



**UNIVERSITY
OF
LUSAKA**

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

LEGACIES OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS AND THEIR
INFLUENCE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN
ZIMBABWE

BY

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of a degree of
Doctor of Business Administration (Governance and Leadership) of the
University of Lusaka – Zambia

2016

DECLARATION

I, **George Makunde** declare that the thesis entitled “THE LEGACIES OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ZIMBABWE” is my own original work, and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Benon C. Basheka and Dr Stella Kyohairwe, whose guidance were indispensable to the production of this project. They were firm pillars of support and inspiration throughout the research project, and I am truly indebted to them. I am also very grateful for the incisive observations of Professor Charles Pfukwa, who encouraged me to strive to give of my best, and provided brotherly support, remembering where we came from together. I thank my wife and family for providing a conducive and supportive environment, and for bearing with my absence and the loss of quality time with me whilst I spent long hours on the project. Special thanks also go to my research assistant, Mr Charles Mazorodze, who worked diligently under very difficult circumstances as we endeavoured to accomplish this mission. It would be amiss of me not to also acknowledge the people who sacrificed many hours to respond to the questions I posed during data collection. Colleagues, thank so much for your indulgence. Last, but not least, my profound thanks go to colleagues, friends and staff at the University of Lusaka for the support they rendered during this entire process.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Tabeth Makunde, who could not see its completion as she responded to the call of the Almighty on 14th April 2015. I owe it all to her.

APPROVAL PAGE

UNIVERSITY OF LUSAKA

FACULTY OF COMMERCE

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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the University of Lusaka for acceptance of a Thesis entitled “The Legacies of Colonial Administrative Systems and their Influence on the Performance of Local Authorities in Zimbabwe” submitted by George Makunde in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Business Administration (Governance and Leadership).

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ACRONYMS

ACPD	African Community Publishing Development
ACPS	African Community Publishing Systems
ADF	African Development Fund
BSAC	British South African Company
CAP	Chapter
CBD	Central Business District
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DA	District Administrator
DDF	District Development Fund
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HCC	Harare City Council
HOD	Head of Department
LED	Local Economic Development
LEDRIZ	Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDP-ESA	Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PEFA	Performance and Finance Association

PO-RALG	President’s Office Regional and Local Government
PSIP	Public Sector Investment Programme
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
RDC	Rural District Council
RDDC	Rural District Development Committee
RTI	Research Triangle International
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZERA	Zimbabwe Energy Regulatory Authority
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio Economic Transformation
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Agenda for Economic and Social Transformation
ZINARA	Zimbabwe National Roads Authority
ZOC	Zimbabwe Omnibus Company
ZUPCO	Zimbabwe United Passengers’ Company

ABSTRACT

This study examined the legacy and imprint of colonial administrative systems, behavioural systems and administrative processes on the post-colonial administrative systems in present day Zimbabwe. A qualitative research paradigm was adopted in the study and involved in depth interviews with 30 key informants, who were selected through the application of purposive sampling. The data collected was analysed using a combination of content, thematic, critical discourse and statement analysis as well as the QDA Data Miner Lite Version 4 qualitative data software. Key findings include that the colonial administrative system has a bearing on the transformation of local government in Zimbabwe. The current local government system inherited most of the colonial administrative processes. The study recommends that although colonial administrative systems had and still make a significant contribution, both positive and negative, to the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe a holistic, hybrid approach is required to address critical factors or issues affecting the performance of both rural and urban local authorities in Zimbabwe (and beyond), rather than focussing on a single factor. Such factors include economic sanctions, management and corporate governance, intergovernmental relations, among other factors.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study examined the influence of the colonial administrative legacy on the performance of Zimbabwean local authorities. The transformation from the colonial to the present day administrative systems occurred against a backdrop of a mismatch between the demand for public services and their provision, as evidenced by the general decline in the provision of public services to a now heterogeneous citizenry. A dual system of governance existed before independence that catered for the black and white separately (Chatiza, 2010: 14). At independence, and in an attempt to redress perceived colonial imbalances, the incumbent government introduced a series of changes to the day to day operations of government. The way in which colonial administrative legacies have influenced the performance of local authorities has not been a subject of much academic research. Yet, it is information on such issues that would and should guide policy making. This study was undertaken in an attempt to fill this gap.

The thesis comprises six chapters. This introductory chapter provides the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose and research questions, the scope of the study, research objectives, and limitations of the study as well as operational definition of terms adopted in the study. The second reviews the literature, the third deals with the conceptual framework, the fourth the methodology, their fifth the findings and the last one, the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

1.2 Background to the Study

1.2.1 Historical Background

Africa was colonised by various colonial powers at different historical times. The British colonial systems across Africa varied depending on the socio-economic and political setup in a particular colony. As Mills (2001: 12) observes, “Britain had longer and more continuous colonial experience than most imperial powers”. The British adopted various administrative policies to control their colonies. In Natal, for instance, they applied the policy of differentiation (Mills, 2012), which implied separate legal and political systems for white and black people. The system induced two major forms of disarticulation - the geographical and the structural. The latter form stemmed from the various structural adjustment Programmes adopted by various African countries after independence (Ndege, 2009). Structural adjustment Programmes policies were initiated by the Bretton Woods Institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), revealing the hidden influence of the former colonisers on their former African colonies after the attainment of political independence.

In Tanzania, for example, the British ruled for over four decades until 1961 (President’s Office Regional and Local Government Tanzania). The then Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, introduced indirect rule, whereby local chiefs controlled their local communities themselves under the authority and control of the white minority. To facilitate this, various legislative instruments were enacted, including the Native Authority Ordinance CAP 72 of 1926, which recognized the traditional chiefs as rulers of their tribes. The Township Ordinance of 1920, meanwhile, empowered the Governor to confer town status upon particular areas Township authorities were an administrative tool with little effective authority and autonomy, as the members were

appointed, and any decision-making was sanctioned by the Governor (PO-RALG). The lack of autonomy of the township authorities was such that political and administrative power effectively lay in the hands of the Governor.

To cite another example, before independence in 1964, Zambia used a dual administrative system that consisted of native authorities, governing administrative bodies for the black majority, and a separate administration for the white minority. The District Commissioner attended the meetings of the native authorities within his jurisdiction in an advisory and consultative capacity (Chikulo, 2009). Townships without management boards had the District Commissioner as the local authority; in those townships with management boards, he was almost invariably a board member. The District Commissioner headed the district team, which was responsible for implementing schemes and plans for the political, economic and social advancement of the district (Mitchell, 1963).

From the foregoing accounts of the Zambian and Tanzanian realities, it appears that overall administrative control (of planning, political and legislative systems) lay in the hands of the colonial administration. This left the natives with little or no control or influence over their own welfare.

With reference to Zimbabwe, the arrival of the British South African Company (BSAC) in 1890 led to the establishment of the first local authority, the Salisbury Sanitary Board in 1891 (Chatiza, 2010). The local government system before independence was generally dual in nature. Identified divisions within the sub-national governments were both geographical and

administrative in nature. The geographical nature of sub-national government was such that the major livelihood activities of native Africans were centred on the rural economy and there was limited rural urban interface. The enactment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 transformed the manner in which land was allocated between native Africans and the colonial settlers, shaping the local government process in the then Rhodesia. The Act divided the land and land ownership into five categories, namely: the native reserves, the European areas, the undetermined areas, the forest areas and the unassigned areas. It decreed that, “*no native shall hold or occupy land in the European area*” (Land Apportionment Act, 1930). This development determined the geographical locations of natives and of the European settlers as specific areas were demarcated for the majority native people and for the minority white settlers respectively.

Chatiza (2010: 4) suggests that colonial administrative systems aimed to address the native issue based on the perspective that the economic needs of the native people being always viewed as secondary and inferior to those (i.e. needs) of the white citizenry. This, in turn, would ensure the availability of the native labour to serve the white settler population. For this reason, the legitimacy of most African/native local governments was always questionable, since they were not wholly autonomous and reported directly to the white commissioners, resulting in the continued subjugation of natives and white domination of administrative spheres in the country. Between 1940 and 1970, Advisory Boards were established within African areas but their contribution was limited to consultation only.

In non African areas like Salisbury, small local governments known as Area and Town Management boards were instituted. These boards were later integrated into the administrative

system before the ratification of the Urban Councils Act in 1973 (Jordan, 1984). It seems, therefore, that the formal local government was established within the urban development framework. From 1890 to 1937, there were no formal local government structures to address the administrative needs of natives. Rural local government structures were established in 1937, through the Native Councils Act which was to be amalgamated into one in 1943, leading to the subsequent creation of the African Councils Act in 1957. This period from 1943 to 1957 was the hallmark of the formalisation and institutionalisation of native local administration.

In 1940, there were 23 Native Councils, which had increased to 58 by 1958. By 1979, there were 220 African Councils (Makumbe, 1998). The African Council had the role of administering the welfare of the natives and African Agriculture. The African Development Fund, which fell directly under the District Commissioner's office, provided social services relating to agricultural production, and infrastructural development (Matumbike, 2009). This arrangement ensured White control over the means of production. As such, pre-independence political discourse developments relating to local government were underpinned by the land and race questions. The centrifugal nature of the administrative system was designed to ensure the retention of authority and power by the white colonial settlers over the native local governments. Any pretence of promoting African self-government was overridden by white supremacist policies (de Valk and Wekwete, 1990). Evidently, the native African majority was denied participation even in the administrative affairs of their own localities. Linking traditional authorities to sub-national administration and the use of traditional leadership to pacify liberation movements was the order of the day, as political power struggles between the African majority and the white minority essentially shaped the form and practice of local governance.

The African and Native Councils in pre-independence Zimbabwe dealt with issues that affected the black Africans. These included land-use planning, herd control and land tenure changes (De Valk and Wekwete, 1990). Africans were viewed as second-class citizens in their own country. The local government system, characterised by the under provision of services, coupled with social and economic abuse was reduced to an instrument of the centre (Chatiza, 2010). Segregation, particularly in the area of urban housing, gave rise to serious contention in urban governance (Yokushini 2006).

Blacks were viewed as aliens in urban areas, where they lived temporarily because their permanent homes were located in rural areas and therefore could not own houses (LEDRIZ, 2012). In urban areas, rental and segregated housing for Africans was the norm. For example, the housing waiting lists stood at 72 910 applicants in 2006 from 8 504 applicants in 1991 (*cf.* Harare City Council, 2008), despite the unveiling of the national housing policy by the Ministry responsible for national housing in 2009.

In 1980, the government of the newly independent Zimbabwe effected a series of changes to the local government framework in a bid to redress the race and the land questions. Initially, there was a single local government ministry bringing together the Tribal Trust (Chatiza, 2010). The amalgamation of the 220 African Councils saw the formation of 55 district councils Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) were renamed Communal Lands. The new legislative arrangements sought to embrace the new socio-politico and economic dispensation. The expanded rural framework of councils was streamlined through the enactment of the Rural District Councils Act in 1988 to

form Rural District Councils (RDCs), and the power to allocate land was transferred from the traditional leadership to the newly created councils. The promulgation of the Traditional Leaders Act of 2000 saw principles being set to enhance a harmonious working between traditional leadership and local government institutions.

In the urban local government of post-independence Zimbabwe, African townships were incorporated into the Urban Councils and Africans could now vote (Chakaipa, 2010). The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15) replaced the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 214). Various types of local authorities now formed part of the urban councils' continuum, classified according to their size and the function, as prescribed in the Urban Councils Act Chapter 29: 15. Sections 4 to 14 of Part 11 of the Act clearly articulate the criteria for the establishment of urban local authorities. Specifically, Subsection (i) states that “[w]henver the president considers it desirable, after consultation with the local authority concerned, he shall establish a municipal council ... as the case maybe”. Thus, the establishment of the various types of urban councils (namely city, municipal, town, local council boards) requires presidential intervention.

On the economic front, the government inherited a dual and enclave economic structure. The philosophy embedded in this economic setup was that of white supremacy, giving rise to a modern formal sector and an underdeveloped and backward rural economy (LEDRIZ, 2012). Enclave economic structures seemed to have significantly contributed to the manner in which local authorities perform in their quest to ensure the efficient delivery of services. Due to the economy's failure to generate sufficient jobs – a direct result of lack of investment – the government adopted a market-led reform programme, the Economic Structural Adjustment

Programme (ESAP), in 1991 at the recommendation of the World Bank and IMF (LEDRIZ, 2012: 22; Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, 2009).

Ndege (2009) has observed that former colonial masters have engineered economic control the economies of their former colonies even after independence. Subsequent policy reversals after independence seem to have had a significant contribution in the performance of both the central and sub-national governments (LEDRIZ, 2012).

In March 1998, the Government of Zimbabwe launched the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) to replace ESAP. However, this Programme was never implemented. After the year 2000, a number of economic policies were implemented, the most prominent amongst them the Short Term Emergency Recovery (STERP) Plans, with STERP 1 launched in March 2009 and STERP 2 covering the period 2010-2012. The two plans sought to lay the foundation for a more transformative middle to long term economic Programme after the over a decade long (1997-2008) economic crisis and the emergence of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009 (LEDRIZ, 2012). The core objectives of the programmes included enhancing social protection measures to mitigate poverty and suffering by reviving the delivery of public services and strengthening humanitarian assistance to targeted groups. In addition, they aimed to address the service delivery challenges faced by sub-national governments at the height of the economic crisis, including the failure to collect household refuse and the under provision of water to the citizenry.

1.2.2 Contextual Background

a) Urban Local Government

The Urban Local Government system in Zimbabwe consists of four types of local authorities, namely local boards, town councils, municipalities and cities (Part 11 of the Urban Councils Act Chapter 29: 15). Municipalities and cities own the land within their jurisdiction, while local boards and towns do not own the land (Chakaipa, 2010).

The elected officials of councils (councillors) headed by the Ceremonial Mayor in terms of Part V of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15) are the policy makers of the local authorities. The appointed officials are responsible for implementing policy and therefore discharging the service delivery agenda to the citizens. Urban local authorities operate using the committee system (prescribed by Sections 96 and 97 of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15). Specifically, subsection (i) of the statutes provides for the appointment of one or more standing committees of council and vests in these committees the functions it deems fit, which functions may include health and housing, finance and environmental management. The Second Schedule of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15) stipulates the type of services and goods that urban local authorities carry out, including effluent and refuse removal, land, buildings and maternity and child welfare services (Chakaipa, 2010: 38; Mika *et al*, 2006).

b) Rural Local Governance

The Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13) is the principal legislation guiding rural local governance. This legislation provides for the establishment of Rural District Councils (RDCs) in

the country. It stipulates 64 functions, including water provision, roads and dams' maintenance and effluent removal, among others, assigned to these Rural District Councils. Like urban local authorities, RDCs also use the committee system in their structures (see Part VIII Section 55). The committees include the finance committee, the area committee, town boards, road committee, Ward Development Committee and the Rural District Development Committee. Section 60 of the statute stipulates that each council area has a Rural District Development Committee (RDDC) comprising the District Administrator, the chairperson of every other committee established by council, a senior member of the army, a senior member of the police and a senior member of the President's Office. This committee is responsible for the formulation and implementation of the district plan.

The plans prepared by the RDDC have tended to be biased towards ministries' funding requirements and the Public Sector Investment Programmes (PSIPs) and completely ignore the councils' own resources (Chakaipa, 2010). The result has been a mismatch between the council's plan and that of the RDDC, creating a service delivery funding gap to the detriment of the council, which is legally mandated to provide basic services at the local level.

At independence, Rural District Council (RDC) financing was premised upon the Rural District Councils' capacity building programmes, which were ushered in by the central government through the Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP). The capacity building programmes under the URBAN I and URBAN II Programmes were supported by the World Bank and other donors (LEDRIZ, 2012). During the crisis period, 2006 to 2009, there was marked donor fatigue

in the implementation of government programmes, resulting in the failure by most rural local authorities to deliver services to the citizenry within their jurisdiction.

c) Service Provision Thrust of Local Authorities

Traditionally, both rural and urban local governments derived most of their revenue from property tax. From 2006, urban local governments derived most of their revenues from the provision of water services (for example, Harare City Council, 2012). Service provision by local authorities has declined over the years (Chikumbu *et al*, 2006), as housing shortages, the dilapidation of existing infrastructure and increased pressure on existing systems have become the order of the day (Mazorodze, 2012), even though the *raison d'être* of sub-national local government is the provision of public service delivery (RTI, 2010; LEDRIZ, 2012: 15).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Zimbabwe, like other African countries, introduced local government systems in their governance system with a view to bringing services nearer to the people. These legislative changes were effected to improve the livelihood of the people. Unfortunately, the capacity of councils to provide the above-mentioned services has been declining from the crisis period 2000 to date. While there is agreement about the failure by sub-national governments in Zimbabwe to provide services to the residents, there is disagreement on the causal factors contributing to the minimal provision of services by sub-national governments. There are various studies undertaken by various scholars and think tank organisations such as MDP-ESA and LEDRIZ which have looked into issues of service delivery and local government in Zimbabwe. None of the studies carried out had specifically examined the likely influence of colonial legacies. Yet, it is such

information which would guide policy makers, given that they make decisions relating to public administration systems in Zimbabwe. The dearth of research on this particular aspect created a knowledge gap that needed to be filled. The study thus sought to unpack the likely influence of colonial legacies on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. This took into cognisance the transformations introduced by the Government of Zimbabwe since 1980. This study was premised on the strong belief that colonial legacies have highly influenced current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

1.4.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study was to examine the influence of colonial legacies on the performance of sub-national governments in Zimbabwe.

1.4.2 Study Objectives

- 1) To explore how colonial organisational structures have influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.
- 2) To examine how the colonial administrative processes have influenced the transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe.
- 3) To evaluate the influence of colonial behavioural legacies on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

1.4.3 The Research Questions

- 1) How have colonial organisational structures influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe?
- 2) How have the colonial administrative processes influenced the transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe?
- 3) What is the influence of colonial behavioural legacies on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe?

1.5 Justification for the Study

The study builds an understanding of the colonial legacies. It is expected that academia will benefit from the study, as the findings will enrich the history curricula in various countries that have had similar experiences. Scholars will be able to draw parallels from this study and carry out more research in conflict management and transformation dynamics, which will be crucial in transforming local authorities for sustainable development. Finally, the study will found the transformation policy for local authorities to enable them to better fulfil their mandate. It will open room for further research in the arena of resistance to change, especially as regards sanctions the world over.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study was carried out in eight randomly selected local authorities in Zimbabwe, four Rural District Councils and four Urban Councils. The country is divided into ten administrative provinces each, with five to seven districts. Each province is then broken up further into administrative districts under the decentralisation policy framework. The law provides that a

District Administrator, a government employee, oversees the implementation of broad government policy and runs government programmes within the district. The administrative district is divided into wards, whose number is determined by their size and comprise both commercial and communal farming areas. These wards, combined, form what is known as a Rural District Council, whose functions are to provide services like borehole and tapped water, road infrastructure, cattle dip tanks, schools and health facilities. People in each ward elect one person from among themselves to represent them in the council. The elected councillors form the political/ policymaking side of the council, headed by one councillor, who is elected and elevated to the position of chair and head of that institution. On the other hand, there is the executive arm headed by an appointed professional known as a Chief Executive Officer, who is assisted by departmental heads, who are experts in various service delivery portfolios and oversees the day to day administration of council affairs.

The other type of local authority, the Urban Council, has similar formative stages as those of the RDC. The only difference is that it is an urban settlement established in terms of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15). There are three types of urban councils namely: Local Board, Town Council and Municipality/City/Metropolitan. An urban council is either headed by a chairman elected in the same way as the chairman of a RDC is, depending on the size, or by a Mayor, if it is a municipality or city. The Mayor is the head of the elective side, while the CEO/Town Clerk heads the executive side of the council. Both RDCs and UCs are established to provide services to residents in their areas of jurisdiction. As is the case in rural areas, Urban Councils also provide water, roads, sanitation, health facilities such as clinics and hospitals,

schools, solid and liquid waste management, and fire and ambulance services. These are thirty-two types of these services.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the background to the study, highlighting the historical setting of local government administration. It also assessed the various legislative and administrative arrangements that were instituted at independence, including the measures introduced by the incumbent government to redress colonial imbalances. The chapter also unpacked the various concepts underpinning the introductory components to the study, namely, the background to the study, conceptual framework, objectives of the study, definition of terms, statement of the problem in which the research objectives were derived, as well as the scope of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Local government, the third tier of government, was created to bring central government closer to the grassroots population and enhance this population's sense of involvement in political processes that control their lives (Mawhood, 1993). Meyer (1978) defines local government as local democratic governing units within a 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 (Chikulo, 2009). The purpose of this chapter is to explore various scholarly studies that have been produced or published in relation to the topic under study. The focus of this literature review was to seek information and critically appraise such scholarly literature with a view of identifying a knowledge gap in the study and possible areas of improvement.

2.3 The Pre-colonial Administrative Systems

Most accounts of public administration in the African context overlook the pre-colonial systems on which the colonial powers relied to build the colonial state and consolidate their administration (Kisangani, 2004; Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005). Because of the relative lack of European officers on African soil, colonialists sought the cooperation of traditional chiefs in their bid to administer the colonies more effectively (Low, 1965). The history of Uganda, colonised by England between 1890 and 1910, provides a good illustration of the role of pre-colonial institutions during the colonial period (Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005). According to Low (1971), the British administrative personnel never reached to the lower echelons of the community, being

limited only to the District Commissioner and his assistants. Below the District Commissioner was a purely African infrastructure and reliance was placed almost entirely upon hierarchies of African chiefdoms (Burke, 1964; Apter, 1961). The accountability of local chiefs to centralised systems evident in the account of the Buganda Bunyoro, Toro and other centralised Ugandan groups (Low, 1971; Apter, 1961). Local chiefs who were alleged to have abused their power and blocked modernisation were promptly replaced by higher traditional authorities. In the Kingdom of Buganda, local chiefs were appointed by the Kabaka (the king) or by lower levels administrators (Apter, 1961; Low, 1971). As such, there was little room for the misuse of power within the lower ranks of chiefdoms. In effect, there was political competition among local chiefdoms seeking to influence the king's appointment decisions and make their way up the chiefly hierarchy (Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005). The mechanics of such chiefdom struggle was premised upon the number of followers that an individual had (Apter, 1961).

With the realisation of the potential economic benefits of centralising power, intense political competition became a general feature of traditionally centralised African societies (Bates, 1983). It can be argued, then, that pre-colonial centralisation created competition for higher office among the local elites, leading to pressure from local groups that held the local elite accountable and obliged them to provide more public goods (Riker, 1964). There is a widespread conviction that the centralisation of power and authority during the pre-colonial period benefited local communities. This is because of the security that was offered to subjects by the higher offices of the chiefs provided that those at the bottom of the social ladder paid tribute to the chiefs or kings. As such, social stratification matter immensely in issues of governance (Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005).

A relationship exists between the pre-colonial centralisation of power and institutional quality. This statement is based on empirical findings from the studies conducted by Gennaioli and Rainer (2005) in 42 countries, which showed positive association between centralisation and the control of corruption among various local government stakeholders. In Vishny (1993)'s view, the presence of a centralised authority should help to curb bribe taking and reduce corruption (*cf.* Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005).

For centuries, urban settlements were widespread in pre-colonial Africa (Bonine, 1983). The prevalence in many areas of shift agriculture and the close association of urban settlements with kingship meant that the sites of many towns shifted (Magobunje, 1968). Some towns were ephemeral as they were associated with the reign of a particular ruler. Others, such as the Yoruba towns of South west Nigeria, prospered; many regimes and continue to be important today. Other west African kingdoms expanded into empires, with cities emerging as seats of government and trading centres, as was the case of Mali between the 12th and 14th century, Songhay in the Sudan in the 15th and 16th century (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978; Mehretu, 1983; Winters, 1983; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991).

The pre-colonial centralisation of power had several indirect effects. First, it mainly affected colonial institutions (Acemoglu *et al*, 2001; La Porta *et al*, 1999). Secondly, pre-colonial centralisation may have also facilitated the arrival of missionaries, contributed to the improvement of local governance (Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005). Centralised groups could provide mechanisms for political participation and representation placing constraints on the

behaviour of national political elites (Boone, 2003). Indigenously centralised political organisations could reduce the scope for distinctive cultural differences, thereby reducing ethno-linguistic fractionalisation and its consequences (Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005).

There are arguments to the effect that civil wars and the heterogeneity of pre-colonial administrative systems adversely affect the capacity of the state to deliver even the public goods (Englebert, 2000). As Olson (1987) has argued, several low income countries were failing the development test because of their lack of historical experience with large scale, state like organisations (cf. Englebert, 2000). A case in point are the stereotypes about the political adaptability of the Igbos in Nigeria (Otternberg 1960), the Baluba of former Zaire and the Kikuyu of Kenya, all lineage societies that reinforce this interpretation.

There is also the relationship between state legitimacy and economic growth. This reduces the state's capacity for good governance (Englebert, 2000).

The ethnic theory of African stagnation, as expressed by Easterly and Levine (1997) opine that multi ethnic societies are polarised and, as a result, the representatives of each ethnic group in the national political system favour the adoption of policies, which serve their group at the expense of the state as a whole. In their view, the benefits to their group are greater than their share of the national cost of their policies. The Olsonian argument portrays politics in pluri-ethnic societies. Englebert (2000), meanwhile, argues that not all multi-ethnic societies are significantly polarised. An example is the United States of America, which has various ethnic groups which foster a common agenda and ideals for economic development and equitable welfare for citizens.

Several African kingdoms, such as those in Ghana and Mali, developed in Medieval Western Sudan. In this context, the administration was open enough to allow lower level citizens a degree of upward social mobility. The Empire was highly decentralised and the Islamic religion was used as a basis for unification and direction for the subjects (Adu, 1969). Although some of the kingdom's administrative units, other facets, such as the army and the bureaucrats respectively, were centralised. The former was charged with maintaining peace and security and the latter was responsible for collecting taxes, among other administrative duties assigned by the king.

