

Introduction: Late to achieve independence – after a fifteen-year long guerrilla war – Zimbabwe has had a shorter timeframe than other African countries in which to pursue national economic, social and political strategies. This poster encompasses four overarching groups of analysis – location and endowment, colonial economy and institutions, contemporary economic geography and political geography – establishing interconnections between them that can shed light on subnational spatial inequalities and changes – or constancy – over time.

DV435 Economic and Political Geography of Zimbabwe

Liberty, Shukri, Yadah and Ella



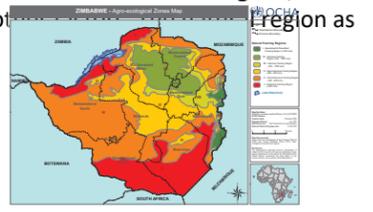
Location and Endowment

I.1 Location:
Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in South East Africa. The country spans 390,757 km² of territory and is a minerally rich country. 10.49% of the country's land is arable.



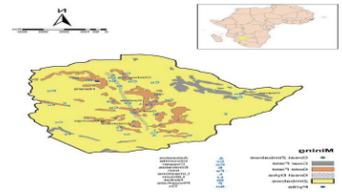
Map: UNEP Topographic map

I.2 Agro-ecological Zones:
Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological regions, known as natural regions on the basis of the rainfall regime, soil quality and vegetation among other factors. Each region as classified as I, IIA, II, IV, V.



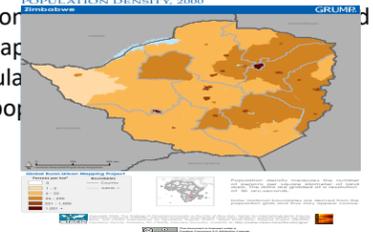
Map showing Zimbabwe Agro-ecological Zones. Maps credit: Chagutah, T (2010)

Map I.3 Mineral Resources Endowment:
Zimbabwe holds endowments of close to 40 different minerals and has one of the largest coal-bed methane gas deposits in Africa. In Zimbabwe gold is the main earning mineral and the map below shows the various of gold fields located in the country.



Map showing some of the minerals of Zimbabwe and the location of Great Zimbabwe. Maps credit: Mtetwa, E (2018).

I.4 Population:
Population of 7.9 million in 1982 grew to 14 million in 2019. The map below shows how the population is concentrated in the south east of the region. The map also shows the uneven distribution of the population and how there is a clear decline in population density as the capital grows.



Map showing population density of Zimbabwe in 2000. Maps credit: Bratton, M., & E. Masunungu. 2018. "Real the beloved country: Zimbabwe's polarized electorate." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(1), 1-22. SEDAC. 2000. *Socioeconomic Data and Applications Center (SEDAC)*. <https://doi.org/10.7927/H4R20Z93>.

Colonial Economy and Institutions

Colonial land division:

The British South Africa Company (BSAC) invaded Mashonaland in late 1890. Land is central to the history of Zimbabwe and when the BSAC framed its land settlement policies it ensured that the most valuable agricultural land was given to white settlers. Contrarily, black Africans were relocated and confined to reserves, areas which typically had low rainfall, infertile soil and far from market towns and transportation links. Economic activity was largely based in the Mashonaland central province, the pillar of Southern Rhodesia's mining and tobacco industry.



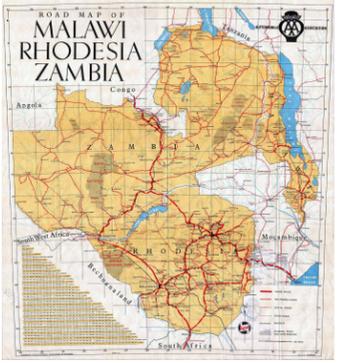
Map showing the distribution of the valuable agricultural land in S.Rhodesia. Source: The British Empire Map Room.

Movement of Labour

Described as a labour reserve economy (Amin, 1972), colonial Zimbabwe was dependent on the cheap provision of labour from displaced Zimbabweans. The Land Apportionment Act 1930 limited land access to blacks thus forcing many into wage labour in European mines, farms and manufacturing industries. However, much controversy in the early 20th century related to the scarcity of labour. As a result, shortfalls of labours were filled by neighbouring territories.

