

Devolution in Zimbabwe: Unfulfilled Constitutional Mandate

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Abstract

The devolution of governmental powers and resources has always been a contested subject in Zimbabwe, as it has been in many other countries. The controversies that characterize the adoption of devolution have continued to shape or obstruct its implementation since 2013, when the new Constitution of Zimbabwe was adopted. The new administration of President Emmerson Mnangagwa has gestured that it will implement devolution during the 2018-2022 government term but all in vain. This paper interrogates the history of devolution in Zimbabwe, the understanding, factors that hinder its implementation and the way forward. The paper employed desk research method, telephone interviews and questionnaires in collecting secondary data. In addition, the research paper was supported by a Conflict Theory of Karl Marx which states that the society's never-ending competition for finite resources will always be in a state of conflict as in the case of Zimbabwe where ZANU-PF's bigwigs are not ready to allow the sharing of the natural resources to other people who do not share their ideology in the country (Wikileaks cables, 2001). The implication of this theory is that those in possession of wealth and resources will protect and hoard those resources, while those without will do whatever they can to obtain them. This dynamic means there is a constant struggle between the rich and the poor, in this case the rich are influential members of the ruling party who have access to the natural resources of country. It is acknowledged that while the 2013 Constitution is not a perfect document that establishes all the necessary aspects of an effective devolution program, it does provide the preliminary point towards the creation of a non-centralized form of government in Zimbabwe. The ruling party is taking advantage of the weakness in the constitutional provisions not to implement devolution. What is required in particular is for national officials (both political and administrative) to commit to a devolution process that respects the rules of the game. Importantly, if devolution is to succeed in Zimbabwe, it should be a shared objective supported by both those with and without power as well as by the general citizenry.

Key Words: Constitution, Devolution, Governance, Zimbabwe

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to delineate devolution in Zimbabwe and to find out why Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) the ruling party has not implemented devolution. Yet devolution is a highly regarded principle of good governance which is favoured and cherished worldwide (Kanyinga, 2016). The issue at hand is unpacked in detail in the following sections: (1) the understanding of devolution concept, (2) a literature review on devolution, (3) the method used in the study, and finally, (4) the findings and (5) conclusions drawn by the researcher. To achieve this paper the researcher developed three questions:

- What is the general understanding of devolution among Zimbabweans?

The emphasis in this first question is to examine the knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of Zimbabweans towards devolution.

- Why is devolution which is enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe is not implemented?

The second question helps us to explore the factors that are contributing to the failure to implement devolution in Zimbabwe.

- What should be done for Zimbabwe to gain from devolution?

The third question helps to explore the ways forward to which devolution can change Zimbabwe for better as a nation.

This research paper was supported by a theoretical framework of conflict theory championed by Karl Marx (1818–1883), which is used to explain a wide range of social phenomena, including revolutions, poverty, discrimination, and domestic violence. It also ascribes to most of the fundamental developments in human

history, such as democracy and civil rights, to capitalistic attempts to control the masses as opposed to a desire for social order. Central tenets of Conflict theory are the concepts of social inequality, the division of resources, and the conflict that exist between different socioeconomic classes. This is the case of Zimbabwe where ZANU-PF's bigwigs are not ready to devolve power and sharing the natural resources with the citizens through service delivery in the country. The implication of this theory is that those in possession of wealth and resources will protect and hoard those resources, while those without will do whatever they can to obtain them hence the conflict.

1.1 Research Methodology

The study employs a desk research, informant interviews, questionnaire and personal observation approaches and used purposive sampling to gather information from Zimbabweans that are staying in Kenya for various reasons. The researcher had targeted 40 respondents but only 30 questionnaires were returned and the researcher had to work with the returned questionnaires. The focus of the research was on the concept of devolution and why it's not implemented by the ruling party in Zimbabwe. The research also paid attention to the meaning of devolution and its goals. The historical background took into account the previous attempts by the government of Zimbabwe to implement devolution as supported by online documents. The online search academic journals from authors who touched on devolution in Zimbabwe, like Muchadenyika and Williams, Mapuva and Miti, Nhede, Hope, Sihanya, Chikwawawa, and Kanyinda just to mention a few influenced this paper. These gave information that was relevant as literature review that had to do with the tackling of the following: A brief history of devolution in Zimbabwe, the general understanding of devolution, the factors that contribute to the failure of implementation of devolution as well as the possible way forward to which devolution can change Zimbabwe for better as a nation.

