

**Local government as an enabler of Local Economic Development: A case study of the
Bulawayo City Council**



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

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Degree in Master of Public Administration in the Faculty of
Economic and Management Sciences

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Declaration

I, Langton Moyo, hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled, '*Local government as an enabler of Local Economic Development: A case study of the Bulawayo City Council*' is my work and that it has not been submitted as a report for any degree or examination in any other university or academic institution, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by use of references.

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Signed

Date: January 2021



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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents; my late Father Joe Moyo and my Mother Otilia Moyo who always made huge sacrifices and encouraged me to pursue education.



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I give all glory and honour to the Almighty God for blessing me with strength and wisdom to complete this master's programme. I extend my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Gregory Davids, for his patience, sterling academic guidance and unwavering support during this research. I wish to further express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all individuals and institutions who in diverse ways, contributed to the successful completion of this research thesis. I am grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for the two years of funding to undertake my post-graduate studies. I am highly indebted to all the municipal officials of the Bulawayo City Council and all individuals. They invested considerable time and effort in helping me obtain the needed information to answer my research questions.



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Abstract

Local economic development approaches are increasingly being adopted in Africa to address spatial and territorial inequalities in development. Local economic development prioritises grassroots, bottom-up, regional people-centred approaches, and local partnerships to make communities self-reliant. Amidst this approach, the local government sector is encouraged to facilitate this local development process as outlined as the tier of government that supports participatory democracy. As such, most post-independence African countries embarked on a decentralisation drive to position the local government system to play a key role in local communities' development process. This study focused on understanding the part of the local government sector in enabling local economic development. This dissertation sought to investigate how local governments in Zimbabwe can play a role in supporting the process for achieving a local developmental state. The analysis focuses on the local economic development initiatives implemented by the Bulawayo City Council, with specific attention given to the diversification of their economy through the small and medium business enterprises. The theoretical framework of the study was based on the endogenous development approach. This approach is relevant to local economic development and the role of local government in creating local institutions of the process as it emphasises the local determination of choices, control over the planning process, and the local retention of the benefits within the locale. For the field research, a case study of the Bulawayo City Council was necessary to understand and have insights into economic development, local government structures and process in the Bulawayo Metropolitan Area. Data was collected through interviews and discussions seeking contextual viewpoints and local economic development interpretations from participants drawn from the BCC, private businesses, residents, and civic leaders. Bulawayo City Council adopts a local development approach to address problems peculiar to the city through initiatives to reverse the negative effects of de-industrialisation, create employment opportunities; develop infrastructure, and attraction of investment to boost economic growth. The Bulawayo City Council has implemented most of the local economic development plans as a reaction to emanating development problems in the city. The key recommendation from this research is that despite the Bulawayo City Council playing a pivotal role in enabling local development, promoting economic growth should be a vital responsibility of multiple and government agencies.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The rising inequality and poverty gaps between the rich and the developing countries, between local communities and territorial regions, are a continual problem. Development policies and strategies are now designed towards addressing the inequality gaps. This is mostly through initiatives for strengthening weaker communities' capacity to make them more competitive in national and global economies. Within the context of internationally agreed development goals in the 2030 Agenda, targets are set towards reducing inequality gaps and improving human wellbeing. Accordingly, the renewed focus is on localised development planning initiatives to bridge the international inequality gap and bringing strong capacities in the developing countries to be part of the competitive global economy (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2019). Local economic development is defined as a development policy for addressing inequality related challenges in local communities.

In respect of the international development agendas, the local economic development approach is gaining momentum in the global south, particularly in post-independence Africa. This approach offers context-specific and localised responses to social and economic problems (Nel, 2001). It gains favour in Africa as a poverty reduction alternative to lower the inequality gaps between communities. Local economic development is also gaining momentum amid globalising economies as a strategic response to the challenges of globalisation faced by weaker economies. Globalisation connects the world with the local economies, exposing threats and challenges to territories with inadequate capacities to be competitive (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010: 465). As such, the local economic development concept is favoured with a focus on strengthening the capacities of poor territories to be globally competitive.

In this local economic development debate, the role of local government has gained relevance as an institution closer to the people and directly interacts with locality-oriented development challenges. The Local government's position is based on facilitating a more bottom-up and place-based method for addressing development challenges (Pugalis, 2017:9). This role of local government resonates with the approach of local economic development. The global south's political and economic reforms are now centred towards decentralisation to give local governments an increased mandate for playing an active role in local economic development (Edralin, 1996:3). The success of local economic growth requires a local level of autonomy and territorial independence which can be guaranteed through a decentralised and devolved

form of local government. The local government is an ideal place to advance local economic development by facilitating interactions between local human capital, local resources utilisation, and social capital for leveraging collaborative problem solving to improve people's wellbeing in a locality. Accordingly, local government is placed to play a role in enabling local development through promoting dialogue and connections between local people, local resources, and opportunities. By creating connections between the local peoples, the resources and opportunities can create better employment and higher quality of life, local authorities and communities turn to LED strategies in response to the challenges of globalisation (International Labour Organisation, 2020). The drive for decentralisation by critical thinking that the top-down approaches facilitated by central governments and its line ministries often lack local level participation and are remote-based rather than local-context specific.

Despite global economic and technological advancements, a substantial global south population is sliding into poverty traps. The hardships and human misery experienced in post-independence Africa signal development gains' derailment (Taylor, 1992: 216). LED strategies emanated from the global north are proposed to address local-specific development challenges (Nel 2001:1004). Rodriguez-Pose and Tijmstra (2005) note that LED strategies may offer Africa more people-centred and locality-specific alternatives than the previous top-down approaches of the structural adjustment programmes that had disappointing results. Communities in the developing world are falling short in terms of capacities for driving economic growth. The top three wealthiest people in the world accumulated wealth is more than the combined Gross National Product of the 48 poorest countries, the 225 wealthiest people in the world have accumulated a wealth of more than all the least developed countries (People's Health Movement, Medact, Global Equity Gauge Alliance and University of South Africa, 2005: 4). Three-fifths of the population in the developing countries lack access to basic human necessities such as clean water, sanitation, food security and more than 1, 5 billion of the global population lacks access to safe drinking water, face inadequate housing and undernourishment challenges (De Waele, 2010: 18). The local economic development approach has proposed a solution to wealth-related inequalities and addressing some of the human development challenges in the global south.

Local economic development is ideal for addressing global south challenges as it is based on bottom-up and people-centred principles. These principles are focused on harnessing local

economic activities and scaling up the capacities of small-scale communities to improve the conditions of the local people in a jurisdiction. Local economic development is an integrated initiative where physical development has to be linked to wider change drivers such as employment creation, capacity and skills development, investments promotion, enterprise development, productivity, and quality of life (OECD, 2013:9). Local economic development advances initiatives and development projects to increase local economic growth, job creation and wealth, with a focus on the poorest in an area. (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010: 466).

The enabling LED role of local governments has increasingly become more important and functional in the north with local governments policy premised on boosting local productivity (Ward, 1990). The persistence of problems in the global south such as stagnant economic development and rising poverty levels, the central governments' inability to provide strong local development programmes have provided a strong impulse towards more locally based initiatives (Rodriguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005: 3). The majority of the global north countries are experiencing more economic prosperity than the global south and have managed to transform to the changing demands of the international economic environment due to the strength and capacity at local levels. The ineffectiveness of traditional top-down, centralised national government supply-side sector policies to increase productivity and economic efficiency has resulted in the rising unemployment and regional inequality in Africa. This has influenced the debates on the economic role of local governments as a development alternative. Post-independence, a majority of developing countries are pursuing decentralisation policies to devolve power for empowering subnational governments to facilitate and enable economic development activities (Oduro-Ofori, 2011:6). Local governments are directly closer to societal problems and could empower local people to speed up development. In this context, local economic growth can be identified as local government policy initiatives aimed at territorial and community-based development.

The role of the local government has been topical in Africa. South Africa used a local development state, and Uganda used an ambitious decentralisation initiative to address inequality post-apartheid era. Regional and local governments are getting more economic responsibilities and changing their previously predominant administrative role to become active development stakeholders. The principles of decentralisation of power to local governments can be equated to local economic development because the objectives are centred on promoting people-based development and economic empowerment. The

importance of local government in enabling local economic development in Africa followed the Cardiff consensus on local economic development adopted by the Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) in 2011 (Wekwete, 2014: 7). The consensus was that local government can facilitate local development strategies to promote economic opportunities that can reduce poverty.

1.1 Background of the Study

The local government in Zimbabwe is primarily responsible for developing and servicing their jurisdiction areas through devolved powers from the National Ministry of Local Government and Housing. Compared to other local authorities particularly the rural councils, the Bulawayo City Council has relatively enjoyed a large degree of autonomy and earned the reputation as one of the well-managed city areas with encouraging and exemplary administration (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 10, Hamilton and Ndubiwa, 1994). Central-local tensions and politically contested environments exist within urban local authorities. The opposition politics govern Bulawayo City Council under the banner of the Movement for Democratic Change whilst the ruling party, Zanu-PF is leading the national government. This creates contestation for power and control of metropolitan areas like Bulawayo and the government is reluctant to lose control. In this regard, the government introduced a resident minister's office responsible for oversight of the council and the Mayor (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 10). The resident Minister though a local government official is ideally an agent of the central government and ruling party appointee by extension. Mbiba & Ndubiwa (2009) further note that the degree of autonomy for local government is eroded and councils are eventually government by appointed officials not elected by the local people resulting in centralisation rather than decentralisation. However, the Bulawayo City Council as it was selected for this case study has managed to withstand to some degree political tensions and conflicts as compared to other larger authorities like the Harare City Council due to distance from national political power struggles and good administration practices that priorities service provision (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 10). Accordingly, the empirical section of this research focuses on understanding how, despite operating in an institutional and politically challenging environment, what initiatives have earned the council the status of one of the best-managed areas. This will provide insights into understanding how local government is an enabler of local economic development.

In Zimbabwe, the post-independence period epitomised decentralisation policy overtures to facilitate people-centred development planning. Local government was earmarked sphere to drive initiatives to address the social and economic inequalities entrenched by the colonial regime. A significant issue of concern is the unitary system of government in Zimbabwe, and Kurebwa (2000), notes that in a unitary government system, the local levels of administration exist as agents of central authority rather than as expressions of local state power and local voices. Zimbabwe local governments are taking up some responsibilities to enable economic development in their jurisdiction. Challenges remain in facilitating localised economic development planning due to the central power interference that has had a detrimental effect on the good governance of local areas (Chakunda, 2015: 4). It is also prudent to note that despite decentralisation efforts, the LED role of local governments still faces governance efficiency challenges, and the empowerment of the localities remain elusive in Zimbabwe (Ojambo, 2012: 71). Local governments' role in enabling local economic development is often faced with challenges related to insufficient institutional capacities, weak operational frameworks, resource constraints and lack of autonomy. Within this study's context, the main question behind the drive for decentralisation in Africa is centred on whether local governments can enable local economic development. If the local government is involved in economic development, how can and what roles can it play are the preceding debates that this study sets out to contribute.

Accordingly, this study focuses on the Bulawayo City Council as a case study for this research. The Bulawayo City Council is managed through two power structures: The Council/ political arm and the administrative arm (for more detailed explanation see section 1.2.1 and section 1.2.2). The political arm is responsible for policy governance and comprises 29 elected Councillors representing each ward in Bulawayo. The Council is responsible for policy-making and broad-based decision making through the standing committees. The policy decisions made by the Council are implemented through the administration and management headed by the Town Clerk's Department through departments which are Chamber Secretary's, Engineering Services, Financial Services/ Treasury, Health Services and the Housing and Community Services Departments. As and when required Sub-Committees, Ad-hoc Committees composed of Councillors and senior council officials are constituted through the Urban Councils Act (Cap 29:15) to deal with specific emerging issues. Effective corporate management and policy implementation is achieved through

regular meetings of the Heads of Department and a close working relationship with the Standing Committees.