In Zimbabwe, pre-colonial administrative systems existed and deserve recognition (ACPD, 2006). Kingdoms were broadly divided into two categories, namely the Ndebele Kingdoms and the Shona/Karanga Kingdoms (Chigwedere 1999). Structural power and authority emanated from the accepted lineage legitimacies and hierarchies. The chiefdoms were governed by paramount chiefs, who were responsible for broader jurisdictional areas than ordinary chiefs.

2.4 The Colonial Administrative Systems

The colonial history of Zimbabwe dates back to the arrival of the British South African Company in 1890 (Chatiza, 2010). This marked the beginning of the subjugation of the black majority, then popularly known as the natives, by the white minority. In 1893, there was the Anglo-Ndebele War, during which the Matebele people were dispossessed of their land, which represented a critical economic springboard. The aftermath of this uprising was the institution of various legislative reforms including the Matabele Order in Council of 1894 (Hammer, 2003).

This cemented colonial administrative rule in the country in general and in local government in particular.

In Tanzania, the colonial period was divided into two phases: the German era (1884-1917) and the British era (1917-1961) respectively (PO-RALG). The former colonisers of Tanzania using the direct rule approach in most parts of the country, although there was the introduction, in March 1901, of local administrations known as Communal unions (*Kommunal Verbandes*). The British ruled Tanzania for over four decades ruling the territory indirectly through local chiefdoms. The Native Authority Ordinance of 1926 recognised the traditional chiefs as rulers of their own tribes. These chiefs were only incorporated into councils in the 1950s with the amendment of the Native Ordinance Act. The incorporation of traditional leaders into the council was only done in theory but was not actually practiced owing to white colonial dominance.

In Zambia, local government reform has been transforming the structure of governance since the country attained independence from Britain in 1964 (Chikulo, 2009). The country inherited a dual local governance system, which was reversed by taking the power to the people through decentralised governance after independence. A number of reforms were passed by the white minority. These reforms were deeply entrenched in legislative arrangements. By way of example, one may cite the white expropriation of African land and the subsequent enactment of the Land Apportionment Act in 1930, which consolidated colonial rule and shaped the development of local government in the process.

The 1923 Constitution completely transformed national and sub-national governance in the country by introducing the then Rhodesia as a crown colony (Ngwenya, 2010). However, this development was carried out without the prior participation of the native people, who did not have voting or decision-making rights, even in matters that concern their welfare. The Municipal Act of 1930, the Native Councils Act of 1943, the African Councils Act of 1957 and the Urban Councils Act of 1973 were summarily instituted to address the land question, cementing white dominance in key economic sectors and relegating the majority natives into the reserves and Tribal Trust Lands, where development control was vested in the District Commissioner. This further entrenched the economic and political subjugation of the natives during the colonial era (Msika, 1992).

In post-independence Zimbabwe, local government systems were established through the Prime Minister's Directive of 1984, which encouraged decentralised governance. This Directive introduced a three-tier system comprising the central level, the provincial level and the local level (GOZ, 2004). In the Zambian reality, local government was established under the Local Government Act No. 30 of 1965 (Chikulo, 2009), which saw the establishment of 67 local authorities, 43 of which were rural councils and 24 were urban councils. These sub-national governments were vested with a wider jurisdictional mandate to discharge a range of functions, which amounted to sixty. The current structure of the Zambian local government system consists of a single tier government consisting of cities, municipal and district assemblies. Today, there are 4 city councils, 12 municipal councils and 56 district councils (Chikulo, 2009).

2.5 Colonial Administrative Structures

Colonial administrative structures in Africa include federal and unitary structures in Africa. For example, the French western African countries used a federal structure consisting of eight territories including Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), French Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Dahomey (now Benin) and Niger (Anekwale, 2014). The West African federation was in existence for about 65 years from the 1895 until 1960, with its capital in Dakar. The structure provided for the position of governor general, who reported directly to the Minister of Colonies in Paris. The governor general was assisted in his jurisdictional duties by the lieutenant generals, appointed in each colony, who reported directly to him.

In the case of Nigeria, historical and political processes date back to the period of colonial rule and are closely associated with the three major ethnic groups of Hausa-Fulani (North), the Yoruba (south West) and the Igbo in the South East (Anekwale, 2014). The ethnic regionalism arrangement formed the basis of the structure of the government during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Colonial administration in Nigeria created an opportunity for partnership between Nigeria and Britain (Anekwale, 2014) and managed to transform native customs and institutions (Anekwale, 2014: 2). As such, the colonial administration acknowledged the strength of the meritocracy principle in the practice of representative bureaucracy in Nigeria, while at the same time recognizing ethnic regionalism existing among the north, south west and south east regions and in colonial administrative practice (Okeke, 1992; Adamu, 1973; Mustapha, 2008).

Bureaucratic inequalities among the three regions formed the basis for recruitment policies from the colonial to the post-colonial periods (Akinwale, 2014). The colonial administration initially

entrenched regionalism, which was later transferred to present day Nigeria, a development currently compounding the challenges faced in Nigeria (Barnes, 1997; Adamu, 1973 cited in Mustapha, 2008). Meritocracy was not abandoned during the colonial era as the economic and political structures recognized the importance of merit in recruitment (Akinwale, 2014). Colonial powers developed modern export systems, infrastructure and educational facilities. Colonialism aimed to incorporate Africa into the world capitalist system, hence the start of production of palm, cocoa, rubber and peanuts, which attracted many European merchants and trading organisations (Toyin, 2005; Hrituleac, 2011).

Colonisers used various types of policies to dominate Africa. First, they adopted neo-liberalism, which entailed minimising the role of the state, the privatisation and the reduction of the domestic industry and currency devaluation, increased interest rates and elimination of food subsidies (Mentan, 2002). Second, they used proletarianisation, a social process whereby people moved from being either employed, unemployed or self-employed to being employed as wage labour by an employer (Hrituleac, 2011). Third, they used debt bondage (or bonded labour), a form of contemporary slavery in which people pledge themselves to someone in return for a loan (*Ibid* pg23). In Anglophone Africa, the unitary administrative structure was applied in many areas, especially in southern African countries (Hlatshwayo, 1998). In a unitary state, power and authority are vested at the central level of government which retains overall authority and jurisdiction.

2.6. Colonial Administrative Processes

Colonial administrative processes include the various methods employed to establish the colonial rule in the African continent (Wright, 1990). The J Rank Encyclopaedia (1996) has argued that the European colonialists used Christian missionaries to pave way for colonisation by preaching the message of love and brotherhood, convincing the Africans that it was a sin to fight against the Europeans. The subsequent indoctrination of natives through Christian ideals was one method used by the colonial governments (Mhike, 2006).

Colonial rule undermined the authority and space of traditional leaders by limiting the accumulation of wealth and at times taking away their jurisdiction over land and labour and in the process usurping their exercise of power over their subjects. With the advent of colonialism and the emergence of wage labour, young man and women were presented with opportunities for economic emancipation, and circumventing the economic control of their male elders (Waller, 2005). The colonial states grew by harnessing the energies of the youth in various occupations: as petty functionaries in colonial administrations, catechists, teachers, and as labourers in building the modern economic infrastructure (Mhike, 2006). In addition, there was the signing of the various treaties such as the Buganda Treaty of 1900 in East Africa, the Moffatt Treaty of 1887 and the Rudd Concession of 1888 in Southern Rhodesia, which helped the colonialists to consolidate their power in the colonised areas.

The colonialists also used military means to occupy colonised territories to occupy and colonise territories. This proved effective in the area of Bunyoro and the Hehe where the local people, in no time, after the involment of the colonial military forces, were already resisting anymore (J

Rank Encyclopaedia, 1996). Colonial administrations also employed trading companies as a method of colonising Africa. The British South African Company and the British East African Company, for instance, were used in 1889 and 1883 respectively, to plunder African natural resources by hoodwinking illiterate African leaders.

In summary, the colonial legacy is the sum total of the political structure, culture and general polity handed over to elite nationalist rulers or left behind by colonial administrators. This legacy affected post-independence Africa and still has an impact on contemporary African states and politics (Alemazung, 2010). The colonisation of Africa saw the colonial masters (stronger partner) exploiting African colonies (weaker partner) especially their resources, to strengthen and enrich the economies of western nations. Noteworthy is the fact that the colonisers ruled without the consent of the people and deposed and executed traditional rulers when they failed to serve the needs of the colonial government (Shillington, 1989). In the French colonies, the policy of assimilation was adopted while in British colonies, indirect rule was adopted (Alemazung, 2010).

The colonial ruling structure was based on the control by the few through oppression and the use of force. This laid the basis for the patron-client rulership after colonialism and the neo-patrimonial leadership existing in the African continent today, which are an extension of autocratic and tyrant leadership that the colonial masters had initiated (Alemazung, 2010). This development exacerbates social unrest, hindering economic and political development among the various communities of Africa.

Colonial rule eliminated the dependency on the chief and his councillors, as had been the case in during pre-colonial rule, replacing them with autocracy (Nugent, 2004). Mwaura (2005) maintains that nothing changed after the colonisation of Africa (Mwaura, 2005:6). National leaders who took over after the colonisers were traitors who made a pretence of patriotism ironically upholding a political network that exploited the African people to the benefit of the ruling elites and their Western patrons (Mwaura, 2005; Easterly, 2006). This is evidenced by several examples of bad and extremely cruel governance including the likes of Mobutu Sese Seko in the former Zaire and present day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Idi Amin in Uganda and Bokassa in Central African Republic (Meredith, 2005).

Another problem related to colonial legacy is the failure by institutions to apply and practise the rule of law, which should essentially be established to safeguard and advance civil and political rights of the individual and create conditions in which his/her legitimate aspirations and dignity may be realised. It is directly linked to civil liberties and democracies (Alemazung, 2010). Colonial administration laws were notorious and in many cases empowered administrators to imprison offenders for long periods, even without trial. Generally, the selection of native chiefs was not in keeping with traditional but according to their loyalty to the European administrator, in a classical indirect rule approach (Alemazung, 2010). Mamdani, quoted in Easterly (2005), has concluded that this arrangement can be best described as decentralised despotism, a method of rulership of the colonial administration, which took over the decentralised system of pre-colonial times, but abolished its checks and balances (Easterly, 2005: 275).

2.7 Colonial Behavioural Systems

Both England and France had considerable influence on the reorganisation of various colonies in Africa. The British and Germans used the idea of an imperial monarchy. Documented colonial behavioural systems include indirect rule, company rule, and settler rule and condominium government. The indirect rule approach was adopted by the British Colonial administrator, Fredrick Lugard. This approach effectively became the major system used by the British to govern the colonies, mostly those in East and West Africa. The British used African traditional rulers to work on their behalf and help subjugate their fellow Africans (Mills, 2003). Lugard implemented the method in Northern Nigeria, where the Fulani people had established the Sokoto Caliphate and Emirship. Although indirect rule worked well in Northern Nigeria, it failed dismally in the Southern and Western Nigeria due to differences in the traditional administrative systems, which were not all monarchies.

The French struggled with the incorporation of the Africans into a republican tradition (Grinker, 2010). Some of the local values and institutions were replaced by modern ones. Generally, colonisation in Africa obstructed internal processes of state formation and development in Africa and left legacies of corruption and general political instability (Tangie, 2006; Hrituleac, 2011). Crowder (1964) has argued that both the French and British Native Administrations in Africa were, in practice, very similar since they both relied on indigenous chiefs to govern. The French relied on the use of military force whereas the British relied on missionaries and trade in the same vein, it can be seen that most colonisers used the policy of assimilation in the 1880s, with colonies considered overseas provinces and extensions of the fatherland whose structure and functions should be similar to the colonising country (Hrituleac, 2011). The assimilation theory

was approached differently by French and Britain. While the British viewed the colonies as lands and anticipated, albeit only in an unseen future, their separation from Britain the French considered as individual parts of France and tried to enforce French values on them (Betts, 1960)

In the theory of association, applied mainly by France, the French maintained a distance from its colonies (Hrituleac, 2011). Thus, instead of completely absorbing the colonies both administratively and culturally, the French empire decided that it could be better served by a more flexible policy in which the colonial regions become partners with France in their colonial projects. In this view, the geographic and ethnic characteristics were critical decisive factors for social evolution under colonial rule. The French consulted and guided chiefs in their governance (Hrituleac, 2011: 31). In addition to full citizenship, the French gave more rights to Africans including freedom of press, movement and association. Workers also had the right to belong to a political party and the concept of equal pay for equal work (Chaffer, 2002).

Britain had longer and more continuous colonial experience than most imperial powers. At least three approaches were implemented during the 19th century in the areas of Natal, Cape Colony and Basutoland. In the Natal province, the British adopted the policy of differentiation (Hrituleac, 2011) in that there were separate legal and political systems for whites and the blacks. Africans were exempt from the Roman Dutch Law, which applied to whites, and were subject to Native Law and Custom. Due to the lack of funds, the system used African authorities for administration. The latter used the traditional chiefs and headman to enforce the law, arrange for the collection of taxes and the provision of labour to meet various demands of white settlers and administrators (Hrituleac, 2011: 32). Natal introduced procedures allowing Africans to move

from traditional law and customs to European law (Idem, 2007). These procedures allowed Africans the right to vote, although they were so difficult to follow that few were able or willing to acquire this right to vote.

Hrituleac (2011) argues that the policy of assimilation was adopted by the majority of colonisers and differentiation was not the order of the day. The assimilation policy dates back to the 19th century and the arrival of the missionaries, who strove to eliminate differences in legal status based on colour. The Cape Liberalism initiative was founded in 1828 and the colour blind franchise was introduced in 1853. The major focus of this policy was to embrace the Khoi Khoi (Hotentots) and people of mixed racial origin. The policy was initiated in the 1850s and lasted until about 1936. Its major thrust was to introduce Christianity and civilisation and change relations between Britain and its colonies. Infrastructural development, such as the building of schools and hospitals, was introduced and there were plans to gradually substitute white magistrates with traditional chiefs and headmen. Idem (2007) has argued that although legal jurisdiction was transferred to the traditional chiefs and headman, criminal aspects were dealt with using European Law.

The third policy type was the issue of indirect rule in which there was no assimilation. Shortly after being taken over by the British government in the 1860s, Basutoland was turned over to the Cape Colony. No law of the Cape Colony was to be applied to Basutoland unless it was specifically proclaimed (Hrituleac, 2011). Idem (2007) has observed that when the Cape government tried to introduce the Gun Law in Basutoland in 1879, a revolt took place and the Cape was unable to crush this revolt. Basutoland was transferred from the Cape Colony to the

British Government, which assumed responsibility for Basutoland. The governance of this land included one chief magistrate and three or four assistants (Hrituleac, 2011). This was indeed a classic case of indirect rule, where the traditional system of an African government was used. The ideological framework and the practical application of the indirect rule in European colonies can be traced back to the work of Fredrick Lugard, who instituted a system in which external military and tax control was exercised by the British, while most other aspects was left to local pre-colonial aristocrats who had sided with the British during the conquest (Hrituleac, 2011; Crowder, 1964). This governance type was cheaper and easier for colonial powers to administer, since few administrators were on the payroll. The introduction of indirect rule in Nigeria by Lord Fredrick Luggard, the chief administrator, was not the appropriate mechanism for managing tribal animosities in the colony. The system not only reinforced ethnic divisions, but also complicated the task for merging diverse elements into a Nigerian nation (Coleman, 1958: 194). This strategy of governance distanced ethnic groups from each other.

Luggard gave power and authority to the traditional leaders, who used it corruptly in the villages to amass wealth, land and establish patronage networks, which in the long run encouraged tribalism and nepotism (Okonjo, 1974). The Constitution of the Nigerian state in 1947 divided Nigeria into three political regions: East, West and North. The North, predominantly Hausa-Fulani, was the largest and most populous region. The Igbos dominated the east, and the Yorubas the west of the country (Irobi, 2005). In 1993, when Chief Moshood Abiola, a Yoruba from the south Western Nigeria, won the Nigerian presidential elections, his presidency was annulled by the military, led by General Sani Abacha, a Muslim from the North. All these developments were a creation of colonialism, which still haunts modern day Nigeria (Burton, 1992; Irobi,

1995), and have further perpetuated the failure by the incumbent government to manage ethnic conflict, which constrains countrywide economic development. Anarchy, competition and insecurity led to the demise of the first republic in Nigeria (Burton, 1992) and the military intervention from 1967 to 1970 almost led mistreated Igbos in Eastern Nigeria to threaten secession from the federation. This threat was prompted by the failure by the government to provide for this group's basic needs such as equality, citizenship, autonomy and freedom.

In Uganda, indirect rule was different, as colonial authorities empowered local leaders. If no leader was found, colonisers would elect their own local administrators (Crowder, 1964). This development of empowering local leadership occurred in Nigeria and Kenya and the new leadership was termed warrant chiefs. However, these were not generally supported by the local population (Crowder, 1964: 34). In South Africa, racism made it difficult for indigenous Africans to enjoy the fruits of modernisation. The white rulers saw them as thorn in the flesh, and constantly discriminated against the Zulus, Xhosas and other black ethnic groups. The period between 1910 and 1947 exposed how economic racism consolidated the structures of white domination and black disenfranchisement and exploitation, which was mainly achieved through racist legislation against the black majority such as the Black Land Act of 1913 (Irobi, 2005).

Taxation was used as a major tool used by colonial administrations to achieve their goals in addition to gaining revenues (Hrituleac 2011). First, taxes stimulated Africans to collect more natural resources for export; this is because their potential was limited. Second, most of the farmers changed their production from indigenous to export crops in order to obtain money to pay the taxes. Taxation thus forced a large number of Africans to work, and many people had no

option but to migrate to prosperous areas in order in search of employment opportunities. In Southern Africa, for example, most native labourers migrated to South Africa to work in the mines as lowly paid migrant workers for a very long period of time (Crush, 2005).

Fonchingong (2006) has underlined that colonisation obstructed state formation in Africa and that authoritarianism, corruption and political instability were the main obstacles to Africa's development. Hrituleac (2011) argues that corruption was introduced by England and France and other colonial rulers with the introduction of the monetary economy, cash taxation, and the divide and rule method was adopted as a mode of governance. The British introduced hut tax and poll tax as forms of taxation (Phillips, 1989). The hut tax was charged per hut or household, while the poll tax allowed the Africans the ability to vote. Money was collected by African local leaders, who would sometimes siphon part of the money they collected. This resulted in the accumulation of private property by the top echelons of the African leadership.

Settler rule occurred when the British had large populations of European immigrants. The settlers' interest was to extensively exploit both natural resources and native human resources. White settlers allocated themselves all the good arable land, which was termed as crown property (Chongwe, 2005). Arrests, torture and the killing of innocent blacks and allocation of barren land to the blacks were means of exploiting blacks.

The other colonial behavioural system was the condominium government, the joint rule of various countries by the same colonial authority. This can be seen in the case of the joint rule of

Sudan by Egypt and Britain. The country was renamed Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in acknowledgement of its two colonial masters.

The internal factors relate to the performance of individual service providing institutions (Coutinho, 2010; Fjelstaad, 2006). The rate of urbanisation has outstripped the ability of public institutions to provide adequate services or expand coverage. In addition, corruption, poor procurement systems and bureaucratic inefficiencies also hamper effective service delivery (MPDESA, 2010). When services are of a poor quality, and not supplied on demand or discontinued without credible explanations, a culture of ratepayer resistance creeps in, minimising revenue collection by the local authority, and further burdening an already ailing service delivery framework.

2.8 Service Delivery Challenges

Sub-national governments in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular, are mandated to provide public services to the heterogeneous citizenry. Services are goods created, provided and managed to support productive and reproductive societal activities and contribute to human dignity, quality of life and sustainable livelihoods (UN-HABITAT, 2009). Governments, both at central and local level, are obliged to provide health and housing, water and sanitation, education, transport and street lighting among other functions, as prescribed by the law. Service delivery involves needs assessment, planning, design, execution and post implementation maintenance. It is generally guided by minimum standards that the state is expected to guarantee (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Service standards therefore constitute a critical part of tracking and holding service providers accountable. A social contract thus exists between the sub-national

governments and the citizens, obliging councils to provide citizens with services in a timeous and efficient manner with robust accountability, while residents have an obligation to pay for the services that are provided by councils (RTI, 2012).

Though sub-national governments are charged with the provision of public services equitably to the people, this has been and still remains a major challenge (Nsubuga, 2007). The cost of service delivery has not been established across the board and is not taken into account when determining local government fiscal transfers. Richardson and Pattana (2012) have noted that while a complete understanding of service delivery is essential to properly inform social services policy, policy makers are missing important information about the inefficiencies and outcomes of service delivery. Thus, interrogating the opportunities and challenges that individual countries have and face in the delivery of public services particularly to the most vulnerable groups in the society, is critical for knowledge sharing and devising comprehensive action to address the challenges.

The vehicle through which governments, both central and local, deliver all kinds of goods to the citizen is called public services (Zubane, 2011). Services provided can be intangible, in the case of the provision of electricity or tangible, as in the provision of water. Governments should be aware of the needs of the population within their areas and be open and responsive to the needs of residents and the subsequent adoption of balanced policies of fairness and justice within their areas (Zubane, 2011; Moshia and Mabaila, 2006). Muhangi and Mugisha (2006) have stressed the direct relationship between the capacities of local authorities, the quality of public services to be delivered to citizens, as well as the potential to contribute to poverty alleviation. Critical

capacity building factors include the local resource base, local politics, and the quality of governance and participation.

In Uganda, the Local Government Act of 1997 stipulates that urban local governments have the responsibility to provide safe water and sanitation services, among other services, in their areas of jurisdiction. The objective of decentralisation in the Ugandan context was among other factors meant to bring political and administrative control over services at delivery point, thereby improving accountability and effectiveness and the development of effective and sustainable organizational structures tailored to local circumstances in the long term (Kauzya, 2007). A perspective advanced by Nuwagaba and Mwesiga (2006) is that decentralisation in Uganda was a direct rejection of elitism and encouraging the participation of citizens to elect their own leaders and set their own priorities through active participation in service delivery.

In South Africa, each municipality is required by law to draw up an integrated development plan with the participation of the entire municipality, the community and all stakeholders. Kauzya (2007) has noted the integrated development plan consists of operational strategies, a disaster management plan, a financial plan, key performance indicators and performance targets. This comprehensive approach to planning goes a long way in implementing an integrated service delivery system within their localities.

In Rwanda, the formation of Community Development Committees was the result of the Community Development Policy of Rwanda of 2001 (GOR, 2001). The intention was to inculcate people's participation in development activities to ensure the entrenchment of the

national policy of decentralisation, suggesting ways and means, ensuring durable participation by the communities (Kauzya, 2007). Thus, the institutionalisation of relationships among various actors in the crafting of the development destiny has gone a long way to improve the manner in which public services are provided to the residents.

Local governance reforms were passed to strengthen local authorities by decentralising power. Looking at the decentralised governance thrust in Zambia, it can be realised that citizen participation in local governance is limited, and this has resulted in the significant gaps in service delivery capacity and limited the extent to which stakeholders participate in the local development agenda (Chikulo, 2009).

In Zimbabwe, there has been an ever-increasing gap between the demand for services and their provision (Chikumbu *et al*, 2006). Thus, despite the implementation of the decentralised governance system by the state at independence in the 1980s, access to and the quality of the public services in most cities and towns in recent years have declined as local authorities failing to cope with the ever-increasing demand for their services. Conflicts and administrative difficulties are aggravated by many situations (Chakaipa, 2010). Some employees have worked for many years in a council such that they find it impossible to be supervised by a junior councillor. Major difficulties arise when an employee is a senior politician within a party from which a councillor is elected, since councillors find it difficult to supervise their party superiors. This compromises the delivery of services to the heterogeneous citizenry by sub-national governments.

Harare City Council, for example, has over the past decade been faced with housing shortages, the dilapidation of existing infrastructure, and increased pressure on existing systems such as water and reticulation systems that cannot cope with the ever-increasing population (Mazorodze, 2012). The mushrooming of spurious housing cooperatives has seen many potential home seekers being fleeced of financial resources, and minimal or substandard housing units being constructed.

Service provision in the Zimbabwean context is emerging from a crisis situation (RTI, 2010), and both rural and urban local authorities are facing a myriad of challenges in the service delivery agenda in their bid to improve the quality of life of the citizens. The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15), Section 198, paragraphs 1 to 54 of the Second Schedule provides for service functions, including maternity and child welfare services, road construction, amongst others. These functions can be grouped into permissive and mandatory functions. Mandatory functions are those functions that are compulsory for councils to perform and permissive functions including the provision of community development and social services (Mushamba, 2010).

Matovu (2002) notes that the public sector reform programmes which most countries have embarked upon as part of wider processes of structural adjustment have encouraged local authorities to review their operational methods to enhance the quality and reduce the cost of service provision (Majani, 2002). Rakodi (1997) argues that among the reasons for the failure of many urban authorities in developing countries to cope with the demand for service delivery are the limitations of their political frameworks for city development, the inadequacy of their

financing systems and inefficiency of their management systems (cf. Munzwa and Jonga, 2010). Gukurume (2011) cites the case of Masvingo City in Zimbabwe, where the expansion of the social service delivery systems has not been able to keep pace with the galloping demand, thereby accounting for the unreliability in service provision. The challenge for sustainable urban development is to establish good governance, which should ideally be based on the idea of a social contract, where there is reciprocity in relations between local residents and the local authority (Keiner, 2000).

Corruption, poor procurement systems and bureaucratic inefficiencies also hinder effective service delivery (Chatiza, 2010). There is a widespread tendency by national politicians to manipulate local governance systems under the guise of protecting the poor. This development will in turn result in the charging of sub-economic rates /levies, leading to budget deficits poor delivery, lack of service maintenance and expansion (MDP-ESA, 2010; Chatiza, 2010).