1.2 The general understanding of Devolution

According to Muchadenyika and Williams (2018), devolution refers to a situation where central government transfers legislative, executive, administrative and financial decision-making to local governments that have clear and legally recognized powers within which they provide public services to constituents to whom they are accountable. The purpose of devolution is to make and strengthen independent levels of government that are mandated to perform defined functions. In other words, it involves the transfer from center to locality of decision-making powers and associated resources. This understanding of devolution pin points its indispensable aspects, namely that local government exercises political, administrative and fiscal power and responsibilities.

1.3 History of Devolution in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, central government has been the prime agent of development for more than three decades, and the results need hardly be mentioned: unemployment, poor public service provision, lawlessness, increasing poverty, dilapidated infrastructures, and corruption in government corridors (Chikwawawa, 2019). This has made it necessary to rethink the situation by moving from the idea of one central government doing everything to that of different government tiers performing devolved functions (Muchadenyika, 2015). Historically, the idea of devolution was foreseen by the introduction of the Salisbury Sanitary Board by the British South Africa company in the 1880s which was seen as the first local government body. It was developed into full urban councils, European rural councils and Native councils all which were strongly managed by the central government and were generally meant to control the indigenous population in Zimbabwe (Mapuva, 2012). The post-independence local governance system in Zimbabwe under the Prime Minister's Directive of decentralization (1984 & 1985) saw reforms that included the creation of Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) which was to foresee the development in the village and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs) which was intended to bring development in a ward level. Later the unification of all local authorities in rural areas were governed by the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13) while Urban Councils fell under the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15). However, the VIDCOs and WADCOs while being in place did not get resources to support their intended work and in most cases lacked the necessary skills. Interference from central government in terms of their operation and decision making was also common and presented challenges (Muchadenyika, 2014). Also, in the same planning was the District Development Committees (DDC) which was intended to plan and co-ordinate development activities. These committees were composed of two local councilors, together with 18-28 central government officials from the sectoral ministries, and the police, army, and Central Intelligence Organization. Membership was dominated by representatives of the central government. They were chaired by the District Administrator, currently a Central Government (CG) employee. The main functions of the DDC were to formulate District Development plans (short and long term), based on the plans forwarded from the VIDCOs and WADCOs. These were further forwarded to the Provincial Development Committee. The DDC also submit annual estimates to the Public Sector Investment Program (PSIP) via the Provincial Development Committees.

Currently, in Zimbabwe, devolution, which could not be freely advocated publicly in former and late President Robert Mugabe's era (1980-2017), is now a catchphrase which is frequently talked about in the

country. President Emmerson Mnangagwa, who succeeded President Robert Mugabe as the leader of both the government and the governing Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in November 2017, and was re-elected in the July 2018 harmonized elections, had declared that his government will implement devolution and establish the provincial tier of government, as required by the 2013 Constitution (The Constitution, 2013). The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) political formations, civil society groups, academia and ordinary citizens, in general, are all in agreement that devolution should be implemented without delay. The implementation of devolution is thus one of the few topical subjects where there is general consensus across the political and social divide. There is, however, a lack of convergence on the meaning of devolution, or the nature of the devolution to be implemented, and the form that such devolution should take. Political conflict and weakness in the constitutional provisions are among the contributing factors that are leading to the failure of implement devolution in Zimbabwe (Chikwawawa, 2019)

In spite of the many expected positive impacts, devolution is not a panacea to Zimbabwean problems that includes inadequate improved economic performance and good governance. However, the perception of the majority of Zimbabweans on devolution is that, if implemented in good faith, it can promote social, political, cultural and economic development as well as provision of services such as;

1.3.1 Equitable Distribution of National Resources

Previously, most of the essential services and development programs have been centralized in urban areas. But if the implementation of devolution is conducted in good faith, each village, ward, district and province will have an equal chance of growth as the share of resources is equal. Equitable share according to Hope (2014) is governed by a set of criteria that include: economic, the desirability of allocations of revenue and the need to provide enticements for each province to heighten its capacity to raise revenue.

1.3.2 Platform for Economic and Social Development

With the devolved systems coming into play, it will be easier to achieve growth and gradual transformation in all segments of the country more especially in the improvement of health sector, road infrastructure which are dilapidated and sanitization. As all segments of the country develop, new opportunities for employment and investments will arise paving way for more development progress. With the devolved system, local governments will manage and develop their own affairs as well as foster social, economic and political development UNDP (1999). People will be enabled to make decisions on issues affecting them through participation.

