

Dissertation title: The dynamics of decentralisation on development planning in urban local authorities. A case study of Harare City Council.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Perhaps not surprisingly, the developmental burden which has been placed on the idea of decentralisation has been too great for it to bear. Third world states find much promise in decentralisation. The performance of decentralised government all too often falls disappointingly short of these expectations. (Smith, 1985:185)

The adoption of decentralisation as an option for development in post-colonial Zimbabwe became an immediate option for national development. Emphasis was placed much on decentralised development planning as informed by decentralisation models borrowed from other socialist-leaning countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Botswana. However, little focus was directed towards its impact on local decision making and development planning as central government retained vertical structures of government which are incompatible with the objectives of decentralisation.

The research is an analysis of the level of the Zimbabwean central government interference into urban council's development management processes. It indicates the government's propensity to recentralize (Oyono, 2004). It will examine the impact of the forces behind decentralisation on planning and implementation of development interventions in Harare

urban area of Zimbabwe. The impact of such challenges within the City of Harare will be assessed.

The study comes from a background in which decentralisation has been hailed as perhaps the boldest new policy initiative in recent times on the appropriate path which independent African states are taking towards long term development in local communities (Kamete,2006). Decentralized development planning was introduced within the context of barely disguised admission of failure of socialistic centralized state planning in the post independent Zimbabwe; it appears to offer a new basis for some hope that local urban councils may yet be able to rediscover the path to sustainable development (Oyono, 2004). This is more so as decentralized development planning is presented not only as initiative that advocates for a departure for effective utilization of resources but also as measure driven in content and direction on apparent departure from non-participation of local communities in local development planning issues(BALA,2010). It is therefore for this reason that decentralised urban management is expected to strengthen the prospects for the achievement of the goals for sustainable development and yet the blue-print for decentralized urban management reflects many of assumptions that are underpinned by the neo- liberal economic, social and political reform agenda, in Zimbabwe. The coincidence of diagnosis and prescription within the assumptions of decentralized urban management set an important initiative to analyze the forces involved in Harare's development management. This is important to understand the economic content and direction of the policy practice of decentralized development management in Harare, particularly when considering that decentralized development management is a significant departure from traditional public administration (Goodman, 1998).

Most importantly, the research effort attempts to analyze the extent to which the decentralized urban management initiative can serve as a foundation for a new optimism for effective and efficient urban local development.

Hence decentralized development management cannot be treated lightly given the highly limited record of success not only in Harare but in most African countries. Although regarded as the only option for effective development management, decentralized urban management is not without its own intricacies. The prerequisites for successful development management espoused by decentralized urban management in Harare seems to not have resulted in development following the agreed path in spite of their seemingly uncanny resemblance of the best local development management options (Makumbe,1998). It has not manifested as a self-identified and self-improved policy initiative by central government. The logic of decentralized urban management as an option for public service delivery in Harare has been informed by the need to confer power and autonomy for independent decision making in the management of local affairs (Machingauta, 2010). This has not been the case.

Decentralized development planning and management centers on the need for encouraging participation in local governance in line with the principles of transparency, the promotion of the rule of law accountability and support initiatives that foster development management (Chikerema, 2012). Local development is considered inconceivable without the emplacement of the measures above as they are critical is the sources of any development project in Harare.

On the face of things, the ideas and ideals spelt out is decentralized development management cover a host of issues and concerns in a manner that appear to offer a balance to many competing interests in Harare. They seem to address many of the concerns that have been at the core of the struggle for the reform of urban local development management.

In reality however the main thrust of its ideas and ideals as well as the development management framework within which they are defined lack in the kind of basic social anchor that can ensure that urban development management is moved from the realm of pro-forma and technocratic arena of the political as a living experience marked by contestation and negotiations among the bearers of competing interests (Chirisa, 2012)

This research effort suggest therefore that decentralized development management in Harare raises more questions than it answers and on a more critical examination, seems designed more to pander to the whims of the political elite than responding to the concerns of the local development needs in the vanguard of the struggle for reform on local governance in the political space and developmental agenda.

1.1 Background to the study

The City of Harare is the capital of the Republic of Zimbabwe. It is a democratically established and decentralized level of the government charged with a service delivery mandate. It is a legal entity with defined powers in its area of jurisdiction as provided for by the Urban Council Act (Chapter 29:15). Its governance mandate involves the creation of participatory and democratically elected structures that can identify with the needs of people at grassroots level and to ensure the translation of the identified needs into actual and sustainable provision and maintenance of service and infrastructure (Wekwete, 1994)

Its development management systems are provided for by the legal framework and the operational institutional arrangements in the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) of 1996. These institutional arrangements involve the roles played by critical players in the governance of the city. These players include the ministers responsible for local governance, the provincial governor, elected, and employed officials as well as the civic society.

The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) as a legislative framework underpinning urban development management has its roots in Zimbabwe's urban governance history.

It was derived from the Town Management Ordinance of 1894, which gave legal effect to Sanitary Boards which were established in the main towns of Harare and Bulawayo.

The Management Ordinance of 1897 granted municipal status to Salisbury and Bulawayo and paved way for widely elected councils. By then the urban local management processes excluded Africans. According to Chatiza (2010) Africans were only integrated into the management processes on a cosmetic base through the establishment of Advisory Boards. These were meant only to advise white officers on the concerns of African townships. Thus the development management framework by then was centralized and exclusionary. It did not allow for popular participation in development management. The Urban Councils Act Chapter 241 of 1973 was meant to promote lopsided urban development in favour of the whites.

However with the post-independence era significant reforms in urban management took place including the integration of townships into urban councils, affording adult universal suffrage, in Local Government elections. This culminated into the repealing of the Urban Councils Act 214 in 1985 and the subsequent enactment of the Urban Council Act (chapter 29.15). The present day Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) is thus an improvement on the first Urban Council Act (Chapter 214) which was replete with racial imbalances in terms of service provision. For example it fostered racial discrimination in relation to tenure and representation in urban areas (Wekwete, 1988:20). By then it was pursuing a segregationist approach to urban governance by creating African townships that were given an inferior status to urban councils. The Africans were restricted to their townships and were not allowed to participate in decision making on the affairs affecting them.

However as pointed out by Jordan (1984:9), the present day Urban Councils Act is a product of the Local Government reform process that was earmarked at democratizing local governance processes in the newly independent Zimbabwe after 1980.

Makumbe (1988:25) adds that democratization process was primarily concerned with dismantling the twin city concept in favour of a one-city one in which there is absolute social inclusiveness.

The Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing's role is governed by the fact that Zimbabwe is a unitary state which decentralizes local governance systems in line with the principle of subsidiary. This principle states that services must be provided at the most effective level. The ministry is however tasked by the Executive with the Local Government function.

The Ministry is responsible for coordinating policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. Its functions therefore entail leading the development process in local government sphere and representing the sector's interest at national and sub-national level in relation to other arms of government. Crythorne (1993) summarizes the role of the Ministry responsible for local Government involving the ultimate control of local authorities through the law, by negotiation, instruction, direction and policy declaration as indicated on its mission which aims to:

Provide sound local governance and sustainable management of the built environment through the provision of requisite planning and technical service in order to enhance socio-economic development in Zimbabwe.

The above state of affairs is so because the Ministry has the ultimate political accountability to the nation, Parliament and The Executive (Chakaipa, 2010)

It is in line with the above that the Minister has a fundamental role to play in urban management. In the case of urban management, the Minister has vested powers in the Urban Councils Act and the other Acts to necessitate and nature an enabling environment for local authorities to maximize on the utilization of human, material and capital resources within localities. Local governance systems in Zimbabwe are thus underpinned by a dichotomous situation in which the Minister is a political party appointee, appointed in terms of Section 104 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, set out to protect the electorate from the abuse of office by locally elected and appointed officials.

An arrangement that has resulted in the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) having provisions for the Minister having vested powers to give directions on policy matters and to reverse, suspend or rescind resolutions of Council in terms of section 314. The ministers have also power to investigate council (Section 311), controlling the budgeting processes of council, through the control of high density tariffs (Sections 219 and 288), granting borrowing powers (Section 290), causing the suspension and or dismissal of Councilors (Section 80 Of Local Government Laws Amendment no.1 of 2008) and the subsequent appointment of commissioners (Section 80, subsection 5), among other wide ranging powers. The role of the central government at a local level can thus be summarized as involving facilitation, advice, monitoring, oversight, directing and capacity building.

The central government meddling in urban management dates back to 1985 with dismissal of Gweru Mayor Patrick Kombayi for alleged gross mismanagement of council funds.

Elsewhere it has evidence in the dismissal of Mayor Kagurabadza of Mutare, Mayor Dhlakama in Chegutu, Mayor Mischeck Shoko and Mayor Marange in Chitungwiza. The dismissals are not limited to mayors alone but it involves councilors and senior members of the council in the exercise of such powers. Such actions by central government are perceived as attempts at recentralization and have been met with resistance from members of the public and civic society with most arguing that the central government was suffocating independent decision making in oppositions strongholds.

In Harare the history of the role of central government in urban management can be taken back to the dismissal of Mayor Solomon Tavengwa in 1998 with his entire council and the subsequent appointment of the Chanakira led Commission. The dismissal, according to the justification of the Thompson Commission was because of gross dereliction of duty and mismanagement of affairs of the City of Harare. In 2004, the council led by Engineer Elias Mudzuri was dismissed and replaced by the Makwavarara led commission. The history is also punctuated with the dismissal of several councilors for allegedly abusing their public offices.

Presently, the Harare City Council is led by a Council comprising of 46 elected councilors. These transact their business through a committee system. These committees are established in terms of section 96 and 97 of the Urban Councils Act. These committees allow councilors to participate in decision of their council since all councilors are members of one or more council. In addition, the Act allows for the establishment of as many committees as a Council deems necessary (section 96.1). Harare has a total of 46 councilors and seven committees. These councilors are the equivalent of the Board of Directors in private corporates, responsible for policy formulation and the oversight role to the implementation of such policies.

Governance in Harare takes in contributions of Local Government Associations, the Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) and the Association of Rural District Councils of Zimbabwe (ARDCZ) which have coalesced to form an umbrella body, the Zimbabwe Local Government Association (ZILGA). These associations have been a feature of urban governance dating back to the 1923, with the formation of Local Government Association of Southern Rhodesia (Chakaipa, 2010). These associations are voluntary member associations of which City of Harare is a member of Urban Council Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) which is a member of (ZILGA). ZILGA's principal role is to approach governance issues from a common point (Ibid). Their main functions are to lobby the government, parliamentarians and other relevant organizations on local governance issues, promoting sound management and organizational practices, facilitating the development of partnerships, networking and cooperation, initiating programs such as capacity building civic education and community participation and representing members at national, regional and international government platforms (Chatiza, 2010).

The role of civil society organizations in urban governance also finds expression in the Government of Zimbabwe's Vision of Local Government (1999) defines local governance as:

“A variety of institutions and processes of governance and non-governmental which collectively determine the way political and administrative decisions are made and implemented within a locality.”

In Harare, residents and rate payers associations play a critical role in the development management processes especially through pressurizing elected officials to improve service delivery; identify service delivery gaps as well as resource wastage.

For example the Harare Residents Trust has been in the media and writing articles in newspapers on issues identified above.

The Urban Councils Act is critical in urban management particularly in its specifications on the operational structures of Local Authorities. In Harare, the Act sets a two-tier operational structure in which councilors are responsible for policy formulation and the employed officials led the implementation wing in the governance process. These employed officials are employed by council through the Local Government Board established in terms of section 116 of the Urban Councils Act. The Board's functions are outlined in section 123 of the Act which includes conducting inquiries into the affairs and procedures of council and making model regulations stipulating the qualifications and appointments procedures for senior officials of council. The board is empowered by the Act to ensure efficient, effective and economic development management. In Harare however, the board's role has largely been limited to the approval of the appointment and dismissal of senior staff of councils.

The institutional and operational framework sanctioned by the Urban Council Act to corporate governance systems in the City of Harare particularly in areas of independence in decision making processes by elected and employed officials, participation of stakeholders, transparency and accountability has been under criticism from the public despite the Urban Council Act's provisions for the public access of council information (Section 88) and access to council meetings (Section 87). This is evidenced by the article in the *Newsday* of 8 September 2011 under the headline *Local Authorities should be held accountable* in which there are complaints about the failure of Harare City Council to foster stakeholder participation in decision making.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The adoption of decentralization as a means of improving the planning and implementation of development interventions through local participation has not resulted in development following the intended path in Harare leading to a developmental management crisis. This manifests in poor service delivery evidenced by exclusionary housing provision, shanty towns, chaotic transport systems and soaring urban unemployment and a general deterioration of the quality of services.

This is so because the policy of decentralization was pursued for both developmental and political reasons (De Valk 1990) in which the central government sought to replace colonial structures of local government with indigenous ones. Worse still as Herbest (1990:30) argues “the new government did not gain control over a weak colonial state but a bruised and non-defeated settler state with powerful anachronistic elements that were potentially hostile to the political project of the new regime.” Consequently the management of Harare city council like any other city in a post-colonial state is a matter of concern to a host of players ranging from academics, administrators, politicians and planners. Hence the management of Harare has incessantly remained a matter for concern for central government in the post-independence era.

The government hoped to ensure that decentralized development management citizens would contribute directly towards issues that affect them through meaningful engagement and flexibility in the planning and delivery of services.

However instead of fostering stakeholder participation, decisions still assume a top down fashion leading to most development plans becoming irrelevant to local needs, as there is a dearth of flexibility in decision making owing to existing vertical structures of government.

The failure to follow the agreed path of development has led to Harare failing to mobilize additional resources and to use the existing resources efficiently. As a result decentralisation has resulted in Harare now being faced with more responsibilities compared to its resource base thereby plunging it into a management crisis.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the challenges faced by city of Harare in flexible decision making?
- 2) What are the types authority used in integrated development planning in Harare?
- 3) How are the means of decision making, planning and implementation of development plans done in Harare?
- 4) To what extent is decentralisation effective in promoting local participation in development planning?
- 5) Are local development plans relevant to local needs in Harare?

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to analyze the impact of decentralization on local decision making, planning and implementation and management of local development interventions in Harare urban.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- 1.) Identify challenges faced by City of Harare in speedy and flexible decision making.
- 2.) Identify the types of authority used in facilitating citizens' contribution in co-ordinated planning in Harare.
- 3.) Outline the means for citizens' contribution towards decision making, planning and implementation of local development plans in Harare.
- 4.) Assess the effectiveness of local participation in creating community awareness in planning and development in Harare.
- 5.) Assess the relevance of local development plans to local needs in Harare.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The research will largely address unknown and unexplained realities in existing literature on decentralization and its supposed benefits in enhancing local participation in decision-making.

The aim of the study is to contribute to the small but growing body of studies that attempt to analyze the impact that different modes of decentralization have made on urban management in Harare. More so the research is being undertaken to close the knowledge gap in understanding the dynamics of decentralization and development management in urban service provision.