Building Infrastructure

As part of the Cape to Cairo Railway vision, construction of the Machipanda railway began in 1892 to unify British colonies and promote continental trade linking cities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In 1905, the Victoria Falls Bridge was built to connect Zimbabwe and Zambia. Freight trains transported copper, iron, timber and coal between the two countries. The construction of roads began in 1919. As demonstrated by the map, authorities were actively establishing Southern Rhodesia as a hub for economic activity.



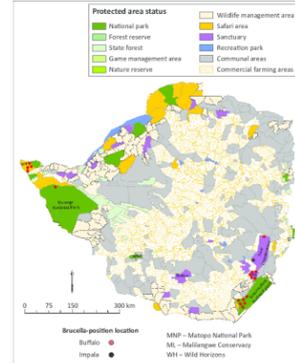
Maps Credit: Major infrastructure lines map in Zambia, 1966. Automobile Association. The upper layer map of urban settlement points (dots in color), 2009. SEDAC. Two maps are overlaid by Boone and Yang

Amin, S. (1972). 'Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa-Origins and Contemporary Forms.' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10: 4. 503-525.
Cooper, F., 2002. *Africa since 1940*.
Mseba, A., 2016. Law, expertise, and settler conflicts over land in early colonial Zimbabwe,

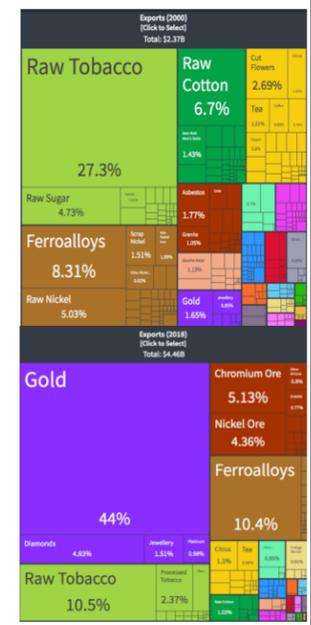
Economic Geography

III.1 Industry, mining and agriculture:

- The agro-ecological regions are used as productive farmlands producing crops in the northeast
- These economically productive farming regions are legacies of colonialism as white owned land with black laborers.
- Settler agriculture with labor reserves of the rural 'traditional' societies that worked on the settler farms and later making up the workforce of the manufacturing industry. (Amin, 1972).
- Graphs show how economy has moved from a raw tobacco producing export economy to a gold exporting Country – this due to land policies removing white Farmers from their farms (Sachikonye, 2003)
- Mining now covers the capital of importing goods and for investment in manufacturing and infrastructure (Austin, 2010).
- By 1957 Southern Rhodesia was producing and providing electricity to the Belgian Congo and the Central African Federation (Austin, 2010).



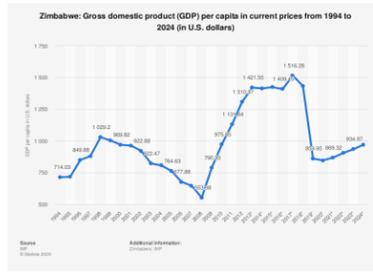
Map of land use and commercial farming. Map credit: ResearchGate 2013.



Images show exports from 2000 and 2018. Maps credit: observatory of economic complexity 2018.

III.2 GDP and spatial unevenness :

- Zimbabwe suffered severe drop in GDP due to excessive hyper inflation
- Continued economic inequality, distribution of income and wealth due to the nature of settler colonies. (Austin, 2010).
- Continued decline in the living standards of rural communities for over 15 years (Austin, 2010).
- The economically productive agro-economic regions were reserved for Europeans to drive Africans out of the productive market. And when this saw resistance, the government imposed controls favoring the Europeans (Austin, 2010).
- Move from 'settler' economies to "'peasant" agricultural-export economies.' (Austin, 2010, 11).



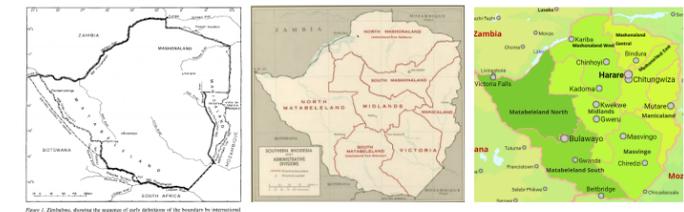
Graph showing GDP per capita US\$ 1994-2024. Map credit: H Plecher (2020) Statista.

