An interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Management in effective social service delivery

Case of Mutare City Council, Zimbabwe

By

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Key Words

New Public Management; Social Service Delivery; Good governance; Mutare City Council;

Zimbabwe

ABSTRACT

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Local authorities, if well managed, are a key public sector institution indispensable for effective and efficient service delivery which in turn is critical towards meeting Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at local level. In public sector administration since the 1990s, the Bretton Woods Institutions and allies encourage developing countries to adopt New Public Management (NPM) to improve public sector performance, including more effective service delivery. This thesis interrogates the adequacy of New Public Management (NPM) in service delivery using the Mutare City Council in Zimbabwe as a case analysis. The thesis answers the fundamental question of why internationally recommended NPM falls short in promoting good governance and effective service delivery in Zimbabwe in general, and the city of Mutare in specific. At the heart of this thesis is the crisis of service delivery in Mutare, and the practical failure of NPM as an antidote, against the background of a complex socio-political context and economic depression.

This thesis is informed by the theory of governance, as augmented – and also contradicted – by NPM as implemented by Mutare City Council.

To gather empirical data, this research employed the qualitative research methodology. A qualitative methodology entailed in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The researcher interviewed the mayor and ten councilors from Mutare City Council, two community opinion leaders, two public administration scholars, and leaders of three residents' associations and two other civil society groups. The researcher also used participant observation by attending one full council meeting and a council budget consultation meeting organised by Mutare City Council.

In essence, it emerged consistently in this research that Mutare City Council is marred by institutional, administrative and operational challenges which impede implementation of NPM. Implementation failures include corruption and meagre political will.

There were also problems, however, in applying NPM in the Zimbabwe context, which especially in Mutare led to policy inconsistencies. There was a lack of sufficient monetary and human resources due to the economic crisis plaguing the country, and the council's institutional capacity shortfalls. There was also an intrinsic disharmony between NPM and local socio-political processes, including the political contestation between the opposition-led local council and the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (Zanu PF)-led central government. The result was a fractional, patchy, piecemeal roll-out of NPM. The net effect of NPM's failure, exacerbated by a dire socio-political and economic crisis has been a municipal service-delivery crisis characterised by irregular refuse collection, poor housing, poor sewer reticulation, erratic health provision, poor roads, acute shortage of street lighting and local traffic lights, acute shortage of burial spaces, acute shortage of recreational spaces, and an informal traders' crisis.

This thesis concludes that implementation of NPM would have to result from much stronger political will, in order to achieve more effective service delivery in Zimbabwe at large and Mutare specifically. There is a need to stimulate political will towards improved implementation of NPM, in its holistic sense, and not as a piecemeal process. This should be accompanied by dislodging the petty version of party politics that have debilitated the running of Mutare City Council. There should be platforms for meaningful citizen engagement and participation in local governance processes. In addition, NPM should be buttressed with a comprehensive policy and legislative framework that adds to its authenticity and legitimacy. There should be adequate financing. All these could reinforce Mutare City Council's holistic implementation of NPM reforms. Such measures will nurture and inculcate a culture of transparency, accountability, rule of law, and efficiency in service delivery as well as public administration and urban governance at large.

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University of Western Cape
Cape Town

Declaration

I declare that, "*An interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Management in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City Council, Zimbabwe*" is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Phillip Nyasha Fungurai   **November 2019.**

Signed……………………………………………………………

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Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
AFDB	Africa Development Bank
A.U	African Union
CCJP-M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace - Mutare
CMRRT	Combined Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ECA	Economic Commission of Africa
IDAZIM	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for Zimbabwe
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
LGA	Local Government Authority
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC – A	Movement for Democratic Change – Alliance
M-DATA	Mutare Dialogue and Technology for Accountability
MEAL	Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa Zimbabwe
MTP	Medium Term Plan
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PACDEF	Peacebuilding and Capacity Development Foundation
PDI	Partnership for Development Initiative
PR	Public Relations

RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
ROL	Resident Opinion Leader
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMS	Short Message Service
SOG	School of Government
SPB	State Procurement Board
TOR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNCHS	United Nations Commission on Human Settlements
UN HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UMRRT	United Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust
UWC	University of Western Cape
WB	World Bank
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1. Introduction

This study interrogates the adequacy of New Public Management (NPM) as a panacea to the social service delivery crisis in Zimbabwe, employing Mutare City Council as a unit of analysis. The research ripostes the conundrum of why a recommended international stimulus for public sector reform like NPM has fallen short in promoting good governance and social service delivery in Zimbabwe in general, and city of Mutare in specific. Further, the research unpacks and explores why, NPM, a concept gravid with attractive public sector reform strategies have failed to nurture efficiency, transparency and accountability as well as promote development in the city of Mutare. At the heart of this research, is the crisis of social service delivery in Mutare, and practical efficacy of NPM as an antidote to the same, against the background of a complex socio-political context. The theory of good governance and New Public Management framework informed this research. The study adopted a qualitative methodology making use of in-depth structured interviews for data gathering. To generate empirical findings for the thesis, the researcher interviewed purposively selected city council authorities (mayor and Councillors), public administration and urban governance academia, civil society organisations members as well as Residents Associations in Mutare. Secondary data was also used through review of related literature and analysis of the same. This included the organisational service and mandate charter for Mutare City Council; newspaper articles on the contemporary social service situation in Mutare as well as legislation on urban administration in Zimbabwe. Ethical considerations like informed consent and confidentiality of respondents were taken into cognisance whilst conducting the study. This thesis is divided into 5 chapters.

The first chapter introduces the essence of the thesis. In this regard, the chapter delineates the main thrust of the research, purpose, main objectives, and the central research question accompanied by sub research questions. Further, this first chapter also discusses the central debate of social service delivery and New Public Management in the context of the city of Mutare, Zimbabwe. This is accompanied with a delineation of the statement that prompted this research, significance of the research, assumptions and general structure to be employed in this thesis.

The next section of the thesis proffers a conceptualisation of key variables in the research. The key words include New Public Management (NPM); social service delivery; good governance; and Mutare City Council.

1.1 Working Definitions

The key terms in this research are, New Public Management (NPM); Social Service Delivery and good governance. For the purposes of this study, the terms are defined below;

1.1.1 New Public Management

Propounded by Christopher Hood in 1991 (Hood and Jackson 1991:12) the term New Public Management has been a concept of much heated debate amongst public administration and governance scholars in the global south. As noted by Polidano (1999 :2) NPM "has come to dominate thinking about public sector reform by practitioners and academics alike". Triangulating varying conceptualisations, Batley and Larbi (2004) contend that NPM can be clustered into two components. The first component entails "managerial improvement and restructuring which includes decentralization, disaggregation and downsizing". In the same school of thought, Holmes and Shand (1995 :551-578) described NPM as "a good managerial approach", arguing that an efficient managerial approach is result-oriented (efficiency, effectiveness and service quality). The other component of NPM points out to markets and competition which includes outsourcing, contracting out and adopting private sector techniques of management (ibid).

Whilst there is a generic and universally agreed definition of New Public Management (NPM), its implementation varies with contexts, political dynamics and governance regime of implementing institutions. Van Der Sluis, Reezigt et al in Guohua and Yusuph (2017: 33) defined NPM as the;

> ...introduction of ideas and techniques of the private sector such as outcome-based accountability and market driven management into the public sector aiming at improving efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector, enhancement of responsiveness of organizations to a citizen, reduction of public expenditures, and the improvement of managerial accountability.

This implies that the "new" in New Public Management simply entails a paradigm shift from the traditional approach of public sector management to an amended system aimed at improving social service delivery at both municipal and central government level. In a nutshell, according to Rabakula (2014: 87), "managing public sector in private sector styles, is what is being considered as a new public management".

In agreement, Pollitt (1995:1) referred to NPM as a concept and systematic creed and syndrome of unique management   styles and practises adopted from the private sector and implemented in the public-sector for-profit purposes and enhancing performance. Osborne and Gaebler (1992: 325) explicitly describe NPM as "entrepreneurial government".

Deviating from a profit and function oriented definition, Warioba and Letisia, in Guohua and Yusuph, (2017: 33) perceived and conceptualized NPM as the incorporation of sound governance principles such as participation, accountability, transparency, coordination and decentralization approaches of decision-making in the management of public sector institutions including Local Government Authorities (LGA) with the aim of attaining efficient delivery of public service. In the same line of reasoning, Zungura (2014: 246) holds that the main characteristics of New Public Management includes but is not limited to performance appraisal; accountability; commissioning out; devolution, e-governance and subcontracting. From this, it is evident that NPM and good governance have common tenets. Kickert (1997: 733) abstracts the characteristics of NPM into eight main principles – reinforcement of central government monitoring function; decentralising and deconcentrating power to rigid bureaucracy; "ensuring performance' control accountability; improving the management of human resources: optimizing information and technology; developing competition and choice; improving the quality of regulation; and providing responsive services". All the aforementioned conceptualisations of NPM shall be central in interrogating the adequacy of NPM in promoting social service delivery in Mutare, Zimbabwe.

1.1.2 Social Service Delivery

According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Mutare - CCJP-M (2015), social service delivery refers to the holistic and comprehensive approach of providing services that is focused on closing the gaps between needs, policy and performance to ensure the social service needs of a population are met in a responsive, accountable, and sustainable manner. The Commission argues that, for service delivery to be effective it has to be, decentralized demand-driven, gender sensitive, accountable, and participatory. This dovetails well with the aims and objectives of New Public Management as postulated in Section 1.1.1 of this thesis above.

In Zimbabwe, it is the mandate of local governance authorities like the city council of Mutare to provide social services to rights holders and residents. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe (Urban Councils Act Chapter 29:15), social services in the context of Zimbabwe include, safe portable water, waste management, refuse collection, sewer reticulation, health service provision, public works, and local infrastructure development. It is the constitutional obligation and mandate of Urban Councils/municipal authorities like the Mutare City Council to provide these afore-mentioned social services. This is affirmed by Sifile, Madzorera and Chavunduka (2015:56) who posit that, "Urban local authorities are mandated to provide municipal services including water, sanitation, electricity, basic health care, affordable housing and education". Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the terms "social services" and "municipal services" will be used interchangeably. All these services should be provided undergirded by the principle of good governance. The term is conceptualised below.

1.1.3 Good governance

Good governance is a critical element in guaranteeing social service delivery. It is a fundamental principle advanced at large by the Bretton Woods Institutions as a key cornerstone to development, democracy and social service delivery. In the conceptual lens of Williams and Young (1994) cited in Ekundayo (2017: 155) good governance is aimed at "achieving efficiency in public service delivery, encouraging competition, privatisation, civil service reforms, decentralisation, out-sourcing of services to key private suppliers among others". Good governance, therefore, is a governance theory that sets some basic principles according to which good government, whatever its form, must be run.

Such principles include accountability, control, responsiveness, transparency, public participation, economy, efficiency (Ekundayo, (2017: 155). These same principles also constitute the core values of Mutare City Council (Mutare City Council Client Charter, 2016).

Good governance is thus a syndrome of many processes and concepts determined by different international governance and development actors. For example, the United Nations Development Programme -UNDP (2014b) posits that good governance encapsulates legitimacy, voice, participation, consensus orientation, strategic vision, enhanced public sector performance particularly with regards to responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strict adherence to the rule of law.

In the conceptual lens of the World Bank -WB (1994) the good governance phenomena involve, voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, effectiveness, competence, and maximal anti-corruption action. For the African Union (AU) in its 2019 "African Governance Report: Promoting African Union Shared Values", good governance entails, sovereignty, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, equality, equity, efficiency, and participation. From the above tenets of good governance denoted, it is clear that there are common threads between NPM and good governance. Both phenomena are about facilitating and enhancing the efficiency, and performance of public sector institutions as well as social service delivery.

1.1.4 Mutare City Council

Mutare City Council is a statutory body which was established in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe (Amendment 20 of 2013, Chapter 14 section 274 and the Urban Councils Act Chapter 29:15) and is charged with the responsibility of providing services to the residents in its area of jurisdiction (Mutare City Council, 2016). Mutare City Council situated in the Eastern Highlands, comprises 19 wards represented by 19 elected Councillors (Mutare City Council, 2016). Out of the 19 councillors in Mutare City Council, 18 are from the Movement for Democratic Change-Alliance (MDC-A) and one is an independent candidate. Zanu-PF, which constitutes the central government lost all council seats in the July 30th Zimbabwe harmonised elections. According to the city of Mutare clients charter, the council subscribes dearly to values of transparency, accountability, equity, inclusiveness and responsiveness. The city of Mutare was identified as the ideal case for analysis in this study because it is pre-dominated by MDC-A, the opposition political party which proposed, advanced and implemented NPM principles ahead of most cities in Zimbabwe.

For example, commenting on devolution which is a key principle of NPM, the MDC aptly points out that, "we fought for devolution and it is now a cardinal principle of the new Constitution and we are committed to making sure it works for the people" (MDC, 2013: 6) whilst Zanu-PF strongly opposes devolution of power amongst other NPM strategies (Muchadenyika, 2014:8). Further, Mutare brings out the much-heated debate of how politics between Zanu pf which constitutes the central government and the MDC-A run local authority has impacted on social service delivery and impinged NPM efforts.

Additionally, the researcher was born and bred in Mutare, an opportune advantage which added value to the research through contextual knowledge, deeper understanding of the problem, and a neutral apolitical perspective to engage in a comprehensive study. Hence by using the city of Mutare as a case analysis, this study interrogates the adequacy of NPM in promoting social service delivery.

1.2 Background to the study

Zimbabwe at large is plagued by a social service delivery crisis whose epicentre is an urban governance and public administration crisis. The city of Mutare in specific has not been left unscathed from the same crisis. The adoption and comprehensive implementation of effective urban governance models is detrimental to social service delivery and wider sustainable development in any developmental democratic state.

The practice and study of public administration has long included questions of efficiency, effectiveness, and economy. The New Public Management (NPM) movement argues that government should be run like a business and that entrepreneurial- based techniques should be utilized in an effort to enhance government performance, efficiency and effectiveness of social service delivery (Van Der Sluis, Reezigt et al in Guohua and Yusuph, 2017: 33). Residents from the City of Mutare as rights holders, have several expectations which require concerted efforts for their realization.

One such expectation is improved service delivery which includes provision of water, road maintenance, sewer reticulation and maintenance, coupled with improved quality of service at council service counters. Municipal service delivery in Mutare is not only deplorable and poor but very complex owing to its politicisation and divided efforts in the implementation of NPM to resolve the municipal service delivery issues. It is against this background that, one seeks to interrogate the adequacy of the NPM in social service delivery. The focus of this study is reconciling the NPM perspective with normative considerations applicable to local government practice.

According to the 2016 Social audit report service delivery in the city of Mutare was deplorable and there was virtually no communication between residents and Rate Payers and the City Council. This raised suspicion and mistrust which made the service provider too crippled to cope with demand for improved services as residents would not part with their money (United Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust - UMRRT, 2016).

The council had also become more secretive in their dealings while residents demanded transparency and access to information as they would pay for services only when they are made aware of budgets acquittals, tender issues and also improved transparency on governance matters. It is against this background that this thesis explores social service delivery issues in Mutare viz a viz adequacy of NPM in redressing the same.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The problem that prompted this research is the social service delivery crisis in the city of Mutare. The crisis is manifest through poor roads network, irregular refuse collection, health service crisis in local clinics, corruption at the local council and poor water supply in the city. Muchadenyika (2014: 4) contends that Zimbabwe is plagued with a governance problem and urban crisis rearing its ugly face through poor water supply, housing problems, electricity, medicines, and transport problems. The core of this problem is an urban governance and administration crisis and piecemeal adoption of a concept to solve the crisis yet partially implementing the concept. The research seeks to answer the following problematic questions, "Is NPM an adequate panacea to the social service delivery challenges in Mutare?"; "what is the practical efficacy of NPM against the socio-political context in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large?"; The problem to be addressed is why, the NPM, a concept gravid with attractive public sector reform strategies have failed to nurture efficiency, transparency and accountability as well as promote development in the city of Mutare. Further, the social service delivery concerns of residents in Mutare are caught between the politics of local city authorities which are predominantly aligned to the opposition political party, Movement for Democratic Change – Alliance (MDC-A) and the central government which is predominantly constituted by the ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU -PF). The net effect of this has been problematic social service delivery and impingement of all efforts to remedy the predicament.

In the words of Muchadenyika (2014: 5), urban local authorities form the core of public services management at the local level and the management of urban areas is a key component of local level democracy. It therefore becomes problematic if such a key detriment of social service delivery and greater sustainable development is impinged. The other problem that prompted this research is inherent in the NPM concept. Mongkol (2011: 35-43) categorically states that whilst NPM has been popular amongst developing countries, it has several criticisms.

This raises some concerns on why municipal authorities in dire economic circumstances are adopting the concept. Many academic critics such as Merrifield (2012), Mongkol (2011), Khodr (2013), and Ekundayo (2017) argued that most areas of public service and administration have unique political, economic, constitutional, institutional and social scopes and these render the applicability and adequacy of NPM contestable. This brings to fore the problematic question of why Mutare City Council chose NPM?

1.4 Significance of the study

Zimbabwean cities are plagued with a social service delivery crisis that has been worsened by uninformed copying and pasting of reform strategies like the NPM. This research is justified in that it seeks to interrogate the adequacy of NPM as a panacea to the social service delivery predicament in Zimbabwe using the city of Mutare as a case analysis. Khodr (2013) cited in Chigudu (2014: 46) posited that, "there has been no systematic evaluation of NPM outcomes". This proves latitude for this study to proffer an in-depth enquiry into the adequacy of NPM in ushering social service delivery. Further, the transfer of governmental responsibilities to market-based approaches and mechanisms, such as managed competition and privatisation, is now at the forefront of public management reform discussions both in academic and agency settings. Thus, the experiences of practice can inform our understanding of the context and validity of the current theoretical debate surrounding NPM. As well as its practical application in the context of the city of Mutare in Zimbabwe.

