CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES, SYSTEMS THEORY, COMMON POOL RESOURCES AND GOVERNANCE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a theoretical, conceptual and evolutionary review of comparative studies, systems theory, common pool resources and governance as presented by different researchers and writers. Where necessary, the broad thematic sections are further divided into appropriate and more focused subsections for simplicity, precision and effective communication. The chapter is based on Internet sources, academic publications, United Nations reports, SADC publications, academic journals, theses, masters dissertations, geographical information systems and other documents available on public governance concepts in general and in the study locations specifically.

The discussion in this chapter, chapter 3 and chapter 4 are intended to put the study into its broader context. This chapter serves as a foundation to the potable governance overview discussions in chapters 3 and 4.

2.1 COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Oyen, captured in Salminen and Viinamäki (2006: 2), believes that the nature of all social research is more or less comparative. Phenomena are always understood in relation to other phenomena. The study of public management requires comparison in order to discover cross-national generalisations, rules and other specific features (Salminen and Viinamäki, 2006: 2). The main purpose of comparison is the systematic examination of the differences and similarities of theories, models, and phenomena. The comparison effort covers several issues, such as cultural differences, moral systems, civil rights and societal justice, good governance, commonly shared values, ethical public management, and the ethical training of public servants (Cooper,

2001, as captured in Salminen and Viinamäki, 2006: 2). The phenomena may involve comparisons of different societies, groups within one or more societies, and comparisons at the same or different points in time (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 105). Bendix (cited in Chikwanha, 2005: 22) captures the essence of comparing best when she says comparative analysis increases the visibility of one structure by contrasting it with another.

Major classical scholars in comparative studies (such as Marx, Durkheim and Weber) employed the comparative method in a wide variety of societies in order to develop theories of social change. Marx (1974) used the approach to support his claim that societies pass through different stages. Weber (1958) systematically compared early capitalist countries in western Europe and north America with countries such as China and India to show a correlation between early capitalism and Calvinism. Durkheim (1947) too, used the comparative method in his study of the division of labour and the change from mechanical to organic solidarity.

Today, it is widely believed that the comparative method contributes to the development of administrative theory and improves its applications, as well as the development of administrative practices, such as good governance and corporate social responsibility (Salminen and Viinamäki, 2006: 3). Studies employing the comparative perspective promote an understanding of pervasive global reforms and characteristics. Comparative studies 'open the door to a transition from traditional ethnocentric perspectives to a global scope that integrates knowledge from various places and cultures' (Salminen and Viinamäki, 2006: 3). Globalisation, as well as multinational cooperative actors, such as the United Nations (UN) and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), increases the need for comparative facts and knowledge. 'Administrative knowledge, generated through the comparative method, serves practitioners and expands their horizons of choice and consideration for adoption' (Salminen and Viinamäki, 2006: 3).

Salminen and Viinamäki (2006: 2) and Chikwanha (2005: 19) argue that comparison implies comparability. There should be enough similarity to examine difference and enough difference to examine similarity. Most similar systems mean maximal compatibility on the system level, such as the value system or culture of a country. Most different systems are a relevant viewpoint when

the internal features of the system are examined, such as individual behaviour, identity or shared values in an administrative system.

Landman, (2005, 32–33) distinguishes three strategies of comparative research, namely; comparing many countries, comparing a few countries, and single-country studies. Keränen (2001) describes two alternatives; the comparative and the cross-cultural (or ethnographic) methodological approaches. Pickvance (2001) and Peters (1988) talk of four varieties and four dimensions for comparative analysis, such as cross-national, cross-time, cross-level, and cross-policy comparisons. This study combines all four dimensions, focusing on two countries whose experiences, as already shown in chapter 1, are both similar and different.

2.2 THE SYSTEMS THEORY

The American heritage dictionary of the English language, as quoted in Musingafi (2011: 25) sees a system as 'a group of interacting, interrelated, or interdependent elements forming a complex whole'. The Oxford English dictionary, again as quoted in Musingafi (2011: 25) defines a system as 'a set or assemblage of things connected, associated, or interdependent, so as to form a complex unit; a whole composed of parts in orderly arrangement according to some scheme or plan'. A system is thus a set of interrelated elements functioning as a whole.

There are various systems, among them mechanical systems consisting of hundreds of interrelated mechanical components like motor vehicles or ecological systems in which a dead tree is an essential element and human beings as both physiological and psychological systems made up of interdependent organs, needs and expectations (Musingafi, 2011: 25). A system and its inherent interdependence characteristic are best described by Durkheim's collective conscience, mechanical and organic solidarity thesis[2] (captured in Haralambos and Holborn,

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[2] Durkheim believes society has over the centuries passed through historical/evolutionary stages; preindustrial, industrial, and advanced specialization and division of labour stages. In the preindustrial stage the economy is basic and primitive. People are similar and behave mechanically though they came from the same mould. This sameness leads to mechanical solidarity based on collective conscience. People work together because they are the same. Then comes organic solidarity characterized by some division of labour and specialization, the beginning of industrialisation. People work cooperatively because they are different but complementary. Again there is the force of collective conscience though originating from opposite forces.

2000: 115). Both mechanical and organic solidarity are a result of the forces of collective conscience. In organic solidarity, people are different but need each other. For example, a farmer needs a teacher to teach his children as much as a teacher needs him for food. Various parts are different yet work together to maintain the organism, as in the case of the heart, liver, brains and so forth in the human body.

A system is made up of subsystems. Therefore a subsystem is a system within a system. For example, organisations are composed of various subsystems: the external interface subsystem (the external environment), the task subsystem, the technological subsystem, the structural subsystem, the human social subsystem and the goal subsystem (French and Bell, 1978: 6). The interrelation between these six subsystems is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.
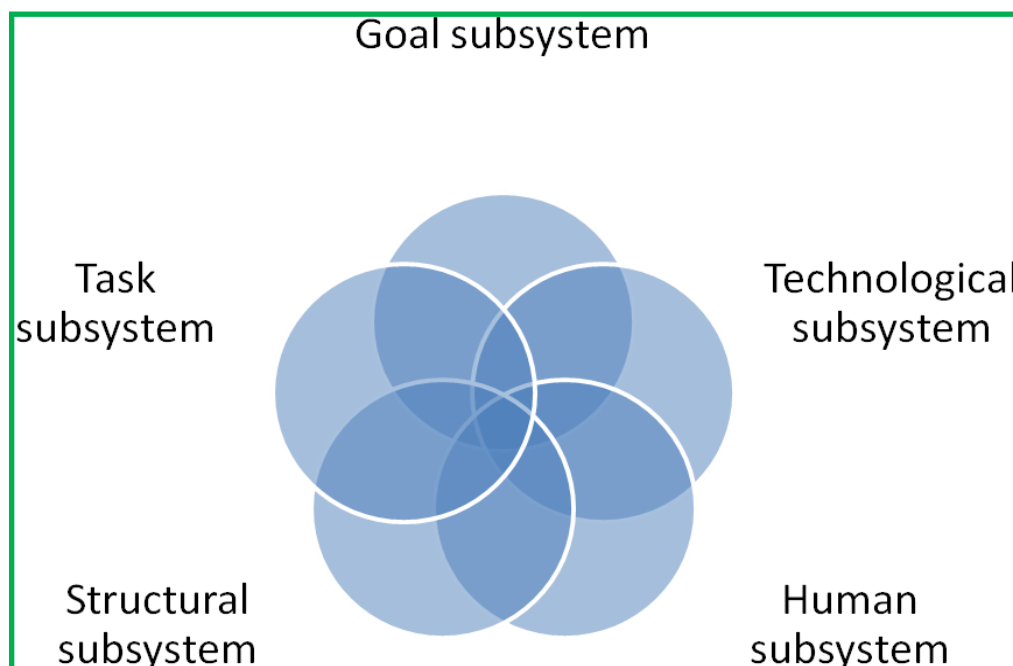

Figure 2.1: An organisational system and its subsystems
(Adapted from French and Bell, 1978: 4)

An educational institution like a university is composed of libraries, laboratories, lecture theatres, hostels and the administration; these are subsystems which can be regarded as systems in their

own right. Whatever happens in any of these subsystems affects the operations of the university as a whole. All interventions in the university system must be put in their conceptual context. Otherwise they eventually have a negative effect on its operations.