2.9 Synthesis of the Review

From the foregoing description, it can be noted that the empirical studies have attempted to demystify the various reasons why sub-national governments are failing to provide services to the heterogeneous citizenry (Chakaipa, 2010; RTI, 2010). Economic mismanagement, corruption, political polarisation and political patronage have seen the demise of service delivery in most local authorities (Dewa, 2014). Service delivery is directly linked to the socio-politico and economic environment and the various negative environments have adverse consequences in the manner in which services are delivered to the heterogeneous citizenry. (Gukurume, 2013; Madzivanyika, 2011). There has been no attempt to explore the contribution of colonial

administrative systems to the performance of local authorities and a series of transformations that were instituted by the present day Zimbabwean government.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the diverse scholarly literature available, applying the thematic review using the global, regional and local approach in the review of the literature. The literature highlights the fact that the colonial administrative and behavioural systems have had different impacts on the manner in which sub-national governments perform today. The separation of systems was prevalent in the Lusophone, Francophone and Anglophone countries across the African continent.

This legacy has not changed significantly, particularly in the administration and management of both rural and urban councils. Although this legacy had a bearing on the modus operandi of most councils, none of the scholarly literature reviewed has dwelt on the influence of colonial administrative systems on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. The following chapter examines the conceptual framework informing this research.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theoretical and the conceptual framework to the study. The theoretical framework focused on the major theories underpinning the study from a relevance and applicability point of view, which will guide the study. The conceptual framework, meanwhile, is composed of the key concepts underpinning the study. These two research components are critical in determining the parameters of the study as well as scoping research issues presented herein.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

While the study of administrative systems can be carried out using a variety of theories, this study was grounded on the system theory and the subsequent analysis of system. Various components of the study topic including the systems theories, performance theories and transformational theories formed part of the study as it sought to explore the performance of local authorities in an ever changing environment.

A system is defined as an organised whole made up of components that interact in a way distinct from their interaction with other entities towards achieving a clear functional goal (Anderson *et al*, 1999). There are two major systems theories applicable to this study, namely the dynamics systems theories as outlined and propounded by Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1968) and the dynamic systems theory by Thelen and Smith (2006). The systems theory is an organisational theory that

looks at interactions between systems. The general systems theory is viewed as a science of wholeness rather than an analysis of individual components of a system.

Theorists such as Durkheim and Weber respectively influenced the systems theory (Thelen and Smith, 2006). Durkheim argued that in highly organised systems, the division of labour contributes to the maintenance of societies. He noted that a system exists in a social environment and as such social factors affect the system and its outputs and outcomes. The Weberian model, meanwhile, advocates that “[g]overnments and bureaucracies are essentially coercive in nature and are maintained through their monopoly in their legitimate use of violence.” (Weber in Thelen and Smith, 2006: 5). Thus, government machinery can be used in the interests of the state rather than its constituencies. The outline of the state functions, structure, roles and responsibilities as propounded by Weber provides a critical outlay on the forms and nature of government and the way the public administration systems operate. This helped the researcher significantly as it provided the basis for assessing the past and present day systems of public administration.

Bertalanffy (1968) states that, each system is a unit of wholeness with a distinct property or structural limitation which delineates it from other systems. In the same vein, it can be realised that system demarcation can be defined by norms and culture. The definitive boundary approach to a system ensures that certain characteristics exist within a particular system. Furthermore energy exchange between the system and its environment is important in maintaining a system.

There are two types of system: open and the closed systems. The open systems as viewed by Bertalanffy (1968) exchange matter with their environment while closed systems are isolated from the environment. However, a system sometimes closes up as a means of protecting itself.

Given that for a system to exist, there is need for the continuous exchange of energy between the system and other environments, the closing up of the systems will throw that system into disarray. One assumption by Von Bertalanffy (1968) is that a single dimension causes and affects relationships between social units within the same system. The recognition of a system as a whole rather than individual unit is important in the research

3.2.1 Dynamic Systems Theories

As Thelen and Smith (2006) assert, dynamic systems are relatively new to the development discourse, having only evolved over the last 20 years. Critically, they provide principles for conceptualising and operationalising the complex interrelations of time, substances and processes. It can be viewed as a Meta theory. As Thelen and Smith (2006) argue, understanding the origins increasingly complex matters is at the heart of development science. This insight into complex matters will be unpacked by the dynamics systems theory.

Development process changes with time and behaviour is the product of multiple influences, each of which has a history. The dynamic nature of systems is critical in this research as there has been a marked transformation of administrative systems from 1890 through to the post-independence Zimbabwe. This series of changes will therefore be examined, and a thorough

understanding and appreciation of the dynamic systems theory is critical in guiding the research and coming up with feasible and objective results.

3.2.2 Performance Theories

Performance encompasses an action (behavioural aspects and an outcome aspect of performance). The behavioural aspect should be relevant to the ethos of the organisation because not every behaviour is subsumed as being part of performance (Campbell *et al*, 1990). Performance is not defined by the action itself but by judgemental and evaluative processes. The determinant outcomes provide a source of measurement of the performance. Campbell (1990) further states that only measurable actions constitute performance. Only relevant and measurable actions constitute performance.

Another critical component of the performance theories is reflective practice. In essence, this involves actions that help people or organisations to pay attention to and learn from experiences. An example includes observing the present level of performance, noting accomplishments, analysing strengths and addressing areas that need improvement (Campbell *et al*, 1990). This self-introspection and trend analysis is crucial as it enables individuals and organisations to realign their efforts in line with both individual and organisational goals.

In keeping with the topic of this study, which seeks to assess the performance of local authorities, performance theories provided a guiding framework on what critical components constitute performance and a standard of measurement of the related performance. In addition, the measurability of the study variables is also critical to drawing meaningful conclusions. The

self-introspective nature of performance theories provides a guiding framework for the historical analysis of colonial and post-independence administrative systems.

3.2.3 Transformational Theories

Transformation can be viewed as the movement (changing) from a previous state to a desired state of affairs. As such, it can be seen that transformation in a societal setup is about creating the social movement with viable institutional mechanisms fostering the democratic and emancipatory ideals that would be opposed to the minority elites, but such changes would be a threat to the livelihood of the capitalists, who are directly affected by such changes. In this view, transformation aims to explore the desired and viable policy options to achieve set goals in a well-defined manner. As Williamson (1996) states, in order to advance democratic, egalitarian, and emancipatory ideals, it is necessary to radically extend and highlight the importance of social empowerment within the economic structures of capitalist societies. Conversely, significant movements towards real social empowerment is a threat to the interests of powerful actors, who benefit most from capitalist structures and can use their power to oppose such movements (Williamson, 1996)

Transformative approaches tend to be made up of four components, namely social reproduction, a theory of gap and contributions to society and the theory of trajectories of unintended social change and the theory of transformative strategies. The first component is the stock taking stage, which accounts for the obstacles in the transformation processes. The second stage explores the real possibilities for transformation. The third component consists of further exploration of the possibilities of both transformation, and challenges in diffusing the traditional capitalist

structures. The fourth component broadly charts the future direction of the transformation by answering the question as to what is to be done in order to achieve wholesale transformation. In reality, where capitalism is predominant, those with power will strive to block or subvert any serious transformations, which risks dislodging the existing status quo.

3.3. Conceptual Framework

This section articulates and describes all the major concepts underpinning this study. These concepts include local government, performance and colonial administrative systems.

Local government, synonymously referred to as sub-national government, has been defined as the establishment of a lower sphere of governance to carry out functions that central government is too far removed to carry out effectively (GOZ, 2004). It is therefore presumed that administrative efficiency of local government results in a government that is responsive to the local needs. Vosloo, Kotze and Jeppe (1974) state that local governments are decentralised, representative institutions with general and specific powers devolved and delegated to them by central or regional government. It can be seen from the foregoing definition that sub-national governments operate within specific boundaries, which are both legislative and administrative. In this set up, they carry out responsibilities transferred to them by the upper echelons of central or regional government, and are accountable to the citizenry within their localities.

Local government is a product of devolution which is a dimension of decentralisation (Chikerema, 2013: 2). In essence, local government exists because of the adoption of decentralised governance by the central government to decongest the centre of responsibilities

that it cannot effectively provide to the local citizenry. Mawhood (2006: 66) defined local government as the third tier of government deliberately created to bring government closer to grassroots communities, giving them a sense of involvement in the political processes controlling their daily lives. Citizen participation in the governance process is the *raison-d'être* of local government.

In addition, the President's Office, Regional and Local Government state that local government is the semi-autonomous level of government, discharging its functions in a specified area within a nation. Local government is the level of government closest to the people and is therefore responsible for serving the political and material needs of people and communities within a specific local area. In the foregoing definition, it can be deduced that local government is about empowerment of the citizens as well as the provision of services in a timeous and efficient manner.

Looking at performance in its generic form, it can be viewed as the production of valid results. The validity of the results hinges on the measurability of the acquired results. As Don Elger (1996: 25) states, performance has to do with taking a complex series of actions that integrate skills and knowledge in order to produce a valuable result. In some instances, the performer might be an individual or a group of individuals. By integrating various skills and knowledge in pursuit of valid results benchmarked through performance indicators, an organisation can undertake various actions in order to achieve set targets.

Sabine Sonnetang and Michael Frese (2001) state that performance is about what an organisation expects an individual to do and do well. Organisations therefore need high performing individuals in order to meet their goals, deliver the products they specialise in and achieve competitive advantage. Local governments have a mandate to deliver products, to the heterogeneous citizenry, in the form of public services such as housing, water and sewer systems, among others. Since only actions measurable constitute performance, all components constituting performance should be measurable to allow for the evaluation of the performance.

A system is defined as an organised whole, made up of components that interact in a way that is distinct from the way they interact with other entities, which endures over some period of time (Anderson *et al*, 1999: 4). The distinct nature of each system is premised upon the characteristics that govern that system. In government structures, there are two systems i.e. unitary and federal systems. PEFA (2008) states that a unitary country is a state governed as a single unit and any lower level of government only exercises powers that the central government chooses to delegate. The federal system, meanwhile, is composed of self governing states united by the central (federal state) (PEFA, 2008).

3.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter dealt exhaustively with various key concepts underpinning the study by reviewing the various meanings of the identified concepts. The chapter explored the various theoretical perspectives upon which the study is hinged. The theoretical framework provided the researcher with parameters within which the research would be conducted. The next chapter focuses on the research methodology.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to generate and confirm the data that I used to support this study. The chapter also indicates the the process of selecting interviewees and highlight key components relating to the issue of sampling and ethical considerations relevant to a qualitative enquiry of this nature. Furthermore, it discusses the research philosophy, its design, data collection techniques and instruments. Finally the chapter provides an explicit description of how data collected was presented and analysed to ensure compliance with standard research procedures.

4.2 Research Philosophy

Research methodology has been approached differently by various scholars. Methodology refers to the philosophical framework, the fundamental assumptions and characteristics of a human science perspective and includes the general orientation to life (Van Manen, 1990: 27). Mondal and Ray (2006) view methodology as the articulation of various methods of conducting research. This research applies the core principles of grounded theory research design. The researcher conducted structured in depth interviews, supported by a colloquium.

A research philosophy influences the knowledge claims by the researcher. Researchers make claims about what is knowledge (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), what values go into it (axiology), how it is written about (rhetoric), and the processes for studying it (methodology) (Creswell, 2003: 6). The research philosophy is a belief entrenched or embedded in a study to

achieve a set of desired results. Slife and Williams (1995) argue that although philosophical ideas remain largely "hidden" in research, they still influence the practice of research and need to be identified. They therefore constitute a critical component of the research process.

The research strategy, meanwhile, provides a framework through which to gather data which is then transformed to information that becomes knowledge. Similarly, Chirisa (2014) has noted that social constructivism with minimal post positivist approach are ideal when the researcher intends to examine the respondents' experiences and place him/herself in their shoes, seeking to have an in depth experience. Many scholars opine that there are two competing, yet at times dependent, perspectives built on positivist philosophies and the qualitative school of thought. Cresswell (2003: 7) outlines that positivism reflects a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes.

This research adopted the latter qualitative school of thought, adopting social constructivism, which explores the qualitative dimension to research on colonial administrative systems and their influence on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. This study relied upon the experiences of the individuals who were involved in the colonial local government administration as employees, academics or subjects of the system prior to independence or experienced the various transformations in the local government sector post-1980 when Zimbabwe attained its independence.

4.1.1 Social Constructivism

Social constructivism was adopted by the researcher in the qualitative inquiry which sought to

gain an in depth understanding of the various respondent's perceptions and experiences. Crotty *et al* (1998) as quoted in Creswell (2003: 8) hold that individuals seek an understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences - meanings directed towards certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The researcher preferred the adoption of social constructivism as he sought to understand the various dynamics that occurred and are still occurring within the local governance framework.

There are various dimensions to the diverse socio-economic dynamics that occurred during colonial times and still occur in the present day local government administration. Creswell (2003: 8) also notes that meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. These complex views may be embedded in the varying perceptions, convictions, experiences and feelings of the different respondents about the same phenomena that are being investigated by the researcher, making it paramount to have a broader and in depth understanding of the various aspects of the research.

4.2 Research Design

The researcher adopted the grounded theory as the research design to be applied to the study. Grounded Theory (GT) is presented as a method of choice as it is detailed, rigorous and systematic, while simultaneously allowing for flexibility and freedom. Creswell (2005, 2007a, 2007b) as quoted in Chirisa (2014: 41) argues that Creswell's five approaches to qualitative

studies, namely phenomenology, grounded theory, narrative approach ,case studies and ethnography, can also be taken as research designs, hence this researcher's decision to adopt the grounded theory as a research design. This theory is important when studying topics of a social nature. Ellis and Levy (2009) state that, GT can be of additional value when literature fails to support the theoretical evolution of phenomena.

There are schools of thought based on grounded theory, namely the Glaserian and Straussian schools of thought. For the purpose of this research, the latter school of thought was adopted, since it allows the use of structured questions. For this reason, the researcher actively conducted the in depth interviews. In this approach, moreover, the coding of the data is more rigorous and defined by technique. The nature of comparisons made varies in accordance with the coding technique. The derivation of the codes is done through microanalysis, or the analysis of data word by word.

The initial stage of the Grounded Theory study is data collection (Jones and Alony, 2011). Data collection was done by the researcher on the influence of colonial administrative systems on the current performance of local authorities. The data collection criterion was premised upon the given identified sample. In this research, the sample was selected from the given population of 92 local authorities in Zimbabwe, namely 60 Rural District Councils and 32 urban councils.

The target population is the one which the researcher intended to study, but which is not always accessible. The study population, meanwhile, is the one that we use in the study (Chirisa, 2014). The researcher in this development carried out in depth interviews with the selected sample in

order to come up with the raw data set that was then cleaned and coded using the Qualitative Data Analysis Miner Lite 4 2014 Version. This software was used to group the data into various classes and themes. The various data sets were categorised including themes such as colonial administrative structures and urban and rural local authorities. After the data collection phase, there data availed were coded using open coding, selective coding, and theoretical coding as outlined herein.

At open coding stage, the raw data are initially examined through a process which further fractures the interviews into discrete threads of datum (Alony and Jones, 2011). Various issues and themes emerged from the data collection process. The data examination process at this stage is all encompassing and all the examined data is accepted, which is important in that it allows the researcher to derive trends and patterns leading to the development of a certain social process. The researcher undertook the cleaning and grouping of the data such as the experiences of various practitioners as regards colonial administrative systems, behavioural processes and the performance of local authorities in pre and post-independence Zimbabwe.

4.2.1 Constant Comparison

Constant Comparison is a simultaneous and concurrent process of coding and analysis (Partington, 2000). As the research categories start to accumulate, the comparison allows the researcher to reflect and conceptualise, using memos to record the researcher's reflections and annotations of the data (Alony and Jones, 2011). Glaser and Strauss (1967) have argued that the purpose of the constant comparative method of joint coding and analysis is to generate theory more systematically by using explicit coding and analytical procedures. The constant comparison

was carried out by the researcher during the undertaking of the in depth interviews with key informants who experienced colonial local government systems either as employees of the colonial and post-colonial local government systems, councillors or may have been affected positively or negatively by the colonial administrative and behavioural system. The constant comparison activity was undertaken, as the same set of questions were asked to key informants in the different locations about their experiences within these two administrative systems. As he conducted the in depth interviews, the researcher observed and made note of similarities and differences in these responses.

4.2.2 Memoing

Glaser (1978) refers to this stage as the core stage or bedrock of theory generation. This is supported by the notion that as the data starts to accumulate into the various categories, there is need for reflection, and memos form the basis for the reflection and the critical component of the grounded theory process, as it allows for the fine tuning data collection at the early stages of the research. As most of the in depth interviews by the researcher were done using a digital recorder at the consent of the respondents, as the data was being placed into the various categories constant reflections on the respondents' experiences were also replayed in order to come up with a fine tuned data set, with accurate responses from key informants. Emerging issues including vending in urban local authorities were explored by the researcher during the interviewing process, as he probed respondents about the experiences and strategies to address the various challenges being experienced at sub-national level.

4.2.3 Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical Sampling involves the collection of data, where new targets for data collection are directed by the results collected from the preceding sample (Alony and Jones, 2011). The aim of this process is the systematic selection of new participants, allowing the researcher to select data samples which are most salient for the research being undertaken. This sampling works by the selection of participants based on the information that emerges from data already coded. A pilot study in Harare Province during which four key informants were interviewed by the researcher gave new dimensions and insights with regards to the study. The pilot study gave the researcher new critical thinking on the experience of key informants, who had some in depth experience of colonial administrative systems, an understanding of the mechanics of the systems and of the various transformations that occurred in post-independence Zimbabwe local government system. Snowballing also occurred during the pilot study, as some respondents referred the researcher to other possible respondents with in depth knowledge about and experience of colonial local government systems and those in post-independence Zimbabwe.

4.2.4 Selective Coding

This stage is reached when the core categories become clear and apparent. A core category is a one that has developed through densification and that explains most variations. In its crudest sense, a core category is an open issue embedded in the basic social process. Glaser (1978) has pointed out that selective coding should relate meaningfully and easily to other categories. It should have clear and striking qualities. To facilitate this process, interview questions are continuously moulded to encompass the new and more focused direction of the research. In this the interview, questions were further moulded in line with the emerging data trends such as relations between central and local governments, budget performance, knowledge and experience

in the local government sector. In this regard, some informants were experts in planning, some had experience in urban local government issues and some were well versed in rural local government administrative and behavioural processes. However, though the researcher noted differing experiences within the local government systems, there was a correlation between the various themes within the research.

4.2.5 Theoretical Coding

Theoretical Coding occurs when the core categories have become saturated (Alony and Jones, 2011). Saturation is strength of the grounded theory, as it builds an analytical case by constantly seeking new categories of evidence, eventually after a period of data collection, a point is reached when no new data result from additional data collection. The researcher reached the data saturation point after conducting over 20 in depth interviews with key informants, where no new data was being generated as the responses became similar. Interview questions were also modified by the researcher to accommodate new arising phenomena or trends in the local government sector and to plug any gap in examining the nexus between the colonial local government system and the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Mindful of the above disposition, theoretical coding examines these saturated categories and provides the researcher with analytic criteria for the development of conceptual relationships between the categories and their relevance to the literature (Glaser 1992). The theoretical coding stage makes an immense contribution to the process of conceptual development in the full exploration and examination of both new and existing data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

4.3 Study Population

A population refers to the total number of the objects, variables as well as other phenomena such as people. Population can be seen as the identifiable and specific grouping. A population can be viewed as all the people or a phenomenon, which in this case is under study, from which as sample may be derived for the purposes of the research. The researcher distinguishes between two types of population: the target population and the study population. The target population was 92 local authorities in Zimbabwe, but the study population consisted of twelve local authorities in Zimbabwe's administrative provinces, including the pilot city. In essence, the population of this study was drawn from:

1. Local Government (4 respondents)
2. Members of the Local Government Board (2 respondents)
3. Mayors, Councillors and management employees of the council (4 officials per local authority)
4. Civil society organisations such as residents' movements (4 respondents per organisation)
5. Members of the academia (6 respondents)
6. Citizens with expert knowledge on administrative systems and performance of local authorities (10 respondents).

4.4 Sampling

The difficulty associated with interrogating an entire population requires that the researcher makes use of a sample. In addition, temporal factors and accessibility often impede the collection of the data from all the research elements, hence the need for a representative sample. A sample refers to a selected number of units from a population to represent it (Ray and Mondal, 2006).

Purposive sampling was selected as the appropriate model for this study, taking into cognisance the quality of data relevant for this research. The belief was that the sample was typical of the population. The people that the researcher perceived to be necessary for the research were selected, with the criterion premised upon their experience in the public service, qualifications, position, key contributions to service delivery and other related factors both in the colonial and post-colonial local government system. In this research, a sample of 12 councils was chosen, including the pilot Harare; 5 rural councils, namely Mwenezi RDC, Gwanda RDC, Mberengwa RDC, Runde RDC and Mutoko RDC; and 6 urban councils, namely Gweru, Bulawayo, Mutare, Bindura, Masvingo and Zvishavane, which were randomly selected. The likelihood of selecting relatively big councils in each category is not guaranteed, such that those selected are sufficiently representative of all councils. Results will therefore be sufficiently generalisable, given the equal probability of being chosen among the rural and urban local authorities.

In this study, the sample size of 30 respondents was determined by the experience and knowledge of the subject under study. In this regard, the researcher sought expert knowledge about the colonial administrative systems through independence in 1980 to the current structures and performance of local government. These experiences are drawn from the knowledge of respondents who were involved in the local government system as either employees, councillors, or community members who were affected by the system but could understand the structures and the behavioural system during the colonial era, the changes experienced over the years, as well as the current state of affairs.

Due to the limited financial resources and time available to the researcher, the sample size was streamlined in order to accomplish the given task but at the same time reflecting the purpose, goals and objectives of the research and encompassing all the identified groups in the population within the sample. This research is based on historicism (cf Popper 1961, Chirisa 2014: 40) a social science paradigm aimed at historical prediction by discovering the rhythms or the patterns, the laws or the trends that underlie the evolution of history. In this study, history undeniably formed the foundation of the study, as the colonial administrative, behavioural and legislative arrangements and structures from the past were thoroughly investigated in order to draw linkages and parallels with the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

When selecting a sampling strategy, one has to take into account the purpose of the study the questions being asked, the resources available and the constraints being met (Mugo, 2001). For the purpose of this research, the judgemental sampling was adopted to ensure that all the requisite phenomena to be investigated in this research was encompassed. As Mugo (2001) notes, a judgemental sample is obtained at the discretion of someone who is familiar with the relevant characteristics of the population. This primary sample approach was adopted by the researcher since the sample component characteristics were known to the researcher. This variation among diverse sets of respondents provided the researcher with an opportunity to gather data from each set separately.

Random sampling was also employed, and specifically for the purpose of this research, stratified random sampling was adopted. A stratified sample is obtained by independently selecting a separate simple random sample from each population stratum (Mugo, 2001). As the various

strata or groups were selected from the population i.e. the local government board and the civic society, random sampling was administered in each stratum (group) derived from the target population.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is an important aspect of any type of research study. The data collection methods in a qualitative inquiry are dependent on the needs of the research. Most qualitative research is multi modal in that there are various dimensions that can be taken into consideration (ACPS, 2001). The most appropriate methods should be identified and adopted during the research, since inaccurate data collection can impact the results of a study and ultimately lead to invalid results.

Qualitative methods of research and analysis enhance the identification and exploration of the intangible factors such as cultural expectations, gender roles, ethnic and religious implications and individual feelings (ACAPS, 2012). The exploratory dimension of the qualitative research was critical in this research, as the researcher sought to explore the relationship between the colonial administrative systems and the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe, and perceptions held by the affected parties. The sample size chosen was relatively small for the following reasons:

- to reduce the sample size for qualitative data collection, reducing complexity, manage time and ensured multi-layered analysis of the data;
- the characteristics under study of the whole population were known;
- random sampling produced a representative sample as the research characteristics were evenly distributed within the population (ACPS, 2012).

The qualitative sample must be large enough to ensure the inclusion of most or all of the important perceptions. The smaller the sample size, the narrower the perceptions obtained and conversely, the larger the sample size (ACPS, 2012). In practical terms, the number of data sites becomes obvious as the research progresses, as new categories explanations and themes stop emerging from the data (theoretical saturation).

4.5.1 Research Instruments

The researcher employed in depth field interviews and documentary review. These techniques ensured that the researcher acquired data based on “an insider’s point of view while maintaining the analytic perspective or distance of an outsider” (Neuman, 2009: 426). The researcher was assured of getting the right data as he became part of the setting by entering it and participating in it through conducting in depth interviews. This helped the researcher to ensure a focus on specific aspects of the setting, thereby guaranteeing the reliability and validity of the findings.

4.5.1.1 In depth Interviews

The initial stage before the conducting of the study was the seeking and granting of permission and authority from the Local Government Ministry to conduct the countrywide research in local authorities. The permission was granted by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government on the 30 April 2015.

After the sample was drawn and respondents to be interviewed selected, the researcher sought their contact numbers and booked the appointments with them in phases. This was intended to

allow the researcher time to travel to the areas where the respondents were located. Since the research was a countrywide research, the researcher spent the whole month of May 2015 preparing the tentative travel itinerary. A pilot study was conducted by the researcher in Harare in mid May 2015, when the researcher interviewed the first Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing in post-independence Zimbabwe, who had vast experience in the colonial administrative setup. Also interviewed during the first phase were a director in City of Harare, a representative from the Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Local Government officials, Chitungwiza Municipality officials and a local government expert. During the interviews, a digital voice recorder was used to record the respondents' experiences and views. This data gathering method allowed for flexibility and was not as limiting as taking field notes, which summarises data and might have missed important information. The recording of the information was done with the consent of the respondents, and the majority of the respondents (about 90 %) consented to the use of the recording device which allowed for the optimum collection of raw data.

