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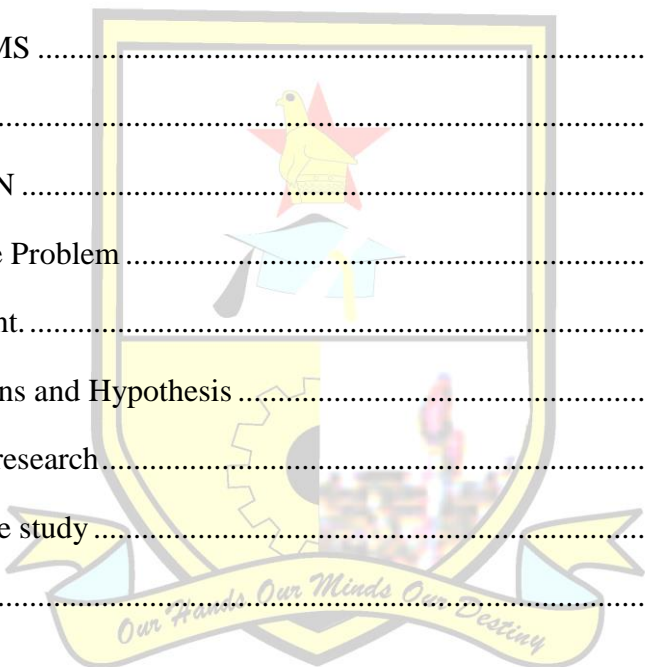
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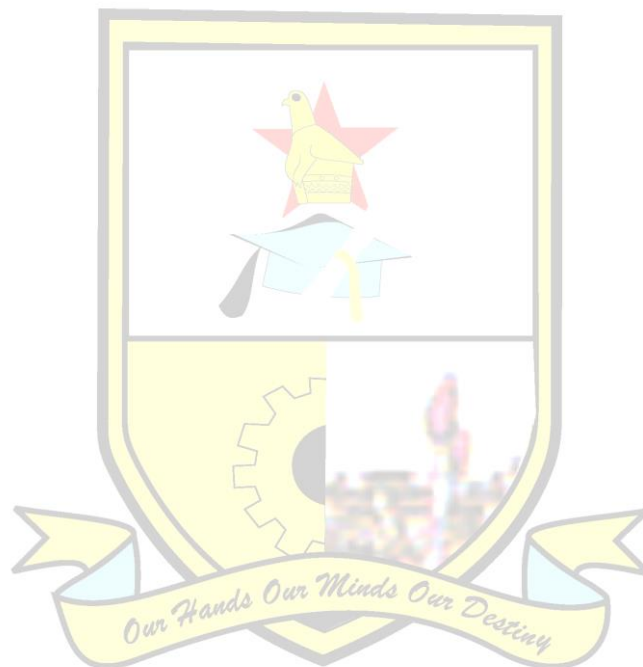
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RELEASE FORM

NAME OF STUDENT: NYANHONGO AARON S
REG NUMBER R1444182J
DISSERTATION TITLE: THE EFFECTS OF PARTISAN PARTY POLITICS
IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES. A CASE OF HARARE
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SIGNED: _____

PERMAMENT ADDRESS: MANUNURE PRIMAY SCHOOL BOX 85 HAUNA

MUTARE

DATE: _____

APPROVAL FORM

TOPIC: THE EFFECTS OF PARTISAN PARTY POLITICS IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES. A CASE OF HARARE CITY COUNCIL (2000-2016)

1. This dissertation is suitable for submission to the Department of Politics and Public Management. It has been checked for conformity with the department guidelines.

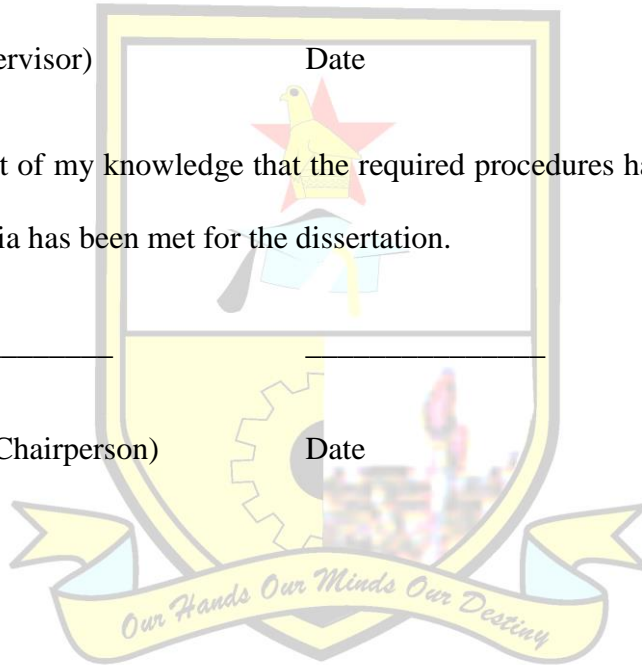
Mrs. F. Mutasa (Supervisor)

Date

2. I certify to the best of my knowledge that the required procedures have been followed and the preparation criteria has been met for the dissertation.

MRS F MUTASA (Chairperson)

Date

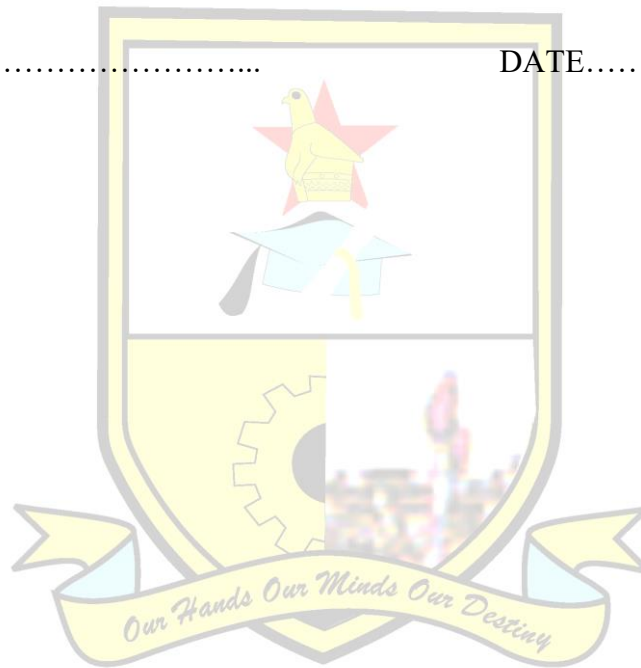


DECLARATION

This is to certify that this project entitled **“THE EFFECTS OF PARTISAN PARTY POLITICS IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES. A CASE OF HARARE CITY COUNCIL (2000-2016)”** which I submit in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Bachelor of Social Science Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management by Midlands State University comprises of my own research and investigation, except to the extent indicated in the Acknowledgements and References and by acknowledged sources in the body of the research.

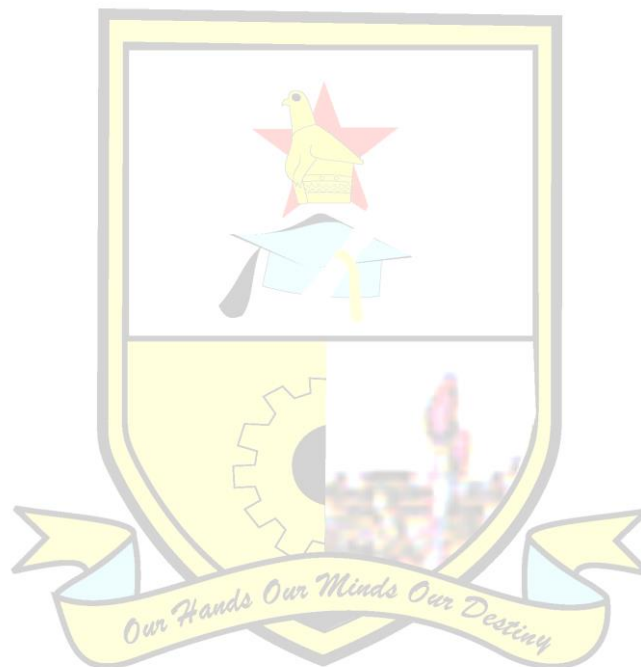
STUDENT

DATE.....



DEDICATION

To my sister Alice who passed away during the last stages of this project. We will miss you Tete I thought you will wait to celebrate all these efforts you always cherish but any way you have decided to go leaving us grieved (RIP.)



ABSTRACT

The year 2000 marked the rise of a formidable opposition political party MDC to challenge ZANU PF monopoly in the Harare city council as a result subsequent years becomes theatre for a humiliating electoral defeat of ZANU PF. Harare City Council was turned into a political battle field as ZANU PF intensified partisan politics in the Administration of the local authorities to survive the democratic storm using all means at their disposable which has led to the detriment of the City Council. In trying to identify the effects of partisan party politics in Harare City Council the researcher used qualitative and quantitative methods to solicit information from respondents with questionnaires and interviews as the instruments of research. From the findings of the research ,partisan party politics has negatively affected HCC in a multiplicity of ways which includes maladministration, demise of good governance, deterioration of service delivery, urban anarchy and disorderly ,grave financial loses just to mention a few. This research has prescribe recommendation to mitigate and curtail a plethora of effects that has been inflicted in the Harare city council by partisan party politics which are de-politicization of the Harare City council, Harmonization of all the acts governing local Authorities with the new constitution, and also to nurture a culture of good corporate governance through strict moral ethics among other issues.

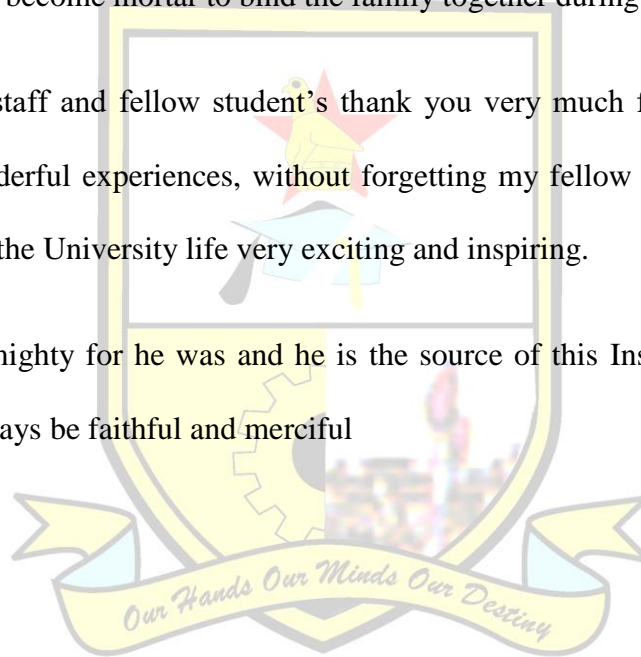
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My most humble and sincere thanks to: Mr and Mrs C.S Nyanhongo, Mr S Nyanhongo and My special parents for their efforts to support my dream by pooling their resources and hard earned cash, ideas. You are my heroes and heroines without your support this project will never materialize. You have sacrificed a lot of things for my own welfare, words are not enough to appreciate, and may almighty God richly bless you, Thank you very much.

A debt of gratitude to my wife Sarah. To this project you was a pillar of strength, support and encouragement. You become mortar to bind the family together during my absence at home.

To the entire PPM staff and fellow student's thank you very much for impacting me with knowledge and wonderful experiences, without forgetting my fellow comrades Kuda, Ndah and Noah you make the University life very exciting and inspiring.

Glory be to God almighty for he was and he is the source of this Inspiring and prosperous life. Forever you always be faithful and merciful



LIST OF ACRONYMS

Anon-	ANONYMOUS
CHRA-	COMBINED HARARE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION
CIO –	CENTRAL INTELLEGENGE ORGANISATION
CoZ-	CONSTITUTION OF ZIMBABWE
HCC-	HARARE CITY COUNCIL
HRT-	HARARE RESIDENTS TRUST
LA-	LOCAL AUTHORITY
MDC-	MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE
UCA –	URBAN COUNCIL ACT
ZANU PF-	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN UNION PATRIOTIC FUND



CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Partisan party politics has been the curse of development and a stumbling block in most of developing countries as the activities of political parties supersede the daily government expectations. In Zimbabwe over the past decade political party supremacy has been the cancer that has destroyed the functionality and governance of local authorities. In fact local authorities suffered negatively due to partisan party politics as the major political titans Zanu and MDC clash. The subject matter in discussion is going to analyse how the partisan politics affect the latter as political parties compete to match political survival and good governance. This section is the introductory part of the study explaining the circumstance that compelled to carry out research, its scope and how it is going to be conducted. It starts with the historical background of the phenomenon being investigated, the statement of the problem, justifying the need for the research it will also outline the research demarcation and possible limitations to be dealt with. The last part is the methodologies to gather information and the concluding remarks or summary of the research.

1.1 Background of the Problem

1980 has been a watershed in the history of Zimbabwe local authority which saw the change of administration from the white minority to black majority, this necessitated the renaming of the most of City Council from colonial names to indigenous names. As a result this became the birth day of Harare City Council to replace the so-called Salisbury Municipality of 1890. The nationalist government through elected Zanu began to enjoy the reigns whilst addressing topical and significant issues but mostly rewarding their party loyalists. Over the years the Harare City Council has been gradually declining due to poor governance of ZANU PF as they

tend to manoeuvre from people centred approach to duplicate their predecessors. Many stories has been published criticising the nationalist administration, but the regime was very reluctant to listen to the wake up/call alarm from various stake holders as they enjoy unchallenged political party monopoly.

The year 2000 and beyond becomes a turning point that usher the rising of a vibrant opposition in the Harare to challenge Zanu PF monopoly, advocating for good governance and mobilising the general populace to demonstrate against ZANU PF misrule As a result ZANU PF began to suffer repeated electoral defeat and lost control of the Harare city council to the MDC. This turned the once magnificent Sunshine city into a political party war zone as ZANU PF strategically and unconstitutionally recentralised powers over the control of Harare City Council. In a bid to survive a political storm ZANU PF has employed all nefarious means at their disposal to curtail any progress in the City council, as they perceive that the later will give opposition a political mileage that will relegate ZANU PF in to a Political dust bin forever. Thus the cradle of the problem that perpetually ravaging the City council for a period close to a decade and a half.

