what purposes. So does business representatives in water management bodies.

In the third world including Zimbabwe, this marginalisation and vulnerability is done through prioritization of certain projects or problems. Business and private sector as well as outsiders can influence the prioritization of certain projects that are beneficial to them at the expense of other actors.

The poor and women find themselves being relegated and marginalised directly in the water environment through discursive means. The neoliberalisation model in the water sector is a not so innocent idea that challenges the existing economic and social arrangement. However, it seems to be the winner in the battle of ideas in the water environment for the triumph of other actors other than the poor. Women also find themselves as losers.

Water scarcity was found to be more severe in low income than in high income suburbs. This was a consequence of the city’s skewed water distribution policy which favoured the former and failure by residents of the latter to invest in safer water alternatives. Per capita water consumption in both suburbs was below internationally recommended levels (Nyemba et al. 2010).

As long as the drive still comes from the top and outside, it is less likely to benefit the people but rather develops at their expense. The drive for participatory, ‘stakeholder driven’ water reforms did not emanate not from the poor and marginalised but from the top, from the national government, international donors and financial institutions (IWRMS; GTZ 2000). Lack of knowledge of reforms among black communities was reported (Marimbe and Manzungu 2003). These are supposed to be the beneficiaries of the reform. The same author argues that there was a failure to communicate although there was some success in dissemination information about the reforms (Marimbe and Manzungu 2003).

A participatory study highlighted the way state bureaucrats fashioned the act to protect their central positions in catchment management. The same author also identified institutional overlap (spatial and jurisdictional) exemplified by catchment councils and rural district councils (Latham 2002).
There was no full participation in the creation and operation of the
Catchment Councils (Dube and Swatuk 2002; Manzungu 2002). The same
authors argue that exclusivist language does not necessarily translate into wider
benefits for society and it ignores the profoundly political nature of the entire
water reform process. Effective stakeholder participation is being hampered by
lack proper representation of stakeholders on catchment and subcatchment
councils; lack of stakeholder involvement in catchment planning; inadequate
financial resources for catchment and subcatchment councils for use in water
management (Kujinga 2002; Kujinga and Jonker 2006).

However reports from Mazoe suggest that resultant working atmosphere
was very constructive and black small-scale communal farmers and the white
commercial farmers had formed harmonious working relationships (GTZ 2000).

Women were not represented in the water reform process. Out of 74
people who participated at one workshop to discuss the needs there was only one
woman farmer and six chiefs among the elite (Dube and Swatuk 2000). It is most
likely that interests of business and government found their way into the water
policy because of their large representation in the formulation.

Sithole (2001) identified perpetuation of dominance/subordinate
relationships between groups and sectors that are linked to political history and
the institutional framework. Dube and Swatuk (2002) documented an interview
with one key informant who was a central player who said

‘Whites have experience in managing water’ so tending to dominate,
stakeholder consultations over the course of the WRMS process were
‘unbiased, focused, and facts-oriented.’

Therefore questions of race/class, privileging technical knowledge over
‘traditional’ ways of knowledge are part of the Catchment Councils. Views of
local people regarding how they could meaningfully participate in transboundary
water resource management were based on practical considerations rather than
theoretical abstractions. This was shown by a different conceptualisation of
stakeholder identification and representation, demarcation of boundaries, role of
intermediate institutions, and direct participation of local people at the basin level
(Fatch et al. 2010)
In urban areas there was some degree of stakeholder participation, which, however, was compromised by the fact that it was uncoordinated, involved a few stakeholders (it excluded the generality of the residents) and tended to occur outside the designated formal channels. Interference from central government was another problem (Manzungu and mabhiza 2004).

Water demand management at household level was hindered by poor physical infrastructure, lack of information dissemination and training at the household level and lack of institutional capacity of the department responsible for water supply. The country is therefore not well equipped to implement effective water demand management strategies (Gumbo and van de Zaag 2003; Manzungu and Machiridza 2002; Dube and van der Zaag).

Most grassroots actors attributed water ownership to God, the government, the community, ancestors, chiefs, ZINWA, RDCS and no one. Boreholes, shallow and deep wells, rivers, dams, canals and taps are mainly used for primary water uses like drinking, cooking, bathing, livestock watering, gardening and laundry. Brick making, gardening and irrigating plots were classified as commercial water uses because they were used to generate income. Views on water ownership affect perceptions towards establishment, maintenance and management of water points (Machingambi and Manzungu 2003).

Makoni et al (2004) documented a case that demonstrated the active role of women in water sources management highlighting quality, reliability and restrictions to their use. Though the communities gave the impression that decision making in the sitting and construction of water points was equal between the gender groups, however it was evident that men have a greater role than women in public decision making.