The essence of the research apart from gap filling is to capacitate academic in practice. The study will focus on specifically on Harare urban but also consulting on the international frame of experience and most importantly on Sub-Saharan Africa.

This will be done, solely for comparison purposes that is comparing international cases vis a vis national and local cases in countries that share experiences and circumstances with Zimbabwe.

The study was chosen because of the realization that there is much hype about decentralized local governance at policy level and re-centralized policy implementation without due documentation on the analysis of the dynamics of decentralization on the development process at local levels of governance.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF STUDY AREA

The research is to be carried in Harare urban. The target population shall include Council officials in the Urban Planning Services Department, Chamber Secretary's Department and the Town Clerk's Department, the Ministry of Local Government Urban and Rural Development and Civic Society Groups.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher shall consider principal matters of sensitivity to the rights and integrity of respondents. The researcher will seek informed consent from research participants.

Informed consent is a principle that says that research participants should willingly take part in the research after a clear explanation by the researcher about what the research entails and ensure them the right to withdraw from the research when necessary. The researcher will also ensure that there is a balance between society's interests and those of the researcher. The research will also ensure that respondents have their rights to privacy and confidentiality.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations of the study are those characteristics of design that set parameters on the application or interpretation of the results of the study, that is the constraints on generalization and utility of findings that are the result of the devices of design or method that establish internal and external validity (Van Veenhuizen, 2006).

Possible limitations to the research include limited finances to which the researcher will fund, on top of choosing simple random sampling so as to draw descriptive or inferential conclusions from sample data about large groups.

Sampling will reduce research costs because only a sample from the population was used to represent the views of a larger population.

Some respondents may be unwilling to be disturbed from their businesses to answer questions. The researcher will move to the next respondents who will be willing to partake in the research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will focus on reviewing work done by other researchers on the subject of the dynamics of decentralisation and developments planning in urban governance. It will bring out their findings and justify the present study. According to Jaeger (1998) in Borg (1996) literature review is an extraction of accumulated knowledge that is learnt from what others have already published. Bless (1995) also concurs with the above definition when he argues that it is a process which involve research and evaluation of the available literature in the given subject area. Borg (1996) further summarizes the above arguments by pointing out that the review of literature involves locating, reading and evaluating reports of research as well as reports of casual observation and opinion that are related to the individual's planned research project in this case the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning Harare Urban.

Literature currently abounds on this topic on the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in Harare. Cognizant of this fact, this chapter attempts to explore some of the works that have attempted to address some aspects of interest to this research.

The central purpose of this review is to mark the point of entry into the subject of concern against the insights from other studies. Literature review therefore situates the research problem within the context of other studies on the same subject.

Tuckman (1972:40) observes that literature review deals with "... the study of literature related to one's topic of research" thus one takes a focused curiosity on topics that have a bearing on one's research topic. In the process one defines the context of the problem by defining and operationalising the major variables (Dube, 2000). Best and Kahn (1993) adds that one also broadens one's focus on a chosen field of study and avoids duplication of what has been said. Based on the rationale stated above this chapter takes a thematic approach to the review of conceptual issues surrounding decentralisation and development planning in Harare.

2.1 Overview of urban development planning

Discussion dynamics of decentralisation on urban development planning cannot be exhaustive without making reference to an expose of the concept. Development planning has its roots in general planning theory and is evolutionary and responsive to developments in the wider society.

The concept of development planning has controversy on what constitute planning. Decentralisation on planning matters thus become embroiled in the same controversy as there is no an agreed position on what constitute planning. However decentralisation has tended to concentrate on major planning features.

These according (Glasson, 1982) include a sequence of actions which are designed to solve future problems. (Nwaka, 2005) explains that planning problems vary but they primarily tend to be economic and social. The dynamics of decentralized development planning vary well as the time horizon of the future also varies according to the level and type of planning. Glasson, (1982)'s study reveals that almost all planning involves a sequential process which can be conceptualized into a number of stages such as:

- identification of the problem
- Formulation of general goals and more specific measurable objectives relating to the problem.
- Identification of possible constraints.
- projection of the future situation
- The generation and evaluation of alternative courses of action.
- The production of a preferred plan which in its generic form can contain policy statements and strategies to address social and economic problems.

Planning therefore becomes critical to any form of decentralized development management. An analysis of planning is instructive when trying to analyze the impact of decentralized development management. Friedman aptly clarifies planning as primarily concerned about thinking about social and economic problems with a predominantly future orientation. Planning therefore becomes deeply concerned with the relation of goals to collective decisions and strives much for comprehensiveness in policy and programs (Ibid).

2.2 Modernist urban planning and governance

Planning takes place within the context of governance. According to the UNDP (2001), governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels.

It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. The World Bank (1999) further defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. This means that the concept of governance is concerned directly with the management of development processes involving both the public and private sector.

It encompasses the functioning and capacity of the public sector as well as the rule and institutions that create the framework for the conduct of both public and private businesses. This includes the accountability for economic and financial performance and regulatory frameworks relating to companies corporations, and partnerships. In broad terms governance is about the institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies and officials.

UNESCO (1999) on the other hand defines governance as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs including citizens articulating their interests, and exercise their legal rights and obligations. The African Union according to the Addis Ababa Declaration of the AU Heads of State (2003) also defined governance as accountability of leadership, consolidation of democratic institutions and popular participation and a development model that is self-reliant, human centered, sustainable and based on social justice.

Issues of contemporary development planning are thus linked to the space or power to the people that governance structures create to enable the stakeholder's voices to be heard through decentralized systems.

2.3 Conceptualizing key terms in decentralized development planning

2.3.0 Citizen participation

Citizen participation is a desired and necessary part of community development and should be encompassed in any policy formulation process. According to the ACPD(2006) participation means taking part as an individual and as a community in decision making at each step of the development process.

This entails that all citizens should be able to participate actively in the local development planning process for any development process to yield fruitful results. Lisk (1985) further defines participation as the involvement of the broad cross section of population in the choice, execution of programmes and projects that are designed to bring out significant upward movement in their living standards. He also observed that the concept of participation relates to the involvement of the broad section of the population to influence decision making in favour of popular developmental needs and aspirations. Makumbe (1996) also viewed beneficiary citizen participation as only being meaningful for the masses if they are effectively involved at the various levels of the development process. A classic example is that people are engaged in development planning together with local governments more proactive and efficient plans to address the concerns of the marginalised citizens can be identified. Makumbe, (1996) identified two types of participation that can be applied to the development planning process. These are active and passive participation.

2.3.1 Active and passive participation

The United Nations publication as cited in Makumbe (1996) observed that active participation requires time to attend meetings and inform oneself about issues.

Active participation goes beyond mere choice making from predetermined alternatives. Passive participation largely points to such choice making and even manipulation of the masses by those who will benefit from critical decisions in the first place. According to the United Nations (1967) if people are continuously expected to be passive recipients of government programs, policy and projects, they tend to shun participation and lose interest in the programmes which lead to underdevelopment of local communities.

2.4 Local Democracy and development planning.

All citizens should be able to participate actively in the local democratic process. According to Fung (2001:41) local democracy gives citizens the freedom to participate in making decisions that are locally appropriate and serve the needs of the local community. Local democracy simply means rule by the people, giving people a say in the decisions that affect their lives and access to resources for improving their quality of their lives. The UNECA Executive secretary as cited in Makumbe (1996) observed that the democratization of the development process, through the empowerment of the people, their involvement in decision making, in the planning process is a “condition sine qua non” for socio-economic recovery and transformation.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Europe’s Resolution number 1121 of 1997 on instruments of citizen participation states that a truly living democracy depends on the active contribution of all citizens in development planning. Their participation in every aspect is thus a decisive factor for the smooth functioning of democratic institutions.

The ACPD(2003) defined democracy more broadly as the full participation of all citizens in political ,economic, social and cultural decision making through appropriate laws ,policies institutions, processes and attitudes in a way which promotes equality, the growth of individuals and the well-being of communities. Local democracy in development planning is basically about sharing power decisions and resources fairly.

2.5 Means of participation in development planning

2.5.0 Participatory Budgeting

In Zimbabwean local government system participatory budgeting is yet another platform in which the ordinary citizens are given space to effect any amendments and inputs which may result in development (Chikerema, 2012). Participatory budgeting greatly strengthens fiscal decentralisation through allocation of responsibilities to decentralised agencies to raise revenue and partner other development agencies in the process of development planning. Participatory budgeting is a process of democratic deliberations and decision making in which ordinary citizens decide how to allocate part of municipal or public budget. It is characterized by several design features that is: identification of spending priorities by community members, election of budget delegates to represent different communities and vote on spending priorities and the implementation of local direct impact community projects (Machingauta, 2010).

In the case of Zimbabwe local government system, according to Section 288 of the Urban Councils Act Chapter (29:15) budget estimates are published in three issues of the newspaper so as to give the public a chance to scrutinize the budget.

According to Chirisa (2012) a participatory budget is part of the overall strategic effort to promote local democracy in Local Authorities and its main objectives are: to promote civic interest and participation in local development planning, to involve the community in generating self-sustaining livelihoods options as well as to promote accountability and transparency in local public finance and budgeting. Participatory budgeting is a process of deliberating on development planning, decision making and participatory democracy in which ordinary citizens decide how to allocate part of a municipal of public budget.

This therefore ensures a guided budget in a decentralized form of governance and as well as ensuring participation and promoting local democracy within the local development management system.

Nkala (2004) views the budget as a public fiscal policy instrument which is essentially a mechanism of how fiscal resources will be mobilized and public goods and services allocated. Doerr (1998; 45) defined the budget as a statement of expected revenues and laid expenditures for a fiscal period. The public citizens should be part of the budget process of their areas so that they can put their desires and ensure that money is also spent on their needs as well.

2.5.1 Consultative Forums and Public Hearings

Consultative forums in the Zimbabwean development planning system also ensure that participation is encouraged and this greatly boosts administrative decentralisation which involves deconcentration and delegation of power from central to local government. According to Saito (1999) consultative forums are for local decision making in councils. Through elected representatives, proposals are channeled to councils for the preparation of local development plans which reflect local needs. Local administrators report to local council officials who in turn account to the people.

These accountability procedures are reflective of the democratic development planning process in service provision. The planning process and accountability procedures reflect popular participation in initiating and implementing programmes.

2.6 Overview of Decentralization

Decentralization has a mixed record from scholarly literature by students of local governance in Africa. The record indicates intellectual cleavages in which scholars seek to understand the impact of decentralisation on development planning on the optimism –pessimism-continuum. However one of the key features on the literature on decentralized development planning has been the staunch support for decentralisation as an important prerequisite for attaining sustainable socio-economic development and as a fundamental goal in democratic governance (Chikulo, 1998).

According to Harbemas in Tandon (1999:27), governance in the modern state demands that the state relinquishes its responsibilities to their citizenry through the process of decentralization.

The Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA) strategic plan for 2006-2010: 21) defines de-centralization as any change in the organization of the state which involves the transfer of power or functions from the central level to any sub national levels, or from one sub national to another lower level. Rondinelli (1991) broke down decentralization into three categories: de-concentration, delegation and devolution. In his view, decentralisation obtains when some amount of administrative responsibility is transmitted to lower levels within central government. He thus defined decentralisation as:

“The shift of workload from central government ministry headquarters to staff located outside the capital” (Rondinelli, 1991:139).

As a form of decentralisation, delegation in Rondinelli’s scheme implies the transfer of authority to plan and implement decisions over specific activities to organizations places under indirect control of central agencies.

Devolution is the third pattern of decentralisation and it involves the transfer of power to sub national units of government and under only indirect supervisory control of the center. These units have responsibility for specific functions over defined areas and are under leadership by the elected by people.

The plan by BALA further notes that de-centralization becomes a process of reducing inequalities and promoting interdependent relationships between the central, regional and or local state. The plan further identifies a fourth form of decentralization, that of privatization. Privatization is the transfer of functions and authority to provide certain services to the private sector or voluntary organizations (Makumbe, 1995).

According to BALA decentralization and local democracy in Botswana has had constant progress in the area of social and physical infrastructure but has serious weaknesses in the political, economic, administrative, legal and structural levels of the local government structure in Botswana. According to Wunsch (2000) politically councils and local authorities are not given relative autonomy to run their affairs and develop their areas of control out of their own initiatives. They are often controlled legislatively, economically, and administratively by the centrally controlled fiscal resources.

In economic terms the government of Botswana has stripped the councils and local authorities of their pre independence and early independence resource bases in the form of Government tax, charge tax for water, and other services like school fees, and health services. BALA adds that though these abolitions have relieved the general populace of the tax burden it has however increased the Local Authorities' dependence on grants.

A study by Olowu (1992) reflects that in the administrative sphere the centrally controlled administrative structure of employment, deployment, training, planning, and budgeting have stifled local self-governance where councils are given power to employ personnel only up to a certain level. Therefore Council administration remains directly accountable to the Ministry of Local Government. Legally the creation of local authorities is located in subsidiary legislation there-by preventing them from accessing some constitutionally entitled resources.

Intra-structural problems in Botswana's Local governance system arise from the existence of parallel structures in the form of Land Boards, Traditional Administration and District Administration. These have narrowed the scope and functions of Councils. Dzimbiri (2009) argues that this has been done by the government as a way of providing "checks and balances at local level" which is a way of ensuring control and manipulation of local authorities.

2.7 Local government

Local government is a product of devolution as a dimension of decentralisation. According to Gomme (1987:1-2) local government is that part of the whole government of a nation or state which is administered by authorities subordinate to state authority, but elected independently of control by the state authority, by qualified persons resident or having property in certain localities which have been formed by communities having a common interest and common history. Meyer (1978:10) reasoned that local government is a local democratic governing unity within the unitary democratic system of a country, which are subordinate members of the government vested with prescribed, controlled governmental powers and sources of income to render specific local services and develop, control and regulate the geographic, social and economic environment of defined local area.

According to Chikulo, (1998), whilst local governments are actually not independent of central government control, they enjoy only relative autonomy due to the division of responsibilities for services between central and local government. Burns et al, (1994 adds that it should be noted that the division of these responsibilities is a political and or policy issue. Mawhood (1993:66) further posits local government is the third tier or level of government deliberately created to bring government closer to the grassroots population and gives these grassroots structures give a sense of involvement in local governance processes that control their daily lives. The existence of local government has always been justified on the basis that it is a crucial instrument of the process of democratic consolidation and intensification of broad based participation in decision making processes. Wekwete (1990) therefore concludes no political system is considered to be complete and democratic if it does not have a system of local government.

There are several preconditions that determine successful relationship between central and local government as indicated by the World Bank (1989:88) and Heymans and Totemeyer (1988:6) which are:

- (a) The need and urge for a strong system of local government in a democratic political environment;
- (b) That local government be allowed to play a vital role as a full partner in regional and national development;
- (c) A fair division of financial resources between central, regional and local bodies;
- (d) A fair division of human resources between central and local government;
- (e) Formal and effective checks and balances between central and local government;
- (f) Full and adequate consultation and regular flow of accurate information at and between all level;

- (g) The full participation of each citizen ,irrespective of race and gender at all levels of administration and government thus ,the extension of democracy to all spheres of government;
- (h) Political and social harmony.