Figure 2.1 shows that organisations are systems that operate in a specific environment. They are not self-sufficient, nor are they self-contained. They exchange resources with and are dependent upon the external environment within which they operate. As put forward by the Institute of People Management of Zimbabwe (IPMZ) (1994: 10), 'Within this viewpoint, it is not possible to simply consider one part of an organisation without looking at its relationship with all the other parts, because changes and influences in one part affect all other parts of the organisation'. Anything that affects one part of the system also interacts with other parts of the system.

The systems thinking is based on 'an interdisciplinary theory about the nature of complex systems in nature, society and science, and is a framework by which one can investigate and/or describe any group of objects that work together to produce some result'(IPMZ, 1994: 12). This could be a single organism, organisation or society, or any electro-mechanical or informational artifact. Bertalanffy, a biologist, is credited with coining the phrase 'general systems theory'. Bertalanffy (1988: 4) noted the following characteristics of systems studies common to all sciences. He argued that systems studies:

- are studies of a whole or an organism;
- they have the tendency to strive for a steady state of equilibrium; and
- that an organism is affected by, and affects its environment.

An organism or organisation rather, is regarded as a system that attracts inputs from the environment and converts them into outputs or products and services as illustrated in Figure 1.12.

IPMZ (1994: 12) describes two types of systems: open systems and closed systems. Open systems are those that allow interactions between their internal elements and the general environment within which they operate as already illustrated in Figure 1.12 and Figure 2.1

above. Bertalanffy (1988: 4) defines an open system as a 'system in exchange of matter with its environment, presenting import and export, building-up and breaking-down of its material components.' It is open if it is dependent on the environment in which it operates, the environment is dependent on the system, and there is a specific interaction between the system and the environment (Musingafi, 2011: 27). Closed systems, on the other hand, are considered to be isolated from their environment. Thus, a system is closed when it is self-supporting and can exist independently of a particular environment.

Other authorities like Nobert Wiener (1894 - 1964) adopted the word cybernetics in place of systems. The study of cybernetics showed that all systems could be designed to control themselves through a communications loop which fed information back to the organism, allowing it to adjust to its environment. This feedback meant that an organization could learn from and adapt to possible changes in its environment.

The application of systems thinking is founded on the gestalt concept. According to this concept the whole is more than a mere summation of its constituent parts (Davies, 1973: 13). 'It is a perspective for going beyond events, to look for patterns of behaviour, to seek underlying systemic interrelationships which are responsible for the patterns of behaviour and the events' (Ehlers, 2002: 42). Ehlers (2002: 42) further argues that the systems approach embodies a worldview which implies that the foundation for understanding lies in interpreting interrelationships within systems. Graaff and Dawid (2001: 77) observe that before being assembled, a machine is just a heap of metal bits. When it is put together in a particular way, it generates power. Individuals standing around on a field are a crowd. When they combine in a particular way, they can become a soccer team. When varied institutions like families, political parties, sports leagues and corporations are combined they may form a society. Societies combined may form a world system. According to Graaff and Dawid (2001: 77) at each of these levels the means of combination is qualitatively different so that something new emerges depending on the way the integration occurs. Thus, the systems thinking simplifies otherwise complex scenarios and gives them contextual meaning.

As observed by Graaff and Dawid (2001: 77), systems are not homogeneous networks. They have powerful nodes that dominate the areas around them. In family systems, the dominant power node may be the father. In societal systems, power nodes may be governments, wealthy corporations, or influential media groups. In a world system a dominant power node will be a single country or a group of countries.

According to Siles (2004: 10) one of the key concepts from a systems perspective is that of casual streams, the flow of cause-effect linkages. Causal streams are a sequence of conditions or factors linked by cause-effect logic that contribute to a predefined problem.

The systems thinking is of great importance to this study in that most of its tenets are reflected in the IWRM paradigm, especially the view that subsystems affect and are in turn affected by the whole system. Issues must not be considered in isolation, but in their total context, especially in the current volatile global environment. Advances in technology and communication mechanisms have made it difficult for nation states to remain closed. Modern economies cannot afford to be rigid. Neither can they afford to remain closed to what is happening in the international community. Attempts to remain rigid and closed are unrealistic and may play havoc on the concerned economy as exemplified by the Zimbabwean experiences in the first decade of the twenty first century[3].

As will be shown in chapter 4, the integrated water resources management philosophy puts great emphasis on the role of all stakeholders and the totality of the management process. The IWRM philosophy argues that collaborative management of public resources in a given community ensures the attainment of meaningful, tangible and sustainable development. Collaborative management is thus the key to community development. A collaborative culture should therefore be nurtured to improve community life. According to IPMZ (1994: 12) to 'collaborate is to labour together, to manage is to direct and control … culture is the prevailing background fabric of prescriptions for behaviour'. If a culture supports behaviours appropriate for community goal

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[3] Zimbabwe disengaged and withdrew from the Common Wealth and other international organisations that were critical of its politically motivated land and government policies. This move played havoc on the Zimbabwean economy which by the end of 2008 had completely collapsed. Its inflation rate had risen to more than 100 million percent forcing the country to adopt a multi-currency system dominated by the South African Rand and USA dollar.

attainment, the result will be a prosperous and healthy community. This conceptual thinking and integrated approaches to the management of public and common pool resources is thus closely related to the systems philosophy on managing public resources.

According to Brelet and Selborne (2004: 15) IWRM reminds us that our actions affect the holistic system, our biosphere. They argue that ecosystems and humans alike are not functioning as mere isolated machines; they are dynamic and constantly evolving due to the interactions of their components. Although scientific research once focused on one level and in closed systems, research now evolves towards a transdisciplinary approach that integrates human and social sciences in an attempt to embrace the multiple levels of reality. This is reflected in most African communal cultures where anthropological studies of values and beliefs show that ethics and normative values are still closely linked to an equitable utilization of natural resources philosophy, a scenario closely resembling Karl Marx's primitive communalism[4]. The situation reveals an astute ecological cleverness, both anticipatory and adaptive, in maintaining natural resources for future generations (Brelet and Selborne, 2004: 15).

Humans are not traditionally regarded as separate from their natural environment, but as another part of the same highly complex 'metasystem': Nature. This knowledge comes from the holistic observation of the many interdependencies which make up the natural world. Human and natural systems are mutually responsive and interactive. As such decisions are based on what is objectively good not only for the agent, but equally for other people involved − an ethical attitude that can define what is good practice and what is effective water governance (Brelet and Selborne, 2004: 15). The key argument is that water's technological aspects must not be separated from social and cultural factors, nor from ethics.

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[4] Karl Marx talks of society passing through evolutionary historical stages in his historical materialism analysis. The first stage of human society is what he referred to as primitive communalism in which people are equal and resources are not yet developed, but serve the interest of everyone equitably. The materialistic historical stages are primitive communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and finally communism. Each of these stages is an improvement over its predecessors. In the subsequent stages after primitive communalism private property and exploitation of the majority who happen to be the poor becomes the norm. Except for the primitive communalism stage and the communist stage, society is characterized by two conflicting classes; the ruling class and the labouring classes who take over government as caretakers in the socialist stage.

2.3 COMMON POOL RESOURCES

Common pool resources (CPR), also known as common property resources, are goods consisting of a resource system whose size or characteristics makes it costly, but not impossible, to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from its use. It is difficult to exclude members of a given community from using such resources. Yet their use by one individual or group means that less is available for use by others. This characteristic distinguishes common pool resources from other public goods which exhibit both non-excludability and non-rivalry in consumption (see Ostrom, 1999: 1. and 1998: 1)

Examples of common pool resources are land, water, air, fish, pastures, wild animals, among others. A pasture allows for a certain amount of grazing occurring each year without the core resource being harmed. In the case of overgrazing the pasture may become vulnerable to erosion and eventually yield fewer benefits to its users. Because they are vulnerable, common pool resources are subject to problems of congestion, overuse, pollution and potential destruction unless harvesting or use limits are devised and enforced (Ostrom, 1999: 2).