The Bulawayo City Council makes policies guided by standing committees, each with its terms of reference. The committees deliberate on specific issues brought before them for making recommendations to the full Council. The Full Council is a monthly meeting of all the Councillors which meets every first Wednesday of the month at 4.30 pm and deliberations are open to the public. The full Council has the final power to adopt the Committee's recommendations for implementation, amend, and or refer the matter to the committee for further considerations. Bulawayo City Council operates through various legislations such as the Urban Council Act [Chapter 29:15], Regional Town and Planning Act [Chapter 29:12], Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09], Roads Act [Chapter 13:18]; and the Shop Licences Act [Chapter 14:17] to provide a range of services and manage the local development process of the area of jurisdiction. The Bulawayo City Council has different departments and committees with specific terms of references that support the implementation of policies and initiatives in line with local demands. The two main structures of management, the administrative arm and the council or political arm work collaboratively and in consultation with each other through the deliberation of local issues to develop responsive policy plans that address various socio-economic challenges.

The Bulawayo Metropolitan Area is located southwest of Zimbabwe. It is the second-largest city in the country after Harare with an approximate population of 1,5 million people (Bulawayo Provincial Census Report: 2002). Bulawayo is divided into five sub-administrative district areas and politically into twelve House of Assembly constituencies (Parliament of Zimbabwe Research Department, 2011:3). Bulawayo was previously the critical economic hub of Zimbabwe. This is owed to its strategic location forming the centre of the road and rail transport network links of the country to South Africa, Botswana, and Zambia¹. The area was previously the industrial hub of Zimbabwe (Mbira, 2015:1) and economic hub for the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There are various economic activities in the region's hinterland, such as wildlife tourism and mineral wealth, which contributed to the area being Zimbabwe's industrial capital, harbouring the headquarters of the National Railways of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair Centre. At its industrial peak, the region boasted of a diverse economic base and

¹ Government of Zimbabwe, 2020, *Bulawayo*, <http://www.zim.gov.zw/index.php/en/my-government/provinces/bulawayo>

comprehensive industrial sector in textiles and manufacturing. Amidst this, economic challenges that prevailed in the country from the late 2000s led to a massive close down of the industrial sectors in Bulawayo (Parliament of Zimbabwe Research Department, 2011:3-4). Before the advent of the early 1990s, Bulawayo had a diverse industrial and economic base with one of the largest textile industries in Africa (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 11).

Over the years, it is estimated that more 20 000 people have been pushed out of employment after more than 100 industries closed down operations due to national challenges (Masvora, 2013). The population's economic activity rate is estimated at below 40%, and a significant portion of the Bulawayo population is not economically active. A majority of small-scale businesses in the city closed down due to the inability to compete with other businesses within the SADC regional and global competitors. At least 22 milling companies in Bulawayo halted operations because of the competition from cheap mealie meal imports from neighbouring South Africa and Botswana (Kasanzu and Chiutsi 2013). With the growing population and the failing economy, the City Council lost revenue sources and experienced financial difficulties resulting in many problems such as poor waste management, pollution due to the growing informal sector, urban agriculture affecting the city landscape, and perennial water problems. The de-industrialisation of Bulawayo has affected people in the city as the industrial employment share of the city to total employment drastically dropped (Mbira, 2015:2). This resulted in a massive loss of jobs that drastically changed the urban terrain's social and economic landscape in Bulawayo and informal trading, becoming a significant source of livelihood in the city. The growing informal sector in Bulawayo is attributed to many factors including the closedown of industries, retrenchment resulting in loss of employment and people reverting to informal activities for livelihood and to support their families (Moyo, 2018:300).

Amidst this scenario, the Bulawayo City Council as the local authority in the region has attempted to strategically intervene in the past years to promote localised development interventions. The residents are now experiencing severe economic hardship with limited livelihood opportunities due to shrinking economic and industrial activity in the region. Attempts at driving localised development planning began in the 1980s when Bulawayo City Council developed the first city master plan guided by the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1967) and subsequent revised versions of 2000-2015. The vision was for a framework of strategic resources mobilisation, local social and economic planning, extensive stakeholder engagement, and urban agriculture as part of the city's integrated local economic

plan (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 93). The adoption of a localised development plan was intensified by the economic decay set on the city in the early 2000s due to industrial closedown, high rural to urban migration that led to growing unemployment levels and urban poverty in the city. The growth of the population in the region coupled with the national economic meltdown in 2008 affected the livelihoods of a majority of people. Kasarda and Parnell (1993) note that associated explosive population growth in cities has been a plethora of development problems. Critical to local economic development issues in Bulawayo is the challenges of unemployment, the decline in industrial output, and the lack of competitive advantages for local companies compared to cheaper imports from the Southern African regional market.

The Bulawayo City Council has governance authority over the local area and is mainly charged with the service provision and infrastructural development for the community and its surrounding areas. Administratively the evolution of the current local government in Bulawayo dates back to colonial rule. Urban councils were initially established as Sanitary and Administrative bodies through the Town Management Ordinances under the Cape of Good Hope Municipal Act of 1882. Bulawayo and Harare City Councils were the first local boards in Zimbabwe. These boards were responsible for formulating and implementing native regulations, Town finances, water provision, and sanitation policies. (de Visser, Steytler, and Machingauta, 2010). With jurisdictional powers granted mainly under the Urban Council Act (Chapter 29:15), the government mandates create localised participatory structures to identify and respond to the local development needs. Under this mandate, the local authority has engaged in recapitalising local development initiatives through strategic plans to attract investment in diverse sectors in the area. Despite the impressive economic history of the region beyond post-independence marginalisation, there remain fundamental contradictions to localised development plans characterised by a compound of factors. These include inequitable land distribution, obsolete industrial equipment and production methods that are not competitive in the global markets (Bond & Manyanya, 2002). In light of these economic conditions, the local government fails to promote localised development plans as it is highly centralised and does not effectively promote popular local participation in development management. The pre-independence local government remains centralised in Zimbabwe as a system for maintaining the status rather than enabling local development initiatives.

1.2 Problem Statement

Local governments are increasingly transforming from being merely administrative bodies for service provision in water, electricity, primary education, schools, and sewage reticulation. With the growing move towards bottom-up and people centre development planning, local governments are mandated with the economic development role of their areas. However, in Zimbabwe, due to the loopholes in the legislative and policy framework, the localised development approach is an appendage of the central government. Local governments' ability to enable local economic development by coordinating local strategic objectives is undermined by central government influence and control. The local governments remain mostly administrative bodies with less entrepreneurial innovation to spur local economic growth. This is the problem that necessitates this study towards understanding *how local government can enable local economic development?*

Against the background of local development planning, decentralisation was implemented to empower communities to influence and participate in the decision-making process and local development through electing local representatives. At independence, the local government unit was to be transformed to allow for local participation and organise territorial functions and development. The commitment towards an autonomous local government with autonomy on fiscal responsibilities, strategic and local development planning remains a myth. The central government remotely maintains control that often undermines Local Government Units' economic role in light of local conditions as they operate under the prerogative and policy directives of the central government that are often not in tandem with different locality problems. The distinct feature of the government in Zimbabwe is the one source of state authority that promotes the uniform application of policies with local governments as mere expressions of central power rather than local development interests (Chakunda, 2018).

This has manifested in preliminary local development plans through the local government. Local Authorities in Zimbabwe are further facing challenges as of institutional capacity to enable local economic development.

1.3 Research questions

Post-independence Africa has been characterised by communities relying on top-down, and socialist central government development interventions change. However, these interventions

have failed to promote grassroots and community centred economic activities to alleviate unemployment, poverty, and urban food security. This has raised the question of what role a local government can play to address economic development challenges on behalf of the central government. Local economic development plans have been initiated as a local level strategy to alleviate a wide range of development challenges. However, there is still a deficit in understanding the appropriate and success of the approach. Accordingly, this study will explore the following research questions towards understanding the roles of local government in local economic development through a study of the Bulawayo City Council.

Within the context of this study,

The primary research question behind the drive for decentralisation in Africa is whether local governments can enable local economic development. How can local government enable local economic development in Zimbabwe?

Secondary Questions

1. What are the roles and responsibilities of local government in local economic development?
2. What is required for the local government to provide an enabling environment for local economic development?
3. How does the local government collaborate with other stakeholders to address local development challenges?
4. What factors are impeding the economic role of the local government?

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aims to investigate ways of how local government can be used to promote a developmental state through the local economic development approach. This will be guided by following the below sub-objectives.

1. To examine how the concept of local economic development is applied in Zimbabwe.
2. To understand how the local government collaborates with other stakeholders to promote local economic development.
3. To provide an overview of the political, policy and legislative changes in Zimbabwe shaping local government and local development
4. To recommend policy directions and transformations to enable local economic development in Zimbabwe.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The local government is the tier of government closest to the people and should also have an economic responsibility to drive interventions that address socio-economic challenges peculiar to their localities. The local government's role in LED has been a central debate in development studies as it provides the linkage point between development, citizen participation, and collaboration with other non-governmental sectors. Despite central government development interventions in the local community, the levels of poverty are deepening, the local government presents an opportunity for economic transformations. Regarding Zimbabwe, less policy research has been conducted on how the local governments can play an economic role. The rationale of this research is to advance knowledge in this field.

Accordingly, the research is justified in that there is a need to investigate how the local government can drive economic development in Zimbabwe and understand possible challenges and measures to promote local government effectiveness. This work is envisaged to help the local governments units formulating strategic policy measures to enable local economic development. The emergence of strong opposition politics in the Movement for Democratic Change has resulted in political contestations with the ruling party Zanu-PF within the local government over urban development control. Therefore, it is critical to understand how local governments can be protected from national politics that derail their economic development mandate to local needs.

1.6 Ethics Statement

The field research and data collection process for this research was conducted after ethical clearance was granted by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Western Cape. The primary data used was mainly collected through in-depth interviews with key informants. The research was carried out in Zimbabwe an often politically polarised environment. Participants raised concerns with the political sensitivity of some questions. In that regard, the researcher followed ethical obligations, explained the nature of the academic research to the participants. This research was written using pseudonyms to avoid the identification of any participant in the study. This research will be availed to the University of the Western Cape and the Bulawayo City Council. Participation was voluntary with consensual approval from participants who also had the freedom to

withdraw if any need arose. No harm was posed to any participant, and confidentiality of information given by the participant was fully assured.

1.7 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

This first chapter introduced the entire study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter traces the origins and arguments of the local economic development approach in the global north and south and the local government concept. It also highlights some of the theoretical discussions that have influenced local development and the key debate behind why developing countries should adopt a localised economic development approach. The chapter also analysed the application of local economic development and issues of local government in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

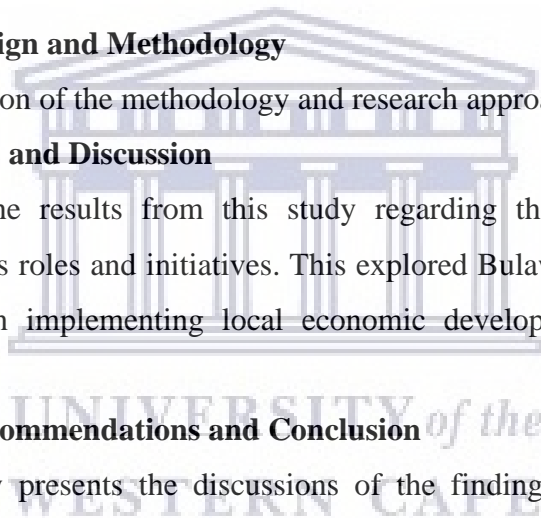
This chapter is a presentation of the methodology and research approach of the study

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Discussion

This chapter discusses the results from this study regarding the characteristics of the Bulawayo City Council, its roles and initiatives. This explored Bulawayo City Council's role as a local government in implementing local economic development promotion in the municipality.