1.3.3 From Exclusion to Inclusion

Marginalized community such as the Matabeleland region always feels that they are outside the integrated social and economic life of Zimbabwe as a whole. Furthermore, they seem to be inferior to the rest of Zimbabwean more especially to the Shona tribe. To rectify this exclusion attitude and perception, inclusion will reduce the continued tension amongst the tribes in Zimbabwe hence helping local communities to curb marginalization thus embracing unity Nhede (2013). By incorporating inclusion, it reduces the distance both geographically and bureaucratically between governments and the citizens in terms of costs of service delivery. On the other hand, it increases the speed and efficiency with which local governments respond to the needs of the local community (Hope 2014). The citizens can easily walk to relevant office and file their complaints if there is any and they can also access services at the local office.

1.3.4 Informed Decision Making through Public Participation

When devolution is implemented, decisions made at provincial level will focus more on the local needs. This is enhanced by the ability of provincial members to engage into meaningful discussions in regards to running and management of the affairs of the province. Identification of specific problems affecting the community should be given priority. Province management through public participation as provided for in the constitution should provide for opportunities for focused and prioritized community concerns to be addressed.

1.3.5 Promotion of Transparency, Accountability and Democracy

With evolved system of governance, people at the grassroots get to choose their leaders and directly participate in decision-making processes making room for accountability and democracy. Accountability according to Sihanya (2012) is one of the cornerstones of good governance and requires the due performance of tasks or functions by an individual or agency. This is achieved when persons in authority are answerable for their actions and also when there is transparency in leadership. According to Hope (2014), devolution is used for a variety of reasons, especially democratization and improving governance, however it emphasizes on accountability by bringing participation and decision-making closer to the people. Hope (2014), argues that closer proximity of devolved governments to the citizen will increase transparency in the use of local resources and strengthens downward accountability mechanisms, resulting in a decrease in corrupt practices.

A fundamental principle of democracy according to Institute of Economic Affairs (2015) is that citizens have the right to exact accountability and public officials have a duty to be accountable. Abuodha (2011), insists that one of the hallmarks of a truly democratic society is a culture of openness in which government places utmost importance in making itself open to public scrutiny of its activities at all times, by actively making available information on the functioning of every aspect of its governance machinery.

1.3.6 Promotion of National Unity

By reducing the power of the central government and distributing it equally among the provinces, the devolved systems hope to achieve national unity. According to Hope (2014) devolution has the ability to contribute to national unity and political stability. This is a very important benefit which contributed towards voting for the 2013 constitution by many Zimbabweans. One of the functions of the decentralized government is to foster unity, cohesion and co-existence among communities. Ambose (2017) emphasized on the importance of understanding the meaning of national unity in the context of harmony, accord, and mutual agreement or co-existence among different entities.

On the other hand, some Zimbabweans fear that devolution of power, resources and function from the central government can pass down corruption to the provincial governments as well as the local authorities and the vice versa where the local authorities will share some functions with the central government (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2016). In other words, it may transfer the evils committed by the central system of governance to the other levels of the government (Kanyinga, 2017).

Furthermore, the attitude and the perception of devolution keeps on being intensified whereby other people feels that;

1.3.7 It is expensive due to diversity of roles

The aspect of draining too much of the taxpayer is unavoidable due to payments of wages and salaries, bills, procurements of apparatus that enhance delivery of services to reach out to the grassroots people. Provincial governments are costly to run, considering the superstructure and infrastructure that are needed to support them. In a nutshell, provincial governments are seen as an expense to the taxpayer as they require the appointment of extra government officials, in addition to the retention of existing provincial ministry officials (Muchadenyika, 2015).

1.3.8 Mismanagement of funds allocated to provinces

There could be some misappropriation of funds by the provincial authorities that could lead to poor service delivery especially if the Zimbabwean government continues not to align the Constitution and the law that addresses the devolution. Lack of public participation guidelines in the constitution may permit greedy officials to take advantage of the gaps and loopholes in the implementation process to mismanage the public funds. It is critical for citizen not be left out in preparing the budget and distribution of funds to various projects in the county. Where citizens are not included, there are high chances of officers to channel funds into projects that will benefit their personal interests and not the community (Ndalila 2016). There is a fear also that the corruption that had been taking place in the central government could be passed on to other tiers of governance.

1.3.9 Duplication of roles

When more people are doing the same job, chances of misusing powers and wasting resources are higher. In order to rectify this phenomenon, the constitution and the laws need to be well aligned to enhance clarity in terms of service delivery.

1.3.10 Uneven Development

Some provinces such as Harare and Bulawayo metropolitans already had a head start development to certain extent. These provinces somehow have better infrastructure and public utilities as well as opportunities for creating employment and investment. However, provinces in the remote and marginalized areas are likely to take longer time to develop since the national government does not allocate sufficient resources to assure a basic level of service delivery to their citizens (World Bank 2011).