Burns et al (1994) argues that Local government should be seen as the cornerstones in the structure of a political decentralized political system since it serves as a vehicle for intelligent and responsible citizenship.

In Uganda a novel pattern of decentralized local government was introduced by President Yoweri Museveni. Borong (1990) explains that President Yoweri Museveni introduced a pattern of governance of Local Government based on resistance councils (RCs). Every ward of not less than ten and not more than twenty families was organized into a resistance council (RC1) in which all resident adults are members. From this base, a five tier hierarchy of residents' councils was established at successively wider areas, at the levels of parish (RCii), a sub country (RCiii) country (RCiv) and district (RCv). President Museveni justified his decentralization model as follows:

“Our decentralisation measures aim at undoing the harm that was done to local systems of governance by centralization. We want to unleash local initiative and invigorate the local democratic process, which together, will sustain development and enhance local capacities for self-governance and delivery of service. Given our historical backdrop, we believe that the devolution of power, function and resources will help us achieve albeit cheaply higher performance rates in literacy, life expectancy and other indicators of social development”.

(Museveni 1994:4)

Each RC had an elected nine-member executive committee, which supervised development management within its territory and attending to the welfare of its members. An RC was expected to meet at least once a month to determine policies and at the level of RC1, the ward, every adult resident was expected to be involved in the exercise.

The executive committee was charged with responsibility of implementing the plans through relevant bureaucracies. According to President Museveni, the RC decentralisation policy was informed by the belief that “Human beings can govern themselves in peace and dignity in pursuit of their collective well-being(public good) once they are entrusted with their own destiny” (Museveni,1994:4). Borongo (1990:134) notes that the RC system is successful in providing a form of political structure in which citizens or residents are closely and actively involved at different levels.

A study by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities (SALA) (1985:16) on the state of decentralization after Local Government reforms in Zimbabwe revealed that what emanated from the local government reforms were councils which were largely bureaucracies with limited business orientation, constrained by the Minister’s role which featured prominently in elections, borrowing powers finance, and auditing of urban councils. Makumbe (1998) further argues that party politics have played a significant role in city governance since 1988, with Council Chambers dominated by members of popular political parties at any given time. At first it was PF/ZAPU in Bulawayo and ZANU/PF in Harare and now it is MDC-T in almost all Urban Councils. The above argument puts the role of the Minister responsible for Local Government under spotlight in urban governance.

2.8 Decentralisation and the existence of Civil Society Organizations (CSO)s

Civil Society Organisations also encourages participation and this therefore strengthens decentralized development planning.

It implies that there is the opening of space to accommodate civil and political liberties and institutional pluralism in development planning. According to Reddy (1999) participation would therefore mean that people organise themselves, accept responsibilities and become involved in local decision making. In Zimbabwe the local government system is characterised by a large number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). These organisations play a pivotal role in complementing government efforts that is provision of efficient service delivery and as well facilitating local participation in the planning process.

2.9 Urban development management

The evolution of urban development planning and management worldwide is underpinned by the evolution of societies which is always characterized by the desire of mankind to always live in groups as hunters, gatherers, fishermen and in agricultural societies and presently in industrial societies (Colley et al 2003). Ray (2009) thus argues that from the outset, humankind has sought to discover the best ways of making decisions for its groups, that is to find ways of governing so as to resolve disputes, control destructive behavior and achieve goals that advance the mutual welfare of the members of society. Therefore the effectiveness of policies and approaches to development planning has been and are largely key to the survival and prosperity of particular societies. Colley et al (2003) however argues that at first development planning and management processes were simple but now they are complex since decision making processes should reflect more complex governance issues in present day complex societies driven by digital technology which have ushered in revolutions in electronics, transportation and communication which have all combined to exponential

increases in people's ability to gather and disseminate information. This has therefore predisposed regulatory statutes to serious challenges in governance issues especially in complicated and elite societies in urban areas in which regulatory frameworks have to be constantly changed in line with the requirements of societies at a particular time.

2.10 Concepts in urban planning and development management

2.10.0 Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is a term that was coined by Max Weber to refer to a system of public administration in an effort to achieve orderly governance (Laxmikanth, 2006). At its inception, it was driven by arguments that individuals are rational human being driven by the desire to fulfill public interest goals in accordance with laid down laws, procedures and precedence (Heywood, 2002). It is also a term that is often used interchangeably with Traditional Public Administration (TPM), which advocates for the separation of politics from administration. According to Haggue and Harrop (2001) in TPM, the business of politics should be left to politicians who were supposed to formulate policies that they think are in the public interest. Administrators on the other hand are expected to restrict themselves to policy implementation. Thus there is an expected dichotomy between politics and administration in an ideal bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy has however been criticized for being inefficient, ineffective, rigid and oligarchical (Goodman, 1992). According to Haggue and Harrop (2001:269) in a bureaucracy laws allows for officials to continue extracting resources from society in an arbitrary and unaccountable fashion Heywood (2002) argues that bureaucracy is associated with corruption with a pursuit for private personal gain.

2.10.1 Principles of Bureaucracy

Planning and rationality- Weber argued that PA had to be concerned with deliberate and rational planning. By rational planning emphasis is on the relation between means and ends. Local Government structures are organized in such a manner to accomplish development oriented goals.

Formalization-TPA operates on the bases of formal structures that are set and those structures establish descriptions of duties of individuals and the responsibilities of officers. Thus bureaucracy aims at ensuring that structures enable for planning, supervising and coordination of various segments public institutions and these according to Weber give rise to the other following characteristics.

Specialization and division of labour-bureaucracy argues that there has to be division of labour by ensuring that members of an organization perform specialized set of responsibilities and hence the need for special expertise in their jobs

Hierarchy- offices within the framework of bureaucracy are organized in a hierarchy in which each office is supervised by the offices higher up the level of authority.

Rules and regulations- TPA advocates for public institutions to have elaborate sets of rules and regulations that guide the behavior of employees and these are usually in written form. These therefore set the basis of organizational decisions. Goodman (1992) argues that the rules and regulations are intended to add an element of stability and predictability of the bureaucracy.

Impersonality- in TPA officials is expected to treat each client as a 'case' and not as an individual (Ibid).

This is related to the principle of rules and regulations, the public official should be impersonal by taking necessary action on the basis of the established rules and regulations. Hence in TPA interaction with clients should not be based on feelings rather on the official's role.

Formal written files and records-organizational activities are expected to be communicated and recorded in written form and maintained as permanent records to guide future action.

Technical competence and careers- to Weber public officials are expected to carry out responsibilities basing on technical competence as opposed to prior practices where jobs largely depended on family and personal contacts.

Administrative staff-PA had to rely on people who had no direct relationship to the explicit goals of the public institution but who arte tasked with the responsibility for their smooth operation.

2.10.2 Weaknesses of bureaucracy

TPA presents a typical ideal type to which Weber is reported to have confessed that there was need for a purified model against which real life situations in public affairs could be judged. TPA has therefore resulted in serious malfunctioning since the system could not be precise, formal and impersonal (Heywood, 2002). Moyo (1992) add that personal relationships between public official led to a preponderance of people using informal means of public administration thus rules are occasionally bend or broken, informal ways of taking action have taken center stage and files are rarely complete.

This the system of PA have been accused of being adjusted in order to suit personal circumstances despite the requirements to stick to formal rules and regulations in an attempt to give bureaucracy a 'human face' (Goodman, 1992).

The above state of affairs has therefore culminated in the following weaknesses being observed.

2.10.3 Weaknesses

Inefficiency: in bureaucracy rules are meant for typical cases, and efficiency depends on the application of these rules to new cases. However faced with any atypical case or unusual 'case' the rules are found with glaring shortcomings which reduces efficiency (Hood, 1996). Goodman (1992) further cites Veblen (1934), as having added that the systematic application of procedures has led to the development of 'trained incapacity' where bureaucracy fail to creatively and imaginatively deal with new and or unique situations. The inefficiency is also attributed to the hierarchical structure of public institutions in which officials in lower ranks can conceal errors and mistakes from their superiors in an effort to avoid punishments. Thus these cover ups are a major source of inefficiency as they go uncorrected.

Goal displacement: Merton cited in Goodman (1992) has argued that in TPA, bureaucrats tend to forget the original goals of public institutions in favor of advancing personal; goals and hence the tendency is to commit oneself to limited amounts of work, getting home early holding on to their jobs. Such kind of behavior is what was referred to as **goal displacement** which leads to ineffectiveness of the TPA as a system of handling public affairs and hence the need for a new approach. Hence decentralized development planning is expected to ensure that institutions stick to their set goals.

Bureaucratic enlargement: since the essence of TPA is for public servants to implement policies crafted by politicians, politicians often have the propensity to overburden lower tiers of government with more responsibilities and activities which are seen as inescapable to bureaucratic systems. Hence the tendency is to commit more and more resources to such activities.

This is a process that was referred to as **bureaucratic enlargement** in which public funds are spend on such activities. This is against the principle of ‘economy’ as resources are scarce and hence need to be allocated wisely and therefore the call for a paradigm shift to decentralized urban management.

Rigidity: Osborne and Gaebler (1992) cited in Haggue and Harrop (2003) argued that TPA tends to develop ritualistic rigidity due its pre-occupation with rules and regulations. This state of affairs according to Merton (1968) cited in Goodman (1992) leads to the stifling of creativity and imagination on the part of the public servant, a feature which has called in for a new approach towards urban development management.

Oligarchy: TPA’s heavy leanings on bureaucratic systems tend to culminate in the development of oligarchies i.e. systems in which many are ruled by a few. This understanding of the frailties of bureaucracy has its roots in Michel’s “**iron law of oligarchy**” which states that democracy in large organizations do not co-exist. His argument was that where power is concentrated in the hands of a few, accountability to those below is minimal if not non-existent. Local authorities have thus been called to promote participatory local; democracy to ensure that development planning and management is not compromised.

Such criticisms of TPA led to its ultimate demise and its replacement with New Public Management (NPM)

2.10.3 New Public Management (NPM)

The criticisms of bureaucracy gave rise to the emergence of new approaches towards PA, the so called ideas for the “**re-inventing of government**” in which government’s administrative machinery is re-aligned to match present day neo-liberal demands in society.

This approach is commonly known as NPM, a term used to reflect the scope of public sector management techniques in government and for the transfer of government functions to private bodies (Heywood 2002).

He further points out that NPM as a philosophy advocates for the government to ‘steer’ (decide policy), while private bodies ‘row’ (deliver services) and that public bodies should embrace the “entrepreneurial spirit”. Haggue and Harrop (2003) notes that examples of such practices are found in private bodies holding managers accountable for results, the setting of explicit targets to assess results and the use of short-term contracts and open recruitment strategies (Flexibility)

Osborne and Gaebler (1992) cited in Heywood (2002) therefore asserts that NPM is an indispensable shift from hierarchies to markets and from government to governance. Heywood adds that such an understanding automatically associate NPM with the three E’s of efficiency, effectiveness, and economy (page 367) which are a direct reaction to the ‘flash points’ in TPA on the three areas aforementioned .

Thus the failure to address the above areas by TPA justifies the movement away to NPM which is informed by Ronald Reagan’s famous declaration that

Government is not the solution to the problem, government is the problem.

Therefore in view of the above NPM ushered in 10 principles as was propounded by Osborne and Gaebler (1992) in their book: **Re-Inventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector.** The principles are as follows:

Promoting competition between service providers.

An experience of the application of NPM in New Zealand cited in Haggue and Harrop (2001) reflects a remarkable coalition of economic theories, politicians, and business leaders to create a model of service delivery that was successful. This culminated in the raising of standards of services at local levels as well as the contracting out of services to local firms to supply local services.

Hood cited in Haggue and Harrop (2001) argues that this tendering of services increased the customer's choices by increasing their options in services due to competition.

2.) Empowering citizens by pushing control out of the bureaucracy into the community as opposed to TPA where the focus is on imposing issues on society. NPM promotes the consideration of the community as the principal who should participate in process of service provision. The Southern African Municipal Act embraces the principle of community participation in Chapter 4, Section 16. 1(a) which states that

16. (1) A municipality must develop the culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance,

The Act further obliges municipalities to establish conditions that promote participation through capacity building. The municipalities are also required by the act to allocate resources towards meeting this objective.

.103.) Measuring performance, focusing not on inputs but on outcomes a practice which is absent in TPA as the focus is on increasing inputs owing to bureaucratic enlargement.

4.) Public management must be driven by SMART goals, as opposed to rules and regulations which are heavily criticized for breeding corruption and the furtherance of self-seeking goals that is the concept of “**goal displacement**”.

5.) Redefining of clients as customers and offering them choices e.g. Between schools, training programs, between housing options as opposed to the “iron law of oligarchy in which a few decide for many as public administrators were not supposed to question the policies of politicians.

6.) Preventing problems before they emerged rather offering services afterwards as in contradiction to the concept of giving bureaucracy a ‘human face’ (participatory planning).

7.) Decentralization of authority and adoption of participatory management as opposed to the concept of a hierarchical way of administration in which individuals are made numb and hence unable to react to new demands within the environment and thus suffer from “**trained incapacity**”.

8.) Earning money rather than spending it, thus public institutions should harness the spirit of entrepreneurship and earn money rather than spending money through bureaucratic enlargement and hence being uneconomic as in TPA.

9.) Preference should be on market mechanisms rather than on bureaucratic ones. That is the laws of demand and supply should prevail rather than just allocating resources where they are not needed, as opposed to the process of shooting in the dark in TPA in which budgeting for activities is based on line-item bases. Thus NPM seeks to improve on the aspect of “economy”.

10.) Catalyzing all sectors-private public and voluntary into solving community problems as opposed to bureaucratic rigidity in which only bureaucratic officials solve problems according to laid down rules and regulations. This is related to the goals of capacitating communities to participate in governance of the localities.

In other instances this takes the form of Public Private Partnerships (PPS) and thereby abolishing preventing the participation of all stakeholders through rules and regulations. Hood (1996) also notes that these allows for the exploitation of private sector resources in the provision of goods and services.

Hood (1996) is another scholar who proposed that good governance under NPM is guaranteed by six components. He identified the components as follows:

- Managers are given more discretion but are held responsible for results.
- Explicit targets are set and used to assess results.
- Resources are allocated according to results.
- Departments are unbundled into more independent units.
- More work is contracted out to the private sector.
- More flexibility is allowed in recruiting and retaining staff. Costs are cut in an effort to achieve with less.

Hood (1996) further explained that the six components promote the concept of Performance Management Systems (PMS) as a way of providing checks and balances that were absent in the TPA system.

The above tenets of NPM can provide interesting insights in to the solutions to address the challenges confronting the Harare City Council development planning.

2.11 The Concept of the Performance Management System (PMS)

Kaul (2000) points out that as organizations are human groupings created to achieve specific goals, their performance is a sum total of individual employees in the organization. Traditional public administration models did not pay significant attention to the measurement of performance.