Harare city council has degenerated from being a sunshine city envied by the whole region in Southern Africa with best service delivery and well managed institution into one of the worst City characterised by streams of sewage in the street, impassable roads, dilapidated and dysfunctional infrastructure, astronomical level of corruption, collapse of rule of law, urban anarchy, operating without essential human rights, maladministration just to mention a few.

Harare city council has been experiencing the worst crisis of good corporate governance due to the excessive partisan party politics and at times unsanctioned political party interference especially from ruling party trying to destabilise the operation of local governance. To borrow a definition of politics as a struggle for power and survival at all cost thus local

authorities is a highly contested arena because most of its officials are either political appointee or elected officials based on a political party business therefore they are mandated to implement what is good for party even though it leads to the detriment of the corporate structure as evidence by the former decision of former Minister of local governance Chombo who pardon millions dollars of debts of the electorate in 2013 as a way to boost ZANU PF victory in the harmonised election this has caused Harare city council to incur grave financial losses this further exacerbate the demise of local authority service provision.

The battle between the two major political giants that has been protracted to almost close to a decade of fierce structural and unstructured battle for dominance has left the Harare city council in shambles. This can be fully illustrated by the Shona proverb that says "*panorwa mikono mikuru huswa nevhu ndozvinorwadziva*" That is to say the struggle between political parties has resulted into the demise of the local authorities and Service delivery but however politicians especially from the ruling party has managed to stay afloat whilst manoeuvring within different phases of electoral victory.

1.2 Problem Statement.

It is postulated that the existence of multiple political party is panacea to the smooth running and development of local authorities as this provides a platform for electorate to choose the best party to address their local needs. Plurality in local authority should be a prescription of good governance. However in the case under study it is contrary to the aforementioned assumptions as the ruling party becomes a stumbling block negatively affecting the governance of Harare city council as it have politicise everything along partisan party lines in order to curtail and dilute the influence of opposition political party. This violate the idea of the constitutional supremacy as pronounced by the constitution of Zimbabwe. Thus the

major thrust of this research is to unravel and unearth the effects of partisan politics in Harare city council.

1.3 Research Questions and Hypothesis

- What are the effects of partisan party politics in Harare City Council?
- What is the relationship between a political party and local authority? How can this relationship be utilized for the development of local authority.
- What type of legal and constitutional frame works that regulates the operation of Harare city council, how effectively can they limit unsanctioned political party bulling.
- What can be done to address the effects of partisan politics in local authority?

1.4 objectives of the research

- To identify and analyse the effects of partisan party politics in Harare City Council
- To identify the relationship between local authority and partisan politics
- To identify legal and constitutional frame that regulate the Harare City council and how they can limit political party bulling.
- To prescribe and make some recommendation on how to reduce the effects of partisan politics in local authority.

1.5 Justification of the study

The aim of the study is to fill dent of information regarding the effects of partisan politics in local authority the bulk of literature is in unpublished articles, reports, working papers and

newspapers in some cases the little information available is concentration on the entire local authority in Zimbabwe focus much on ZANU PF misrule.

1.5.1 Government Entities

The findings of this research is going to assist government and public policy makers to minimize the collateral damage inflicted by the tacit between party politics and local authority. The researcher is also going to make some recommendation to the government on what must be done and how to restore the local authority that has mired in the jaw of greedy politicians whilst depriving the intend beneficiaries.

1.5.2 Civil Society

The research purport to illuminate the civil society about the implication of partisan politics in local authority such that they will become whistle blowers advocating/lobbying for health relationship between political party and local authority to ensure sound corporate governance.

1.5.3 Academia and Civil Society

The aim of the research is to point out how political party activity has affected Harare city council thus it works as a gap filler in the academic literature because the area has not been adequately explored.

The research will also be used as a secondary source of information for academia and also proffer solutions to residents and policy makers on how to restore the functionality, effective operation of the Harare city council especially liberating the city council from the unmerciful jaws of political party politics especially ZANU Pf regime

1.6 Limitations

- . During the course of research, problems in accessing information might be encountered particularly in public sector where Official Secrets Act outlaws the sharing of confidential information to external members' g due to confidential and sensitiveness of the information required. In order to mitigate the challenge the researcher will look for alternative organizations which are free to herald information especially for academic consumption.
- There might be difficulties in securing appointments to conduct interviews and circulate questionnaires in organizations with bureaucracy and highly stated protocols but the researcher will exercise patience to make sure that he gets the appointment to acquire relevant research information. In cases which are more demanding the researcher will also use other forms of communication like twitter, phone calls as well as whatsapp to secure appointment of receive some of the required data.
- In in order to reduce unreliability of information from internet the research shall be confined to desktop research only but will outsourcing information for example books in the library, organizational documents and viable Intel from research questionnaires and interviews response, to mitigate the doubt that comes by using internet only..

1.7 Delimitations

Wiersma (2000) defines delimitations as “forms of boundaries or demarcations outlining the range of the research .Groad (2016) pointed out that delimitations are perimeters that are set by the researcher to control the scale of the study. These boundaries are set prior conducting the investigations to make sure that all the efforts are channelled towards the

relevant area and avoid unrelated, areas to the overall study. The research shall focus only on effects of partisan party politics in local authorities with specific reference to Harare city council from 2000 to 2016. Much of the emphasis will be segregated on how partisan party politics negatively affected Harare City as Zanu PF try to fuel its zest for Political dominance in the MDC dominated sphere of influence.

1.8 Methodology

Howel (2013) define methodology as research strategy that outlines the way in which research is to be undertaken. It describes how data is to be collected and the tools used and how the information is going to be analysed in the course of research.

1.8.1 Research Design

The research design is a yardstick or frame work tailored made to find relevant answers pertaining the research. In regard to the issue being analysed, research design will be both qualitative and quantitative with some triangulation in matters that are appropriate.

DeFranzo (2011) define qualitative method as an explanatory form of research used to have an appreciation of the reasons, opinions, and motive underlying a problem being investigated. Chiremba (2016) asserts that the qualitative method is preoccupied with soft data in form of expressions, sentences as well as symbols among other things. It aim at yielding richness, texture, feelings of raw data. Neumann went on to say this method aims at richness, texture and feeling of raw data. Qualitative method is going to be used to solicit information from respondents with the aid of questioners and interviews to unravel effects of partisan party politics in Harare City Council and proffer possible solutions to the problem. The method takes place at physical or naturalistic setup or location, hence the researcher is going to navigate different political establishment to gather the perceptions and realities of

respondents on the subject matter (Chiremba ibd) To give an explicit explanation that might be omitted by qualitative the research will also incorporate quantitative method which relies on hard data which is numerical in nature like statistics that will be obtained from relevant organisations.

Triangulation is going to be employed because it consists of both methods which in deed complement each other. Chiremba (2016) argues that although qualitative and quantitative research methods differ in many ways but they complement each other in the research since each give a clear explanation on different topics of the study.

1.8.2 Research Population

O’Leary (2004) defined research population as a the collective sum of an identified constituent of either a class, objects people or events. Used to have a sample of a research. On the same vein, Ncube (2015) Chiremba (2016) view population as “as an abstract idea of a large group from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results from a sample are generalise”.

In line with the above defined phrase /definitions its axiomatic that it may be the best way to source data from every element in the population as primary data, but it would be a very daunting task considering that Harare City Council contain population of +/- 2million as reported by the census of 2015 with a very large geographical coverage. However it can be made possible engaging an in-depth research on an identifiable manageable part of the constituent. In this research the targeted research population will be from Harare City Council, a handful from local governance, residents association as well as two political parties that is ZANU PF and MDC.

1.8.3 Sampling

Sampling is the process of choosing a couple from entire constituent or class or territory as a way having estimations about the outcomes regarding the entire group. Kumar (2011:193). Thus sampling can be generally defined as the selection of a sub group that will represent the entire group in as far as information needed is concerned. The most advantage of sampling is its ability to reduce expenses and serve time as the focus will be confined to a small area as opposite to the entire constituency. Apart from that if the data set is smaller uniformity and accuracy of the research can be achieved thus increasing the quality of the research. The researcher is going to employ purposive sampling in targeting the intended recipients.

1.8.4 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is whereby a researcher chooses a sample on the basis of their knowledge of the population, its components and the nature of research aims. Babbie (1990). Tom et al (2011) concurred that purposive sampling is commonly used and involves targeting social groups, experts or key in formats because they are intimately connected with the subject matter under investigation. In this context the researcher is going to be confined to residents associations (CHRA and HRT), ministry of local governance, Harare City Council, Two major political parties which are MDC and ZANU PF but specifically councillors, minister and shadow minister, local governance coordinators and permanent secretary in the ministry of local governance. The targeted sample consists of the people who deal with the subject matter on daily basis thus mitigating generalisation of the results and bias.

Collection of data

Data collection is the process of preparing and gathering data from different sources, be it from secondary or primary sources.

1.8.5 Primary Data

Kumar (2011:138) defined primary data as the data collected using the first approach. Basically primary data is data gathered specifically for the study. Primary data collection will contain qualitative and quantitative methods. Data collection by the researcher will first involve documentary search through the consultation of a variety of Council sources, newspaper articles, written documents and statics. Primary data for use in this research will be collected using the questionnaire and interviews from the different groups which will include purposefully selected respondents, councillors and council employees and stake holders of the Harare City Council.

1.8.6 Secondary data

Shao (1999) observed that secondary data is the information that other scholars or researchers have had already had interest in and written about but is of vital importance to anyone carrying out the research in any related field. Therefore in this study, the researcher found this type of data very useful especially on the literature review aspect. The researcher managed to make use of text books, journals, newspapers and online articles in a bid to review the related literature in the field of party politics and service delivery in the public sector. The researcher also managed to make use of secondary data in a bid to come up with theories that tries to explain the phenomena under study. The researcher also acknowledged that secondary data is much easier to access, economical and time saving. Secondary information was preferred since the researcher spent less time on acquiring it due to availability of textbooks in the library and less endeavour was bestowed in evaluating and decoding the information that had been assembled already. The use of secondary data made the collection of primary data easier for the researcher since he could identify literature gaps and deficiencies that the study sought to fill in.

Secondary data is the data that will be obtained by the researcher for use in this study but will not originally intend for this research.

1.8.8 Research instruments

1.8.9 Questionnaires

It is a data collection tool which is in written form, in which questions are written down presented and answered by the respondents (Carman, 2004:8). The questionnaire consist of open-ended and close-ended questions as essential instruments to probing, solicit and stimulate responded zeal to exhaustively divulge their opinion and answer pertaining the research without fear . The closed-ended questions will be chosen so as to provide a number of alternative specified answers from which the respondent will be instructed to choose so as to obtain specific data such as the sex or age of the respondent.

The questionnaire will target respondents that are actively involved in the activities both political parties and that of local authorities these includes councillors, local governance coordinators, incumbent minister of local Governance as well as the shadow Minister, Incumbent and former Mayors, town clerk, workers from administration, residents association, cooperatives and few residents especially rate payers and associated professional bodies. The questioner also gives respondents an opportunity to prescribe and describe possible solutions to the identified problems. Data from residents and their associations will be supplemented by data obtained from key informants, that is, councillors, and council employees.

Questioners were chosen by the researcher because they are less costly and allows respondents to express their opinions freely without fear of detection as their names are of no importance.

1.9.0 Disadvantages

- The rate of responding is very limited as most of the questioners are not returned.
- Clarity for vague question is very limited thus leaving some question with answers.

1.9.1 Interviews

Kumar (2011) defined interviews as a face to face encounter between the researcher and the respondents directed towards understanding respondents' views, opinions, life experiences or situations as expressed in their own words. During the interview the interviewer will decide the format and content of questions to ask respondents. This is a face to face discussion between the interviewer and the interviewee seeks to get the questions asked by the interviewer to be answered. Interviews can be in two forms the structured and unstructured, whereby the structured is rigid, the questions and the content will not be flexible to alterations whereas the unstructured have flexible content and questions. Interviews will be used by the researcher to obtain information from specific individuals like councillors, and leaders of residents associations, minister of local governance as well as shadow minister

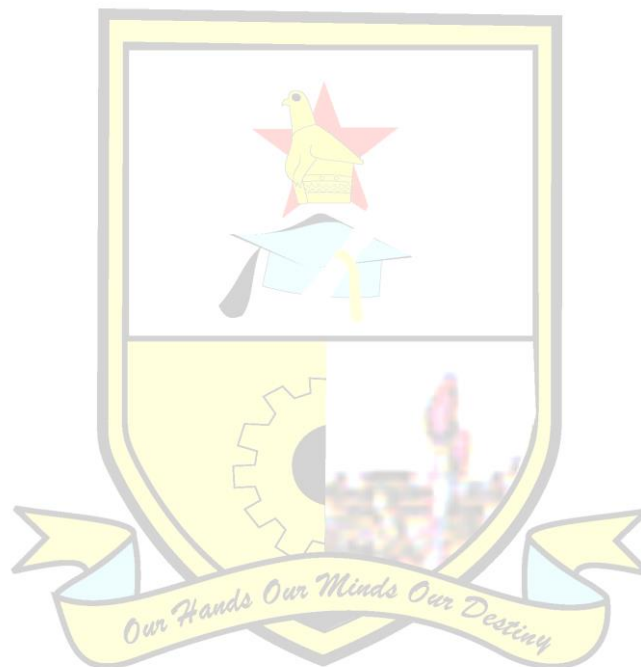
The advantages realized from using this data collection technique is that it couples verbal responses with visual signs which reinforce a response and they also allow the researcher to be actively involved and in control of the research.

It also gives a room for reliable information as the interview unfolds especially when interviewees began to trust the researcher based on the first questions.

This research tool consist of verbal responses with visual signs which reinforce a response.

1.9.2 Conclusion

The chapter was to provide a detailed introduction of the research. It also focused on the research background, formulation of the statement of need, the questions and guiding the research, justification of the research, limitations and delimitations and research methodology.