Regarding division of water use, a survey found that people indeed require water for productive purposes apart from domestic uses, which are often given top priority. Only 2% of the rural subsistence farming households being involved in formal small-scale irrigation schemes at 20 years after independence. Multiple uses of water sources at household level can be affected by segmentation of water services into domestic and productive water supply
Water provision via substantial capital and recurrent subsidies for a small group has a large opportunity cost for society as a whole. The water delivery model is not affordable or sustainable on a wide scale. The small-scale irrigators have a vested interest in ensuring that the subsidies are maintained, but in the process continue to absorb a disproportionate amount of resources which could be used for development elsewhere. By choosing simpler, cheaper water technologies and assisting farmers with growing and marketing high value crops, the resources could instead be used to benefit a much larger proportion of households. With well designed programmes aimed at achieving equity, large numbers of subsistence farmers could improve their incomes and start working their way out of poverty. The study recommends a policy that carries a social agenda above the neoliberal agenda.
V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

1. After an assessment of actor interests and roles in the current water sector in Zimbabwe it was concluded that interests of the powerful actors dominate the sector. As the actors interact in performing their roles and pursuing their interest grassroots actors and women are marginalized. Business and private sector are empowered. The state as a gamekeeper cum poacher finds itself in conflict between its roles and interests. It has failed to protect the rural poor by using safety nets provided in the statutory documents. It has however protected city residents through low tariffs. The state used narratives of scarcity and black empowerment to redistribute water resources and entrust them to the state. International networks, individual and state interests, as well as researchers drove their neoliberal interests into the policy environment. The poor and women interests were left out despite their mention in the policy documents. This had a negative impact on large scale commercial farmers as they had to share their water; a positive impact on A2 farmers as they gained access; no visible impact of communal farmers as they remain underdogs and their interests marginalized. They remain on the margins and vulnerable.

2. The impact on the role of women is negative as some of their roles are undermined and they are relegated to household water users. The policy environment appears to be gender neutral. However certain clauses in the legislature indirectly disadvantage women and reduce their roles in water management rather than enhance. They remain sidelined in use of productive water. Women have not been given a chance to play their central role in water management in Zimbabwe. Participation by the poor and women remains on paper. Access to water for primary purposes has kept going down yet amount of fresh water has remained the same. Since a number of water points have since become non-functional so has situation of rural women worsens as that means longer distances walked. Some of their roles in traditional management systems have been lost by placement of CCs and subcatchments councils (SCCs) in which
they are not adequately represented. This signals an institutional induced rather than natural scarcity.

3. The policy has a generally negative impact on poverty reduction. The poor (grassroots actors) are marginalised and are vulnerable in times of drought and floods. Black empowerment and racial equity could have been ironed out but the elite still hold an upper hand at the expense of the poor. Maintenance of pro commercial farmer policies is one major cause of failure coupled with the struggle to balance neoliberal and social agenda. This leads to further marginalisation and vulnerability of grassroots actors reducing their ability to break out of poverty. Stakeholder participation on the ground is pseudo equal since the elite maintain influence in established Catchments. These also lack clear guidelines leading to marginalisation of the poor. They may soon be eventually excluded from use making the situation worse than before. They also reduce access to water by the poor and women as they cannot express demand. The idea of paying for water (water as an economic good) is not yet acceptable among the stakeholders let alone the poor who can hardly even pay for cost recovery.

5.2 Recommendations

In order to improve stakeholder participation and representation and consequently empowering weaker actors, it is necessary to establish genuine local level platforms, with enough political space outside the state-tailored formal straight jackets. These must be in such a way so as to encourage women to participate. It is also important to address developmental aspects of establishing catchment-wide bodies and structural problems such as access to land and financial resources. Without addressing these issues stakeholder representation, particularly by the poor and women, will remain hamstrung in good intentions. Formation of local water NGOs, with international and local networks that have similar discourses would help empowers the weaker women and grassroots actors.

Making use of ‘safety nets’ provided in the statutory documents is recommended to the minister so as to protect the interests of the poor. A social equitable water policy requires that a fair share of water benefits and
responsibilities be transmitted to women and men, poor and rich. This means fair opportunities to access, use and control water resources, as well as equitable acceptance of responsibility for the negative side effects produced so as to avoid placing higher burdens on the poor or disadvantaged members of society. This should not just be on paper but in practice and supported by statutory instruments. This will also help reduce conflicts.

The common assumption in the water sector that the formalisation of women’s rights to water will overcome the problems of inequitable access shaped by tradition and culture, can only be true if formalised rights are put to practise. Getting rid of socio-cultural disparities can take time and effort but it is worth the hassle if gender is to play a central role in water management.

A policy reform is recommended though that would be expensive and too early considering that the current one is not yet fully established. It would make better sense to translate the good clauses into practice with improvements as discussed. Capacity building, affirmative action and legal protection of the poor are recommended.

Since the population is not ready for a fully demand based approach, a social agenda must be maintained with state providing water with subsidies, supply based approach. Though some researchers recommend full privatisation I echo the sentiments of those who recommend public provision since the nation is not ready for such a system.

An on the ground study needs to be carried out to verify the conclusions made here since they are based solely on secondary data and logical deductions.
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