The in depth interviews for the remaining respondents were conducted from June to September 2015. The interviews were spread over a relatively long time frame because of the busy schedules of the interviewees, most of whom are at the helm of most local authorities. The researcher had to shift the various appointments based on the availability of the interviews. This arrangement worked well, as the researcher managed to interview over 95% of the intended study population. The local authorities visited by the researcher in this research included 5 rural and 6 urban local authorities as well as one pilot local authority.

During interviews, the researcher explained the nature and purpose of the research and also sought the consent of the respondent to be recorded using the digital recorder, which enabled the researcher the opportunity to probe the interviewee freely in a conversation mode, allowing for the smooth flow of issues and sentiments and the observation of feelings and expressions of the interviewees when discussing various aspects of the research. On average, one in depth interview lasted for over one and a half or two hours between one and a half and two hours, enabling the interviewee time to exhaustively articulate issues under discussion and their experiences of colonial administrative systems. Other respondents went to the extent of providing documentary evidence to complement their testimonies, which helped during the documentary review stage. During the interviewing process, the researcher considered the inclusion of various question types to be critical. These included introductory questions, probing questions, direct and indirect questions, and interpretative questions (Chirisa, 2014). A mix of questions allowed for the optimum collection of data. Allowing the interviewees to express their sentiments with minimum interruption made them feel “dignified and respected”, allowing for the free flow of information. The researcher had to conduct the interviews with the “Tell Me “Approach (cf Appendix 1). This allowed the respondents to tell their stories and experiences freely with minimal interruption.

4.5.1.2 Documentary Review

The documentary review stage allowed for cross referencing and triangulation, making it possible to compare and contrast what was obtained during fieldwork and what had been documented in various literature books, documents, memos and archival materials. These documents, which the researcher collected and used, included council minutes, policy directives, government gazettes, Acts of Parliament, previous and current Constitutions, texts, journals,

books, research papers/memoirs, service delivery reports, economic reports, and archived documents collected from the National Archives, which outlined the structures, processes and systems that were experienced during the colonial administration. Belanger (2006) as quoted in Chirisa (2014: 55) argues that documentary analysis is a two-fold internal and external documentary analysis. In the external analysis, the focus is placed on the motive, assumptions, the involvement of the author as an active participant or a secondary observer of the situation or topic under discussion, and biases of the author. These factors identified above have an influence on the credibility of the contents of the document by the researcher. Internal analysis, meanwhile, focuses on the examination of the body of the document in order to influence the credibility of the document (Chirisa, 2014: 55). In the analysis of the documents, precautionary attention was given to walking the “truth-bias thin” continuum. From the foregoing observations, this study reference was made to the various documents such as Constitutions, council meeting minutes, statutory instruments, government gazettes and other documents governing colonial and post-colonial local government administrative system as indicated earlier on.

4.5.1.3 Validity and Reliability

The concepts of validity and reliability are mostly used in the quantitative research, but nowadays the concepts have also been absorbed in the qualitative paradigms. As Glesne and Peshkins (1992) assert that qualitative analysis results in a different type of knowledge from that produced by quantitative inquiry because of the underlying philosophical nature of each paradigm, the other focuses on the apparent compatibility of the research methods, “enjoying the rewards of both numbers and words”. Validity can be viewed as the contingent construct grounded in the processes of particular research methodologies and processes (Winter, 2001). In

the same vein, reliability is a concept used for testing or evaluating all kinds of research in general. In the qualitative context, reliability may be viewed as a concept that is intended to generate understanding (Stenbecka, 2001: 51).

In order to ensure reliability in qualitative research, the examination of the validity is important and crucial. As Seale (1999: 226) states in this regard, the “trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability”. The testing of the validity and reliability will improve the generalisability of the results. Stenbecka (2001), meanwhile, asserts that validity and reliability are two factors that any qualitative researcher should be concerned with when designing the study, deducing the results and judging the quality of the study. In qualitative studies, persuading the audiences on the worthiness of the study is of prime importance (cf. Healy and Perry, 2000).

In order to test the validity and reliability of the research instrument, the interview guide was first sent to the two thesis supervisors to ensure that the research questions were in line with the research objectives and scope of the study, and that the instrument informed and was in line with the international research best practices. Thereafter, a pilot study was conducted by the researcher in Harare in order to test the validity and reliability of the research instrument. A one day colloquium was also organised by the researcher, bringing together a panel of experts, academics and local government practitioners to discuss service delivery challenges, The research instrument was circulated among the experts and comments were incorporated on the dimensions of the research, leading to the refinement of the instrument before the research commenced countrywide.

4.6 Data Presentation and Analysis

In this study of colonial administrative systems and their influence on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe, the researcher's data analysis was hinged upon the data drawn from documentary evidence, including statutory instruments, policy directives, memoirs, reports and journals as well as the information obtained from the fieldwork interviews in the various urban and rural local authorities in Zimbabwe and from key informants and local government experts. The analysis of the qualitative and textual data hinged on understanding the realities of those who were interviewed by the researcher. People from various socio-economic environments and backgrounds interpret reality and processes therein differently (Chirisa, 2014). With this observation in mind, Kvale (1996) has outlined several steps that a researcher has to follow when analysing qualitative data, which include the researcher living the reality of the research, discovering new relationships and their meanings with the informants, condensing meanings and conveying the message, transcribing and clarifying the meanings, and re-interviewing.

However, at this stage i.e. data analysis and presentation stage, the steps suggested by Kvale (1996) could not be adopted using a straitjacket approach in praxis. This assertion was especially true when dealing with public servants who work under oath and are bound by the Official Secrecy Act (Chapter 11: 09). In one instance, the researcher approached a Director of Housing in an urban local authority with the intention of refining and getting clarifications on the raw data. The director wanted the script rewritten, citing problems with his superiors which might cause 'trouble' for him. Such realities exist in research where information might be distorted if Kvale (1996)'s six step processes were followed skilfully. The researcher therefore adapted the

six step process to suit the circumstances in which the research was being undertaken and conducted. With this in mind, the researcher undertook several processes in the qualitative analysis of data, as guided by Creswell (2005):

- going through all the transcribed data and making some notes in order to have the general direction and tempo of the research;
- going through the recorded interviews to have general overview of phenomena description;
- listing and grouping all the topics;
- comparing the listed topics with the data and coding with the appropriate texts using Qualitative Data Miner Lite 2014;
- identifying appropriate descriptive wording for the topics and turning them into classes and relating the topics;
- putting together the grouped data and conducting a preliminary analysis;.
- finding an agreeable position on the coded data in QDA Miner Lite 2014, and ensuring a generalised and common thread of argument;

4.7 Ethical Considerations

In all researches that have an interface with human beings, it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the respondents or informants are protected (Chirisa, 2014). The respondents have a right to make an informed decision as to whether or not to participate in a certain research once they are availed with all the necessary explanations on how the data obtained would be used and the implications of the collected data upon their livelihoods. In this research, all the informants interviewed were clearly informed on how the results from the

research were to be used and the implications of the data gathering process. It was explained that the research was for academic purposes and might be used to inform future policy direction relating to the performance of local authorities. Most of the respondents wanted their names to appear on the data presentation to get the sense of “having contributed something to the research”, and their wish was granted by the researcher, as evidenced in Chapter 5.

A second observation is that communication forms the cornerstone of research ethics (Chirisa, 2014). The researcher communicated with the interviewees about the time frame of the interview, provided a brief background of the study of colonial administrative systems and their influence on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe and then sought the consent for recording of the interview, providing a justification for this. The researcher frequently asked for the cooperation of the informants throughout the research process. Chirisa (2014) has noted that a research or an interview should be viewed as a contract which needs to be respected. Transparency and integrity should be strictly observed if the research intends to exhibit the realities on the ground (*Ibid: 59*). In the research, confidentiality was upheld to protect the identities and interests of the informants in the research undertaken and as mentioned earlier, the informed consent of the informants was sought before the recording of the various interviews. The researcher approached each informant with the attitude of being a “student” and informed them that he would not know anything until they told him their experiences.

Another critical ethical consideration of note was the issue of intellectual property and patent rights, which the researcher tried to observe by acknowledging of information from the various scholars who have contributed to the body of knowledge on the subject matter under study,

acknowledging the patent rights of the institutions concerned that were during the period of undertaking the study. Within the country's legislative arrangements and procedures, the researcher sought permission and written approval to conduct the countrywide research from the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing (MLGPWNH) to conduct the research, which permission was granted.

4.8 Chapter Summary

The major purpose of this chapter was to outline the research methodology. It has noted that the methodology articulates clearly how the research is undertaken in practice by the researcher, taking into account of the theoretical considerations on how to undertake research. Checks and balances in the conducting of the research was undertaken to test the validity and reliability of the data and to ascertain the validity and reliability of the research instruments. This was done by sending the research instruments to the supervisor for approval and refinement before commencing the data collection phase, holding a colloquium of experts was conducted to discuss service delivery challenges and issues in Zimbabwe, where the data collection instrument was discussed and critiqued, and consequently refined to suit the research needs and ensure its suitability for the research. A pilot study was undertaken in Harare to test the instrument, allowing for further refinement, in line with the findings in the field. This study adopted the qualitative research approach, hinging the study on the social constructivism research philosophy, which is appropriate for recording the insights, feelings and experiences of the informants in the study, which can interrogate the various complexities in interpretation qualitatively from different respondents on the same phenomena. In terms of the research design, the grounded theory approach to research design was adopted, in line with Creswell's (2005)

approaches to research design. This was the most convenient approach as the researcher is “grounded” in the study. The research instrument used to conduct in depth interviews of the study was the interview guide. Needless to say, ethical considerations relating to communication, rights of the informant, intellectual property and patent rights were upheld by the researcher. The next chapter focuses on the presentation, interpretation, analysis and discussion of the research results.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

OF RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study undertaken by the researcher. This study adopted a qualitative approach and included in depth interviews, which were conducted across the country. The key informants were people with experience in both colonial and post-colonial local government systems either as practitioners or who were affected by the system in one way or the other, and academicians. Narratology, ‘the study of narrative structure’ as explained by (www.britannica.com/topic/narratology, accessed on 4 March 2016 at 02: 56 am) was also used in the presentation of the results relating to the experiences of the informants. The main appeal of narrative analysis lies in the belief that narratives or stories hold special powers as windows into the individual and social world (Robert and Shenhav, 2014). Some critics have opposed the view that narrative is essential to human experience. Pavelka (2013) has argued that narratology is all about seeking answers from themes that are qualitative in nature, and this i.e. narratology might include media analysis, pictorial analysis and interpretation.

The findings were premised on the three objectives crafted by the researcher, namely:

- a) To explore how colonial organisational structures have influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe;
- b) To examine how colonial administrative processes have influenced transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe; and

c) To evaluate the influence of colonialism on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

These objectives formed the basis for the design of the interview guide used by the researcher to conduct in depth interviews.

5.2. Demographics of Study Participants

The respective years of experience in the local government sector and the gender characteristics of the key informants are presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.1: Experience of Study Participants (in years)

Experience	Participants
Below 5 years	3
6-10 years	5
11-15 years	4
16-20 years	2
Over 20 years	6

Source: Fieldwork 2015

Table 5.2: Gender Characteristics of Study Participants

Male	25	83,33%
Female	5	16,67%
Total	N=30	100%

Source: Fieldwork 2015

From Table 5.1, it can be realised that level of experience of key informants in the local governance sector varied. The majority fell in the over-20 years' experience category (over 20

%), which had experienced the colonial local government system hands-on. This provided an insight into the way colonial local governments were structured.

5.3. How have colonial organisational structures influenced the performance of current local authorities in Zimbabwe?

The study revealed that various colonial administrative structures and their constituent functions, both in the rural and urban local government, have influenced the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Chirisa (2014) has argued that data obtained from the field from key informants can be regarded as claims, and might not always reflect the truth, making it necessary to compare this data with various other sources, to establish the truth.

The study suggested several possible reasons why colonial administrative structures were structured the way they were, what they sought to achieve, and their impact on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe (see Table 5.3.)

Table 5.3: Reasons for the Establishment of Colonial Local Governments (N=30)

Reasons for Establishment of Colonial Local Government	Frequency	Percentage
Furthering Political Interests	11	34 %
Economic Development at Local Level	3	10 %
Promoting Dual Economy	1	0,067%
Protecting Minority White Interests	4	13,33 %
Improving Public Service Delivery	6	20 %
Natural Resources Utilisation	9	30 %
Fostering Good Governance	3	10 %

Source: Fieldwork 2015

About 34 percent (11 respondents) of the key informants were of the view that colonial administrative systems were structured to further the political interests of the white colonial regime. This resulted in the creation of systemic arrangements which marginalised the black

majority, which did not have voting rights and was not allowed access to certain areas, particularly urban areas. Urban areas were the preserve of whites up until independence in 1980. This resulted in the incumbent government adopting a welfarist and emancipatory kind of governance aimed at redressing the colonial imbalances without adopting a business model for local authority administration. The socialist approach to governance that was adopted by the incumbent government did not yield the desired results, as the economy took a serious downturn from the year 2000 to date after the fast track land reform programme (LEDRIZ, 2012). This gave the government the additional burden of providing public service financing when it faced financial challenges post year 2000, impacting on the current performance of local authorities. The era has been characterised by poor service provision owing to mismanagement by councils and lack of funding from central government.

The overall aim of the government at independence was to redress colonial imbalances. It therefore funded the majority of activities at the local level. This has seen some local authorities failing to provide adequate services for their residents. For instance, as Gukurume (2011) observes, Masvingo City's social service delivery systems have not kept pace with the galloping demand. Low income communities have always experienced a long and protracted process of perpetual disenfranchisement in so far as social service delivery is concerned (Jonga and Munzwa, 2010). Needless to say, the recent economic downturn (2000 to date) gave rise to unfunded mandates, where obligations of local councils are no longer financed by the central government, adversely affecting service provision in most councils across the country.

In the study, a marginal response rate of less than 1% observed that the colonial dual economy system entailed a separate development agenda for blacks and the whites. In Southern Rhodesia, since the 1930s, the African economy remained secondary and subsidiary to the white economic sector as a way of ensuring the availability of African cheap labour to the latter (cf. Chatiza, 2010). Tawenga (2007) aptly observes that at the dawn of independence in 1980, two forms of administration existed in all urban local authorities and for Harare, it was the case of better services in the so called low-density areas, where the privileged colonial masters jealously guarded against the penetration of their enclaves by the majority blacks. The study participants argued that though this separation existed, the service delivery system worked well, unlike after the economic harmonisation after independence. Thus, the emancipatory policies introduced by the incumbent government did not yield favourable results or contribute positively to the current performance of local authorities, even though issues of good governance and improved service delivery had response rates of 10% and 20 % respectively (cf. Munzwa and Jonga, 2010; Keiner, 2000). Ideally, good governance should be based on the idea of a social contract, in which there is reciprocity between the local residents and the local authority. In terms of good governance, the colonial administrative legacies created the organised local government system currently being used by the incumbent government.

Urban councils have professional qualified staff including engineers, doctors, lawyers and accountants in the various departments (Chakaipa, 2010). The Town Clerk is the chief advisor of council and can attend all meetings to ensure that all policies passed in Full Council are consistent with the legal requirements, and to help council achieve its goals, especially with limited resources. The Urban Councils Act provides for the committee system, which was

derived from the colonial period. However, the “old” urban councils established committees, and the elected councillors haphazardly slotted themselves into then various committees without due regard for academic and professional qualifications, let alone relevant experience. The resultant misplacement of individuals (councillors) has a direct bearing on the underperformance of some council departments (Tawenga, 1997). This tendency has been carried over to the current local government setup, which is departmentalised, with each particular department responsible for delivering on its own mandates.

As regards the protection of white minority interests and the utilisation of natural resources, 13,3% and 30 % of the study participants, respectively, noted that in as much as white minority interests were being protected through a separate service delivery framework, the provision of services to the black majority was efficient and there were checks and balances in place to monitor population growth within various local authorities and modalities to upgrade infrastructure, commensurate with the increase in population and their demand for service provision (cf. LEDRIZ, 2012). This concurs with Chatiza (2013: 5)’s argument that pre-independence local government systems were intricately linked to the race and land questions. As one study participant has aptly noted

“[t]he colonial government system was based on the political economy of the colonial government. Race was very important to our local government system; being black or white mattered a lot in both rural and urban areas”.

Yokushini (2006) argues that any pretence of promoting African self-government was overrun by white supremacist policies. Housing and planning policies were based on the principle that

blacks were aliens in urban areas, living there temporarily, as their permanent homes were in the rural areas. Before the 1920s, there was under provision of services for as well as political exclusion and socio-economic ill-treatment of Africans. With respect to housing, LEDRIZ (2012) reveals that before independence, 18.5 % of the African population lived in the urban areas but by 1982, the urban had risen to 26.9% owing to the return of the refugees, exiles and ex combatants and the movement from rural areas. This added to the existing demand for housing, giving rise to a housing crisis. Today, various councils in Zimbabwe not heeding the call for forward planning are now faced with challenges related to development control such as, the mushrooming of illegal settlements and street vending.

In the rural areas, the District Commissioners were replaced by District Administrators at independence. This development is residual of the colonial administrative structure in that district administrators play a supervisory role in directing and advising councils on policy issues which ultimately determine the performance and direction of councils.

The colonial systems of government hinged upon the national and local economy, which was dual in nature. In essence the white minority were the owners of the means of production, while the black majority were relegated to wage employment (cf. LEDRIZ, 2012: 2; Yokushini, 2006). There was an Advisory Council in the rural local government system. One key informant argued that the local government architecture was a product of the legislative framework, stressing that

“[b]ecause local government, as a system or a structure, is a product of a legislative regime, a product of a specific law of context that actually dictates its

looks, local government from 1890 marks the advent of an urbanised local government forum in Zimbabwe.”

Another study participant, meanwhile, argued that

“[t]he goal was to create a local government framework that would define the position and affluence of the European race.”

The whites involved in agricultural activities had to ensure an effective road network and infrastructure was in place to facilitate their farming. Moreover, as LEDRIZ (2012: 70) has revealed, the discovery of mineral deposits such as gold and diamonds in South Africa attracted imperial powers and motivated the establishment of giant mining companies and efficient infrastructural development such as the road networks and communication media. The provision of infrastructure for the agricultural and mining sectors supported the local economy of colonial Zimbabwe. The same period also saw the establishment of the Road Councils with the specific mandate and mission to achieve a well maintained road network for whites.

At independence in 1980, the black government inherited a fairly robust road network. Sigauke (2015) has argued that in the African Purchase Areas and Communal Areas, the road network was in a bad state and the incumbent government had to invest in road services infrastructure to improve the movement conditions of goods and services. One participant observed that

The Pioneer Column didn't have money. The bulk of it was ex-soldiers and ex-policeman. So the immediate option was to establish a tax regime as the basis upon which to realise money to finance the new administration. It made it quite

imperative to ensure that ultimately the Africans fail to pay the money because they were coming from a background of no money... of barter trade.”

This measure was intended to ensure that the Africans sold their labour to the whites. Forced labour applied in Road Councils, on commercial farms and in mines (cf. LEDRIZ, 2012). The Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Chief Native Commissioner (1959: 6), for example, states that native businessmen in both rural and urban areas taking their first steps into the business economy were protected by the Land Apportionment Act against the full effects of economic competition. The emancipation of black people outside formal employment was seriously stifled and many were forced into wage employment. Those who failed to pay taxes were to submit themselves to forced labour (Chatiza, 2013). Conflict for power between the natives and the colonial white settlers were reflected in unpopular measures and regulations instituted against Africans including herd control, land use planning and land tenure changes.

In post-independence Zimbabwe, the landscape of the political economy changed. The taxation system became liberalised and labour was commercialised. Nevertheless, taxation currently forms the backbone of local government financing in Zimbabwe. With the current economic downturn, councils are not realising significant revenue from taxes such as property tax and road tax. This has had a direct impact on the performance of local authorities, which are now failing to effectively provide the basic services to the heterogeneous citizenry. Rates on properties are the main sources of funding for most local authorities, 20-30 % of whose revenue usually comes from the property taxes. Inefficiencies in collection has resulted in a declining revenue base, leading to poor service provision for communities (Coutinho, 2010; Chakaipa, 2010).

During the colonial period, royalties were collected and utilised by the district administration and then ploughed back to the district to improve service delivery. In the current setup, the same taxes are now channelled towards the central government, leading to the demise of service delivery at the local level. This has adversely affected the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe, which no longer receive grants from central government. Important also in this has been the role of traditional leadership in local governance.

Traditional leadership was critical in shaping local authority discourse during the colonial era. The whites realised that the most successful and profitable way of establishing a vibrant colonial enterprise was to engage the traditional leadership in an almost indirect rule approach. Traditional leadership structures could then be used and manipulated by the colonial system to exploit the indigenous people (cf. Low, 1965; Gennaioli and Rainer, 2005; Mhike, 2006). In 1910, the whites passed the Huts Commissioner's Proclamation, which led to the position of a chief being equivalent to that of a constable, with a clearly given set of responsibilities intended specifically to facilitate the exploitation of local communities. In 1940, the registration of chiefs became the basis upon which whites could establish their own framework of traditional leadership, one more malleable to the colonial system and upon which their local government system could be anchored (Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner, 1959: 15). During the colonial period then, the chiefs generally acted as agents of the colonial regime (Report of the Native Councils Board, 1959: 2).

The Report from the Secretary for Internal Affairs (1961: 34) stated that Chiefs and Headman were giving loyal support to the government and exercising more authority over their people than they had in the past. At independence, this arrangement was initially discarded through the establishment of the Chiefs and Headman's Act of 1982, which reduced the powers of the traditional leadership, but was later replaced by the Traditional Leadership Act (Chakaipa, 2010). Today, the government allows traditional leadership to be involved in the day to day administration of the councils. Their mandate also includes collecting administrative taxes such as hut tax, which is not transferred to council coffers, thereby affecting the councils' ability to undertake land administration duties the manner in which councils are discharging their duties (cf. Hrituleac and Nielsen, 2011).

The white colonial government required that all traditional leaders to be registered, and in 1951, it called for another registration of traditional leaders (*Ibid* p11). The colonial local government system was dualistic in nature, with a local government designed specifically to give preferential treatment to the whites to the detriment of the black community. Up to 1980, the primary focus of the white government was to maintain white supremacy.

At independence in 1980, African Councils and Rural Councils were amalgamated into Rural District Councils (RDCs). There were significant financial discrepancies between the Rural Councils, African Councils and the Road Councils, which affected the performance of Rural District Councils after independence since, during the colonial times, Road Council resources were expected to cater for an amalgamated council. This strained the service provision capacity

of Rural District Councils, which were presented with an increased responsibility load with limited financial resources.

One Councillor, a key informant, lamented the brutality that marked the white colonial regime and how it alienated the resources and wealth creation potential of the black population, particularly in Mberengwa, his home area. In his view, the District Development Fund (DDF) was a colonial creation intended to ensure that financial resources were available for the development of rural districts (Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1969: 19).

The then African Development Fund, now known as the District Development Fund, was supervised, implemented and monitored by the District Commissioners is evidence that this fund was a colonial creation intended to address service delivery issues at the local level (Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1965: 19). The District Commissioners reported to the Provincial Commissioners responsible for dipping areas within the Tribal Trust Lands. The Road Councils were administered by the elected councillors among the white population (*Ibid*: 20) whilst blacks were not allowed to vote within their areas. The sentimental approach to administration of the District Development Fund by the incumbent government has resulted in the underfunding of the DDF, which has worsened the road network system in most rural areas in Zimbabwe.

During the colonial period, rural areas had no Chief Executive Officers as in the present situation, but there was some administrative coordination through what was termed secretary/treasurer (Native Commissioner's Report, 1958: 16). At independence, however, the

local government structure was expanded in terms of staff complement, without a corresponding increase in the resources available to run the office. This resulted in the failure by some councils to pay their employees and provide services to the heterogeneous citizenry. Most urban councils in Zimbabwe, for example, have a bloated organisational structure but lack the skills necessary to improve the service delivery thrust of councils. This highlights the need increasing efficiency in service delivery (Ngwenya, 2011).

An institution was established by the colonial government to build the capacities of administrative and secretary treasurers. In most cases, there were very few councillors in each chief's area and the treasurer secretary had about two clerks within his jurisdiction. The Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs observed that the Ministry of African Education ran 12 two week courses for African Councillors at Domboshawa. Under the colonial administration, the chief was the vice president of the council, whose president was the District Commissioner. Councillors were drawn from within the chief's area and were responsible for the affairs of the chieftainship. In this regard, one key informant elaborates

“[w]e did not have the post of the CEO. Instead, there was a secretary treasurer, trained at Domboshava. They were trained as both an Administrative Secretary and also as a Treasurer of the council under the position now, so the secretary carried out duties of both the secretary and the treasurer.... There were very few councillors per chief's area and these were just picked from different corners of the chieftainship.... There was monopoly under which dispensation no private or individual beer hall was allowed to be within a certain distance from the council beer hall. The councillors were accountable to the District Commissioner.”

The rural areas chieftainships played a crucial role in the administration of the communal lands under their jurisdiction. They were responsible for managing service delivery within their localities, including roads and clinics. As indicated above, overall power lay with the District Commissioner, while chiefs served as vice presidents of the African Councils. As observed by Chatiza (2010) earlier on, local government legislation provided for racially divided rural and urban areas and these divisions were both spatial and institutional.