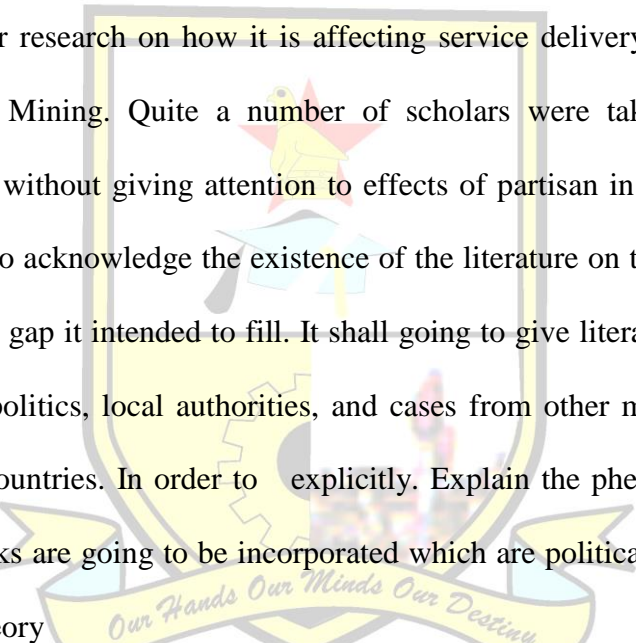


CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAME WORK.

2.1 Introduction

The effects of partisan politics is a highly flood research field that has been sparking the interest of many scholars in the entire political discourse since the advent of a formidable opposition to become force challenging ZANU PF political monopoly. However the bulk of much of the available literature has been focusing on the effects at national level whilst others were segregating their research on how it is affecting service delivery in certain ministries like Agriculture and Mining. Quite a number of scholars were taking interest in local authorities in general without giving attention to effects of partisan in Harare City Council. This chapter purport to acknowledge the existence of the literature on the topic in discussion in order to expose the gap it intended to fill. It shall going to give literature on the following subheading partisan politics, local authorities, and cases from other ministries as well as a relevant from other countries. In order to explicitly. Explain the phenomena understudy 2 theoretical frame works are going to be incorporated which are political party model and the political patronage theory



2.3 Definition of Local Authority and their functions. .

Madavanhu (2016) described local authority as a legal entity officially tasked to organize and manage all the public services and facilities in a particular area which can also be called local governance on behalf of the electorate. Their duties includes service provision like water supply refuse collection, servicing roads, street lighting housing, education just to mention a few.

Local Government is grassroots government recognized by law. Maddick (1963) defines local authority as a sub-unit of government controlled by a local council which is authorized by the central government to pass ordinances having a local application, levy taxes or exact labour and within limit specified by the central government varies centrally decided policy in applying (www.nou.edu.ng)

In their operations local authority are being guided by a variety of principle of good governance which among others includes transparent, accountability equity, efficiency and effective. According to CHRA (2012) local governance in Zimbabwe acts in many ways which are inconsistence with the law of the land as they award themselves heft salaries despite poor service delivery.

2.4 Legal and Constitutional frame work that governs Local Authorities

Local Authorities are guided by legislative and constitutional frameworks promulgated by central government in form of delegated legislation or subsidiary. The mostly used legislation are UBCA chapter29:15 and RDCA Chapter 29:15 and other statutes. In its simpler terms local authorities in Zimbabwe are constitutional creature that should be governed consistently with the supreme law of land. (Chikunda 2012)

2.5 Leadership Structure and Its implication to the institution

HCC management consist of and elected mayor with a deputy, elected Councillors (46) comes from different wards and 12 special appointees from the Minister as a way to span or complement perceived expertise gap within several council department. (www.pendula.co.zw.) The mayor of the City council is the CEO of the company who is superior to all directorate and residents representative who are elected councillors. Mutema (2017) argued that although there is an internal structure of local authorities but the supreme body that can

override all their functions rest in the Ministry of local governance and public works. Over the years such a bureaucratic configuration has created crescendo of unsanctioned political party influence in the daily administration of Harare City Council. Chikerema (2015) contend that the Minister of local governance has been given excessive powers which includes 205 instances where he can intervene in the local authority either to supersede the decisions made or impose the decisions. However the Minister has manipulate the legal lacuna within the legislative to impose the will of his political party and this has caused administrative frustration and maladministration as the council has been robbed its autonomy of which this has plunged Local Authority into a state of perpetual chaos. This is further complicated by composition of the administration which includes elected officials, appointees and some who are permanently employed worse still they come from to major political titans which is ZANU PF. Alexander (2014) strongly argued that some of the staff are recruited for clandestine purposes as they come from dreadful intelligence organisation CIO to cause administrative headache and pandemonium.

2.6 Meaning of Partisan Politics

Partisan politics is a combination of two phrases partisan and politics which are much related and works in harmony to come up with certain behavior or acts. Partisan denotes being bias or acts in favour or consistent with the cultures, belief and values of a certain political entity so as to reward its supporters. Whereas politics as defined by political realist as just struggle for power, David Easton define politics as authoritative distribution of values. To borrow from Mao 1966)who define politics a war without bloodshed. According to Oxford Dictionary online partisan politics denotes the acts and principles directed towards the interests of one political. Political parties becomes part of the informal constituent of the society, once they have competed in legally sanctioned elections, they obtain jurisdiction to

control resources of the state and to influence outcomes. Leiserson (1955) points out political parties are products of and operates within economic structures, and are therefore in a contest of interests that are largely affected by and respond to the accumulation and distribution of goodwill and resources encompassing the wealth of the society.”

Political parties also mould public policies and programmes that cut across party politics and government functions. According to Mohamed and Nordland (2007), “majority of African governing political parties are still and heavily dependent on the direct or indirect use and abuse of government resources”, this entails the fact that the party in the reins of power or in control of government remains hardly autonomous from government influence which makes it difficult to draw the line where the influence of government begins and where that of the party ends, hence Mohamed and Nordland (2007) envisages that, ‘the relationship between the government and the political party in the African context is so blurred that the ruling party tends to rely on the state resources to exact patronage as a way of maintaining party organisation and management.’ This therefore ameliorates a situation whereby politics itself becomes a means to an end, devoid of any other idea of protecting public interests in relation to private gains. From the various definitions of party politics drawn above one can note that such kind of politics impacts on the effective delivery of services to the general populace scenario evident in the Zimbabwean political landscape in particular Harare City Council.

According to Chiremba (2015) the state may partisanising the day to day administration of state institutions to initiate control and hegemony over territory to form common culture and to resolve disputes, to create political loyalty and bind critical populations to the state.” As a real and symbolic aspect of people’s daily survival strategies, services can act as an effective means for those in power to achieve social control and compliance. Moyo (2012) concurred that goal of every political party is to survive in the hostile political environment thus it have

to outwitting and outmanoeuvre competitors through capturing state institutions especially through patronage and militarisation. However this curtail meaningful and is the pure recipe of good governance as observed in Zimbabwe at large.

According to Jonga (2013) ZANU PF has been prioritizing political banditry at the detriment of good governance in LA especially during the era where multipartyism began to gather momentum. This however transformed political landscape to a theatre of chaos and political acrimony as the ruling party fight to remain dominant through centralisation and recentralisation of political power. Political banditry was reared and was nurtured in various types of incubators until the year 2000 when the Zimbabwean urban communities began to be victims of a system they failed to condemn at its adoption (ibid)

ZANU PF prepared for massive expansion of urban constituencies in selected towns and cities in order to strengthen its hand ahead of every presidential election. The creation of new settlements is meant to neutralise forces opposed to ZANU-PF's continued rule, especially the main Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) which has previously capitalised on the rising disenchantment amongst urbanites against President Robert. Makumbe (2005)

Makumbe (1998) pointed out that ZANU Pf began to apply selective policies that intend to punish residence in the MDC strongholds by denying them development and service delivery through calculative sabotage. He further goes on to say the ruling party side-lined and oppose meaningful reforms and policies proposed by the opposition thus making the opposition an enemy of the people.

According to ACPDT (2002:87) Party politics has been as destructive as the veld fire to the local authorities. Local authorities were reduced to be mere appendages serving the regime's political ends instead of the tax payers. An interview from former independent councilor in Harare City urban local authority in Zimbabwe is also quoted as having said: "It is a pity that

party politics has crept into local government, so councillors are pressurized into taking political stands, rather than representing local interests” (ACPDT, 2002:32).

Chakaipa et al (2017) described the minister responsible local governance as a major stumbling block in promoting good governance in the Local Authorities to propel the reclamation of City council which is governed by MDC. From the days of Chombo to the days of Kasukuwera ZANU PF has been trying to destabilise the smooth running all the council run by MDC through unjustified dismissal of MDC elected councillors and replace them with a commission which is a ZANU PF appendage or extension hand This has been rampant in most of the municipalities Chitungwiza, Bulawayo, Gweru Marondera and Mutare

Chiremba (2015), Ncube 2016, Matsika (2012) in their separate researches concurred that partisan politics negatively affect service delivery in any organization be it local authority or ministries due to Principal Agent System (PAS) which perpetuate partyocracy at the expense of constitutionality and meritocracy. Their emphasis was that even though there is a thin line between partisan politics and the regime in power (administration) politics of inclusion, or plurality must be more pronounced emanating from the various pieces of legislation and constitutional frame works to minimise the collateral damage/ devastating effects that is being inflicted by partisan politics in the service delivery of any government institution.

2.7 Nature of partisan politics in Zimbabwe.

Partisan party politics in Zimbabwe consist of many players, currently Zimbabwe has more than 85 political party which jostle for the control of the various arms of government. Thus classify Zimbabwean party politics as multipartyism political infrastructure. Most of the political party are fighting for a democracy versus the status quo of Zanu pf which is preoccupied in maintaining power grip using the nationalistic divisive approach. During the first years of independence ZANU tried to form one party state based on the supremacy of

Robert Mugabe. Makumbe (1998), Alaxander etal (2015) concurred that during the previous years particularly from 2000 and beyond Zimbabwean politics was very chaotic and violent it was a very precarious practice that was tantamount to suicide and treason as ZANU PF wanted to maintain political monopoly. In fact the regime practiced electro totalitarianism which meant to derail the democratisation of local authorities as it unleash violence to supporters, aspiring candidates, and elected officials from opposition. As a result partisan party politics in Zimbabwe created a culture of perpetual fear which forced the mass to shun political participation this has reduced citizens into mere instruments susptable to abuse by the regime.

2.8 Partisan Party Politics a comparative analysis of other ministries and Countries

In a comparative analysis, the advent of plural democracy in Uganda created acrimony and tension in local authorities with balanced councillors from both ruling and opposition. The tension has led to the demise of local authorities as the councillors failed to agree on the development trajectory and budgeting in these local authorities. (Kutana and Manyaka, (2009) Political parties are foundationed in different political ideologies and culture which in most cases becomes a recipe for disagreements. It is observable in majority of African local Authorities that most political parties does not allow any buy in or support the policies of another especially in a political configuration composed of different political parties. Their most worries is that if the policy or ideas managed to sail its tantamount to a political suicide that has eliminated them in the next election, since most of the electorate favours parties with experience of addressing their concern and plight. As a result they resort to undemocratic means to achieve their ends as mentioned earlier so that they thwart completion. This is further supported by Biti (2010) who was of the view that liberation parties and African dictators always captured state apparatus and institution to the extent that they are being

managed like personal tuckshops to suit the needs of a political party and perpetuate their reins of (kleptocracy) very good examples include DRC, Zambia, Gambia, Tunisia just to mention a few.

2.8.1 Ministry of Mines and partisan politics

In a Similar case in the Ministry of Mines partisan politics has become a cancer that has eroded and corrodes good governance as ZANU PF dish out mines claims to ZANU PF political loyalist and supporters. During the previous year's mines were where grabbed and the owners were persecuted for being supporters of opposition until they closed a good example is Shabannie and Mashava which has become obsolete for decades after Mutumwa Mavere was chased out by ZANU PF Crooks with the anointing of former President Robert Mugabe. Kubatana.com in 2016 published another report exposing the astronomical level looting of precious minerals in the Marange diamond field where innumerable karats of diamond were looted by Zanu political heavy weight including sacrocrates like the late Army general Solomon Mujuru Precious germs worth several billions were smuggled out of the country while the central bank doesn't receive any revenue. In 2017 president Mugabe reported the missing of 15 billion from diamond Studio 7 new.com with this in mind partisan politics rob the nations through creating weak institution riddle in corruption. Over and above the ministry of mines suffered as a result of partisan politics were it presided over a very tacit of bad governance were resources were looted with impunity. In short partisan politics creates bureaucratic inefficiency and frustration, bad governance PAC (2012)

Partisan politics can also manifest when State institutions and apparatus become answerable to a political party and their officials advocate for the glorification of political party views. Rupiya (2012) pointed out that partisan politics has negatively affected Zimbabwe as a nation at large particularly the use of the security system to unleash terror to perceived supporters of

opposition. Hence Zimbabwe's image in the international arena was tainted to the extent investors began to shun the country as dangerous place to invest their money some withdrew their money whilst others with hold their financial and social support at the end Zimbabwe as nation became a deindustrialized nation with the worst economic crisis in the entire history of the Modern States.