Amin, S. (1972). 'Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa-Origins and Contemporary Forms.' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10: 4. 503-525.
Austin, G. (2010). 'African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies.' *International Development Policy / Revue internationale de politique de développement*, 1. 11-32.
Sachikonye, L., M. (2003). 'Growth with Equity' to 'Fast-Track' Reform: Zimbabwe's Land Question.' *Review of African Political Economy*, 30 (96) *War and the Forgotten Continent*, 227-240

Political Geography

IV.1 External and administrative boundaries:

External borders were largely defined by 1891 (Best & Zinyama, 1985). Initially divided into two provinces under Company rule – today there are 10, of which two are cities.



Sequence of early definitions of external boundary Source: Best & Zinyama, 1985
Administrative Divisions in 1969 Source: Library of Congress
Present day Administrative Divisions by population density (darker = lower density). Source: City Population

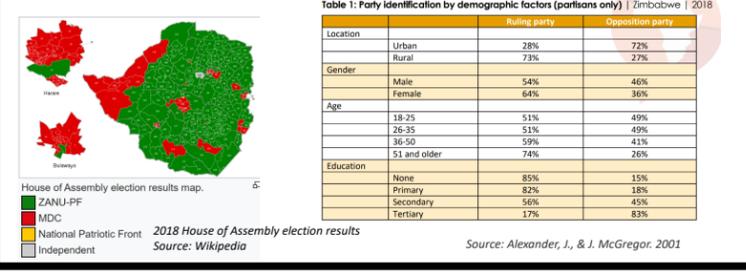
IV.2 Political struggles for independence:

A failed attempt at creating a Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was followed by Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Smith's white minority government in 1965. Externally supported nationalist struggles were led by rival ZANU and ZAPU – lasting until 1979, resulting in universal suffrage and the creation of Zimbabwe. Nkomo (ZAPU), a Ndebele, had support in Matabeleland whilst Mugabe (ZANU) the support of the majority Shona. Armed conflict intensified in the 1980s between ZANU and ZAPU in Matabeleland resulting in The Gukurahundi. In 1987 ZAPU agreed to disband and merge into ZANU-PF.

IV.3 Geographic electoral patterns and territorial cleavages:

A de facto one-party state until late 1990s (Brett, 2006) today multiparty elections are held but dominated by the ruling party – a consolidated autocracy (Opalo, 2012) with persistent opposition disenfranchisement and intimidation. ZANU-PF has governed Zimbabwe since independence, under Mugabe until his ousting in an internal coup in 2017. Traditional Leaders played a significant role supporting the ruling party, reminiscent of colonial indirect rule (Mapedza, 2007).

ZANU-PF strongholds are rural areas, notably Mashonaland. The largest opposition party – MDC – emerged in 1999 formed of unions, NGOs and intellectuals with strongholds in urban districts and former ZAPU areas – including Matabeleland North, where past atrocities are compounded by high poverty rate, economic marginalisation and limited development investment (Alexander & McGregor, 2001). In early 2000s ZANU-PF used land reform – forcible expropriation – to boost popularity and retain power, a large proportion of land reallocation took place in Mashonaland (Cliffe, Alexander, Cousins & Gaidzanwa, 2011).



Alexander, J., & J. McGregor. 2001. "Elections, Land and the Politics of Opposition in Matabeleland." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 1 No. 4, 510-533
Bratton, M., & E. V. Masunungu. 2018. "Real the beloved country: Zimbabwe's polarized electorate." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(1), 1-22.
Best, J., & M. Zinyama. 1985. "The evolution of the national boundary of Zimbabwe." *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11(4), 419-432
Cliffe, L., J. Alexander, B. Cousins, & R. Gaidzanwa. 2011. "An overview of Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe: editorial introduction." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(5), 907-938
Mapedza, E. 2007. "Traditional Authority: Accountability and Governance in Zimbabwe. In State Recognition and Democratization in sub-Saharan Africa: A New Dawn for Traditional Authorities?, edited by Buur, L., & H. M. Kyed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
Opalo, K. O. 2012. "African Elections: Two Divergent Trends". *Journal of Democracy*, volume 23, no. 3, p.80-93

Introduction: Geographically, socially and economically diverse, Cameroon has a history of – and persistent – internal violent conflict and repressive political rule. This poster encompasses four overarching groups of analysis – location and endowment, colonial economy and institutions, contemporary economic geography and political geography – establishing interconnections between them that can shed light on subnational spatial inequalities and changes – or constancy – over time.