1.4 Factors hindering the implementation of Devolution in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe Constitution Amendment (No. 20) Act 2013 provides the framework for devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities in Section 264 with tiers of government outlined in Section 5 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Sub-section 1 provides devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities. Section 301(3) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe further provides that a budget of at least 5% of the national revenues raised in any financial year should be allocated to the provinces and local authorities as their share in that fiscal year (Constitution, 2013).

It has been observed that Zimbabwe already has a remarkable degree of administrative decentralization which needs strengthening and adequate resources to ensure full implementation of devolution. Devolved

structures such as local authorities were already in existence before undertaking the devolution agenda. The Provincial Councils and Administration Act (Chap 29:11) is being amended through the Provincial Council and Administration Amendment Bill as part of the subsidiary legislation to support implementation of devolution (Constitution, 2013). It can be argued that the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides all the necessary ingredients for a vibrant local governance system in the country through a devolved system of governance. If properly implemented, devolution has the potential to foster good governance, characterized by democracy, accountability and enhanced participation of citizens in matters and affairs development processes. Outlined below are some of the factors that seem to be hindering the process of implementing devolution in Zimbabwe;

Delays in the alignment of various pieces of local government legislation have caused delays in the implementation of devolution. As a result, the government is stuck with the centralized approach to local government, which is generally discredited as it does not empower local communities through the equitable sharing of national and local resources and effective participation in decision-making in matters affecting citizens. This has the net effect of hindering efficiency, effectiveness and accountability in local governance as participation and resource sharing are key to effective governance. Participation aspect on devolution accords a voice and power to local communities on issues affecting their well-being by fostering accountability of the government to the citizenry, which is a crucial ingredient and tenet of good democratic governance (Chikwawawa, 2019). Apparently, the ZANU-PF ruling party does not see the immediate political benefits of devolution. However, Mapuva (2010) rightly contends that it is question of political will rather than an issue of availability of financial resources. In the same vein, Wekwete (2016) notes that the biggest challenge since the constitution came into being in 2013, is lack of the political will needed to craft all the necessary legislation to make the new local government system work.

Non implementation of devolution by the ruling party undermines realization of the constitutionally enshrined ideals of transparency, accountability, popular participation in decision-making and equitable distribution of national resources. This means the citizenry is denied its constitutional entitlement to good governance, participation and empowerment through equitable sharing of national and local resources as well as the right to hold government to account on issues affecting their well-being.

The fact that the demand for devolution was made by politicians implies that the issue could have been politicized and developed withdrawal attitude, which is manifestly against the spirit and letter of Section 264, which seeks to foster and preserve the national unity, peace and indivisibility of Zimbabwe.

Additionally, the fact that the clamour for devolution resoundingly pronounced during referendum in Matabeleland shows that it had accouterments of tribalism, besides the seeming political implications. Of course, this can be interpreted as indicating that the region is lagging behind others in the country in terms of development, as it has been assumed in many political and academic discourse (Chikwawawa 2019). However, it is clearly evident that there are many other regions of the country, which are underdeveloped, but have not demanded devolution. This clearly shows that the demand for devolution is in a way a manifestation of ethnic or tribal dynamics, besides being a legitimate demand for good governance and enabling of communities (Nhede, 2013).

The government could also argue in defense of not implementing devolution that the local authorities are not competent to carry out the duties and responsibilities related to devolution, since Section 264 states that governmental responsibilities and powers must be devolved to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities, which are competent to execute those responsibilities effectively and efficiently (Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). This point to the weakness of the Constitution that is vulnerable to manipulation by the government, as it does not accord citizens the legal power to demand devolution. Implementation of devolution is, therefore, at the entire discretion of the government under the leadership of ZANU-PF party, which may find it not politically suitable to devolve power to provincial and local levels. As mentioned by Chikwawawa 2013, the government at the moment seems to be concerned with consolidating its own power and safeguarding of its rule rather than democratic governance, which in their view gives more political space to political opponents, especially, opposition political parties. The government is, thus, most likely to continue postponing devolution as it is likely to undermine the political advantages it is currently enjoying vis-à-vis its major political opponent, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

In the author's opinion, the misfortune is that the constitution-making process was driven by political parties, which may not have had the interests of the citizens at heart, there is political conflict and weakness in the constitutional provisions themselves. No wonder why the Constitution does not hold the government to account on devolution, with deep hostile consequences for democracy and good governance, as the citizens would have to rely on the government's generosity, which of course continuously lacks. Disturbingly, even lawsuits by the citizens will not help because the Constitution does not clearly force the government to devolve powers and responsibilities to local tiers. Taking legal actions in this state of affairs is pointless since it will yield nothing, apart from, perhaps, giving the petitioners a resemblance of political perceptibility and implication.