Individual employees were appraised confidentially, without targets, and the approach was historical, with no opportunity to improve performance (Haggue and Harrop, 2001). Performance in TPM was cosmetically controlled by Performance Appraisal and laid much emphasis on behavioral or personality characteristics such as loyalty, dependability, punctuality and honesty and as central attributes for evaluation of an individual employee. Individual performance was never linked to departmental, divisional and organizational strategic goals and objectives. The urge to evaluate, measure and monitor performance of public institutions and employees has been the concern of politicians in the public sector (Dzimbiri, 2009). NPM consequently generated interest in performance management and the need to develop appropriate performance management processes.

NPM thus seeks to improve performance, efficiency, accountability and effectiveness of public sector organizations, through a variety of public sector reforms, and one of these is the performance management system (Heywood, 2002).

Performance management can be defined as a strategic and integrated approach to delivering sustained success to organizations by improving the performance of the people who work in them and by developing the capabilities of teams and individual contributors (Armstrong and Barron 2002). It is concerned with managing the organization, everyone in the business, performance improvement, employee development, stakeholder satisfaction and communication and involvement (Armstrong 2003). It is based on the principle of management by agreement or contract rather than management by command as was in the case with TPM. It emphasizes the development and the initiation of self-managed learning process plans as well as the integration of individual and corporate objectives. It is a continuous and flexible process that involves managers and their subordinates within a framework that sets out how they can best work to achieve the required results (Armstrong 2003; Hughes, 2008)

2.12 Benefits of NPM

The emphasis of NPM on good governance, in a democratic ideological framework has brought with it mechanisms of ensuring good governance. These are in the form of principles that have to be adhered to in governance practices. These are as follows:

- Accountability
- Transparency
- Fairness
- Independence

The research seeks to investigate how the Urban Councils Act is impacting on the above pillars in urban governance.

2.12.0Accountability

According to the Macmillan English Dictionary (2008) accountability is the ability of people to have the right to criticize someone or ask why something happened. It refers also to a report of oneself. Rasheed and Olowu (1993) argue that the structure of an open society preserves the atmosphere in which accountability and probity feature prominently in the social ethos. Accountability thus entrenches public sanctions and exposure and thus checks malpractice. Its absence predisposes societies to the undermining and impairing of collective social conscience. Rasheed and Olowu (1993) adds that in circumstances devoid of accountability bureaucrats both in public and private sectors become easy prey to unethical conduct in their professional positions.

Shar (2009) Local Authorities can take a number of steps to ensure accountability. Examples are as follows;

- Establishing clear lines of responsibility
- Periodic reporting and reviews.
- Quarterly financial reporting
- Setting clear asymmetric communication channels with stakeholders

Provisions for the publication to ensure that the public gets access to them should be enshrined in legislative frameworks governing the way local authorities are controlled and run so that accountability can be said to have been practiced.

2.12.1 Transparency

According to Makumbe (1995) transparency refers to availing information freely and directly to those who will be affected by decisions. The provision of such information must be in understandable forms. The emphasis of NPM on the use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) provides for the adoption of faster, open communication systems. The South African Municipal Local Government Systems Act No. 32, 2000, obliges the communication of information concerning community participation in Section 18,1(a) which states that:

(1) A municipality must communicate to its community information concerning—

(a) The available mechanisms, processes and procedures to encourage and facilitate community participation;

When communicating the information a municipality must take into account—

(a) Language preferences and usage in the municipality; and

(b) The special needs of people who cannot read or write.

Decentralized development planning frameworks should therefore ensure that urban governance processes are not prone to uneven application of the development plans since the vulnerable and the marginalized within societies will be well informed on the decisions that will affect them and hence participate meaningfully in the governance of their localities.

2.12.2 Fairness

Coyle (2004) defines fairness as unbiased and equitable dealing. It can be taken to point to social inclusion in decision making where citizens are taken as equals.

It also entails all groups particularly the most vulnerable to have an opportunity to improve and maintain their wellbeing.

The decentralized urban development planning should thus ensure that power and opportunities are not concentrated in a few hands as this would lead to high levels of corruption, pursuit of short term benefits, and domination by individuals in Council thereby leading to uneven application and implementation of development interventions.

2.12.3 Independence

Independence refers to the ability of individuals to make decisions without any undue external influence (Wunsch, 2000). Section 151 (4) of The South African Constitution guarantees the independence of Local Authorities in decision making by specifying that:

The national or a provincial government may not compromise or impede municipality's ability or right to exercise its powers or perform its functions

Therefore decentralized development planning should ensure that officials make decisions without any outside influence to ensure that technical expectations that guarantee competency are not waived.

2.13 Limitations of the NPM

The application of the concept of NPM cannot guarantee good governance on its own. It is subject to other unique circumstances obtaining in Harare since there is no reality that exists independent of it. Thus Harare needs its own model that is sensitive to its local fundamentals.

And hence there is the need to identify the forces operating within the field of decentralized development planning.

2.14 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study is informed by the New Development Management movement which has proven to be a significant departure on traditional public administration and which espouses decentralisation as an option for effective service provision in urban management. The New Development Management approach is synonymous to the New Public Management (NPM) movement which was popularized by Osborne and Gaebler (1992) in their book, *Reinventing Government*. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) were formalizing the ideas of public sector reforms in America and Britain under Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher respectively.

Reagan had observed that the failure for efficient, effective and economic management of development interventions by authorities was due to overcentralisation. He saw the problem in the government itself. Reagan argued that the government was not the solution to the problem but was rather the problem (Haggue and Harrop, 2001).

Ever since Reagan made this declaration, New Public Management became closely connected to public sector reform programmes (Mackintosh, 1997, Robinson, 20001). The NPM draws on institutional economics and rational choice theories which according to Rhodes (1995:3) the NPM advocates:

“The disaggregation of public bureaucracies; completion in the public sector(for example contracting out, quasi markets); and discipline and parsimony in public spending”.

Robinson (2000) argues that the NPM tries to solve the problems in developing social services systems that arise from soaring populations and ever-changing socio-political and economic conditions without stretching the financial resources of the state.

NPM also attempts to build probity and efficiency to poorly funded government bureaucracies and thus draws on “managerialism”, a body of thinking that cherishes “hands on, professional management based on private sector management experience which sets explicit standards and measures performance and emphasizes output controls” (Rhodes, 1995:3).

2.15 Summary

The chapter started by conceptualizing the research by providing the conceptual underpinnings in development planning. These revolve around decentralisation in all its forms. Examples were drawn from Botswana, Uganda and South Africa to demonstrate how decentralisation operates as an enabling model of local governance. Studies by the Swedish Local Governments Association were also used to explain the nature of decentralisation in Zimbabwe’s urban governance. The chapter went on to introduce Traditional Public Administration (TPA) and New Public Management as concepts in urban governance.

The tenets of both concepts were also highlighted together with examples of how and where they are applied. TPA was discussed under the Bureaucracy as it is another term for the concept. Weaknesses for TPA were also given as well as how they justify the adoption of a new approach, the NPM towards urban governance. These weaknesses mainly centered on inefficiency, ineffectiveness and uneconomic public administration system. Various views on The NPM were discussed at length especially on its ten principles cited by Osborne and Gaebler (1999) and its six components identified by Hood. The principles and components point to a preference on shifting emphasis to communities as the principals in governance and to local governments as agents as opposed to the case under TPM where politicians decide on behalf of the people and compel bureaucrats to implement those decisions purported to be in public interest.

The concept of performance Management systems was also discussed to highlight how officials are held to account for their performance in local governance under NPM. The benefits of applying NPM to urban local governance were also presented. These are directly linked to the pillars of good governance and these include transparency, accountability, fairness and independence.

The next chapter will be on the research methodology to be used in carrying out this

Research and how data is to be presented.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In an effort to explore the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in Harare urban different techniques shall be employed in the process of data collection. This chapter discusses the research methodology, the sample, and the sampling procedures and the data analysis and the presentation plan. Since this is a case study data was collected through questionnaires and interviews. Results are presented in chapters 4 and 5 through both quantitative and qualitative descriptive and explanatory analysis.

3.1 Research design

The research took a mixed research methodology that is both the qualitative and quantitative approaches were applied. These allowed for a holistic investigation of the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in Harare. The research used the descriptive design which is based on the case study method. Strauss (1995) defines a research design as a plan to be followed to answer the research objectives or framework to solve the objective problem. It thus acts as a blueprint for a study as it guides data collection and analysis. The choice of the descriptive design was chosen because first-hand information can be gathered from stakeholders within the City of Harare.

A document analysis exercise was also carried out on the Urban Councils Act and The Regional, Town and Country Planning Act. The study took this approach since the researcher was concerned mainly with the describing and interpreting the development planning processes in Harare as directed by the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) and The Regional,

Town and Country Planning Act. According to Best (1970) in Cohen and Marion (1994:67), this approach is concerned with:

“conditions or relationships that exist, practices that prevail, beliefs, points of view, or attitudes that are held, processes that are going on, effects that are being felt...”

The above are characteristic of this study.

The descriptive research design consisted of surveys and observations in which self-administered questionnaires and interviews were used to obtain information.

3.2 The Case study method

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) a case is a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bonded context, which can be an individual, a small group or a nation. Walsh (2001) further states that a case study involves an empirical investigation on a particular contemporary phenomenon in its real life context.

O’Leary (2004) defines a case study as method of studying some elements through comprehensive description and analysis of a single situation or case. O’Leary (2004) claims that the approach uses a wide range of data collection approaches for example surveys, interviews, observations and document analysis. Descombe (2008) points out that the case study approach offers more opportunities to the researcher to unravel the complexities of a given phenomenon on its natural setting. The approach offers the researcher an opportunity to focus on the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in City of Harare.

The City Of Harare offers the researcher an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study.

3.3 Target population

According to Best and Khan (1993:13), a population is:

“Any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that is of interest to the researcher.”

Descombe (2008) further defines a population as a group of people or items that a researcher wants to get information from. In this research the target population included Ministry responsible for Local Government officials, top employees in the council, residents associations, the Municipal Development Partnership (MDP), IDAZIM, ZILGA, HRT, CHRA, Dialogue on Shelter, HHDRDT and councilors,

The involvement of the diverse population was meant to get views from key participants in the City of Harare. The researcher hoped that these different participants would have different perceptions on the topic under study and hence a balanced view on the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in Harare urban.

A sample of 100 participants was drawn through purposive sampling.

3.4 Sample frame

Doherty (1994) asserts that sample frame refers to a list of target population members used to obtain a sample. It thus sets a boundary to which research is conducted. In this study the researcher is confined to a sampling frame of 100 participants distributed as follows:

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is an exercise where some elements from a finite population are picked using an appropriate method such that the sample elements are synonymous to the sample population

(Descombe 2008). The major objective of sampling is to draw conclusions about the population as opposed to make statements about the sample.

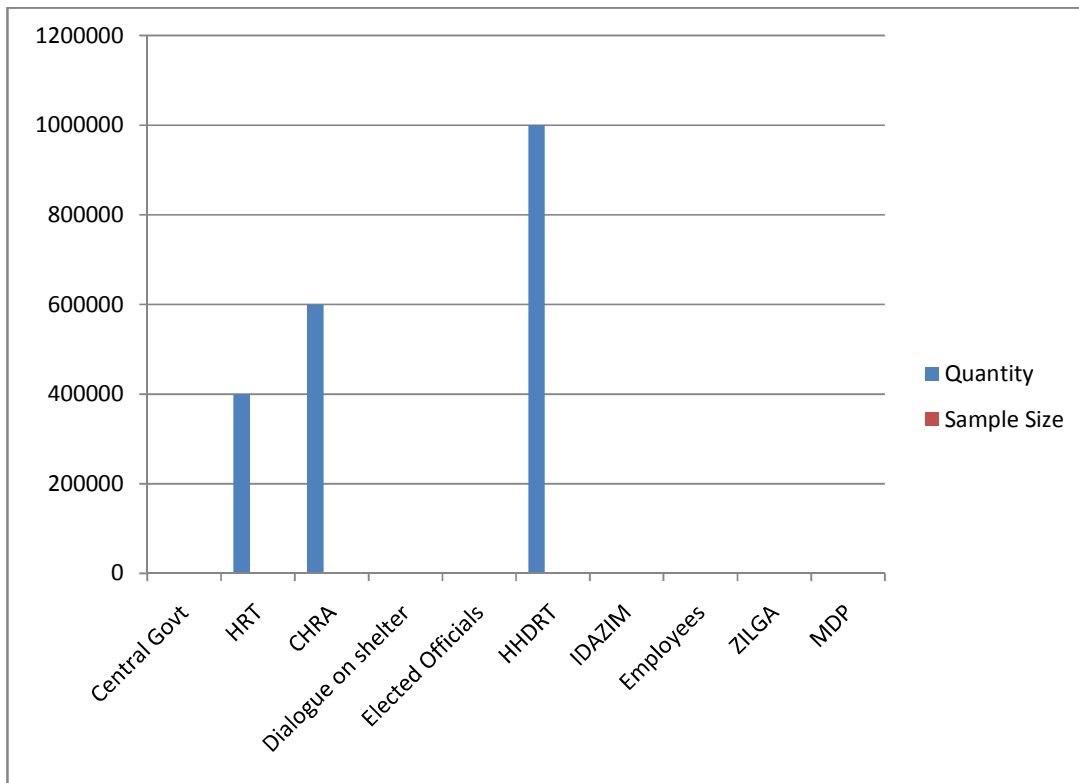
3.6 Sampling technique

The study was based on the stratified random sampling technique. Stakeholders were divided into different groups depending on the collective interests identified on the basis how they are identified in the local government circles as well as their relevance to the research. Convenience sampling was used to pick on all heads of concerned departments in organizations chosen because they sit in crucial meetings, plan for their respective departments and have relevant information needed for the research. For the quota representing councilors, simple random sampling was used to pick on the final respondents. In total a sample of 100 respondents was chosen. Their distribution per quota was as follows:

Quota	Quantity	Sample size
Central Government	8	5
Harare Residents Trust	400 000	20
CHRA	600 000	25
Dialogue on shelter	20	3
Elected officials	46	10
HHDRT	1000 000	20
IDAZIM	30	5
Employees	62	10

ZILGA	11	6
MDP	11	4
Total		100

Chart 1 showing population per quota

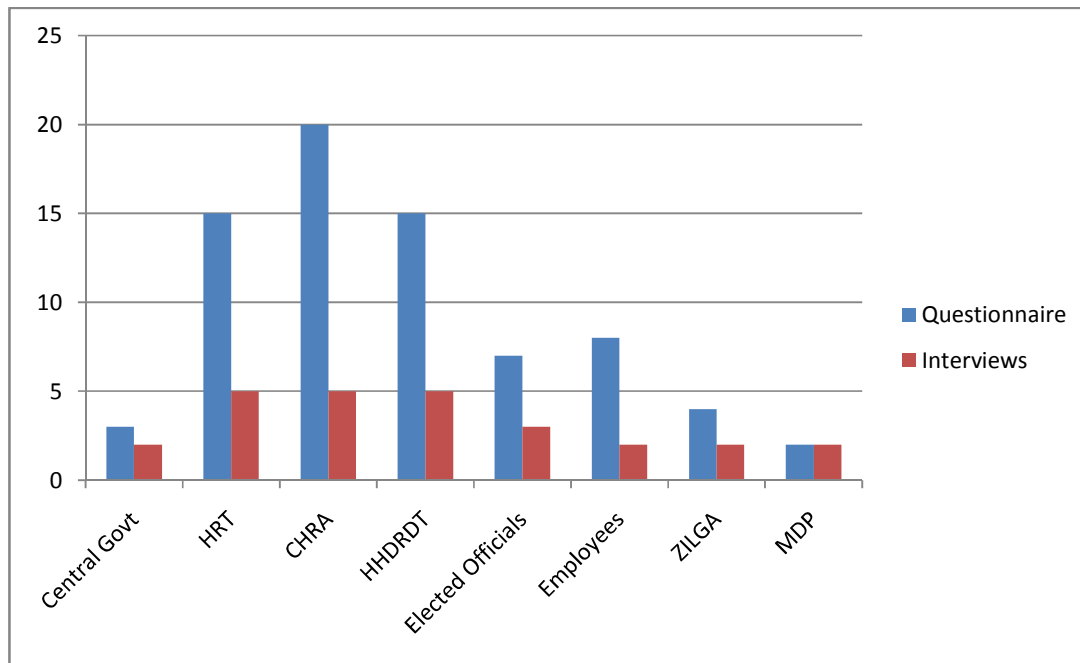


Stratified sampling is a suitable method because it separates quota within the population from where all interests of the research subject are guaranteed representation. This therefore guarantees that all biases are eliminated and also that all angles are covered. Purposive sampling was also used in selecting participants in interviews.