The colonial administration shaped the current performance of council in terms of issues relating to rural food security through the *Zunde raMambo* (the chief's grain reserves) and community mobilisation in terms of paying taxes and community development. Recently, this practice was extended to urban areas such as Bindura Municipality, with the introduction of the *Zunde RaMayor* (Mayor's Grain Reserve), which is intended to improve urban food security.

Helmsing (1983) has argued that although urban and rural councils had a fairly wide range of powers, African Councils remained weak and ineffectual and under the tutelage of the District Commissioners. During this period, another prominent feature was the issue of fiscal apartheid. This system was in principle designed to keep the finances of European and African separate. The local transfers from the high-income European areas to low income African areas were largely absent, resulting in a stressed economy. Fiscal apartheid has affected the current performance of both the rural and urban local authorities in that the councils are not well resourced yet they are expected to perform the prescribed functions without the provision of financial resources (Chatiza, 2010: 4).

The current administration of local governments' inherited practice from the colonial local government of allocating functions without allocating the requisite financial resources to discharge these functions. This has given rise to the unfunded mandates referred to earlier, preventing local councils from performing their functions well. By way of example tollgate revenue goes to the Zimbabwe National Roads Authority (ZINARA) and does not cascade back to the local authorities, which then fail to service the roads, leading to the potholed road network that now characterises most of the country's urban local authorities (cf. Chikumbu *et al*, 2006). This contrasts immensely the situation that was there in the colonial days, especially with respect to rural areas.

In the rural areas, the traditional leadership played a pivotal role in local governance, as previously mentioned. One key informant has argued that

By then [in the colonial days) council was being administered according to chieftainships because each chief had the right to have a council so at that time Buhera had seven councils including Nyashanu, Makumbe, Gwebu, Chimombe, and Chamutsa. Each chief had his own council. I joined local government at the age of 23 at Nyashanu District Council. Nyashanu had a District Commissioner (DC) who was the president of the council

Another informant noted that

The council was aggressive enough and actually raised some funds to do some clinics. The council also bought some trucks for administration. I then came back to Buhera in 1981.

The colonial administrative system was aggressive in its mobilisation of financial resources to finance the service delivery thrust and improve infrastructure. This included the purchasing of service delivery trucks to carry out various service delivery mandates entrusted to councils within the local authority's administrative jurisdiction. This impetus of maximising revenue collection post 1980 was adopted by the incumbent government, but was later sacrificed at the altar of political expediency, with the sidelining of purely administrative issues such as revenue collection for the betterment of service provision. As the Report of the Native Board (1958: 30) revealed

“... instead of charging a pound to pound grant system we must develop formulas for making grants that are geared to the changing responsibilities of the councils that will bring out the maximum self-help and that will encourage most councils to qualify for the economic category .”

Instead of the present system, in which the 30 out of the 58 councils cannot afford to pay the salary of a competent secretary. The Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs (1964: 22) bemoaned the fact that the African Councils Chiefs were too small in status and had limited resources to carry out their duties and functions effectively. The financing of the amalgamated Rural District Councils was limited, even after independence, since the colonial administrative system only financed well those rural councils which were predominantly white owned. This

development has had extremely adverse effect on the service provision performance of local authorities, who are more reliant on government grants which currently are no longer coming from central government.

The Government of Zimbabwe introduced devolution, creating more power for the district councils through the Prime Minister's Directive and the Thirteen Principles of Decentralisation, which culminated into the creation and adoption of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13). This provided for more functions, enabling the councils to be stronger and develop wider ranging development issues. In 1980, the government created a new single local government ministry, bringing all the three types of local government institutions (for urban commercial farming and former Tribal Trust Lands) under this ministry. These measures saw the creation of 55 district councils and the enactment of the RDC Act and the Urban Councils Act to capture the new political dispensation, particularly universal adult suffrage and the one city concept (Chatiza, 2010).

Thus, the enactment of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13) saw the abolition of African Councils and District councils and their amalgamation into Rural District Councils. This harmonisation of councils through an enabling act of parliament helped to improve the efficiency among the various constituencies of the district. This approach removed the service delivery elitism that had been created by the dual colonial administrative structure. The Native Commissioner's Report (1965: 23) observed that in the period 1966, the rural councils received a total of 24 000 pounds towards service delivery. This is unlike the current political dispensation, in which government grants are scarce and a thing of the past. Since the awarding of the PSIP in

the early 2000, councils both urban and rural have been facing acute performance challenges in the discharge of their mandate. One key informant revealed that

Section 47 of the 1923 Constitution of Southern Rhodesia discussed devolution of authorities and authority to local authorities on the same pattern as you had in England and Wales. With respect to the planning of the city, provision of services and even regulating the manner in which order was maintained. The central government provided oversight but did not involve itself in the day-to-day running of the local authorities [I tell you that] wherever in the world central government was involved directly in providing services and carrying out local development they have not been the most successful... [In Southern Rhodesia], the Minister of Internal Affairs was supposed to have done the same thing in terms of the African or the Native Councils Act which was then the legislation in place even followed by the African Councils Act of 1957, when things started changing, but the Secretary of Internal Affairs/Minister did not look at things in the manner the Minister of Local Government in an urban one did, because the situation was that the District Commissioner, representing the Ministry of Internal or Native Affairs, had to ensure compliance by the black people and in every situation rather than ensuring that councillors were elected and they were elected politicians at a local level whose interest was in the development of their area or their district/chieftainship area.

In concurrence with the above assertion, the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner's Report (1960: 35) noted that for some time, it was apparent that the old system

of development was imposed from above through benevolent paternalism and central technical and financial planning.

The idea of allowing communities to work from the bottom was replicated by the incumbent government through the enunciation of the 1984 Prime Minister's Directive, which provided for the creation of village structures (VIDCOs) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs). "Inheriting" this approach from the colonial administrative system has assisted in improving the acceptability and sustainability of community projects and, in turn, the performance of local governments in so far as community development is concerned.

With the development of the African Councils, changes were bound to take place because of advocacy by local authorities. The Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs (1968: 23) noted the continued cooperation with the Ministry of African Education, which enabled the running 12 two week courses for African Councillors at Domboshawa, attended by 258 participants, representing 82 established councils and 43 community advisers. The purpose of this training was to equip participants with wider knowledge of local government machinery, enabling them to become more proficient operating an African Council (*Ibid*: 28). These developments demonstrated the willingness of the colonial local government to improve the efficiency and performance of local governments within the various African and Native Councils. One key informant has noted that

With advocacy of African Councils, I recall that very well because from 1969 till 1976, I was secretary-general of the 'movement'. I was involved in this. As of 1968, we started the nucleus of the African Council's Association, a political body which is

now the Association of RDCs. We started this in Manicaland and then brought about even produced the constitution in Harare - Samson Marume, Mike Mapfunde and myself. Mike is now late. We did that to help councillors set up their associations.

The unionisation of local government authorities enabled them to speak with one voice. It saw the creation of the platform for multi-stakeholder involvement in local government affairs outside state-crafted ones. The unionisation of local government also helped to improve policy direction and interactions of central and local governments, and this continued in the post-independence era. It allowed local governments to enter into productive concession agreements with the central government and mobilise financial resources to develop the capacities of members to ensure improved service delivery. Council unions are currently highly politicised and aligned to specific political parties, such that some fail to keep to their core business of advocacy for and on behalf of councils, and skewed representation diminishes performance in the service delivery (Chakaipa, 2005).

The Rhodesian Front came up with a policy in 1961 which established a Tribal Trust Land Fund and aimed at the primary development of 30,000,000, hectares of land under the African Land Husbandry Act to cater for about 300000 people (Secretary of Internal Affairs Report, 1965: 9). The remainder were to be absorbed into the formal labour market. This policy was introduced to ensure that there was a balance between farming communities and the formal labour market, stabilising the African population in the tribal areas. It envisaged the creation of economic centres within districts to complement industrial activities in larger cities. This policy was borrowed by the incumbent government at independence, when there was impetus the strategic

direction by the government. It was abandoned a decade later, and this directly impacted on the performance of councils.

Areas that started developing were said to be the nucleus of industrial development in the Tribal Trust Lands. The Southern Rhodesia White Paper (1964) acknowledged the need to develop Tribal Trust Lands and have them monitored by the District Commissioners and supervised by the Provincial Commissioners. There were four ministers of development in Matabeleland and Mashonaland operating in the office of the Minister of Internal Affairs. The District Commissioner's powers were increased from the beginning. Chiefs, as vice presidents of the council, operated in areas such as Ruwa, Marirangwe, Chitowa, and Wiltshire, which were African Purchase Areas.

Even the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 also had an impact on this process, since some provincial authorities came into existence in the 1970s. These included Manicaland, Masvingo, Matabeleland South and North, Mashonaland East, West and Central, and were hierarchically above district councils and dealt with projects in local authorities.

The position of Minister of Development was replicated once again at independence, with the creation of Provincial Governors, who are currently Ministers of State for the ten administrative provinces in the country. During the colonial period, role clarity was paramount as it justified the existence of a particular office. Ministers were tasked to champion and promote engagement. In the post-independence era, the 10 ministers in the provinces were created against a dwindling resource base, resulting in a bloated, underperforming government. Role clarity between this

office and provincial administration is not very clear, as the former appears to carry out ceremonial functions without a clear responsibility framework, thereby limiting the efficiency of this office in local and provincial development issues (Mazorodze, 2013). The constant political interference in the day-to-day running of council affairs by the ministerial office has derailed the sound implementation of robust decisions, preventing most councils in the country from operating as viable business entities.

At the time of independence there were over 600 councils, with about 200 of them located in the rural areas. At Independence, the various councils dotted all over the country were consolidated into 52 councils. In 1979, there were 220 African Councils, 23 Native councils and several African Councils (Chatiza, 2010). Chakaipa (2010) contends that by 1980, there were 241 African Councils, which were amalgamated into 55 Rural District Councils through the District Councils Act of 1980. However, the differences in economic bases inherited from colonial administrative systems affected the manner in which local governments operated after independence, when the the resources provided by the government were reduced.

According to one key informant, there were some rural councils,

“...that were mainly for farmers whereby farmers were contributing to and managing their areas of residence in terms of the farms where they were staying. And then there were district councils for the black Africans in the Communal Areas and then after independence, there was a combination of the two, the rural councils and the district councils, which is now the Rural District Councils (RDC) in existence at the moment, which includes all those areas in the rural areas and

then Urban councils were on their own. The rural councils were managing but for the district councils, it was difficult because communal farmers did not have much.

This statement concurs with the archival record of the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner (1960), outlining that as a result of the drought and the poor crops, many of the reserve natives flocked to the towns in search of employment and added to the unemployment problem. The areas in which the Africans were resettled were largely non-arable and prone to drought. No significant income was realised in such areas, and nothing meaningful was contributed to the service delivery (Dewa, 2013: 6)

Another key informant stated that the colonial government dealt with a relatively smaller population than post-independence government, arguing that

We had no Africans in the urban councils; we had the advisory councils, which basically were advisory, as the name implies. It was the District Commissioner running the show and, in rural local government we also had white officials running the show on behalf of Africans.”

Indigenous people did not participate meaningfully in urban governance, and although there participated to some degree in rural governance, it was within a clearly defined framework, which indicated who was in charge. The Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner (1958: 16) argued, in effect, that the chiefs represented themselves and not the people in governance issues. In the current local government setup, people are hardly informed of the decisions that council has taken. Chiefs and the councillors tend to withhold

information which presumably should be public knowledge, thereby limiting citizen participation in council affairs.

The post of District Commissioner was officially created by section 8 of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1894, but in practice a DC held a post as a deputy to the Chief Magistrate, who was the principal officer from 1890. The term of office was theoretically three years, though it was common to reappoint incumbents. Pfukwa (2014) concurs that the Rhodesian colonial governments down the years had told the world that the Native or District Commissioners were employed to take care of African affairs. The Native or District Commissioner stood between the Africans and the colonial governments, handing over blacks to the colonial government whenever the whites needed to use them, or dumping Africans in Tribal Trust Lands whenever the white man did not want to see the African near him (*Ibid* : 2).

5.5. How colonial administrative processes influenced transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe

Colonial administrative processes instituted by the white regime in pre-independence Zimbabwe has influence the present day performance of local governments in Zimbabwe. The major sources of information under this section were in depth key informant interviews, documentary review and archival material assessments. This section focused on similarities between administration processes and behavioural systems between the colonial and post-colonial systems, as well as critical reflections, among other components.

The colonial local government had a mandate to champion the interests of the white minority in terms of service delivery provision and the political system of that period. The colonial government instituted various measures to deliver on their mandate of service provision, which measures were later inherited by the incumbent government, albeit with mixed results on the manner in which councils perform. This section attempts to expose the views of various key informants on the mandate of the colonial administration and its relations to the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. According to one expert,

“...for every kilogramme of grain sold from a particular area in the rural areas councils would get a percentage. This, at independence, ceased to happen. Such monies were used to develop clinics, dust roads, cattle dipping services. Then one big thing changed the whole landscape. This was the removal of primary education from government to local authorities, irrespective of their capacity to manage. This was the 1967 phenomenon. The government said the communities must contribute towards the education of their children.”

During the colonial period, the Grain Marketing Authority was sufficiently robust that every grain transaction made a contribution to the service delivery agenda within sub-national government projects such as clinic construction. As at 31st December 1969, the colonial government had established 267 African Marketing and Agricultural supplies societies, which were groupings aimed at marketing the African farmers’ agricultural produce (Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1969: 30). The post 1980 political system inherited the same.

The colonial local government system achieved a considerable amount owing to limited interference from the central government. The central government provided oversight, guiding and identifying areas likely to pose difficulties for local authorities. This was unlike the current situation, which is characterised by excessive government involvement in the business of local authorities. Instead of decentralisation, there has been increased centralisation. For example, the traditional source of finance of local authorities such as road tax (among other taxes), which is now being administered by ZINARA, and therefore has a direct bearing on the performance of local authorities. As one study participant argued

...we are being overtaken by other countries that were otherwise far below like South Africa. They have taken devolution seriously and they tend to be going. For example, Zambia, which was operating like us, had been affected by centralisation, but they have now again decided that they should do things in such a way that it does help the community. So you can see Zambia coming up again. The same applies to Botswana and Namibia. It is not the local authority that deals with the macroeconomic systems in the country.

In colonial times, local authorities were part of the colonial machinery and they were funded for this reason (Chatiza, 2013: 4). The expansion of urban areas after independence negatively affected the performance local authorities with respect to infrastructural development in terms of waterworks and sewer works. One expert opined that

[t]he colonial focus was clear and the legislation was prepared in such a way that there were sufficient revenue streams as well. For example, the unit tax in the rural areas targeted commercial farmers, while property taxes were for urban

areas. These enabled the provision of services; hence the local authorities were able to fulfil their mandate.

Overall, and building on the foregoing submissions, Zimbabwe inherited a fairly robust local government system, in which people were placed in posts for which they were appropriately qualified. It is worth noting that the colonial administrative system did its best with limited interference rather than intervention from central government. Local governments operated as semi-autonomous entities that would make their own decisions affecting local livelihoods with minimum interference from the centre, and this contributed considerably to the service delivery thrust of council, and the effectiveness and efficiency of service provision.

5.6 Changes and Transformation: Critical Reflections

Various changes have been instituted by the incumbent government since 1980, and colonial administrative processes appear to have influenced these transformations. The study sought to answer the above mentioned question, which yielded various responses, which are discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

In 1982, the government passed the Chiefs and Headmans' Act (Chapter 29.01). This development literally reduced the position of chiefs as custodians of tradition, given that their specific functions were outside the ambit of government. The ultimate agenda of government was to effectively exclude traditional leaders from government positions.

Next came the passing of the 1984 Prime Minister's Directive intended to establish decentralised structures of government, namely VIDCOs, WADCOs, DDCs and PDCs. The idea was to empower grassroots elected structures as a means upon which to anchor the one party state, creating a level of uniformity from the national to local level. This was part of the ruling party's political ideology at that time. Amendments were also made to legislation such as the Rural and District Councils Act and Urban Councils Act in 1982 and the Provincial Councils and Administration Act (Chapter 29.11) in 1985. The sub-national structures (VIDCOs, WADCOs, DDCs) have remained subsets of the macro political ideology of the ruling party. A number of decentralisation policies were also implemented by government. These included the 1996 Thirteen Principles of Decentralisation, the harmonisation of the Rural Councils and the District Councils Acts, which dismantled the two city concept.

A former Mayor stated that in 2003, he had been elected

“...Councillor for Ward 22 and then 5 years on, I became the mayor in 2008. Then as a mayor, I think we all know the situation that was there in Zimbabwe in 2008 until the government decided to come up with the multicurrency regime in 2009.”

This statement by the Mayor highlights how economic issues induced various changes to the administration of local government affairs. He argues,

Bulawayo is one of the oldest cities in Zimbabwe and in fact it actually celebrated 126 years in 2014 last year. We then look at the old Bulawayo, the old colonial Bulawayo vis-à-vis the current Bulawayo. The population then [in the colonial days] was just less than 500 000 and as we talk now the population though we

differ with government that the population of Bulawayo is just about 677 000 in Bulawayo, we say the population of Bulawayo is 1 million plus because there is no way you can plan about the city when you do not know the correct population situation. Because how do you provide service delivery when you don't provide the correct statistics? So the Old Bulawayo vis-à-vis the infrastructure that is there and the infrastructure that was there is that the city grew, it became as industrialised as you know Bulawayo was once said to be the Industrial Hub of Zimbabwe. At that time, the industry was booming and people were involved in various activities.

The situation became very difficult when the economy fell into decline, affecting infrastructure development and maintenance in most cities and towns in the country. One Provincial Administrator was of the view that with the Prime Minister's Directive, the Government was trying to redress colonial systems but in trying to redress the colonial systems, the expert laments that

“Local government got more politicised after independence than it was before. Not all politicisation of institutions is bad but if not properly done, it can bring harm to the institutions.”

One former Mayor stated that

“Since Smith's time, there was a Ceremonial mayor. When we took over in 1980, it was Ceremonial mayor, Ceremonial mayor up to 1999. Note in 1999 then the urban council changed then it was the Executive Mayor 1999, 2002, 2003 up to

2007, those were the changes from Ceremonial Mayor to Executive Mayor. The difference between the Ceremonial Mayor and Executive Mayor is that the Executive Mayor is fully employed from 8am to 5pm while the ceremonial is not fully employed by council. The Executive Mayor is given perks that include a company vehicle and residential accommodation by Council. All that is taken care of by Council whereas the ceremonial mayor doesn't, and the Executive Council can make a decision in the executive meeting. Directors don't sit in the Executive Council, where there is the Executive mayor only the Town Clerk sits in that meeting. The Executive Mayor could make binding decisions that would affect the entire council area but would seek full council ratification for implementation. A ceremonial mayor does not make any executive decisions like their counterpart used to. The Town Clerk reported to the Executive Mayor, the Town Clerk sat in the Executive Committee.

As one local government practitioner stated that

One of the critical changes that took place in the system was the promulgation and implementation of the Prime Minister's Directive of 1984, which attempted to introduce people's participation through Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs). These were meant to ensure that people were consulted from grassroots level and they had an influence in the development of their area and they also participated and are supposed to be monitoring development which formed the cornerstone of decentralisation in Zimbabwe.

5.8 Service Delivery Challenges faced by Local Authorities in Zimbabwe

One former Mayor spoke of the total collapse of the service delivery system in 2008, when the major challenge was inflation. Nevertheless, an expert said,

“I think the situation we inherited and developed, had local authorities working very well in terms of providing water, maintenance of roads, development of new roads and development of new housing schemes. The partnerships between the local authorities and Industry and Commerce ensured a smooth running of these programmes”

Another key informant, a scholar, lamented the high salary levels that local authorities adopted, which he felt were unsustainable

We must ... admit that the institutions took up unacceptable regimes in terms of salaries. The reasons why these councils are failing to meet the 30/70 directive include the fact that they are collecting very little as a result of the political environment. Ratepayers are not keen to take their money to the local authorities as they are not seeing their value for money in terms of service delivery.

This concurs with Gukurume (2013), who has made the shocking revelation, however, that many of the country's local authorities and town councils are the best paying parastatals, with salaries taking up approximately more than 70% of revenue, at the expense of service delivery. Finances have been one of the major impediments to service delivery, together with systems and behavioural change.

5.8.1 Transport Provision

Urban transport provision has always been topical in many parts of the continent, and Zimbabwe is also affected by this challenge, as one key informant revealed

“Transport, at the moment is a headache. No local authorities in Zimbabwe at the present moment can claim they are doing well the area of transport. There was an agreement with the Zimbabwe Omnibus Company (ZOC) (now ZUPCO), there was an agreement signed with the local authority, the local authority got into partnerships with government to provide transport in local authorities. Now the local authorities would provide terminus whether in CBD or in industry. In Bulawayo, the main terminus was Esigodini situated in the industrial area. ZUPCO used to get passengers from all over the suburbs and drop them off at the bus terminus and picking them up again after 5pm. So that was a good partnership in that government was providing transport, and city council was providing terminus to make sure that people get to work in time. Although it is still working, the government is lacking because those termini are now lying idle. This is a clear sign of changed systems that have had a direct effect on the transport provision service in urban centres. That change has caused the muchovas to come into towns. In Johannesburg, taxi drivers have on several occasions fought running battles with each other in search for business space. The same can be said for Harare, Zimbabwe’s capital city, where kombi operators have taken over the function of transport provision.”

Another key informant had this to say

“On the transport situation, otherwise there is no much that is happening in terms of how the city council can help. It can only help to facilitate the development of a systems that works. In times to come, like in Durban, they provide transport, local authorities, they provide buses for the local and they get revenue, a lot of money.”

5.8.2. Road Maintenance

Road maintenance is also now a very serious challenge. Normally the lifespan of a main road is 21 years and the lifespan of a road that leads to suburbs is about 7 to 15 years. One key informant remarked,

“Now imagine this City of Bulawayo: it’s 126 years old and you must have not seen any road that was being redone. All that the city council has done is to build those roads partly to new suburbs. That is as far as things were happening, but there was never a situation where the city council had the finance to say “let’s look at City-Luveve Road”. The engineer, even if he comes with a recommendations to say “the City Luveve Road life span is now overdue. It is time to redo the road”, you find that there has never been any finance or any funding of that sort. That’s the reason why all of a sudden the lifespan has now doubled to 42 years. That’s the reason why first of all, it was an issue of emergency potholing, but even potholing now the roads can no longer sustain. That is why these roads have to be potholed, because it’s long overdue and they can’t be potholed anymore. As soon as we have some little rain coming in, it will penetrate through the pothole and damage the surroundings of that patch and the

rest of the road. They can no longer be repaired; they need to be redone. It's just like your trousers: if you put a patch here, a patch here, you will find that as soon as you try to raise your leg, it gets torn as soon as you try to get into your car, because it's worn out. The sewer and water systems are in the same state as the roads. There is undoubtedly need for total rehabilitation.

There were mixed reactions from the various study participants where the issue of road construction was concerned, as the 15% of the study participants interviewed felt that road construction in their respective areas was fair as government, through its parastatal ZINARA, managed to disburse funding countrywide for road construction and maintenance. This seemed to have provided some form of relief to most local authorities, who are facing capacity challenges in purchasing the capital equipment needed for road infrastructure construction and maintenance. As the former Chairperson of Mwenezi RDC noted

In terms of roads, we got a grader from ZINARA and we are getting fuel from ZINARA as well. Quite a number of roads are being graded, but the problem now we are facing is that when the grader has a breakdown or when the grader needs some service, people come straight from Harare. It is centralised, there is no decentralised, so you may find that maybe the council's two graders will be lying idle for the whole month or 2 without doing the work, waiting for those people doing the servicing to do the repairs.

Figure 5.1 is a diagrammatic presentation outlining the diverse views of the informants about housing provision. The graph suggests that 15% think it is fair, 10% that it is good and less than

5% that it is excellent, while just over 10% think that it is poor and under 2% think it is very poor.

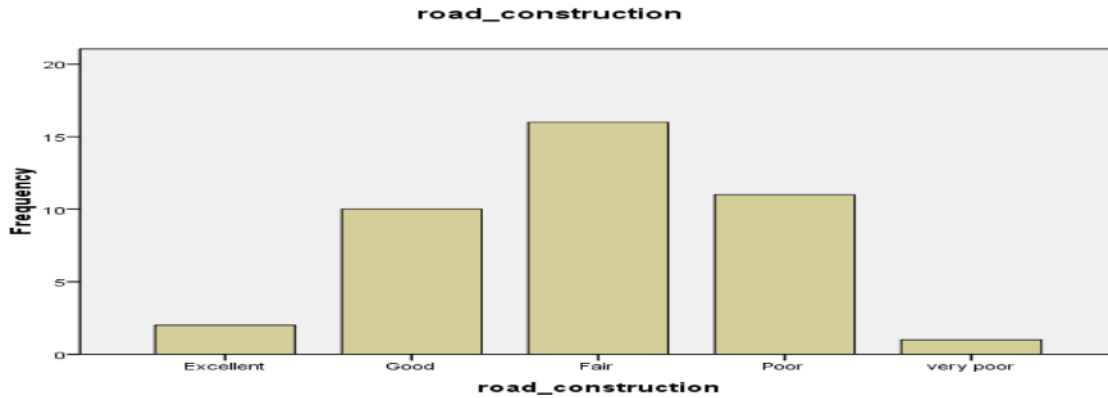


Figure 5.1: Rating Road Construction by Interviewees (N=30)

5.8.3 Education Provision

In terms of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13), rural councils are mandated to provide primary education and primary healthcare. Rural District Councils are mandated to construct and maintain primary schools and rural health centres with their jurisdictions. From the analysis in Figure 5.2, it is evident that there were only two broad categories – good and excellent.