The conception of New Public Management had emerged in response to the needs of the developed nations. At first, the governments of the developed nations (United States of America, and the United Kingdom) based on basically capitalist economy had developed this new model of public sector management and had applied this in their own state mechanism. The Bretton Woods Institutions like World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had prescribed the developing countries to adopt this new model in the reforms of public sector management. The WB and the IMF imposed some programmes such as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on the developing countries. Taking into cognisance, the economic character of developing countries like Zimbabwe, topical questions emerge which justify this research and interrogation of NPM. Such topical questions include, "Is NPM model relevant to the needs of the developing countries where there are the huge economic and political lags?"; and "Is it fit for the socio-economic conditions of the developing nations?". It is against this background and questions that this research is justified and significant.

Further, this study adds value to practices and strategies of NPM application in the public sector in Zimbabwe and other developing countries. As has been argued by Chigudu (2014: 43) studies on NPM, advances literature for developing countries while generating policy recommendations required to heed to calls for administrative reforms from supranational bodies like the Southern African Development Community (SADC); the African Union (AU); International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU).

1.5 Research Aim and Objectives
The research aims to achieve the following objectives;

i. To provide an assessment of the adequacy of NPM in combating social service delivery challenges in Zimbabwe at large, and Mutare specifically.

ii. To provide a framework of the role of NPM in social service delivery in Mutare.

iii. To locate and reconcile NPM with the socio-political configuration and context in Zimbabwe.

iv. To proffer suggestions and recommendations on improving social service delivery in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large.

1.6 Research Questions
To achieve the afore-mentioned objectives, the central guiding questions of this study are the following;

i. What is the significance of NPM in social service delivery in Mutare?

ii. How adequate is NPM in ushering social service delivery in Mutare?

iii. What are the drivers of poor social service delivery in Mutare?

iv. What are the recommendations to improve social service delivery in Mutare using NPM?

1.7 Research Assumptions
The assumption and hypothesis of this research is that, the social service delivery crisis in Zimbabwe is located in a socio-political context which affects the adequacy of NPM in guaranteeing effective social service delivery. NPM is not a home-grown model but rather borrowed concept which needs to be contextualized to the political configuration and dynamic social service delivery needs of the people of Mutare and Zimbabwe at large. Redressing this problem, requires re-constructing NPM to suit and dovetail with Zimbabwe's social service delivery problems, needs and politics.

1.8 Thesis Structure

This thesis constitutes of five chapters. The first chapter focuses on introducing the research topic, as well as the primary focus of the research. It also discusses, the background against which the research was conducted coupled with the problem that prompted the research. The hypothesis and general assumptions of the research are also discussed.

Chapter two of the thesis is focused on the review of literature related to the key topics under study. The literature is broken down from the broader concepts to the narrowed down concepts ranging from NPM in Mutare, good governance, and social service delivery in the context of Mutare, Zimbabwe. The theoretical framework informing the study is also unpacked in this chapter.

The methodology adopted by the research forms the crux of chapter three. This includes discussion of data gathering methods employed in the research as well as data sources. Sampling methods used to identify key respondents and the key respondents themselves are detailed in this chapter. Further, the chapter includes, the ethical statements, delimitation of study area, and limitations of the study. Similar to all the chapters, the chapter is opened with an introduction and closed with a conclusion.

Chapter four presents the research findings of this study at length and in depth. The data is also, interpreted and analysed in this chapter. The chapter lays out the data as per emerging trends and themes, considering the research adopted a qualitative methodology. The last chapter of the thesis (Chapter 5) constitutes of the conclusions and recommendations that came out of the research.

1.9 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, l focused on introducing the research, its main purposes and objectives. I discussed the background within which the study is located, tracing Urban governance and public administration atmosphere in Zimbabwe and narrowing it down to NPM in the city of Mutare. Further, l also highlighted the assumption taken by the research and the research methodology thereof. The next chapter reviews related literature to NPM in Mutare, NPM in other African countries, Social service delivery crisis in Zimbabwe at large and Mutare in specific as well as the theoretical framework of good governance that informs this research. The NPM theoretical approach is also discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

Extensive literature on NPM and social service delivery based on different contexts and foci has been written and published. This study did a thorough review of NPM and Urban govern governance coupled with Public administration scholars literature like, Merrifield (2012), Ekundayo (2017); Jessop (1995), Blair (2003); Hood (1991); Muchadenyika (2014; 2015; 2016); Madzivanyika (2012); Dibaba (2016); Marumahoko (2011); Kamate (2006); Eagle (2005); Hughes (2003); Rosenbloom and Kravchuck (2002); DeLeon and Denhardt (2000); Boyne (1998); World Bank (1997); UNDP (1999); Björk and Johansson (2001); Bland (2011); Bowen (2009); Chatiza (2010) ; Chigudu (2014); and Chikerema (2013);

This chapter focuses on the social service delivery crisis in Mutare, NPM in Mutare, Zimbabwe, legacies and experiences of NPM in other African countries, the theory of good governance vis a viz NPM in Mutare, as well as contemporary challenges of urban governance, social service delivery and NPM in Zimbabwe at large and in the city of Mutare in specific.

2.1 Unpacking and Understanding NPM

In the words of Hugh (2003), NPM, entails a more market-oriented running of the public sector where the market is the allocator of resources and people participate meaningfully in determining their own welfare. Blair (2000) discusses how NPM affects the practice of public administration, showing the potential for altering the balance between administrators, political leaders, and the public. On the other hand, Pollitt (2000) states that insight into the threats and advantages of the NPM approach to public administration could possibly be gained from the analysis of the implementation of the movement's techniques. NPM argues for a move away from a focus on bureaucratic administration to a more customer-oriented and flexible management style grounded in private sector approaches to service delivery and administration (Hood, 1991). Taken further by Osborne and Gaebler (1992), Barzelay (1997), and Thompson and Jones (1994), decentralization to enhance customer service and improve service quality were added to the description of NPM's character. Becoming more efficient and responsive by using market approaches has become the cornerstone of NPM (Hood, 2002; Kettl, 1997; Eggers and O'Leary, 1995; and Osborne and Gaebler, 1992).

However, it is imperative to note that, not all public administration scholars agree with the merits of NPM. Some scholars contend that, NPM poses a threat to good governance and democracy. Hood (1991) in Eagle (2005: 19) postulates that, the continuation and expansion of the reinventing government and NPM movements raise fundamental questions for public administration scholars and practitioners. For example, NPM's goal of embedding economic values of business and the market into the activities of government is challenged by many critics. Opponents of NPM view entrepreneurial practices as a threat to democratic governance (Adams, 2000; Kelly, 1998; and Terry, 1998). Terry (1998) sees a direct conflict with the promotion and protection of democratic theory in the context of an entrepreneurial tone of government that is market driven and competitively motivated. Central to the argument of critiques of NPM is the concern that the market-based model of public management, with its emphasis on entrepreneurialism and satisfying individual clients' self-interest, is incompatible with democratic accountability, citizenship, and an emphasis on collective action for the public interest. Furthermore, the market model places little or no value on democratic ideals such as fairness and justice" (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 132).

Moe and Gilmour (1995) argue that the market element of NPM is inappropriate since the two sectors, public and private, are derived from and based upon completely different legal doctrines. Critics also challenge that the movement has limited value and negative implications for democracy, because it neglects issues such as accountability, the issue of separating politics and administration, the difficulty in attaining social equilibrium among citizens/consumers, and some of the contradictions in trying to run government like a business.

All the above concerns are hinched on the pre-eminent fact the success of NPM is contingent on contextual factors like economic and political institutions, political regime and will, coupled with socio-economic and cultural context. It is therefore important to look at NPM in the context of the City of Mutare, which is the focus area for this research.

2.2 NPM in Zimbabwe

According to Chigudu, Zimbabwe began to implement administrative reforms based on the new public management in the mid-1990s in the public sector (Chigudu, 2014: 43). He further sites that, this was owing to the need to change from colonial administrative structures to post-colonial structures (ibid). This means that New Public Management concepts like citizen engagement, citizen participation, decentralisation, devolution, accountability, and efficiency form the bedrock of Zimbabwe's Urban governance and Public administration legislative framework since independence.

Such legislative framework includes, Zimbabwe Prime-Minister's Directive of 1984, the Provincial and Administration Act of 1985, Urban-Councils Act of 1996, Rural Councils Act of 1996, the Traditional Leaders Act of 2000, the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe as well as the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) of 2013-2018. All this form a powerful tool for the comprehensive roll out of NPM. However, whilst NPM is comprehensively laid out implicitly and explicitly on paper, its implementation in reality has been elusive, passive and rhetoric in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large.

This school of thought is affirmed by Chigudu (2014: 48) who contends that, an ordering of 29 Sub-Saharan states by stages of Civil Service Reform efforts in the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) report (2010:45) shows that, Zimbabwe is a "hesitant reformer" in Group C, whilst "Group A has advanced reformers, Group B committed reformers, Group C hesitant reformers and Group D beginners and nonstarters". In this ranking, Zimbabwe ranked the lowest amongst all Southern African Development Community (SADC) states. This exhibits the limited political will in Zimbabwe to adequately apply and implement NPM. He further argues that, efforts to usher Performance management as part of NPM failed because, civil servants like public administrators and Councillors perceived it as a whip of control by management instead of improving performance. The NPM processes in Zimbabwe was also ushered through outsourcing and tendering as the government sought to improve efficiency through competitiveness in public services provision (Chigudu, 2014:48). Chigudu opines that, outsourcing and tendering was not effectively fruitful because the processes were impinged by corruption (ibid). The Herald, a State-owned newspaper (7 August 2014) sited in Chigudu, (2014: 48) noted that the Minister of Finance and Economic Development described the State Procurement Board as the 'capital city of corruption'. This is supported by Hughes (2003; 149-164) who contends that, in some cases the tender process can cost more than the saving achieved through competition and corruption.

Contrary to the Economic Commission for Africa, 2010 report, scholars like Chigudu (2014) demonstrate that the Government of Zimbabwe tried emphatically to implement NPM but failed due to other reasons outside political will. According to Chigudu (2014: 47) the NPM programme failed because, financial material resources, and skilled human resources were not readily available to sustain the programme.

Some public administration scholars argue that, whilst NPM is an adequate tool for promoting social service delivery, it has failed because it is not well funded by the Ministry of local government. This makes believable the claim that the Zanu PF dominated central government sabotages NPM strategies by the MDC-A run local authorities. This is affirmed by Bland (2011: 341) who contends that the local governance system in Zimbabwe is characterized with political polarisation between MDC controlled city councils and Zanu PF controlled central government. Hence this polarization has amounted to sabotaging of all opposition local efforts to promote effective social service delivery by delaying funding to local councils.

It is evident that urban governance through local councils is an indispensable driver of sustainable development and social service delivery and any democratic government would fund such initiatives. In the words of, Marumahoko (2011: 37) "efforts to capacitate urban councils through decentralization are futile if urban local government lacks the necessary financial means to fulfil its responsibilities". Hence, Marumahoko strongly believes decentralisation in Zimbabwe failed because it was not adequately financed. In the same line of thought, Muchadenyika (2014: 25) questions the motivation behind decentralisation by the Government of Zimbabwe. Muchadenyika implies that, the government of Zimbabwe engaged in decentralisation of government functions per se and not finances (ibid). Evidence has shown that this kind of decentralisation has impacted negatively on social service delivery in Zimbabwe where the government only decentralised to reduce public service costs and not to fully apply NPM and promote effective social service delivery.

Despite the shortcomings of NPM in Mutare, and Zimbabwe at large, the MDC Urban run councils subscribe to the model. Hence in response to the predicament of the service delivery impasse, the MDC proposed introducing a legislation outlining, the devolution of authority to local governments, introducing executive mayoral system, re-introducing strict city and town planning standards and guidelines, and prioritizing service delivery (MDC, 2013: 25). These efforts were well laid out in the MDC manifesto.

Implementation of these NPM oriented strategies was however, undermined by limited funding from the Zanu pf run central government and the political rift between the two main political parties. The next section explores the legacies and experiences of other African countries with regards to implementation of New Public Management.

2.3 NPM in other African Countries

The experiences of African countries with NPM are diverse. Rubakula (2014: 85) holds that, the 1990s dispensation ushered in the spread of NPM in most African countries. Despite this spread and diversity, the adoption of NPM strategies to public sector reform by most African countries were all motivated and scaled up by economic challenges in light of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) by the Bretton Woods Institutions. This sentiment is shared by the World Bank. According to the World Bank (1997: 151) the major stimulus for the adoption of NPM by most developing countries was economic challenges. Similarly, Chigudu (2014: 45) affirms that, fiscal and economic crisis in Sub Saharan Africa in specific, set in motion adoption of NPM in the name of public sector management reforms.

The emergence of NPM in developing countries was largely three layered. Chigudu (2014: 44) contends that in most developing countries NPM reforms have manifested in three stages – "first in the mid-1980s, focusing on structural reform through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank structural adjustment programs - second in the mid-1990s, focusing on capacity building, improving the work environment and management systems, and third, in the new millennium, emphasizing improvement in public service delivery". Guohua and Yusuph (2017:32), agree with Chigudu that, NPM is intended to enhance public service delivery. However, they go on to contend that, whilst NPM is meant to improve public service delivery, its practicability in the public service in developing countries corrodes the bureaucratic nature of the public sector which is service orientation.

Employing the case of Tanzania in their study, Guohua and Yusuph, (2017:32) contend that, while NPM reforms exist in Tanzania, they do not effectively work in the countries Local Government Authorities (LGA) owing to intricate character and regime of its administration and management practices, political and accountability structures and systems. Cited in Guohua and Yusuph (2017:32), Mgonja and Tundui (2012) hold that, NPM reforms in Tanzania were a culmination of Local Government Reforms started since late 1990s that were tailor made to combat poverty, inequality, usher development and ultimately guarantee access and equitable public service delivery to the local people.

In the Tanzanian case, Guohua and Yusuph (2017:32) track it further to reveal that, the adoption and implementation of NPM was also designed to stimulate performance of Local Government Authorities, boost human resource capacity, and nurture effective leadership. Despite these good intentions for the adoption of NPM, the model was not effective in promoting effective social service delivery in the country (Guohua and Yusuph, 2017: 32).

Contrary to this position, Haule (2013), argued that, since its adoption, NPM had resulted in Local Government Authorities in Tanzania s realising some progressive achievements such as participation of local people in council plans, and elections whose net effect was democratic representation. Similarly, Warioba and Letisia (2010) concur with Haule (2013) on the progressive achievements of NPM in Tanzania, where they postulate that, NPM facilitated the application of corporate management principles such as auditing processes, publication of financial reports into public places, public access to council financial records, local public hearings and presentations on development projects and public demand on income and expenditure financial reports, open rallies and meetings in all levels of the Council. This implies that, NPM reforms were to some extent effective in Tanzania. The reforms inculcated processes that promoted vertical accountability between the duty bearers and the citizens.

However, some scholars contend rigorously the ineffectiveness and failure of NPM in Africa. For example, Puttaswamy (2014) cited in Rubakula (2014: 85) denoted that countries like Zambia, who are keen in implementing NPM have not fully succeeded yet due to lack of infrastructure; lack of experience in operating market; and lack of managerial capacity. Rubakula (2014:91) further argues that, NPM did not yield expected results for most African countries because, marketisation of public services has also created some challenges especially to poor people who cannot afford high charges of services charged by the private companies or public organizations operate in business like which are not really to serve people rather to generate profits. The logic behind this argument is that, when the services and needs of people are not met, they mobilize and demonstrate against the government. The net effect of this would be socio-political unrest which further disturbs social service delivery.

Another component of NPM that has failed in Africa is result based management. Polidano (1999) cited in Rubakula (2014:91) revealed that, in the Republic of Uganda, the government decided to take up result-based management but when it came to implementation it disappeared in the agenda leaving behind little impact. This was at large due to meagre political will to see through implementation of the strategy. This is further affirmed by Rubakula (2014:91) who argued that, after adopting results-based management as part of its NPM reforms Tanzania did not see through the implementation of the reform. "Tanzania has continued to manage her agencies more on traditional Weberian model rather than NPM model which emphasizes on creation of performance-based accountability while dismantling traditional financial and personnel control systems" (Sulle, 2011 in Rubakula, 2014:91).

Therefore, Africa generally lacks the political will, political aptitude, administrative discipline, resources and capacity to implement and apply New Public Management reforms.

Hence whilst most scholars have looked at the merits of NPM, its nature and disadvantages, this study employs a case analysis of the city of Mutare in Zimbabwe and interrogate the adequacy of the NPM concept and its applicability in the socio-political context of Mutare to foster social service delivery. Similarly, Kajibwa (2013) cited in Rubakula (2014: 85) contends that, lack of sense of ownership; lack of political will; weak capacity to carry out the reforms; and coercive conditionality tied to governance reforms have indeed placed African countries in difficult situation to yield positive results from NPM.

2.4 Realities of Social Service Delivery in Mutare

Zimbabwe is plagued with a social service delivery crisis and the city of Mutare has not been left affected. Bland (2011:340) characterises this predicament as a democracy and development crisis that has engrossed the world's attention. This is despite the existence of legislative and constitutional instruments that promote democratic urban governance and good public administration which breeds effective social service delivery. Various scholars have attributed the social service delivery crisis in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large to bad governance, unemployment, economic crisis, poverty and rising crime (Kamate, 2006 : 67); weak administrative institutions, ineffective and inefficient councils, unaccountable and corrupt urban councils systems (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 178); political contradictions and contestations (Muchadenyika, 2014 : 5); and absence of an effective and certain legislative framework for local government (Madzivanyika, 2011: 7). These different perspectives exhibit the preeminent fact there is a social service delivery crisis in Zimbabwe. However, the causal and driving factors of the crisis are complex and intertwined in an unclear socio-political context. Hence the need for this study to interrogate if NPM is an adequate tool in effective social service delivery considering the complexities of the Zimbabwean public sector and administration predicament.