ZANU PF has deployed the youth militia like Bodagezi Military, CIO apparatus to instrumental lucrative positions of government enterprises to widen their political power base through preaching party propaganda (Moyo 2012) This violates the principle of constitutionalism as enshrined in the Chapter 13 CoZ (2013) which stipulated good governance based on meritocracy rather than partisan appointment. This has breed ripple effects of corruption, inefficiency, unaccountability and worst form of governance never recorded in the history of modern state as national purse was looted to suit the ZANU PF parallel government structures. In the same note the above sentiments support the research in topic although the literature concentrate on national issues and other ministries thus the researcher intend to fill the gap by cascading down his stage to a single case study which is Harare city council.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

Politics has been described as a struggle for power or who gets what? When and How. These definitions facilitated the formation of political parties as a means to an end which is power and dominance against another political player in and given institutions. Thus the researcher is going to incorporate two theories which are politics of patronage model and political party system to explain the activities of political party politics and its implications in the local authorities. Scholars like Cheema (2016), Rupiah (2015) Cube (2015) has used the same

theories in their thesis to explain the nature of partisan politics in various institutions in Zimbabwe

2.9.1 The Political Patronage Model

The model postulate that any incumbent administration or regime/administration in power) is preoccupied with consolidating its power so that it continue to reign by any means possible. This model is very important in this juncture as it clearly explain how partisan party politics has corrodes and erodes Harare City council. Patronage model is commonly used in most of the country by the incumbent regime to gain political support or loyalty by abusing state resource as a bait to lure supporters thus patronage denotes the capture of state resources to advance a political party agenda (Kent etal 1987). Most of the scholars refers to the System as Principals Agent theory or Patron Client relation/ or rent seeking, it manifest itself when the executive appoints/ someone to a position to safe guard the private interest in most cases of a political party in public institution. According to Shefter (1984) patronage politics emanates from the capture of the state for the purposes of party building by political players. In light to the issue under investigation Zanu PF has capture local Authority to the extent that it created parallel structures with appointees like Jimu Kunaka and Mssars who run the militia group called Chipangano that facilitate illicit financial flow to benefit ZANU PF cronies .Zanu pf is thriving through the principle agent theory especial using the use of the Ministry of local governance, in which most of the staff members at the city house are employed /appointed to reinforce the ZANU PF survival. Zanu PF prefer patronage-based systems that encourage bureaucrats to work on behalf of electoral or other political goals. Such activities undermine professionalism and make it more difficult to achieve good governance. In the Harare City this system has breed corruption, worst form of governance that has been observed in the pre-stone age, If one observed Harare City Council for the past decade one

will wonders if it is an ideal modern city most of the people from Harare residential like Kuwadzana Extension, Mabvuku, New Masasa Park use bush toilets, drink dirt polluted water, walks in dark streets, spend year without water despite paying their Rates (Bratton & Walle 1977)

According to Juba and Haruna (2011) lamented the use of same model in Nigeria politics but calling the practice thugocracy and patronage. They pointed out that it has become fashionable for politicians to appoint militia, thugs and financially immorally people in local authorities in order to achieve their personal political interest particularly in areas where the incumbent is a minority.

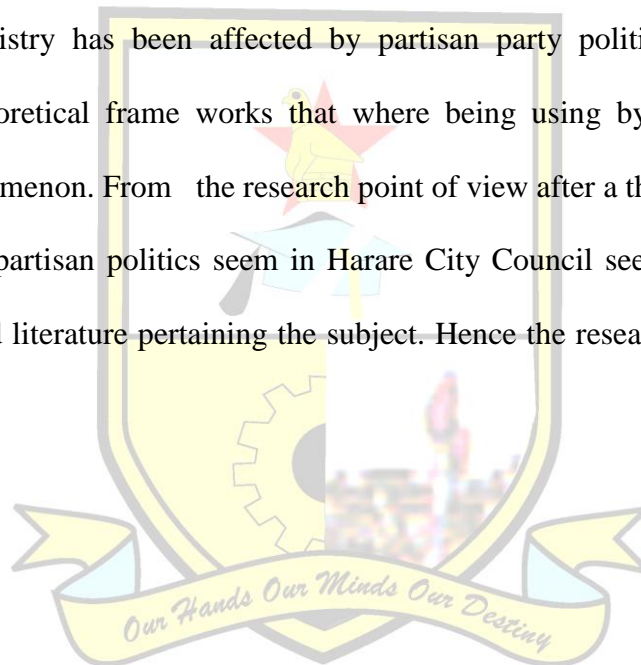
2.9.2 Party System Theory

According to the hypothesis the existence or business of a political party within the sphere of local authority can either undermine or enhance the administration of the establishment. The hypothesis states certain gathering frameworks can restrict the degree or level of political principals or political gatherings administering political support. This hypothesis recognizes delicate gathering system“ and „competitive gathering system“. One essential distinction is on the level of aggressiveness, which means the probability that the occupant representing political gathering or gatherings can be vanquished. Grzyman (2003) is of the view that that absence of powerful rivalry between automatic political gatherings in the state comes about into ineffectual and wasteful state organizations clear in poor institutional quality or execution along these lines enabling a representing gathering or gatherings to administer political support by means of state employments. This thusly prompts debasement and poor administration, which are utilized generally by the World Bank, Transparency International, as lists for estimating the quality or execution of the state organizations around the world. In such circumstance where the state is wasteful because of poor administration frameworks and

additionally defilement, the administering political gathering or gatherings legitimizes itself or themselves in view of their capacity sorts of open merchandise important for human and monetary advancement and in addition growth.to remunerate supporters through specific motivating forces instead of their capacity to create wage

2.10 Conclusion

There is a bulk of literature on the effects of partisan party politics mainly focusing on how it has affected service delivery. Some of the information focus on local authorities in general and how other ministry has been affected by partisan party politics. The Chapter also incorporate two theoretical frame works that where being using by different scholars in explaining the phenomenon. From the research point of view after a thorough analysis of the literature effects of partisan politics seem in Harare City Council seems to be neglected as there is no published literature pertaining the subject. Hence the research emerged to fill the literature gap.



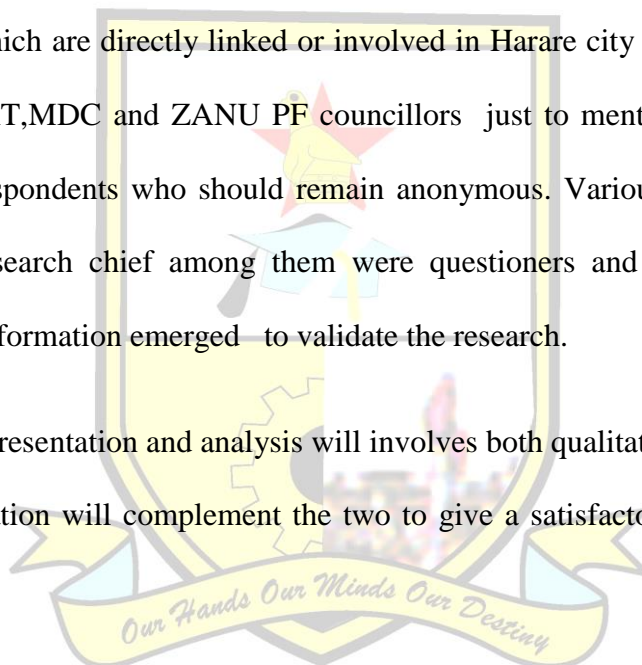
CHAPTER 3

Presentation of data findings and analysis

3.0 Introduction

This chapter purport to present and analyse data findings in order to validate the question under study. The researcher carried out a field research to come up with the reality and diversity pertaining the effects of partisan party politics in Harare City council. In pursuit to have a deeper understanding of the topic and also eliminate bias I have visited various actors and stake holders which are directly linked or involved in Harare city council business these includes CHRA, HRT,MDC and ZANU PF councillors just to mention a few to maintain confidentiality of respondents who should remain anonymous. Various research tools were employed in the research chief among them were questioners and interviews hence the following tableted information emerged to validate the research.

In this chapter data presentation and analysis will involves both qualitative and quantitative in some cases triangulation will complement the two to give a satisfactory explanation on the research findings.



3.1 Demographic Presentation of Responses to Questionnaires

The fig 1 below shows the responds rate.

Target sample	Responds	Responds rate
55	52	91%

As highlighted from the table above the researcher distributed 55 questioners and 52 were responded whilst three were not returned.

3.1.1 Demographic information of the respondents

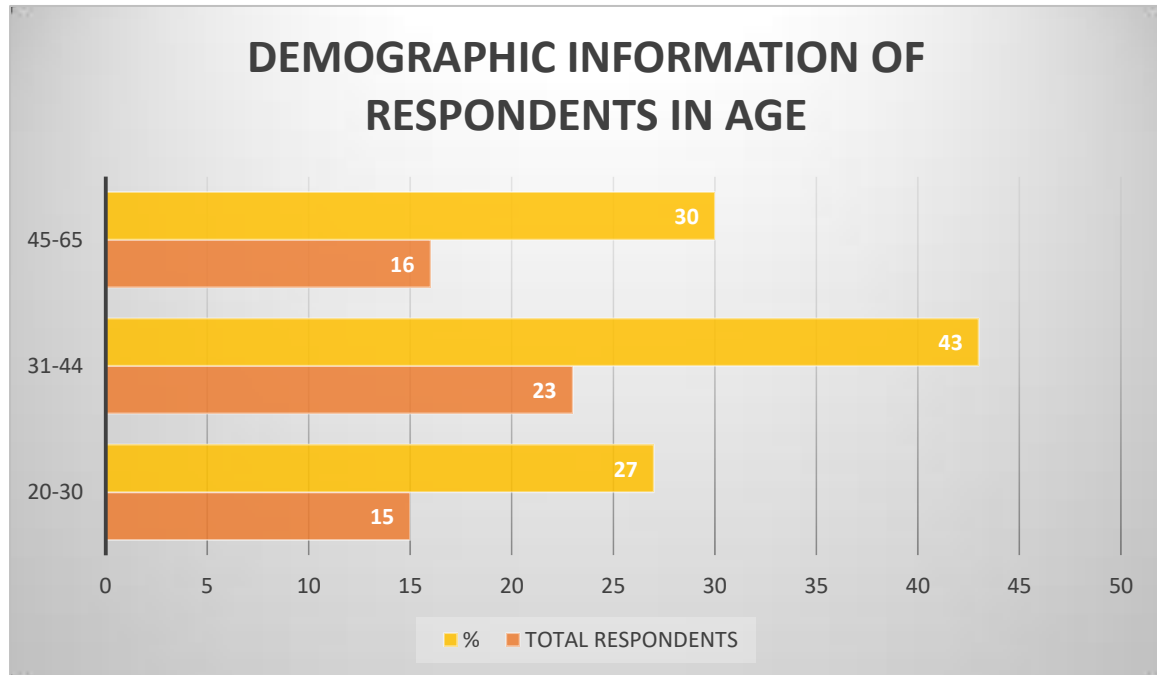


Fig 2

The diagram below shows the demographic composition of various respondents which ranges from 20 to 65. The majority of the respondents are between 31 to 65 whilst minority are from 20-30.

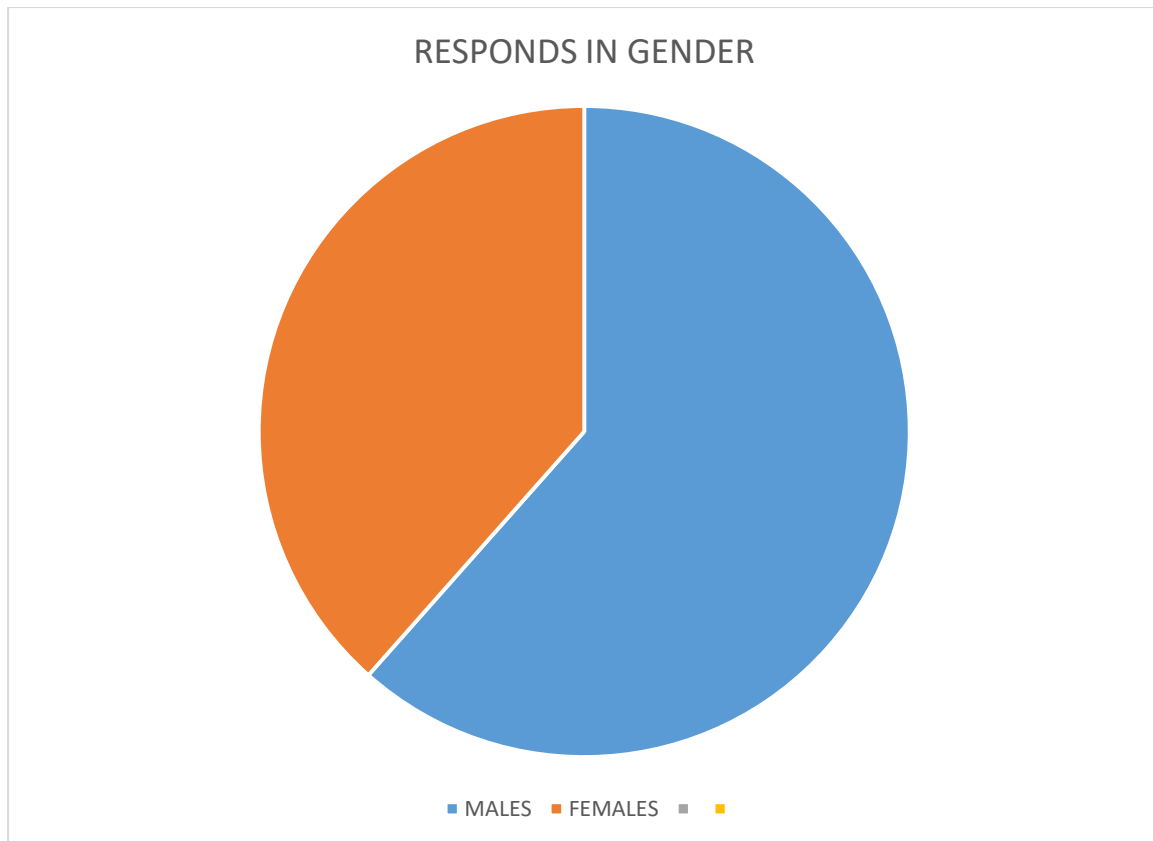


Fig 3

Fig three is a pie chart showing the gender composition of respondents. Males consist of high percentage of 62% whereas females are only 32% .This explain the patriarchal dominance in the field of local authorities .From the diagram the government gender policy of affirmative action has begun to materialise as women becomes an integral party of local governance.