In 2018 National budget presentation the then Finance Minister Patrick Chinamasa, nailed the last prospect of devolution in Zimbabwe when he urged parliament to scrap devolution, opposing that it was a burden to the fiscus. He argued that the funding of provincial and metropolitan structures, as set out in Chapter 14 of the Constitution, was not sustainable and political parties represented in parliament should consider altering the Constitution to lessen the burden on the fiscus (Chinamasa, 2018). This was a clear sign of the ZANU-PF government's unwillingness to implement devolution. Unfortunately, these utterances definitely proved lack of political will and showed how the government had largely failed to respect the dictates and requirements of Section 264.

In addition, the appointment of Ministers of State for Provincial Affairs has ruined hopes of decentralizing power. These provincial ministers will report directly to the President, hence their interaction with provincial councils or mayors of respective areas will be insincere. They are likely to override every programme set to be taken in their respective provinces. Furthermore, the appointment of these Ministers will create leadership hierarchy challenges in the provinces since the provinces will have provincial councils led by Provincial Council Chairpersons. So, who will be the political and administrative head of a province? Is it the Provincial Council Chairperson or relevant Minister of State for Provincial Affairs? This grey leadership structure created by the anti-devolutionist ZANU-PF will have direct implications for local policy making, service delivery and local development.

1.5 Possible way forward

The way forward could be amending the constitution to strengthen it so that it adequately compels the government to implement devolution. However, currently, this is a staggering undertaking considering that the ruling party, which is apparently reluctant or unwilling to implement devolution, has the majority in parliament. Aside this drawback, there is need for opposition political parties and civic organizations and communities to step up pressure on the government to implement devolution in line with the constitutional provisions. In order for devolution to be effectively implemented, the ruling party ZANU-PF needs to respect the constitution of the country as well as the will of the people who voted in favour of devolution. Furthermore, the ruling party need to be willing to share the national cake with its citizens by offering service delivery fairly to all tiers in the country.

1.6 Findings and Discussions

The following are some of the findings and discussions obtained through the questionnaires and the interviews that were conducted by the researcher;

1.6.1 General information of the respondents

The respondents were required to indicate their position as either male or female, their age, and their level of education in the questionnaire. The results were illustrated as shown below by the use of the tables.

Table 1: Respondent as either Male or Female

	Frequency	Percent
Male	17	56.7
Female	13	43.3
Total	30	100.0

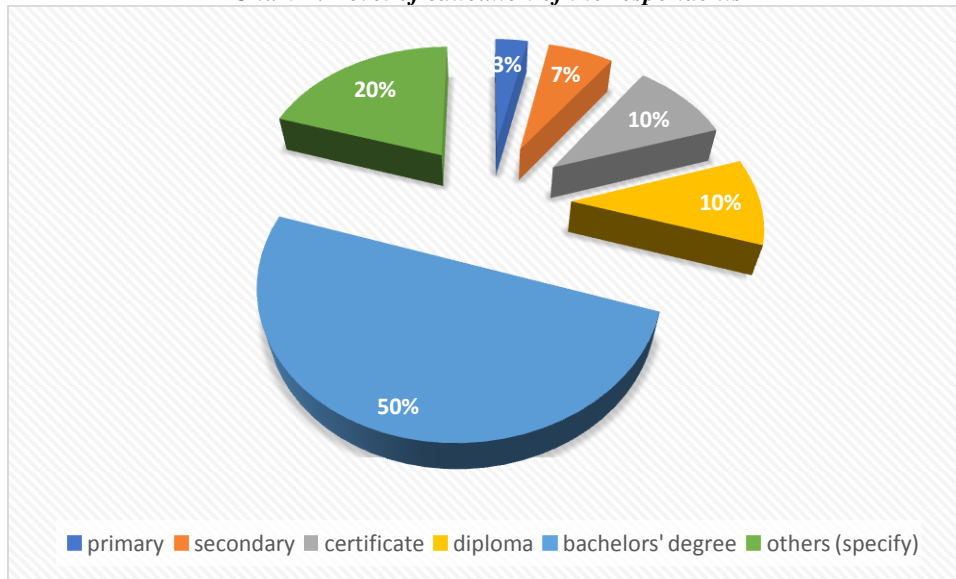
From Table 1 above it shows that the respondents involved in this research were 30. Of these 17 were male while 13 were female. This was represented by 56.7% and 43.3% respectively where the table reveals that more men were involved in the research. This was due to high number of male Zimbabweans staying in Kenya for various reasons.