Service delivery in Mutare is not only deplorable and poor but very complex owing to its politicisation and divided efforts in the implementation of NPM to resolve the social service delivery issues.

Specifically, in the city of Mutare, the social service delivery has been manifesting itself through, irregular refuse collection, proliferation of uncontrolled dumping sites, dilapidated council houses and flats, poor sewer reticulation, corruption, poor road maintenance, and deteriorating health care quality in council clinics (United Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust - UMRRT, 2016). A survey conducted by UMRRT established that there was a social service delivery crisis in Mutare manifesting at large through erratic refuse collection, housing issues, erratic and poor water supply as well as waste management (Muchanyuka and Fotsin, 2017 :59). Another survey conducted by a vocal Civil Society Organisation (CSO) in Mutare called Peace-building and Capacity Development Foundation (PACDEF) also revealed that Mutare had a lot of unmet social service needs that ranged from roads, housing stands, refuse collection and water supply (ibid, p.58). Hence, despite use of NPM strategies like, contracting out, performance measurement, cutting of staff, decentralisation of development planning to Ward Development Committees, amongst other strategies, the city of Mutare continues to experience very poor social service delivery.

Different stakeholders in Mutare, view the social service delivery crisis from different perspectives biased on their own contexts and political ideologies. Whats unique about this study is that the researcher mapped a diagnosis, prognosis and prescriptive analysis of the social service delivery in a neutral narrative located in the discussion of the New Public Management Model. The city of Mutare, is governed by a council which has 18 councillors from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC Alliance) and one independent councillor. Zanu PF lost all the council elections in the 2018 elections. The net effect of this has been conflict between the urban council which is highly MDC-A dominated with the Ministry of Local Government which is run by a Zanu pf Minister and is dominated by Zanu PF officials.

In the lens of the MDC-A it is this political scenario and rift which is stifling efforts towards social service delivery in the city of Mutare. Commenting on this political rift, the District Administrator for the city of Mutare, Mr Wilson Boore on the day of the swearing in of the councillors postulated that,

> *…At times councillors and the Ministry of Local Government fight…which is not necessary. This is at times because councillors will be saying we are autonomous and want to make independent decisions which may be in conflict with government policy. Please note that council is lower tier of government and we need to work together''* (Chiketo, Daily News, 2018a: para 2).

This statement implies that the MDC-A councillors are to blame for the conflict between local and central government. It also further undermines the autonomous nature of urban councils in Zimbabwe since they are a decentralised and devolved governance entity.

It is not a public secret that, the District Administrator who said the statement is a Zanu PF loyalist and by saying such a statement was already sowing further seeds of conflict by casting blame.

The central government through the Ministry of Local Government has been stifling efforts like New Public Management with democratic tendencies so that they do not succeed in ushering social service delivery which would paint the MDC-A run councils in good light. Thus, the social service delivery crisis in Mutare is located in a complex political rift between Zanu PF and MDC-A. This is affirmed by Muchadenyika (2014: 7) who argues that, politicisation and centralisation are the two key drivers of poor service delivery. The Central government in Zimbabwe however locates the current social service delivery crisis to the economic challenges the country is facing, economic sanctions by the West and corruption by the MDC-A led councils. This study interrogates all perspectives and traces the root causes of the social service delivery crisis, and adequacy of the NPM model to quell the crisis. To holistically map the root causes of the social service delivery crisis in Zimbabwe at large, and city of Mutare in specific, it is imperative to look at how the New Public Management model has been applied, implemented and track the gaps thereof.

Contrary to the popular position of the MDC-A, in its 2011 Medium Term Plan (MTP) the government of the Republic of Zimbabwe aptly points out that, "local authorities have weathered a turbulent economic period, and have emerged somewhat battered and bruised" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2011: 68). This implies as explained above, that the government locates the social service delivery in the country to the economic challenges in the country.
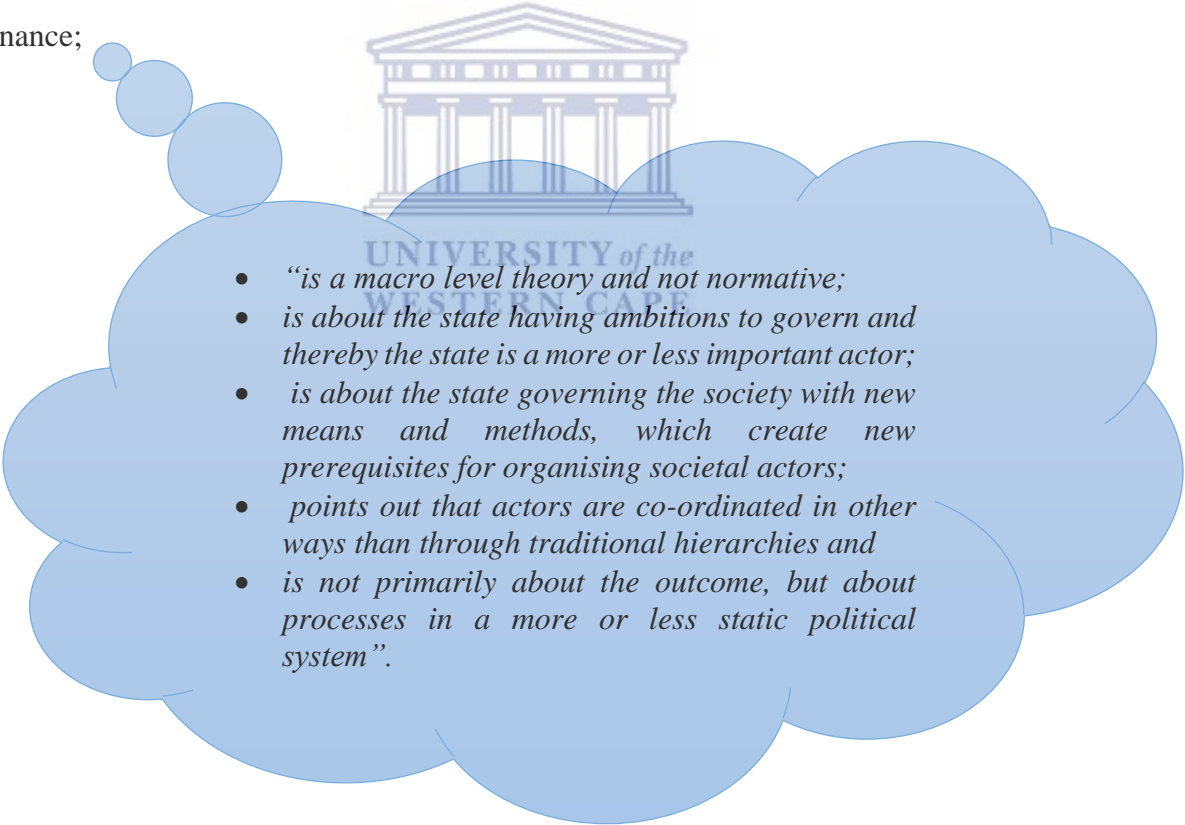
In justifying its position further, the government of Zimbabwe, delineates that financial non-viability, obsolete equipment, outdated billing systems and accounting packages, inadequate or non-available trunk services, ageing onsite infrastructure and non-complaint internal planning and monitoring systems are the main drivers of the ailing social service and public sector in Zimbabwe (Government of Zimbabwe, 2011: 68-69). Failure by the government's position to acknowledge the role of the central government in the crisis, exhibits the rift between MDC-A led councils and Zanu pf led central government.

Guided by the above conceptions, perceptions and schools of thought, the next section of the thesis locates these debates in a theoretical analysis. It details the theory of good governance coupled with the NPM framework and how the theory informs this study.

2.5 Theory of Good Governance

This study is informed by the theory of good governance. Major proponents of this theory are; World Bank (1989:55); World Bank (1992:1); and United Nations Development Programme (1997). In the words of Jessop (1995:318), "...*governance theory tends to remain at the pre-theoretical stage of critique: it is much clearer what the notion of governance is against than what it is for"*. Whilst indeed, some public administration scholars view good governance as an approach (Peters and Pierre, 1998: 232) contend that, essentially, governance is a political theory. Peters and Pierre agree, saying that governance is about process, while NPM is about outcomes (1998:232). It is on this basis that this theory dovetails well with the crux of this study.

According to Björk and Johansson, (2001: 14), the following undergirds the theory of governance;

- *"is a macro level theory and not normative;*
- *is about the state having ambitions to govern and thereby the state is a more or less important actor;*
- *is about the state governing the society with new means and methods, which create new prerequisites for organising societal actors;*
- *points out that actors are co-ordinated in other ways than through traditional hierarchies and*
- *is not primarily about the outcome, but about processes in a more or less static political system"*.

Good governance is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law (United Nations Development Program, 1997).

It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision making (United Nations Development Program, 1997). It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society (United Nations Development Program, 1997).

2.5.1 Contextualising the theory of good governance in Mutare, Zimbabwe

As discussed above, one of the key tenets of the theory of good governance is accountability and transparency. Similarly, according to the Mutare City Council, client charter, the council subscribes and esteems core values of transparency, accountability, responsiveness, equity and integrity (Mutare City Council Client Charter, 2016: 2). This implies that the operations, policy and manoeuvres of the Council are guided, informed, and inspired by principles of good governance as espoused in the good governance theory. However empirical evidence has shown that, this is only on paper and not in reality. Commenting on the nature of good governance in Mutare, public administration scholars have noted with concern the absence of the concept in Mutare. In an article, titled, "Council must improve its accountability" in the Eastern Times, Chiketo (2018b: para 2) reports that, UMRRT bemoans the fact that the city council of Mutare is more accountable to the central government compared to the residents who finance their operations. UMRRT through its official, postulated that;

> *...the local authority, Mutare city Council has not been accountable to the public. You have an authority that is constantly collecting revenue and spending it to be accountable to the residents...the last audit in Mutare was 2013 so we are talking of four to five years of unaudited expenditure which is a serious breach of principles of accountability and transparency* (Chiketo, 18 October, Eastern Times, 2018b : para 4)

This shows that there is lack of accountability in the running of Mutare city council. Chiketo (2018b) further reports that, UMRRT noted with concern, that city council of Mutare is neglecting one of its key functions of not encouraging and financing interface and feedback meetings with residents in line with good governance practices. This implies that there is interaction between the city of Mutare as an urban local government authority with the people it seeks to serve. This defeats the processes of accountability and transparency which constitute the crux of good governance as espoused in the theory of good governance.

Good governance is about cordial engagement and interaction between the people and the government. According to the UNDP, (1997) good governance theory speaks to consensus between the governed and the governing.

In the context of Mutare, this means there has to be mutual interaction between local authorities and residents as well as constant and consistent citizen engagement. Contrary to this, Chiketo, (2018b: para 7) posits that, there is a disconnect, suspicion and mistrust between Mutare city council and the people it seeks to serve. He reports the urgent need for the city council to bridge this communication gap, through effective engagements (Chiketo, 2018b).

Good governance theory advocates for a productive relationship between public sector and the people. This relationship should be marked by consultation and consideration of the people's needs and concerns by the State.

Thus, in the context of Mutare as aptly pointed out by Chitero, there is serious regression from the principles of good governance as spelt out by the theory of good governance. In the lense of Björk and Johansson (2001: 14), "governance is to us about different ways of governing, and as a result also organising, and therefore governance is about changed political processes taking place in a more or less static political system". This brings to fore the question, Is the political system in Zimbabwe at large and Mutare in specific, more or less static? In the words of Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2010:1), Zimbabwe has been in the throes of a severe crisis in the past decade. Thus, it is clear that Zimbabwe is trapped in a never changing economic and political quagmire. This socio-economic and political predicament of Zimbabwe has negative impact on any NPM and good governance-oriented reforms.

In its 1997 policy document on "governance and sustainable development", the United Nations Development Program posits that good governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors at a local level with direct interaction with citizens at local level. This explains the creation of Urban councils. In the context of Mutare, this begs the question, Is the city council of Mutare as a legislatively constituted body autonomous? Dibaba (2016) aptly insinuates and alludes to the lack of autonomy in the city of Mutare and other urban authorities in Zimbabwe. According to Dibaba (2016: 320), "central government has been using various tactics to involve itself in local affairs hence it has a recentralisation tendency". He goes further to explain that, the continuous deterioration of goods and services and the infrastructure in the urban centres has left many stakeholders questioning the credibility of decentralisation as a policy option for Zimbabwe (Dibaba, 2016: 320).

This implies that, autonomy and reversal of decentralisation are an antithesis of good governance. The next section reviews related literature on NPM in Mutare vis a viz the theory of good governance.

2.5.2 NPM in Mutare, Zimbabwe vis a viz theory of good governance

The emergence of the good governance thinking is testament to the democratisation movement and role of the masses in governance. According to, Björk and Johansson (2001: 3) the theory of good governance reflects that the conditions for governing society have changed. They go further to question how society be governed if traditional forms of governing, to some extent, are changing and hence not valid (Björk and Johansson, 2001: 3).

In their line of thought, in the context of good governance, the State therefore must;

> "*(i) drastically reduce or (ii) abandon its ambitions to govern the society, or (iii) the state has to find new forms to govern. The first ambition could be achieved through deregulation and decentralisation, and the second through privatisation. The third ambition, finally, could be achieved through, e.g. the creation of new prerequisites for governing depending on new forms of co-ordination",* (Björk and Johansson, 2001: 3).

This implies that the good governance theory not only subscribes to NPM strategies/reforms but mirrors and reflects NPM in its holistic technical sense. The NPM standpoint, advances the notion that the government accompanied with its bureaucracies has become archaic and has to improve efficiency (Björk and Johansson, (2001: 7). In efforts towards redressing the archaic nature of government and to improve efficiency, the city of Mutare, devolved decision making and development planning to Ward Development Committees (Mutare City Council, 2016). The city of Mutare also instituted a client charter whose major prerogative was to improve efficiency. This dovetails well with the principles of NPM. Despite this progressive outlook, the city of Mutare has been labelled by some public administration scholars as lacking with regards to effective roll out of NPM conscious of good governance principles.

The disjuncture between the theory of good governance and NPM in Mutare is that, the former locates people of Mutare as rights holders who have rights to services like water, roads and health, whilst the later locates the people of Mutare as consumers and clients who must be accorded quality services they pay for.

This scenario is better delineated by, Minogue, Polidano and Hulme (1998:5) who contend that a modern form of governing is about more than just efficiency, that governing is about accountability between the state and its citizens. It is about *"...people who are treated not merely as consumers or customers (as in the new public management approach) but as citizens, who have the right to hold their governments to account for the actions they take, or fail to take"* (Minogue, Polidano, Hulme, 1998:5).

Further, NPM speaks to privatisation and in the context that Mutare is a developing city in a developing country with a large proportion of urban poor population, the applicability and adequacy of NPM per se becomes problematic. Governance on the other hand, is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors. The emergence of self-governing networks raises difficulties over accountability. Governance networks, in Stoker's terms, "involve not just influencing government policy but taking over the business of government" (1998: 23). The "hollow state" that networks have triggered (Milward and Provan, 2000) raises questions about how government can manage public programs when they consist largely of entities outside the public domain. In Mutare, it has been difficult for residents to hold private companies to account for poor services because private companies are not a legislated duty bearer. Further, the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe guarantees the people basic human rights like right to water (Section 77), and right to health (Section 76) but provision of services like health by privatised actors, leaves the majority of the urban poor without the financial capacity to access basic quality health care. It therefore becomes evident that, NPM unlike good governance is undermining basic human rights as well as the autonomous nature of the Mutare city council.

The theory of good governance also exhibits the permeant fact that the potential to get things done does not rest solely on the authority, influence and power of government to command but it is also contingent on processes like participation and engagement. It is in this proposition that there is a natural progression from the more encompassing theory of governance to the more prescriptive notions of New Public Management. According to UMRRT (2016) the city of Mutare holds budget consultation meetings, community feedback meetings and engages with the people to get input on how best to ensure social service delivery. UMRRT postulates that, this is in line with the Mutare city council commitment to good governance. UMMRT (2016) bemoans however that, in sectors where the local council has privatised services under its NPM efforts, citizen engagement is very low, and worry is more on making profits by private companies and not redressing people's concerns.

Efforts towards NPM in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large can also be examined in the political conflict between Zanu PF constituting central government and MDC-A constituting local urban councils. According to Dibaba, (2016: 320), "central government has been using various tactics to involve itself in local affairs hence it has a recentralisation tendency".

He goes further to explain that, the continuous deterioration of goods and services and the infrastructure in the urban centres has left many stakeholders questioning the credibility of decentralisation as a policy option for Zimbabwe, (Dibaba, 2016: 320).

Maodza in the state-owned newspaper, the Herald of 28 January 2012, reported the suspension of Brian James, Mutare Mayor, on the allegations of using councils' funds to pay personal expenses related to legal matters and also for trying to recruit a consultant company to advise on the development of Mutare City Council budget. The councillors opposed the move on the pretext that the city had no money for consultancy fees, (Dibaba, 2016: 320). After refusing to sign the budget it is alleged that the Minister had to summon the Mayor and forced him to sign it, (Dibaba, 2016: 320). It is indicated however that the mayor was arguing that the invitation of a company from South Africa was formal and based on a council resolution, (Dibaba, 2016: 320). The scenario exhibits clearly attempts by the City of Mutare to adopt contracting out as a strategy of NPM where the council tried to engage a consultant company from South Africa. However, this move was barred by the central government. Hence recentralisation and the politicking between Zanu PF and MDC-A impinges on good governance and NPM in the city of Mutare. This is affirmed by, Mambo, (2012) in an article in the Zimbabwean Independent Newspaper (30 March 2012), where he aptly points out that, opposition political party (MDC-A) mayors and councillors castigated the Zanu PF aligned Minister of Local Government, for disrupting their operations and sabotaging their work in a partisan bid to discredit their party ahead of elections.