Chapter 5: Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

This chapter of the study presents the discussions of the findings and recommendations enhancing the local government's role in local economic development.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the origins and a global understanding of local economic development. Also discussed is the emergence of this approach as a development alternative for Sub-Saharan Africa and how it has been applied in Zimbabwe through various legislative measures. This is summed through a theoretical discussion of how local government and local economic development are interrelated as forms of local-level participation in development.

2.2 Local Economic Development

The local economic development approaches have been adopted through various strategies depending on geographic regions, development orientation, and alternative responsiveness to locality problems. Despite this diversity, local economic development approaches are based on locally driven initiatives to identify local resources, opportunities, capacities, and ideas to promote community-based development and equitable growth. This process involves a collaboration of the public enterprises, community, and private sector partners on local initiatives to improve the economic capacity, competitiveness, and growth of an area (Swinburn, Goga, and Murphy, 2004: 1). The strategic implementation of local economic development follows that the economic competitiveness and growth of an area create more opportunities that improve the quality of life and reduce challenges such as poverty and unemployment. This approach has a strategic territorial focus. It follows that economic development does coincide in different territories, but occurs unevenly and inequitably across economic space, and different communities (Wekwete, 2014: 9). As local economic development is a locally and territorial driven approach towards addressing the development challenges arising from different interests and needs of diverse communities, social groups, and spatial areas.

Local economic development is a strategy dependant on locally based community leadership collaborating with other various stakeholders to solve existential community challenges and improve their city or town (Heymans, 1995:5). It is a territorial-based development strategy to improve the local community's conditions and lives by harnessing local available resources and opportunities. In as much as external stakeholders through investment attraction and partnerships are harnessed, local economic development intervention strategies are locally

owned and determined as it emphasised through an endogenous growth theory that shapes local development for advancing and scaling to equal level up the economic performance of all localities (Pike et al., 2007). In the endogenous and territorial based approach, local economic development informs a twist to Abraham Lincoln's famous democracy quote to say, “development for the people and by the people” (Abou El-Gheit, 2014). It should be centred around gathering and interpreting the local people knowledge on socio-economic needs and contexts for the benefit of the local people (Senanayake, 2006).

The local economic development approach emphasises the collaboration of different stakeholders to promote the even development of various localities and contribute to national development. This development approach is territorially based striving to empower communities and the sustainable future of the people who live in an area. The wealth creation and empowerment aspect of the process is generally in line to address national development challenges such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment (Rodrigues-Pose and Tijmstra, 2009:38). The basic definition of local economic development is rooted in its commitment to create opportunities for local stakeholders, reduce poverty levels and increase local capacities through local stakeholder collaborations. This commitment towards local community development is envisioned from the success of locally determined development options relating to macro-development options related to national economic growth and the global economic system. Local economic development strategies promote the development of local capacities to adjust to national and international economic reforms. Local economic development is defined as a local strategic process trying to enhance the local business environment (Maliki et al., 2008: 69). In South Africa, local economic development is facilitated as a development programme across various municipalities to enhance macro-economic growth resilience (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020)².

The local economic development approach, with its locality-oriented approach, is a reactionary development approach to the elitist and top-down policy initiatives. Development strategies were traditionally top-down with the central government mainly driving intervention policy options with less local participation and community input; however, local economic development is an advocate for development from below determined by the direct initiatives of the local communities (Rodríguez-Pose, Tijmstra, 2005:4). Local economic

² Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. 2021, *Local Economic Development (LED)*, <https://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/local-economic-development-led/>

growth is based on community participation in a bottom-up approach that promotes equality and inclusive policy agenda with value attachment to the views and interests of the diverse local stakeholders. The emphasis is also on the collaboration of various local stakeholders with other international agencies, equally participating and working together to achieve the local areas' full economic capacity. The essence of this approach is to create context-relevant and tailor-made development policies or interventions that effectively respond to needs and demands. In this context, local economic development can be made to an analogy of 'democracy' and defined as development that is best described by the people for the people. This means promoting local dialogue, connecting people and their resources for improved quality of life (International Labour Organization, 2020)³.

Local economic development is synonymous with community-based development driven by public institutions particularly the local government sector playing a leading role to collaborate with the private sector and non-profit organisations to generate wealth, promote capabilities and empowerment of low income and least developed communities (Bartik, 2003:1, Sherradan & Mason 2013). Local governments shift from managerialism of essential service provision to entrepreneurialism approaches through public-private partnerships focusing on investment and economic development to address poverty problems in communities. The prominence of local economic development is simultaneous with the shift from top-down to bottom-up approaches characterised by the paradigmatic change from government to governance and development powers' devolution to subnational government levels (Pike et al. 2017:). This promotes a collaborative policy process, engagement of opinions of a wide range of local stakeholders and promoting equality within the local community and other communities (Rodrigues-Pose and Tijmstra, 2007: 530). This informs the understanding that economic development is a collaborative process among various stakeholders. It enhances the agencies' capability to achieve economic growth. Local economic development has influenced the transformation from the government to governance. This inherently encourages the involvement of different stakeholders in local development planning.

³International Labour Organization (ILO), 1996-2021, *Local Economic Development (LED)*, https://www.ilo.org/empent/areas/WCMS_093862/lang--en/index.htm

2.2.1 Local Economic Development: A Global Context

Local economic development emerged in reaction to the changing economic environments influenced by globalisation. Local economic development occurs as an initiative for counteracting competition threats or taking up the opportunities for weaker local communities from globalisation forces (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010: 465). Local economic development has been accepted as a strategy to strengthen weaker communities amid globalisation forces. It focuses on identifying the local level crises and protecting the local level opportunities through locality-based responses against globalisation's challenges and threats (Rogerson 2003 & Rogerson 2005). Forces of globalisation change how economies are governed with a more inclination towards regional interconnectedness and expansion of global production and trade systems. The globalisation policy forces on market liberalisation, expanding and connecting global production trade systems, and open trade markets have threatening consequences for smaller and economically vulnerable communities absorbed into the globalised economic system.

The interconnectedness of the global market system has a strong influence on local economies. It poses a threat to some territories with no capacity to fully exploit the opportunities of global changes and consequences (Rodríguez-Pose & Crescenzi, 2008:372 and ILO, 2006:2). The influence of globalisation forces exposes remote spaces to worldwide competition and force localities to react and adjust to the new competitive global economic conditions (Pike et al., 2006:4). More often, some regions and localities without clear comparative advantages and capacities often struggle to adapt to the new competitive global or national economy's fabrics. This leads to concentration of wealth and economic growth in few regions with strong capacities in a country and economic divergence among countries (Rodríguez-Pose, 2002:4). Amidst this influence of globalisation, local economic development has been one approach of reaction and adjustment. It offers the opportunity for taking advantage of the forces of globalisation by maximising local potentials' to be globally competitive (ILO, 2006:2).

Local economic development is gaining root in developing economies. Most of the communities have no strengthened capacities and are becoming more vulnerable to global interconnectedness and resulting competition. The local economic development approach offers measures and alternatives to enhance local communities, utilise local resources and create even development opportunities for global competitiveness. There is no universal

approach to tackle the threats of globalisation. Individuals, firms, and territories have to adopt different local economic and social strategies (Rodríguez-Pose, 2002:6). Local economic development informs development initiatives that are local context tailored to address specific subnational and regional areas challenges rather than conforming directly to the globalising world and not meeting local demands. Local economic development promotes strategies for facilitating economic growth and local areas' potential to participate equally in the regional and global economic systems. Local economic development is the emergence of development thinking and approaches that inform a territorial response to development rather than the globalisation influence of top-down replication of policies from different areas alienating local contexts (Rodríguez-Pose, 2002:8).

To understand local economic development from a global perspective, it is prudent to also look at its evolution over time. The local economic development approach dates a far back as the 1960s. It firstly emerged from high-income and developed countries. The process has been identified and explained distinctly in different contexts. However, it has generally gone through three defining waves since the 1960s. This history is essential in understanding the current conceptualisation of the idea, and how each stage or wave has defined a superior understanding of the process of local economic development in terms of success and failures (Maliki et al., 2008: 69). Development experts have from these three waves tried to understand the successful strategies have successful. Generally, throughout the various phases and in different localities, local economic development implementation was offset against globalisation to create self-sustaining local economies with competitive advantages in the global system. As such this approach, can be defined as a strategic process for weaker communities to adjust efforts for meeting the needs, demands and challenges of regional, national, and global economies. This process has to strengthen the local economic capability of an area through improving the investment environment, develop local skills and welfare being of the local communities and increase the output, productivity and competitiveness of the local businesses environment (Maliki et al., 2008: 69).

In the post-war-reconstruction, Keynesian welfare economics influenced wealth redistribution through top-down government intervention that later characterised limited economic growth, energy crises, a combination of stagnant growth and inflation. This led to cost-cutting measures with a severe decrease in public consumption and public income that affected state welfare interventions. This had significant consequences for local economies faced with limited resources. Governments intervened with promoting people-centred

strategies and regional development plans for local economic growth (Tomlinson, 2003). This focus informed local economic development approach as endogenous means for strengthening local participation in the economy as exogenous and top-down interventions have less macro-economic growth returns for local areas (Nel and Humphrys, 1999). The emergence and global prominence of local economic development were concurrent with the paradigmatic shift in the international agenda towards closing the income inequality gaps between high-income countries and low-income countries. To close the inequality gaps local economic development centres on strategically building the strong local economy through inclusive processes to realise the environment and structure of the local conditions and analyse the area for opportunities and threats to gather efforts on harnessing the opportunities for local economic growth (Maliki et al., 2008: 69).

Local economic development can be identified in line with local and regional development representing a series of interventions at subnational areas (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2009:26), upon realisation by central governments that local economies are at risk of the shrinking economic base due to high mobility of global capital. The local economic development interventions were meant to understand impediments to local economic growth, investment and encourage local entrepreneurial activity and innovation. Despite different causes, local economic development's embodiment has internationally been recognised by similar objectives for job creation, local empowerment, and economic growth. This approach is influenced by the Keynesian demand economics and welfare policies emphasising government intervention in wealth redistribution to achieve equitable wealth and development distribution with a nation (Nel & Humphrys, 1999: 278).

The first wave of local economic development was an extension of post-world war reconstruction programmes in the United States and Europe. The period after the Second World War from the 1960s to the late 1970s marked the achievement of sustained economic growth levels in Western Europe and East Asia. In this first wave, local economic development efforts were channelled to aggressively recruit the manufacturing industries and expanding the types of firms and activities that received financial assistance (Maliki et al., 2008). The focus was on attracting foreign direct investments, financial incentives to invite new branches of industry and making physical infrastructural investments. This was anchored on addressing problems of disadvantaged areas concurring with the post-Fordism regime of accumulation using policies and plans for the underprivileged regions' economic development (Nel and Humphrys, 1999: 278). The approach of the first wave influenced

current international development strategies of coming up with solutions for finance and development of necessary hard infrastructure such as airports, railways, improving access roads and industrial buildings for disadvantaged areas in the global south. The first wave of local economic development responded to post-world war reconstruction challenges of economic exponential decay and deindustrialisation. Developing countries are also adopting LED initiatives to measure post-independence reconstruction for poverty alleviation and infrastructural development in local communities previously side-lined by the colonial governments. This wave focuses on hard infrastructure and improving the physical environment for easy business operations as an incentive to attract business retention and expansion. The strategies used in the first wave can be adopted in the global south as a way of creating a conducive environment for retention of business through setting up of physical infrastructure to support the economic growth processes such as industrial equipment, telecommunications, energy systems and providing grants and subsidised loans hard infrastructure investments.