Table 2: The age of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
30 years and below	12	40.0
31 years and above	18	60.0
Total	30	100.0

According to the age of the respondents, the majority were 31 years and above which constitutes 60% as compared to those of 30 years and below which constitute 40%. This is an indication that the majority of the citizens are highly affected by the poor service delivery of the government hence leaving the country for greener pasture.

Chart 1: Level of education of the respondents



From the chart above, majority of the respondents had Bachelors’ degree which constituted 50%. To the researcher, this illustrated that they are looking for a bright future of being employed so that they can give back to their society. Others who constitute 20% had masters’ and PhD level, a sign that they are in Kenya for greener pasture. The ones that constituted 10% each and are holders of certificates and diplomas are in Kenya for either pursuing their studies or are in Kenya because of the parents that are employed in the country. The same with the respondents that constituted 7% and 3% respectively, the indication is that they are children still in school staying with their parents who are working in the Kenya.

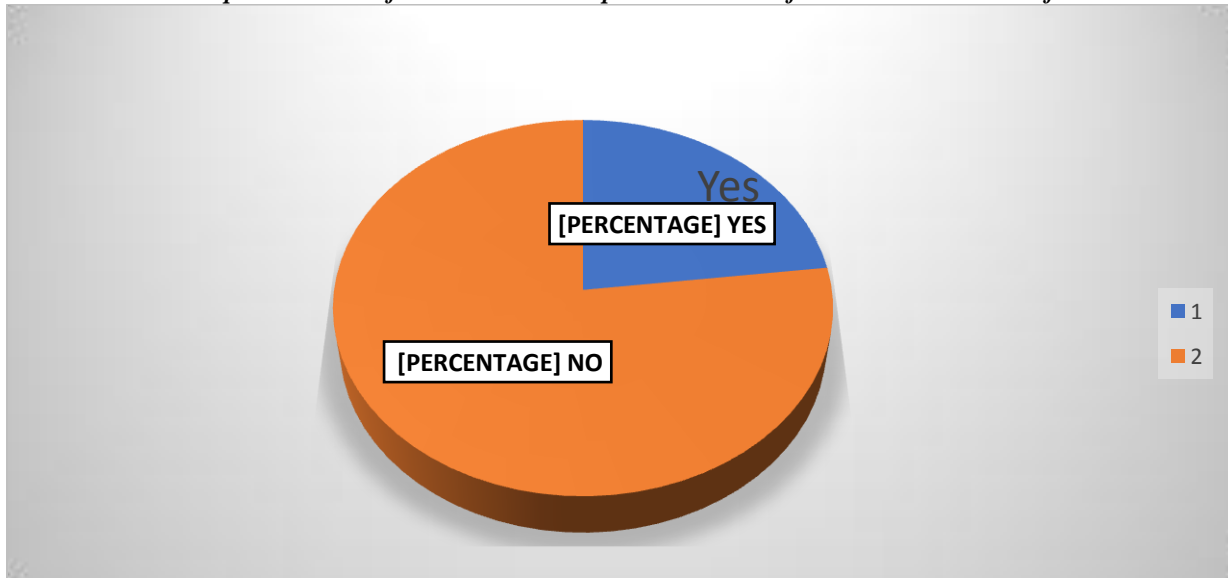
1.6.2 Seeking an understanding on Devolution among Zimbabweans

Table 3: The general understanding of devolution in Zimbabwean context

	Frequency	Percent
Good concept	23	76.7
Bad concept	7	23.3
Total	30	100.0

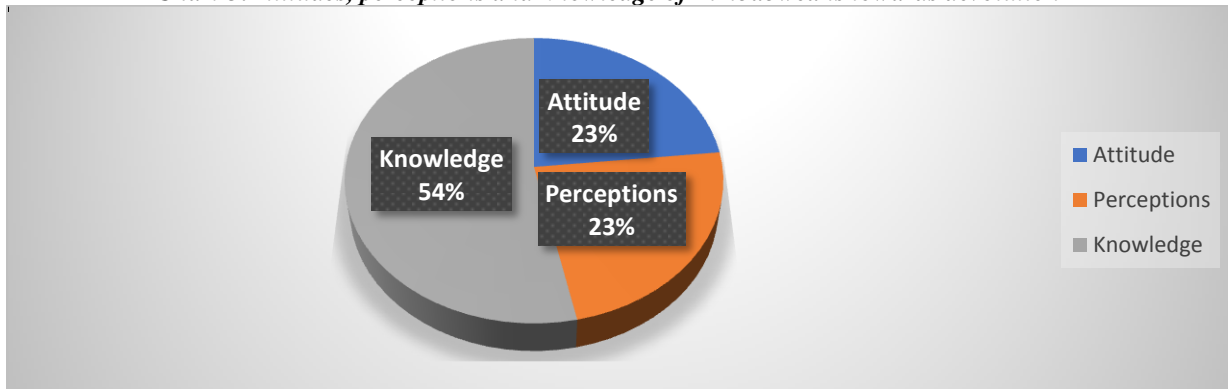
From the table above, 76.7% of the respondents demonstrated a general understanding of devolution as a good concept which according to them is a good idea which brings services closer to the people while 23.3% indicated that it is a bad concept in the sense that majority would be able to lose their power and access to resources as alluded by Karl Max in his Conflict Theory of 1818–1883.