These participants were a third of the total number of participants in each stratum. After purposive sampling the participants for interviews and questionnaires is as follows:

Quota	Questionnaires	Interviews
Central government	3	2
Harare Residents Trust	15	5
CHRA	20	5
HHDRDT	15	5
Elected officials	7	3
Employees	8	2
ZILGA	4	2
MDP	2	2
Total	74	26

Chart 2: The number of questionnaire and interview respondents per quota



3.7 Primary data

Makore-Rukuni (2001) asserts that primary data refers to original raw data collected by the researcher at the point where it is generated. It is captured for the first time and with a specific purpose in mind (Ibid). Primary data shall be collected from stakeholders identified.

3.8 Research Instruments

3.8.1 Questionnaires

Cooper and Emory (1995) define a questionnaire as a set of questions designed to gather data from sample respondents on the subject matter.

The research questions shall provide the guide to the designing of the questionnaire. The questionnaire shall consist of both open ended and closed questions.

The open ended questions will provide an opportunity to gather qualitative data by giving the leeway for one to highlight personal opinions on the research topic. Closed ended questions will assist in soliciting for responses that will be easy to analyze using qualitative analytical technique.

3.8.1.2 Justification for choosing a questionnaire

Leedy (1979) argues that there are high chances of coming up with valid decisions because the researcher cannot influence respondents .They give more time to respondents to consider their answers. Respondents have much time to research and recall information probed by the questionnaire, even in the privacy of their homes. They are also a cost effective way of information gathering.

3.8.1.3 Disadvantages

The lack of direct interaction makes the data collection susceptible to misinterpretation, which then can lead to inaccurate findings. This however will be catered for by preparing user friendly questionnaires. They are also prone to a low response rate. Respondents may provide inaccurate information so as to please the researcher.

3.8.1.4 Questionnaire distribution and collection

The researcher shall personally distribute questionnaires to research participants through a random sampling exercise.

3.8.2 Interviews

Wagner defines interview as an exercise in which there is conversation between interviewer and interviewee for the purpose of eliciting information from the interviewee through direct questioning. This can either be done over the telephone or face to face.

Walsh (2001) notes that in preparing the interviews, the interviewer works out a set of questions in advance but is however free to adjust them during the conversation. The researcher shall use both structured and unstructured interviews. In structured interviews, the conduct and procedure are organized in advance Cohen and Minion (1994). Structured interviews use a set of identical questions where the researcher reads out the question and records the response.

Wagner adds that the structured interview is like a questionnaire which is administered face to face with the respondent thus each respondent is faced with the same questions. To achieve this, the sequence and wording of the questions are determined by means of a schedule and hence the research has little room for modification. On the other hand, unstructured interviews are an open situation because the interviewer has great flexibility (Cohen and Minion, 1994). Therefore the interviewers will enable the researcher to classify points which may be under in the structured questionnaires and thus the interview method complements to the questionnaire method of data collection.

3.8.2.1 Advantages of interviews

Interviews had an advantage that they enabled the researcher to control the data collection environment and thus give room for serious attention. In addition they gave room for feedback because of the direct interaction between the interviewer and interviewee.

In addition more room for clarity was given as there was a leeway for probing finer details on sensitive and unexplained issues.

3.8.2.2 Disadvantages of interviews

They are costly and time consuming.

3.8.2.3 Conducting face to face interviews

Interviews were conducted at work places and in area offices.

3.9 Secondary data

Secondary data was collected from existing records to help come up with historical background to the corporate governance challenges on urban governance.

This data will be used to substantiate research findings and also for the purpose of literature review. This data shall be collected from internet, journals, textbooks, articles and newspapers.

Such information will help the researcher to familiarize with the area under investigation as well as in identifying gaps that need to filled, especially considering that the researcher will be able to compare different sources. However secondary data is highly susceptible to subjective biases emanating from personal, local and political ideological orientations. In addition, checking its validity and reliability maybe difficult since some changes would have taken place.

3.10 Data presentation and analysis

Various methods of data presentation shall be employed. It shall be presented in the form of texts and tables. These will provide for a systematic analysis of data from which research findings and conclusions will be drawn. The analysis shall also be assisted by the literature obtained from secondary data sources.

3.11 Chapter summary

The chapter has given the research design for the study and its justification. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed. The target population for the study included the Ministry officials, councilors, top management employees, residents associations, the umbrella body for Local Authorities, the Zimbabwe Local Governments Association (ZILGA), and the Municipal Development Partnership (MDP) and The data was be collected from them by way of questionnaires and interviews and was presented and analyzed in frequencies, tables, percentages and graphs as indicated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to present information captured from the documents analyzed, questionnaires and interview responses from respondents engaged in the study. The researcher will make an attempt to come up with an interpretation and analysis of the data gathered through the primary and secondary data collection. The data will be presented, interpreted and analyzed descriptively in tables, graphical; presentations, illustrations and narrations. The graphical presentations have an added function of magnifying and highlighting certain phenomena where the use of narrations falls short of conveying the message.

The focus of this chapter will be on three distinct themes derived from the objectives of this research study. These are as follows:

- Speed and flexibility in decision making.
- Types of authority in facilitating coordinated planning in Harare.
- Means for decision making, planning and implementation of local development plans.
- Effectiveness of decentralisation on local participation in planning and development.
- Relevance of local development plans to local needs

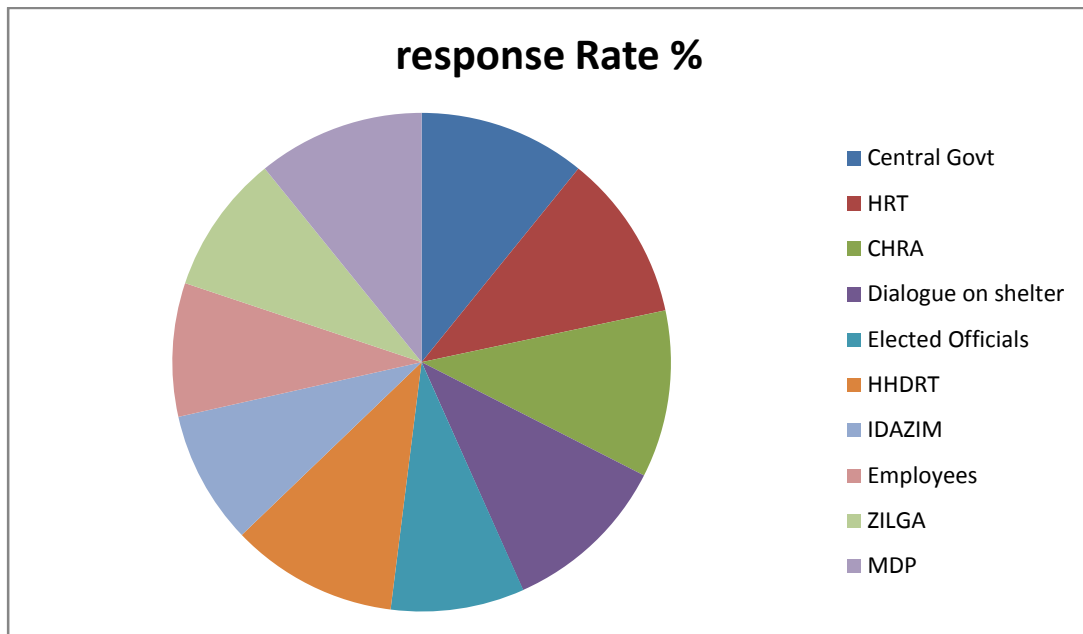
4.1 Questionnaire response analysis

Table 1: Questionnaire response analysis

Respondents	Questionnaires Distributed	completed	not completed	response rate
Central Government	2	2	0	100%
HRT	10	10	0	100%
CHRA	10	10	0	100%
Dialogue on shelter	3	3	0	100%
Elected Officials	10	8	2	80%
HHDRT	10	10	0	100%
IDAZIM	5	4	1	80%
Employees	10	8	2	80%
ZILGA	6	5	1	83.3%
MDP	4	4	0	100%
Total	70	64	6	92.33%

Source: Raw Data

Chart 3 Questionnaire response rates.



From the table and the pie chart above 92.3% of the questionnaires distributed were responded to by respondents to the research. Central Government, CHRA, Dialogue on Shelter, HHDRT, HRT, and MDP recorded a 100% response rate, while the quota with IDAZIM, employees and elected officials recorded the least response rate of 80%. ZILGA recorded 83.3% response rate. Overallly the response rate was 92.33% which gave the researcher an opinion that such a response rate is sufficient to be representative of the reality on the ground.

4.2 Interviews analysis

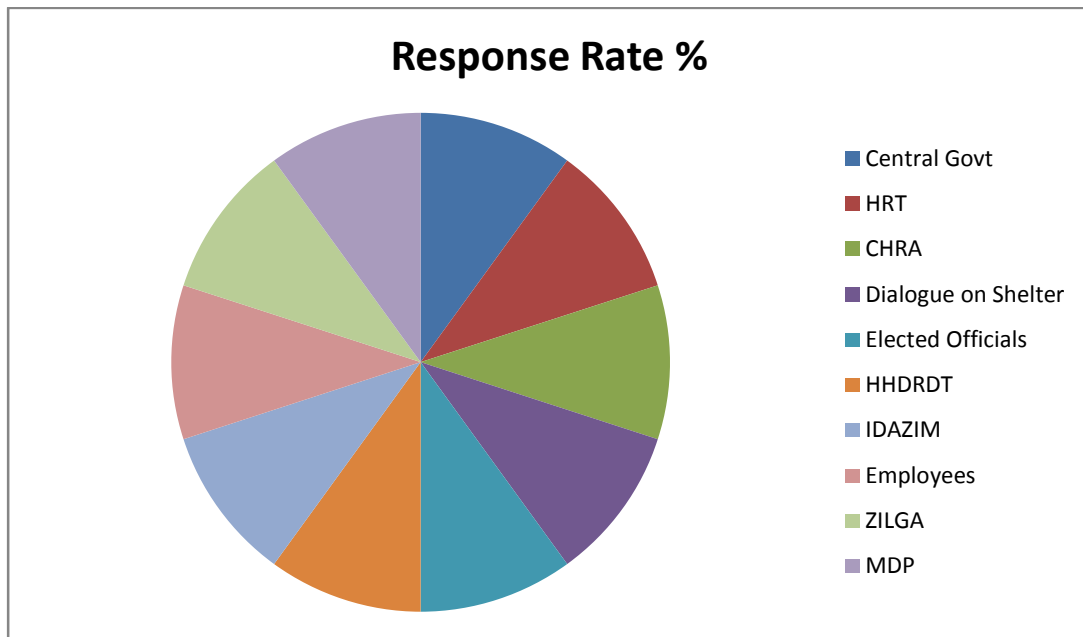
Table 2 Interview response analysis

Respondents	Interviews arranged	Interviews conducted	response rate
Central Government	2	2	100%
H R T	5	2	100%
CHRA	5	5	100%
Dialogue on Shelter	3	3	100%
Elected Officials	3	3	100%
HHRDT	3	3	100%
IDAZIM	4	4	100%
Employees	2	2	100%
ZILGA	2	2	100%
MDP	2	2	100%
Total	30	30	100%

Source: Raw Data

Average response rate $30/30*100=100\%$

Chart 4



The overall response rate for both questionnaires and interviews was 100% as indicated in chart no 4 above and in the researcher’s opinion this is reliable to arrive at generalizations of the research findings to the reality on the ground.

4.3 Analysis and Presentation of Data

4.3.1 Speed and flexibility in decision making in Harare.

Three quotas represented officials responsible for both policy formulation and implementation of development in Harare. These had officials from central government, councilors and senior employees of council. These have the responsibility of making planning decisions within greater Harare. To the question on whether or not decisions are made locally, an interesting trend emerged in which only central government officials answered “yes” out of 22 respondents, representing only 9% of the officials’ respondents.

Participants from the elected officials and those in the senior employee's category explained that ministerial directives are the order of the day when it comes to development planning issues.

Their observations were also expressed in interview responses in which they argued that most initiatives in development planning are linked to the power dynamics operating at a particular time in planning. Another respondent gave reference to the ministerial directive to council to undertake a mini-scale Operation Murambatsvina on recently occupied land in greater Harare. Other responses that bemoaned the restrictive nature planning law specifically targeted at the Urban Councils act Chapter 29:15.

The above question was complimented by a follow up question in which the researcher sought to establish challenges encountered in attaining flexibility in decision making during the planning process. Planning law was perceived as the major impediment since the planning statutes have not been revised to suite decentralisation objectives. One respondent said the nature of decentralization that has been adopted in Zimbabwe is that of one with a "mask face". The insinuation is that in terms of development planning there is only cosmetic prescriptions on decentralisation. Probed further on the reasons for the "yes" response various reasons emerged with elected officials unanimously agreeing that the central government through the powers of the Minister responsible for Local Government in the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15). Chief among the examples to justify the explanation above is the recentralization of power through invoking Section 314 which stipulates that the 'Minister may reverse, suspend, rescind resolutions, decisions, etc. of councils'.