3.1.2 Respondents' Various Levels of Education

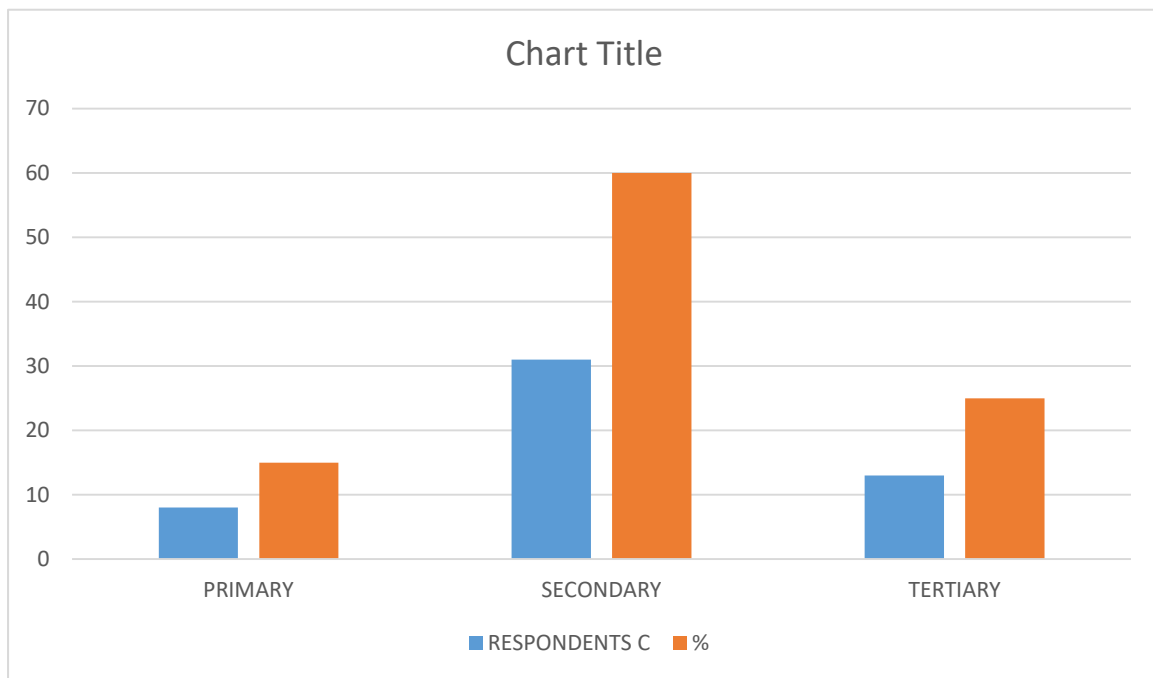


Fig 4

The bar graph from fig 4 show the level of education of the respondents where the majority has qualification of secondary education particularly O level, while the middle respondents are graduates from various tertiary education. Respondents with primary education consist 15% and most of them are long serving members all most close to retirement they became very significant to researcher as they give an account of how HCC evolved over time from Salisbury to Harare. It seems qualified personal are leaving the HCC due to political persecution or looking for greener pasture after deindustrialisation.

3.1.3 Employment status of the respondents.

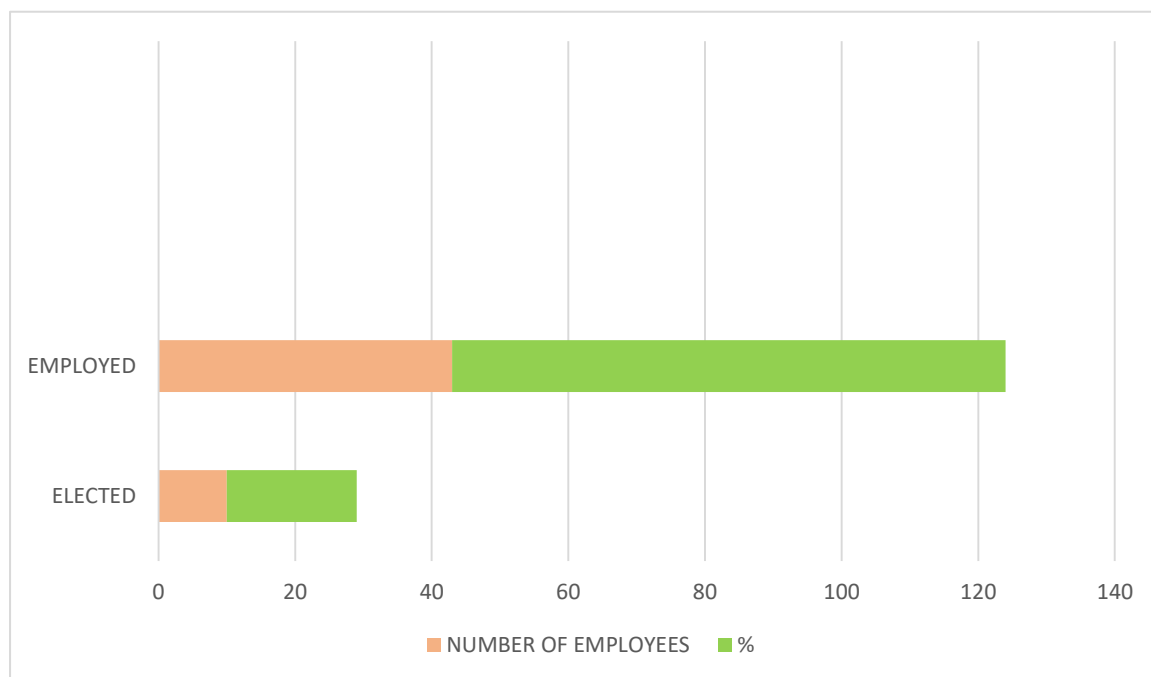


Fig5

Fig 5 illustrate that the local authorities and related organisation are composed of elected officials and those employed without affiliation Employed are the majority constitute 80% these include directors, general hands, and administrators whereas elected official consist of 18% these includes , mayors, and chairperson for residents association .

3.2.0 Data presentation and findings

3.2.1 INTERVIEWS

The researcher also used interviews to solicited information from various respondents using interview guide questions generated from the research objectives. The findings will be presented using four thematically topics which are the effects of partisan politics, Relationship between partisan part politics and local authorities, Legal and constitutional frame works that regulates the operation of Harare city council, how effectively can they

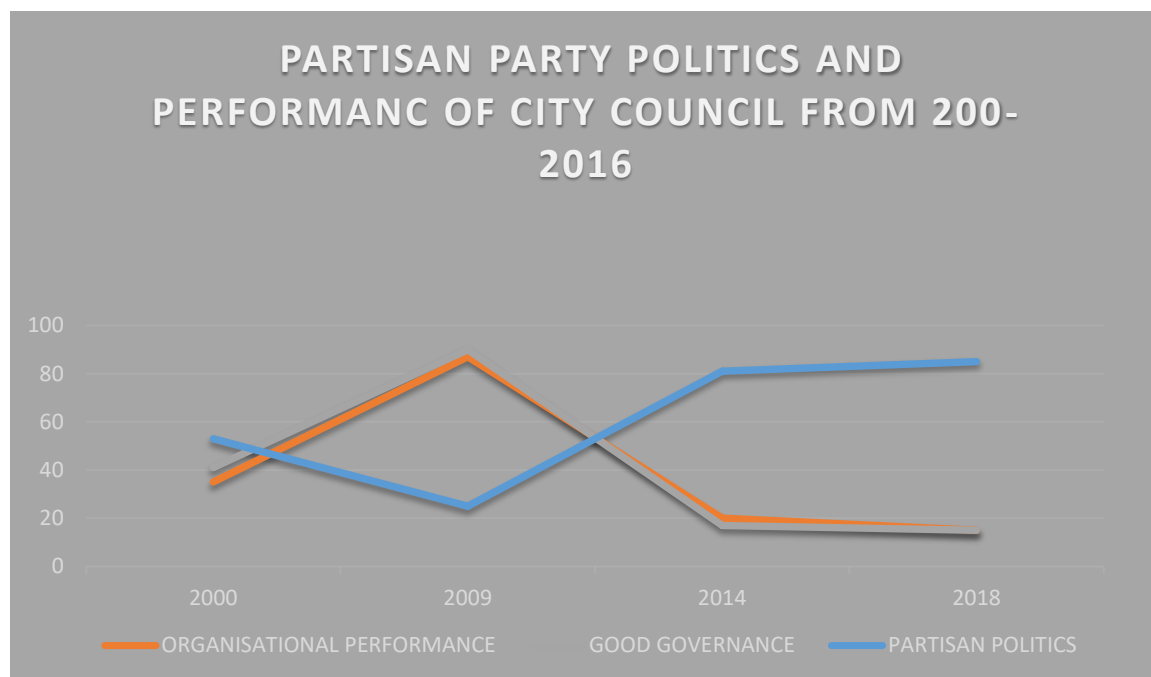
limit unsanctioned political party bullying and lastly the theoretical frame work validation with some few graphical explanation. This section will use both qualitative and quantitative methods to present research findings about the topic.

The researcher intend to interview 12 respondents which include councillors, technocrats from Harare City council, residents representatives , mayor serving and former, directors from local governance, serving minister and shadow minister. However the research failed to secure interviews with the high profile respondents but managed to interview 6 councillors from MDC and ZANU PF, 2 Technocrats, 2 residents association representative and 2 local governance experts. The interviewees were from diversified back ground and affiliation to eliminate bias.

The table 2 below shows the respondents who were interviewed and their class category.

Interviewee category	Total number	Total number according to affiliation		
		Zanu pf	mdc	Neutral
Technocrats	2			2
Shadow minister / minister	1		1	
Local governance experts	2			2
Residents associations	2	1	1	
Councillors	6	3	3	
Mps		1	1	

FIG.6



The diagram above shows the relationship between partisan politics, performance of Harare city council and good governance. The research distributed questioners with three variable that need to be measured to see the implication of partisan politics in performance of Harare city council and good governance over a period of time from 2000 to 2016 it was also reinforced by in depth interview. From the line graph above it can be deduced that the rise of partisan party politics militates against good governance and the local authority performance there was a slight increase of partisan politics from year 2000 as a result of the formation of MDC, this compelled ZANU PF to centralize power and unleash violence to the urbanites particularly operation Murambatsvina of 2005 hence good governance and performance began to decline. The most significant period illustrated by the graph is the period from 2009 to 2013 were partisan politics significantly fall because of the government of national unity consequently good governance was restored by the new administration as evidenced by improved standards, financial integrity among other things. However the post 2013 period marked the demise of good governance and performance as partisan politics began to gather

momentum. ZANU PF was now being pushed by the desire to reclaim the lost territory thus they began to fashion strategies to dribble and sabotage progress being made by MDC using Minister of local governance. As a result service delivery declined, corruption rose to astronomical levels, dismissal for opposition councilor increased, pot holes multiplied. 3 out of 4 councilors concurred that the post 2013 activities by ZANU PF is responsible for the deplorable state of Harare City council.

3.2.2 Relationship between partisan part politics and local authorities

In an interview with (Anon) 2018 from MDC indicated that there is no relationship between partisan politics and local authority because local authority are constitutional creatures that according to section 266 CoZ Of 2013 clearly spelt out that councils and their employees are not supposed to act in favour or bias to any political party. Although councillors are elected from political party but after assuming office they cease to advocate politically biased decisions .Therefore any relationship between local authority and partisan politics is unconstitutional. Technocrats from HCC (2018) further pointed out that councillors are supposed to be board members with expertise in management to run local affairs on behalf of the electorate from all political circle and should be a unifying force to stimulate development of local affairs. Another local governance expert pointed out that the challenge in Zimbabwe especially during the time of Robert Mugabe is that it is very difficult to Separate government institutions from ZANU PF party thus it has wrack havoc in Harare City council for example “you cannot separate decisions made local governance with ZANU PF political scores.....one wonders if Kasukuwere is a minister for local governance or rather a Commissar from Zanu pf trying to destabilise local authorities.” It is very unfortunate that ZANU PF pretend as if local authorities and party is one thing yet a

political party is a private entity whereas local authority as public entity governed by the will of the people.

Mudavanhu (2018) pointed out that there is no any relationship between local authority and political party except that under democratic infrastructure political party and civil societies acts as watch dogs and whistles blowers to situations pertaining to abuse of office and good governance. In these instances they can take to courts whosoever tried to use local authorities for private gain and make sure the spirit of constitutional supremacy is adhered to.

Mbambo (2018) concurred that political parties are essential important especially in multiparty political configuration they enhance competition and good governance towards local authority. Even though there no a well-defined relationship and connection between a political party and local authority empirical evidence suggest that in some cases the cordial relationship between residents associations like CHRA and HRT who are political affiliated has managed to force local authority to push for people centre policy and restoration of good governance during the era of government of national unity. In an overall assessment during the interviews , majority of the respondents pointed out political party must be stake holders in the local authorities representing communities or people whenever they make decisions but councils are not supposed to be partisanised.

From the researcher's perspective and assumption before conducting research thought that there is a complementary relationship between local authorities and political parties since both can interact to fashion legal and institutional; frame works that guides the area of their jurisdiction. It seems the majority of respondents failed to have an appreciation of cordial and existing relationship between the two political bodies besides the latter being a private entity whilst the former is a public utility with constitution basis as alluded before.

3.2.3 EFFECTS OF PARTISAN PARTY POLITICS IN HCC

Harare city council was invaded by an avalanche of bad governance characterized by Maladministration, corruption, red-tapism inefficient, secrecy and clandestine operations, unsustainable systems of administration, lack of rule of law, lack of participation and the major reason was due to unsanctioned political party interference from ZANU PF.

Partisan politics yielded a governance disaster in the Harare city council with more predatory tendency rather it becomes a political vulture that militates against meaningful development.

Partisan party politics has dragged the once robust and financially stable organizations into bankruptcy. Anon (2018) highlighted that Harare City Council is losing a lot of financial resources through the exorbitant allowance, shady politically connected deals and insurmountable corruption tendencies. Corruption stifles development as it siphons off scarce resources that could improve the state of affairs in HCC.

According to (CHRA and HRT) Partisan party politics increases unnecessary interference in the city's business from 2000 – 2015 which result in financial losses and bankruptcy in HCC for example Chombo waived all outstanding rates and taxes ahead of the 2013 elections won by ZANU PF, HCC Respondents pointed out HCC is failing collect all the revenue because of the warlordism being practiced by some ruling party apparatchiks like Chipangano collects large sums of money from ranks and flea markets for personal gain. In some cases some resources are being given freely to supporters of ZANU PF and were also told not to pay for services as a result HCC has been plunged in a situation of fiscal inadequacy.