Chart 2: Implementation of the Devolution as per the dictates of the new constitution of 2013



From the chart above, 77% of the respondents alluded that devolution in Zimbabwe had not been implemented as the constitution requires. According to the respondents, this was a result of fear of losing power and wealth, greed, lack of political will as well as apathy among citizens. On the other hand, 23% indicated that the devolution has been implemented as per the requirement of the new constitution but could not substantiate their claim. To the researcher, this implied that the respondents had limited knowledge of devolution or they could be the beneficiaries of the status quo.

Chart 3: Attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of Zimbabweans towards devolution



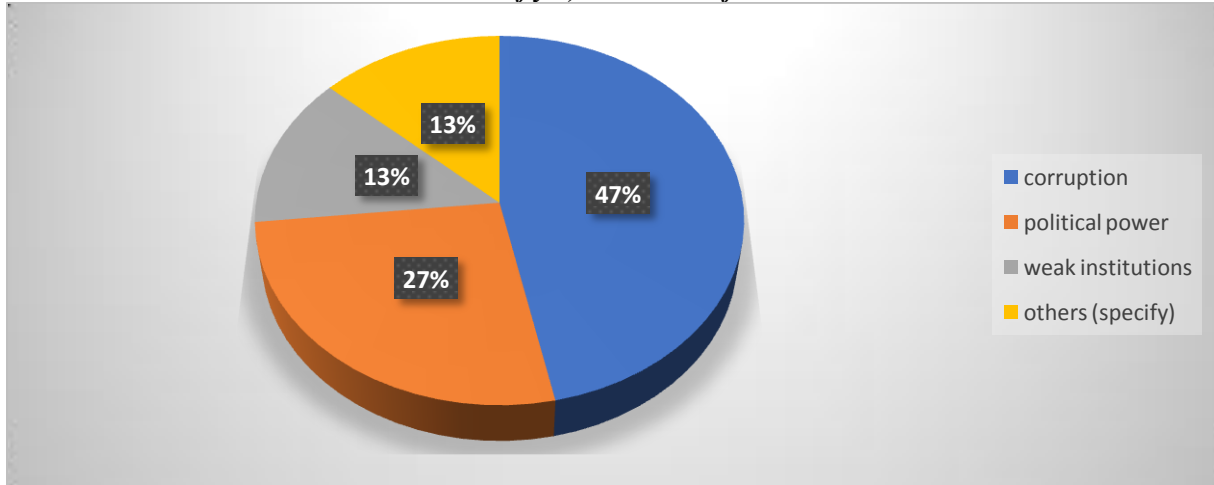
From the chart above, 54% of the respondents attested that they have shown to have a wider knowledge about devolution. This was supported by the responses they made such transparency and accountability will improve under devolved system, legitimacy of the government will be enhanced, political leaders will be accountable in their provinces, processes and institutions will be more transparent, responsiveness to citizens needs and service delivery will reach out equitably to all areas of provinces within the country and the participation of people will be enhanced. Furthermore, 23% of the respondents had an attitude and perceptions towards devolution. Some they showed an apathy towards devolution while others were not comfortable to talk about it.

Table 4: Factors hindering the implementation of devolution in Zimbabwe

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	76.7
No	7	23.3
Total	30	100.0

From the table above, 76.7% of the respondents agreed that there are factors that hinder the process of implementing devolution in Zimbabwe while 23.3% alluded a contrary opinion that there are no factors that hinder the process of implementing devolution in Zimbabwe. To the researcher it implied that these are people who tend to defend their own self-interests without considering what is good for all Zimbabweans.

Chart 4: If yes, what are the factors



From the chart, 47% and 27% of the respondents attested that corruption and preservation of political power are the major factors that contribute to delaying in implementing devolution in Zimbabwe. A part from corruption and preservation of political power, other respondents felt that weak institutions of 13% are also a contributing factor to delaying the implementation of devolution. Furthermore, 27% of the respondents felt that lack of understanding of the benefits of devolution, lack of the political will, partisan of allocation of resources, lack of separating party affairs and those of the state, dictatorship, passive citizens and lack of the rule of law were also contributors to delaying of devolution in Zimbabwe.