What also featured prominently is an agreement that this provision leads to the Minister literally running the City since the Minister has unlimited the access to Council records(section 91) and can authorize anyone to access those records to which council is expected to comply ‘without delay’ (Section 91,ii)

Councilors interviewed also alluded to the same observations and added that this provision has an effect of inducing psychological restrictions on effective governance processes as officials have to self-censor themselves before making decisions in fear of ‘crossing the Minister’s path’ as expressed by one interviewee from elected councilors..

The research also revealed that the unlimited access by the Minister to any records held by council has a negative effect on effective participation in decision making by stakeholders since most of them fear that the provision is a ‘serious infringement’ on their right to privacy. One respondent cited that at central government, officials are protected by the Official Secrets Act, which the respondent argued that should be the case with the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) in order for there to be broad based participation in governance. Section 313 (3) was also cited by one respondent as ‘a source’ of recentralization of urban local governance systems as it compels the elected officials to promptly comply with what the Minister deems to be in the national interest. The directives mostly contradict prioritization of development projects. The respondent further noted that Ministerial directives turn out to be interests of the political party that the Minister represents. The respondent further expanded on this observation by citing that more often than not the Minister has slashed budgets by City of Harare on ‘populist’ grounds and according to the respondents that has led to the dwindling of the revenue bases of the local authority.

Responses from stake holders on the same question indicated the same trend with those of officials in that they ruled out flexibility. However they argued that it is council official officials who are not willing to open up the space created by central government for decentralized local development planning.

This resonates with the arguments by Chikulo (1998) in literature review in which he argued that in integrated field administration in which there are tendencies by local administrators to recentralize power. One respondent argued that with regards to the council's budgeting processes, council officials are not open to suggestions. Responses during interviewing indicated a general consensus among residents associations who revealed that council limit their participation to mobilizing residents during consultative meetings. They also alluded to the fact that there is no transparency in with regards to the disclosure about council sources of finance and assured revenues. Respondents argued that such disclosures are critical in fostering efficiency and economy in resource allocation and utilization by council during planning.

4.4 Means of planning and management of development

What featured prominently as a means of planning and management for development was legal instruments that provide for the initiation and funding of development by the central government, the local authority or private individuals. One major instrument for testing the forces that determine effectiveness of the means of managing development is the council budget. The budgeting process which is sanctioned by section 288 of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) emerged to provide the means for development management.

Respondents in categories representing stakeholders in the civic society sector on local governance had varied responses.

However the majority of participants within these categories indicated that the provisions of the Urban Councils Act do not promote meaningful avenues for effective participation as is espoused by decentralisation.

These respondents claimed that the Act does not compel the local authority to fully disclose its revenue bases and the remuneration of its top officials to enable stakeholders to determine how much the remuneration is impacting on development planning and management.

Section 80 of the Local Government Laws Amendment no.1 of 14 March 2008 was also pointed out by two respondents from MDP and three from ZILGA as an example of how the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) inhibit the means through which decentralized development planning and management can be achieved. The section was criticized by one respondent for being 'too broad and arbitrary and open to abuse' as it empowers the Minister to suspend or even fire part of or the entire council if in his opinion he feels that they have erred. The powers of the minister in subsection (i) of the same section to appoint anyone to be a caretaker was also raised and criticized for being contradictory to local self-governance as it provides for the appointment of any three persons regardless of the competency or capacity to plan for local development or worse still the provision does not look at the area of origin caretakers. This has an effect of having people who are not familiar with local conditions being tasked with the responsibility of planning for local development

In another dimension respondents pointed to the preponderance of the Minister appointing even his or her kith and kin to manage local development in the city. Examples cited indicated the appointment of the Mahachi led commission to run the affairs of City of Harare at a time when another Mahachi was the Town Clerk for the City

Contrary to responses to the question discussed above respondents from Central Government however raised important observations. These pointed out that the fact that Harare is a Local Authority created by the government implies that it is an extension of the Central government and as such the Minister is entitled to intervene in its affairs as the political accountability lies with the Minister at Executive level. On the effect of the Minister's right of access to records at any time the, interview respondents noted that there is nothing wrong with the provision as the Act also specify that council proceedings are open to members of the public (section 87) and that the minutes of such proceedings are also subject to 'public consumption' (section 88.5).

4.5 impact of decentralisation on participation in development planning.

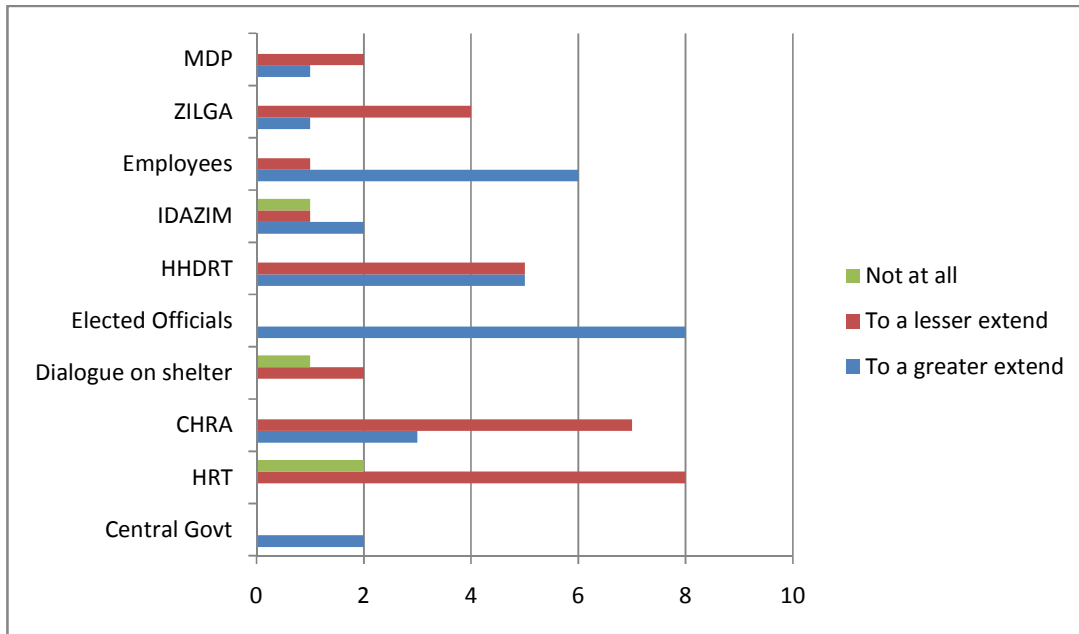
From the research findings there are mixed reactions on decentralisation as a means of increasing the numbers of people involved in planning and the influence of local leaders in implementing development activities. There was consensus on the fact that there has been a marked increase in the numbers of people who participate in development planning. However responses revealed varying preference according to participations in different quotas and also within the same quota as indicated in the table next page which has been presented also in chart number 5 a.

Table 3: Responses on the increase of stakeholder participation.

Respondents	To a greater extend	To a lesser extend	Not at all
Central Government	2	0	0
HRT	0	8	2
CHRA	3	7	0
Dialogue on shelter	0	2	1
Elected Officials	8	0	0
HHDR	5	5	0
IDAZIM	2	1	1
Employees	6	1	1
ZILGA	1	4	0
MDP	1	2	1
Total	28	30	6

Source: Raw Data

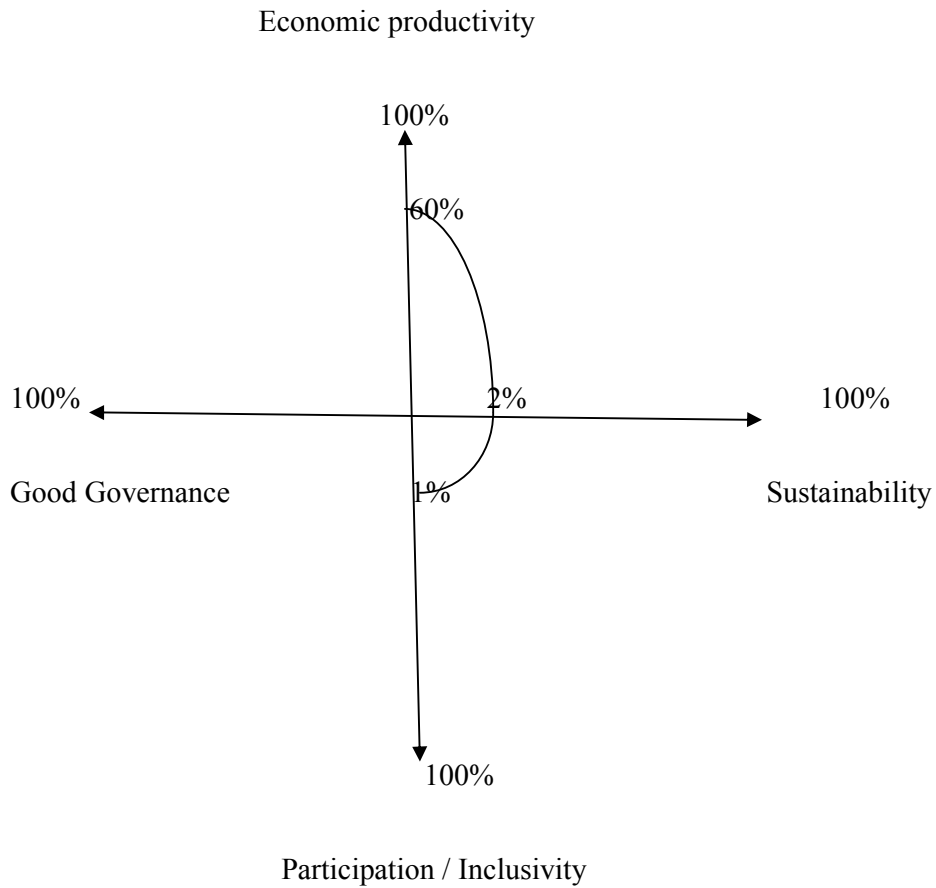
Chart 5: Responses on stakeholder participation



Results tabulated above indicates that only officials involved in the policy formulation in the governance and development planning processes in Harare pointed out that there is space to allow for the participation of stakeholders to greater extent.

However they constitute only 43.8% of the total respondents who completed questionnaires. 46.9% indicated that there increase is to a lesser extent. 9.3% of the respondents said that there is no any increase in the number of stakeholder participation at a ll. The differences in these responses can be attributed to the various typologies of participation identified by Makumbe (1996) in literature review in which he dissected participation to reflect passive and active participation. The respondents might have been referring to participation in general without them actually unpacking what they meant by participation. However the results are informative enough for one to conclude on the impact of decentralisation in development planning.

Probed further on the increase in the “to a greater extend category of responses” during interviews it was revealed that the increase is evidenced by civic organizations who advocate for particular development needs to be considered in planning. One respondent in council indicated that almost every year council witnesses an increase in the number of stakeholders in their stakeholder profile list. Another respondent however indicated that the increase though in quantitative terms has no brought any qualitative difference to development planning. The respondent justified this claim by noting that much of their contribution is on the negative side which consumes much of the time required in the speedy finalization of development plans. Another respondent aired the same sentiments and said stakeholders especially residents associations can be “troublesome at times”. The respondent said instead of fostering synergies between council and residents the associations and other nongovernmental organizations are in the habit of brewing conflict which impacts negatively on socio- economic empowerment of the residents in the planning process. In addition the respondent said that such a state of affairs leads to a situation where decentralized development planning in Harare end up lacking in the four factors that determine the empowerment of communities cited in the literature review. When he put the factors on a scale of 100, he came up with the following diagram:



Key

Economic productivity 60%

Sustainability 2%

Participation/Inclusivity 1%

Good Governance 0%

Explained in short, decentralized development planning ends up leading to Harare City Council lacking inclusivity, good governance and sustainability. Decentralisation should outline how the stakeholders particularly in the civic society should represent community interests and mechanisms for seeking recourse to law in the event that there are

violations of community interests during planning processes by self-serving organizations. Where there are no such provisions individuals do not have protection from such violations, of the rule of law.

The fact that responses for increase stakeholder participation are only supported strongly by responses from participants in the policy formulation side and to a lesser extent by other participants from quota representing other key stakeholders indicate that participation in formulation to implementation as is enshrined in the planning law particularly South African Municipal Local Government Systems Act No. 32, 2000 section 18 (i) cited in the literature review.

The research also revealed that critical stakeholders in Harare's development planning allege that the local authority has itself recentralized despite central government efforts to relinquish power and authority to the lower levels of government for development planning. They claim that the locally elected policy formulators are only receptive to the input from citizens when they will be seeking re-election and once they are elected, they turn their back on the same people that gave them the mandate to coordinate local development. Another respondent from the HRT indicated that they once engaged council over a number of issues relating to adjusting residents debts in order to capacitate them to meet their obligations of paying for the services that they get from council only for the request to be received with "strong resistance from officials until political intrigue capitalized on that warped state of affairs". According to the respondent funding for implementation of development plans would have flowed into council had the officials heeded to HRT's advice.

The category of responses that indicated that participation can never be separated from transparency and hence even if the council so wishes for the people's participation they must accept the "participation package in its entirety".

That is they must accept that participation is intrinsically connected to transparency and accountability. They alleged that one of the areas in which council is not willing to decentralize is that of financial resources.

The research revealed that rates that are collected as fixed charges targeted at infrastructural development and or refurbishment are collected at council's various council district offices dotted around the city are transferred to a central level in the city treasurer's department situated at rowan martin. Once the monies are there the city treasurer does whatever he or she wishes with the funds. The research found out that the city's physical infrastructure has not been replaced dating back to 1925 in some instances despite the council collecting revenue for such purposes on a monthly basis. The responses from stakeholders indicated that such funds that are supposed to be channeled towards physical development are then used to finance lavish lifestyles for officials at the expense of development.

4.6 Types of authority for integrated planning

The concerns raised above on the lack of broad based participation are related to the findings on the authority for coordinated or integrated planning. Similar trends on participation were obtained. The majority of the quota on officials (representing 90%) indicated that that decentralisation has presented opportunities for coordinated development responses cited the ongoing revision of Harare Combination Master Plan in which Harare is coordinating the planning process which incorporates five local authorities constituting the hinterland of Harare urban. The research revealed that endowment and other social circumstances within the hinterland are a critical planning factor that they cannot afford to ignore. Hence to them decentralisation as provided for by the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12), Part IV has facilitated for coordination in formulating policies and general proposals for planning in respect of coordinated and harmonious development or redevelopment and

other uses which include conservation, economic development amongst other planning aspects(Section 14,2).

Officials also pointed out the fact that the Act compels the planning authority to consult the public for a period not less than two months (section 15:2-a and b) indicating that decentralisation has enabled the coordination of development planning in Harare through devolution of such power. However another respondent from the officials’ category noted that the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning should not be understood in relation to how planning law sets parameters of operation. Instead the respondent said there is a wide gap between theory and praxis in decentralisation and development planning in Harare. The respondent indicated that the dynamics of decentralisation and development planning in Harare hinges on two key issues: Power and Capital. His observation resonates with the research findings on the impact of political party in coordinating development.