Common pool resources may be owned by national government, local government, municipality or district council as public goods; by communal groups as common property resources; or by private companies as private goods. When owned by no one they are used as open access resources. Ostrom (1998: 2) observes that most of them are governed by common property regimes which differ from either private or state administration. They are based on self-management by a local community. This self-management approach to the governance of common pool resources is comparable to the IWRM philosophy as will be shown in chapter 4.

2.4 GOVERNANCE

There is controversy on the definition and understanding of governance among academics, theorists, politicians, development practitioners and other interested parties. As a result, it is difficult to come up with a precise and universally accepted definition of governance. Different

people use the notion differently, relating it to different cultural contexts. The World Water Assessment Programme (WWAP) (2003: 371) paraphrases the controversy as follows:

> Some may see governance as essentially preoccupied with questions of financial accountability and administrative efficiency. Others may focus on broader political concerns related to democracy, human rights and participatory processes. There are those who look at governance with a focus on the relationship between the political-administrative and the ecological systems. Other approaches see governance entirely in terms of management, and the operation and maintenance of infrastructure and services.

Before considering the above controversies, it is important that clear communication is established by coming up with a definition that is to be adopted for purposes of this study.

Pavlicevic, captured in Kasambira and Nyamuda (2001: 31) sees the work of governance as:

- giving direction to the organisation;

- deciding how the organisation will be managed;

- holding the final authority and responsibility for the organisation;

- planning on how to access and allocate scarce resources; and

- acting as the last court of appeal or decision-making body when management reaches a deadlock.

These are broad functions that require a wide understanding of governance.

According to Mäki (2008: 3) governance deals with the processes and systems by which an organisation or society operates. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as captured by the World Water Assessment Programme (WWAP) (2003: 372), is more detailed. It sees governance as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. 'It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences'.

This study adopts Bruhn's (2009: 2) definition that governance focuses on 'how decisions important to a society or an organization are taken. It helps define who should have power and why, who should have voice in decision-making, and how account should be rendered'. This definition covers both the two main schools of thought on governance, namely the traditional and the contemporary views, and therefore incorporates all the controversies referred to above. As put forward by Edgar, *et al* (2006: 4) governance is both a journey and a destination, in other words a process that has outcomes in the form of either development or underdevelopment as will be shown below. For Cap-Net (2008: 2) good governance suggests widespread social approval of its practices. It can never reach an end point. As a process, it depends on the reiteration of activities that deepen trust.

Since this study is based on both the systems philosophy and the classical management paradigm, it is advisable to look at classical management before becoming more involved in the governance debate and the practices in different communities.

2.4.1 The classical management framework

Management[5] is a matching process (IPMZ, 1996: 1). It involves the alignment of resources to meet organizational objectives. Traditionally the process involves planning, organizing, leading and controlling as illustrated in Figure 1.2 in chapter 1. Usually this is the responsibility of chief executives and managers, sometimes assisted by a board of directors/governors who represent shareholders, owners or stakeholders.

The process in Figure 1.2 does not occur in a tidy step-by-step order. As explained in chapter 1, managers do not plan on Monday, organize on Tuesday, lead on Wednesday, control on Thursday, and take corrective action on Friday. The model in Figure 1.2 is designed to simplify the complex management process. These functions may be carried out simultaneously, in a different order, with or without variations, depending on the situation. Management is thus contextual. There are many environmental factors to consider before taking up a management posture. Otherwise managerial effort will be wasted, resulting in inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

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[5] 'Management', as used in w*ater resources management* includes the developmental aspects of water resources.

It is important to note that the focus of this study is governance, a broader concept than simple traditional management. The term management is too formal and limited in its scope. In its narrow sense it focuses on the formalized administrative tasks of chief executives and managers within organizational settings. Although the study utilises this traditional management process as a point of reference, public management is too complex to be limited to this management model. Public management is multifaceted. It covers developmental, political, administrative, cultural, sociological and ecological aspects of concerned communities, among other related issues.

Public management is highly affected by and affects all aspects of community life as illustrated in Figure 2.2. There is an interdependent relationship between and across the political, social, cultural, technological, economic, legal, ecological, international and many other subsystems that influence development and human life in any given community. These forces determine the type and structure of public management in modern communities. Because of the diversity and complexity of forces impinging on public management, for it to be effective it has to be highly informal and all encompassing. This is why this particular study prefers the term governance to management.
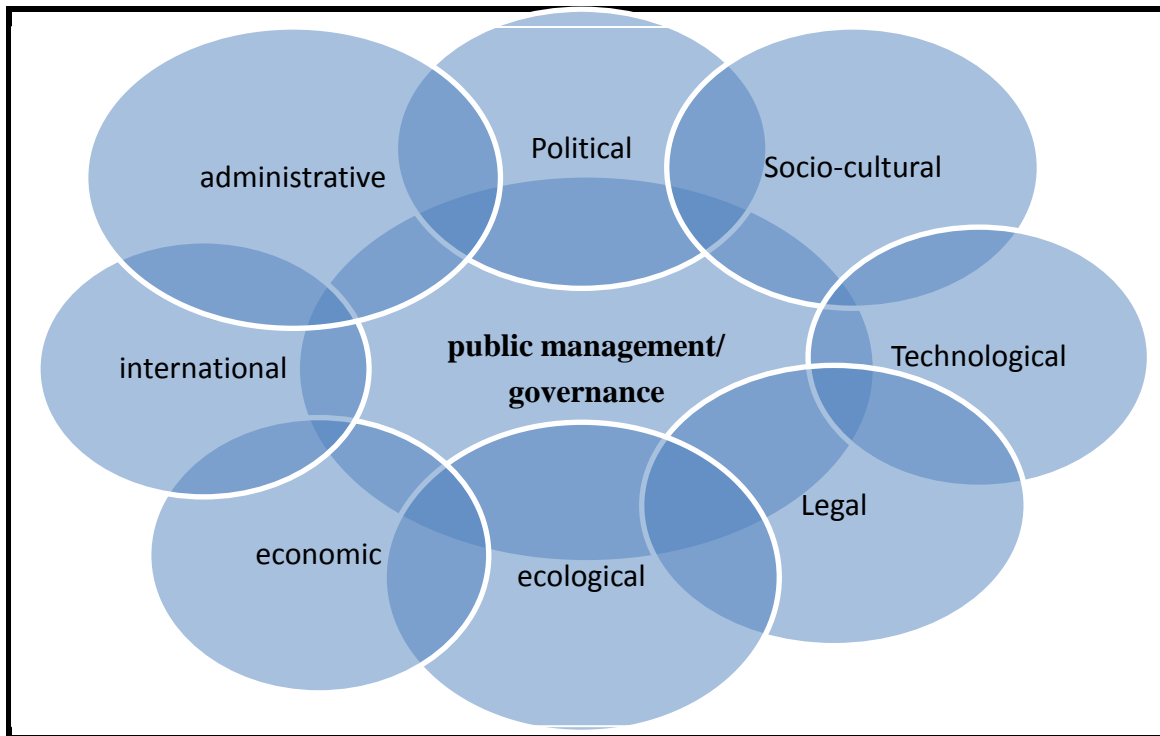
Figure 2.2: Forces influencing and influenced by the public management process

2.4.2 The traditional view of governance

As put forward by Mäki (2008: 3) the term governance comes from the Latin and suggests the notion of steering. This steering of society can be compared with the traditional approach of governments driving society. As such, within this view governance is equated to the traditional government philosophy of governing and controlling human and social behaviour from above (see Assaduzzaman, 2009: 36; Mäki, 2008: 3; Stoker, 1998: 18).