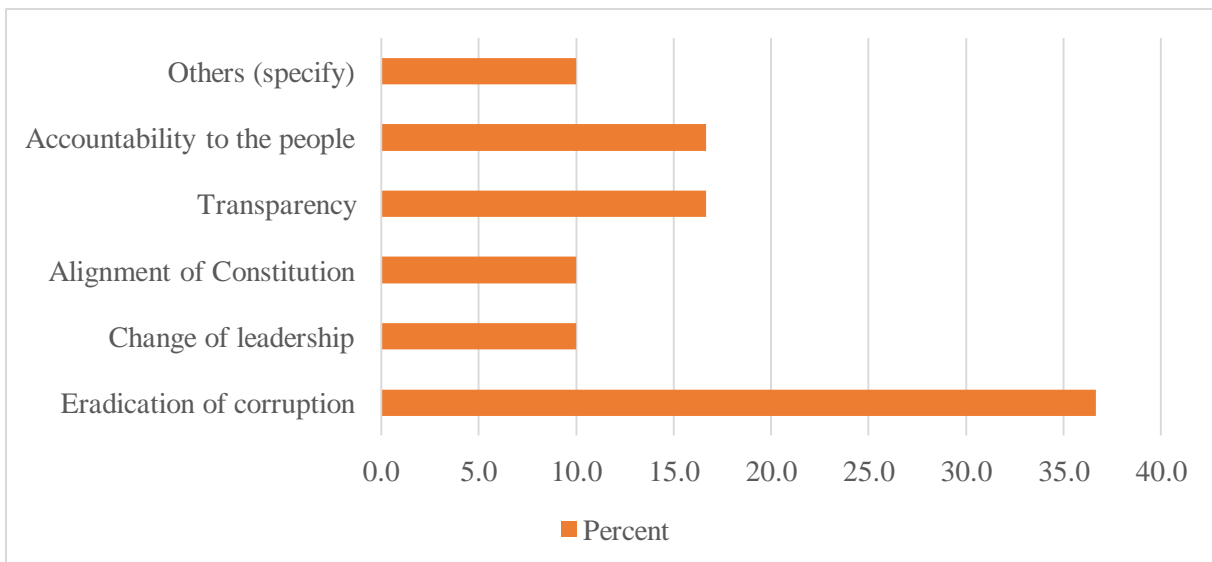


Figure 1: Possible way forward

From the graph above, 36% of the respondents indicated that eradication of corruption as a possible way forward to enhance the implementation of devolution in Zimbabwe. In addition, other respondents felt that the accountability of 16% and transparency of 16% to the people will also enhance the implementation of devolution in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, other respondents felt that Alignment of the constitution as well as the change of leadership of 10% each will enhance the implementation of the devolution in Zimbabwe. Others that constitute 10% indicated that a transitional government which will bring forth some reforms for good governance and democratic practices is needed in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, ZANU-PF is recommended to respect the will of the people and stop abusing the representative democracy to pursue their own agenda.

II. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Devolution is not a magic pointer for solving each and every problem that confronts Zimbabwe; it is, instead, a promising starting-point for rebuilding a ‘collapsed’ state. If not properly planned and executed, however, it could end up creating more problems than it answers. To achieve the desired outcomes, devolution has to be planned and executed with care and thoroughness. In simple terms, in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere, devolution currently is unfinished business. While it has brought significant developmental gains to India, China and Latin America and other countries, in the Zimbabwean case policy-makers should be on the lookout for three setbacks it could incur: rising inequality, macroeconomic instability and the risk of local capture. The gap between regions may widen, and marginalization according to ethnic origin can spark civil unrest. If devolved governments lack fiscal discipline, central government may be required to provide financial stimulus – bail-outs that could weaken its national macroeconomic policy. Local governments may also be captured by local elites with political power and intent on pursuing their self-interests to the detriment of ordinary citizens. The researcher also sees the following as recommendations that the government of Zimbabwe can take into consideration:
 - Citizens of Zimbabwe need to push their government through actions like demonstrations raising their concerns like the need for devolution to be implemented as dictated by the constitution, hence the demand for the rule of law.
 - The ruling party need to refine their understanding of sovereign state in an era of globalization and devolution.
 - There is need for civil organizations and Non- Governmental Organisations to engage in vigorous campaigns that highlight the importance of devolution for a balanced development of the nation.
 - There is also need to translate any literature about devolution into vernaculars for easy information dissemination.
 - The ruling party in Zimbabwe should also desist from abusing representative democracy by doing the will of the people who voted them into power, not pursuing their own interests.

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