2.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter, reviewed literature on the adequacy of NPM in promoting social service delivery in Mutare. In specific, the chapter unpacked and examined the concept of NPM. It went further to contextualise NPM in Mutare City Council. This was accompanied with an unpacking of the theory of good governance which informed the study. The chapter also contextualised the theory of good governance in Mutare city council. The theory of good governance was then juxtaposed with NPM as applied in the city of Mutare. The next chapter, highlights at length, the methodology that was used in rolling out this research.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. Chapter Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology employed to interrogate the adequacy of NPM in social service delivery in Mutare, Zimbabwe. The core variables discussed in this chapter incorporate research design, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection procedures, ethical statement, data presentation, coupled with the chapter summary. The chapter further justifies the sampling methods in which one employed to identify the targeted population, population size and the method employed to congregate the essential data for the research. It is of paramount importance to denote that, in order to realize the overriding objectives of this study and address comprehensively the central research question, a qualitative methodology was used, and this was necessitated by the number of target groups involved and the complexity, political nature, breadth and depth of issued to be studied.

3.1 Research Methodology

This research adopted a qualitative research approach. Crotty, (1998) posits that research methodology can be perceived as the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and the use of method to the desired outcomes. It focuses on how the researcher gains knowledge about the socio-political world, (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This methodology influenced the research design.

According to Robson, (2012) research design can be defined as the structure of the research. A research design is used to structure the research, to show how all the major parts of the research project are fitted together. Thus, a research design provides the glue that holds the research project together, (Robson, 2012). Gwimbi and Dirwai, (2003) share the same notion when he postulates that a good research is not accidental, but it requires careful planning and execution. Research design also refers to the issues involved in planning and executing a research project from identifying the problem through to reporting and publication of results, (Kumar, 2005).

Goddard and Melville, (2005: 34) hold the opinion that qualitative research is concerned with or depending on quality and has some degree of excellence, relative nature or character. It is a descriptive approach and involves real events, recording what the groups have to say and observing behaviour.

The design is of paramount importance since it is concerned with answering questions such as who, how, what, which, when and how much (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). The researcher cautiously incorporated qualitative research to ensure complete description of the situation, making sure that there was minimum bias in the collection of data and this reduced errors in interpreting the data collected.

The qualitative research design hence provided more detailed narrations laying exclusive emphasis on behavioural sciences where the overriding objective was to discover the underlying motives of human political behaviour in relation to public administration. Hence the qualitative research design was adopted owing to the politico-administrative nature of the research.

3.2 Delimitation of the Study

The study was focussed on the city of Mutare. Management and administration of the city by Mutare city council was of special interest. All respondents of study were thus drawn from Mutare. These include, 10 ward councillors, city mayor, former mayor, two residents' associations (United Mutare Residents and Rate Payers Trust and Combined Mutare Residents Trust), two civil society organizations with social services and governance-oriented projects as well as public administration academia and resident's opinion leaders.

The city of Mutare is the fourth largest city in Zimbabwe. In particular, Mutare City Council is a Urban local authoritative arm of the Government in Zimbabwe responsible for service delivery within the administrative jurisdiction of the city of Mutare. According to the city of Mutare clients charter, the council subscribes dearly to values of transparency, accountability, equity, inclusiveness and responsiveness.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

Owing to its qualitative nature, the study adopted purposive sampling technique. This is echoed by Palys (2008: 697) who posited that, "purposive sampling is virtually synonymous with qualitative research". Purposive sampling at large entails that the selection of respondents for the study should be influenced by how the respondents are tied to the research questions, objectives and context. In the words of Mason (2012) purposive sampling "is the procedure of selecting informants on the basis of their relevance to the research questions, and theoretical position". Thus, all respondents of this study as outlined in section 3.2 of this study were highly relevant to this study and had strategic value to the debate of the adequacy of NPM in promoting effective social service delivery in Mutare.

Purposively selected and interviewed for this study, the mayor and current 10 councilors of the city, were central to understanding how they adopted and implemented NPM, motivations behind, successes, failures and its role in effective social service delivery. They are the drivers of NPM and duty bearers of social services in the city of Mutare hence constituted the crux of this study. This also applies to the Finance committee and General purposes committee of the city council. The two residents' associations in Mutare civil society organizations were purposively selected owing to their role in advocating for good governance in the city of Mutare, their constant engagement with the city regarding social service delivery issues and their practical experience in dealing with both the city council and the people on the ground. Public administration enthusiasts and urban governance scholars were purposively identified to proffer their technical and theoretical understanding of NPM in reconciliation with the praxis surrounding its implementation in Mutare juxtaposed with the good governance theory. The respondents of the study as identified through purposive sampling are outlined immediately in section 3.4 below.

3.4 Sampled Population

- His worship, the mayor of Mutare
- Former Mayor of Mutare
- Mutare City Council Public Relations Officer
- 10 ward councillors. One of the councillors is a member of the Council Finance Committee and another the General Purposes Committee
- Two residents' associations
- Two Civil society organizations
- Three Resident Opinion Leaders

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Being qualitative in character, the study employed qualitative methods to gather data for the study. Hence, this study made use of in-depth semi-structured, discourse, document analysis and participant observation to interrogate the adequacy of NPM in promoting effective social service delivery in Mutare, Zimbabwe. Ultimately all data collected was qualitative in nature and interpreted and analysed qualitatively.

Qualitative data implies, "collection of words, symbols, pictures, or other non-numeric records, materials, artefacts that are collected by the researcher and have relevance to the social group under study" (McNabb, 2010: 225).

Qualitative data gathering methods were particularly ideal in this research because of its political dynamics and location of the study in a sensitive political landscape. Muchadenyika (2014: 31) holds that, qualitative methods play an important role in political analysis emanating from the study of individual groups inside a formal political arena. Muchadenyika (2014: 31) further notes that, qualitative procedures of gathering data allows the researcher, to record what they observe, interpret meanings they get from the study group as well as gives the researcher latitude to follow up on information leads because of the flexibility associated with the qualitative data gathering procedures.

3.5.1 In-depth Semi Structured Interviews

Before administering the interviews, pre-testing of the interviews was done. The interview guides were given to other students and the research supervisor before they were distributed. Pilot interviews were also conducted in the research field in Mutare, Zimbabwe. Pretesting assisted in detecting inappropriate wording, poor language and poorly structured questions. This at large helped the researcher to eliminate errors and omissions and to determine the relevance of information to be gathered.

20 in-depth semi structured interviews were conducted in this study. An in-depth semi-structured interview is a flexible interface between two subjects. According to Longhurst, (2009) "in-depth, semi-structured interviews are verbal interchanges where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions…even though interviewers tend to prepare a list of predetermined questions, in-depth, semi-structured interviews usually unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to pursue issues they feel are important". This was very important in this nature because of its political nature hence need to always probe further on emerging issues and meanings of political ideologies and political positions. To achieve the best response rate, the researcher ensured the questions were flowing from the least sensitive to the most sensitive, from the factual to the attitudinal and from the more general to the more specific. The interviewed respondents are delineated in the table below;

Table 1. Interviews conducted.

Date	Organization	Respondents
14 August 2019	Mutare City Council	1 (Mayor)
20 July – 31 August 2019	Councillors	10
2 July 2019	Residents Associations	2
9 July 2019	Civil Society Organizations	2
28 June -9 July 2019	Community Opinion leaders	3
23 July 2019	Former Mayor (City of Mutare)	1
19 July 2019	City of Mutare PR	1
	Grand Total	**20**

Source: Researchers' field notes

The researcher sought permission from the City Council of Mutare to conduct the research through a formal letter to the Town clerk and Mayor. Research permission was given through a stamped and signed research letter. Similarly, research permission was also sought to the resident's trust (UMRRT and CMRRT) who also granted the researcher permission to conduct the research within and with their associations through stamped and signed research permission letters. Similar processes and permissions were respectively sought and granted from two civil society organizations interviewed, Peacebuilding and Capacity Development Foundation, (PACDEF) as well as the Partnership for Development Initiative (PDI).

The in-depth semi structured interview guides were developed first by the researcher and sent to the supervisor for approval. They were then sent to the University of Western Cape's ethics committee for approval as well as the Senate. Following these processes, the interviews were booked by phone call ahead of time and some were booked and confirmed through emails.

3.5.2 Secondary Data Review

Using secondary data review, the researcher also used documents analysis. According to Bowen (2009), document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic. Documents reviewed and analysed in this research include, the 2016 social audit report for Mutare; UMRRT community workshops reports, CCJP-M social service delivery dialogues, City of Mutare clients charter, Newspaper articles on NPM and social service delivery in Mutare, coupled with literature by public administration scholars on NPM, Urban governance, and social service delivery issues in Zimbabwe and Africa at large.

The documents were thoroughly reviewed, interpreted and coded into themes in relation to findings from the in-depth structured interviews.

3.5.3 Participant Observation

The researcher attended two full council meetings and budget consultation meetings with the residents. The researcher's experience as a Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) officer at the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace -Mutare (CCJP-M) provided some critical reflections and experiences that shaped, influenced, and added value to the qualitative nature of this study. Further, the researcher in afore-mentioned job post, trained the city council of Mutare councillors on effective leadership for effective service delivery. The insights gained through these trainings also provided critical reflections. Further, as detailed in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.4 of this study, the researcher was born and bred in Mutare for over 25 years. This provided contextual knowledge, experience, and background valuable to this study.

3.6 Data Analysis and processing

All the gathered data was stored in a secure and password protected laptop for processing and analysis. Data recordings of each interview were transcribed by the researcher as part of data processing. Following transcription, the researcher coded the data into fist order, second order and third level coding. The data was then categorised into pre-eminent themes which were then used for data presentation in Chapter four and five of this study.

Gwimbi and Dirwai, (2003) hold that data analysis makes sense out of large amounts of raw data. Through data analysis the researcher easily summarized gathered data. Data analysis was done through open coding. Strauss and Corbin, (1990: 57) define coding as „"…operations by which data is broken down, conceptualized and put together in new ways". Hence in this regard the researcher identified themes in the data and conceptualized categories.

The researcher organized collected data into NPM related themes as generated from the empirical findings. The main theme was NPM strategies used by Mutare city council. These were subdivided into civic engagement and participation, accountability, decentralisation, contracting out, performance appraisal, privatisation and outsourcing. Challenges hampering and impeding rolling out of NPM strategies were also mainstreamed as recurring theme. These included, meagre political will, lack of knowledge and incapacitation, economic crisis, policy inconsistencies coupled with power struggles and political contestations. Another theme generated from the thematic data coding was that of deteriorating of service delivery.

Such services included poor housing, poor water and sanitation, dilapidated road infrastructure, and prevalence of uncontrolled dumping sites owing to erratic refuse collection. This process is termed thematic coding of recurring themes by identifying recurring ideas from the interview texts and content. The same thematic coding also involved conceptualization that is the breaking down of voluminous data into categories and concepts that relate to the research questions, the theory informing the study and other inductive emerging issues.

Following data interpretation and conceptualization through coding, the researcher developed a code book of the main ideas that emerged. The code book was then used as a guideline for presentation of the empirical findings. A comparative analysis of the recurring themes was also carried out by the researcher guided by the codebook generated. As aptly pointed out by Miles and Huberman (1994: 254) comparative analysis of data entails generating, validating and establishing conclusions in qualitative researches. Contrary to conceptualization discussed above, comparative data analysis can be employed as an "analytical tool to stimulate thinking about properties and dimensions of categories" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 73). Hence responses obtained specifically from the in-depth interviews made it possible to compare results and that yielded connections or recurring patterns to provide theory. All this was useful in qualitatively analysing the data generated through participant observation and in-depth semi structured interviews.

3.7 Ethics Statement

Zimbabwe has a hugely politically hostile and sensitive environment. It is also largely politically divided taking into cognisance the fact that, it is currently coming out of a heated and contested elections that witnessed the death of 6 civilians. In light of all the aforementioned, it was imperative that the researcher take into cognisance all ethical considerations. Thus, before the study commenced, ethical approval and informed consent was sought from key informants and organizations interviewed; that is, The City Council of Mutare; Councilors; United Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust (UMRRT); The Combined Mutare Residents and Ratepayers Trust (CMRRT), Partnership for Development Initiative (PDI) and Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace- Mutare. Further, the ethic of confidentiality of interview respondents was also respected throughout the research. Some names were anonymized to protect identity of respondents. Cognizant of the political tension in Zimbabwe, the researcher handled the study in a non-partisan and dignified yet rigorous manner. All aforementioned organizations submitted their informed consent and permission for the research to the researcher in official writing well ahead of the data gathering processes and interviews.

The research was also conducted in complete respect and observation of the University of Western Cape, Economic Management Science Faculty full thesis standards and protocols.

3.8 Limitations

Despite adopting the qualitative research methodology, this research was not immune to limitations. The research was implemented in 2019, that is the eve of the 2018 Zimbabwean elections. This period was marked by an election fever which saw political violence, political contestations including the challenging of election results as well as an economic crisis in Zimbabwe. This meant that the political environment was not tenable for the research. However, to curb this, the researcher sought all required written permissions from city council authorities and local civil society organizations interviewed which made it fairly easy for the researcher to navigate the research and political space in Mutare.

Further, owing to the busy schedules and nature of councilors and mayor's jobs, interviews for the research kept on being postponed. Despite these challenges, the researcher had to adjust the research and interview schedule to suit the dates of the key respondents so as to gather adequate and relevant information for the research.

Another limitation was that the mayor, and some councilors interviewed were recently elected and were holding their offices for the first time. This meant that they had no institutional memory of the factors that were under probe. To redress this gap, the researcher interviewed the former mayor as well as long serving councilors who had adequate knowledge coupled with institutional experience and memory of the information required.

3.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter detailed the methodology what was adopted to interrogate the adequacy of NPM in promoting effective social service delivery in Mutare. The core variables discussed in this chapter incorporated research design, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection procedures, ethical statement, data presentation, coupled with the chapter summary. The chapter further justified the sampling methods in which one employed to identify the targeted population, population size and the method employed to congregate the essential data for the research. The chapter was concluded by highlighting the research limitations and a chapter conclusion. The next chapter presents the findings of this study following data analysis, coding and interpretation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4. Interrogation of NPM strategies of Mutare City Council

Mutare City Council has discharged several efforts meant to improve municipal service delivery in the city. Among the efforts are various NPM oriented reforms. Addressing socio-economic needs of urbanites requires shifts in urban governance thinking and approaches (Muchadenyika, 2014: 2). Although piecemeal in nature, the adoption of NPM by Mutare City Council constituted such an attempted shift in urban administration and governance thinking. Indeed, the NPM culture is yet to be deeply and consciously entrenched in Mutare City Council. Findings of this thesis point out to unconscious, half-baked and piecemeal application of NPM reforms by Mutare City Council against a backdrop of technical incapacity, administrative capacity shortfalls, economic crisis, pseudo political will coupled with power struggles. As argued by Zungura (2014:246) "patchy implementation of NPM reforms without political as well as administrative will does not yield results".

The key NPM reforms adopted and being implemented by Mutare City Council include, contracting out and outsourcing (Councillor1: line 83-84), (Key informant CM: line 86-88); performance management (Councillor1: line 96); civic engagement (CSO2: line 45); e-governance and m-governance through the M-DATA platform (CSO3: line 72-73); civic participation; accountability (Key informant CM: line 85-88) and decentralisation through use of Ward development committees and subcommittees at ward level.

Notwithstanding the afore-mentioned reforms, the research further established that Mutare City Council focused on consumers as 'clients' and were trying to streamline their complaints procedures. The complaints mechanisms include a whats app platform, hotline number (Key informant CM: line 73) and fully-fledged public relations office specifically established for complaints handling and ensuring clients in Mutare are well satisfied with services by the council (Key informant P: line 13 -16). To this effect, Mutare City Council designed a Clients Charter with the primary prerogative of ensuring improved social services and standard for client satisfaction coupled with guaranteeing user-involvement in the running of council. The Clients Charter is a management tool established through consultations with stakeholders and clients with the view to improve service delivery and enhance good corporate governance (City of Mutare Clients Charter, 2016: 1).

All these NPM reforms outlined above, are interrogated in-depth in the following section. The application of the NPM reforms and their adequacy coupled with practical efficacy in the context of Mutare city council is discussed at length.

4.1 E-governance

In spirited efforts towards ushering NPM styles of Management, the Mutare City Council adopted use of technology through e-governance. Mutare city council in collaborative partnership with PACDEF, International Rescue Committee (IRC) and CMRRT launched an e-governance platform called M-DATA, an acronym for Mutare Dialogue and Technology for Accountability (CSO3: line 72-84). Across all urban councils in Zimbabwe, Mutare was the first and only local urban council to adopt this specific e-governance platform. The project was formulated for a number of reasons, the major one being, to improve service delivery in Mutare (Muchanyuka and Fotsin, 2017: 54). Another reason for the formulation of the data platform was the realisation of the gap and disconnect between Mutare city council and the residents of Mutare (CSO3: line 83) The M-DATA project was an incorporation of both accountability and e-governance as styles of NPM. Referencing, Grueing, public administration scholar - Chigudu (2014:46) denotes that the most common attributes of NPM include accountability and more use of information technology. Therefore, by adopting the M-DATA platform, Mutare City Council was mainstreaming the main component of NPM reforms with the overriding objective of promoting accountability in council operations and municipal service delivery.

However, despite its intentions of promoting accountability, the M-DATA initiative was to a lesser extent effective owing to its temporary nature (ROL2: line 106-107). The majority of the residents in Mutare were not aware of the initiative (ibid). Notwithstanding limited awareness on the part of residents, this research found that the current management at Mutare City Council is new and the M-DATA platform only ran until 2017. Consequently, there was loss of institutional memory regarding the project when the new management and office holders took over. This impinged on the effectiveness of the reform strategy and maximal realization of benefits from that e-governance platform. To add on to this, a transact scan of the platform by the researcher indicated that the platform is not very interactive in that most of the communication is one way. Citizens direct and report all complaints to Mutare City Council without a feedback channel through which the council reports back on the status of queries and complaints submitted by citizens.