According to Assaduzzaman (2009: 36), in the fourteenth century the term governance referred to action, method, or function of governing. Governance thus meant the act or process of governing, especially authoritative direction and control of social behaviour. Emphasis was on mechanisms to ensure that constituents followed established processes and policies as per government rules and regulations. Within this view governance is about the political and public administration tasks performed by central, regional and local governments to ensure public compliance with set rules and regulations. In this sense the term governance is not new; it is as old as the history of political and administrative thought, as detailed in the works of successive

classical political and public administration theorists like Plato (428BC - 348BC), Aristotle (384 - 322BC), Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 - 1527), Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679), John Locke (1632 - 1704), Adam Smith (1723 - 1790), Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804) and many others. According to Paris (2006: 428) Kant argued that human beings are 'rational creatures' who may be misled by 'self-seeking animal inclinations'. Therefore, they require a 'master' in the form of central or local government to prevent them from abusing the freedom of others and to force them 'to obey a universally valid will under which everyone can be free'.

Rather than people becoming directly involved in the public decision making process, it is the government that makes public decisions on their behalf. Such a government may be authoritarian as in the case of Hobbes' Leviathan[6] or Machiavelli's Republic under the Prince,[7] or representative as in the case of Locke[8] or Smith's[9] liberal government. In all these cases, the traditional role of government is one of unilateral, vertical governance/top-down governance. The government formulates concrete and sometimes quantitative objectives, which it then timetables, weighs up and prioritizes.

Implicit in this conceptual framework is the notion that only the government has the power and prerogative to define, explain and interpret public interests. The people thus surrender their right to make public decisions concerning their lives to a ruling elite called government. Figure 2.3 below shows government at the apex of the social hierarchy. Although government may be influenced by subjects, especially the rich, as in most liberal governments, it has the prerogative to make public decisions that bind everyone. There is no room for the private sector and civil society to become directly involved in governance. All are bunched into rich or poor masses and do not have a direct voice in public policy formulation. Government decides on their behalf.

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[6] Thomas Hobbes writes of a state of nature in which life is brutish, short and insecure. For him human beings are brutish by nature. They thus need strong government, a dictatorship that controls their bestial or brutish instincts. A leviathan (in the Hobbes sense) is a strong and powerful government

[7] Machiavelli writes of a dictatorial prince who outmanoeuvres everyone else and rules by decree.

[8] John Locke, unlike Hobbes, does not believe that human nature is bad. There is *laissez-faire* in the state of nature and society needs a representative, liberal government to ensure progress. In the state of nature people are poor.

[9] Adam Smith writes of the invisible hand and limited government to ensure progress.
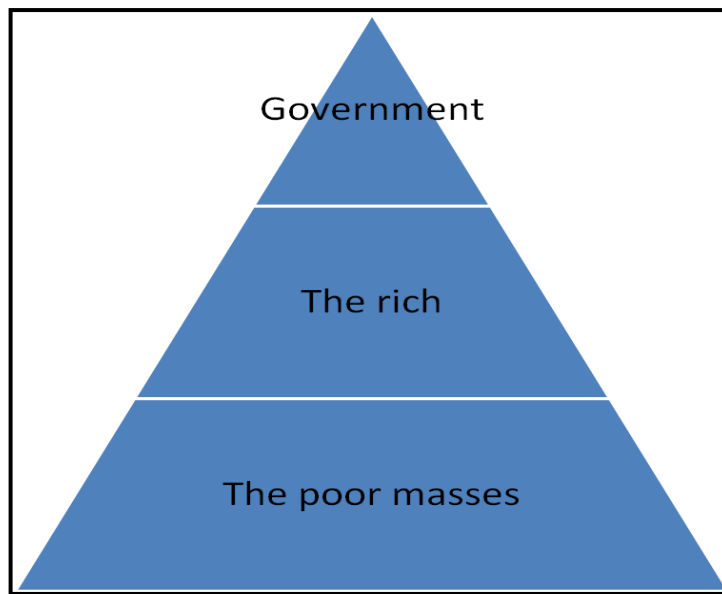
Figure 2.3: The traditional view of governance

The system is such that it is the masses that carry the weight of whatever decision (good or bad) made by those at the top of the hierarchy. Rather than governing common-pool resources, it is the masses that are governed. They may be involved in choosing the government through elections but this does not mean they are directly involved in policy formulation and public decision making. In most cases their views on common pool resources are disregarded. The attitude is that government knows better than anyone else what the masses need.

According to Assaduzzaman (2009: 37) the situation outlined above leads to excessive political influence and bureaucratic control over local governance. This scenario has been blamed for conditions of massive poverty, corruption, economic stagnation, lack of political stability, confused priorities, and violation of human rights especially in third world countries (Jreisat, 2004: 1006). Werlin, captured by Jreisat (2004: 1006), believes that the primary reason for the wealth or poverty of a nation is its governance not its natural resources. In fact, resistance by most developing countries to adapt to contemporary practices has worsened the sorry state in these economies. The systems perspective discussed above requires them to adapt to the new global developments rather than remaining rigid.

The assumption that the government has a monopoly on power no longer holds water because in modern society, power is fragmented, and there is no power centre, but rather a large number of power centres that are constantly in flux. Examples of power centres other than the government are the international community, world organisations like the United Nations, regional groupings such as SADC, the business community, opposition political parties, NGOs, churches, pressure groups, enlightened consumers, trade unions, environmentalists, and many other civic organisations. Even the claim that the government has the prerogative to define, explain and interpret public interests is now challenged. The existence of several power centres mean that interests can be explained and interpreted from different angles. Suppressing such forces and interests translates to disgruntlement, chaos and underutilization of human capabilities.

2.4.3 The contemporary view of governance

The philosophy behind the contemporary thinking on governance is summarised by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, when he says, 'If liberty and equality, as is thought by some are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost' (Anon, 2002: 1). Thus, despite the recently expressed interest in the new governance concept, neither the term nor the concept is new. Indeed they are old. What is new is the emphasis put on the concept. Although there is still diversity on what governance means, 'there is a baseline agreement that governance refers to the development of governing styles in which the boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred (Stoker, 1998: 17). For Kooiman and van Vliet (1993: 64) 'the governance concept points to the creation of a structure or an order which cannot be externally imposed but is the result of the interaction of a multiplicity of governing and each other influencing actors'.

Stoker (1998: 18 - 25) discussed the theory of governance under the following five propositions:

- governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government;
- governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues;

- governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action;

- governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors; and

- governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide.

The first proposition challenges the traditional government systems characterized by a sovereign parliamentary system, the executive/cabinet, the judiciary and accountability through some form of interval elections. In most developing countries the legitimacy of such governments is questionable because elections are highly influenced by many forms of manipulation and most governments are nothing but impositions. Stoker's argument is that whether elected or imposed, the ability of the traditional governance structure to represent contemporary divergent societal interests is limited. The proposal is that in addition to the traditional government, other stakeholders (the public, civic groups, pressure groups, NGOs, etc) should become directly involved in the governance process. The current (2009-2010) constitution making in Zimbabwe is facing this dilemma. Civil society, led by Maduku's[10] National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) wants to be fully involved if not to lead the whole process. Government wants to monopolise the process so as to protect its vested interests.

The second proposition is on the balance between the state and other contending forces. Responsibility and accountability should be equitably shared between and across all stakeholders. Thus 'a concern with "active" citizenship links governance to wider debates about communitarianism and "family" values' (Stoker, 1998: 21). The levelling of responsibilities blurs the boundaries between the public and private sector. This results in the rise of a multitude of voluntary agencies like non-profits, NGOs, community enterprises, cooperatives, among others, all working together to create a social economy. If not well handled, the danger with these developments is the blurring of both responsibility and accountability, and the increase in scapegoating and avoidance of blame.

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[10] Maduku is the current (January 2010) chairperson of the NCA, a civic organization formed by labour, academics, business leaders and churches, among others in the late 1990s for spearheading the drafting of a new home-grown constitution to replace the Lancaster House Constitution.