From the 1980s, the focus for local economic development changed towards growth for existing local businesses, small firms boosting their productivity and competitive advantages against larger firms. These programmes began in developed cities of the global north that were going through post-war reconstructions and transformations to promote old industrial growth that was traditionally the significant employment source (Blakely, 1989:6 & Wekwete, 2014: 11). In developing countries, the approach has been adopted to reduce poverty traps at communities' levels and protect small economies against globalisation forces. The concept of local economic development has gradually gained prominence across the globe as an economic restructuring paradigm. This is subject to the approach across the globe being adopted in a diversity of measures as alternatives to development challenges peculiar to localities of implementation. Also, local economic development originated in the European and American regions to address inequitable economic landscapes. Local economic development approaches have been diffused to the Global South as decentralisation initiatives to promote the aspirations of local actors and attract local investments (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010: 466 & Le Heron, 2009:93). The primary purpose is also to address inequalities faced by previously disadvantaged territories.

Wave	Focus	Tools Used
First Wave: 1960s to early 1980s	Investment from outside the area, attracting outside investment through the attraction of foreign direct investment. Public and hard infrastructure investments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ massive grants ➤ Subsidised loans for industrial development. ➤ tax breaks ➤ subsidised investment ➤ lowering production costs
Second Wave: The 1980s to the mid-1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Growth and development of existing local enterprises. ➤ Inward investment attraction for specific sectors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Direct loans to small enterprises ➤ incubators/workspace technical support ➤ capacity development for small- and medium-sized business
Third Wave: From Late The 1990s onwards	<p>Creating conducive growth environments through sectoral reforms.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ soft infrastructure investments ➤ public/private collaborations ➤ networking and the leveraging of private sector investments for the public good ➤ inward investment attraction ➤ Creating competitive advantages for local areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ supporting and encouraging networking and collaboration ➤ encouraging the development of business clusters ➤ encouraging workforce development and education ➤ closely targeting inward investment to support cluster growth ➤ Human-centred focus.

Table 2.1: Three waves of local economic development: Adapted from World Bank, 2008

Through the three waves' transformation, local economic development represents a shift from the traditional top-down development policy approaches. The conventional process was guided by a uniform supply-led policy focusing on infrastructure development and investment attracting (Rodríguez-Pose, 2002:6). From these shifts local economic development strategies are defined basically through four features a) participation and social engagement; (b) territorial approach; (c) mobilisation of resources and creating local competitive advantages; (d) local ownership (White and Gasser, 2001 in Rodríguez-Pose, 2002:8). The approach is based on locally influenced economic development initiatives through inward investments, strengthening the local structures' systematic participation of local actors in the planning and development process and by a careful exploration of the area's economic potential.

Traditional Development Planning	Local Economic Development
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The top-down approach – development planning of the area is made remotely. 2. Planned through the central administration 3. A sectoral approach to development. 4. Development of large industrial projects to stimulate other economic activity 5. Financial support, incentives, and subsidies as the main factor for attracting economic activity 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. development of the local community is influenced through initiatives often coming from below 2. Decentralised, vertical cooperation between different tiers of government and horizontal cooperation between public and private bodies 3. Territory based approach to economic growth (locality oriented). 4. Maximising the development potential of each area to stimulate a progressive adjustment of the local economic system to the changing economic environment 5. Provision of critical conditions for the development of local economic activity

Table 2.1 Differences between top-down development and bottom-up LED approaches. Source: Adapted from Rodriguez-Pose, 2002: 10.

2.2.2 Local Economic Development in the Context of Africa

Post-independence Africa has been influenced by a myriad of economic development-related challenges such as unemployment, low access to social services and low incomes, leading to unprecedented poverty levels. Governments in post-independence Africa have been faced with the dire mandate towards achieving higher economic growth and addressing the skewed development processes inherited from the colonial regimes. The multi-dimensional economic development concept in addressing the people's plight has generally been a prerogative of central governments (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 1). This development approach confirms the top-down policies that have typically been identified to alienate the local needs. Different schools of thought from Keynesian Economics, Rostow's modernisation theory and the liberal structural adjustment programmes have been expounded and adopted by governments to address various development challenges. These thought schools fail to address the development challenges that are contextually peculiar to Africa as they are based on exogenous development thinking. Despite multiple attempts through implementing various

policy agendas towards attaining the Sustainable Development Goals, governments in developing countries are failing to address the growing income and inequality gaps and the resulting challenges. Development challenges faced in the Sub-Saharan African region can be attributed to the nature of weak central governments (Edigheji, 2005:1) and the modernisation approached based on westernisation principles and context, which differs from local contexts.

The mix of various development policies adopted by the central government in Africa has been influenced by the international development policy and other globalisation forces that fail to respond directly to African communities' territorial development needs. Globalisation and economic liberalisation contribute to increased territorial inequalities within many countries (Rodriguez-Pose, 2002:3). The Sub-Saharan African region is experiencing a string of economic and socio-political challenges that require exceptional solutions that respond directly to different territorial needs. Development challenges in Africa are abstractly different according to different regional territories and required localised development strategies. The Sub-Saharan African region is not so different from other regions of the world, processes associated with increases in trade, foreign direct investment; economic agglomeration, urbanisation, decentralisation, and rising inequality are as prevalent in Africa as the rest of the world. Despite this, policy responses need to account for internal differences. These processes' impact should extract lessons from experiences in other areas and allow for flexible adaption cognisant of the vast internal diversity of the African regions (Rodriguez-Pose & Tijmstra, 2007:517). The marking difference of Africa from the rest of the world is that the evolution of international trade and regional interconnectedness is accompanied by comparatively slow economic growth and progress in poverty reduction compared to high growth in other regions of the world. Sub-Saharan Africa steps out from other regions. These processes' occurrence is simultaneous to poor economic performance characterised by stagnant gross domestic product per capita and falling quality of life since independence (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005:2). There is weak economic integration across sectors; restricted domestic markets and little integration with outside markets hamper economic competitiveness and growth.

The prominence of the local economic development approach in Sub-Saharan Africa is against this background. To some extent, central governments have no adequate coordination capacity of economic functions at local levels (Musavengane, 2018:5). Development planning has traditionally been a prerogative of the central governments in addressing the

plights and wellbeing of the people. However, with the ongoing challenges in Africa, the question is, is it the appropriate level of government to steer development initiatives relevant for different communities in a particular country? The contemporary discourses exemplify the paradigmatic shift in development approach focusing on participatory, localised and territorial development with a core purpose on the local economic potential and territorial competitiveness in global trade and economy (Kamara, 2017: 98). The paradigmatic shift to territorial development is based on the argument that the content of development initiatives steered from the central government level is remote and fails to identify with the contextual challenges in communities, thus the local economic development gaining moments in terms of promoting community-specific development remedies.

Accordingly, the prominence of the approach in developing countries, mainly the Sub-Saharan Africa region has been that the lowest levels of governments are now identified as instrumental institutions to supplement national development objectives in a community-specific context approach. In the African context, this development approach is defined as how local governments and community-based organisations engage with each other to drive diverse economic activities that create employment and higher incomes for people in their localities. Local economic development's primary objective is to create local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community by using existing human capital and natural and institutional resources (Blakely, 1994: 16). Unlike the initial post-war reconstruction approach of the global north countries, the local economic development approach has been concerned with eliminating community economic and social challenges related to poverty. These low households' incomes are experienced in a wide range of Sub-Saharan Africa countries. The African application of the local economic development is evident in the South African Local Government System through its Integrated Development Planning process. It implemented the pro-poor approach of addressing post-apartheid challenges of poverty among black and rural communities. This is in line with Nel and Humphreys (1999) definition that this process should be premised on utilising the local resources to diversify the local economic activities to help the community.

In the Sub Saharan Africa region, local economic development has been identified as an alternative approach to address development problems by identifying measures to improve communities' capacities. The approach places the activities of steering development initiatives with the local government sphere in collaboration with communities and the private sector in addressing local developmental challenges such as poverty and

unemployment through promoting economic growth in a manner peculiar to different jurisdictions. The local economic development approach has been pioneered as the best alternative to the traditional central government approach to address development challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa as development planning is not remotely determined. However, initiatives need to have a 'locality specificity' element. The local economic development approach offers a people-centred and locality-oriented alternative contrary to the structural adjustment programmes that dominated Sub-Saharan Africa after independence but failed to address the continent's development realities in terms of aligning to specific community interests (Binns and Nel 1999:389). The Local Government Units established with a mandate for service provision at local levels have been identified as crucial hubs for this economic development approach. Local governments are low-level government structures with a mandate and control authority and revenue sources for local service provision and development authority to regulate specific geographic, social and economic conditions of the defined local area (Chikerema 2013:88 and Meyer 1978:10).

The African polity transformations from the top-down orientations of the colonial and apartheid regimes led to the embracement of the bottom-up and participatory planning based on the local economic development initiatives' logic. This approach has thus influenced in the past two decades decentralisation strategies and reduction of state-controlled development in the era of globalisation (Nel, 2007). The waves of decentralisation reforms that widespread Africa post-independence were meant to encourage local participation by bringing governance structures closer to the people, transferring control, resources, and responsibilities to regional governments. This was against the background of a shared African view that local government may be the effective institutional mechanism for targeted poverty reduction policies, such as distributing critical resources to the poorest regions of the population. This should be coupled with implementing growth-stimulating strategies, through the mobilisation of local resources and increased participation (Brosio, 2000:4). This led to the adoption of local economic development based policy plans prescribing the local development state as the national level macroeconomic policies are viewed as no longer adequate for broad-based economic development (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010: 470).

The approach also influenced the idea of Local developmental state as adopted, particularly in South Africa. The local economic development approach has been identified as the best solution to local challenges in light of a fast-changing globalised economy. It appears to achieve the objectives of sustainable development, including poverty alleviation (Rogerson,

2006). This is against the background that the central government lacks direct link and effective coordination of economic functions at local levels towards supporting communities to be self-reliant. It is essential to devolve some economic functions to low structures as this tier of government directly links to local people, quickly identifies community-based needs to realise sustainable development plans, and addresses poverty, food security, and unemployment problems in Sub-Saharan Africa. Decentralisation initiatives have since been enacted to revitalise and capacitate local governments units in driving economic development. In developing countries, political and economic reform initiatives are aimed at decentralisation to increase opportunities for active participation of local governments in local development planning (Edralin, 1996:3).

Local economic development is taking root in Africa as an alternative development approach, advancing city governments' significance and localities themselves in economic development. This has resulted in disenchantment with significant state-led development planning associated with the liberalisation and structural adjustment policies (Rodriguez-Pose & Tijmstra 2007:532, Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010: 473). The regional governments are taking a leading role in providing an enabling environment for a multi-stakeholder engagement (Helmsing, 2005). This involves the collaboration of non-government and government actors such as the business community, community-based organisations, informal traders in case of new urban informalities trending in Africa cities. Local Economic Development entails the active collaborations of public, business, and non-governmental sector partners in promoting economic growth and employment generation. The purpose is to improve the quality of life for all (Swinburn, Goga and Murphy, 2004: 1). In the African context, with the prominence of the decentralisation reforms, the local government sector has been allocated the development responsibility of mobilising all these different actors and creating the appropriate environment to drive community-based development.