Partisan party politics undermines the smooth functionality of an institutions through bureaucratic inefficiencies and frustration among other things to investors and residents. This

will make the cost of doing business very expensive as a result some of the investors end up leaving their zest to invest HCC and its related organs.

Corruption militates against efficient and effective resource utilisation due to financial leakages. Partisan party politics nurtures political structures with certain interest group that are not accountable to the people, transparent in their political dealings, do not respect the rule of law or political and social freedoms and some of them no longer represent people's interests in fact the residents has become serious casualties and the entire organization was left vulnerable to unmerciful political vultures. (Anon 2018)

The majority of the respondents (89%) agreed that the partisan party politics negatively inflicting harm in the entire Harare city Councils body politic from town house to residents' homes problems are manifesting in different dimensions. Most of the effects pointed out include bad governance which covers corruption, financial losses, poor and deterioration of service delivery, loss of lives among other things.

Residents becomes major casualties of the system they created. From the interviewed carried out 75 percent of the respondents concurred that partisan party politics has negatively affected the Harare city council. Some further pointed out that ZANU PF capture Harare City council to become a defacto ZANU PF thing to gain support and amass wealth at the detriment of the organization

Anon 2018 add on to say that partisan politics creates a serious crisis of violation of rule of law to perpetuate the wish of strong man or political party supremacy. The traditional preamble of the constitution emphasise on constitutional supremacy in the administration of the state entities however after MDC has won the urban seats, ZANU PF substituted the rule of law with reign of terror as a result mass human right atrocities were committed. For example property right are violated through demolition of houses to perceived supporters of

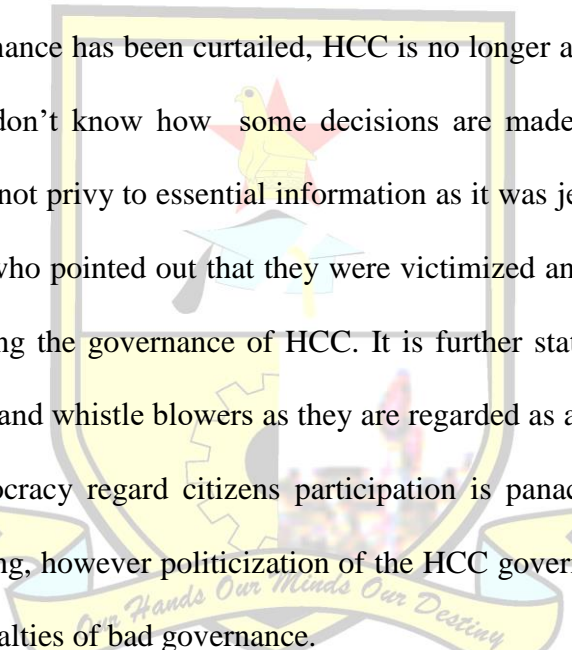
MDC during operation Murambatsvina and unlawful dismissal at work place with violence. Majority percentage of the councillor pointed out that the violation of rule of law by ZANU PF has created anarchy and disorder in the town. All urban activities are supposed to be guided by Ordinance Act which gives special Zones for certain activities like vending, churches, housing and industry but after the deindustrialisation Urban area were turned into a vending hub and illegal activities this increased congestion and pollution in the CBD. According to Manyanyeni 2016 street vending has become and eye saw in the streets and the number increased after the wife of president Mugabe declared solidarity with street vending, this political decision has made navigating the CBD difficult making Harare unfriendly shopping destination.

Anonymous councillor pointed out that partisan politics in Harare City council has resulted in gross human rights violation essentials as citizens were deprived right to life, right to shelter, clean environment and clean water. This further triggers unnecessary loss of lives by epidemic diseases like cholera and typhoid. According to Anonymous Official from CHRA (2018) pointed out that erratic water supplies and poor waste management has caused typhoid outbreak in Harare that result in a thousands of residents in the previous years.

Partisan party politics eliminate effective control and monitoring of security systems and quality management as administration plays saviour role to their supporters for example due to partisan politics chemicals for water treatment was pilferage and residents unknowingly began to drink unchlorinated water and contaminated water that jeopardise their health, This was further exacerbated by disregard of procedures in waste disposal and water treatment. Kasukuwere in 2016 was quoted saying the Harare city council is supplying water with raw faeces despite collecting water rates. In other cases Harare used unidentified poison to purify water from unidentified supplier. In regard to this partisan politics has serious threats to

human life which is essential to human development. “The causes of the 2008 outbreak have not been addressed and the main reason for the typhoid and cholera outbreak is the unavailability of water. People are resorting to alternative sources of water which are not very safe, Surely Partisan party politics has turned Harare city council into a death trap or human tragedy as people are exposed to hazardous environs open pits, exposed electrical wire raw sewage coming out on tapes, hazardous substance are being disposed into the community thus as result HCC continue to lose money/ resources through self-induced crisis.

One of a prominent business man in Harare suburbs lamented that through partisan politics principle of good governance has been curtailed, HCC is no longer accountable to tax payers and in most cases we don't know how some decisions are made .During the tenure of Chombo residents were not privy to essential information as it was jealously guarded. This is also cemented by RAs who pointed out that they were victimized and tortured after they ask for information pertaining the governance of HCC. It is further stated that partisan politics suppress people's voice and whistle blowers as they are regarded as a threat of establishment/ sellout. Ethos of democracy regard citizens participation is panacea to development and improves decision making, however politicization of the HCC governance galvanized people voice and make the casualties of bad governance.



Partisan politics weakens administration of HCC as it creates passivity and political bias among employees. For an organization to be effective and efficient it must be manned by competitive staff with high ethical values and professionalism. 30 percent of interviewees concurred that there is no meritocracy in hiring employees for HCC because the first requirement is to be ZANU PF supporter and all employees who exhibited professionalism were tortured and fire for example Elias Mudzuri and other engineers were tortured and labelled as sell-outs before being fired in 2005.This is further reinforced by a Shadow

Minister from MDC who was of the view that it's regrettable that HCC is no longer able to attract best experts since it has a past record of harassing experts (MDC shadow Minister of local governance 2018)

Partisan party politics in Harare City has stir up antagonism and acrimony that has caused dysfunctionality of the municipality as most of the resources are being worsted to fight political wars between Zanu Pf and MDC whilst service delivery is deteriorating. MDC has tried to implement progressive policies which are people centred but ZANU PF began to sabotage and frustrate them because this will gives oppositions a competitive advantage to continue reign in the City council.

LA Experts (2018)pointed out that it is very unfortunate that ZANU PF after taking the reign of Harare City from the colonial government created a legacy of corruption, poor governance, human and environmental tragedy, a culture of thugocracy and violence which militated against the development of the Harare City council. Sunningdale Councillor (2018) concurred that after independence what ZANU PF managed to do is just the centralisation of power and accusation of council property and land for personal again 2000 and beyond becomes the saddest moments of Harare city council were everything has been Zanurised, Although Harare city council is being governed by the Co Z amendment number 20 much of the power is invested in the minister of local governance who behaves like political bandit and a thief who despite collecting revenue decided not to deliver service which is tantamount to theft.

Partisan politics has reduced the Harare city council to be a mere political instrument that yields or boost ZANU survival whilst suffocate and suppress people's voice respondents argued that Harare city council belongs to the residents politicians must be board of directors who are supposed to implement the demands of tax payers (Anon 2018).

3.2.6 Partisan party politics and its influenced on the nature of decision making.

In any organisation or entity politics undermines and suffocate the neutrality, balanced decision as most of decisions are marred by political animosity and acrimony such was the nature of decision making at HCC.

The diagram below shows how the respondents were describing the nature of the major decision that HCC made to address certain problems. It was a question that they have answered by listing one or two significant events in which respondents were casualties of draconian system of decision making, the majority mention Murambatsvana, legalisation of street vending in CBD, militarising the control of CBD just to mention a few. From the diagram below it can be deduced that partisan party politics affects the nature of decision making as most of them are not made on merit but based on the desire to revenge and outwit perceived opponents. As described by Makumbe (2008) that Murambatsvina was a militant unconstitutional decision by the government to decongest the HCC which has become a strong hold of MDC in 2005. As a result it created a deeply divided with political intolerance.

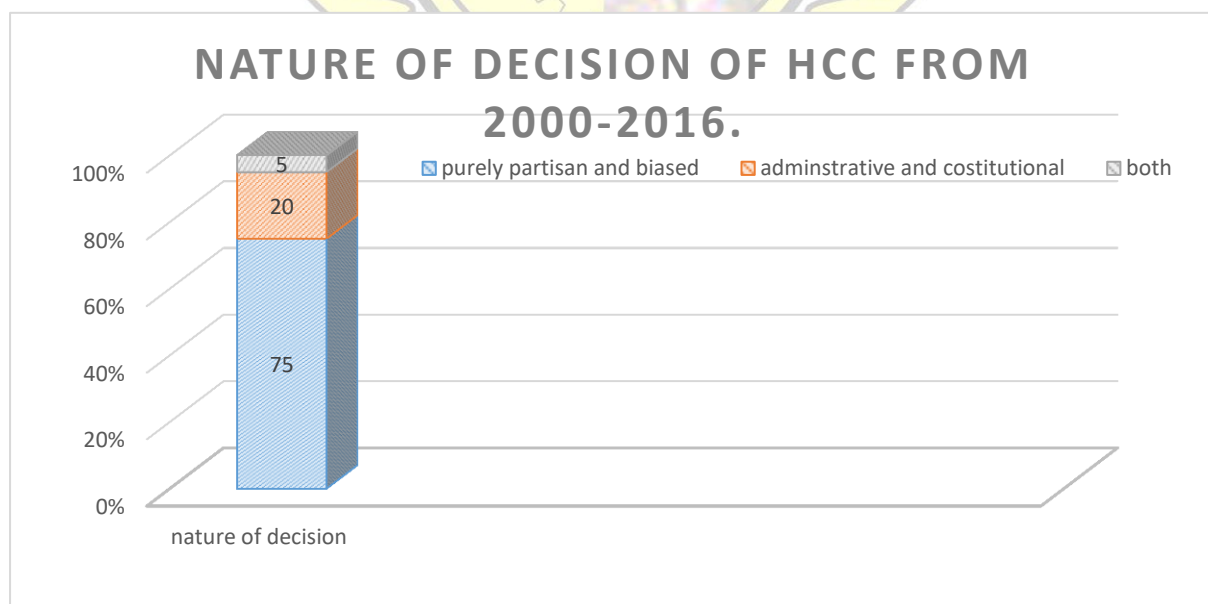


Fig 7

The diagram pointed out that the bulk of the decisions that were made from 2000 to 2016 were politically biased whilst some were purely legal and administrative, in some cases it could be both legally manipulated to legitimise the shred ZANU PF power matrix

3.2.4 Legal and constitutional frame works that regulates the operation of Harare city council, how effectively can they limit unsanctioned political party bullying.

There are a multiplicity of legal frames that guides the Harare city council in their execution of duties and decision making which includes the CoZ (2013) UCA, ordinances act. These pieces of legislation are there to safe guard the institution from abuse for private gain and make sure ethical standards are adhere to in the running of council business and affairs.

In an interview with the former Highlands Councillor for MDC, he pointed out although there are legal frameworks to guide the decisions of Harare much of them are ineffective due to too much centralisation and over encroachment of central government in the local affairs. He a gives a comparative analysis of section 279 of CoZ 2013 which gives local governance autonomy in the decision making however UCA and RDCA are inconsistence with constitution of Zimbabwe of which Minister Chombo and Kasukuwere in their tenure of office were using these pieces to intervene the Harare city council to give Zanu PF political leverage through suspension of elected staff.

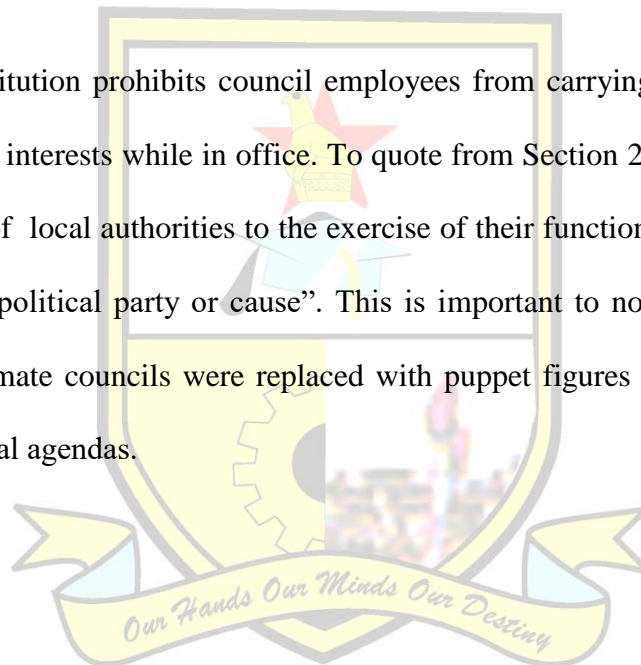
Through this Kasukuwere takes this advantage to impose and gives Zanu pf loyalist jobs at town House and this continue to wrack administrative havoc at the City council, much of the time and resources were being used to pursue court cases challenging minister's decisions.

Chapter 14 of the CoZ (2013) deal with local government matters but instead the Ministry of Local Government chose to deal with two subsections .The minister of local governances

manipulating legal lacunas to unconstitutional interfere with the issues of local authorities for instance 278(2) and (3). Is being misinterpreted to gives sweeping power to minister.

The new constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) gives the residents powers to must be involved in the running of their municipalities and this forms part of the governing principles in Section 264 of the Constitution. Strangely, the minister has more say than the people do in terms of the Bill. In fact, the minister usurps and strips the communities of their power to determine what happens to the local governing authority. This reflects a large role being played by the Executive to the detriment of the electorate that appointed the councillors and mayor.

In addition to Constitution prohibits council employees from carrying out partisan agendas and pushing partisan interests while in office. To quote from Section 266(2) of Co.Z NO 20, outlaws employees of local authorities to the exercise of their functions in a way that further the interests of any political party or cause". This is important to note because history has shown us that legitimate councils were replaced with puppet figures who existed to further the minister's political agendas.