The third proposition implies that governing is an interactive process because no single actor has the knowledge or resource capacity to tackle problems unilaterally. This gives rise to the establishment of a level of mutual understanding and embeddedness, so that organizations develop a shared vision and joint-working capacity leading to the establishment of a self-governing network.

The fourth proposition is summarized by Ostrom (1990) and Keohane and Ostrom (1995) on the management of common-pool resources in poor rural communities. Focus is on the various institutional arrangements that can be created to enable people to cooperate over resources which are finite to which they have open access. Incentives and sanctions are identified assuming that rational and self-interested actors will respond appropriately. Increasing the availability of information and reducing transaction costs are seen as essential to designing effective systems. Self-organized systems of control among the key participants are seen as more effective than government-imposed regulation.

The fifth proposition implies that traditional government takes an enabler, facilitator or catalytic agent role. Everyone (young or old, female or male, black or white, physically challenged or not, etc) has to find it easy to contribute to the shaping of things that affect his/her life.

According to Assaduzzaman (2009: 36) these propositions provide a broader canvas to the changing world of government and emphasize on power decentralization, as well as on local self-government and involvement of all actors in the governance process (See Figure 2. 5 below).

Peters (2001: 36), as captured in Assaduzzaman, came up with four models of contemporary governance:

- The market model: The model claims that the private sector can provide better services than the traditional public sector.

- The participatory state model: Emphasis is on greater individual and collective participation by segments of government organizations that have been commonly excluded from decision-making.

- The flexible government model: Government should be contextual and flexible.

- The deregulated government model: Government focuses on less bureaucratic control, more managerial freedom and recommendations based on societal needs and collective decision-making.

For Assaduzzaman (2009: 37), the Stoker (1998) and Peters (2001) models have paved the way for viewing governance from a broader perspective. The new broader perspective is illustrated in Figure 2. 5. In fact, decentralisation and people's participation are high priorities in achieving the goals of governance in the twenty first century, at least at the level of theoretical debate.

Both the Stoker (1998) and Peters (2001) theoretical frameworks put emphasis on stakeholders involvement as a prerequisite to good governance, as illustrated in Figure 2.5 below. But still the question remains: what exactly is governance? It has been shown that there is no precise or universally accepted definition of governance. This is hardly surprising because governance is a multifaceted and interdisciplinary subject. The notion of governance and its meanings are still evolving and new definitions keep popping up. Nevertheless, there is need for establishing effective communication by providing a workable definition, at least for use in this study.

2.4.4 Sample definitions and the criteria for effective governance

Graham, *et al* (2003: 1) maintain that 'governance is the interaction among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens and other stakeholders have their say.' Therefore, governance is about power,[11] relationships and accountability. Who has the influence? Who makes the decisions? How are decision makers held accountable? This is an open definition allowing for either bad or good governance as per the principles of good governance outlined below.

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[11] Handy (1993), captured in Kasambira and Nyamuda (2001) talks of several sources of power: physical, resource, position, expert, personal and negative power. This translates to almost everyone having power of some sort.

According to the UNWVLC (2008: 12) the British Council believes, 'Governance involves interaction between the formal institutions and those in civil society. Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society wield power, authority and influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life and social upliftment.' Implicit in this definition is the involvement of civil society in the governance process through 'interaction' with 'the formal institutions.' However, although the definition does not limit the governance responsibility to traditional government, it empowers 'elements in society' at the expense of other elements in the same society. It is important that the definition sees the sole purpose of governance as 'social upliftment,' however done by a sector on behalf of the whole community.

The World Water Assessment Programme (WWAP) (2003: 371) believes:

> Governance refers to relationships that can be manifested in various types of partnerships and networks. A number of different actors with different objectives are involved, such as government and civil society institutions and transnational and national private sector interests. An important shift in governance thinking is that development is now increasingly seen as a task that involves society as a whole and not the exclusive domain of governments

The UNDP, as captured by WWAP/UNESCO (2003: 371) defines governance as the 'exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.' This is in agreement with what Hyden (2001) and the UNWLC (2008: 12) think. Governance is the process in which stakeholders communicate their interests, their input is absorbed, decisions are taken and implemented and decision makers are held accountable. Proper governance strategy implements systems to monitor and record what is going on; takes steps to ensure compliance with agreed policies; and provides for corrective action in cases where the rules have been ignored or misconstrued (UNWLC, 2008: 12).

Thus, WWAP/UNESCO (2003: 371) concludes that in this particular context, governance refers essentially to the manner in which power and authority are exercised and distributed in society, how decisions are made and to what extent citizens can participate in decision making processes.

As such, it relates to the broader social system of governing, as opposed to the narrower perspective of traditional government being the main decision making political entity.

> Governance is concerned with how institutions rule and how regulations affect political action and the prospect of solving given societal problems, such as efficient and equitable allocation of water resources. The rules may be formal (codified and legally adopted) or informal (traditionally, locally agreed and non-codified) (WWAP, 2003: 371).

Since this study is about the governance of potable water supplies, the definition of governance must now be married to potable water. Potable water supply governance refers to the range of political, social, economic and administrative systems that are in place to develop and manage water resources and the delivery of water services at different levels of society. The UNWVLC (2008: 12) sees potable water supply governance as 'the range of political, organizational and administrative processes through which communities articulate their interests, their input is absorbed, decisions are made and implemented, and decision makers are held accountable in the development and management of water resources and delivery of water services.'

WWAP/UNESCO (2003: 373) argues that water governance issues are dependent on properly functioning legal and judicial systems and electoral processes. For example, legislative bodies made up of freely and fairly elected members and representing different parties are important to popular participation and accountability. It is essential that legal and judicial systems protect the rule of law and human rights. Open electoral processes help build political legitimacy. Water reforms, for example, those that include decentralisation and increased democratisation may require constitutional, legal and administrative shifts that enhance the legitimacy and authority of the judiciary and legislative bodies and executing agencies.

Table 2.1: Criteria for effective water governance

(Source: WWAP, 2003: 373)

Criteria	Explanation
Participation	All citizens, both men and women, should have a voice, directly or through intermediary organizations representing their interests, throughout the processes of policy- and decision-making. Broad-based participation hinges upon national and local governments following an inclusive approach.
Transparency	Information should flow freely in society. Processes, institutions and information must be directly accessible to those concerned.
Equity	All groups in society, both men and women, should have the opportunities to improve their well-being.
Effectiveness and efficiency	Processes and institutions should produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.
Rule of law	Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, especially laws on human rights.
Accountability	Governments, the private sector and civil society organizations should be accountable to the public or the interests they are representing.
Coherence	Taking into account the increasing complexity of water resources issues, appropriate policies and actions must be coherent, consistent and easily understood.
Responsiveness	Institutions and processes should serve all stakeholders and respond properly to changes in demand and preferences, or other new circumstances.
Integration	Water governance should enhance and promote integrated and holistic approaches.
Ethical considerations	Water governance has to be based on the ethical principles of the societies in which it functions, for example, by respecting traditional water rights

From the above discussion it is concluded that the current thinking on governance is broad and dovetails well with democratic concepts of decentralisation, involvement and participative management, empowerment and capacity building, among other related concepts. It is also established that governance manifests itself in two main forms, namely bad governance largely associated with traditional governance, and good governance associated with all stakeholders embracing contemporary forms. It is also concluded that although there is loud and vociferous talk on the contemporary form of governance, most countries, especially the developing

economies, do not walk that talk. Of crucial importance is the fact observed by Edgar, *et al* (2006: 4) that governance is not only a destination, but a journey.

> Governance is more than government, more than public administration, more than a governing model or structure, though of course these are important. Governance, and in particular good governance, is also about effective ways of continuously engaging various sectors of society. Governance is therefore closely aligned with democracy and the central role that citizens must play in any effective governance system. (Edgar, *et al,* 2006: 4)

As put forward by UNWVLC (2008: 12), poor governance is characterised by arbitrary policy making, unaccountable bureaucracies, unenforced or unjust legal systems, the abuse of executive power, a civil society unengaged in public life and widespread corruption. In contrast, good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making, a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs.