This is contrary to the theory of good governance discussed in Chapter two, which posited that, good governance is about mutual interaction and healthy relationship between the governing authority and the governed.

In coping with information technology, Mutare City Council also adopted use of whats app, Facebook, and twitter (Key informant P: line 28 -32). The Facebook page and twitter handle of Mutare City Council are used as a means for information dissemination and giving regular updates to the residents of Mutare (ibid). These social media platforms are at large strengthened by the councils whats app platform. According to Key Informant G (line 34) the whats app platform has been highly effective in enhancing the council's responsiveness to the needs and concerns of the people of Mutare.

Further, whilst Mutare City Council has a functional website (Key informant G: line 32), the scope of the website and its effectiveness were challenged (CSO1: line 160-161). Specifically, one key informant raised that,

> *…how many people are capable of accessing a local authority website…given the high cost of data? Also, lack of capacity among some of them and proper devices to engage with the local authority. You can't expect a 72-year-old granny who is in the township to go to the website...* (CSO1: line 160 - 163).

Ultimately this means that the city of Mutare's e-governance platforms do not take into cognisance that almost half of Mutare is made of townships like Chikanga, Dangamvura, Sakubva with old people who are not techno-savvy. Thus, whilst the e-governance platforms are a key NPM strategy for enhancing information access and dissemination coupled with enhancing transparency, the platforms disenfranchise the aged demographic group in Mutare and the technologically illiterate. Moreover, given the high costs of data and the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the poor populace is also marginalized from the e-governance platforms because they cannot afford to access the platforms. This is compounded by load shedding and limited availability of electricity. This research established that, areas like Chikanga, Sakubva, Dangamvura, Westlea, Fairbridge Park, Benwin, and Florida in Mutare only have 5 hours of electricity per day, during the night. Civil Society groups interviewed argued that the unavailability of electricity compromises the capability of residents and citizens to access council's e-governance platforms because unavailability of electricity means inaccessibility of internet.

Consequently, this impinges on the adequacy of NPM strategies like e-governance in promoting efficient municipal service delivery against a background of poor resource support system.

4.2 Decentralisation

Mutare City Council has also adopted decentralisation as one of its vital NPM reforms. This is in line with Farooqi (2013: 96) who sites decentralisation as a key feature of NPM. Mutare City Council employs the concept of decentralisation by decentralising the duties of the councillor to ward development committees. Each ward in Mutare has a residents or ward development committee (Councillor1: line 22-23). In particular, by setting ward development committees, the council and councillors were decentralising the duties of the councillor at grassroots level.

The duties of the ward or resident's development committee include, assisting the councillor in giving feedback to the whole community (Councillor2: line 148-150); setting ward development plans and planning purposes (Councillor1: line 23-24); as well as "push civic issues and matters to the council" (Councillor2: line 148-149). The ward development committees are a great decentralisation strategy by council as they facilitate citizens' involvement and participation in local planning and governance. Proponents of decentralisation and local government thinking like Mill (1912: 2357) hold that local public institutions offer a congenial avenue for enhanced participation of local people. Ultimately participation necessitates responsiveness of council as well as their efficiency and effectiveness in local service delivery. This is also supported by democracy and governance thinker John Stuart Mill who argues that citizen participation capacitates locals who aid in harnessing local knowledge thus promoting effective social service delivery (Mill, 1912: 2357). The involvement of residents plays a critical role in empowering the local council (Councillor3: line 104). Similarly, Segalo in IULA (1997: 690) argues for "decentralised institutions like urban councils citing the pillars of citizens' contribution towards what directly affects their lives and reform initiatives by the citizens".

Mutare City Council has also been decentralising the role of the municipality by clustering and organising councillors into different committees to look at different aspects of running council. These committees constitute of councillors and technocrats. The municipal committees include the Finance Committee; Budget Committee and General Purposes Committee.

Such kind of decentralisation has been hailed as detrimental towards organisation and separation of tasks like financial management, revenue assignment, income generation and fundraising, expenditure assignment, and controlling the utilization of budgeted funds (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009:168) for promoting transparency and efficient running of council.

The notion was affirmed by a senior municipal authority (Councillor2: line 132) who posited that the existence of committees like the budget committee also helps in ensuring there is citizen and resident ownership of council processes like budgeting. This attests to the key merits of NPM strategies (decentralisation) in promoting people-centred municipal service delivery.

Councillors interviewed in this research concurred that the establishment of ward development committees has been a very effective NPM reform. Councillor2 (line 160-162) noted, specifically, that the ward development committees have been very effective and adequate in curbing suspicion and promoting transparency. In equal terms, Councillor3 (line 83-84) highlighted that ward development committees were "trying their best" especially in regard to aiding in local planning. Therefore, it is plausible in this regard, to contend that NPM reforms in the form of decentralisation guarantees effective municipal service delivery planning and roll out.

Moreover, the council has also discharged NPM reforms through decentralisation of administrative services by establishing district offices in Hobhouse, Chikanga, Sakubva and Dangamvura (Key informant CM: line 62-63). Plans are also in the pipeline to decentralise firefighting services department (ibid: line 66). Such decentralisation of services is key because it moves the services proximal to the clients and people. Thus, NPM strategies like decentralisation are a key instrument in enhancing access to services of local council.

However, despite bringing the services closer to the people, decentralisation in Mutare has easily been impinged by political interference from the central government and politics (Key informant F: line 146-147). Key informant F further argued that any progressive policies and resolutions advanced by the opposition political party in council were vetoed by the Minister of Local Government who was from Zanu PF. This political infighting affects implementation of NPM reforms like decentralisation of power as politicians focus more on consolidating power rather than redistributing and sharing it.

Therefore, whilst decentralisation has witnessed inclusive and effective planning and municipal service delivery at local level – there has been tendencies of recentralisation through political interference of municipal businesses by the Zanu PF run central government. Political interference by the central government has diluted the effectiveness of NPM reforms by Mutare City Council due to differences in ideology, priorities, and development agendas.

4.3 Contracting out and Out-sourcing

According to Zungura (2014: 246), contracting and outsourcing are some of the main features of NPM. Contracting can be conceptualised as the subcontracting, outsourcing, and or procuring of services from other private actors as well as not for profit organisations (Larbi 1998; Minogue et al, 1998; Walsh, 1997). With the intention of reducing service and administrative pressure on itself, Mutare city council has been contracting out services like refuse collection; financial accounting; auditing; water engineering; and roads servicing.

In some instances, instead of contracting out, the council would do collaborative partnerships with stakeholders like residents' associations and non-governmental organizations to do civic engagement and institutionalize participatory democracy. For example, Mutare city council partnered with Media Institute of Southern Africa Zimbabwe (MISA), and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for Zimbabwe (IDAZIM) who facilitated and funded the workshops which culminated in the formation of the Clients Charter of Mutare City Council. Another example of collaborative partnership is the partnering of Mutare City Council with UMRRT, a resident's association to aid in technical information dissemination by granting the residents association a weekly column in the city council's newsletter (CSO1: line 119-120). Further, the council partnered with IRC and PACDEF, non-governmental organizations in setting up the M-DATA platform with the intention of bridging the gap between residents and the local authority (CSO4: line 72 - 75).

Towards promoting civic engagement and an informed citizenry, Mutare City Council also partners with UMRRT and Diamond FM, a local radio station, to air a programme called, "meet your councillor" (Councillor3: line 57) which facilitates interaction between councillors and residents as well as setting a question and answer platform (Key informant D: line 49-50) which stimulates accountability and transparency by councillors to the residents.

Other examples of contracting and out-sourcing towards enhancing transparency and accountability is the securing of a regional loan from the Africa Development Bank (AFDB) by Mutare City Council.

This is a step from the usual borrowing from local banks without solid repayment plans. Mutare City Council secured a loan from Africa Development Bank (Key informant CM: line 51). The overriding objective of the loan was to secure water infrastructure towards improving water supply in Mutare specifically Dangamvura suburb (ibid: line 51 - 54). The securing of the loan from a regional recommended bank is commendable. This is because part of the loan terms indicated that the African Development Bank will procure all the pipes required with the loan and send the material to Mutare without giving the local authority direct access to the money (ibid). Rightly, this enhances transparency, openness and curbs corruption which was associated with previous deals by the council. In the last loans the council received from local banks, the city council misdirected the funds for other purposes which were outside the loan agreement. The engagement of AFDB and agreement to have the bank procure all equipment can be regarded a crucial NPM strategy.

Contracting out financial accounting and auditing to private players has been another key NPM reform by Mutare City Council (Key informant CM: line 86-89). Such a reform has been key in enhancing access to information for residents on financial issues. Resultantly this mitigates suspicion and mistrust, replacing it with transparency and accountability. Critical civic organizations indicated that, the relationship between Mutare City Council and residents was marred with suspicion (CSO1: line 10 - 11) partly owing to the council's refusal to publicize financial records as well as unwillingness to do an audit since 2013 (ibid: line 92). Against such a background, the engagement of private firms to do financial auditing of the council was key in restoring faith in the municipal authority and a gesture of transparency, responsiveness, and accountability. From this, the merits of NPM reforms like contracting out, are evident.

Despite the merited benefits of contracting out and collaborative partnerships in reducing financial and administrative pressure on council as well as promoting accountability and transparency, this kind of NPM reform was not perennially effective in Mutare. Farooqi (2013:104) emphatically questions if contracting out necessarily guarantees a responsive local authority and enhanced service delivery? The outcome deficiencies of contracting out are best typified by worsening situation of water supply and quality following its contracted transfer from the local authority to the Zimbabwe National Water Authority-ZINWA (Key informant D: line 268-270). With the aim of improving the water situation in Mutare, the Ministry of Local Government instituted the transfer of water supply in the city to ZINWA through a Ministerial directive. In this regard Morton Jaffray Water Works Plant and its sub-systems were contracted out to ZINWA (Key informant D:265-266).

The rationale by the Minister for this decision of transfer was cited as incapacity by the urban councils to provide adequate water to residents (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 173). However, this never improved water supply (ibid). Arguably, the transfer of water to ZINWA without the necessary accountability mechanisms has led to regressed patterns in the provision of water supply and sanitation in urban areas (Madzivanyika, 2011: 34). Commenting on a similar case, Key informant D (line 259) argued that, ZINWA never took part in the building of water infrastructure in Mutare but it continues to benefit from profits of supplying the services.

The contracting out was therefore not clear in this case as the Mutare City Council was short-changed and not compensated for the use of its water infrastructure which it invested in. Thus, if adopted, NPM strategies like contracting out should be accompanied with a clear Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) and Terms of Reference (TOR), to curb conflictual relations that may perturb service delivery efficiency.

Commenting on the adequacy of NPM strategies like contracting out and outsourcing, Public administration scholars concluded that,

> *Many elements of the NPM type agenda require not only changes in organizational structure but also organizational culture. For effective implementation of contracting out or autonomous hospitals, there needs to be a shift away from patronage and hierarchical command and control towards more market-based relations. Such a transformation of organizational culture (and the social relations upon which it is based) cannot be quickly achieved, and those who did well under the previous system of relationships are unlikely to be willing to give up their influence. Nor change can be effected through formal training alone: the new skills necessary need to be learnt through hands on practice* (Russell, Bennett and Mills 1999: 773)

Contracting out and tendering also made Mutare City Council a hub of corruption. According to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) News online, May 22, (2017) council employees doubled as service providers and project supervisors by awarding their own private companies tenders for the supply of services. From this, it is clear that, contracting out, exposes and makes the local authority vulnerable to corruption and ploys of political opportunists. Contracts are given to the politically connected and politicians who want to serve their own selfish interests through shelf companies. The net effect of this is corruption, and erratic service delivery.

4.4 Performance Appraisals

Key informants and councillors interviewed in this research failed to identify with certainty the performance appraisal techniques used by Mutare City Council. Key informant CM (line 106 - 107) vaguely indicated that the council is still looking into performance appraisal whilst other key informants pointed out that the council conducts review meetings and feedback meetings in which residents evaluate where they are coming from, further expectations and concerns with their councillors (Councillor1: line 70-72). Serve to say, this kind of performance appraisal is very weak and insufficient. It has no clearly defined performance indicators late alone timeframes and stated agreed expectations or strategic plans it is founded on.

Through document analysis this research established that a key basis for performance appraisal at Mutare City Council is the Clients charter. The client charter is the benchmark and yardstick of performance expectations, standards and yardstick of all council operations, mandate, staff members and councillors. According to the Mutare City Council clients charter (2016: 6) the local authority delineates its commitments, standards and clientele expectations. The afore mentioned, is accompanied with Mutare city council's obligations and rights coupled with the rights of its clients. This should form a logical basis for any performance appraisal of council. However, this is not the case for Mutare City Council.

An excerpt of the standards, commitments and clientele expectations of the Mutare city council as aptly spelt out in its client charter is undergirded in Table 2 below;
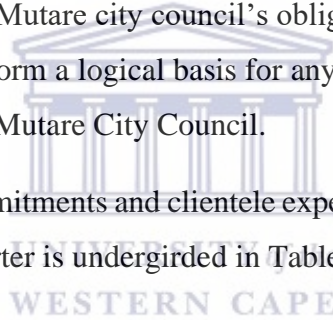
Table 2. Excerpts from the Mutare City Council Clients Charter

SERVICE COMMITMENTS AND STANDARDS/WHAT TO EXPECT FROM THE ORGANISATION
- To provide adequate clean and safe water supply to meet WHO standards
- Hygienic and efficient wastewater disposal services
- Prompt and accurate billing on a 30-day cycle
- Removal of household waste once weekly as per schedule
- Removal of petrified waste daily
- Professionalism
  Treating clients and stakeholders with courtesy helpfulness, friendliness on a case by case basis
- Involvement and consultation with stakeholders
- Good utilisation of funds and proper financial record keeping
- Adherence to laid down government policies and guidelines
- Proper maintenance and upkeep of council's infrastructure and sustainability
- Creating and maintaining a good public image

OBLIGATIONS AND RIGHTS
a) CITY OF MUTARE
Obligations
i) Consult with the clients in all matters of concern
ii) Provide services efficiently and effectively
iii) Maintain a financially sustainable organisation
iv) Enforce by-laws
v) Maintain an ethical, professional, competent and motivated staff
vi) Collect revenue

b) CLIENTS

Rights
i) Right to be consulted
ii) Right to appeal
iii) Right to make inputs in all city development issues
iv) Right to access services such as health, clean and safe water

Source: Mutare City Council Clients Charter, Sections 10 and 11, (2016: 6)

From table 2, it is evident that the commitments set by Mutare city council have no performance indicators, no clear timeline and departmental responsivity allocation. Appraising the status quo of service delivery in Mutare, one can plausibly contend that Mutare City Council has fallen short in meeting its own standard commitments and guaranteeing that the rights of its clients are well met, and the clients well satisfied. Councillor3 (line 146 -148) aptly pointed out that the people are not happy with the service situation in Mutare, the council's meetings with the clients are tense and council has not been adequately and sufficiently providing all services owing to the economic situation in Zimbabwe.

CSO1 (line 21 - 24) also argued that residents in Mutare "feel short-changed" by council because they pay for services, but they do not receive corresponding services equal to the amount they are paying. From the above sentiments, it is evident that the residents and Mutare City Council's clients are aggrieved. Contrary to the excerpts in the client charter in table 2 above, Mutare city council has failed to provide clean portable water (Key informant CM: line 12-13); ensure regular refuse collection (Councillor2: line 10-17); treat clients with courtesy and friendliness (CSO4: line 137-138); sewage system (Councillor2: line 40) and dismally failed to maintain a good public image (ROL3: line 25). All this implies that, Mutare City Council is lagging in terms of effective social service delivery. This is, in stark contrast, to what they mention as their standard commitments in their clients' charter hence exposing the truth that, no performance standard and satisfactory performance appraisal has been done using the clients charter. The review meeting and feedback meetings conducted by council and councillors as means of performance appraisal are not adequate and meaningful enough to suffice as performance appraisal in its holistic sense.

Therefore, performance appraisal within Mutare city council is very weak. By and large, Mutare City Council is not using performance data in their planning processes, highlighting a weak capacity for planning at the local level. Further, the council has no performance indicators which are specific, quantifiable, qualifiable and realistic. Moreover, the current performance appraisal through review meetings and feedback meetings is not institutionalized. Rather, it is more like a ceremonial rubber-stamping process performance appraisal for council administrative staff members. The review meetings and feedback meetings are organized by councillors and done with the clients. This means that the feedback meetings and review meetings are hinched on the whether the council's civic engagement and participation platforms are strong. The next section of the thesis looks at the merits and demerits of NPM at process level, ideological level and practical level in the context of Mutare City Council.

4.5 Merits and Demerits of NPM in Mutare

The afore-discussions delineated NPM reforms that were implemented by Mutare City Council in attempts to improve municipal service delivery. This section of the thesis discusses the merits and demerits of NPM as implemented by the city council. The ideological debate on NPM is also simultaneously debated.

NPM enthusiasts like Mongkol (2011: 45-43) posit that the major demerit of NPM is "centralisation through decentralisation". In support of this criticism of NPM, Maor (1999) contends that conferring city authorities and managers at municipal level with power and authority to run city affairs has the unintended effect of centralising decision making on them. Consequently, NPM results in localised centralisation through decentralisation.

However, this is not entirely true in the case of NPM in Mutare. This thesis established that Mutare City Council has fruitfully decentralised the duties of the councillor for example decision making on service delivery, to ward development committees where all the nineteen wards in Mutare have a residents or ward development committee (Councillor1: line 22-23). Contrary to Mongkol (2011) who sites decentralisation as a demerit of NPM, Councillors and civic groups interviewed from Mutare, postulated that the greatest advantage of decentralisation has been meaningful citizen involvement and active participation in municipal planning, localised budgeting and local governance processes (Councillor2: line 148-149). The merits of NPM are also evident in the fact that decentralisation by Mutare City Council fruitfully resulted in citizen ownership of municipal political and financial processes - participatory governance (Key informant CM: line 62-63).