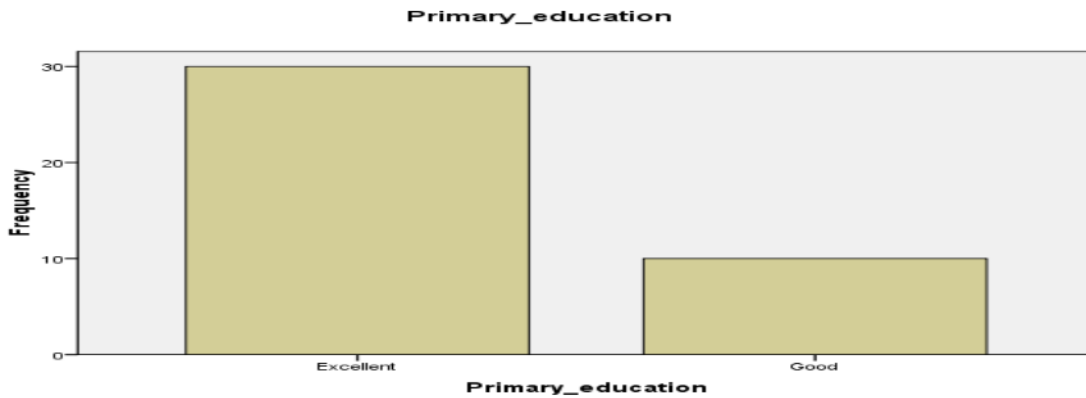


Figure 5.2: Rating Provision of Primary Education by Interviewees (N=30)

One key informant, a councillor, noted that

It's okay because we managed to staff those schools but in terms of infrastructure and learning resources like textbooks are poor.

The general infrastructure of rural primary schools has dilapidated over the years, resulting in some pupils learning in the open air after the occurrence of natural disasters such as hailstorms and floods, and owing to the general lack of maintenance of the infrastructure within their localities. One key informant, a scholar, expressed the view that

And these are primary school pupils who are supposed to pay a school development levy, but a number of them are in arrears because their parents are failing to pay the fees. At the same time, schools have multiple obligations and they are beginning to channel those few resources towards some other purposes.

The situation presented in the foregoing statement is especially true in rural local authorities where parents are failing to pay levies and school fees for their children due to the growing economic challenges that the parents face owing to lack of income. This situation has directly impacted on infrastructural maintenance and the general development of the schools, including the procurement of stationery and furniture, thereby hampering the success of the council education portfolio, as enshrined in the First schedule of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter

29: 13). In concurrence with the foregoing assertion, UNICEF (2015) concluded, with reference to Zimbabwe

[A]s a way of meeting maintenance costs and providing basic teaching, schools are obliged to impose levies on pupils' parents in addition to school fees. Parents who are hardest hit by this tend to live in rural areas and be unemployed or living on a minimum wage. Unable to pay the levies and fees, their children have had no option but to drop out of school or not enrol in elementary education at all.

Their foregoing situation has further exacerbated the rural and urban divide that has been in existence since the colonial period, where a dual economy was created by the colonialists to perpetuate the characteristic backwardness of rural areas. The current reality in local administration in post independence Zimbabwe has remnants of the colonial administration, which ensured that the rural areas remained backward in terms of educational advancement, minimising enlightenment.

5.8.4 Housing Provision

With respect to housing provision, 13% of the study participants were of the view that rural local government was generally poor. One academic, a key informant, noted that

[s]ervice delivery, particularly housing, has deteriorated quite significantly. It has deteriorated because now the urban population has grown. Urban centres have doubled their population since 1982, which means they need more money and so it's derailing of the service delivery thrust of most local authorities.

The levels of forward planning in terms of housing provision in most local authorities was affected by influxes of citizens into the urban areas post-independence 1980. Councils are failing to cope with demand for services as the numbers of people coming to urban areas are increasing by leaps and bounce. The response rate to questions on the issue of housing provision is presented is seen in Figure 5.3.



Figure 5.5: Rating Housing Provision by Interviewees (N=30)

From the above diagram N=30, about six percent of the study participants were of the view that housing provision within their councils was excellent, while 13 %) were of the view that the state of housing within their councils was generally poor. This has been attributed to lack of capital financing to undertake housing projects, despite this being one of the founding pillars (the social services cluster)of the ZIMASSET, the economic blueprint of the current government. As one expert noted,

[s]ervice delivery, particularly housing, has deteriorated quite significantly, and it has deteriorated not because of anything complex but simply because the opulation has grown in urban centres have doubled their population between 1982 and 2002, which means they need more money. It is one challenge that has [grossly] affected the business of service delivery in most local authorities [around the country].

Poor levels of forward planning in terms of housing provision in most local authorities have taken centre stage, owing to rural to urban migration. One local government expert noted that

these challenges that these local authorities are facing should be foreseen by the planning authorities long before this influx, and alternative solutions could be proffered on how best to deal with a ballooning population which implies the demand for housing significantly increase .

Zimbabwean rural and urban local authorities do not seem to have adequately planned for the eventualities that are currently taking place in the contemporary service delivery discourse.

5.9 Similarities between Administration, Processes and Behavioural Systems within the Colonial and the Post-independence Local Government Systems

A number of perspectives emerged in the comparison of colonial and post-independence local government systems. One academic, for example, argued that there were areas of continuity and areas of discontinuity. Before independence, emphasis was placed on safeguarding the interests of the white minority, while after 1980 emphasis, it was placed on the black population. The administrative model, however, has remained the same because it is an inherited one, but it could actually be improved. For example, colonial urban councils were highly decentralised and it was only issues of sewerage that were dealt with at central level. The sub districts in urban districts were very powerful and responsive to issues, something which was reversed after independence. The colonial local government system deliberately prioritised the white minority at the expense of the majority black people.

Further on, one key informant observed that

[l]ocal government is like a company, which runs various divisions – water, electricity, etc.... Politics is obviously an important dynamic. There may be changes here and there, but the structure has remained the same. The systems are running in the same shell.”

Another informant, meanwhile, noted that

What I see in the post-independence presence of blacks in almost all local authorities, that’s the most significant difference. But, if we want to explore the legislative framework, it’s still the same. Government simply repackaged colonial manifestations in the post-independence era. The interference of the colonial system in the administration in the African areas is still very visible in the post-independence era.”

One former Mayor also observed that

...the problem was political in that the local authorities were never allowed to run without influence from the top. That is the major challenge that local authorities were facing. It’s still the same.

One Town Secretary also argued

[t]he whites never really cared about the black population, including where they stayed. Now blacks can own houses in urban areas. Some blacks, perhaps out of frustration and resentment to the system by whites, never wanted to own houses in town. Most were opting for rental housing and preferred to own a home in the communal lands (then known as Tribal Trust Lands). The migrants from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who had no rural homes, were the ones to largely buy houses in African townships when the window to sell the houses to the black population was opened.

Government in pre-independence Zimbabwe devised a mechanism – through the institution of Native Commissioners – which allowed the central level of government to monitor and interfere in the affairs of local councils. The Secretary for Internal Affairs had a direct bearing on the manner in which local affairs, including the operations of the chieftainships (Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1964: 1). In the current political dispensation, the Ministry responsible for local government directly influences the manner in which the traditional leadership operates within communities, determining the policy direction of both urban and rural local authorities (cf. Chakaipa, 2010: 48; Makumbe, 2010: 91; Dewa, 2014). For example, the writing off, in 2013, of debts owed to councils had a crippling effect on the service delivery agenda, as the capacity of most councils to deliver services was almost diminished by over 50% (cf. RTI, 2010). As regards to central government interference in local authority affairs, one study participant opined that

[t]he local authorities in post-independence Zimbabwe have got a lot of responsibilities, and they have to fund most of their mandates including salaries unlike in the colonial period, where salaries were subsidised by government. The colonial government did not think of equity in distribution of resources for area development. Most of the decisions were made at that higher level [which were] the secretary and the council and the District Commissioner.

Nowadays, councils have several committees responsible for different areas. These committees make recommendations to the Full Council, which then makes a resolution is a firm decision. In terms of the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13), Part VIII Sections 55 to 64, the Finance Committee, Area Committees, Town Boards and Ward Development Committees, Rural District Development Committees are charged with various duties and functions in the overall administration of council (cf. LEDRIZ, 2012).

One practitioner argues that the pre-independence approach to urban development rested on the precondition of a hinterland having the potential to support the city in terms of commerce and industry. The salary system was graded so that

[w]e had Harare, Bulawayo in Grade 1. Gweru and Mutare they were in their own category. Masvingo, Kwekwe and Kadoma in no 3. There were quite a number of them... If you put them as a city and you don't have enough revenue yet you are going now to employ X number of engineers and a town clerk who should be on the equivalent salary of X City, aren't you really putting a local authority into trouble?

Another expert observed that

“[t]he rural areas had a two tier system, the district and rural local authorities changed but the urban local authorities remained as they were in spite of the changes that took place in the legislation.... After independence, they changed it and made one system. The idea was to try and share the resources that were there, because RCs were rich whereas the District Councils were poor. The RDCs became a bit larger, as their geographical areas were increased, and in some cases taking in two former institutions into one under one administration. That had a major influence on service delivery because the larger institution now needed more resources, but the areas to scratch from were now small and that’s one thing that definitely caused the problems that we see today.”

Sonnetang and Frese (2002) have argued that performance has to do with what an organisation hires someone to do, and do it well. The white government system put the right individuals to perform specific tasks and to perform them well, with a view to improving service delivery within the respective councils. Efficiency in local authority operations was assured, resulting in high performance in service delivery. Now supervision has deteriorated, and this may be explained by poor administration (cf. Chatiza, 2013: 4). One practitioner elaborated, furthermore, that after independence Zimbabwe had

“...one dominant one party state dictating the affairs of the state. It was without checks and balances. Even when MDC came in 2000, the issue of local and central relations

remained. The ruling party does not tolerate criticism and it does not take advice from the public.”

Another expert argued that

“... In the past, it was a partially divided local government system, so this now is more inclusive.”

5.9.1 Finance

The situation on the ground seems to suggest that central government is administering the taxation system, which was traditionally under the local authorities' jurisdiction. A serving Town Clerk observed that

... [v]ery little has happened. If anything, the government departments are busy centralising their operations because the Prime Minister's Directive was talking about making sure that certain staff from central government or central ministries be decentralised to the districts and their activities be linked to the rural local authority. But nothing has moved.

Lack of funding for recapitalization by local authorities has been proffered as the reason for the poor performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe (Coutinho, 2009). In almost all local authorities, there have been insurmountable challenges in raising sufficient funding to ensure service delivery ever. The Zimbabwean economy has been characterised by a continuous decline in Gross Domestic Product since 2000 due to several factors, among them the land redistribution exercise, which saw a significant decline in agricultural production and revenue streams derived therefrom.

5.10 Strategies Adopted by Local Authorities to address the Service Delivery Challenges

The study also sought the views of key informants as to ways of addressing the local government challenges. As one academic observed, there was need for more initiatives to be implemented rather than looking and relying on taxation, which is the traditional way of revenue generation for local governments throughout the world.

In Mwenezi District, for example, water remained a big challenge for people in the area, as most areas do not yield underground water. Sinking a borehole as deep as 70m can be just a futile effort given the dry conditions in the region. The Water and Sanitation Programme sponsored by UNICEF aims to drill 40 boreholes in the district, particularly in Resettlement Areas.

One local government expert advocated for forward planning. He exemplified the Kunzvi Dam project for Harare, which he said had been proposed as far back as 1945. In 1959, the Zambezi Water Project was also proposed for Bulawayo. Nothing has happened to date. Commitment is a critical requisite for development. With reference to Bulawayo, a key informant asserted

“... City council finance comes from the people. It started to degenerate because the economy was no longer functioning properly, when about 80% of the companies closed across the country. In the 1990s, Bulawayo City tried to capture finances by building drinking places like Ingwebu for instances, which has been the city’s project but now the source of income has dried up. The city council can’t do anything in terms of supporting the economy. It’s the performance of the economy with is falling. Those drinking holes, which were so vibrant and bringing in a lot of money, are now rented out, so as long as the

economy of the country is not sound, then it's a problem. So finances are the biggest retrogression to all local authorities."

5.11. Development Partners' Intervention in Service Delivery

The intervention of development partners is being made difficult by the political environment. Some prefer to work in communal areas but not in resettlement areas, where greater attention is needed. For Zvishavane, the interviewee said,

"[w]e have got quite a lot of dreams and visions but usually the resources are not adequate. Representatives of the residents are not doing anything positive to council besides criticising, and they don't appreciate our partnership, even with Mimosa. They just think it's Mimosa coming in and doing things for themselves without us engaging them. ... You know, there is a challenge. They want to confuse the situation ... I have recruited a town secretary so that move has actually stabilized the local authority. Of course, there are people who often try to frustrate heads of departments so that they run away so that confusion comes back again. Prior to my arrival, things were being run by someone acting without even the necessary qualifications...."

The study participants made a number of suggestions as to how to address the situation. One former council chairperson, for example, suggested that "the central government must train the personnel." A former Mayor expressed concern about the big difference in understanding between appointed personnel and councillors, some of whom are known for getting to power by mere sloganeering.

Chakaipa (2013) has acknowledged the need for councillors to have attainment certain level of education in order to make a meaningful contribution to council business. Four years of secondary education would equip a councillor with the ability to communicate, understand reports and contribute to council business.

5.12 Administrative Processes Engaged by Local Governments and their Impacts on Council Performance

The administrative processes that the local governments adopted in discharging their duties have had varying impacts on their performance. These processes include budgeting, policy making and planning. One scholar commented that the national government must play its role in putting the economy back on course because everything else hinges on the country's economic performance. Civic engagement is very central in the planning and implementation of public programmes and projects.

5.12.1 Budgeting

Budgeting refers to the quantitative or monetary planning for material, human and physical resources needed to accomplish desired outcomes in an organisation or for a programme of project (Nkomazana, 2003). Most councils have several committees responsible for finance, health and housing, environmental management, amongst other portfolios, as prescribed in the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13) and the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15). These committees make recommendations to the Full Council, which then makes resolutions that become binding council decisions. Consultation of the people is critical, as enshrined in the

various government directives and the Prime Minister's Directive of 1984. In the overall implementation of community projects, people have to actively participate in these development programmes. In the budgeting process, submissions by various wards are compared and prioritised to capture the generality of the district wide priorities. It is necessary to capture the majority of issues that the communities have raised across the service delivery continuum. Feedback meetings are conducted with the Full Council and communities.

Some councils carry out surveys across the whole district, sampling the sentiments and expectations of the various communities in so far as the service delivery framework is concerned to make informed decisions. The techniques employed include engaging the people informally and field visits. The traditional leadership in rural areas forms the crux of the resource and community mobilisation thrust, and its involvement in critical council business including, but not limited to, the budgeting process, is critical if the desired results are to be achieved. As one former Mayor's noted

[t]he failure by sub-national government to consult the communities in the budget process might have serious repercussions, including the disapproval of the budget by the central government, which results in non-implementation of the new tariff regime in the ensuing budget.

Interestingly, some scholars expressed ignorance on the contemporary mechanics of the budgetary process. The basic process involves the budgeting going through council processes, but the mechanics behind how the budget is compiled is not an area in which extensive research has been undertaken, particularly in the Zimbabwean context.

5.12.2 Policy Making

For councils to champion the business of service delivery to communities, there is constant interaction between the elected officials of council (councillors) and the appointed officials responsible for the policy formulation and implementation respectively. During chamber meetings, experience has shown that there is an element of mistrust between the elected and the appointed officials. The elected officials feel marginalised by the appointed officials to the extent that at times the discussions and debates almost become out of control (cf. Chakaipa, 2009). Role clarification becomes important among these two groups of officials as it demystifies the operational responsibilities and the scope of either party in order to minimise overlapping duties, responsibilities and areas of conflict. Another capacity building measure, where the issues of roles are concerned, is the induction of newly elected councillors, as they are informed about their roles, the roles of the CEO and those of council, and how they go forward as a local authority. A local government expert has expressed the view that

[c]ouncillors think when you are going to council you are just going to be paid a salary, then they realise it is just an allowance. This creates the problem of perception. For councils to be able to provide effectively, they must engage and be able to communicate with the communities they represent, one must also be knowledgeable, one must be able to articulate issues which they get from the Full Council here, one must get a feedback, and one must be objective in representing issues.

The council definitely cannot move without money from the people in the form of rates, as an objective councillor should be able to encourage the people to council champion the service delivery agenda, and therefore the need to pay becomes paramount. In reality, when election time comes, local authorities bear the brunt for uninformed and careless administrative decisions taken for political expediency, such as the scrapping of all debts accrued by households to council after the dollarisation period in January 2009 to July 2013. Though this came as a reprieve for the ordinary citizens, it had disastrous consequences on the day-to-day administration of the councils, some of which are now ailing in terms of service provision due to the large financial base that was lost through the cancellation of ratepayer debts.

In rural local authorities, some councillors lack the basic skills or understanding of issues to be discussed during the full council and council committee meetings. There is no minimum educational qualification enshrined in the Zimbabwe Electoral Act, which was promulgated in 1996, allowing anyone above the age of 18 to become a councillor, irrespective of academic or professional background, rendering the popularity of a candidate the only qualification for one to be a councillor. In this regard, the former City of Bulawayo Mayor noted that

[i]f you are person from the people you can come and be elected. That's what I'm talking about. Integrity depends with the person and being under the spotlight and questionable, thus integrity is more about the individual rather than the level of education. Thus, I'm talking about people being able to comprehend the deliberations and the goings on of the council, the ability to say after the end of this meeting when we are going back to the ward, we are able to hold feedback meetings and articulate issues as they should be articulated. Being objective - that's what I'm talking about.

This ideal leadership is intended to transform the livelihoods of ordinary citizens in the ward, by championing an improvement in the quality of services provided to them. There are instances where appointed officials tend to override the elected community leadership, with management at times usurping policy making powers which legally they do not have. As one Runde Rural District Councillor observed

[i]t seems the council officers (non-elected/appointed) have more power than the policy makers in terms of policy implementation or formulation, because some of the councillors just come to the council to the chamber and sit whilst we discuss, and those officers ... manipulate the councillors, exploiting their weaknesses maybe in terms of education or whatever. So that's a challenge. So in other words, the policy making process is biased towards appointed officials of council because they have the technical knowhow. For example, you sit down as a committee of roads and planning, they decided they want these roads 123 to be graded, but when it comes to Full Council meeting, they find the whole process has been changed to say as technocrats we sat down and agreed that it's better we start with this road and that road.

The frequent discord in policy formulation and implementation discord and the growing mistrust between the elected and the appointed officials has a bearing on the manner in which services are provided to the heterogeneous citizenry. As one councillor observed

... [t]he councillors have little education. So we say let's air these issues, we sit back. We are 18 councillors; probably 5 or 6 are active; the majority are not active. Even our chairperson seems to be manipulated by appointed officers again.

From the foregoing assessment, the passive nature of the majority of the councillors contributes to the failure of the council to perform its mandate meaningfully.

The general sentiments of the study participants as regards councillor-staff relationships can be summarised by the words of one Councillor, who bemoaned that

[b]ecause previously local authorities just have the councillors who are voted into the office, there was no induction. They were just there to be told what to do. But, now we have some light and we can ask some of the questions when we need to do something. We think we can make the organization viable. Then, those [appointed] officers feel challenged because they are used to manipulating the councillors. So, there is [some] friction.... When somebody is not knowledgeable enough, he may sit back and keep quiet. This is what it is happening to quite a number of councillors.

However, Chakaipa and Gotora (2015) have argued that no amount of induction can transform the calibre or personalities of councillors, due mainly to the fact that they come from not so stable economic backgrounds. They therefore use the councillorship platform to amass significant amounts of wealth, as evidenced in cases of looting bedeviling the Gweru City Council where the policy framework was seriously skewed towards personal self-enrichment at

the expense of the service delivery to residents. Some councillors, for example, sold themselves council livestock for 36 dollars each, which are sub economic rates, given the actual market value of the livestock (Fieldwork, 2015)

5.12.3 Planning

Robust decision making and the effective engagement of the various stakeholders could go a long way towards improving the sense of ownership in council processes, thereby improving the tone and tempo of the service delivery thrust within rural sub-national governments. Some local government experts are optimistic that the local government sector in Zimbabwe will definitely improve A local government expert asserts that

..... Although we have challenges, our local government system from 1980 was fairly robust because if you look at the challenges we have gone through as a country, as a local government, it's still enviable compared to many developing countries. It still works, even with its problems. The main challenge is that we are used to a better working system than we are seeing now, particularly in the area of service delivery.

The Zimbabwean populace was accustomed to a working and fairly robust local government system. In post-1980 period, services began to deteriorate.

There is need to realise that the local government system should respond to real issues, and in order to do so, strategic thinking and planning are paramount. As one study participant noted

....in Gweru City, the water infrastructure that was serving a small number (about 200,000 people in 1980) is now supposed to serve 2,000,000 people). There is no chance because the population has ballooned, but there has not been concomitant increase in infrastructure, so it means also we have had challenges in planning.

There seem to be serious challenges in the managerial and technical planning within councils. Surely issues relating to ballooning populations and the mushrooming of the informal sector, particularly vending, should have been foreseen long back and measures put in place to address these challenges. Forward planning was not being practised in letter and spirit in most councils post-1990. The generality of the councils chose to deliberately ignore bye laws and plans that the council had, to the detriment of ordinary citizens who bear the brunt of a collapsed service delivery system. Robust strategies should therefore be put in place to tackle these challenges. One local government expert has noted that

[i]n the Zimbabwean reality, we are very lucky that we don't have a serious problem of informal settlements like what happens in many cities and countries. Otherwise, we would have a bigger challenge of squatter camps here and there mushrooming. From time to time, we have allowed issues to go out of hand. Then, when we try to implement bye-laws, things will be already out of control.

One former Mayor expressed the view that

[w]e still use bye-laws that were there during the colonial period. No local authority - Bulawayo, Harare or Masvingo, whatever, Kwekwe and Gweru - can

claim that they tried to review their bye-laws and to say let's look at each bye law one by one there has never been that situation."

The general problem is that when the local administrative prerogative should prevail, political decisions by central government always tend to undermine the local council legislative arrangements.

5.13 Rating of Services

Rating the existing public consultation aspect of local governments in LAs across Zimbabwe

The responses to this question were varied. Council Chambers were said to be very powerful and tended to override the decisions by councillors. Executives are generally powerful since they are drawing their power from politicians. By way of example, from 2009, taxation was probably set at a level higher than anticipated by the people. The councils thought that the bulk of the residents had now had amassed a lot of money, which turned out not to be the case. The decisions on financial mobilisation and management is one key area of concern.

The Finance and Development Committee is responsible for the crafting of the budget, spearheading the budgeting process and coming up with a budget programme. Local authorities are generally run by committees, whose chairman is responsible for defending the decisions of his committee and its recommendations to council. This has also been confirmed by a Council Alderman.

One Provincial Administrator stated that the government had introduced results-based management in all local authorities "... because result-based management encourages people to be able to focus on results in spite of the little resources that they have." She argued that policy making does not involve much consultation of the general public, in view of the set up at the chamber, which does not have space to accommodate members of the public. In the budgeting process, the challenge is of people not knowing their right to participate in the process despite the law stipulating public participation in these matters.

In terms of bye-laws, another Provincial Administrator stated

"[f]rom my personal point of view, I have not heard a councillor calling for a meeting in the ward where I stay to come and give information to people. We want to put that in place. So it's some of the things they can avoid involving people so that they don't have too much of opposition on whatever. Then sometimes people will just learn that there is such a byelaw when they have committed that crime."

In terms of taxation, he observed that the current ailing economy has put the local authorities in a difficult position because they are cash strapped.

Civil participation usually takes place as a formality, though it was very legal. People just participate for the sake of participating in the budgeting process. This is attributed to the lack of adequate civic awareness of the importance of the process. In the words of a local government expert and scholar,

“... [t]he major challenge right now is that the whole question of accountability and the principle of serving don't seem to be at the centre of what is happening right now. So once the legal framework is in place, the institutional framework is in place. Even with the constitutional support underpinning local government, we still have challenges because we now need to go deeper into the occupants of positions to say are they doing what they are supposed to do, which is to serve.... People allowed things to get out of hand, ignored their own bye-laws. Now everybody is crying that the informal sector is growing. This is a reality because jobs are not there. We are lucky that we don't have a serious problem of informal settlements like what happens in many cities and countries, otherwise we would have a bigger challenge of informal settlements and squatter camps here and there trying to mushroom.”

One Town Council Secretary, meanwhile, argued that within the management or council system, “[w]e hold a number of meetings and there is one to interrogate the head of departments then the others to focus on projects under implementation.”

In his tenure in the ministry, one expert who had ended up serving as Deputy Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Local Government, opined

“I worked as a council secretary myself, and what we used to do was we would carry out some surveys, not in a structured way, like you are doing here, but you listen to the people as you go round the district. You talk to them, they will tell you, you observe and you have councillors who bring in issues, and then you investigate

and when you find that you want to establish whether really as a felt need, that's part of the technology we used very often. Is it a need or a want? If it affects a certain area, you go to that area, talk to the councillor in that area, the headman/chief, bring people together and ask them what they think about what you were told is required by them, why/ how will it be financed, because when you go to make up the budget, those questions will arise. So we were consulting? In the early days, of course there wasn't, we were not required really to produce a letter or a document to say yes, we have actually consulted, because in our case at that time, even if you tried to cheat to say people want this when you have not talked to them, at the end, it will backfire. The consultations which we are talking about now, especially in the urban areas, I have also called for those certificates when I was in the ministry. I'm not sure, but they don't really mean much, especially in situations where you are not providing any service. People will say why waste our time? They may come but they don't go back saying we have put in a request to council and therefore we would want, 'cause they seem to be national politicians, stealing the fund now and again. The thing that is done by council, national politicians will come and say this is what we provided for you. So it's a combination of things. I would think maybe it's because of the situation in the economy why we are having these dynamics. There is so much of if I can do this perhaps, I will have a following, but otherwise in terms of real principles of local government, I think local authorities should be guided by policy of central government, which is written, otherwise it should be guided by the law."