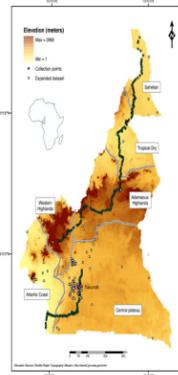
DV435 Economic and Political Geography of Cameroon

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Location and Endowment

I.1 Location:

Cameroon spans over 475,440 km² of territory. The topographic map of Cameroon below displays elevation (from buff = low-altitude to dark brown = high-altitude). It is a resource-rich country located in Central and West Africa (Ndulu and O'Connell 2007). Cameroon is nicknamed as Africa in miniature because it exhibits all the major climates and vegetation of the continent (DeLancey and DeLancey 2000). 13.12 % of Cameroon's land is arable.



Topographic map of Cameroon showing elevation. Maps credit: Simard et al 2009

I.2 Agro-ecological Zones:

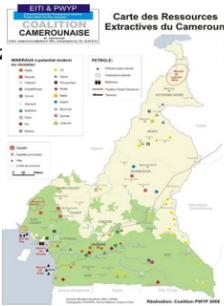
Cameroon has 5 major Agro-Ecological Zones shown in map below. These zones are known as Zone I in the Sudano-Sahelian in the Extreme High Guinea Savanna in the Adamawa Region, Zone III in the Western Highlands in Northwest and West Regions) and Zone IV in the Humid Forest with Monomodal rainfall in Southwest, Littoral and small part of South and Zone V with Humid Forest with Bimodal rainfall in major parts of South and East Regions .



Map of Cameroon showing the five agro-ecological : Annual report (2007)

I.3 Mineral Resource Endowment

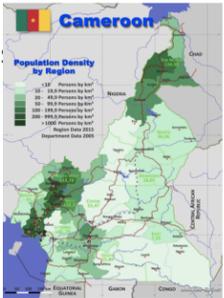
Cameroon is a resource rich country endowed with minerals including minerals including iron ore, gold, bauxite and cobalt. Cameroon is the sixth largest cocoa producer in the world. The map below illustrates gold potential within Cameroon.



Map of mining activities in Cameroon. Maps credit:

I.4 Population

The population of Cameroon was 25 million in 2018. Between 1969 and 2018, population density of Cameroon grew substantially from 13.4 to 53.3 people per sq. Km. As demonstrated in the maps below, the population density is highest in the large urban centres, the western highlands, and the northeastern plain.



DeLancey, Mark W.; DeLancey, Mark Dike (2000). *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon* (3rd ed.). Scarsdale, NY: Scarecrow Press.
 Simard, Frederic et al (2009) Ecological niche partitioning between Anopheles gambiae molecular forms in Cameroon: Evidence of speciation. *BMC ecology*. 9. 17. 10.1186/1472-6785-9-17.
 Siri, Bella et al (2018). Gender Gaps in Food Crop Production and Adaptation to Climate-Smart Technologies: The Case of Western Highlands of Cameroon. <http://www.geo-ref.net/en/cmcr.htm>

Colonial Economy and Institutions

II.1 Colonial Conquest, land expropriation and tenure:

- Cameroon was originally colonized by the Germans (Kamerun), but after the First World War it was apportioned to Britain and France, ruled indirectly by Britain out of Nigeria and indirectly by France through local chiefs (Jua, 1995)
- The British were given a portion of Cameroon that would become the most densely populated and economically active area of the territory, the Southwest/northwest regions (DeLorme, et al, 1986).