A key demerit of NPM is its futile attempt to privatise the public sphere. This resonates with critique of NPM, Mongkol (2011: 35-43), who denotes that the major criticism of NPM is "applying private sector management techniques to the public sector". This notion is also echoed by Singh (2003:116 - 119) who contends that NPM is fundamentally faulty since private sector management approaches do not dovetail well with the nature of government public administration. The findings of this thesis reflect the same sentiments. Adoption of privatization approach by Mutare City Council exposed disharmony between private styles of management and the municipal approach of running g the city. Whilst private players were concerned with profit, the municipal authority was concerned with ensuring accessibility and affordability of services to all residents.

Further, NPM is the form of privatization resulted in corruption tendencies by some councilors. For example, civic groups interviewed in this research exposed that there was corruption at Mutare City Council when the municipal authority contracted a politically connected individual to do a project that required a well registered and competent private company. The result of this was the abuse of funds by the contracted person which ultimately resulted in the project failing to be completed (CSO4: line186 -198). Therefore, NPM in the form of privatisation is not entirely robust. This is affirmed by Flynn (2002) who holds that, by encouraging use of private practises, NPM is susceptible to many risks, chief among them – corruption.

As argued in chapter 2 of this thesis, there are competing reasons and motives for the adoption of NPM by developing countries and diverging views on the merits and demerits of the concept by NPM coupled with public administration academia. In the words of Haque (2004:2);

> *One of the most influential factors leading to the emergence of NPM has been the historical shift in state ideology since the late 1970s in advanced capitalist nations toward a neo-liberal framework, which rejects the welfare state, opposes a large public sector, doubts government capacity, blames public bureaucracy, believes in private sector superiority, and emphasizes market competition in service delivery*

From a practical and public administration architecture level, this implies that the neo-liberal orientation of NPM is mirrored in its administrative system hinched on managerial ideologies, management styles, market-based approaches and corporate experiences co-opted from the private sector. This is contrary to the ideological disposition of the Zimbabwean government at national level, which believes in a non-capitalist centralised approach to public sector management. However, at local governance level, the MDC-A run Mutare City Council subscribes to NPM. It is against this background that Zanu PF has accused the opposition led municipalities for being neo liberal and being used by Western countries to further neo-colonial agendas. Contrary to this, the MDC-A led Mutare City Council strongly believes NPM entails more market orientation in the public sector leads to greater cost-efficiency and promotes municipal service delivery. This is partly true because NPM has to a fair extent improved service delivery in Mutare, specifically looking at council schools, and civic engagement. The next section of the thesis analyses factors that have been impeding implementation of NPM in Mutare.

4. 6 Factors affecting implementation of NPM in Mutare

NPM, is not a self-sufficient process and concept. It is contingent on context, administrative and institutional factors. This section looks at the contextual, institutional, and administrative factors that has been affecting the implementation of NPM in its holistic sense at the Mutare City Council. These factors include meagre political will; administrative incapacities of Mutare city council; politics and power struggles; economic crisis in Zimbabwe; corruption coupled with jurisdictions and policy inconsistencies. Ceteris paribus, NPM can guarantee effective social service delivery in Mutare. However, the disharmony of NPM with the local socio-political culture worsened by fragmented and patched application of the reform strategies by Mutare City Council, impacted negatively on potential outcomes.

4.6.1 Administrative incapacities of Mutare City Council

One precondition for successful implementation of NPM programmes is the state capacity (Hughes, 2003). State capacity specifically speaks to the ability and aptitude of a nation to institute any reform measure definitively basing on institutional, technical, administrative, and political factors. One key administrative incapacity at the Mutare City Council is the shortage of workers. This is due to a Ministerial Directive which has frozen all posts till further notice. This has left some critical posts such as the Health Department without any doctors and most of the administrators are working in an acting capacity (UMRRT 2016:18). According to Key Informant D (line 234-240), the municipal authority is understaffed because it does not offer competitive salary packages. This pushes most staff members, in particular, nurses, to opt to work for private and central government hospitals (ibid). The workers' predicament here reflects a poor human resources strategy by the council. The human resource strategy lacks initiatives for employee motivation, and its nexus to stimulating institutional performance hence clientele satisfaction. All this, points to critical gaps in the city council's NPM reforms, which ultimately dilutes the potency of the reforms in promoting effective social service delivery.

The question of administrative incapacities of Mutare city council is not only evident through staff shortages but extends to incompetence and lack of skills amongst already existing staff members and councillors. According to Madzivanyika (2011:8) senior officials and management at Mutare city council were allegedly recruited on political partisanship grounds and not owing to their competence.

The same thoughts were echoed by eminent civic organisations which argued that most of council members are political appointees who serve the interests of the ruling party and this has made the council susceptible to all kinds of corruption (CSO3: line 170-179). Owing to this partisanship and politicization of council workforce, it has been branded an "extension of Zanu PF", the ruling party in Zimbabwe (CSO3: line 175). Such kind of images, paints the city council in a bad image. Consequently, this breeds mistrust and suspicion from the residents it is supposed to serve.

Commenting further on the incapacity of council, CSO3 (215-217) pointed out that the local authority is only good at collecting revenue but not accounting for the revenue and poor budgeting. For example, an analysis of the budget for the city council showed that 80% of the costs were administrative and only 20% were meant for social services. This exhibits misdirected budgeting where more money should be spent on services towards clientele satisfaction. These technical and administrative shortfalls within operations of Mutare City Council bear concrete testimony to weaknesses in their application of NPM. To try and redress the capacity deficiencies of Mutare City Council, civil society organisations like UMRRT have been doing capacity building workshops and dialogues with councillors so that they are aware of their mandate and can be able to deliver on their responsibilities (CSO1: line 56-59). The existence of capacity gaps and realisation by civil society organisations in Mutare that the council requires capacity development is evidence of the council's explicit inadequacies.

However, it is important to take into cognisance the fact that, the complexity of NPM as a reform strategy also makes it more complicated for Mutare city council to understand it and holistically implement it. Key informants and senior management of Mutare city council interviewed in this thesis indicated that they were not aware of the technicalities of NPM even though they were implementing the concept (Key informant CM: line 98). It is shocking how a whole institution implements reforms they do not totally understand. Even Batley and Larbi (2004, p: 221) in their study of the impact of managerial reforms on the changing role of the government have noted that these reforms *"were inherently more complex and taxing of government capacity than previous arrangements"*. This brings to fore the question of operationalisation of NPM in most developing countries against the backdrop of administrative and technical capacity shortfalls. In the words of Farooqi (2013:122) such a situation actually results in NPM type reforms threatening "to increase the core problems of administrative coordination and corruption".

Hence in the context of Africa at large, and Mutare in specific, efforts to implement NPM without harmonising it with local context and ensuring adequate administrative capacity may actually do more harm than good.

4.6.2 Question of power struggles

This thesis established that the greatest threat to service delivery in Mutare is politics. As aptly spelt out by CSO1 (line 126-127), "polarisation, political polarisation, remains the biggest challenge to, to proper service delivery…I think Zimbabwe, in general is too polarised". This thinking goes hand in hand with Muchadenyika's assertion that, "urban areas in principle are hives of service delivery but in the Zimbabwean case, they are sites of political struggles" (Muchadenyika, 2014:3). Likewise, Robinson (2006: 166) delineates that, "cities are sites of contestation" characterised at large by "deeply contested politics". In the context of Mutare the political contestation extends to serious infighting between the city council management and councillors (CSO1: line 127-128). The conflict and fighting is owing to the fact that the two are representing different political agendas (ibid: 129). This further exhibit polarisation hinched at large on politics and power struggles. At the end of the day, council management and councillors focus on power struggles and ignore their main mandate of providing social services to the people of Mutare. This is supported by Muchadenyika (2014:2) who holds that political struggles between Zanu-PF and MDC over the control of urban councils have turned more energy, focus and resources away from service delivery to political expediency. Thus, power struggles have exerted a negative impact on social service delivery in Mutare.

This thesis further found out that the power struggles at Mutare city council and Zimbabwe at large have not only impacted social service delivery but all NPM reforms towards guaranteeing the same. Conflicting political differences and allegiances between the council political and administrative wing was and is a standoff perturbing urban services delivery (Muchadenyika, 2014: 4). For example, in Mutare City Council, appointed staff proposed dismissing a significant number of workers as a cost cutting measure. Councillors did not support the proposal arguing that "the motive of the Town Clerk and the local government minister was political - making MDC councillors unpopular" (Muchadenyika, 2014:61). These machinations traded good governance for political advantages and because of this central government therefore came very heavy on urban councils thereby thwarting any remaining elements of freedom, good governance, commitment, initiative, etc among councillors and council employees (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 173).

Hence, at the end of the day, politics and power struggles have strained NPM reforms by Mutare City Council. The net effect has been deteriorating social service delivery as proved in this thesis.

Weighing politics and economics, Muchadenyika believes desperately that "politics had far reaching and deep entrenched impacts on service delivery"., (Muchadenyika, 2014: 54). The best example of power struggles is in the running of Mutare City Council. Power struggles between the Ministry of Local Government and the Mutare City Council are historical. Since 2008 Mutare has always been dominated by MDC councillors and mayors. According to Muchadenyika (2014: 45-46) in the period, 2008 – 2013 Mutare witnessed improved social service delivery much to the chagrin of winning awards of Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce Cleanest City award (2010 and 2011) and Best Performing Urban Local Authority in Waste Management award at the 2013 Zimbabwe International Trade Fair. However, despite this remarkable progress the Mayor of Mutare City Council was suspended and fired merely because of political power struggles between him and the Zanu PF Minister of Local Government. Politics took precedence over competence. This has greatly impinged on the adequacy of NPM in ushering effective social service delivery in Mutare.

4.6.3 Corruption

Another factor that has affected the holistic application of NPM reforms by Mutare City Council has been rampant corruption. Whilst some researchers have deemed corruption as a contributing factor to the rise of NPM (Teehankee, 2003), this research found out that corruption can be an after effect of NPM. CSO1 (line 129-131) posited that corruption is the biggest challenge at the Mutare City Council sighting the siphoning of funds from the local authority by well-connected politicians. A council audit report analysed in this thesis revealed deeply systemized corruption and practise of unscrupulous financial management and illicit money flows by senior council management. The financial audit report explicitly exposed that salaries and incentives of eleven senior management salaries did not conform to the budgeted amounts. Further, the salaries and incentives were beyond the salary and incentive scale pegged by the Ministry of Local Government. Hence, Mutare city council operated in direct disregard of Local Government statutes, specifically a ministerial directive that called for the council's immediate action towards rationalising of salaries and scrapping of allowances. For example, according to the audit report, the Ministerial directive postulated that the stipulated grade sixteen salary for the town clerk be pegged at $4550.

Contrary to this directive and the local authority's human resource standards, the municipal authority unscrupulously increased the salary to $9 288. The same hiking of salaries without due process was done for the monthly remuneration for the city housing director, chambers secretary, city engineer, city finance director, security officers as well as the city human resources director. Such misappropriation of funds and financial mismanagement disadvantages rate payers and affects social service delivery in the city. This is avowed by Muchadenyika (2014:52) who asserts that, council mismanagement, and corruption results in municipalities like Mutare City Council failing to efficiently discharge their constitutional mandate of providing social services like portable safe water, sewer reticulation, housing, and refuse collection.

Evidence from this thesis also pointed out to rampant corruption in the allocation of stands in the city of Mutare (CSO4: line 122-130). This is corroborated by an article titled, "Stop the rot at Mutare City Council", in which the Daily news reported that, the forensic land audit for financial period ending March 2019, exposed rampant corruption in the selling of stands by Mutare City Council (Daily News, 7 March 2019: para 1). The same article reports on the selling of stands which the municipality had not assessed as per city bylaws (ibid: para 6). Another article, in the Newsday, substantiates the corruption issues at Mutare city council by reporting on the double allocation for stands by senior management officials at the local authority (Newsday, 31 July 2018: para 5). Further, corruption by Mutare City Council is not only evident in the stand dealings but extends to issuing if licenses to informal traders, small business enterprises and sole traders. According to the city bylaws the operating of tuckshops on undesignated sites is illegal. Contrary to this bylaw, Mutare is plagued with a lot of tuckshops and informal traders. It emerged in this thesis that, the Mutare city council is collecting money from desperate informal traders and citizens so that they can keep operating their illegal tuckshops (ROL3: line 407-415). Some council officials are therefore engaging in siphoning money from informal structures, thus sustaining criminality within the city. Such double standards and systemised corruption tendencies impact negatively on NPM reforms by council. As a result, NPM reforms will never yield positive results as its intended fruits are compromised by corruption. Thus, public administration scholars like Zungura (2014: 247) emphatically conclude that corruption, and administrative incapacity are amongst factors hindering the success of NPM in Zimbabwe.

Corruption has also been evident at Mutare city council through the NPM practise of contracting out and tendering (CSO4: line 189-190). As argued by Chigudu (2014: 48) NPM gave rise to the practice of outsourcing and tendering as the government sought to improve efficiency through competitiveness in public services provision. In some cases, this did not yield desired results as the tender process became fertile ground for corruption (ibid). In the Herald a State-owned daily newspaper (7 August 2014) the Minister of Finance and Economic Development described the State Procurement Board (SPB) as the 'capital city of corruption'. According to critical civil society organizations in Mutare, there was corruption at the city council when they contracted a politically connected individual to do a project that required a well registered and competent company. The result of this was the abuse of funds by the contracted person which ultimately resulted in the project failing to be completed (CSO4: line186 -198). So, whilst contracting out can sometimes lead to efficiency in social service delivery, it can also be a breeding ground for corruption which consequently disturbs social service delivery.

The above cited cases of corruption by Mutare city council were also confirmed by the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), in a classical expose titled "Massive corruption unearthed at Mutare city council". In this expose, ZBC reported that Mutare city council officials have been prejudicing the local authority of lots revenue through un-procedural tender processes and corrupt activities (ZBC, 22 May 2017: para 3 -4). The article further exposed that some councillors awarded their own companies tenders to provide council with services (ibid). This was not only against City council procurement statutes but presented a conflict of interest. The obvious impact of this was deteriorating social service delivery in the city of Mutare. It is therefore clear that, if not well implemented and backed by strong institutions, NPM reforms can result in corruption which dilutes its transformative power to effect positive change.

4.6.4 Economic crisis
For NPM reforms to be holistically implemented and equally effective, the reforms require adequate funding and fiscal stability. NPM reforms in Mutare are being implemented in a period of massive economic turmoil in Zimbabwe. The economic crisis in Zimbabwe is manifest through an inflation rate of over 699%, unaffordable prices, currency crisis, government liquidity crisis, social service delivery crisis and acute food insecurity. The economic crisis has apparently crippled Mutare city council's ability to provide social services adequately.

In the words of Councillor3 (line 147-149), "…things are tough also because of our economic situation, so council cannot really effectively provide social services much to the satisfaction of everyone…". Correspondingly, Key informant CM (line) concurred that, most of the plans to improve social services by Mutare city council, including rolling NPM strategies, are derailed by the economic meltdown in the country. Thereby, this slows down council responsiveness and financial capacity to efficiently provide urban services.

Funding NPM requires a constant and consistent funding source. The economic predicament Zimbabwe is plunged in, dwindles the financial coffers of Mutare city council so much that the local authority cannot adequately finance all its intended reforms. CSO3 (line 346-347) bemoans that, "Council is operating under difficult circumstances, economically". Such circumstances are worsened by the fact that council has operating costs like fuel for refuse trucks, water cleaning chemicals, wage bill, and other general running costs. The net effect of this, according to CSO4 (line 67-69) is "slow reactive response" and general incapacitation.

Further, the economic situation not only incapacitates council in delivering services and funding NPM reforms but also has ripple effects on the citizens. Council relies on rates of water bills, and service levy from the residents for most of its activities and residents are also severely affected by the economy to the extent that they cannot also pay for services rendered by council (CSO2: line 104 - 107). A key resident opinion leader in Mutare shared a similar sentiment by arguing that, "…Every citizen has an obligation to what - to pay their rates. But with the services that they are given, and the hardships, the economic hardships that we have in Zimbabwe, you find that most citizens will not pay their rates" (ROL2: line 228 - 230). This implies that, residents no longer pay their dues to the Mutare city council because they do not have the financial muscle to do so owing to the financial challenges in the country. Referring to both the Mutare City Council and the Mutare residents, he further argues that, "people have been exfoliated, by this, this economy of ours, to the point that they do not understand, the term service anymore" (ibid: line 282-284). Commenting on the role of the economic situation in social service delivery, CSO4 (line 36-38) noted that, when the Mutare City Council made the decision to increase charges for water and rates to match increasing prices of the cost of securing the services, the people of Mutare contested against the water charges increases sighting serious economic hardships.

Justifying this position, vocal resident's associations argues that, residents vetoed against increases in service charges because they do not have a corresponding increase in their incomes which can enable them to pay for the services (CSO1: line 152-154). The argument implies that; residents can only be able to accept an increase in charges of services if their own salaries are increased by their respective employees. Hence the city council is caught between a rock and a hard place, it cannot increase its rates to be able to shoulder and sustain its capacity to provide its services against an ailing economy. The citizens on the other hand, are also not able to pay for services because their salaries are not adequate to cushion them from the economic hardship in Zimbabwe. It is a vicious cycle perpetuated by the economic crisis. In the end, social service delivery deteriorates and NPM reforms slow down.
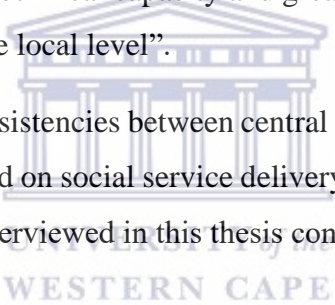
It is also important at this juncture, to take into cognisance the pre-eminent fact that, the economic crisis in Zimbabwe is not only contemporary but also historical. Similar to the current predicament, the economic crisis in Zimbabwe a decade ago had similar negative impact on urban governance, social service delivery and attempts to implement NPM reforms. Muchadenyika (2014: 5) acknowledges that the urban governance crisis in Zimbabwe took place against a complex socio-economic crisis. The Government of Zimbabwe through its economic blueprint, the Medium-Term Plan (MTP) argues that "local authorities have weathered a turbulent economic period and have emerged somewhat battered and bruised". Thus, according to the Government of Zimbabwe the economy plays a significant role in explaining the local governance crisis. The following assertion of Jonga and Chirisa in 2009 still holds true in contemporary Zimbabwe, "it is lamentable that in this same period of the messy reality of governance in the country the economic meltdown in the country has rendered most of the councils un-creditworthy to local and international banks, leaving the borrowing powers by urban councils in the hands of central government to the detriment of rapid decision-making let alone service delivery" (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 167).