From the above assessment, it is established that governance centres on policy making and implementation. Thus, before looking at the democratic concepts of decentralisation, involvement and participative management, empowerment and capacity building, there is need to look at public policy formulation and implementation.

2.4.5 Public policy

Public policy is at the centre of governance, public administration, politics, economics, social work, international relations, industrial relations, common pool resources distribution and management, community development, and the legal systems of any country, among other related disciplines. Like the broader concept of governance and other disciplines that involve human beings, it is not easy to be precise about public policy. Emery (1993), as quoted in Juma and Clark (1995: 123), observes:

> The striking feature about the whole field of policy studies is the lack of definition of what it is that distinguishes policy studies ... from political science, economics and applied social sciences. A common practice is to provide a simple postulate of

what a policy is and then, without analysis or justification, proceed to attribute whatever meanings suit the matters under discussion.'

The concept of public policy has never been clearly defined. For example, Dye (1992: .3) discourages elaborate academic discussions of the definition of public policy by asserting that 'we say simply that public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do'.

Other sample definitions of public policy captured by Juma and Clark (1995: 123 - 126) are:

- the authoritative allocation of values through the political process to groups or individuals in society (Easton, 1953);
- a proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize or to overcome (Friedrich, 1963);
- a projected programme of goals, values and practices (Kaplan and Lasswell, 1970);
- a series of patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group and organizational influences have contributed (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984); and
- a declaration and implementation of intent (Ranney, 1986).

Juma and Clark (1995: 125) observe that if policies do not achieve what they are intended to achieve, this is a problem of managerial failure in implementing policies, not a problem of the policy making process itself. They further argue that much of the standard literature on public policy concentrates on generalized statements about the policy-making process. The literature is relatively weak on following through what actually happens in practice. In the end, there is nothing to inform theory. Policy outcomes bear very little relationship to policy decisions. The rhetoric of policy is one thing. Its result is quite another.

In their discussion of the meaning and evolution of public policy formulation and implementation, Juma and Clark (1995: 125) provide five metaphors which they then proceed to discuss. These are the mechanistic worldview, linear-to-non-linear processes, arguments, social experiment and interactive learning.

The mechanistic worldview is still prevalent in most of Africa. The approach is informed by classical organisational theory based on mechanistic thought. The model is based on a rigid bureaucratic structure that equates jurisdiction with intellectual authority. The assumption is that such a structure is applicable in all circumstances and provides the basic elements of control and efficiency for all policy decisions. The model separates policy formation from implementation. It is operated through the linear translation of policy guidelines into implementation programmes and distinguishes policy-makers from the technicians responsible for actually implementing policies. As a result, most African governments have maintained control over policy-making by systematically preventing other institutions from participating in the process as already shown in the current constitution-making process in Zimbabwe referred to above. Policy making is often mystified and treated as a secretive activity involving a small group of political elite. Because most colonial agencies were initially designed to implement orders from political leaders, their 'offspring' see little reason to use analysis in policy-making. The tradition of policy-making in colonial states, which is still dominant in Africa, is to perceive the public not as clientele, or even-as a resource, but rather as a source of potential problems which the decision maker must somehow strive to neutralize. Government policies are usually implemented by subordinate administrators whose obedience to commands should be prompt, automatic, and unquestioning.

Non-linear processes were a paradigm shift from the rigid mechanistic view. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973: 143) argue that policy implementation 'should not be divorced from policy… and… must not be conceived as a process that takes place after, and independent of, the design of policy.' For McLaughlin (1976) as captured in Juma and Clark (1995: 125), policy implementers interact with policy makers by adapting new policies, co-opting the embodied project designs or simply ignoring new policies, hence underscoring the fact that implementers are crucial actors whose actions determine the success or failure of policy initiatives. Bardach (1977), cited in Juma and Clark (1995: 126) used game theory to show how implementers routinely change policy goals, divert resources to other activities, resist new policies or subvert on-going initiatives. Reiner and Rabinovitz (1978: 322) argued that:

> The process is not one of a graceful one-dimensional transition from legislation, to guidelines, and then to auditing and evaluation. It is ... circular or looping... No

one participant in the process is ever really willing to stop intervening in the other parts of the process just because his stage has passed.

Nakamura and Smallwood (1980: 24) recognized that there are complex relationships between the different actors who operate in the three policy environments of formulation, implementation and evaluation. Such environments are always in flux. 'They are not mutually exclusive, since the same actors can participate in different roles in different environments. The concept of environment suggests there is some order in a policy's life, … that the ordered parts can be fluid rather than dominated by a single unidirectional movement from top to down.' (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1989: 22). The actors in each environment tie the policy system together through communication and compliance linkages. Such linkages may fail because of garbled messages from the senders, misinterpretation by the receivers or system failure (transmission breakdown, overload, noises and inadequate follow-through or compliance mechanisms). Thus, the Nakamura and Smallwood model appears to draw from an ecological metaphor, in which the policy system is made up of a small number of distinct environments, which in turn are comprises arenas and actors. A policy may be initiated because of the interests of powerful actors, crisis situations and public concerns and pressures, but in such an open system not only is it 'difficult to determine how policies get into the system, it can be even more frustrating to ascertain where, when, and how policies may eventually get out of the system' (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1989: 22).

In the policy as arguments metaphor, public policy analysts are seen to enter into a discourse with leaders, the public and other experts in which, it is argued, language not only depicts reality, but also shapes the issues at hand. Policy discourse is in the form of a debate 'in which participants present claims and justifications that others review critically' (MacRae, 1993: 311). Before a claim is asserted and justified, there is a consensual process to generate proposals. 'Part of this process involves the winnowing of policy alternatives considered to deal with a given problem. This is a process of seeking the best proposals, for which claims can later be made, rather, than simply of making claims; it involves systematically considering arguments and counterarguments' (MacRae, 1993: 311). Policy reforms can therefore be presented as reasoned arguments rather than experiments that put questions to the test of reality. Such reasoned arguments embody the intention to change social reality itself, and not simply to use it as the

source of selection pressure for new policy proposals. Conflicts among stakeholders are analogous to cases in law in which disputes are resolved invoking common standards appropriate to different contexts, for example in criminal or civil disputes. However, 'whereas the aim of jurisprudence is to study the variety of concepts and procedures used to resolve legal claims, the aim of the applied social sciences is to investigate concepts and procedures used to argue and settle issues of a more directly political nature' (Dunn, 1993: 263).

The concept of policy as social experiment begins with the premise that social change is a product of trial-and-error learning processes which involve successive hypotheses which are tested against reality in an experimental manner akin to the process of scientific enquiry about natural phenomena. As Rondinelli (1993: 17) says, 'public policy-making is recognized as an incremental process of trial and error through political interaction and successive approximation.' This adaptive approach aims at dealing with development problems associated with complexity, uncertainty and ignorance over the major issues that influence the trajectory of the development process. Critics of this approach have pointed to the fact that experimentation is more relevant in the natural sciences than in the social sciences. Dunn (1993: 258) says 'appropriateness of the experimental metaphor depends in part on our success in establishing that social systems in which reforms are carried out are analogous to physical systems in which laboratory experiments are conducted.'

The policy as interactive learning metaphor criticises mechanistic and other models on the grounds of their 'top-down' nature. Because policies are not rooted within the communities being affected by them, there is resistance to their implementation which could have been avoided had the policy formulation process been more participative. Long and Long (1992), cited in Juma and Clark (1995: 128), argue against 'structural' approaches to the study of development and social change. For them these do not take into account a wide range of relevant stakeholders who are part of the system under analysis. They argue in favour of an 'actor perspective', which stresses the need to involve individuals and social groups that have a stake in how the system evolves.

As put forward by Makhalemele (2008: 20) policy-making is a process that begins with agenda setting (the formulation of problems and goals) on an issue that needs a policy to address irregularities. As soon as a problem has been identified and described the policy formulation phase is undertaken. This involves the establishment of clear and acceptable methods and actions so that a detailed policy, accompanied by clearly defined proposals, can be formulated. Policy adoption represents the next phase of the policy making process, during which policy makers reach a final decision on the policy before it is implemented in the community. Once a policy has been accepted and adopted, the fourth phase, namely the policy implementation phase. This is reached through the development of guidelines. The fifth and last phase is the policy analysis phase.