3.2.5 EFFECTS OF PARTISAN POLITICS IN REVENUE GENERATION AND FINANCIAL INTERGRITY

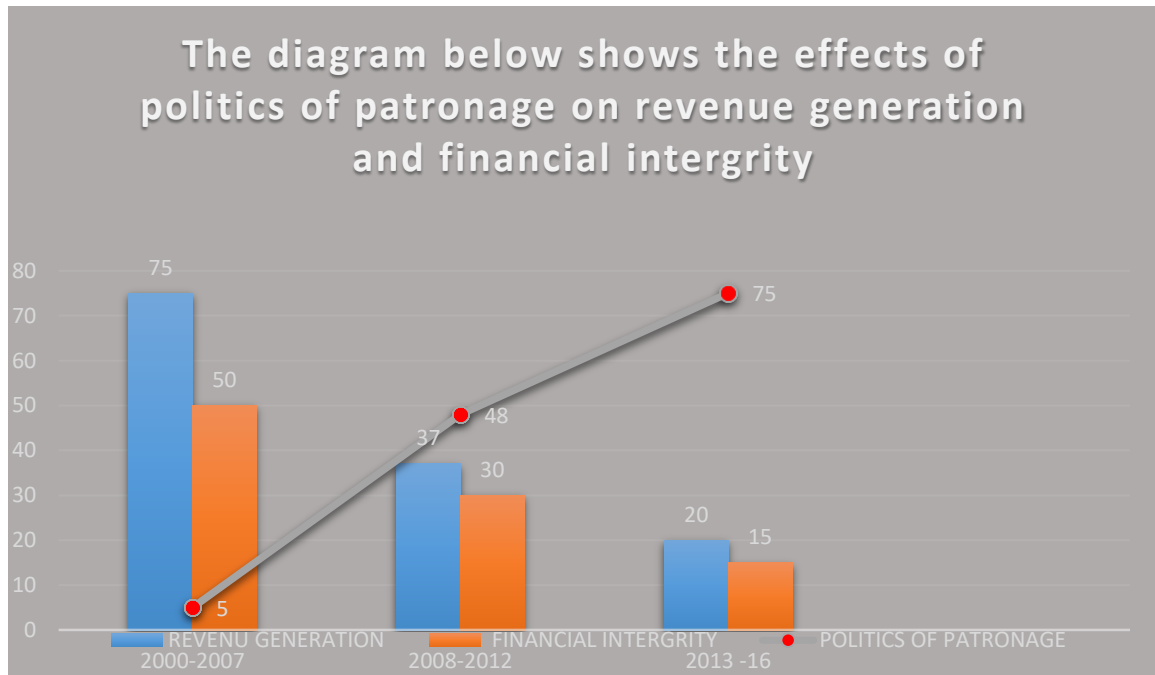


FIG8

The above diagram express the views of technocrats and local govern experts who concurred that partisan party politics increases patronage especially through job appointment in local authorities and loyalty buy as result the financial integrity and revenue generation is compromised. From the above diagram there is a sharp decrease of o revenue generation from 75% to around 20% it also affect financial integrity in all most similar way. In most cases sources of revenue generation for HCC comes from land and leasing of council properties, other business however because Zanu pf wanted to gain support it began to give land for free and allowing impunity on the payment rates from its loyalist, this is further exacerbated by the pardoning of debts by the Minister Chombo towards 2013 election to boost support.

As from 2000 and beyond Harare city council began to suffer grave losses and most its services began to be used for political party business and also through parallel structures. From this observation the researcher prove beyond reasonable doubt that the operation of political party negatively impact the financial performance of organisation. As mentioned earlier patronage allows illicit financial follow to parallel

3.2.6 Theoretical framework validation.

The researcher discovered that patronage system is rampant in Harare city council especially on the appointment top executives like mayors, engineers, town clerk, special councillors to mention a few. Two major political parties MDC and ZANU PF makes sure that influential positions in local authorities are occupied by party protégé or puppets to make sure that their party continue to gain mileage through resource accusation, policy decision influence or other private gain. This system is described by scholars as patron client relationship or principal agent theory were a person is appointed to a position to serve his principle or patron as opposite to the public this is further supported by the decision of suspension of Harare Mayor Mudzuri by Chombo so that he can appoint the commission loyal to ZANU PF. In 2013 Kasukuwera appointed Mbanga to save ZANU PF interest. It is alleged that both Chombo and Kasukuwera were using the patronage systems to acquire land, property and tenders to their companies using their agents at Town House. In my interview with 3 councillors out of four admitted that they are forced to save the interest of their political parties as opposite to the electorate for example loyalty buying through donations to political events, like birth days, parties and rallies. A good example is there case of Bernard Manyenyeni from MDC was allegedly dismissed because he was now too big to listen to decision on the art of administration of Harare City Council (insider 2018).

From further survey and scrutiny politics of patronage clearly explain the state of affair on how partisan politics has been used in Harare City. It is axiomatic that politics of patronage has negatively affected City of Harare and erodes and corrodes good governance, as executive and employees are accountable to their Principals this curtails and galvanise professionalism and ethical behaviour necessary for the development of local authorities.

Another theory that the research managed to prove is the political system theory which postulate that the operationalization of party can influence the organisational performance positively in multiparty political infrastructure. In this juncture ZANU PF intervention/interference in the Harare city council crippled the performance of Harare city council as they try to through negative administrative spanners to curtain any progress.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Information gathered by the research clearly pointed out that in did partisan party politics has and is negatively affecting the Harare City council as ZANU PF tries to position itself to gain control and electoral victory using Harare city council. Due to partisan party politics in Harare City Council good governance was corroded and eroded as shown by manifestation of massive human loss because of cholera and typhoid, financial losses, insufficient revenue generation , tender flouting, poor and declining service delivery violation of rule of law, urban chaos and disorderly among other things. Although MDC is the one governing the affairs of Harare city council their presence is a defacto ceremonial entity as much of the business is influenced by ZANU PF Minister of local governance who manipulate the systems in a way that to give his party political competitive advantage.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

The chapter sought to give a detailed brief summary of the entire research as it evolves throughout its stages and prescribe ways that can be harnessed to improve or liberate the institution from political abuse.

4.1 Summary

In the first section was the introduction part of the exploration clarifying issue being investigated, it consist of the back ground of the problem, the factors that compell the researcher to carry out the study characterizing the targets of the examination, sketching out the examination question to be utilized to request data, legitimization and basis of the investigation, the delimitation and confinements of the investigation and finally it portray the exploration methodologies mapping out how the study would be conducted utilizing subjective and quantitative to supplement the examination. The researcher utilized questioners, survey and other auxiliary wellsprings of information to look into regarding the matter of the impacts of partisan party politics in local authorities.

On chapter two the researcher focused on reviewing literature and theoretical frame works. This chapter acknowledged the contribution of other scholars on the topic and make a critical analysis of a dent left by other scholars that the research purport to spun. The chapter closed by giving theoretical frames works or hypothesis to explain the operationalization and nature of partisan politics in local authorities.

In chapter 3 data findings obtained during the field work was presented and analysed to validate the view that partisan party in deed affect local authorities in a multiplicity of ways like breed bad governance, curtail services delivery. The researcher used interviews and

questioner to have a diversified view and reality about the topic from a handful of stake holders and actors in the field of Local authorities

Lastly chapter 4 which is this particular chapter give a detailed overall summary of the entire research from chapter 1 to chapter 4 with concluding remarks regarding outcomes. Finally it prescribe some recommendation on how to address the effects of partisan party politics in local authorities.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS

The research proved to be successful as it managed to identify a number of effects that has arose from partisan politics that continuously inflict harm in the Harare city council. Majority of the respondents concurred that indeed partisan party politics has serious implication to the body politic of local governance in particular Harare City council. From analysis and presentation of data the researcher conclusively say partisan politics has a negatively affect the governance and functionality of HCC as supported by the demise of service delivery, astronomical rates of corruption, maladministration, ineffective and inefficient systems of governance.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In conducting research the researcher prescribed some recommendation that can be employed to mitigate the problems bedeviling Harare City Council as a result of partisan party politics. Some of the recommendation emanated from the respondents views and perception about the topic and how they want to see want to see the organization being managed

Upon a considerable assessment on the effects of partisan politics in local authorities and how predatory they were in the institution the researcher recommended the following

For there to be sanity in the governance of HCC and local authorities in Zimbabwe the need to depoliticise the institution through privatising the local authority to allow it be managed like a parastatals. This gives local authority autonomous and immunity from partisan molestation to benefit handful political loyalist. Thus they should be a board of directors elected by people which must not have any affiliation and government must be a shareholder. This has been successful to companies like ZESA Holdings, Telone Private limited were political party influence is very minimal .However government should play a supervisory role to see compliance and mitigate abuse of to residents.

There is have to advance good corporate governance that keep up obviously characterized moral benchmarks to Local experts. Moral and moral conduct is fundamental for manageability of dynamic connections framed amid the lead of the administration, HCC must be managed by men of character with tried and tested traceable experience not political criminals like ZANU PF nominees.

Government must speedily harmonise the local governance acts with the new constitution to chlorinate the filth being induced to Harare city council by political manipulation. Most of the challenges facing Harare City council are emanating from manipulating legal lacuna as way to dribble people centred policies especially the rift between urban council Act and Chapter 14 CoZ.

Last but not least there is need for restorative justice to the HCC by pursuing all the those people who unlawfully benefit from partisan accusation of wealth and assets this can be done by instituting a board of inquiry with the aid of Auditor general, Anti-corruption commission

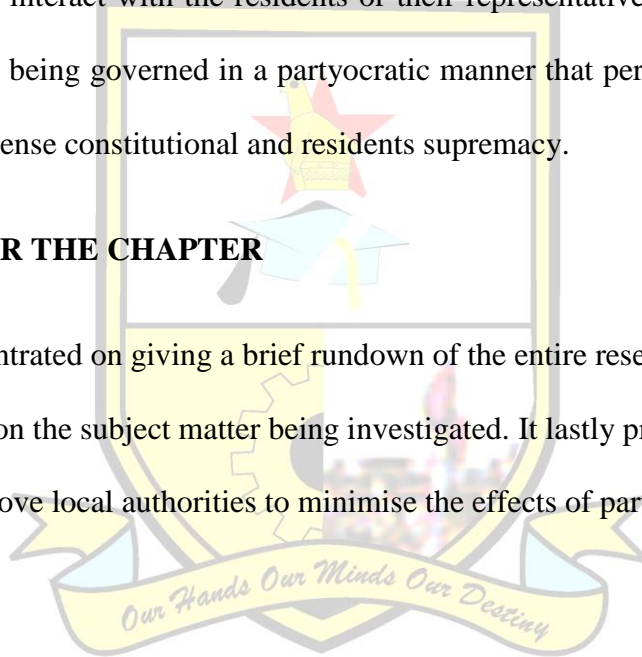
together with Ministry of Justice. Those who benefit must compensate or the assets must be declare state properties.

There is need to employ rigorous life style audit and property both ex ante and post ante to all employee assuming leadership of the LA, this can be done through assets, common interest declarations. If office holder has common interest particularly companies they must be managed by a blind commission with some supervision of judicial management.

It is suggestable that Harare city council should be run by board members with some expertise whilst they interact with the residents or their representative to make fundamental decision instead of it being governed in a partyocratic manner that perpetuate the ministerial supremacy at the expense constitutional and residents supremacy.

4.4 SUMMARY FOR THE CHAPTER

This Chapter concentrated on giving a brief rundown of the entire research phenomenon and give conclusion on the subject matter being investigated. It lastly prescribe on the ways that can used to improve local authorities to minimise the effects of partisan party politics in local authorities.



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Interview with Councillor for Sunningdale and expert for local governance responsible for Local Governance coordinator MDC), interviewed on 28 March 2018 at Harvest.

Technocrats (local governance personnel in the City of Harare) Interviewed at Rowen Martins 27 March 2018

Interview with Mbambo (2018) at Student intern at Harare Residence Trust.

CHRA (2018) (Senior official Harare Residence Association) Interviewed on 27 March 2018 Newlands Harare

Anon (Zanu pf Councillor Mbare) Interviewed on 25 March 2018 Tagarika flats.

MDC Shadow Minister Interviewed at national party Head Quarter

HRT Chairperson interviewed on 29 March (2017) Town House Harare

Interview with Councillors 29 March (2018) Town House, Harare

Interview with LA Expert 2018

Appendix I: Research Questionnaire.

My name is Aaron S Nyanhongo. I am a fourth year student at Midlands State University undertaking the Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management Honours degree.

I am hereby carrying out a research on **“The effects of Partisan Party Politics on local Authorities: A case of Harare City Council from 2000 to 2016.”** As part of my curriculum I am obliged to undertake research that is in harmony with my area of study. The information that shall be given will be strictly used for academic purposes and the research shall by no means be used for political expedience. Please it is advisable not to write your name

NB: Only write your answer only and respond with a tick where possible.

INDIVIDUAL DETAILS

1 Demographic Structure

Age in years	20-30	31 -44	45-65

2 SEX

Male	Female

3 EMPLOYMENT STATUS

ELECTED	EMPLOYED	Appointed

4 Do you understand the functions of Harare City Council?

Yes	
No	

5 Who is responsible for the daily administration of Harare City Council?

Political parties	
Residents	
Municipality executives	
Both / as stake holders	

6 Should political parties involved in the administration of local Authorities

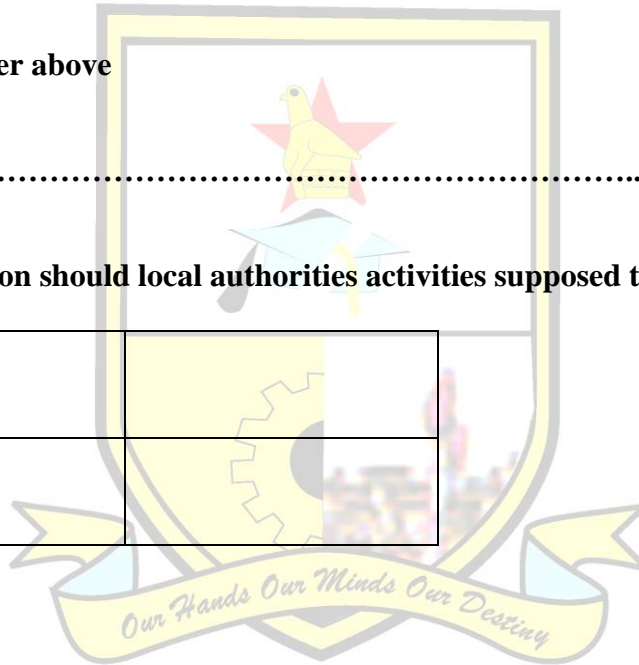
Yes completely	
No	
They should be partial	

7 Justify your answer above

.....