4.6.5   Political will and policy inconsistencies

Another factor that has hampered the success of NPM in Mutare, is limited political will, exacerbated by policy inconsistencies and contestation of jurisdictions between central and local government. The World Bank in UNCHS (1996:161) stresses that local government could play a greater role if allowed more autonomy and regular, independent sources of revenue, especially in managing the expanding urban networks that link the towns to their hinterlands. In the case of Mutare, the autonomy of Mutare city council run by MDC is being stifled by the central government run by Zanu pf (Key informant D: 203-207).

With the later, there is meagre if no political will to devolve and decentralise all powers to local government for the fear of further losing political currency in urban areas. This discovery by this thesis is also supported by Farooqi (2013: 99) when he pointed out that empirical and anecdotal evidence from developing countries developing countries exhibit that reforms are located in an "existing centralized bureaucratic system" characterized with rent seeking political bigwigs and office holders who are unenthusiastic and unwilling to "relinquish their control on the justification that they have weak technical capacity and greater devolution of financial control may lead to more corruption at the local level".

There have also been policy inconsistencies between central government and local government in Zimbabwe which have impacted on social service delivery and genuine attempts at reforms. One key resident's association interviewed in this thesis contended that;

> *Well this is where we have the biggest challenge in policy formulation and implementation at local level. You've got a local authority that is dominated by opposition councillors, and a central government that is being run by another political party. That on its own, without devolution, is detrimental to local authority development, and local area development. So there is policy discord, at local authority level and also at central government level* (CSO1: line 215-219)

This hints that there is no harmony of development agenda's, political ideologies and operational framework between central and local government, mostly dues to politicking in the case of Mutare. Owing to this, there has been deteriorating social service delivery and political will to implement necessary reforms holistically to address the problems. The above, is worsened by the lack of clarity in Zimbabwe's legislation about jurisdictions of central and local government. Zimbabwe's constitution is not explicit on the definition of the powers that should be assumed by the Minister of Local Government (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 178).

Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe - RBZ (2004:14) explains that the local government system in Zimbabwe "…is not entrenched in the constitution as in other countries like South Africa.". The absence of an effective and certain legislative framework for local government is an obstacle to service delivery (Madzivanyika, 2011:7). A typical example in this, is the case of ward fifteen, Gimboki, in Mutare (CSO2: line 172-186). In this case, Mutare city council was not providing social services to the ward arguing that it was under the jurisdiction of central government and not the city council of Mutare (ibid).

Central government was also not providing services to this area, thinking that it was under the jurisdiction of Mutare City Council (ibid). This inconsistence is aptly clear in the narration below;

> *city of Mutare had no obligation to provide services to that area because it was not, physically it is in Mutare but administratively it was not under city of Mutare, it was under a cooperative, it was called (…) it was created by the, by the local government, the long gone local government Minister. And 182 the people were swindled their money. So, city of Mutare was, they were tied their hands to, to provide services administratively, and people were yet demanding services from city of Mutare,* (CSO2: line 172-186)

The confusion ultimately affects residents who go for long periods of time without services because of limited political will and policy as well as jurisdiction inconsistencies intertwined together. Legal certainty enables municipal authorities to exercise their powers and functions (Madzivanyika, 2011:18). Service delivery contradictions and tensions within the urban political community threaten effective and efficient service delivery (Muchadenyika, 2014 :3). Further, due to urbanisation "the urban is shapeless, formless and apparently boundless, riven with new contradictions and tensions that make it hard to tell where borders reside and what's inside and what's outside" (Merrifield, 2012: 2). The city of Mutare is a site of political fighting between central and local government that has exposed policy inconsistencies in Urban governance and how it has impacted on NPM reforms and social service delivery.

The next section of the thesis unpacks the social service delivery crisis in Mutare in detail. It simultaneously discusses implications of NPM reforms on social service delivery vis a viz the theory of good governance.

4.7 Social Service Delivery Concerns in Mutare

Owing to piecemeal application and implementation of NPM in Mutare and regression from principles of good governance, the city of Mutare has been marred with a social service delivery crisis. The service provision function has been identified as the raison d'etre for the existence of local governments (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 170). Not only that, urban governance is also an important determinant of urban services delivery (Muchadenyika, 2014: iii). Basing on this, the Mutare city council has failed dismally in its core mandate of providing social services to the people of Mutare under its jurisdictions.

Some of the social service delivery concerns registered in Mutare include, failure to provide clean portable water (Key informant CM: line 10-15); poor road network (ROL1: line 206); poor solid waste management (Councillor2: line 10); dilapidated footbridges (ibid: line 23); poor sewer reticulation (ibid: line 40); irregular and erratic refuse collection (CSO2: line 30); understaffed clinics (key informant D: line 235); dilapidated recreational facilities like swimming pools and play grounds (CSO3: line 281-281); malfunctioning streetlights and traffic lights (Councillor2: line 53); and overcrowded cemeteries and burial yards (CSO3: line 290-291).

It emerged consistently in this thesis that water supply was a major social service challenge in Mutare. Executive management at Mutare City Council admittedly pointed out that, "we are unable to offer our water supply 24/7…" sighting that Mutare does not have adequate water infrastructure to ensure and guarantee regular supply of clean, safe, and portable water. Similarly, residents' associations lamented that, water was not only in inadequate supply but the water that is being supplied in Mutare is unclean for human consumption (CSO4: line 238-240). The same resident's association revealed that, the water in Mutare was not safe for residents so much so that most residents suffered stomach pains after drinking the water for more than a month (ibid). This is against the tenets of the Zimbabwean constitution and the Urban Councils Act which stipulates that citizens have a right to clean, safe, and portable water. The right to water (Section 77 of Zimbabwe Constitution) entitles every citizen to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses. The right further entails water supply for each person and household must be sufficient and continuous for personal and domestic uses. The water required for each person and household must be safe, therefore free from microorganisms and chemical substances that constitute a threat to a person's health. Furthermore, water should be of an acceptable color, odor and taste for each personal or domestic use.

The current water situation in Mutare is against all these requirements with regards to regularity of water supply, quality and acceptability of the water. According to a critical resident's association interviewed, "the water was not even clean enough because, sometimes you could see, when they do their maintenance, the water that would come out, will be very dirty, and it won't be safe to the residents" (CSO4: line 238-240). The supply of water which is unsafe for human consumption exhibits Mutare city council's disregard for clientele satisfaction which is a key cornerstone of NPM.

Another social service challenge in Mutare as discovered by this thesis, is shortage of nurses and poor health service (Key informant D: line 234-235). The health sector has challenges such as lack of medicines (Key informant CM: line 26-29) and is only limited to provided services like antenatal care and general consultations. This prejudices the whole community who suffer from other chronic and critical ailments and require urgent assistance. By so doing, Mutare city council is violating the people's right to health as enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Further, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) which Zimbabwe is a signatory, guarantees the right to health (article 16). In this regard, the council is not only violating a human right but disregarding principles of good governance of responsiveness to people's needs, efficiency, and discharging all efforts to adhere to the rule of law. It emerged consistently in this research that, an assortment of challenges pertaining to health service delivery ranging from poor infrastructure, inadequate and incompetent staff that lack professionalism, drug shortages, corruption, outdated medical equipment, and lack of ambulance services have resulted in the undermining of effective governance and public service delivery. Chirisa (2013) attributes the poor state of service delivery to weak institutions, urban mismanagement, and the reluctance of central government to promote good urban governance.

Sadly, the thesis further revealed that Mutare is also facing challenges of poor road network. A resident opinion leader and senior projects officer at a local civil society organization emotionally revealed that, "l was in Chikanga on Saturday, the roads there, you try to wonder, is this road in a city or we are in place so remote – it is so deplorable" (CSO2: line 12-14). He indicated that most of the roads are not passable because of potholes (ibid). A synonymous sentiment was shared by a senior manager at the Mutare city council who professed that, "our roads are dilapidated, we don't have any roads in Mutare, expect one other road we are fixing which is gravel" (Key informant CM: line 21-22). Another distraught councillor asserted that, "you see our roads, some of the roads, they are now decaying" (Councillor2: line 138-139).

An executive at the Mutare City Council blamed the state of the road to the limited and overburdened purse of the purse council. Therefore, the state of roads in Mutare and financial incapacity of the council to fix the roads shows lack of innovativeness by the council to devise new strategies for example e-tolling and local toll gates or fully implement NPM reforms to redress the challenges.

All the above social service delivery challenges expose an urban governance crisis in Mutare and failure of NPM reforms to facilitate effective social service delivery. Munzwa and Jonga (2010: 140) trace the social service delivery crisis to the politico-economic breakdown of the principles of good governance between 2000 and 2008 which led to "unemployment, environmental pollution and destruction, non-development and maintenance of infrastructure, shortages of urban transport, inadequate supply of water". Other public administration enthusiast interviewed in this thesis attributed the social service delivery crisis to absence of good governance in Mutare borne out through massive corruption and lack of transparency. There is evidence that transparency in budget, expenditure and procurement processes leads to increases in service delivery (UNDP, 2014b:6). It is therefore plausible to contend that, the deteriorating social service delivery in Mutare is linked to absence of good governance particularly with regards to transparency in budgeting and procurement.

Mutare City Council's modus operandi and the status quo of social service delivery points to a local authority suffering from a good governance deficiency syndrome. Mutare is immersed in a social service delivery crisis owing to patched application of NPM reforms and regression from good governance. In the words of Hill, *"…to be an effective provider of services local authorities must be more than efficient. They must still be judged by justice, fairness, equality, and openness by which democratic society as a whole is judged"* (Hill 1974, p: 236). By failing to fulfil its constitutional mandate of guaranteeing access to health, adequate safe water supply, road maintenance, street lighting and other social amenities, the Mutare City Council has fallen way short of being efficient.

4.8 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter detailed the research findings, interpreted, analysed and discussed the findings. The chapter laid out the NPM strategies adopted and implemented by Mutare city council whilst simultaneously interrogating the NPM strategies, particularly their adequacy in promoting effective social service delivery. Further, the chapter also discussed administrative, institutional and contextual factors that affected the application of NPM reforms by Mutare city council hence impeding the reforms from yielding positive results.

That discussion was accompanied by the unpacking of the social service delivery crisis in Mutare tracking it to fragmented implementation of NPM and disregard of good governance principles by Mutare city council. The thesis at large revealed patched and fragmented as well as piecemeal implementation of NPM by Mutare City Council.

This worsened the municipal service delivery situation in the city. The implementation of NPM was on its part also affected by corruption, administrative incapacity of councillors and staff members at council, economic crisis in Zimbabwe, power struggles between central and local government, limited political will and policy inconsistencies. All in all, the net effect of this was deteriorating social service delivery. The social service delivery crisis manifested through poor water supply, dilapidated infrastructure, erratic refuse collection, poor solid waste management, understaffed clinics, lack of medicine in council clinics and shortage of recreational facilities.

The next chapter concludes this thesis and proffers recommendations on the way forward for Mutare city council, resident's associations, civil society organizations and public administration enthusiasts in Mutare.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The thesis is concluded by summarising the adequacy of NPM in effective social service delivery in Mutare. Merits and de-merits of NPM in the context of Mutare specifically and Zimbabwe at large, are laid out. Equally, recommendations are clustered into proposed way forward for different urban governance state actors and non-state actors.

5. Conclusion

While many developing countries have taken up elements of the NPM agenda, they have not adopted anything remotely near the entire package (Polidano, 1999:1). Findings of this thesis point out to unconscious, half-baked and piecemeal application of NPM reforms against a backdrop of technical incapacity, administrative capacity shortfalls, economic crisis, pseudo political will coupled with power struggles. As argued by Zungura (2014:246) "patchy implementation of NPM reforms without political as well as administrative will does not yield results". Mutare city council has not committed itself fully and institutionally for NPM.

NPM strategies being implemented by Mutare City Council include decentralisation, outsourcing and contracting out, performance management, e-governance, civic participation, civic engagement, and accountability. E-governance is being implemented through an e-platform called M-DATA, acronym for Mutare Dialogue and Technology for Accountability, e-billing code, sms platform, and whats app platforms. Decentralisation on the other hand is being rolled out through creation of ward development committees and devolving of full council into various committees like General purposes committee and financial committee. Civic engagement and participation is being facilitated through a Public Relations office specifically established for those purposes, budget consultation meetings and unspecified public feedback meetings.

Whilst the aforementioned NPM strategies like creation of ward development committees have been effective in bring council closer to the people and coordinated identification of community needs, this thesis established that all the adopted NPM reforms did not yield any results with regards to improving social service delivery in Mutare. NPM reforms by Mutare City Council were undermined by lack of funding, power struggles between Zanu PF and MDC, the economic crisis in the country, and policy inconsistencies.

Platforms like the e-governance initiatives overlooked the fact that not all people in Mutare have access to internet and smart phones. Similar platforms also disenfranchised demographic groups like the elderly population and the techno-illiterate. Further, the accountability mechanisms used by Mutare City Council are not institutionalised and lack the user-involvement principle. This waters away the potency and potential of NPM reforms.

Looking at the application of NPM reforms by Mutare city council, this thesis realised that NPM reforms are not systemized and their implementation was unconscious in some cases, for example with regards to performance management. Performance appraisal is done through review meetings which are not fixed, systemized and have no definite procedure. The executive management at council professed ignorance of the technical components of NPM hence leaving the question – how does one implement a complex concept they do not comprehend? The net effect of this has been scrappy, fractional and uncoordinated implementation of NPM. This was exacerbated by a disabling environment, and disharmony of NPM to the administrative and political culture of Mutare city council. Factors like corruption, political infighting, and council's capacity shortfalls were inhibiting hurdles in the operationalization of NPM. Consequently, Mutare City Council has been and is facing social service delivery challenges.

Taking into cognisance the power wrangles between the central government and the local government, compounded by minimal political will to discharge reforms at full throttle, the adoption of NPM was doomed to fail in Mutare. NPM was supposed to be preceded by institutional and administrative capacity building and backed by a fiscal facility that would guarantee its successful roll out.

5.1 Recommendations

The urban governance crisis coupled with the social service crisis in Mutare are not impossible to reprimand. Both crises require collective action from the Ministry of Local Government, Mutare city council, resident's associations, civil society groups and legislators. This thesis proposes multifaceted action points employing a multi-sectoral and interdisciplinary approach towards averting the crisis befalling Mutare City Council. Below are the proposed suggestions, stratified into; recommendations for the Mutare City Council, recommendations for Ministry of Local Government, policy recommendations and recommendations for Mutare residents.

5.1.2 Recommendations to the city of Mutare

Mutare City Council is the primary and key stakeholder that can stir the holistic implementation of NPM at local level and stimulate effective social service delivery. The crucial point of departure in inculcating a culture of NPM at Mutare city council is multi-stakeholder engagement to set up a NPM strategic plan and strategic technical taskforce. Engaging committed, serious and technically competent stakeholders ranging from public administration experts, civil society organisations, resident opinion leaders, business leaders, churches, youths, and women to collectively map an NPM strategic framework and set up a taskforce to oversee the strategy would be a critical step towards full roll out of NPM reforms with minimal problems. Engaging stakeholders will not only guarantee ownership of reforms by every stakeholder in Mutare but will ensure everyone is on a common ground, equal footing and committed to improving services in the city. Engaging serious stakeholders' participation in all matter affecting their day to day living sets in motion participatory problem solving, collective effort and institutionalization of representative democracy in Mutare. Representative democracy in the council chambers should be complemented by direct democracy as representatives meet with their constituencies (Jonga and Chirisa, 2009: 179). From the multi-stakeholder engagement and setting up of a NPM taskforce, key steps can then be taken to drive reforms.

Another key recommendation for Mutare city council is to set up a special fund for financing NPM reforms at local level. It emerged in this thesis that lack of funding was a major inhibiting factor to success of NPM and improving service delivery. Therefore, it is imperative for ensuring a financial stream towards NPM reforms. This can be done by apportioning a fixed amount from the city's rates account to the NPM reform account. Equally, the council can start engaging in fundraising initiatives to generate funds for the NPM reform account.

Fundraising initiatives can include writing proposals for funding to international bodies oriented towards NPM like UN Habitat, political foundations like Konrad Adeaneur foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and other international actors enthusiastic about funding social service delivery initiatives and governance reform. By securing independent funding for NPM reforms, Mutare city council will do away with most of its problems like the economic crisis which have been hampering the success of NPM. It will also do away with administrative incapacity as such funding usually comes with capacity building incentives. To strengthen the NPM reforms financing, it should also be backed by a special fund by the Ministry of local government at national level. Backing NPM reforms with strong fiscal facilities will guarantee its success.

Further, there is also need for the Mutare city council to establish a Monitoring and Evaluation department. Monitoring and evaluation is significant towards tracking, assessing and measuring the degree of effectiveness, accountability, efficiency, sustainability, and impact of all its projects and initiatives. Through monitoring, Mutare city council can track where its failing, and redress its gaps as well as focus its resources on key problems and civic matters that can help the local authority achieve its intended goals, and objectives. This thesis established that Mutare city council has weak performance management and has no specific personnel responsible for it. If the council established a monitoring and evaluation department, performance management can be a core responsibility of this department. Further, a monitoring and evaluation department, would be ensure that the Mutare city council and all its operations maintain its strategic vision, adheres the City Clients Charter, and that its activities result in the achievement of its intended outputs in a cost effective and timely manner. Another key prospective benefit of a monitoring and evaluation department is that it can work collaboratively with different programmes and department within the Mutare city council thereby strengthening integration, cross-learning and inter-departmental coordination.