According to de Coning and Sherwill (2004: 4), a process policy making model which is generally regarded as representative of the international experience of policy making provided by Dunn (1994), shows that the phases of agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation and policy assessment are fairly common. Mutahaba, Baguma and Halfani (1993: 49) simplified these stages of the policy process to three dimensions; that of policy formulation, policy implementation and monitoring and evaluation.

For de Coning and Sherwill (2004: 6), the generic process model tried and modified in South Africa provides for both a comprehensive set of phases as well as proposing specific requirements and key issues to be addressed during each of the phases. These phases comprise policy initiation, policy process design, policy analysis, policy formulation, decision making, policy dialogue, the implementation process and monitoring and evaluation. Following the application of the generic process model to several sectors in South Africa, a number of adjustments to the model were made. The adjustments included a redefinition of the initiation phase or review, given present demands where existing policies often need to be reviewed. The second change to the model was the inclusion of the statutory stage to allow for law making (see Figure 2.4). The final change to the generic model has been the monitoring and evaluation component where monitoring should occur throughout the process.
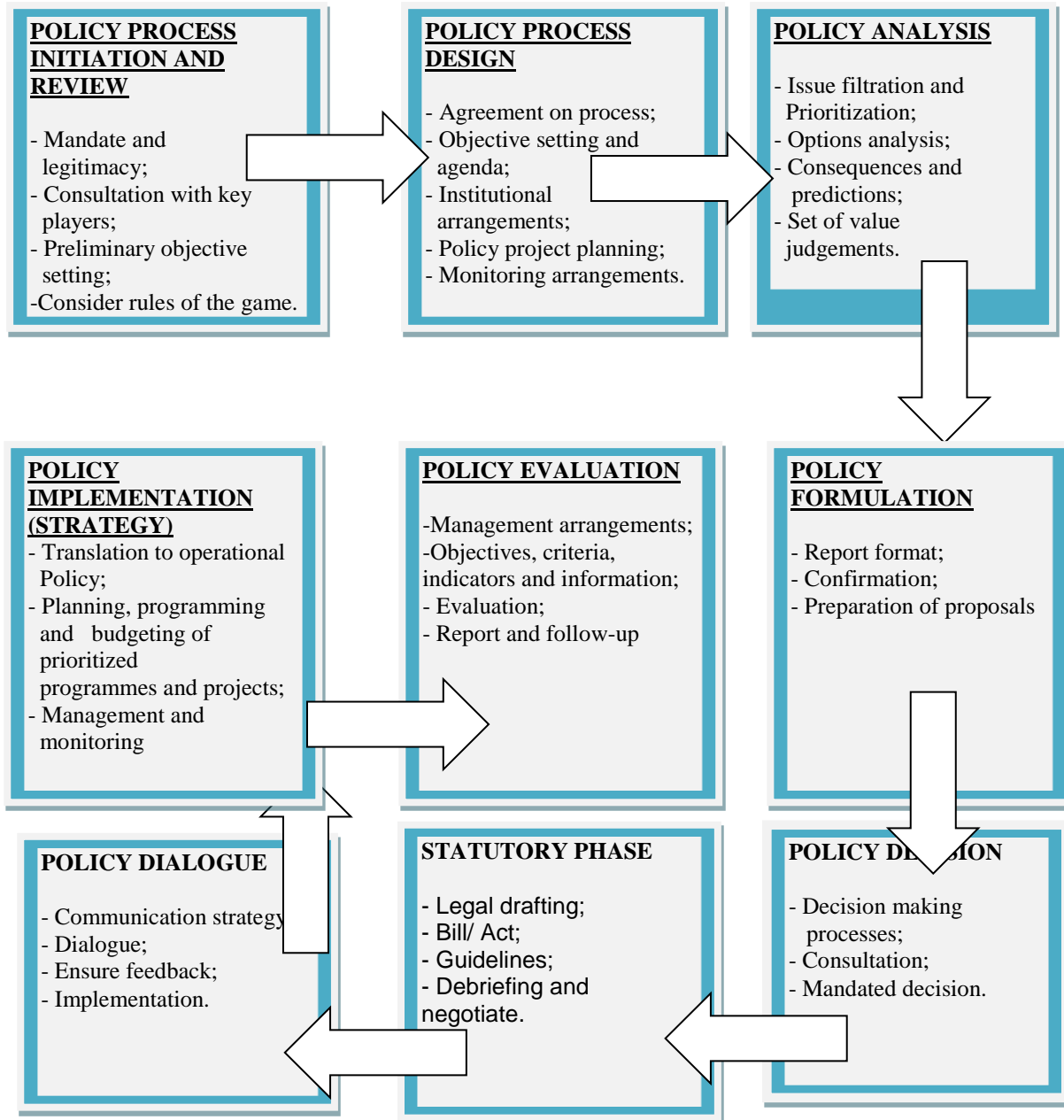
Figure 2.4: Key considerations for phases of the generic process model

(Source: De Coning and Sherwill, 2004: 9)

The foregoing shows that public policy is at the centre of governance and as such there is no clear demarcation between public policy and governance. It is however, important to emphasise that the two concepts are not one and the same thing. In this study, as has already been shown

above, governance is regarded as the broader concept and public policy an element of governance.

2.4.6 Decentralisation, participation, gender mainstreaming and empowerment

The concept of contemporary and good governance discussed above is largely based on accompanying sub-concepts (subsystems) in form of decentralisation, involvement, participation, gender mainstreaming, empowerment, capacity building, among others. What exactly do these concepts mean in the governance context?

2.4.6.1 Decentralisation

Decentralisation may simply be defined as the transfer of power from a central authority to local/grassroots authorities. Cheema and Rondinelli (1983), as captured in Assaduzzaman (2009: 45), define decentralisation as 'the transfer of planning, decision-making or administrative authority from central government to its field organisations'. The World Bank (1997), cited in Assaduzzaman (2009: 46), states that 'the most important principle of decentralisation is that the lowest level of government should provide public goods and services'. This perspective seems to concentrate on the technical and administrative aspect of decentralisation at the expense of the political aspect (Assaduzzaman, 2009: 46).   The implication of this observation by Assaduzzaman is that decentralisation is not only contextual, but understood in different forms and criteria.   The four major forms of decentralisation are deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983). The application of any of these forms depends on the nature of the government, local institutions and local context, and the degree of authority to be transferred from the centre to the periphery (Assaduzzaman, 2009: 47).

Deconcentration is simply the transfer of authority and responsibility from the central authority to field level agencies (Assaduzzaman, 2009: 48). It is thus the transfer of the workload from headquarters to field authorities without transferring the final discretion. Under this arrangement, the local authority enjoys and exercises a position of conferred authority. Turner and Hulme (1997), cited in Assaduzzaman (2009: 48), believe that deconcentration can pursue the objective

of technical efficiency leading to greater effectiveness, but not to popular participation. Shrestha (2000: 66 - 67) summarised the features of deconcentration as follows:

- field agencies represent central authority at the grassroots without autonomous status;
- there is a hierarchical power relationship between the central authority and the field representatives;
- field agencies are not free from the central command system; and
- field agencies have an intra-organizational pattern in their power relationship with the central authority.

Delegation involves the creation of a local authority to plan and implement decisions on specific activities within certain boundaries of an organisation without direct supervision by a higher administrative unit (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983; as captured in Assaduzzaman, 2009, 50). Major characteristics of delegation identified by Shrestha (2000: 67 - 68) are:

- delegated authorities are autonomous bodies with operational freedom;
- delegation is used as a means of removing some important functions from normally inefficient government bureaucracies;
- delegation is occasionally used as an instrument for maintaining public control over some highly profitable resources; and
- delegation is the entrustment of powers and authority to be exercised by subordinate staff.