Map showing changes in colonial rule in Cameroon. Map source: Wikipedia History of Cameroon

II.2 Mining, rail infrastructure, ports, and major roads:

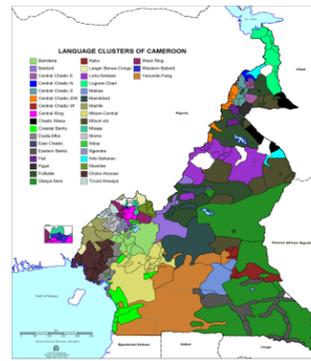
- Poor industrialization in terms of infrastructure and transport due to economic imbalances (DeLorme, et al, 1986).
- The most connected area by rail is the most densely populated area, the most economically productive area and the anglophone area.
- There was modest economic and infrastructure growth in the last decade of colonialism (Cooper, 2002)



Map showing the road and rail networks. Source: Forton et al, 2012

II. 2 Colonial ethnic spread and labor migration:

- The colonial powers used local Chiefs to provide labor on the government's orders, and put these laborers to work on their plantations (Mamdani, 1996)
- Due to colonial divisions and labor migration, the regions are very divided linguistically.
- Is the current anglophone /francophone crisis based on the colonial legacies of ethnic separation and labor migration?



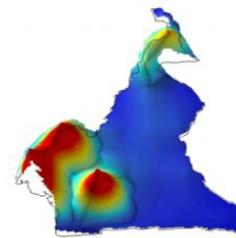
Languages in contemporary Cameroon. Map credit: South African History Online

Cooper, F. (2002). 'Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present.' *Cambridge University Press*. 91-132.
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 Jua, N. B. (1995). 'Indirect Rule in Colonial and Post-Colonial Cameroon.' *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, 41, pp 39-47
 Mamdani, M. (1996). 'Decentralized Despotism.' 'Citizen and subject : contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.' Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 37-61.

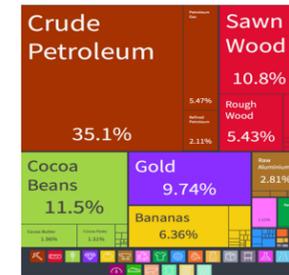
Economic Geography

Economic activities:

- Cameroon's market-based, diversified economy features oil and gas, agriculture, mining and the service sector. Oil remains Cameroon's main export commodity, accounting for almost 40% of exports.
- Cameroon stands as a major global producer of goods like cocoa, coffee, bananas, palm products and tobacco. The primary sector contributes to more than 14% of the GDP and employs almost 46% of the active population (World Bank, 2019).
- Although Cameroon's diverse economy is the most resilient in Central Africa, it faces great exposure to fluctuations in global commodity prices (Lloyds Bank Trade, 2020).
- In terms of infrastructure, the Centre, East, Littoral, South and South West regions account for the majority of the country's economic activity. Douala is the most populated city of Cameroon, its main port and economic capital. Yaoundé is the political capital whilst Edéa hosts aluminium and hydroelectric power industries and Limbe is the main centre for the oil industry (WFP, 2017). - Include information on economic activity Northern Cameroon
- The Far-North is the poorest region, with 65.5% of households in the poorest wealth quartile and has the largest proportion of food insecure population (33.6%).
- Historically, most trade was carried out with European countries, but trade with other markets—particularly Asia—increased in the 21st century. France remains a significant trading partner (Brittania, 2020).



Economic map of Cameroon. Map Credit: G-Econ, Yale, 2005.



Maps credit: Observatory of Economic Complexity 2018.

Dependence on oil and agriculture:

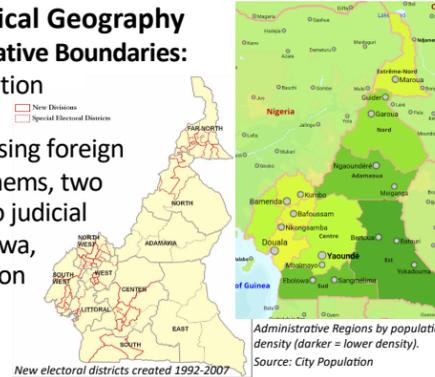
- Petroleum deposits were known to exist in Cameroon as early as the 1950s and since 1980 oil has been the country's most important export. However Cameroon risks becoming a net importer of petroleum due to decline in new projects and depletion of resources (Coface, 2020).
- Although Cameroon's economy faces great exposure to fluctuations in global commodity prices (Lloyds Bank Trade, 2020).
- 90% of production originates from offshore fields in the Rio del Rey basin (EITI, 2020)