This thesis found out that Mutare city council has feeble civic engagement and participation platforms. There is strong need for the institutionalization and strengthening of Mutare city council to strengthen its civic engagement platforms and civic participation avenues. This implies moving from tokenistic and cosmetic civic engagement to more meaningful engagement that ensures building a working relationship with citizens and various stakeholders in the city. Meaningful engagement will result in meaningful participation. To achieve this, there is need to stop the one size fits all engagement through consultation meetings.

Residents of Mutare are not a demographically, academically, socially, and technically homogenous group hence engaging them in one platform congests information uptake. There is need to engage Mutare residents separately to ensure meaningful participation. For example, engagements can be clustered into different platforms, like churches on their own, business leaders on their own, young people, different wards, different organizations aligned to different interests. Subsequently, there would be meaningful engagement with demographic groups of common interests sharing their concerns collectively. The net effect of this is a coordinated responsive action to concerns of the different actors in Mutare.

Mutare city council does not operate in isolation. It works with residents' associations who are the conduit between residents and the council itself. The next section of the thesis proffers recommendations to residents' associations that aid in improving social service delivery and meaningful operationalization of NPM reforms.

5.1.3 Recommendations to Residents Associations

There is strong need for residents' associations in Mutare to build a positive and mutually working relationship with Mutare city council. This thesis found out that residents' associations are hostile with the council and their relationship is tense. The dysfunctional relationship is partly due to the confrontational approach used by resident's associations when dealing with council and Mutare city council's slow responsiveness to the needs of residents' associations. In this regard residents' associations in Mutare should adopt more collaborative approaches when working with council. This implies aborting all their confrontational approaches and the taking of council to the High court. Collaborative partnerships and cooperation instead of competition and witch hunts builds a rapport and mutual trust between the two stakeholders. Sending each other to court diverts funds which should be directed to service delivery to go to litigation costs. Lengthy court cases are costly. The net effect is limited funds for social service delivery.

The residents' associations in Mutare use an umbrella approach which is contrary to decentralization and devolution principles of NPM. They are centrally located at one stop in town yet Mutare has 19 wards with over 19 suburbs. There is strong need for decentralization by residents' associations or dividing each other to allocate each other specific wards. The umbrella approach is not effective in that each ward and suburb in Mutare is unique in its own way, facing its own unique problems requiring unique solutions. Further the umbrella approach is against representative and participatory democracy. The panacea to this is having ward-based residents' associations.

Each of the 19 wards in Mutare must have its own residents' association. This ensures community led representation –community driven social service advocacy and local solutions for local problems approach to residents' associations action.

Residents associations are the bridge and connecting avenue between residents and the city council. In the case of Mutare, the sour relationship between residents and Mutare city council is an indicator that Residents associations have failed at their mandate of connecting the two. There is strong need for residents' associations to strengthen platforms of interaction between residents and the council as well as councillors. UMRRT facilitates Meet your councillors sessions on the local radio station Diamond FM. However, the fundamental question is who still listens to radio in this 21st century of smart phones and 3D televisions. This brings to fore the argument, how huge is the listenership scale of Diamond FM and how effective is the meet your councillor program on radio. Further, the radio does not offer direct human connection between councillors and their constituents. There is therefore strong need for setting physical meetings which facilitates physical connection and direct interaction between councillors and their constituents. This will not only generate understanding between the two but create a working rapport towards collective problem solving of issues affecting communities.

Notwithstanding residents' associations, the Mutare city council also works with the Ministry of Local Government, which represents the central government. Relationship building with key stakeholders should not only be discharged towards residents' associations but also the parent Ministry. The next section of the thesis details recommendations of action points that can be taken up by the Ministry of Local Government to efficiently usher public service delivery and institute NPM reforms.

5.1.4 Recommendations to the Ministry of Local Government

The World Bank in UNCHS (1996:161) stresses that local government could play a greater role if allowed more autonomy and regular, independent sources of revenue, especially in managing the expanding urban networks that link the towns to their hinterlands. For decentralization to be successful, it needs firstly the commitment of the political and administrative leadership to overcome the hurdles of the implementation phase and secondly, significant attention should be paid to local contingency factors (Farooqi, 2003:125). In this light, it is important for the Ministry of Local Government in Zimbabwe to relinquish necessary financial and administrative autonomy to city councils. This does away with power struggles and political interference that has been hampering the success of NPM reforms in Mutare and Zimbabwe at large.

Further, the central government needs to ensure that an enabling environment has been created for the success of local government initiatives, chief among them, NPM reform strategies. The enabling environment should be characterized by conducive policy, ironing out bureaucratic hurdles, limiting Ministerial powers, and prioritizing development and social services over politics. As argued previously in this thesis – NPM is contingent on several factors – institutional, contextual, economic, legal and technical - all grounded in political will. It is the prerogative of the Ministry of Local Government to ensure that all things are equal for the implementation and roll out of NPM.

Commitment in terms of funding, complemented by increased accountability are prerequisites of NPM success (Zungura, 2014:246). The ministry of local government should aid in the process of institutionalizing accountability mechanisms for urban councils. A culture of accountability can go a long way in ensuring sustainability of an NPM culture. Apparently, there are limited checks and balances on urban councils in Zimbabwe. This is indicated by the level of corruption in most councils, including the Mutare city council as exposed in this thesis. There is strong need for the parent Ministry to ensure checks and balances on urban councils in coordination with citizens. The checks and balances should include monitoring spending, verifying tenders, reviewing all contracted out projects and contracts and bi-annual audits seconded to independent private firms. This can go a long way in promoting transparency, accountability and curbing corruption at large. Successively, the Ministry inculcates strong fiscal and general working system.

5.1.5 Recommendations to Residents of Mutare
Service delivery is two pronged. There is the demand side and the supply side. Residents of Mutare constitute the demand side. To ensure effective social service delivery and the success of NPM, residents also have a pivotal part to play. Urban social movements in the form of residents' associations, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) have been viewed as detrimental (Muchadenyika, 2014: 16) stakeholders in urban governance, public sector reform and public service delivery.

This thesis found out that there is endemic citizen apathy in local governance processes and civic matters in Mutare. A key recommendation thus is that, there is an urgent need to bolster up citizen participation. This can be done by incentivising participation through providing meals and rewards for those citizens who attend council meetings and are meaningfully involved in civic matters. Further, low participation has been due to the fact that most meetings are held during normal working days. During these days most residents will be working.

There is need to shift the dates of all council public meeting to weekends when most residents are not working. Residents who are too busy to attend meetings should be encouraged to share inputs through toll free phone calls and participation visits to council when they are free, at their own time. Participation is indispensable to democratic governance and improved service delivery. Hence the significance of the residents of Mutare should not be downplayed or undermined. Successful implementation of NPM reform strategies requires roping in of citizens and ensuring their participation is not tokenistic but meaningful. Meaningful participation entails the consideration of residents as equal partners in NPM and public service delivery.

5.1.6 Policy Recommendations

Chatiza in Madzivanyika (2011: 10) posited that while other factors contribute to the decline in the capacities of local councils, "one cannot deny that some of the problems that local government grapples with in Zimbabwe could be addressed through careful and far reaching legal reforms". Hence, there is need for legislative and policy-based changes to promote service delivery and capacitation of local councils. Such reforms can make fruitful strides towards ironing out policy inconsistencies that have been hampering the success of NPM.

As denoted in this thesis – at one point the Minister of Local Government in Zimbabwe suspended and fired the Mayor of Mutare without due process and illegally despite the fact that the Mayor was performing his duties well and making noble efforts towards social service improvement. In similar cases, mayors of Harare and Gweru were also suspended owing to power struggles between local and central government augmented by unclear legislative framework. All mayors and councillors brought court applications challenging their suspensions. The Bulawayo High Court declared the suspension of the Gweru mayor and councillors as unconstitutional as there was no independent tribunal set up, as is required by the Constitution. The High Court of Harare, on the other hand, approved the suspension of the mayor of Harare, Bernard Manyenyeni, on condition that an independent tribunal be set up within 45 days to declare whether the mayor should be removed or not. The suspension of the mayor of Harare lapsed on the 4th of June 2016 after which he was reinstated in office. Barely 24 hours later, however, Bernard Manyenyeni was again suspended by Government. This shows clearly an unclear legislative framework and policy inconsistencies.

The irony in the above cases is that, the Minister himself cited the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13) and Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) as justification for his decision to suspend the local authorities. Whilst indeed, the Minister may have powers to suspend mayors and councillors, the suspicion has to be on reasonable grounds after appointing of a tribunal to do investigation.

The law in the above cases is problematic because it states that the independent tribunal shall consist of a chairperson appointed by the Minister from a list of 3-9 nominees nominated by the Judicial Service Commission as well as two other members appointed by the Judicial Service Commission and nominated by the Minister. However, the provision that the Minister, as complainant, can also nominate and appoint members of the independent tribunal charged to investigate the accused could potentially impede an independent investigation. It is therefore a clear violation of the Constitutional provision in Section 278 (2). Further, if the tribunal does not find enough evidence "that the respondent is guilty of such other act" but "believes that there is a reasonable suspicion" of guilt, it can refer the case back to the Minister. However, this is unconstitutional as the judgement of the tribunal should be final. If the tribunal does not find enough evidence, the defendant needs to be released. It is therefore urgently imperative for amendment of the constitutional clause granting the Minister powers to dismiss and suspend mayors. This is not ideal, especially considering nepotism, and political power struggles between central and local government in Zimbabwe.

The success of NPM can only be possible if fully backed by conducive laws which are not contradictory to the very principles of NPM. Legislative reforms will not only strengthen NPM reforms but will inspire confidence amongst urban governance stakeholders, NPM beneficiaries and implementers and citizens at large.

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Annexures
Annexure 1 – Interview Guide (CSOs and Academia)

INTERVIEW GUIDE
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS and ACADEMIA

RESEARCH TITLE: An Interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Sector Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City, Zimbabwe

As indicated in my appointment communication, my name is Phillip Nyasha Fungurai, a student pursuing an Master in Administration degree at the School of Government (SOG) of the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting a research on, *"An Interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Sector Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City, Zimbabwe".* The purpose of the research is purely academic as it forms the requirements of my Masters by full thesis. Thank you very much for granting me permission to interview you in our prior communication. You are at liberty to refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time you wish. I assure you that your identity is anonymous unless you want it mentioned in the study. All the information you provide will strictly be treated as confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the master thesis. Please feel free to ask any questions before, during and after the interview if you wish. You may reach me at +263 775482441 or via email at 3879196@myuwc.ac.za or phil.paxx@gmail.com if you have questions later on relating to the study for clarification.

Introduction to Interview

The city of Mutare and Zimbabwe at large has witnessed deteriorating social service delivery with regards access, cost, efficiency, transparency and effectiveness. This has been against the backdrop o an economic crisis in Zimbabwe that has weakened the ability of the local government and city council to effectively deliver on their mandate of providing social service delivery. In efforts towards effective social delivery, the city council has been adopting New public management strategies like decentralization, devolution, contracting out, advanced by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and a best practice in public sector reform that has been adopted by most African countries. There have been topical debates about adoption of the NPM concept, its implementation, merits and de-merits. Against this background, shall we discuss the adequacy of NPM in effective social service delivery in the City of Mutare.

New Public Management

1. What is your understanding of NPM?

2. Describe some of the projects you are implementing to promote NPM?

3. What are some of the success stories you have recorded in advocating for effective social service delivery by Mutare city council?

4. In your engagement with the city of Mutare, what are some of the gaps and challenges it is facing with regards to implementing NPM strategies?

5. In your opinion, is NPM the relevant and sustainable way of promoting effective social service delivery? If so, in what ways. If not, which other strategy would you recommend?

Social Service Delivery

1. What are the main drivers of deteriorating service delivery in the city of Mutare?

2. What have you been doing in your organization to push the city council to improve social service delivery?

3. How best can NPM work to improve social service delivery. What can be its role?

Recommendations

What are your recommendations for the city council to effectively and efficiently deliver social services?

Thank You!

Annexure 2 – Interview guide (Councillors)

INTERVIEW GUIDE
COUNCILORS (CITY OF MUTARE)

RESEARCH TITLE: An Interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Sector Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City, Zimbabwe

As indicated in my appointment communication, my name is Phillip Nyasha Fungurai, a student pursuing an Master in Administration degree at the School of Government (SOG) of the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting a research on, *"An Interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Sector Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City, Zimbabwe".* The purpose of the research is purely academic as it forms the requirements of my Masters by full thesis. Thank you very much for granting me permission to interview you in our prior communication. You are at liberty to refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time you wish. I assure you that your identity is anonymous unless you want it mentioned in the study. All the information you provide will strictly be treated as confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the master thesis. Please feel free to ask any questions before, during and after the interview if you wish. You may reach me at +263 775482441 or via email at 3879196@myuwc.ac.za or phil.paxx@gmail.com if you have questions later on relating to the study for clarification.

Introduction to Interview

The city of Mutare and Zimbabwe at large has witnessed deteriorating social service delivery with regards access, cost, efficiency, transparency and effectiveness. This has been against the backdrop o an economic crisis in Zimbabwe that has weakened the ability of the local government and city council to effectively deliver on their mandate of providing social service delivery. In efforts towards effective social delivery, the city council has been adopting New public management strategies like decentralization, devolution, contracting out, advanced by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and a best practice in public sector reform that has been adopted by most African countries. There have been topical debates about adoption of the NPM concept, its implementation, merits and de-merits. Against this background, shall we discuss the adequacy of NPM in effective social service delivery in the City of Mutare.

New Public Management

1. What is your understanding of NPM?
2. Which NPM strategies have you implemented in your ward?
3. How have you adopted and implemented the NPM strategies you mentioned above?
4. What are some of the success stories you have recorded in social service delivery by adopting and implementing NPM?
5. What are some of the challenges, and gaps you have encountered in implementation of NPM strategies?

Thank You!

Annexure 3 – Research Permission Letter (Mutare City Council)

ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE
TO THE CHAMBER SECRETARY

OUR REF:

YOUR REF:

**CHAMBER SECRETARY'S
DEPARTMENT**

CIVIC CENTRE, NO. 1 QUEENS WAY
P. O. BOX 910, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE
GENERAL LINE : +263 020 64412
FAX: +263 020 61002
WEBSITE: www.mutarecity.co.zw

CITY OF MUTARE

Our Ref: MN/fn

30 January 2019

Phillip Nyasha Fungurai
University of Western Cape
Bellville 7535
Cape Town
South Africa

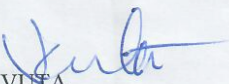Dear Sir

RE: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH STUDY

Your letter dated 22 January 2018 on the above matter refers.

I wish to advise that you have been granted permission to carry out a research titled, "**An interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery.**"

I wish to further advise you that permission is being granted on condition that the research outcome will remain confidential and you will avail a copy to City of Mutare.

Could you please therefore liaise with the Chamber Secretary's Department on the above matter.

Yours faithfully

C. VUTA
CHAMBER SECRETARY
cc. *Human Resources Manager*

Annexure 4 – Research permission letter (CSOs)

THE CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR
JUSTICE AND PEACE IN ZIMBABWE

MDTC Jelf Rd Chikanga
BOX 1269 Mutare

Telephone: 02202010503-4 020-61752

Cell: 0774 031 053

e-mail: mutpaxx@gmail.com

www.ccjpmutare.co.nf

Mr Phillip Nyasha Fungurai
University of Western Cape
Bellville 7535
Cape town
South Africa

25 January 2019

Dear Mr Fungurai

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Above matter refers.

Permission and consent is hereby granted to Phillip Nyasha Fungurai (3879196), student with the University of Western Cape, South Africa to conduct his research on, **"An interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City Council, Zimbabwe"** at our institution.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace – Mutare, fully understand the research aims, our rights and our role as participant in the study, as well as issues related to confidentiality, as outlined in the information leaflet. The organization hereby expresses its willingness to participate in this study. We aware of our right to withdraw at any time.

For any questions, we can be contacted as per the contact details on the letterhead.

Regards

The Administrator

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace – Mutare Diocese

CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR
JUSTICE & PEACE
MUTARE DIOCESAN TRAINING CENTRE
2 5 JAN 2019
JEFF RD CHIKANGA 2
P. O. BOX 1269 MUTARE
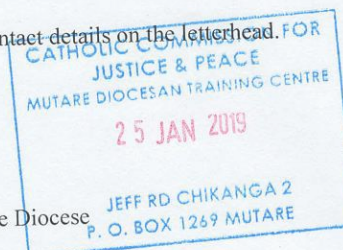
Annexure 5 – Research permission letter (Residents Association)

UNITED MUTARE RESIDENTS & RATEPAYERS TRUST

22 Jason Moyo Hillside Golf Club, Mutare. Landline: 08683005380. Email: umrrt.mutare01@gmail.com /Website: www.umrrt.org / Twitter: @UmrrtMutare/ Facebook: United Mutare Ratepayers & Residents Trust - -UMRRT

Mr P. N Fungurai
University of Western Cape
Cape town
South Africa

28 January 2019

Dear Mr P.N Fungurai

RE: Granting of Permission to Conduct Research

This letter serves to grant Phillip Nyasha Fungurai, passport number **CNO60443, Student Number** (3879196), studying with the University of Western Cape, South Africa to conduct his research on, *"An interrogation of the adequacy of New Public Management (NPM) in effective social service delivery: Case of Mutare City Council, Zimbabwe"* atour institution.

UMRRT is cognisant of the research objectives, our rights and our role as a respondent in the study, coupled with ethics of confidentiality, as outlined in the information sheet and as explained by the student researcher.

Yours sincerely,

P.P. ....

Mr Dube (Programs Officer)