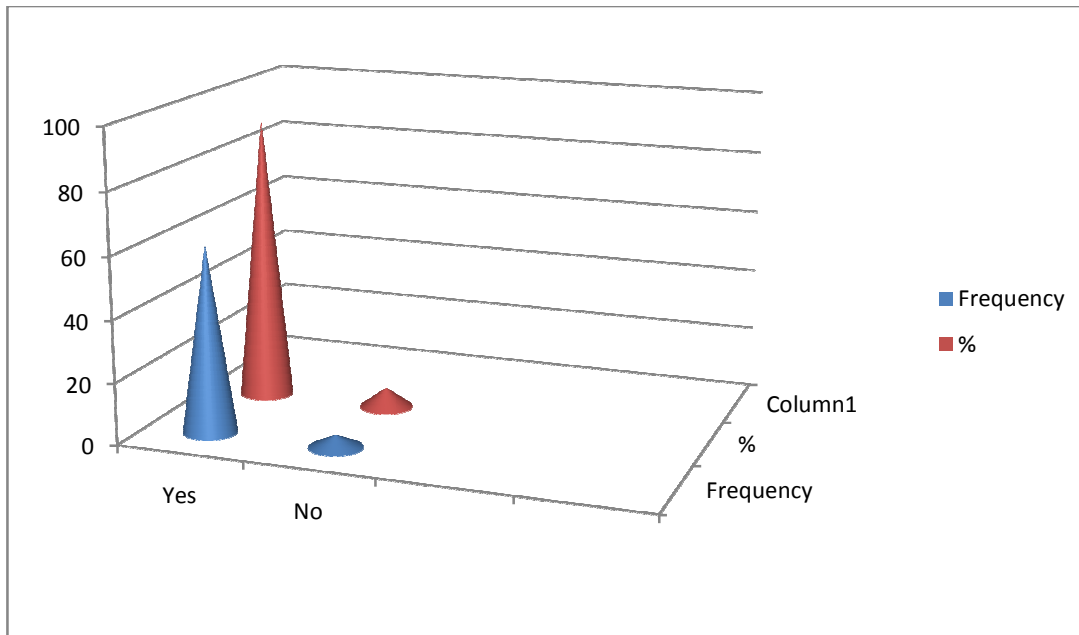
The issue of political interference in coordination of development at the expense of public interests was also looked at. Similar trends of responses to the above were also recorded in answers to this question. Consolidated aggregated responses reflected that 93, 7% (60 participants) said decentralized development planning promotes political interests compared to 6, 3% whose answer was on the contrary as shown in the table below.

Table 4: Responses on the promotion of political interests.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	60	91.7%
No	4	6.3%

Source: Raw Data

Chart 6: Responses on the promotion of political interests in planning



Prominently featuring on the reasons for the ‘yes’ choice is the issue of planning law which empowers the minister to superintend the decentralized development planning in local authorities. The Minister is a political appointee who also has the prerogative of oversight in development planning. The table below shows some of the responses that were expressed by respondents.

Table 5: Reasons for promotion of political interests

Prioritization of issues is based on political ideologies
Councilors are political party representatives
The minister appoints individuals to represent ‘special’ political interests
Councilors get political directives from party structures

Access to space in development planning is based on political grounds
Differences in council chambers when approving development plans is based on political lines

Source: Raw Data

It is evident on the sentiments by respondents in the table above that decentralized development planning provides for the abrogation of public interests. Interview responses also supported the above sentiments by pointing out that the laws that govern urban planning processes for example the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, (chapter 29:12) allow for the establishment of bureaucratic systems that paves way for the implementation of political programs under the guise of development plans .

Examples cited were that the public are only allowed to put their inputs when programs have already been formulated by way of objections which are not taken seriously.

4.7 Relevance of local development plans to local needs

Related to the issue of the furtherance of political interests above was the issue of whether or not the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) empowers communities by way of pushing planning systems out of bureaucracy to reflect local needs. 83,3% of respondents agreed that development plans do not empower communities as indicated in the Table below

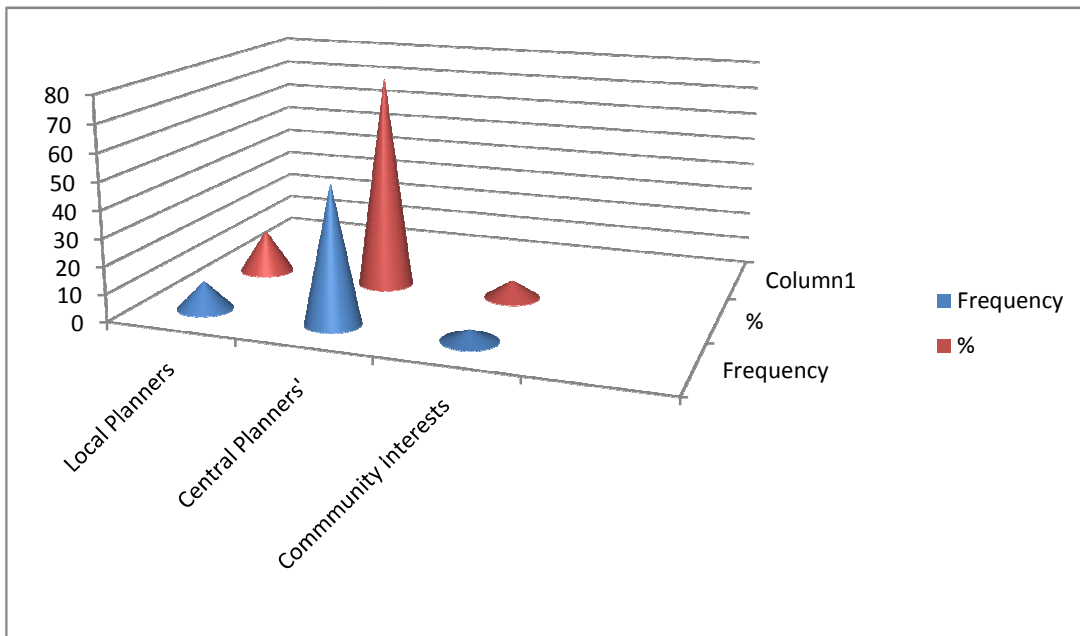
Table 6 Showing responses to empowerment of communities

Response	Frequency	%
Local planners	10	15.6%
Central planners'	50	78.1%
Community interests	4	6,3%

Source: Raw Data

The responses in the table above are presented in chart number 7 below

Chart 7: Responses on the empowerment of communities



From the statistics above the question on whose interests take center stage in decentralized development planning, 78.1% of the responses pointed out to “central planner”. This is linked to responses above that indicate that central government influence dominates planning processes since the appointment of senior staff of council rests with ministerial approval. One respondent noted that there is no way local interests can dominate local development plans if they are at variance with those of central government.

The respondent further noted that the emergence of a multiparty political local governance model exacerbated central influence in local development planning.

The justification for this argument was that decentralisation failed to blossom under a de facto one party political system and hence the emergence of various political players providing political candidates for local development planning and management can no longer be played by the rules set out in planning law.

The above outcome contradicts measures set out in the South African planning law in that their responses disagree with the provisions of the South African Municipal Act cited in the literature review which explicitly explains that

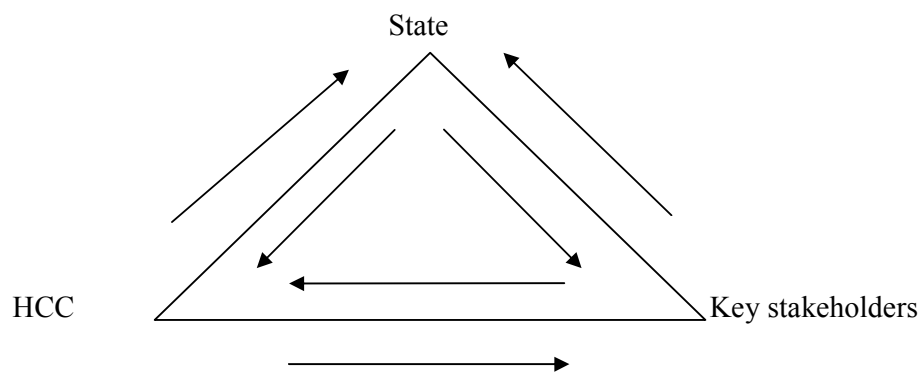
A municipality must develop the culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with, a system of participatory governance,.

The 6,3% respondents who claimed that local development plans empower communities argued that the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 12:29:15) disempowers the local inhabitants as opposed to subjecting them to domination by a few bureaucrats appear to have overlooked interesting observation made in an interview with one respondent (top employee). The employee posited that decentralized development planning lacks seriously in four factors that determine empowerment of communities upon which the HCC can be assessed: these are

- (1) Economic productivity- that is how decentralisation enables the city to have a plan for employment and production for its people.
- (2) Sustainability- decentralisation in the HCC should have a general balance for the welfare of its future generations
- (3) Inclusivity- that is provisions for meaningful stakeholder participation especially those at the lower level, the vulnerable and the marginalized and lastly

(4) Good Governance- that is the provisions for ability to foster administrative accountability and transparency in development processes.

From the responses on whose interests dominate the content of local development plans, there appears to be a dichotomy in the planning process of Harare. Extreme groups embroiled in conflict have been observed are the Harare City Council, the State (Central Government) and other key stakeholders. There is an indication of an inherent conflict in the processes of development planning among these groups which definitely requires conflict resolution strategies to be employed to diffuse the situation. The enemy systems Theory by V. Demetrius seems to be operating in Harare City Council's governance processes, which also leads to social exclusion in development planning. This theory posits that humans have a deep rooted psychological need to dichotomize and to establish enemies and allies (Vamik and Volkan, 1990:31). In order to restore an equal opportunity system that is transparent, there is need to normalize relations, attitudes and the context within which development planning strategies are carried out as shown in the diagram below which was adopted from Galtung (1969) by Laderach (1995)



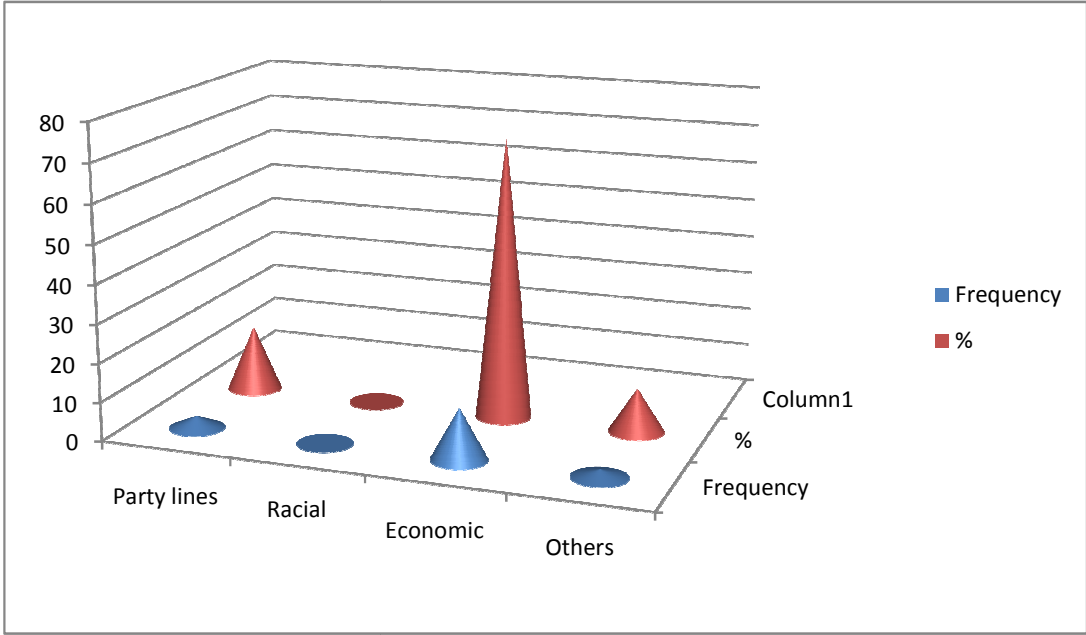
The diagram above suggests that the situation can be resolved by creating an ongoing two way symbiotic relationship among stakeholders

Table 7: Responses on social exclusion

Basis for exclusion	Frequency	Percentage %
Party lines	3	16.7%
Racial	0	0%
Economic	13	72.2%
Others	2	11.1%
Total	18	100%

Source: Raw Data

Chart 8: Responses on social exclusion in the planning process.



Probed further in interviews, the choice on others revealed that sound exclusion is attributed to the concept of the economy of affection has a critical role to play as close relatives, those from the area of origin and concubines are believed to be better placed to benefit from the governance processes in Harare.

4.8 Other challenges to decentralized development planning

This section deals with the responses to the other challenges that are associated with decentralized development planning in Harare. Respondents were asked an open question on this subject.. The table below shows the suggested challenges and their frequency.

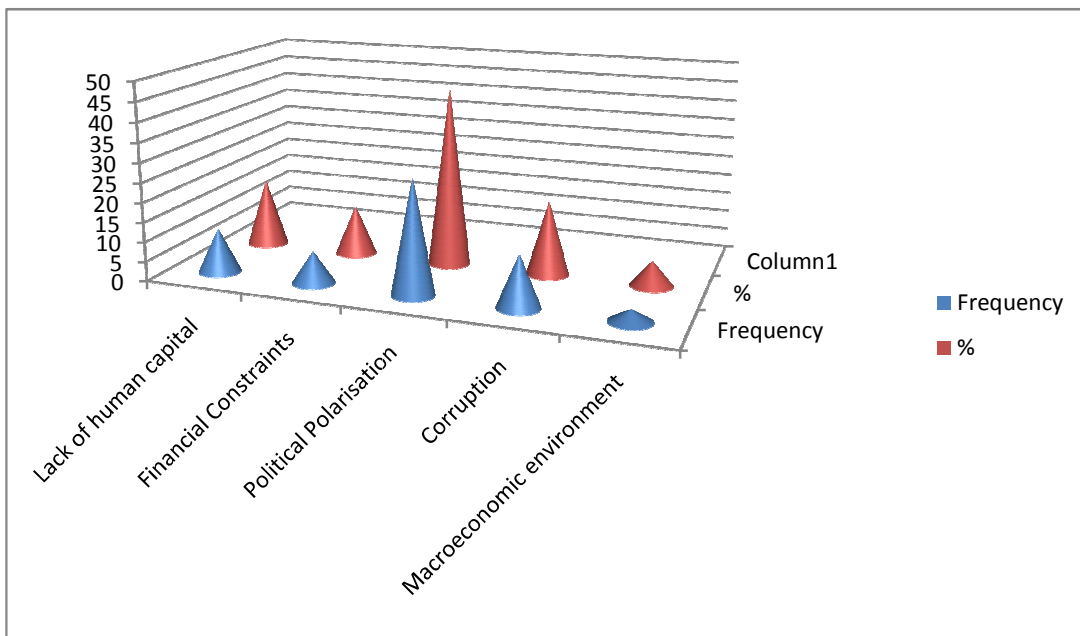
Table 8: Other challenges to decentralized development planning in Harare.