8 In your own opinion should local authorities activities supposed to be politicized

Yes	
No	



9 Suggest 3 effects of politicization of local authorities

1.....

2.....

3.....

10 Rate the effects of partisan party politics in local authority out of 100

11 Who are the major beneficiaries of Harare City Council decisions and Activities?

Indicate by a tick

Political party loyalist/supporters/political elite	
Residents	
Harare City Council	
Both	

12 Express the benefits inform of a percent%

75%	
25%	
20%	
10% and below	

13 Name any decision/activity made by Harare City Council which you think was politically biased

.....

.....

14 How do you rate the performance of Harare Municipality in delivering its duties to the

Residents	
Excellent	
Satisfactory	
Fair	
Poor and below standardsaa	

15 In your own opinion which political party is responsible for the performance you indicated above?

Ruling party	
Opposition	
Other actors	

16 How do you explain the problems facing Harare City council from the phrases below?

Purely Partisan and political	
Administrative and non-partisan	
Resource based/ financial	

17 During the past ten years how do you describe the Harare City Council decision and actions from phrases below?

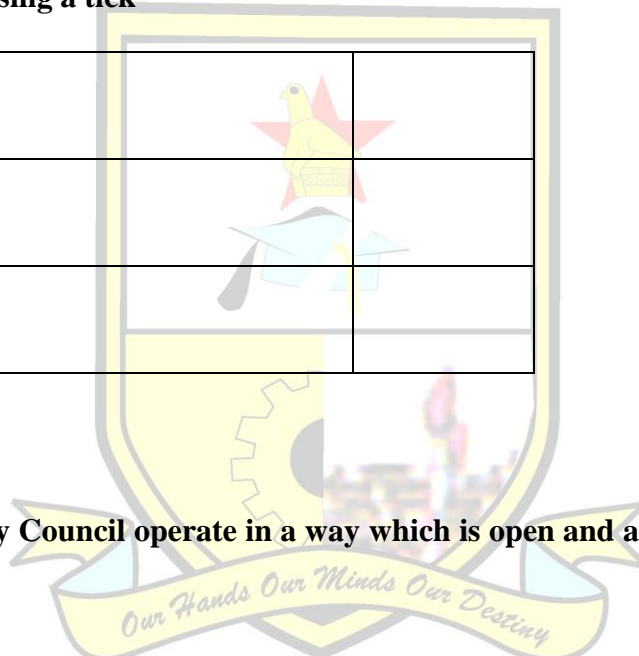
Politically manipulated/influenced	
Purely legal and justifiable	

18 Which period of time from below is associated with the problem facing Harare City Council? Indicate using a tick

1980 to 1999		
2000 to 2005		
2006 to 2013		

19 Does Harare City Council operate in a way which is open and answerable to its stakeholders?

YES	
NO	



OPTIONAL

20 Kindly indicate your political affiliation (use a tick)

Ruling Party	
Opposition	
Apolitical/neutral	

21 What is the reason for your affiliation?

.....

22 Do you benefit from your affiliation?

Yes	
No	

23 How do you describe your benefits from your affiliation?

Lawful/legally based	
Unlawful but political based	
Both	

24 Indicate the duration you have been benefiting from your political party from the table below

2-4years	
5-5years	

11 above	
----------	--

25 Suggest how your benefit affects the Harare City Council

.....

26 Do you think if you became politically neutral your benefits from your affiliation will not be compromised?

Yes	
No	

If yes explain how it can be affected

.....

27 Do you feel free and safe to disclose your affiliation and how you benefit from it when you are in Community?

28 If no what's the reason for not disclosing it?

.....

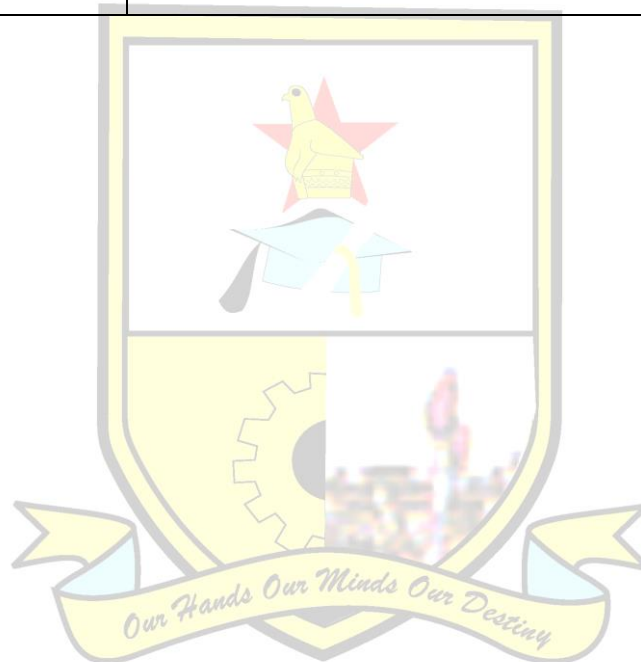
29 Do you strongly agree that the problem facing Harare City Council was as result of partisan party politics?

Strongly agree	
Strongly disagree	

30 The only way to solve the problems facing Harare City Council is to apply rule of law and principle of good governance rather than political party supremacy. Do you agree?

Yes	
No	

Thank you very much.



Appendix 2

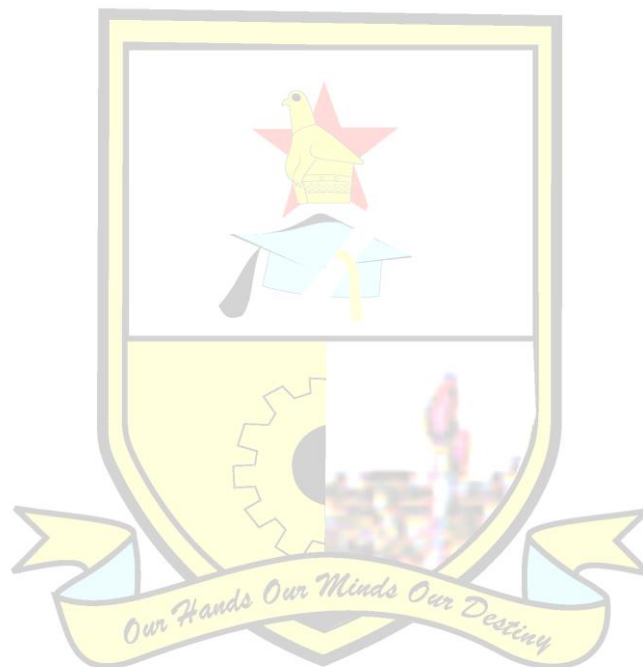
Key Informant Interview Guide.

Include Harare City, CHRA, HRT, Councillors from MDC and ZANU PF, Ministry of Local governance, and other civil societies, academia.

Good afternoon Sir, I'm Aaron Nyanhongo a fourth year student from MSU pursuing a degree in politics and public management. Currently I'm doing a research on the effects of partisan party politics in local authority from 2000 to 2016 (Case study of Harare City Council) I'm kindly looking for your assistance/ opinion on the subject matter.

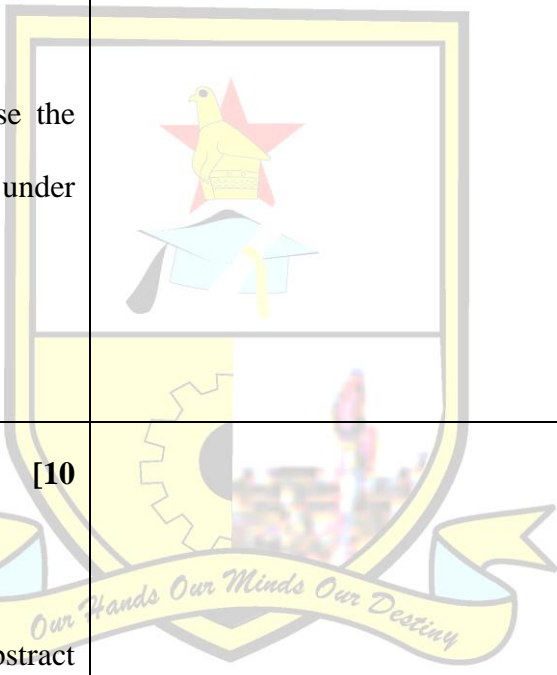
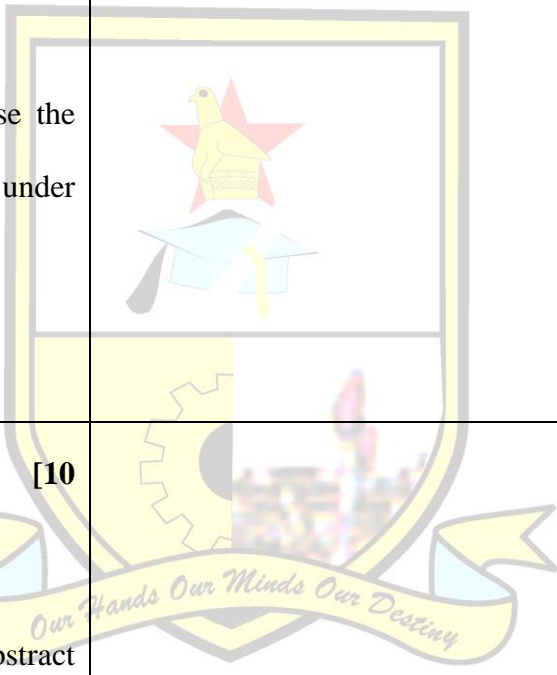
- I. What are the duties and responsibilities of Harare City Council?
- II. How do you describe the decisions and responsibilities of Harare City council from 2000 and beyond?
- III. What is the relationship between a political party and local authority?
- IV. In your own opinion what is partisan party politics?
- V. How has it negatively affected the Harare City Council in the past decade?
- VI. How can we minimize the effects of partisan politics in the local authorities?
- VII. How can this relationship be utilized for the development of local authority.
- VIII. Is it fair in your opinion to pin point the demise of Harare City Council to partisan politics
- IX. What are the effects of power struggle between ZANU PF and MDC in Harare City Council?
- X. From your own definition of good governance how do you describe Harare City Council

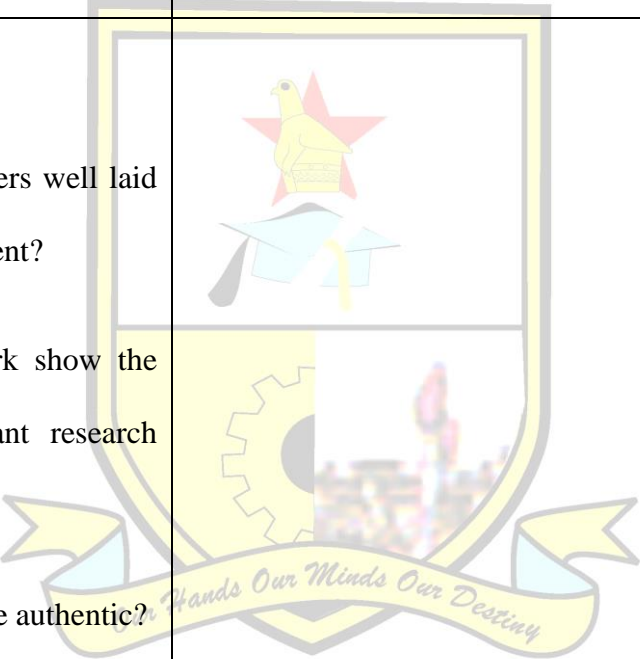
Your assistance is kindly appreciated in advance and will be acknowledge according to the academic and research

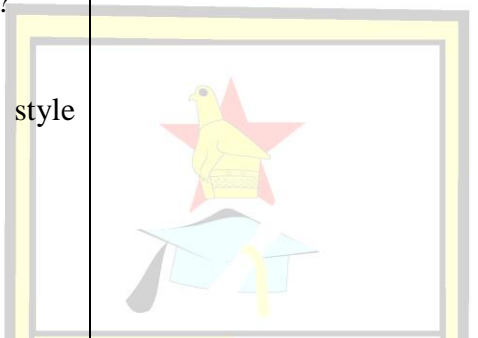



Appendix 3: Marking Guide

GUIDELINE FOR MARKING DISSERTATION

ITEM OBSERVATION	UNDER	COMMENTS	SCORE
<p>Title [10 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the title clear and precise? • Does the title expose the problem under investigation? 			
<p>Abstract/Introduction [10 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the abstract successfully bridge the gap between the title and subject? • Does the student demonstrate knowledgeability about the nature, problem and 			

<p>purpose of study?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have the objectives of the study been clearly stated? • How relevant is the literature reviewed and theories used? 		
<p>Content [50 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are the chapters well laid out and coherent? • Does the work show the use of relevant research methods? • Is the evidence authentic? • Is there evidence of research? 		
<p>Conclusion/ Recommendation [10 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has the work been 		

<p>resented?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the conclusion answer the objectives? 		
<p>Reference [10 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have the references been accurately presented? • Has the referencing style been consistent? 		
<p>Layout, Presentation and Editorial</p> <p>Assessment [10 marks]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there continuity in the style of writing? • Is there correct use of English in terms of consistency? 		

TOTAL SCORE (100 MARKS)		
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Signature of the Supervisor.....Comment on Submission.....

Signature of the Marker.....Date.....

Signature of the Moderator.....Date.....