5.14. Dynamics in Meetings

One Head of Department argued that committees are aligned to the departments of council, which are each led by a head of department. The HOD advises the committee about the mandate, responsibility or functions of that committee. The appointed officials, spearheaded by the HOD, play the role of advisors to their respective committees, and ultimately to the Full Council. For one Chief Executive Officer, there is always an element of mistrust between the elected and the appointed officials. The elected feel marginalised by the appointed officials to the extent that at times the discussions and debates degenerate into chaos.

The induction of councillors is very critical. Some councillors come for wrong reasons and with the wrong motives. They think are going to be paid a salary, and problems may arise when they realise they are only entitled to travel and subsistence allowance and problems may arise at in terms of perception of and attitudes towards the work at hand. Unfortunately in the current dispensation, some councillors are ill-equipped to bring to the fore issues that would advance council business.

The DA also attends council meetings. One administrative officer believes that ...the council this time can make decisions on its own. [Of course], the DA can come in as an advisor. In the words of a Council Secretary,

Council meetings can be very powerful and as a Chief Executive Officer, you have to handle that situation. At the forming stage, the meetings can be very nasty, especially when councillors are coming in and hold various expectations and assumptions, perceptions and misconceptions. They are very difficult to handle.

They don't follow the procedures. They don't appreciate the legal aspects and don't appreciate the hierarchy, let alone the fact that we are not independent entities and we are not autonomous. But we are semi-autonomous and we report to the ministry. They think that as a councillor or as a chairman or as a mayor, they can act arbitrarily, irrespective of the law, bye-laws, and statutes...

But there is need to appreciate now the stance which was taken by the ministry responsible for Local Government, especially at the phase where we are with the councillors. After the 2013 elections, they quickly moved in, called in the mayor's chairpersons of councils and trained them about their roles. The roles of the councillor, what is expected of them, the implication of the law, the structure up to the Ministry, and what they are expected to do i and so forth. Recently, we had the training of chairpersons and mayors and I think it's changing our mindset ...”

Mwenezi RDC suggested that political parties set a criteria or yardsticks for the people who should campaign for the posts of councillor. The person must be able to read or understand the information, and to defend his arguments. On the other hand, the government itself must conduct induction courses to inform and enlighten councillors rather than waiting for technocrats at the local authority dictate how they should run the council. These inductions courses should be carried out regularly in order to equip councillors well to carry out their tasks. One Council Secretary asserts a certain level of education is required, and that the educational qualifications are specified. (Fieldwork, 2015) The background of the person, integrity and professionalism can form part of the qualification. One academic argues that awareness about corruption should be part of the training of councillors and the whole socialisation of the person. The scholar argues,

furthermore, that “... the calibre of councillors that we have got it might not be very bad, but the issue remains on how they perceive issues when they go into the chamber.”

5.15. Decentralisation Policy Post 1980 and its effect on the Service Delivery Thrust of Councils

A number of views emerged on perceptions about the decentralisation policy introduced post-1980 and how this has affected service delivery and administration at the local level. One key informant argued that decentralisation without adequate funding did not amount to much. The local taxation structure, for example, does not give money to local authorities, which in turn, implies little with respect to service delivery. For Mwenezi RDC, local authorities ought to extract finances from locally available resources, which requires bye-laws to empower the local authorities to do so. With respect to the Mberengwa RDC, the lack of coordination among critical stakeholders is the major hindrance to effective decentralisation. The Zvishavane Town Council Secretary argued that, in practice, there has been more centralisation than decentralisation, given the nature of intergovernmental centre-local relationships, where decisions made at local level do not matter much, because these sub-national government are semi autonomous, and the overall decision is made by the central government.

Another local government practitioner suggests that the solution lies within the government. He observes that the government is currently relegating the local authority to the periphery when it comes to the exploitation and utilisation of natural resources. The Mines and Minerals Act, for example, does not promote development in the local area. As one expert argued,

“Government should take its role seriously and say we have put urban councils act to regulate the activities of urban authorities, we have RDC Act to regulate the manner in which authorities in the rural areas are managed and governed. If we should bring the two together that’s fine; I have no problem with that but we have to respect the legislation that we put in place. Now that we have local government in Chapter 14 of the new constitution, my prayer is that whoever is the Minister of local government to come as soon as this realignment of the laws is done, to say this is the way forward, we have to operate according to this, and not to say one thing and do the other.”

Another informant disclosed that

Before independence, in Mwenezi there was only one secondary school, Lundi. At independence in 1980, there were a number of secondary schools were established, including Maranda, Rufaro and Neshuro. Before independence, black children could only get to Grade Seven.

For the Town Council Secretary,

[t]he local authority has contributed massively, including in making roads passable, provision of health services, recreational facilities, the environment for investment, public lighting, and schools partnerships have seen some companies building some secondary schools in the area for instance Mandava Secondary School built by Shabanie . He also argues that Zvishavane has got one of the best stadiums in the country, Mandava Stadium, which was a result of a partnership between the town council and Mimosa Mine. The council has also a thrust to

empower vendors and flea market traders by providing them with comfortable and user-friendly facilities. Zvishavane, as one the best run local authority, got an award in 2014.

The Secretary argued that what prevents the council from becoming financially sound is the liquidity crunch that the country is experiencing. In its strategic plan, it has put across the idea of a Local Economic Development (LED) component. Mubvami (1997) opines that Local Economic Development refers to the transformation of rural areas, growth points, cities and towns into viable economic centres. This is done through creating opportunities for pro-poor or pro-market growth within rural or urban centres

In Buhera, the former Chief Executive Officer spoke

of having only two secondary schools before independence, but these have now added to over 70 in the district. Although they are day schools, some are expanding to have A 'Level'. Health facilities have also increased. In the area of tourism, Buhera won an award for opening up for tourism in Buhera through the Ministry of Tourism. Generally, greater parts of Buhera are dry and the district, with the help of development partners including UNICEF, has sunk a lot of boreholes and constructed a number of dams in the district.

In the words of one former Mayor,

Bulawayo has achieved a lot through Public Private Partnerships. Bulawayo has partnered with the City of Ethekwini in 2012 and has come up with the strategic

plan. The secret of the success of Bulawayo lies with engaging the stakeholders in its affairs. ... All the stakeholders should be part of it Where you say you empower the people to give ideas and say what they want but also prioritise, to say which one would you like to see as priority number 1, no2, no3, no4 and so on, because that was very important...

People were actually trained to make sure that *they* own the city, not councillors or the mayor, but they themselves can actually deal with the issues like vandalism. A former Councillor goes further to explain that the government builds secondary schools only, and the responsibility of primary schools is now left to the local authority. He observes that Bulawayo has about 30 primary schools, most of which were built after independence.

5.16. Rating the performance of organisations in various areas of service delivery

The informants had mixed reactions about the state of service delivery within the various local authorities dotted around the country. Table 5.4 illustrates the sentiments. From Table 5.4, it can be seen that the various issues identified by informants in terms of rating include primary education, primary health care, housing, sewer reticulation, and development control, among other service delivery issues. In most local authorities development control was viewed as poor by the majority of study participants, as depicted by the 66 % of the study participants opting for poor, 3 % describing it as fair and the 32 % describing it as excellent. The majority of the study participants emanated from rural local governments, which have limited developments within their localities within the districts.

Table 5.4: Rating of Service Delivery by Study Participants

Service N=30	Rating in Percentage	Fair	Good	Excellent
	Poor			
1. Housing	32	45	22	1
2. Road Maintenance and Construction	53,5	23,25	18,25	5
3. Sewer reticulation	43	32	13.6	11.4
4. Primary Education	4.1	15	4.9	75
5. Primary Health	11	7	5	72
6. Water Provision	70	8	7	15
7. Street Lighting	35	25	20	20
8. Development Control	66	3	13	32

Source: Fieldwork 2015

The 66 % who viewed the development control thrust of the local governments were mostly found in the urban areas, where it seems that most local authorities are unable to deal adequately with issues of vending, illegal settlements, ballooning urban population, among other rapid developments occurring within the urban setup.

Looking at the issues of primary health, 72% of the study participants were of the view that local governments are faring well in terms of providing health facilities in both urban and rural local authorities around the country. In most local authorities, the primary health provision dimension is satisfactory. 11 % of the respondents described the state of health services as poor, particularly those in resettled rural areas, where there was no infrastructure to cater for the growing rural population. Mubvami and Nhekairo (2006: 237) have argued that with health provision, the main constraint is the provision of a decentralised system. Central government

prescribes the rates of the services, most of which unable to sustain the provision of these services. Central government has instituted a spend-now-and-pay-later scheme to the local authorities, but is failing to finance the gap. Hence, there is an increasing gap between the demand for the health services and their provision.

Where primary education is concerned, it can be seen that most local authorities have managed to achieve milestones, with a positive response rate of 75%, which is excellent, implying most of the councils have managed to construct primary schools within their areas of jurisdiction. The 4.1 % poor response rate was mostly found in those Rural District Councils, where resettlement has taken place. Mubvami and Nhekairo (2006: 236) have noted that in the provision of primary education, the power of councils in establishing schools is enshrined in Section 22 of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15). The section stipulates that primary education has been decentralised, with certain functions having been passed over to school development committees which play a supervisory role in schools. The central government retains overall authority over schools.

In summary, some key variables echoed by the various study participants in rating service delivery, both the negatives and the positives, include the following:

- a) As long as you are sitting on a 100 000 waiting list, it is “poor”. With respect to road construction, it is fairly poor because the roads are full of potholes. But for primary education, Bulawayo City council has built about 30 primary schools, and that is excellent. The same applies to secondary education. Service delivery has*

deteriorated quite significantly and the population factor is the major contributor to this deterioration.

b) Service delivery in the country is very poor. Housing provision is facing challenges of some bogus land developers being in the country. Road maintenance is so poor that it cannot be hidden.

c) Bulawayo has tried its best to provide and maintain houses, schools, health facilities, waste management, to say the least. However, for waste management, the trucks are old; the sewage sector is riddled with old pipes.

d) Service delivery and performance were generally poor who argues, we see heaps of garbage everywhere and also in the locations that we stay, the service there is not provided, and you hardly see a municipal van collecting garbage and people have to resort to burning garbage, so it is poor. There is no service in that area.

e) With particular reference to Gweru, so many houses are being built albeit largely by private developers. Road construction and maintenance are very poor. On street lighting, in some instances that is non-existent, hence very poor. On water supply, the quality of the water that people are getting is very poor.

f) Primary education has now been enhanced through rural electrification, making it possible for students to do evening studies and also use computers. Also tapped water is now available in some homes at the growth points and business centres. Spatial planning is at a sufficiently advanced stage to allow for development control.

g) Sewer reticulation is poor. The same applies to road construction and maintenance and refuse collection in Gweru city.

h) Service delivery has literally collapsed. Some of the reasons, of course, are beyond council like the economy, the sanctions imposed on the country, which have seen industries closing and the resultant harsh economic environment, which is not a creation of council. Another major problem, which was not there before, is the issue of corruption. It was unheard of and is now becoming a cancer, which is eating into our society and has created problems. Corruption is a cost whether it's at council level or at central level."

i) Housing provision in the local authority is fair, with stands being serviced in places like Rutenga, Runde and Maranda. However, primary education is poor, as schools have no supportive infrastructure, adequate staffing and learning resources like textbooks. In Mwenezi, water supply is rated is poor, because there are not enough boreholes. There are no dams for livestock to drink.

j) because our streets are not named, especially the high-density areas. As well, the sewer system "... used to be a very big challenge but now there is that improvement because of the intervention of UNICEF. We have rehabilitated most of our sewer system. It doesn't necessarily mean replacing them with other new pipes but flashing."

5.17 Suggestions by Interviewees as to How to Improve Service Delivery

There were variations in the responses to the question of how to improve service delivery. One Alderman, for instance, lamented the absence of resources necessary to provide relevant services. Improved service delivery is important to enhancing the relationship between the community and the council. Another informant argued that local authorities need to prioritise

well. An academic and scholar argued that with adequate revenue generation and efficient resource management, local authorities can do very well. The missing link in most local authorities today is the property valuation and charging of appropriate rates. Sound planning should also allow for sound urban management. However, this requires a comprehensive database of information, which many local authorities do not have. One scholar presented an array of possible solutions:

“[f]irst and for most, they must be strict in terms of issuing invoices ... they must invoice their clients and make follow ups and ... also engage these people. Engage these people and find out how they are faring, because in most cases, most of these people have lost their sources on income as well. So you need to understand that, and no matter how much you squeeze them, they don't have. You cannot take away from them what they are collecting from the streets and they are trying to sell and earn a living. It's very difficult, so it's another very difficult era. So it's necessary to engage these people and find out what they want to contribute and how they want to contribute it. Engagement is very important, but council must also continue to keep their heads above the water. They must continue to try and enforce payment ...”

One local government practitioner suggested that,

“Our aim should be to develop the economy so that people don't fool themselves that they are making business when in actual fact they are not. If we want in the meantime to get people benefit from something,, let it be done in an orderly manner rather than creating a situation where the street is impassable. I think

people should be organised, and this is responsibility for both central and local government....The other thing which is very important, but easier said than done, is that we should have forward planning. ”

One local government practitioner argued that local authorities should find ways of putting up structures in the CBD that accommodate the kinds of businesses which are normally relegated to peripheral areas. “[b]ecause I feel also for the vendors that if people are not going to the outskirts where the people [the vendors] are concentrated, local authorities need to find better ways of accommodating everyone in the centre instead of having sheds...” One scholar posited that the informal sector has become “... the means of survival to the majority of urban survivors so it needs to be managed. You have to plan for it...”

5.18 Effects of Sanctions on the Performance of Local Authorities in Zimbabwe

Although the issue of sanctions was not mentioned in the in depth interviews conducted by the researcher, there has been some literature which is divided as to whether or not sanctions contribute to the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. In this regard, Hove (2012) has argued that

[t]he sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe had serious negative effects. They led to the collapse of health, education and water services. The hyperinflation in Zimbabwe resulted in shortages of basic commodities, and it was caused by the sanctions. In addition, they harmed the government’s capability to obtain foreign currency, making it more difficult to procure essential goods like petroleum and pharmaceuticals.

The above statement seems to suggest that the current sanctions imposed by Britain, America and Australia on Zimbabwe are not affecting the higher echelons of government that it was “supposedly” intended to affect. The trickle-down effect of sanctions is felt by the ordinary citizens who rely on the public service delivery system in its various forms – water provision, health, refuse collection, road construction and maintenance. These are some of the public goods that the state both at the local and national level is supposed to provide to the residents. Nyawata (2011: 16) has argued that

[t]he tumbling service delivery system affected the education sector. As a result of shortage of water, electricity among other necessities, leading to the closure of some educational offices including schools. This put the lives of pupils and students at risk, as some institutions could not provide descent accommodation for the students forcing them out of residence, especially those in the universities, to live in very pitiable conditions.

The foregoing statement suggests that the effects of the sanctions affected every economic driver, including education. Social challenges among the school-going population became prevalent, as students tried to eke a living in a failing economy caused in part by political and economic sanctions. Moreover, the council’s provision of public services including educational facilities continues to decline even as the demand for these services increased.

5.19 Further Insights into the Study

When questioned about further insights, the interviewees suggested a number of things and issues. One academic suggested for critical research into contemporary issues relating to government practice and how they can affect the future. He asked several questions in this respect:

“What does it constitute and what is happening on the ground in terms of service delivery, because the services these urban local authorities are quite different, and the challenges they would face are also different? So we would have that perspective where we would visit rural local authorities and see how they are doing. And maybe analyse more the office of the District Commissioner and the current district administrator: what were their differences and similarities?”

A local government practitioner suggested the possibility of specifically discussing the Constitution of Zimbabwe and seeing how the Government must devolve local government functions. He thought that the current regime is phobic to devolution, as it is afraid of being misplaced and to it,

“... [d]evolution is the equivalence of loss of power by the central government bureaucrats. There is an immediate feeling that such devolution may grant space for opposition political parties to overtake the ruling party in this country. The constitution making process almost crumbled because of the ideological differences between the ruling party and the opposition specifically on devolution, because the ruling party was talking of decentralisation, whilst the opposition

were talking of devolution. That stifled the completion of constitution making process or the development of the constitution.

A former secretary of local government, meanwhile, asserted

“I am a serious believer in the local government system and I believe some of these challenges which are being faced can be overcome because I believe all it takes is starting right at the top, at the ministry. Creating the whip, which is accountability, becoming central and in terms of our management of local government, body officials at councillor level being aware that we are finally accountable for the people and that we must deliver. So the current mind set where people are working more for what they must get, that’s why you find on the official side people are getting huge salaries, on the councillor side they are busy plundering stands.”

For another scholar, financial reorganisation is an area that requires attention, because

“[a]s long as we don’t have enough finances, we will not be able to do anything. ... Zimbabwe must appreciate and accept that it has a very high potential of being better than most countries in Africa as far as management and administration of local government is concerned, because it has the human resource capability and capacity. It has a culture that is forward looking. We took over or inherited a colonial planning culture in our towns and cities, which culture is still there. ”

The Mberengwa RDC strongly believes that local authorities exist to provide services to communities, but as long as there is no financial support it will remain a pipe dream. There is need for the politicians to be the mature people capable of differentiating between politicking and addressing issues associated with the development of areas. A former Mayor argued for reforms in local government, stating

“[w]hat I mean about reforms is that the other, besides funding, the biggest obstacle in local government is the people who are employed to do the job. I don’t know what I can call this. There is no respect between the technical people and the policy maker. The technical people when they look at these, they don’t give them that kind of respect that they need and most of the time they lie to them about situations. I know for sure that if you ask one councillor most of the bad decisions or bad resolutions emanate from bad advice from the technical side. Sometimes they mix it with politics, because the staff may not be in that political organisation. Whatever that is, it causes that collision. Most bad things emanate from bad advice from the technical people.”

One scholar opined that when the country adopted the multi-currency regime, organisations needed to have been given guidance what to do and how to do it. There are certain provisions that local governments should observe, such as the 10% allocation from the national fiscus to be channelled to provincial and local governments as well as the functions and mandates of provincial councils. Another informant supported to this constitutional arrangement and suggested that the earlier it was implemented the better. He further observed that sub-national governments are facing service delivery challenges, for varying reasons.

5.20 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the experiences of key study participants and the findings of various literature sources with regards to colonial and post-colonial rural and urban local government administrative systems, structures, processes and behavioural systems. The generality of the study participants were of the view that the service delivery thrust in most rural and urban local governments has generally declined and this is largely attributable to the distressed economic environment; poor council management; corrupt activities among both elected and appointed officials of councils; poor prioritisation of council business; failure to engage the residents on critical issues that affect their welfare including, but not limited to, budgets and other related civic tools that can be used for civic participation in sub-national governance. It was also realised that there seemed to be remnants of the colonial local government system in the current local government setup.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the research process, the conclusions drawn from it, and the recommendations by the researcher to the various stakeholders. The summary of the research is based on the contents of the various chapters of the research from Chapter 1, which provided the background information, problem statement and the objectives that guided the study. Chapter 2 encompassed a critical appraisal of the various literature identified by the researcher as well as contemporary studies related to the identified area of the research with a view of identifying a knowledge gap to contribute meaningfully to the existing body of knowledge.

Chapter 3 provided the operational framework under which the research was undertaken practically in the field, as well as an appreciation of the theoretical methodological underpinnings of the study area. Furthermore, this chapter proffers recommendations. The recommendations also focus on the most appropriate framework for the performance of sub-national governments as well as other emerging issues and factors that affect the manner in which public service delivery is being discharged to the heterogeneous citizenry. This chapter also presents the limitations to the study as well as areas of recommendations for future research.

6.2 Study Summary

As highlighted above, Chapter 1 provided the contextual background to the study of the legacies of colonial administrative system, which dates back to 1894 when the white administration came into effect in colonial Zimbabwe. This chapter takes into account the various transformations that

occurred in pre and post-independence Zimbabwe, revealing the various researches undertaken by various scholars and other authorities in the area under study, at global, regional and local level. This chapter as critical to the identification of the knowledge gap in the study. This chapter provided the problem statement, the objectives and the research questions that guided the study. The first chapter then sets the tone for the research, forming the basis for the next chapter on how the various objectives and the research questions were further collapsed into thematic areas. Working definitions in this study were also outlined in this chapter, providing meanings for the various terms used and adopted throughout this study. In the same vein, the conceptual background provided scholarly explanations of the various concepts underpinning the study.

Chapter 2 provided the theory and the literature review. Like Chapter 1, this chapter used the three tier – global, regional and local – approach to review various sources of literature from the various scholars. The major purpose of the literature review was to seek information and critically appraise existing literature relating to the area under study with a view to ascertaining the knowledge gap. The thematic analysis phenomenon was adopted, allowing the researcher to exhaustively explore the literature. The literature review revealed a gap in the literature, as no other study had specifically addressed the issues of colonial administrative systems and their influence on their performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. The study therefore makes a critical contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

Chapter 3 dealt exhaustively with various key concepts underpinning the study, reviewing the various meanings of the identified concepts. The chapter explored the various theoretical

perspectives upon which the study was hinged upon. In this view, the theoretical framework provided the researcher with parameters to guide the direction of the research.

Chapter 4 outlined the research methodology, focussing on how the research was undertaken. The research was qualitative in nature, as the researcher sought to capture the experiences, feelings and emotions of the various study participants in order to gain an insight on the workings, processes of the colonial local government administration, and the major transformations that were experienced even after independence. A total of 30 in depth interviews were conducted countrywide by the researcher with a range of participants that included scholars, local government experts, retired local government officers, current head of departments and chiefs, amongst other stakeholders. In conducting the in depth interviews, a combination of purposive and judgemental sampling was used to carefully select study participants with knowledge on the topic under study. This was so because not everyone was completely conversant with the detailed dynamics of colonial local government systems. The research philosophy adopted in this study is that of social constructivism, which is more qualitative than quantitative, and the research design adopted was the grounded theory approach, advanced by Creswell (2005), which comprises five research designs including ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology and the case study method.

In Chapter 5, the focus was on presenting the results, interpretation and analysis of the data to come up with conclusions. This data was presented, analysed and processed to provide information, which in turn becomes knowledge. This chapter is evidence based and composed

mainly of the research findings which are presented, interpreted and analysed. A number of lessons were drawn from the study and these are discussed in the forthcoming sections.

The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of colonial administrative systems on the performance of sub-national governments in Zimbabwe. This involved unpacking of the colonial and post-colonial local government administrative structures, behavioural systems and processes. The study also focused on the performance of these local governments in both colonial and post-colonial local government systems in terms of the provision of public services. In this study, it was found out that during the colonial period.

The local government system during the colonial era was diverse. For example, rural local authorities had various councils, namely, the African Councils, which catered for the issues relating to the black majority, and the rural councils, dealing with those relating to the white farming community. Likewise, separate local government systems existed in the urban areas for the whites and blacks. The colonial government therefore promoted and upheld the two city concept, in which even service delivery between the whites and blacks was separated. The guiding socio-economic and political philosophy was the existence and thriving of a dual political and economic system, in which blacks had limited economic and political opportunities. The whites, on the other hand, were governed by a system endowed with the ownership of the means of production. Interaction between these two systems was premised upon the provision of labour to the colonial administration while the provision of services was the responsibility of the colonial administration. The majority of the study participants had an average of 30 -36 years working in the local government system, and many re-lived their experiences of local

government system behaviours and structures during the colonial and post-colonial local government system.

The study found out that there were some striking similarities between the colonial and the post-colonial local government system in terms of the structure and processes, with marked differences in the behavioural approaches. Almost 60% of the respondents noted a similar system composed of both elected officials of councils and managers in the city council, who are responsible for running council affairs. This was observed in both the colonial and post-colonial government systems, although the differences were noted in the calibre of the persons occupying the offices and the efficiency in service provision to residents. Another issue is that of creation of power by central government. During the colonial era, the District Commissioner represented the central government at district level, performing duties such as policing, birth registration and land administration, among other issues. Likewise, the current District Administrators act as the eyes and ears of central government at local level, and still wield the power, presiding over most of the state functions making them de facto “district presidents”.

From the study, it emerged that the dual local government system during the colonial period had an impact on the setup and performance of current local authorities. However, other factors have influenced the performance of the local authorities, especially considering the influx of the black majority into cities and towns which were previously restricted. The study identified other factors such as excessive central government interference, corruption and mismanagement of council affairs, broader national socio-economic challenges including sanctions, poor calibre of councillors and managers within councils, lack of forward planning and poor corporate

governance. In short, the study established that there is a nexus between the colonial administrative structures, behavioural systems and colonial administrative processes and the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Socio-economic conditions and inter-governmental relationships and sanctions have also had a bearing in the manner in which local authorities are performing in Zimbabwe at present.

It also emerged from the study that the post-independence local government system in Zimbabwe underwent a series of transformations through central government initiatives intended to 'redress' colonial imbalances. Efforts to address these imbalances were achieved by deregulating the movement from the rural to the urban areas resultantly experiencing an influx in the urban centres. As a result, some of the transformations resulted in the adoption of bottom up approach to development and participation in governance issues by blacks, who had unfettered voting rights to choose leadership of their choice in any local and national elections. However, although every citizen in the country can now participate in the parliamentary and presidential elections, issues of transparency and objectivity remain unclear.

6.3 Conclusions

This section focused on the conclusions that the researcher drew in relation to the data collected and analysed in trying to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How have legacies of colonial organisational structures influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe?
- 2) How have the colonial administrative processes influenced .transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe?