Localised development planning policies are gaining recognition as better suited to address a plethora of Sub-Saharan African challenges. It proffers solutions focused on enhanced multi stakeholder's participation in facilitating economic growth and poverty reduction. The origins of the local economic development as traced to the global north or high-income countries came on the eve of post-world war reconstruction to address locality-specific development problems (Nel 2001: 1004). In this context, the aim will be to influence a range of initiatives from industrial policy, regional planning and community development that are territorially based, through strategies that are territorially based and locally determined (Rodríguez-Pose

2002, Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005:3). The local economic development approach differs from traditional development strategies that focused on sectoral development; strategically planned local economic development narrows down locality development exploit the development potential of each area and stimulate local economic systems' adjustment to the fluctuating economic environment (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005:4).

The challenges of slow economic growth and poverty reduction in the Sub-Saharan African region have strong linkage towards the central governments' ineffective ability to intervene at local levels and provide more locally based initiatives (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005). The development path of Africa post-independence followed the traditional top-down approach without many locality accounts defined economic and poverty challenges. The development challenges were worsened by structural adjustment programmes that led to the debt crisis, currency devaluation, and other socio-economic and political shocks (Nel 2001: 1004). "In contrast, the local economic development is from a bottom-up policy that seeks to level up all different regions economically. Of note is that central governments departments are often too remote to respond to the changing local and regional needs urgently. Local institutions can be much more flexible. Local institutions can easily interact with other local conditions and their economic and social actors (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005: 4). This local economic development strategy allows local people to be proactive in determining their future, and local institutions can easily interact to empower local stakeholders and utilise local resources. This can help propagate a sustainable environment with higher quality employment opportunities to push the communities out of poverty pitfalls. It focuses on economic growth and addressing other social problems of poverty alleviation and the inclusion of marginal groups into social and economic activities. The general narrative shown by studies is that social welfare indicators such as life expectancy at birth, literacy and mortality rates are strongly correlated with income levels, suggesting that the economic growth fostered through local economic development can have a trickle effect on other social goals (Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra, 2005).

The high levels of low economic growth and skewed development distribution in the global south are critical issues influencing a wide range of development challenges related to high unemployment and poverty. Local economic development is oriented towards addressing these inequality gaps by capacitating the weaker communities in the global south for optimal economic activity and growth to address these development challenges and reduce poverty. Besley and Burgess (2003: 11) have calculated that one standard deviation decrease in

inequality decreases poverty by more than half in the Sub-Saharan African regions. The local economic development approach has been identified as one of the strategic measures of addressing the global south's challenges as it reduces inequality gaps. The local development strategy is usually aligned with the country economic strategy for entering the global economy through increasingly locality opportunities and bridging the inequality gaps (Triegaardt, 2007:1). Studies have been carried out to identify the appropriate complementary policies and institutions to improve weaker communities' capacity in the competitive global world and address various development questions related to inequality. The main focus is now oriented on collaborative governance of localities by stakeholders to make full resources utilisation for territorial development mandates (Kamara, 2017:98).

2.3 The Concept of Local Government

The previous sections of this treatise discussed local economic development as a localised planning process. Thus, it is prudent also to discuss the local government's concept as an institution that facilitates the local planning process. This is to provide a theoretical inquiry into how local government can enable local economic development. This analogy of discussion follows the narrative that since local economic development is identified as a localised planning approach and local government as locality-oriented government tier how can it facilitate the prerequisite and enabling conditions for economic development to flourish in line with local interests of people in the particular geographic. Local governments are diverse in terms of the range of services delivered and functions they perform, powers of the jurisdiction from large metropolitan councils to smaller rural district councils (Pugalis and Tan, 2017:13). Central governments grant the local government's power and mandate to meet the citizens and communities' demands and development plans according to local standards and priorities.

The concept of local government falls under the broader purview ideologies of government. In layman terms or understanding, the government is synonymous with a governance process that can be derived from the exercise of power taking various forms from political, economic, administrative or otherwise for purposes directing a particular jurisdiction's public affairs. From a philosophical view, Aristotle well-defined, politics as the 'master science': that is, nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create a good society (Miller, 2017 & Coby, 1986). This becomes a form of government when a group of individuals act on behalf of the community, exercising legitimate authority in managing public affairs. Oduro-Ofori, 2011 notes that the government can be demarcated

into different federal, national, regional, and local levels. In this case, the local government will be the lowest tier and structure often identified as close to the people. This analogy then identifies the local government as an institution responsible for promoting local economic development for people in its jurisdiction area to be closer to the action spots. The local government's concept then emanates from politics as defined as the retention of power over a jurisdictional area and its inhabitants by individuals or groups of individuals, inherent is the authoritative allocation of values to regulate conflict within the community concerned (Hanekom, Rowland and Bain 1996:126). Local government is a microscopic version of governance, politics and government which can all be summarised as the exercise of political, economic, social, or other forms of power and jurisdictional authority to manage the resources and affairs for the well-being of people in a particular area.

The local governments are the tiers of government closest to the people delegated to provide and maintain public services and infrastructure at local levels. Local government is a very broad concept but can be narrowly defined as the decentralised formulation and implementation of local interests through promoting efficiency, accountability, manageability, and self-government (Shah and Shah, 2009:3). The local government sector is increasingly identified as the critical sphere of development governance and planning by it being closest to the people. The local government refers to specific institutions created through national government legislation and provincial legislation to deliver a range of specified services to a relatively small, physically defined area (Shah & Shah: 2009:1). The local government can either be composed of elected and appointed officials as representatives of local people for citizen participation and decision-making on behalf of their interests in that jurisdictional area. The United Nations (1961) defined local government as —a political sub-division of a nation....which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs including the powers to impose taxes or to exact labour for prescribed purposes. Local governments are diverse, ranging from large metropolitan councils to smaller rural organisations with different services and responsibilities (Pugalis and Tan, 2017:13). Despite the structural diversity and differentiation of responsibilities, local government's responsibilities are more or less general to the following functional roles: -

- Infrastructure and property services, including local roads, bridges, footpaths, drainage, waste collection and management.
- Provision of recreation facilities, such as parks, sports fields and stadiums, golf courses, swimming pools, sports centres, halls, camping grounds and caravan parks.
- Health services such as water and food inspection, immunisation services, toilet facilities, noise control and meat inspection and animal control.
- Community services, such as childcare, aged care and accommodation, community care and welfare services.
- Building services, including inspections, licensing, certification and enforcement Planning and development approval.
- Administration of facilities, such as airports and aerodromes, ports and marinas, cemeteries, parking facilities and street parking.
- Cultural facilities and services, such as libraries, art galleries and museums.
- Water and sewerage services in some states.
- Other services, such as abattoirs, sale-yards and group purchasing schemes.

Table 2.2 Functions of local government – Source adapted from Pugalis and Tan, 2017:13-14).

Local and regional governments worldwide have undergone numerous sectorial reforms transforming from their traditional responsibilities towards more engagement in economic development. This has been influenced by the market and technological changes, evolving business practices and cultural shifts with intensified patterns of globalisation from the 1970s to the 1980s resulting in a shift from the traditional top-down development policies to bottom-up approaches and initiatives (Pugalis and Tan, 2017:8). Nonetheless, as local government derive their usable power from central or federal governments, there are identified as handmaidens of higher government orders (Shah and Shah, 2009:6), an extension arm of government to determine for implementation of policy development, standards of service delivery and policy performance that are remotely determined at the national level (Oduro-Ofori, 2011). Local governments' structural composition as an extension of central governments ushered in decentralisation reforms to grant autonomy for local governments. This was against the background instead of implementing remotely determined policy plans; local governments should determine development plans by increasing community and citizen participation locally. Decentralization was defined as “a process of government reform composed of a set of public policies that transfer

responsibilities, resources, or authorities from higher to lower levels of government units in the context of a specific type of state” (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007).

Localities worldwide are facing varying degrees and magnitudes of development challenges related to poverty, inequality, unemployment, and difficulties in access to essential human services. These realities are influenced by various factors such as rapid urbanisation, new economic orders linked to globalisation and resulting in competitive environments (Vosloo, 1998:2). With these challenges identified as global top-down forces, the local economic development approach fits as a bottom-up approach and people-centred alternative for local areas' economic development. Different localities have to determine their community-specific economic programmes that address their local needs. The promotion of local economic development approach is increasingly becoming a functional prerogative delegated to local governments, given the ineffectiveness of central governments to intervene at local levels and inadequacy of remotely determining top-down development interventions in steering economic development programmes that cater for specific community needs. The local government lower tier can steer economic development by formulating community-based interventions to promote local production that addresses problems typical to their areas of jurisdiction. Local government involvement in local economic development has gained prominence with decentralisation topping the political and economic reforms agenda as a measure of bringing economic development planning to the local levels (Edralin, 1996:3).

A majority of the developing world's challenges are rooted in rapid urbanisation, with more than two billion people projected to double the urban population in the next twenty years presenting cities with many challenges (World Bank, 2009). However, the process of urbanisation also presents opportunities for growth, which raises the century question on how best to manage local cities and urban growth. With urbanisation as the epitome of 21st-century development, cities, if managed well, can be potential engines of growth. In this facet, the local government plays a leading role in linking the local communities with the broader regional cities and national development initiatives as economic development is dependent on local institutions. Amidst this narrative, the central question for this treatise is how local government can provide an enabling environment to achieve the conceptual objectives of localised economic growth and development. According to the objectives of the Sustainable-Development Goal 11, local government *inter alia* urban governance is indispensable to the process of local development given the recognition of the transformative

power of urbanisation for development (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016, &GSDRC, 2016).

Given that, the local government is at the frontline to the development challenges faced by the people, and they have the prerequisite and moral prerogative roles of identifying and implementing solutions to these problems. Local governments enable a conducive environment for economic activities through roads construction, water supply, information and communication technologies – all of which are necessary prerequisites to economic activity and investment attraction (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016: 5). In addition to the traditional roles of mainly service provision in water supply and waste management, local governments are undergoing a significant transformation to play leadership roles in employment creation and economic development of their jurisdictions.

2.3.1 Local Government in Local Economic Development

The local government can function as an economic institution to facilitate conditions for economic activities well-being of the people of the locality (Tonwe, 2011: 67). Local governments are engaging more responsibilities to develop strategies to grow local economies, address employment challenges, and reduce poverty. The roles of local government in economic development are participation, facilitation, regulatory and adjuster (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 55). The local governments' role can facilitate local ownership of productive assets, local participation in developing and partnership arrangements among local stakeholders for utilising the local resources for the local economic activities. The local governments also attract investments by providing tax subsidies and other incentives to encourage economic activities in a specific area. The local governments 'regulatory role involves using its rating systems and by-laws to monitor the local private market. The adjusted role is a social one, and it involves the provision of local public services that mitigate the adverse effects of the market especially on disadvantaged groups, thereby reducing the effects of competitive market forces on the population (Kokor 2000:27).

City development strategies have emerged as a new initiative policy and practice for development (Parnell and Robinson, 2006:337). For a localised economic development approach, the local government is the most appropriate agent to convene all the relevant stakeholders in the local economy to develop inclusive and appropriate strategies for alleviating development challenges in light of local conditions (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016: 5). The development challenges facing cities in the 21st

century is diverse and requires a collaborative multi-stakeholder approach for initiating effective development strategies. In this regard, local government is critical in that the local economic development is a locally owned, bottom-up process of collaboration of local stakeholders from the private, public, and civil society working together for sustainable development. The local government is a crucial institution towards identifying the right stakeholders in a locality for a particular problem and lobbying those stakeholders to come to collaborate. Local governments can play a catalytic role in facilitating both interest-based and hope-based networks in improving social outcomes for residents, developing a strategic vision for sustaining stakeholder partnerships. (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 39). City Development Strategies formulated through this approach are guided by information solicited based on the problems of the various stakeholders in a locality.