Suggested challenge	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of human capital capacity to implement programmes	11	17.1%
Financial Constraints	8	12.5%
Political polarization	29	45.3%
Corruption	13	18.8%
Macroeconomic	3	6.3%

environment		
Total	64	100%

Source: Raw Data

Chart 9: other challenges to development planning in Harare.



Political polarization emerged as the most prominent challenge confronting the city in decentralised development planning. 45.3% of respondents pointed out that the political polarization obtaining in Zimbabwe has a debilitating effect on governance as it is the source of councils being taken as “theatres”

for political contestation.

Respondents pointed out that this finds expression in the central government through the Ministry responsible for local government, abandoning a facilitating role in favour of an authoritative and directive one. Other examples pointed out to the polarization having permeated the entire structures of local government for example one respondent revealed that councilors in Harare are divided over their allegiance to the interests of the communities they are supposed to serve and those of their political parties. This was also supported by interview responses in which respondents cited cases in which there is victimization of locally elected for perceived allegiance to the other party.

Others cited the attempted abrogation of mayoral procedures by the opposition MDC in urban council in an attempt to smuggle political party interests in local development matters.

Corruption emerged as second in the rankings. It had 18.8.9% of the respondents claiming that the City has become an “unweeded garden” as one respondent put it. Explanations pointed to the fact that it appears that councilors and employees think that being in council is an opportunity for self-enrichment. Others pointed out those low salaries in the lower grades of council employees are a source of corruption as some think that they are entitled to a “legitimate compensation” through corruption during planning processes.

Lack of human resources capacity followed on the third position with 17.1% of the respondents arguing that the fact that relatively inexperienced and in other cases immature councilors being tasked with the responsibility to give policy directions of fairly mature, experienced and educated senior council staff has had an effect of slowing down the development planning wheel in Harare.

Respondents noted that most councilors have low academic qualifications, which justifies the claim by the former Mayor of Harare that “Democracy does not always produce the best”.

Other respondents pointed out to the lack of continuity in council in which elected officials are put in office for a specified period of time mostly 5 years in line with the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13), which has an effect of ushering in new and experienced councilors who do not give meaningful contributions to council, as they have challenges in comprehending matters to do with policy, financial management, technical interpretation of specialized areas like urban planning, engineering, estate valuation, public health, legal, public management and general leadership responsibilities, which are all critical to development management.

Financial constraints also 12.5% of the respondent’s attention and these mostly came from employees in council as well as from some councilors. This was attributed to a shrinking revenue base owing to the withdrawal of government’s responsibility in economic and social spheres. The nonpayment of rates by ratepayers including the government was also cited as a major crippling factor development planning. The financial vulnerability the council was cited as the reason as to why private capital is now dictating the pace in initiating development planning. 100% of Employed officials revealed that private capital is now funding development processes. This according the research finding put the Harare city council at a precarious position in terms of its ability to defend public interests from the vagaries of private capital in development planning.

Another observation made from the research findings is that most development plans operating in Harare have long outlived their usefulness. Instead of operating for the required five years some date back to as far back as 1976. Their revision cannot be undertaken simply because there are no funds to finance the redevelopment planning process. In other cases interview responses indicated that the shortage of funds stall the planning processes to the extent that the socio-economic statements to justify the planning needs is outpaced by socio economic circumstances before the plans are operational.

Other responses pointed to the collapse of physical infrastructure as a major manifestation of financial constraints in the planning process. The respondents noted that the crumbling of the physical infrastructure in Harare dampens investor confidence in the planning process and hence relegating the city to the status of a 'hopeless case'. Interview responses also reviewed that this state of the physical infrastructure also increases pressure on the existing infrastructure and services owing to the swelling rate of urbanization thereby creating planning challenges for the city.

6.3% of the respondents said that the prevailing macroeconomic environment together with the past economic meltdown has had a lasting effect on development planning in Harare.

Reasons for this observation centered on the decline in investment within the city thereby resulting in a weakened economic state, which reduces Harare's capacity to deliver services. Other responses cited the displacement of national burdens on Harare by Central government as contributing to governance challenges for example the responsibility given to the city to run the only infectious diseases hospitals in Zimbabwe, Wilkins Hospital and Beatrice Infections Diseases Hospital. The city is therefore forced to overstretch its resources since government policy is that infectious diseases are treated for free. Again according to the research findings this forces the city to let privatization of the planning process sifting into planning fray much to the benefits of private capital.

4.9 Suggested solutions

To improve on the decentralized development planning in Harare, respondents suggested various solutions, as indicated in the table below

Table 9 showing suggested solutions

Amend the planning laws, to restrict the powers of the Minister to facilitation and oversight roles.
The planning laws to be amended to compel officials to disclose information, especially of a financial nature through publishing audited financial statements prior to the announcement of new budgets.
Planning law to specify minimum qualifications for elected officials to cater for technical incapacity in development management.
Planning law to allow for competition in service provision
Planning law to allow for allocation of resources according to results
Planning law to Compel officials to be answerable to the citizens through public hearings
Planning law to promote whistle blowing and specify rewards for whistle blowing for top curb corruption in the development planning process.
Planning law to oblige the City of Harare to develop a code of ethics through an all stakeholder's consultation process and to stick to the code in order to enable for ,efficient, effective and economic development planning and management processes.
Planning law to empower key stakeholders to participate at all levels of decision making in council
To have policies for effective conflict resolution in the development planning process.

Among the varied suggestions is the need for council business to be set free from political interference.

The respondents as this note recommended that the council be run only by elected councilors who can be held answerable to the electorate through necessary amendments to the UCA, and not to the Minister.

The respondents also said that there is need to protect councils from directives from politicians and hence avoiding conflicts.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of the summary, conclusions and recommendations. The recommendations are primarily based on the findings of the research. As indicated in Chapter one of this study, the purpose of this study was to explore the dynamics of decentralisation on development planning in Harare City Council. In order to achieve this, the researcher sought to get answers to the following questions.

It is the researcher's belief that the recommendations will go a long way in improving the decentralized development planning in the governance of Harare. The researcher also believes that the recommendations will go a long way in resolving the challenges to decentralized development planning in Harare.

5.1 Summary

In identifying the dynamics of decentralisation on development planning in urban governance the research focused on Harare City Council in an area covering 46 wards or 4800 Km². These challenges to decentralized development planning have been located in the historical legacy of the Harare City Council in which colonialism introduced systems of centralized development planning alien to the pre-colonial traditional governance processes. Colonialism also left a legacy of instruments of development planning like the Urban Councils Act which owes its parentage to the Municipal Ordinance Directive of 1894 and the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12).

These Acts prescribes the role of the Ministry responsible for Local Government which mainly should be limited on oversight and facilitation though the situation obtaining on the ground is one of directing.

Development planning is steered by the Minister who is conferred with wide ranging powers to ensure that the ministry is overally accountable for local planning processes. The Provincial Governor coordinates governance activities. The Provincial Governor also coordinates the efforts of other non-state actors in Harare's development planning. These actors include the business community, residents associations, local government associations, employees, councilors and other development partners. The problem focused on poor service delivery as evidenced by exclusionary housing provision, shanty towns, chaotic transport systems, soaring unemployment and a general and interactive deterioration of the quality of services. This is due to the fact that development is not following the intended path. This state of affairs is like that because decentralisation was adopted for both developmental and political reasons. This led to a whole host of players being interested in development planning processes in the management of Harare.

Decision making according to the problem statement is no longer flexible as development planning still assume a top down fashion leading to the non-participation of citizens in the management of development interventions.

It is from the problem that the researcher derives research objectives that focused on Harare City Council and other Local Authorities, Diplomacy and confidentiality of information was used to mitigate against threats to the research effort.

Various authors' views on concepts in urban governance within the context of public management were explored. The concept of bureaucracy and its weaknesses as a model of practicing urban governance have been highlighted and alternatives in the form of the New Public Management (NPM) have been introduced and discussed together with its limitations.

Examples from other countries such as Botswana, South Africa and Uganda were also employed to show how other local governments are practicing development planning in their urban governance systems.

Statute development planning provisions from other countries like the South African Municipal Act were also provided to enable comparisons with those in the Urban Councils Act and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act.

The research design included a triangulation of methods. A sample size of 100 participants from a population of over 3 million was divided into 10 (ten) strata of central government, three residents associations, elected officials, dialogue on shelter, IDAZIM, ZILGA, MDP, and employees, and was chosen using stratified random sampling. Purposive sampling was later employed to select interview participants from the chosen sample of 100. Data was collected from 94 participants consisting of 64 questionnaires and 30 interviews.

Questionnaires were chosen for their ability to enable participants to think over issues being sought whilst they are in the comfort of their homes. Interviews were preferred for their ability to enable the researcher to control the data gathering process disadvantages such as time consumed were also noted in assessing the usefulness of the data collection tools. Interviews and questionnaires were also administered at organizational premises.

The collected data was presented and analyzed tables and graphs. The questionnaire response rate was 92.3% and that of interviews was 100% to give on average response rate of 96.15%.

From the responses, the research established that most stakeholders agreed that decentralisation poses challenges to development planning in urban governance in Harare.

These mostly center on cosmetic decentralization, lack of transparency, and accountability in development planning, social exclusion, and the lack of stakeholder participation in development planning.

Other challenges to development planning were also unearthed and these entail political polarization, corruption, lack of human capital capacity, the macroeconomic environment, financial constraints and dilapidated physical infrastructure.

To overcome these challenges, the researcher proposed solutions that include amendments to the Urban Councils Act which will enable role clarity among stakeholders, aligning planning law with the new constitution, paving way for other players in participating in governance processes, increasing transparency and accountability and to set policies for conflict resolution and management. The research also revealed that the general populace had scarce information on the provisions and hence the City of Harare and other stakeholders should engage in civic education to conscientise them on their legal rights obligations. The research also found out that there is need to set minimum qualification for individuals interested in assuming public office at a local level to capacitate them for development planning.

5.2 Conclusion

The findings of the study showed that the decentralisation imposes serious challenges to development planning in Harare. Key among them is that development planning in Harare is characterized by the promotion of personal and political party interest at the expense of public interests. From the research findings it is clear that local development plans do not reflect the interests of local communities in Harare. This is compounded by the fact that politicians and private capital normally initiate and control the development planning process.

In addition the executive mayoral model should be adopted to ensure that there is abrogation of public interest at the expense of political party interest as in the case with the findings in which political parties try to have an invisible hand in development planning in the City. The executive mayoral model will obviously empower the local authority to make decisions without undue interference from the government.

The measure will also address the challenges that arise from the fact that most elected officials suffer from lack of technical appreciation of planning issues which affect their decision making capabilities.

For effective decentralized development planning there is need for flexibility and speedy decision making. Senior employees of council need to be given the flexibility to make decisions and be held accountable for their failures. Stringent conditions in planning law in which the minister is given overriding powers in development planning need to be looked at if positive results are to be reaped from decentralized development planning. For example provisions in section 314 of the Urban Councils Act which empowers the minister to reverse any decision made by council should be revised to set clear-cut parameters in which the minister can reverse and or decompose planning decisions. In addition there is need for expeditious decision making in the planning process.

This can be achieved by reducing the time required before development plans are adopted during the time they will be on public deposit. The time can be reduced from two months to one month to ensure that local development plans are not overtaken by events in a volatile socio-economic environment.

Local authorities also need to ensure that whenever they have powers decentralized on them, they do not recentralize themselves. There is need for local authorities to create flat organizational structures that permit for speedy processing of development permits.

This is particularly so in view of the research finding which indicated that the City of Harare does not decentralize power to its employees who are charge with the responsibility of ensuring that there is smooth execution of development plans. However the research revealed that the Committee system in which they convene once per month is not conducive to speedy decision making because once an item misses the deadline for deliberations, it is delayed until the next date of seating.

In relation to the need for local development plans to fully capture local needs, there is need for the government to revise planning law to match the new constitutional provisions that encourage the active participation of the poor in development planning. Locally elected leaders should ensure that they deepen their influence and spearhead this process. This will ensure that local development plans become responsive to local needs.

Another dimension that can be pursued is to adopt strategic planning approaches to decentralized development planning. This will address the need to cater for the time lapses before plans are reviewed. Presently the Regional, town and country planning act prescribe that local development plans should be reviewed after 5 years and master plans after 15 years. From the research findings these time-frames no longer permit for relevance in development plans as the operating environment is ever-changing.

The city of Harare needs to increase its engagement with local development stakeholders through more active interface. The city needs to adopt e-governance strategies in line with the current information communication technology (ICTs). The city must also organize public forums in fostering active and meaningful participation in development planning and management. Public forums will bring the city closer to the communities as argued by Wekwete (1990) in which he posited that decentralization is supposed to bring government closer to the people. This will ensure that there is an increase in the number of people who participate in development planning and management.

The government need to compliment the above recommendation by ensuring that locally understood languages are adhered to as vehicles of communication as in the case with the South African Municipal act which stresses the need for community empowerment for effective participation in development planning and management.

In summary the research found the following characteristics in development planning process in Harare. That:

- 1.) There is lack of role clarity among key stakeholders in Harare's development planning processes.
- 2.) There is lack of institutional mechanisms to deal with the issues of abuse of office by top management officials in the planning process.
- 3.) There is no disclosure of public information in development planning in Harare.
- 4.) There are restrictions on involving other partners in development planning.
- 5.) Officials are not answerable to communities but to political parties in the planning process.
- 6.) Allocation of resources is based on incremental bases and not on the need for results.
- 7.) There are no legal provisions for whistle blowing to curb corruption in development management in Harare.
- 8.) The general populace lack knowledge on their legal rights and obligations in the planning process.
- 9.) Officials are lacking requisite leadership skills due to lack of basic minimum qualifications required to deal with development planning issues.

5.3 Recommendations

Given the aforementioned, the researcher recommends that:

1). All stakeholders in local development planning should strictly adhere to the new constitutional provisions of the local governance system to avoid the promotion of private, personal and political interests, shortchanging the local citizenry in development planning.

The constitutionalisation of the local governance system now guarantees direct government funding and hence deals with the problem of the government renegeing on its obligations by apportioning tith burden to the Harare City Council.

2). Government should rationalize the role of the key stakeholders in development planning for example the Minister responsible for Local Government, and civic society organizations. The minister's role should be restricted to policy formulation, facilitating and supervision of Local Authorities and should not go beyond these functions.

3). Parliament should provide legal provisions to compel for disclosure of council information and specific penalties for not meeting such legal obligations in development planning.

4). Development planning laws should provide be legal provisions to oblige council officials to be answerable to communities and the penalty associated with the failure to do so.

5) Parliament should amend development planning laws to enshrine legal provisions to allow for Public Private Partnership (PPP) in development planning in local authorities.

6). Local authorities must allocate of resources basing on results and not on an incremental base through [pa budgeting approaches.

7). Local Authorities and civic society organizations should engage in civic education to educate the general populace on their legal rights and obligations.

8). Parliament should set minimum qualifications in Electoral laws for those aspiring to contest for public offices to improve on capacity to make decisions and steer development.

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