Thus, compared to deconcentration, delegation involves a transfer of power, although ultimate power remains in the hands of a central authority. A good example is the creation of parastatals and commissions in most developing countries such as the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) in Zimbabwe; and Rand Water, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in South Africa. These semi-autonomous authorities are public utilities responsible for water supply, supervision of elections and grain distribution.

Devolution is the legal transfer of significant power, including law-making and raising revenue, to the locally elected bodies (Conyers, 1987; as captured in Assaduzzaman, 2009: 49). Cheema and Rondinelli (1983), captured in Assaduzzaman (2009: 49) identified the following characteristics of devolution:

- powers are transferred to autonomous units governed independently and separately without the direct control of the central government;
- the units maintain control over a recognized geographical area;
- each unit enjoys corporate status and power, enabling it to secure its own resources and to perform its functions;
- devolution implies the need to develop local government institutions; and
- it is an arrangement of a reciprocal, mutually beneficial and coordinative relationship between central and local government.

Thus, devolution is politically the most significant form of decentralisation, because it provides an opportunity for effective participation of the local people in the local level decision-making process, through the local government institutions elected by them.

Privatisation is the transfer of some governmental planning or administrative responsibilities to private or voluntary agencies (Assaduzzaman, 2009: 51). Organisations like profit oriented bodies, NGOs, trade associations, professional organisations, civil society, political parties and cooperatives shoulder responsibilities normally performed exclusively by the government.

The above four types of decentralisation have different effects on the organisational structure, the degree of transferred power, the amount of people's participation and the precondition for successful implementation. Devolution seems to be the most acceptable form of decentralisation for optimum level of people participation and empowerment.

2.4.6.2 Involvement and participation

In this study involvement and participation are used interchangeably. According to Sambureni (2001: 57) involvement has its origins in the theories of Kurt Lewin, who strongly advocated the

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idea that the management of change requires full participation from those affected by change. According to Lewin, as captured by Sambureni (2001: 57) 'we are likely to modify our own behaviour when we participate in problem analysis and solution and likely to carry out decisions we have helped make'.

For Sambureni (2001: 57) involvement is the process of influence, interaction and information sharing. It draws individuals into the decision making process within the organisation, decisions that have a direct impact on day-to-day activities of that individual. It is also a process that articulates a set of values that promote respect for individual contributions and teamwork. Thus, as put forward by the UNWVLC (2008: 24) participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over the development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them.

Table 2.2: Levels of stakeholder involvement
(Source: UNWVLC, 2008: 12)

Techniques	Participation
Top-down - from experts: • public information; and • hearings.	• listening; and • observing.
Hybrid - experts and decision makers listen to other opinions: • conferences; • taskforce; and • workshop.	• reviewing; and • advising.
Participatory - from stakeholders: • participatory rural appraisal; and • mediation.	• local cooperative; and • joint decision making.

According to WWAP/UNESCO (2003: 278) participation can also guarantee that voices of relatively powerless groups, such as women and indigenous people, are heard. Participation offers people the opportunity to meet their responsibilities, as well as the opportunity to claim their rights. Key aspects of sustainability include empowerment of local people, self-reliance and social justice. These reflect concerns about principles of equity, accountability and transparency.

One way to incorporate these principles into real life management is to move away from conventional forms of governance which have usually been dominated by a top-down approach, and professional experts in the government and private sector and move towards the bottom-up approach, which combines the experience, knowledge and understanding of various local groups and people. An important lesson during the 1990s was recognizing the benefits of combining expert knowledge with local knowledge (WWAP/UNESCO, 2003:378).

Thus, as put forward by Frayssinet (1995: 5) 'participation is fundamentally about power: the power to make decisions affecting one's own life and the life and development of the community, the power to say no as well as to say yes'. The result of effective participation is that people own their development and therefore development becomes more sustainable. For people to participate fully they have to be empowered as will be shown below.

2.4.6.3 Gender mainstreaming

According to Musingafi (2008: 40) gender and sex are two different things that have become so closely related such that some people risk using them interchangeably. Where sex is mainly biological and God-given, gender is mainly psychological and cultural. The SADC regional water policy (2005: 58) outlines the UN definition of gender as follows:

> Gender refers to the socially and culturally constructed roles, privileges, responsibilities, power and influence, social relations, expectations and value of men and women, girls and boys. There are significant differences in what women and men can or cannot do in one society when compared to another. In all cultures, the roles of women and men are distinct, as are their access to productive resources and their authority to make decisions. Typically, in most cases, men are held responsible for the productive activities outside the home, while the domains of women are the reproductive and productive activities within the home. In most societies, women have limited access to income, land, credit, education as well as limited ownership and control over these resources.

Gender mainstreaming is one of the most important sub-concepts in the modern governance debate. It brings in issues of efficiency and effectiveness, equity and equality, fairness and justice, ethics and morality, among others. The SADC protocol on gender and development (2008: 4) defines gender mainstreaming as 'the process of identifying gender gaps and making

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women's, men's, girls' and boys' concerns and experiences integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all spheres so that they benefit equally'.

Gender mainstreaming is defined by the United Nations, as captured by the SADC regional water policy (2005: 51), as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action. This includes legislation, policies and programmes in any area and at different levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that both women and men benefit. Gender mainstreaming ensures that all stakeholders are co-opted in decision-making on matters that concern them. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming levels the uneven governance playing field in that the formerly disadvantaged women and girls are co-opted into the decision making process on terms that are equal to their male counterparts. This is especially important in the governance of potable water supplies in Zimbabwe and South Africa because for centuries, traditionally women have been managers of water (UNWVLC, 2008: 45). In underdeveloped countries it is women who retrieve water and carry it back to use in the home. Empowering them will ensure efficiency in water utilisation and community development.

2.4.6.4 Capacity building and empowerment

According to Musingafi (2008: 28) the current thinking is that capacity building is the foundation of governance, development, and subsequently poverty alleviation. Swanepoel (in de Beer and Swanepoel, 2000: 62) believes capacity building has three components, namely the acquisition by the disadvantaged of the knowledge and skills required to produce the goods and services which satisfy their needs, making productive resources available to the underprivileged, and the establishment of effective and efficient administrative and institutional structures. Capacity building is thus equated to empowerment.

For FitzGerald, as captured by Musingafi (2010: 28), an individual is empowered when he or she develops the ability to do things which were not previously within his or her competence, and when doors of opportunity, which were previously closed, swing open to allow access to information, influence and opportunity.

The above empowerment process is not only focused on individuals, but as put forward by Vincent (1995: 9) 'it involves family, local, regional or national groups, one's country and the world; in other words, all aspects of society.'

2.5 SUMMARY

The study of public management requires comparison in order to discover cross-national generalisations, rules and other specific features. Such comparisons may focus on different societies, groups within one or more societies, and comparisons at the same or different points in time. Comparative methods contribute to the development of administrative theory and improve its applications, as well as the development of administrative practices, such as good governance and corporate social responsibility. Studies employing the comparative perspective promote an understanding of pervasive global reforms and characteristics. Globalisation, as well as multinational cooperative actors, such as the UN, increases the need for comparative facts and knowledge.

The systems theory is a perspective based on the assumption that the whole is more than a mere summation of its constituent parts. The approach embodies a worldview which implies that the foundation for understanding lies in interpreting interrelationships within systems. Within this viewpoint, one cannot simply consider one part of an organisation without looking at its relationship with all the other parts, because changes and influences in one part affect the others. Thus, issues should not be considered in isolation, but in their total context.

Governance focuses on how decisions important to a society or an organisation are taken. It helps define who should have power and why, who should have voice in decision-making, and how account should be rendered. At the heart of contemporary practices and discussions of

governance are its sub concepts of public policy, decentralisation, public participation, empowerment and gender mainstreaming. It is argued that the most trusted root to development and both community and individual well being is through an all-encompassing governance system, especially with regards common pool resources like potable water resources.

The next chapter looks at the global status of potable water supply availability and accessibility with special focus on southern Africa.