The concept of local economic development is based on promoting local approaches that respond to local needs and conditions. The local government is the appropriate agent to convene the local economy stakeholders such as the local chambers of commerce, representative of micro, small and medium enterprises, labour unions, marginalised groups, education and training institutions (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:5). By being the tier closest to the people, the local government identifies the key stakeholders in a locality for participative and inclusive development planning. Local government can interact with communities on a grassroots level and operate as a channel through which central government can support communities at the local level (Nel and Humphreys, 1999). Local economic development strategies can be successful if even the most marginalised are involved. In this way, local economic development strategies prioritise key community challenges through poverty alleviation plans and job creation to raise the community's wealth-income levels. In international development cooperation city governments or local government have valuable roles to play in capacity building as through collaborating directly with local governments international partners can have an appreciation of local knowledge, skills, needs to be better positioned to provide the prerequisites for local economic development (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016: 5). This responsibility makes the local government a prerequisite enabler of local economic development because they are the intermediaries that engage local stakeholders through the process of envisioning an appropriate development path. The localised and territorial approach of local economic development can be enabled through local government as it is legally confined to focus on the development of particular local areas under its jurisdiction. Matters of development and

social challenges are always peculiar to the defined local area, and the local government has the mandate to be active in local economic development as the development process of a community can be controlled through its locally defined policy planning approach.

2.4 Local Economic Development in Zimbabwe

Local economic development is an appreciated concept in Zimbabwe but adopted at the central government level as an empowerment strategy for marginalized communities and addressing the poverty challenges. The community development policy has been located at central government through the Prime Minister's Directives of 1983 charged to ensure more than 6 million people previously marginalized from the colonial government could participate and determine the development process (Higgins and Mazula, 1993: 19). The post-independence changes in Zimbabwe premised on adopting the community development policies and strategies and determining collaborative functions between the stakeholders such as the local government and the private sectors. The Government of Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Development approach through the community development policy for poverty reduction, alleviation strategy, and the marginalisation predating the colonial.

The prevailing centralised government system severely weakened the local government structures in Zimbabwe and, yet evidence indicates a strong relationship between localised development planning and economic prosperity (Ascani Crescenzi, Iammarino, 2012: 16). Attempts at decentralisation in Zimbabwe manifested a disjuncture towards promoting localised development planning characterised by national institutions' reluctance to devolve power and limited citizen participation in local governments for improved services. (Conyers, 2003: 115). The decentralisation efforts and reforms became a mantra and gap between the rhetoric and localised development planning reality. Much of the decentralisation efforts to promote local citizen participation in the development process have been frustrated by various legislative frameworks that have allowed remote central government intervention in local development plans. This narrative then brings the need to discuss various legislative instruments key in local government and have a bearing on local development planning in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, the Local Economic Development approach has been an appreciated concept at the highest level of government as a mass poverty reduction and drive wealth creation for more parallel to a population of more than 90% unemployed. (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016: 5). However, post-independence piecemeal reforms have been

instituted to appreciate a localized development process through the local government sector in Zimbabwe. The thirteen principles of decentralization for the local government in Zimbabwe became the local government legislative reform framework's lynchpin meant to spearhead a fast-paced localized development process through local units of planning, implementing, and coordinating development activities in their localities. Decentralized was set on objectives to decision-making closer to communities and enhance government effectiveness to gauge the local interests and permit local participation in development (Chigwata, Muchapondwa, and de Visser, J., 2017: 43).

2.4.1 Local Government and Local Economic Development in Zimbabwe

The local government in Zimbabwe is governed by numerous legislation that works either in tandem or in contradiction with one another and often undermines local governments' ability to promote localized economic development and planning. The local government is primarily responsible for implementing powers given through the responsible Ministry of Local Government to administer areas under their jurisdiction through the Urban Councils Act [214] and the Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chap. 29: 12] and all its allied statutes (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009: 87). In Zimbabwe, the local government generally administrates localities through locally elected bodies whose functions are conferred by the central government (Feltoe, 2012: 176). Local governments are widely regarded as the accelerators of localised processes of economic development in industrialised countries. However, in low-income countries, they are dysfunctional, inefficient and ineffective in addressing local needs (Simba, Nyandoro, Munyoro, and Chimhande, 2015:1). In Zimbabwe, a local government sphere is a decentralised administration with responsible key roles in urban and rural development (Feltoe, 2012: 176). However, the enabling role is severely undermined as it works as an appendage of the interest from central government rather than locality interests.

The Government of Zimbabwe made efforts to redress structurally embedded causes of poverty and marginalisation of the population through various legislation and policies to address community-based development challenges by establishing local government structures (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016: 5). The prime minister's directives of 1984 propounded the principles of a decentralised local government in Zimbabwe which became the lynchpin of a localised development planning model through the establishment of grassroots participation structures. The then Prime Minister's directives

emphasized establishing locally composed governance structures to encourage widespread participation in development planning. These governance structures were in the form of the Village Ward and District Development Committees as planning and coordination structures composed of local people responsible for defining local development needs (Stewart et al., 1994 & Chigwata, 2010: 30). These structures were expected to steer local planning and coordinate development plans in their localities. However, these units appear as central government appendages and ruling party officials rather than channels for people-led initiatives (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005: 10).

The government of Zimbabwe at independence in 1980 made policy efforts concept of decentralisation through the 13 principles. This was centred on allowing for more local participation in development and decision-making, a re-organisation exercise of the pre-independence local government within inclination towards addressing the local economic imbalances between rural and urban areas (Zinyama and Chimanikire, 2019: 152). Zinyama and Chimanikire (2019: 153), further note that the principles of decentralisation emphasized issues such as fiscal decentralisation, devolving power, capacity building and coordination of government activities by local units. This approach of decentralisation was epitomised on capacitating local governments to enable sub-national development. The implementation of the 13 principles of decentralisation entailed creating an empowering environment, building local authorities' capacities, and decentralising functions from the central to local government (Chatiza, 2010: 7). In essence, this approach sought economic growth through local democratically elected bodies to identify local opportunities and problems and translate them into development initiatives.

The 13 principles, in summary, are listed in the table below.

1. Decentralisation is essential to promote and strengthen local democracy and civic participation in governance and local development.
2. Decentralisation be defined as the legislated permanent transfer of functions and authority from central government to local authorities
3. All central government line Ministers use local institutions to implement and manage decentralised functions and not create parallel or separate institutions.
4. Decentralisation is a process that should implement cautiously and progressively,

regarding the human, financial and material capacities of the local authorities to transfers are made to.

5. In respect of all those activities and projects to be undertaken by local authorities, sector ministries retain the power and authority to set standards, monitor performance and consistency of national policies and standards and intervene appropriately to ensure compliance.

6. The commissioning of an inter-ministerial committee task-force to manage decentralisation and capacity building

7. Decentralisation should be implemented by strengthening the financial, human and material resource capacities of local authorities to make them effective institutions in providing the social and infrastructural services needed for suitable local development.

8. The central government is responsible for trunk services that impact more than one local authority area or are national.

9. The line ministry's transfer of powers and functions to rural district councils be done by the line ministry concerned and that the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development will continue and facilitate the effort.

10. Funds for recurrent and capital expenditure sourced by line ministries and earmarked are disbursed to the rural district councils soon after implementing the Appropriation Act.

11. Loans to rural district councils should be channelled through the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development

12. That in Zimbabwe there be only two levels that collect taxes, levies and other user charges, namely central government and local authorities.

13. That the Public Service Commission will manage the transfer of personnel from central government to rural district councils where this happens as part of the decentralisation

Table 2.3 Thirteen Principles of Decentralisation Source: Pasipanodya et al. 2000:20 and adapted from Zinyama and Chimanikire, 2019: 153.

The idea of decentralisation was noble to enable local governments in Zimbabwe to be autonomous authorities with limited central government remote interference in local affairs. However, the principles largely remain rhetoric than practicality in granting the autonomous authority for localised development planning. The principles still accord the central government's responsibility for intervening in local management as when and it deems necessary. Another major weakness, as noted by Chigwata (2018), the principles were implemented without legal recognition in terms of parliamentary statutory instruments to support their operationalisation. Due to such policy frameworks, the local government still lacks the ability, power, and capacity to drive development to harness local resources for locality's economic growth. This is evidenced by the often state of underdevelopment in resource rich-communities in Zimbabwe with mineral resources like gold, platinum, diamonds, iron ore, coal or asbestos as the control and benefits from the exploitation of resources in not enjoyed locally (Zinyama and Chimanikire, 2019: 166).

2.5 Local Government Legal Framework in Zimbabwe

The ability of the local government units is somewhat undermined by various legislative instruments in discharging their mandates. The following sections will provide insights into how the legislative framework is derailing or promoting local economic development. The post-colonial local government policy in Zimbabwe has been centred on decentralization to address inherited colonial imbalances, improve people's participation in governance, and promote local development (Kurebwa, 2015: 96). The local government policy and legal framework post-independence Zimbabwe was charged with creating democratic local units responsible for harnessing local people's capacity and performing various development functions. The government sought to address economic inequality from the discriminative colonial government through changes to promote citizen participation and local governance structures to drive localized development planning. The local government framework for local development was enacted through the 1984 Prime Ministerial Directives on decentralization to guide community participation committees, and a coordination framework for multi-stakeholder engagement (Chatiza, 2011: 6). Despite this noble agenda, the Zimbabwe local government's decentralisation remains a clerical function as local government units lack the prerequisite powers to drive localized development planning.

2.5.1 Constitution of Zimbabwe

The Constitution of Zimbabwe as per Chapter 14 establishes the local government as the lowest tier directly in contact with local communities in a three-tier government arrangement (Chigwata and de Visser, 2017: 165). The three-tier government, with levels of the central government and as local government - the Provincial, Metropolitan Councils and Local Councils for urban and rural communities ensure democratic participation equitable distribution of resources and the participation of local communities in determining development priorities in their areas (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:7). Chapter 14 of the Constitution establishes Provincial and Local government⁴, with Chapter 14, the Preamble Section B mandating that they, ‘ensure the democratic participation in government by all citizens and communities of Zimbabwe’ and Section C of the Preamble mandating that local government should ensure ‘...the participation of local communities in the determination of development priorities within their areas⁵’. The Constitution, therefore, creates a framework of interaction for local governance stakeholders in the development planning processes and execution of policies for local economic development in their localities. Section 264 of the Zimbabwean Constitution, Amendment 20 promulgated devolution of government powers to promote development at the local government level. The constitution of Zimbabwe confers powers to the provincial and metropolitan councils in its general objective of devolution of power in Section 264(1) of the Constitution states that “appropriate government powers and responsibilities must be devolved to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities who are competent to carry out these responsibilities efficiently and effectively” (Chigwata and de Visser 2018:8). Zimbabwe's constitution provides for a devolved system of governance where the local government is a tier for local development and builds from the 1996 adoption by the Cabinet of the thirteen principles of decentralization as a substantive transfer of functions from the national government (Chatiza, 2013: 4).

Local government as enabling local economic development is premised on the constitution empowering the local structures with power for being proactive in development, more democratic and firmer “sphere of government” close to the population's needs (Wekwete; 2014). The promulgation of the local authorities in Zimbabwe's Constitution as the driver of

⁴ Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment No. 20 of 2013

⁵ See Preamble of Chapter 14, Section 264(1) Constitution

localized planning remains theoretical, due to lack of alignment between the Constitution and other operational pieces of legislation. No supporting acts of parliament have been enacted to support the operationalization of constitutional provisions on local government. Some Acts of Parliament, the Urban Councils Act, 2015 [Chapter 29:15] and other statutory instruments lack consistency and alignment with the 2013 constitution to operationalize the local government sector fully and effectively and drive its local development mandate. The implementation modalities are not yet adequately enforced for local government to enable a localized development process. There is much appreciation of the constitution as a lynchpin of local government; however, the political factor and lack of the political will to grant adequate power in the local government complicate the adherence to constitutionalism (Wekwete, 2014:11). The Constitution of Zimbabwe, inter alia the Urban Councils Act is very porous in terms of granting adequate autonomy to the local governments. Furthermore, phrases such as, ‘whenever appropriate’ in Chapter 14, Part 1 Section 1 states that, “whenever appropriate, governmental powers and responsibilities must be devolved to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authorities who are competent...”. The constitutional provisions on Zimbabwe local government are *sine qua non* to bring order and clarity in the sector to define the development structures at the local level. Chigwata and de Visser (2018) note that some extended provisions and specific measures should be guaranteed in the constitution to protect local governments' autonomy against arbitrary remote intervention as the “whenever appropriate” statement is very ambiguous on the extent of powers and autonomy conferred to local authorities.