World Bank. 2019. *Lifting Cameroon's Most Vulnerable Out Of Poverty: Building Resilience And Fostering Local Governance To Address The Root Causes Of Fragility And Conflict In Northern Regions Of Cameroon*. [online] Available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2019/11/08/lifting-camerouns-most-vulnerable-out-of-poverty-building-resilience-and-fostering-local-governance-to>

Political Geography

IV.1 External and Administrative Boundaries:

Post-independence reunification as a federation in 1961 brought "together two imposing foreign languages, two national anthems, two educational systems and two judicial systems" (Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, 2015, p.87). In 1972 Cameroon became a unitary state. Electoral districts have been redrawn over time (49 in 1992 to 85 in 2007) to disfavour opposition parties (Albaugh, 2011).



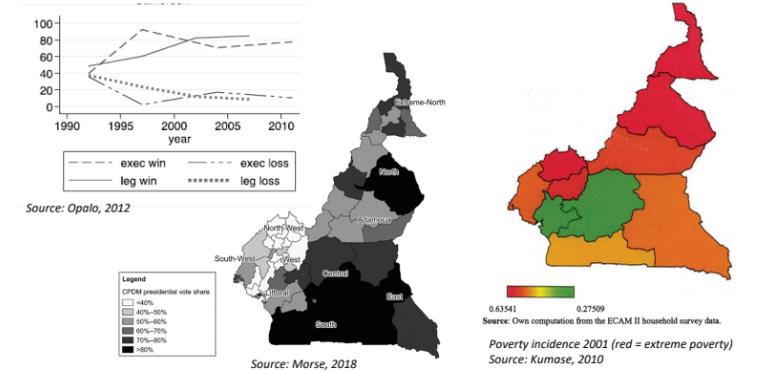
Administrative Regions by population density (darker = lower density). Source: City Population

IV.2 Political struggles for Independence, then and now:

The anti-colonial UPC guerrillas – in Littoral – were forced into exile in British Southern Cameroons but continued armed rebellion throughout the 1960s. Post-independence President Ahidjo aimed for national cohesion through policies of regional balance and redistribution whilst monopolising power centrally. Biya's New Deal emphasised socioeconomic improvement and national culture, however he reverted to 'divide-and-rule' tactics among ethnic and regional groupings (Mbuagbo and Akoko, 2004). The recent conflict in Anglophone regions, based partly on grievances over education and legal system prejudice but also economic, historic, ethnic frictions, gave rise to a separatist movement.

IV.3 Geographic electoral patterns & territorial cleavages:

A one-party state since 1966, Cameroon reintroduced multi-party elections in 1992. Biya's CPDM retained – contested – power and have won every election since through repression, disenfranchisement of opposition, abolition of term limits in 2008 and gerrymandering (Opalo, 2012, p.87). Networks of patronage hold together a tenuous multi-ethnic coalition (BTI, 2020). Biya has increasingly favoured his co-ethnics, The Beti, reducing power of and policy favouritism – evident under Ahidjo – to the less favourably endowed North (Kobou, Njinkeu, Fosso, 2008). Tension persists between Anglophone and Francophone regions, the former being economically rich areas but politically disempowered, the Northwest region the stronghold of main opposition party – SDF.



Source: Opalo, 2012

Source: Morse, 2018

Source: Kumase, 2010

Albaugh, E. A. 2011. "An autocrat's toolkit: adaptation and manipulation in 'democratic' Cameroon." *Democratization*, 18:2, p.388-414
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 Mbuagbo, O. T., & R. M. Akoko. 2004. "Motions of Support" and Ethno-Regional Politics in Cameroon". *Journal of Third World Studies*, Spring, Vol 21, No. 1, p.241-258
 Morse, V. 2018. "Electoral authoritarianism and weak states in Africa: The role of parties versus presidents in Tanzania and Cameroon". *International Political Science Review*, Vol 39(1), p.114-129
 Opalo, K. O. 2012. "African Elections: Two Divergent Trends". *Journal of Democracy*, volume 23, no. 3, p.80-93