- 3) What is the influence of colonial behavioural systems influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe?

Based on the research results and in line with the research objectives, several conclusions can be drawn and generalisations made. The forthcoming sections look at the conclusions drawn by the researcher with regards the objectives and thematic areas of the study.

6.3.1 Influence of colonial organisational structures on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe

Before independence in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian Front maintained a clear dual enclave structure, with a separate system for the blacks and whites in the rural and urban areas. The colonial system was segregatory in nature, depriving the blacks of the same services as whites in areas such as housing, road construction and maintenance, social amenities. Even in governance issues, black people were not active participants in the decision making process, because it was a preserve of the whites, who made decisions on their behalf. It is against this background that at independence in 1980, the government ushered in a new political dispensation in the running of the local affairs of the country, liberalising the previously restricted areas and created a one city concept. However, the new government inherited a colonial public service delivery system which was not designed to accommodate the huge influx of people flocking into the urban areas. As a result of this, the country has been facing acute service delivery challenges, as the service delivery framework inherited from the former colonial masters cannot cope with the increasing service demands, hence the relative failure by the generality of local authorities to provide services to the heterogeneous citizenry.

The dual nature of the governance system also impacted by the economic front, where the black majority relied much on wage employment to earn a living within their localities, while the white minority owned the means of production thereby, making the former reliant on the white colonial system, even after independence. The study also concluded that this situation contributed to the demise of the local authorities after independence due to the introduction of economic blueprints such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in 1996, by Bretton Woods institutions, which failed to yield the desired significant results, and burdened an already ailing economy. Efforts made by local governments to provide services immediately after independence can be attributed to the colonial administrative system, which emphasised issues of efficiency and meritocracy (the right person in the right job with the right qualifications) in the provision of services. Despite the existence of two separate systems, it was paramount to provide services to the people, irrespective of which part of this system they were in.

6.3.2 Influence of the colonial administrative processes on transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe

The colonial administrative processes included, but were not limited to, issues on how council business was conducted and activities and processes included budgeting, conducting of meetings, public consultations and intergovernmental relations, among others. From the results of the study, it was concluded that although the budgeting process had transformed over time, the essence of financial planning originated from the colonial administrative system, and issues of financial planning were at the epicentre of council planning. However, this system was elitist in nature, since it involved a few white minorities, who decided on the budgeting on behalf of everyone. This was later transformed over the years to become more inclusive. After

independence, the system brought together native councillors and ordinary citizens in the budgeting process, from the formulation through to the implementation phase. However, the budgeting philosophy remains hinged upon the colonial administrative systems.

The by-laws used by rural and urban local authorities are rooted in the colonial local governance system, with some having been enacted during the colonial era. These by-laws form the subsidiary legislation, which runs council affairs at the local level, although *intra vires* within the national principal legislative framework. An example is the Harare Hawkers bye law, enacted in 1952, during the colonial era, which was in force until July 2015, This bye law was revised to capture the dynamics of present day hawking activities but all along the 1952 subsidiary legislation was in force. This clearly reveals the extent of the influence of colonial administrative processes on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

The other issue is the manner in which meetings are conducted. Council meetings are conducted with full decorum being observed in the process. The Mayor and the councillors are supplied with regalia in the form of robes to wear during council meetings. During the colonial era, the urban councils business was conducted through various committees established in council to deal with specific issues and recommend to Full Council resolutions to be effected and adopted. This has been happening since the colonial administration, when the council was run using the committee system. This similarity between the present day local government administration and the colonial local government system shows the magnitude of the influence that the colonial administrative processes have had on the performance and the functions of the current local government system.

The relationship that the central government has with various local authorities also highlights the extent of the colonial influence on the manner in which these various levels of governments interact with each other. As was the case, in the colonial administrative system, the central government maintains the overarching position of supervising and directing the lower tiers of government in a bid to maintain a unitary system with central control. This system was inherited from the colonial administration, and directly influences the manner in which the current governmental system operates, as it retains overall control of the administrative process in the colonial administrative system.

Approximately 65 % of the study participants were of the view that central government interference in the administration of local councils have contributed significantly to the failure by the local authorities to discharge their duties and functions independently. The main reasons for this failure were the stifling of autonomy evident in the mandatory approval of ensuing year's budget of councils by the parent ministry, which may sometimes take up to four months, leading to the delays in the implementation of the following year's budget. About 25 % of the study participants noted that central government intervention in local government affairs is critical to ensuring a uniform local government system and protection of the consuming public

6.3.3. Influence of colonial behavioural systems on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe

Colonial behavioural systems have had considerable influence on the performance of current local authorities in Zimbabwe. The behavioural systems do have a bearing in the manner in

which local governments currently perform. Similarities are drawn from the way in which the Rhodesia Front used the traditional leadership to rule their subjects, which similar to the way in which the present government has placed the traditional leadership at the fore of party politics in order to gain political leverage. This is clearly reflected in the fact that the elected leadership represents the entirety of the population and there are always limited consultations on issues that affect the general citizenry. The service delivery framework resembles the traditional (colonial) method of conducting business. Most councils are still operating using colonial byelaws, with limited deviation from the traditional service delivery framework.

6.4 Recommendations

Following the data analysis and evaluation, the researcher identified distinct issues relating to colonial administrative systems and their influence on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Several conclusions were reached after a thorough analysis of data and the different and generalisable perspectives therein. Based on the conclusions drawn from the data analysed and evaluated, the researcher formulates a number of recommendations relating to the objectives of the study. These recommendations are the focus of the forthcoming sections of this study.

6.4.1 To explore how colonial organisational structures have influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe

There is need for the central government to seriously overhaul the local government system in order to shift from the traditional central and local government processes to ones that are all inclusive in nature, responding to emerging issues and current socio-economic dynamics associated with the management of council affairs. Other colonial structural arrangements that

improve the performance of sub-national governments including meritocracy and efficiency should form the cornerstone of an efficient service delivery system. The examination of colonial administrative structures revealed that the district administration at the local level wielded relative autonomous authority to levy, collect and administer development within their localities. This is an ideal setup, which should be adopted in the Zimbabwean Local government systems, where local authorities should be allowed the autonomy with regards to their finances and overall administration. The State should therefore “roll back” on the functions that were traditionally performed by the councils such as the collection of the vehicle licences and road tax and land tax, and fees should be given to council in order to augment the council finances. This development will go a long way to improving council performance in their mandate of service provision and development control, among other functions.

In terms of local government structure, the incumbent government should emulate the colonial structure not in terms of dualism, but in terms of its streamlined structure. Local authorities in post-independence Zimbabwe tend to have a bloated organizational structure, with limited performance on the ground, such that the larger share of the revenue collected is channelled towards salaries and allowances, with few resources committed towards service delivery. This development has seen most of the council workforce being underutilised whilst gobbling the revenue where a lean structure would have achieved the same with relatively lower resources and more efficiency. Needless to say, transparency, accountability and responsive local government systems form the cornerstone of an efficient, inclusive public service delivery system committed to improving the quality of life of its citizens.

6.4.2 To examine how the colonial administrative processes influenced the transformational administrative processes in post-independence Zimbabwe

The influence of the colonial administrative process on the various transformations instituted by the incumbent government since 1980 cannot be overemphasised. The British mode of administration has not been completely done away with by the ZANU PF-led government. There is therefore need to establish all inclusive council committees made up of elected councillors, business people, residents' associations, among other stakeholders, in order to make informed decisions based on the realities that communities are facing.

Secondly, there is need for the complete harmonisation of local government legislation with the 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution in order to ensure that all the activities operationalised by the enabling legislation such as Acts of Parliament are aligned with the constitutional framework. There is also need to ensure that the various by laws instituted before independence in 1980 are in sync with current socio-economic and political realities and take into account issues such as vending, urban slum development and upgrading among other issues of concern within an all-inclusive local government operational framework. There is also need to ensure that council business is conducted with decorum, in line with available council resources.

6.4.3 To evaluate the influence of colonial behavioural systems on the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe

From the foregoing discussions, it was established that the colonial behavioural systems have had an impact on the manner in which local authorities are performing in present day Zimbabwe, as evidenced by intergovernmental relations. During the colonial period, behavioural systems

were structured in a way that promoted the politics of patronage. Council appointed officials had to be affiliated to a certain political party, yet their roles and responsibilities were purely administrative. This resulted in serious conflicts of interest, as in most cases, administrative decisions were sacrificed in council at the altar of political expedience. This development has been seen in most urban local authorities as reflected in the aftermath of Operation *Murambatsvina*, which destroyed all informal settlements throughout the country, giving rise to over 200 000 internally displaced people who were either forced into squatter camps or to relocate to rural areas.

Based on research undertaken through documentary review, archival visits and the in depth interviews the study acknowledges that the colonial administrative system instituted before independent Zimbabwe did make a significant contribution to the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. The colonial structures were dual in nature with two separate systems, for whites and blacks respectively, which were designed and operated in such a way that blacks received limited service delivery because their stay in urban areas was not permanent. At independence, the dual city concept was abolished, resulting in the influx of the majority of the blacks into the urban areas. These areas, originally intended to accommodate a few people were now expected to cater for the increased population, and ultimately failure to adequately provide the public services to a heterogeneous citizenry (see Figure 6.1).

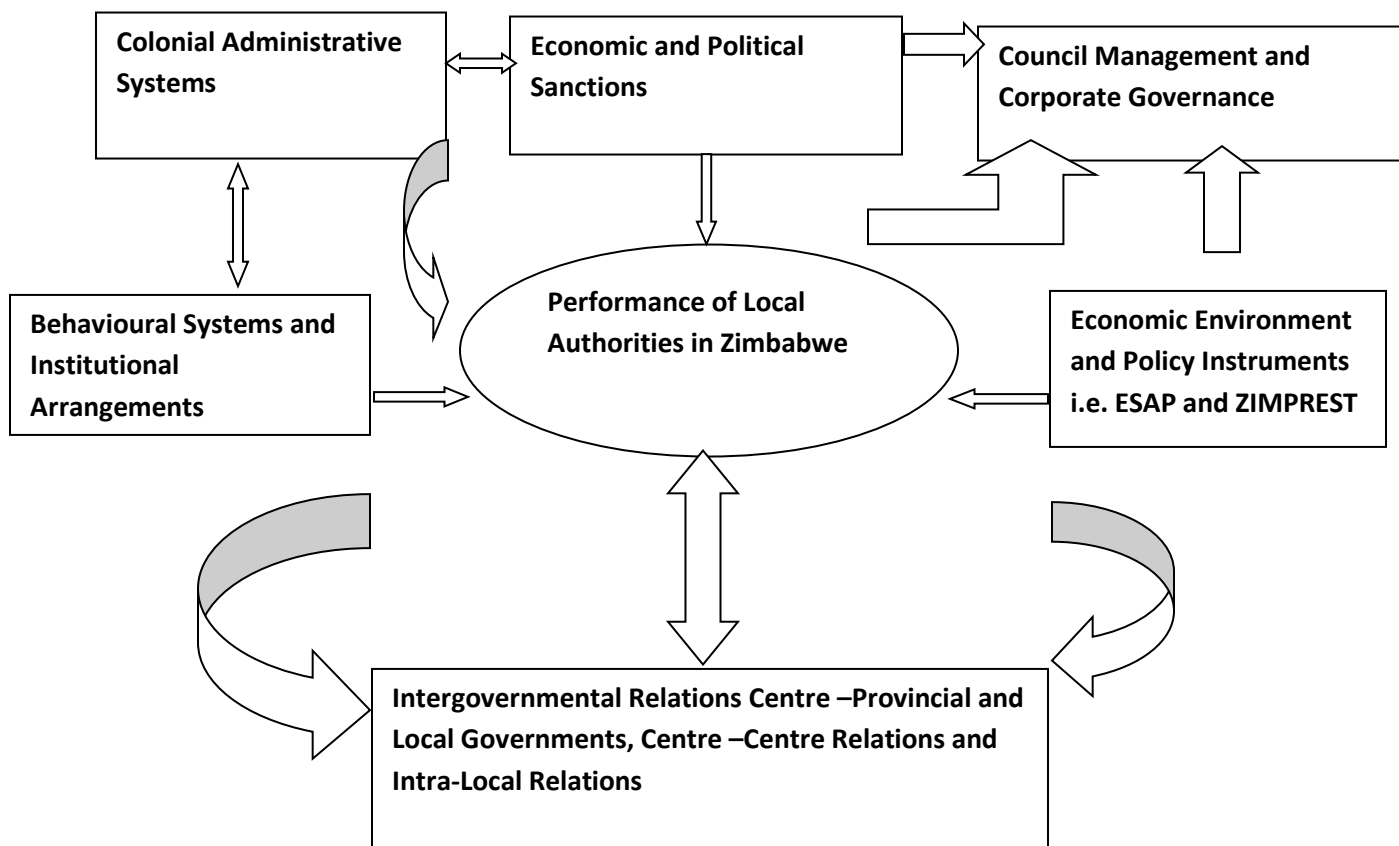


Figure 6.1: The Makunde Integrated Local Authority Performance Model

The colonial administrative system has had a direct influence on the manner in which councils conduct their business through the committee system. All councils, either rural or urban, operate through a committee system, which includes the Finance Committee, Health and Housing Committee, among others, as prescribed in the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15) and the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29: 13), which outline the functions of the committees, within a system borrowed from the colonial administrative system.

In essence, there is a direct correlation between the colonial administrative systems and the political and economic sanctions imposed by Britain and its Western allies on Zimbabwe and her people. These countries imposed sanctions, because of the perceived misgovernance and lack of the rule of law, which had a direct impact on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

In the Zimbabwean context, factors such as intergovernmental relations have a bearing on the manner in which local authorities perform. The performance of local authorities – the implementing agency – is directly related to their interaction with the centre. Issues of council management and corporate governance are critical pillars in the performance of local authorities, as they result in the efficient and optimum performance of the public service delivery system. In the same vein, the economic environment and the various unsuccessful policies – such as ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes) introduced by the government after independence under the guidance of the colonial masters who are stakeholders in the Bretton Woods Institutions such as the World Bank and IMF – also had an influence on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.

From the model that the researcher put forward, the performance of local authorities should be comprehensive, taking into account factors that influence the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Inasmuch as the colonial administrative systems have significantly contributed to the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe, other factors such as political and economic sanctions, intergovernmental relations, council management and corporate governance amongst other factors currently influencing the performance of local

authorities in Zimbabwe. Table 6.1 summarises the objectives of the study as well as the issues raised and the recommendations presented to address the issues.

Table 6.1 Summative Matrix of Objectives, Issues and Recommendations

Objective	Issue	Recommendation
<p>1. To explore how legacies of colonial organisational structures have influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe.</p>	<p>The existing government inherited a colonial public service delivery system which was not designed to accommodate the huge influx of people into the urban areas.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopt inclusive local government systems that take into account socio-economic and political dynamics. • Maintain other aspects of the colonial administrative system such as the meritocracy system. • ‘Roll-back’ some functions to local governments; develop and maintain more streamlined structures to minimise local government expenditure. • Improve the transparency and accountability of local governments.
<p>2. To examine how the legacies of colonial administrative processes influenced transformational administrative</p>	<p>After independence, the system brings together native councillors and ordinary citizens in the budgeting process from the formulation through to the implementation phase, but the budgeting philosophy remains hinged</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harmonise local government legislation in line with the 2013 Zimbabwe Constitution. • Adjust bye laws inherited from the colonial times so that they conform to local socio-economic

processes in post-independence Zimbabwe.	upon the colonial administrative systems; conducting council meetings with full decorum, consuming much resources; central government's overarching position of interfering in local government processes.	realities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limit local government spending by doing away with some activities and processes such as decorum during council procedures.
3. To evaluate the influence of legacies of colonial behavioural systems in the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe .	Traditional leaders used to mobilise political support for the local government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberalise local governments so that they become autonomous institutions.

Source: Author's creation (2016)

6.5 Contributions of the study

It is believed that the present study has made a contribution in several respects to the various categories of stakeholders, as highlighted hereafter.

6.5.1 To Policy Makers (*Legislature and Council*)

This study will be critical to the legislature, particularly the portfolio committee on local government, as it highlights the state of affairs with regard to the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. The study should enable the legislature, in its oversight role, to better monitor the service delivery performance of individual local authorities and the ministries responsible for

local government, all in the public interest. The information derived from this study should enable them to make informed decisions and inquiries about what is happening in the various local authorities around the country, and help them to align legislation with the country's prevailing socio-economic environment. Above all, this information should enhance accountability, as the separation of powers compels the legislature to hold the executive accountable.

6.5.2 To Academia and Research Fraternity

This present study constitutes an invaluable contribution to the existing body of knowledge and provides insights which will encourage debate and further research in the realm of local governance in particular and the public administration sector in general, in areas that need refinement. The study reveals the dynamics of colonial administrative systems and present day local government systems, assessing their performance in the above mentioned periods. This study also advances an integrated performance model, which pinpoints the various factors that negatively or positively influence the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. Other scholars can test how applicable the model is in contexts other than Zimbabwe's. This research can work as a benchmark of the perceived contributions of the colonial legacies to the present day administration of councils in Zimbabwe and beyond.

6.5.3 To the Researcher

The researcher benefitted immensely from the study as it gave him a global, regional and local appreciation of how colonial systems, processes and behavioural systems influenced the performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe. In addition, it honed the researcher's research

skills and experience, as he was directly conducted in depth interviews across the country and analysed the information obtained from there. Above all, this study helped the researcher to attain a Doctoral Degree, a significant academic achievement, enabling him to join the ranks of distinguished academicians and scholars across the country and beyond.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

The limitations to this study included the polarisation currently being experienced in the country amongst the various political parties, and interactions with respondents were undertaken in a sensitive political environment. The researcher had to walk a political tight rope as he tried to obtain information or the views of the key informants without ruffling political feathers. The busy schedule of the key informants proved to be a challenge but the researcher had to seek audience with them, even outside business circles. To address the challenge of political polarisation, the researcher explained that the research was an academic one, whose findings would be used for academic purposes. This helped to a large extent, as the majority of the respondents agreed to participate in the research.

Another limitation of note was the issue of time constraints. The researcher had limited time to undertake the study, a fact exacerbated by the fact that the researcher is a fully employed CEO of a council and had to work extra time, balancing a heavy workload with the demands of the study. The researcher addressed this constraint by planning his weekly activities, allocating time to undertake specific activities until the study was successfully completed.

6.7 Areas Recommended for Future Research

Given the limitations of the present study, there would be need for further research focussing on each individual factor identified in the model above, particularly the area of intergovernmental relations, since the dynamics of these relations and their influence on the current performance of local authorities in Zimbabwe is not well documented. As the researcher was conducting this research, there were emerging issues such as urban and rural vending, low income housing markets, cooperative government and sanctions, amongst others. Furthermore, there is need to unpack the council management systems and corporate governance and their contribution to the current performance of local authorities. In addition, there is need to focus on the legacies of post-colonial administrative systems and how they have influenced the current performance of local governments in Zimbabwe.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

KEY INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE STUDY

1. Tell me about your institution/organisation [When did it start, how it was structured in the colonial days, its vision, its mission, transformation (if any), new look vs. old look, etc.?.]

2. Tell me about your institution/organisation’s current contribution to service delivery [Roads, water, housing, health, education, environmental management, transport, etc.] ---

3. Tell me about how your institution was structured during the colonial period. To what extent did it fulfil its mandate ?-----

4. What administrative processes were engaged by your institution/organisation to ensure that operations and plans moved in line with the mandate?

[Public Consultation, Policy Making, Chamber Meetings, Budgeting, Byelaws, Taxation]

5. What changes, if any, were introduced in the local authority since 1980? What meanings do you attach to these changes?

6. Tell me about service delivery challenges you have faced as an institution/organisation over the past decade or so?-----

-
-
7. In your opinion, how do you rate the current performance of your institution/organisation in the following areas of service delivery?

Aspect	Rating					
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	N/A
Waste Management						
Housing Provision						
Road Construction						
Road Maintenance						
Primary Education						
Secondary Education						
Cemetery Provision						
Street Lighting						
Street Addressing						
Water Supply						
Sewerage						
Development Control						

Explain

8. Overall, what four critical aspects do you think are similar/different between colonial and post-colonial local government processes affecting this organisation today? -----

Similarities

Differences

9. Please provide further insights, if you have any, to this study

THANK YOU

Appendix 2: List of Interviewees

Date	Name	Place	Position
19 April 2015	Charles Katiza	Harare	Retired Secretary Ministry of Local Government
24 April 2015	Cainos Chingombe	Harare City Council	Human Capital Director
27 April 2015	Mr Crispen Musekiwa	Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe	Programme Officer
02 May 2015	Mr Levison Mutekede	Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe	Secretary-General
24 July 2015	Mr Mwedzi	Gweru City Council	Director of Finance
28 July 2015	Mr Jerry Gotora	Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe	Alderman /Chairperson Parks and Wild life
15 June 2015	Mr Chakaipa	Gweru	Retired Deputy Secretary Ministry of Local Government
16 June 2015	Mr Chakunda	Gutu	Senior Lecturer /Fmr Admin Officer Ministry of Local Government
12 July 2015	Mr Moffat Ndhlovu	Bulawayo	Former Town Clerk Bulawayo City Council
20 May 2015	Councillor Thaba Moyo	Bulawayo	Former Mayor Bulawayo City Council
27 May 2015	Alderman Japhet	Bulawayo	Former Executive Mayor Bulawayo City

	Ndabeni Ncube		Council
20 August 2015	Mrs Nkuziwalela	Masvingo	Ministry of Local Government
23 August 2015	Mrs Moyo	Runde	Runde Rural District Council
30 August 2015	Councillor Ben Mataga	Mberengwa	Mberengwa Rural District Council
30 August 2015	Mr Mashavakure	Mberengwa Rural District Council	Chief Executive Officer
5 September	Mr Mabika	Gweru	Lecturer, Midlands State University
5 September	Mr Mutema	Gweru	Gweru City Council
16 September 2015	Mr Obert Muzawazi	Mutare City Council	Town Clerk
22 September 2015	Councillor Matutu	Mwenezi Rural District Council	Chairperson of Social Service Committee
22 September 2015	Alderman Mazara	Mwenezi	Former Council Chairperson Mwenezi RDC
19 June 2015	Mr P Munyati	Binga	Administration Officer
15 June 2015	Dr Innocent Chirisa	Harare	Senior Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe

15 June 2015	Mr Takawira Mubvami	Municipal Development Partnership	Senior Programmes Officer
16 June 2015	Mr Calvin Fambirai	Zimbabwe Residents Forum	Chairperson
22 June 2015	Professor Kadmiel Wekwete	Pro Vice Chancellor	Midlands State University
24 June 2015	Mrs Unity Jaji	Gweru	Director of Housing and Community Services
28 June 2015	Mr Charles Mazorodze	Mwenezi	Consultant
16 July 2015	Ms Clara Banda	Epworth Local Board	Administration Officer
19 July 2015	Mr Naison Machingauta	Bindura Town Council	Chamber Secretary
22 September 2015	Miss Pretty Chabuda	Mutoko	Governance Officer
28 September	Mr Peter Sigauke	Mutoko	Chief Executive Officer
10 October 2015	Mr Ronnie Sibanda	Gwanda Rural District	Chief Executive Officer

Appendix 3: Schedule of Colonial Salary Grants

SALARY GRANTS (based on a percentage of the salary of approved secretaries)				
	1964	1963	1962	1961
	£	£	£	£
Belingwe East	—	146	128	113
Bikita	—	—	36	—
Chikwanda	83	—	48	—
Chiota	—	101	—	—
Chitowa	—	17	—	—
Chiweshe	156	21	—	—
Dewure	53	47	—	—
Dowa	—	—	120	—
Godhlawayo	—	60	—	—
Gutu	120	66	60	—
Gwaai	144	100	—	—
Matobo South	—	20	—	—
Msengezi	42	175	—	—
Ndanga	—	70	—	—
Ntabazinduna	—	96	96	—
Sabi/Narira	96	—	14	—
Silobela	183	—	131	132
South Nata	—	53	50	—
Tuli	32	—	—	—
Uzumba	276	—	—	112
Wedza	202	38	—	—
Ziyambe	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	(11) 1,387	(14) 1,010	(9) 683	(3) 357
PERCENTAGE GRANTS (based on 50 per cent. of expenditure by councils)				
(a) Agriculture	1964	1963	1962	1961
	£	£	£	£
Inyati	123	—	—	182
Lower Gwelo	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	(1) 123	—	—	(1) 182
(b) Animal Husbandry	1964	1963	1962	1961
	£	£	£	£
Ntabazinduna	82	—	41	—
Que Que	—	—	700	—
TOTAL	(1) 82	—	741	—
(c) Forestry	1964	1963	1962	1961
	£	£	£	£
Chitowa	12	—	—	—
TOTAL	(1) 12	—	—	—
(d) Health	1964	1963	1962	1961
	£	£	£	£
Belingwe East	209	789	900	550
Bikita	348	383	—	—
Chimanda	—	203	—	—
Chiota	—	—	61	—
Dowa	9	6	7	—
Gwaai	207	189	357	—
Lower Gwelo	—	649	569	—
Matobo South	—	—	11	—
Mutasa South	—	20	13	—
Mzingwane	27	—	—	—
Rowa/Chinyauwhera	76	—	—	—
Mzinyantini	65	—	—	—
Ndanga	1,064	629	689	827
Sabi/Narira	503	528	27	—
Silobela	90	38	—	—
South Nata	261	372	888	—
Tuli	111	242	294	220
Wankie	449	645	626	189
Wedza	286	461	331	28
Ziyambe	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	(14) 3,705	(14) 5,154	(5) 4,962	(2) 1,814

Source: Report of the Chairman of the Native Councils Board 1958, Government Printers

Salisbury

Appendix 4: Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Great Britain