Inter alia the Urban Councils Act, the local government regulatory environment in Zimbabwe limits local government autonomy in development planning in terms of local interests, as section 290 of the Urban Councils Act for direction from the central government line ministries (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005: 5). These Constitutional provisions confer a limited degree for decentralization of powers and by extension hinder full implementation of the localized economic development by local governments as it remains susceptible and vulnerable to influence from the central government and remote control that often contradicts territorial or local interests. In Zimbabwe, the local government reforms from during the colonial to post-colonial era has been characterized by the political will of dominating national actors who have used local government to achieve their own goals rather than localized development goals (Wekwete; 2014:11). The Ministry of local government is the main national actor with a controlling and directive over the local government’s units

particular since the dominance of the opposition movements with significant control over urban-based local governments (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005: 4). The lack of the political will to grant adequate autonomy to the local governments undermines the local development process as this process requires a transfer of responsibilities, and resources to the local level. For the benefits associated with decentralization to be realized, local authorities require a certain measure of local self-government (Chigwata and de Visser, 2017: 165-166).

The Constitution should define the critical operational parameters for local government functionality and provide the impetus to local economic development. It is critical that the constitution clearly defines the local autonomy of the local government. Local structures should have full discretion towards implementing localized development planning to ensure that the local government attains a permanent and guaranteed autonomy status in Zimbabwe's Constitution (Machingauta, 2010). Local autonomy is the extent to which local governments have autonomous powers to implement duties and obligations in line with local demands (Chigwata and de Visser, 2018: 167). The Constitution, *inter-alia* acts of parliament should firmly declare local autonomy for local governments to effectively represent and manage the people's affairs in their localities with powers to govern, on its initiative (Chatiza, 2010:5).

The provincial-metropolitan councils and local governments under section 301 (1) of the constitution of 2013 are to be allocated resources equally via the responsible Ministry of Finance. This is a centralized form of control since the state is also overwhelmed with many responsibilities. The local governments have been receiving direct funding from the central government for their continuous service delivery and development mandates (Coutinho; 2010:72). The 2013 constitution provides for the allocation of resources, Chigwata (2019) asserts that the allocation of resources stipulated in the constitution is less than five per cent (even though the constitution does not bar the government to allocate beyond five per cent) of the national revenues raised in any financial year to provincial-metropolitan councils and local authorities. This arrangement purports the continued reliance of subnational governments to the central government controlling local economic development processes. However, the financial position of subnational government can be improved by other forms of intergovernmental grants that the national government may allocate to provinces and local governments (Chigwata, 2019).

The focus of the 2013 constitution in terms of decentralization is the political and administrative aspects of devolution. African governments often chose to implement political

and administrative decentralization negating fiscal and market decentralization (Moyo and Ncube, 2014: 290). The bias on political and administrative power at the local level can be traced in the 2013 constitution as fiscal decentralization is evaded. Zimbabwe is not an exception to such a form of decentralization described by Moyo and Ncube (2014) thrust towards politically administrative devolution as presented in the constitution. Zimbabwe's 2013 constitution offers a political opening and increased influences for civil society and citizens at local level planning. However, the main limitation is that the constitution is biased towards the political side of devolution and negating the element of economic and fiscal devolution, which is central to the local government's enabling role. Chapter 17, Section 301 of the Constitution states that the central government must institute funds by supporting parliament acts to bankroll local economic development⁶. This suggests that the central government controls fiscal and market decentralisation and has sustained control of centre-local relations through some of the constitution's provisions.

In the Provisional Councils and Administration Act Chapter 29:1, the local economic development role of local governments in Zimbabwe is somewhat articulated. The purpose of the Act is to grant powers for promoting development, planning and action at the local level through coordinated development of districts and provinces, consultative engagements, and political functions facilitated by Provincial Councils (Kurebwa, 2015). This act asserts more authority to provincial councils and line Ministers to determine the development plans than district-level councils. The Minister is further granted operational control and oversight to determine the functions of this council, effectively allowing central government interference in local areas. The provincial council though regards as a form of local government, they are composed more of members from the central government appointed by the President and the local government minister than locally elected officials, as stated in Section 14 Provisional Councils and Administration Act⁷. The local government, as declared by the Provincial Councils and Administration Act, is ineffective and do not necessarily add value to issues at the local level (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005:23). The Act has no funding provision or a provision that spells out funding sources to local projects to promote development. The provincial councils have no revenue collecting powers. Their role is often relegated to merely formulating plans for sector ministries that are often not implemented. This government level

⁶ Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment No. 20 of 2013

⁷ Provisional Councils and Administration Act Chapter 29:11

is merely centralization than decentralization. It undertakes the central government activities rather than the coordination of local levels of development interests.

Chapter 14 on provincial and local governments, section 270 of the constitution state that metropolitan and provincial councils are responsible for implementing social and economic development activities in provinces. They also have to coordinate government programs, plan and implement measures for conservation, improvement and management, promote tourism and develop tourism facilities, and monitor and evaluate the use of resources in its provinces⁸. The constitution states devolution of powers from national to provincial and metropolitan councils. This conflicts with other statutory instruments as the Constitution's provisions have no supporting legal, statutory instruments to support this devolution of powers' operationalisation and implementation. A centralized local government is maintained with no initiative and independence to control local level affairs. The legislative environment has laws that undermine local governments' autonomy to steer local development (Kurebwa, 2015).

2.5.2 The Urban Councils Act 29:15.

The principal instruments of local government operation in Zimbabwe is the Rural District Councils Act and the Urban councils' Act (Chatiza; 2010). The establishment of urban councils is constituted in the Zimbabwean constitution section 5, while the urban council's act is established by an act of Parliament. Zimbabwe has adopted a local enabling perspective to attaining local economic development. The enabling perspective local economic development approach stresses the need to sustainably capacitate local stakeholders to explore and pursue long-term economic opportunities beyond the specific task at hand. The Republic president may proclaim through a government gazette the establishment of an urban council (Urban Council Act, Section 4). Mushamba (2010) notes that the urban councils are accorded different status as per the Urban Councils Act, the city councils at the top, municipal council, town councils and local boards. The Urban Councils confer powers to the councils that mainly constitute service provision to the urban populace instead of implementing localized economic development plans.

In as much as local government legislations, the urban councils' act has functional limitations in terms of autonomy and service delivery. Dewa et al. (2014) postulate that political interference at inter-party and intra-party levels hinders service delivery and development

⁸ Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment No. 20 of 2013

planning. Chatiza (2010), the local government has always been central government department and therefore not an independent sphere of government to adequately provide an enabling environment for local economic development. According to section 4 of the urban councils' Act, the President may direct by the statutory instrument that all or any of by-laws, regulations or orders existing in respect of the first of the mentioned area shall remain in force within the whole or any part of such area if they were by-law made by the council under the urban councils' act. Political interference from the central government is very much evident in Zimbabwean local government and affects the local economic development. According to section 4(b), the minister is also empowered to authorize the council to suspend its operations. The minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development referred to in the Act's interpretation, wields more powers of control on urban councils. This defeats the purpose of decentralizing the administrative powers of local authorities because sections 5 and 264 of the constitution do not provide an implementation framework for the devolution of powers. An Act of parliament then provides such a framework whose purpose is to sustain government control of local authority's overall administration.

Section 91 of the Urban Councils Act empowers the central government under the minister of Local Government to access records of Councils. There is no provision on citizen's audit of council records, to scrutinize them as it is their constitutional right to access information (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20, section 62) and are major stakeholders of the local authorities. Hence, there is a need to align such a provision to the urban councils' Act. However, there are certain constraints to which Chatiza (2010) alluded that Zimbabwe is a unitary state, and the President and minister in charge of local authorities often intervene in public interests. Chakaipa (2010) acknowledges that the external institutional environment imposed some of the critical parameters that delimited local establishments' capacity through disabling institutions of local government.

2.5.3 Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1976).

The purpose of the Act is to provide for planning regional, districts, local areas with the object of improving the physical environment, promoting the general welfare, and efficiency in development. Chaeruka (2002) observed that the Act's principal aim was to plan and manage the use of land and other problems associated with the built environment with the view of protecting and enhancing the built environment. The built environment in Chaeruka (2002) entails an established area that should be developed or protected, hence the planning and management. The Act generally spells out the planning of development considering the

socio-political and economic values of a given area. Chaeruka (2002) acknowledges the complexities involved in the development and appreciates that the Regional Town and Country Planning Act is also complicated as it addresses all sorts of development in different circumstances.

The nature of public development is determined by the predominant state ideology (Wekwete 1989). Central government ideology provides specific guidelines on conducting planning. Wekwete (1989) asserts that in most developing countries, the state assures a central role not necessarily because of socialist ideology but because of the overriding desire to develop. The Zimbabwean development planning legislation demonstrates socialist traits. According to section 3 of the Act, the President establishes Regional Planning Council, and may at any time through a Statutory Instrument amend the area where a regional planning council has been established. Unlike in developed countries, particularly those claiming to attach to democratic values, planning is a prerogative of local authorities under the auspices they understand public interests better. The Zimbabwean approach demonstrates that the central government focuses on keeping local level development closer to the national government to connect directly with the people and promote nationalist ideology.

They are 3 essential tenets of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act 1976, these include; powers to plan, powers to control development, and powers for setting up an administrative framework for planning, (Wekwete, 1989). Wekwete (1989) notes that the powers to plan suggest the Act's authority to plan, which is the central government through various institutions as per the Act. The administrator of the Act, the Minister of Local Government, is the de facto chief planner. The minister appoints Regional Planning Council (RPC), and the members of the RPC hold offices at the pleasure of the minister, (Regional town and country planning act, 1976 section 4(3)). The Local Planning Authority (LPA) municipal councils or town councils concerning the Urban Councils Act are charged with enforcing development plans (master plans) according to section 11 of the Act. In Zimbabwe, development planning is hinged upon state ideology as expressed by section 4 gives room for political appointments and reward appointments, defeating meritocracy towards strategic planning for development (Wekwete, 1989).

The second tenet, according to Wekwete (1989), is control development. Part V of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act bestows powers to local authorities to control development. Section 22 of the Act development relates to the use of land and building for

various purposes mentioned in section 22. Any person wishing to carry out development must first obtain a permit from the local planning authority (metropolitan council or town council) in the area, (Regional Town and Country Planning Act). Through submitting a planning application, developers are afforded the chance of participation by attending meetings and in writing (Chaeruka 2002:21). The Local Planning Authority has the statutory mandate to approve and disapprove plans with locals' general interest. The 'general public interests' is merely a state policy that governs urban and rural planning and development. Development control is essential to promoting quality development. The logic for development control is that within a free market enterprise economy, the state and its agencies regulate activities in the public interest, (Wekwete; 1989). The local planning authority is the institution charged with facilitating development using availed local government acts and laws in which they control development at the local level. Public interest is the centrepiece of planning laws, and local authorities take into cognizance the social needs of the area in the structuring of development plans. The "public interest" phrase cited seems to suggest national interests, rather than locality interests. In Zimbabwe, this system works perfectly well for the central government, especially in urban councils controlled by the opposition, MDC-Alliance. As this may provide constraints to a devolved governance system in terms of administration and economic development at the local level, it is the protection of national security for the central government.

The third and last tenet raised in Wekwete (1989) is the power to set the administrative planning framework. The Act's powers are vested in the department of physical planning, an arm of the central government under the Ministry of Local government whose responsibility is to implement provisions of the act (Wekwete; 1989). According to Wekwete, the department shares direct links with local authorities' regional planning councils because it proffers advice on physical planning to both local authorities and the minister. Another significant body of the Act is the Administrative court (s59) whose function described by McAuslan (1980) is to adjudicate conflicts that arise as a result of development planning powers. The conflict may arise due to spontaneous clashes in public interests and private players (private property owners or other individuals influential in the society). Wekwete (1989) asserts that the administrative court acts as an appeal body for all matters relating to planning decisions. The court decides on matters arising before it, giving legal interpretations and deciding thereof, however, some cases are referred to the Supreme Court which is the highest court of appeal in the Act or Administration Act (7.01).

The Zimbabwean local government is generally legislated to ensure control by the central government. The 2013 constitution may have provided for devolution of power, but practically such provisions have not been fully implemented and aligned to the enabling acts thereof. The new administration of President Mnangagwa made it clear through the 2019 budget that devolution of power is essential for local economic development and efficient local government. The legislative framework discussed above exposes some legislative and institutional inconsistencies about the local government sector. Local government is constituted in the Zimbabwean constitution by such provision has been institutionally frustrated by the central government socialist tendencies in tandem with fear to lose total control of urban constituencies to the opposition. Devolution of power is the essential element for local economic development. The deficiency of such devolved structures in the local government may retard economic development if not slow it down. Implementation of the constitution to its fullness is the only hope for local authorities to promote local economic development.

2.6 The Central Government in Local Economic Development

The central governments are the centre for public policy, institutions and funding for public development. Local economic development planning exists within the national policy frameworks and sector ministries that support local development initiatives (Wekwete, 2014: 19). The central government has a policy responsibility to create an enabling environment that removes unnecessary transaction costs, bureaucratic barriers and promoting knowledge asymmetries (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa 2016: 5). The major limitation of the national policy framework in supporting local economic development is that mainly in the case of Zimbabwe; is limited attention and engagement with local governments. By extension of national legislative and policy frameworks, the local government is a creature and an appendage of the central government. It does not exist outside the state and is shaped by political, economic, and social values characterizing the given society (Wekwete; 2016:10). Chakunda (2015) understands that local government is enacted through the statutes of Parliament; therefore operate within the legislative framework promulgated by the central government. The local government functionality, whether delegated or devolved power system; its existence is owed to the central government's willingness. The national government shapes the specialized policy and program needs; and the local government's role is ultimately defined as mere implementers in the chain dominated by the centralized style of government (Wekwete, 2014: 19).

The central government refers to three-dimensional power structures, the executive, legislative and judiciary. The executive's central government powers are administered as delegated by the constitution, with legislature or parliament charged with crafting laws as its primary purpose. Chakaipa and Chakunda (2016:26) note that the Parliament protects the constitution and protects democratic governance in Zimbabwe, ensures that the state and government institutions at every level act constitutional and in the national interest and are accountable. The executive through the President's office provides for monitoring frameworks, but their full implementation is undermined by existing institutional relations and performances, (Chakaipa and Chakunda; 2016:25). The institutional relations and performances referred to in Chakaipa and Chakunda (2016) relate to the Ministry of Local government, which assumes all the power in local government. All these institutions of the central government are responsible for supporting macro-based local economic development by supporting local institutions and initiatives through policies that provide incentives for local development.

The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for Local government is a crucial institution responsible for cabinet and parliament interventions to ensure viable, sustainable local government, (Chakaipa and Chakunda; 2016:27). Chakaipa and Chakunda (2016:27) note one discrepancy in Parliamentary control which is a lack of viable legislation that weakens the Ministry of Local Government a leeway in local government relations. The Minister of Local Government is a political appointee of the president and becomes one of Zimbabwe's influential persons. In South Africa, the role of the central government in supporting local development is legislated. This is different in other Southern African countries. The mandate tends to be fragmented across the different central government departments and fails to work and coordinate with the local government strategies and frameworks as custodians of specific territorial interests. The appropriate levels of intervention by the central government is still the centre of the debate. However, there is general agreement that local economic development cannot operate as a series of municipal projects without clear connectivity to national policy frameworks and particularly without financial and technical support (Wekwete, 2014: 20).

2.6.1 The Policy Framework in promoting Local Economic Development

To be effective local economic development should be conceived holistically as part of national economic development through policies, programming and resource mobilization by

the state in coordination with the local governments and other subnational units that form the fundamental local base and building blocks for localized development planning (Wekwete, 2014: 19). Zimbabwe has adopted multiple national policy plans to promote socio-economic transformation and development and address inequalities faced by previously marginalized communities. Zimbabwe adopted policies to promote local economic development as a sustainable development pathway to attain poverty reduction and drive wealth creation (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:6). The local communities from the government of Zimbabwe's policy framework informed policies such as the indigenization policy stimulate economic development at the community and national economic development. The policy initiatives aimed to address previous colonial imbalances by increasing previously disadvantaged communities' access to natural resources and participation in the economic mainstream.

One of the current policy frameworks to support local economic development in Zimbabwe was the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation. All other government policies, projects and programs were formulated under these auspices to provide an enabling environment for sustainable economic development and social transformation to the people of Zimbabwe (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:9). Similar to the indigenization policy, the Zimbabwe Agenda's blue for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation was to empower society, employment creation and increasing the participative culture of marginalized communities in the mainstream economy. Despite these noble policies, the government's challenges are the lack of financial funding for these policies to realize sustainable community development, and thus remain ideals that are not appreciated or implemented at the Provincial and Local levels (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:13).

The new government of Zimbabwe under President Emerson Mnangagwa adopted the Transitional Stabilization Program with a vision to transform the country into an upper-middle-income economy by 2030. The policy also sought to contribute to local development by providing opportunities for economic reconstruction and transformation, creating maximum opportunities for the people to live a full and dignified life, taking advantage of immense and diverse domestic resource endowment tapping into investment prospects from international markets. The policy is heavily focused on re-engagement with the international community especially the West, as Zimbabwe was a pariah state; the document stresses economic development as it touches on economic reconstruction encouraging investments

opportunities in Zimbabwe through its mantra, “Zimbabwe is open for business”. The Transitional Stabilization Program outlined the role of devolution as an important power-driver to the realization of Vision 2030. The policy program also emphasizes devolution on four dimensions: administrative, political, and fiscal and market decentralization. However, local governments are deprived of administrative and political autonomy as the legislative framework establishes them as rubberstamping machines for the national government. This affects sustainable local development as local economic development programs are nationalized and uniformed to suit national policy instead of responding to local needs.

Zimbabwe policy environment is a prerogative of the national government. Such a policy's failure or success at the national level affects heavily local governments and local economic development. Over the years, policy failure at the national level in Zimbabwe has affected the national economy and has transcended into the local government economies, affecting local economic development projects. This systematic formula of top-down governance may have politically induced elements, particularly in Zimbabwe, where the ruling party strives to win the people's hearts. Sine qua non, the policy's discrepancies given the Zimbabwean policy framework suggest a nexus with the local economic development projects. Hence, there is a need for a shift in policymaking in Zimbabwe that would ensure the participation of stakeholders. The current system is flawed by politicking and too many corrupt elements; hence it has peeling effects on local government projects.

2.7 Quality of Governance

The local government in Zimbabwe has been marred by an institutional deficiency in transparency which has opened corridors of corruption. Kunaka et al. (2002) note that corruption is when someone is in a position of authority uses public resources for personal gain. Dewa et al. (2014) note with displeasure the lack of transparency regarding the sale of residential stands and tenders in local authorities as a ploy to meet council officials' pecuniary interests. Chakaipa (2010) also notes that corruption practices on the allocation of stands and abuse of Council property and authority are documented before the courts. Adverts in newspapers are meant to fool the community into believing transparency (Dewa et al. 2014). Dewa et al. (2014) also highlight how adverts on critical issues are treated differently from other adverts that promote local economic development. Such initiatives are usurped by council officials who allocate themselves properties at the behest of the tender system which

they manipulate in their favour. Such corruption is cancer to governance and affects local economic development.

Corruption takes precedence in all council activities as Councillors benefit from a strategic position, (Dewa et al.; 2014). Dewa et al. (2014) cite a Chronicle article of 2012, where a Councillor was alleged to have bought a car from the Gweru City Councillor for a sum of USD 7. The amount is ludicrous and demonstrates a high level of institutional corruption. The mismanagement of income-generating enterprises was also found to be a challenge in Zimbabwe (Dewa et al.; 2014). Nkomo (2017) asserts that local authorities must broaden their revenue bases by creating sustainable local economic development; however, such efforts are hampered by corruption. As Dewa et al. (2014) safely put it, there is uncertainty caused by economic instability; the consequence is an increase in corruption and a lack of accountability. Dewa et al. (2014) blame corruption on economic challenges. They highlighted that council workers collect bribes from the public for service provision or exemption for illegal doing to supplement their low-income salaries.

Good governance, accountability, and local development is a product of the commitment and quality of elected Councillors. In Zimbabwe, there is a deficiency in the good quality of Councillors. Action Aid (2016:16) asserts that Councillors cannot effectively present issues and represent the citizens on the matters affecting them. The assertion raised by Action Aid (2014) suggests that elected Councillors have challenges in executing their duties efficiently to the development of communities. Dewa et al. (2014) concede that the Councillors pass decisions favourable to the political grouping of their belonging instead of making the decision that benefits the city and its residents. Dewa et al. (2014) reiterate that elected Councillors are supposed to represent people and are alleged to be acting in a partisan way to outwit perceived opponents from another party. Action Aid (2014) notes that the Councillors are political party subjects and are victims of party whips and often distance themselves from issues that affect local communities. The phrase political party subjects mean that their political parties can dismiss them. As it may, Councillors negate local development initiatives to focus on their superior's gratification missions in political parties.

The other issue raised regarding the problem of Councillors is what was raised by Action Aid (2014) that most Councillors are not educated enough to understand local government issues. There is no requirement of academic qualification for Councillors to contest for public office in Zimbabwe (Chakaipa; 2010). Dewa et al. (2014) note that because Councillors are elected

on a political ticket, most of them are not educated to grasp the concept of good governance as enshrined in the Urban Council Act. The council officials are educated, are comprehensive of local governance and are very experienced than the Councillors (Action Aid; 2014). Hence, it is in this light that some schools of thought decry the election of uneducated Councillors. Whereas there is some justification on the election of uneducated Councillors cited by ZILGA in Chakaipa (2010) that because most Councillors are of age, age produces wisdom because 21 years legal age to become a Councillor is too youthful. However, Dewa raises that the age requirement for one to be a Councillor is thirty years. In contrast, there is no clarity in the Urban Council Act on the said subject. Chakaipa (2010) appreciates the need to have some minimum academic attainment to ensure Councilors' meaningful contributions to the councils. Chakaipa (2010) argues that education equips Councillors to communicate, understand reports, and contribute to Council business.

Issues raised by residents unfavourable to council officials end up fizzling out, (Action Aid; 2014) because the councils' officials advise Councillors on policy matters. Action Aid (2014) notes that because Councillors are not technocrats, they are intimidated by and subordinate to council officials. Chatiza (2010) acknowledges that Councillors lack essential leadership competencies to steer good governance in their ward and as a result, lack adequate power and influence in the council. It creates problems in transparency and accountability. It also has peeling effects on good governance and local economic development and fulfilment of electoral promises. Chatiza (2010) notes that the Councillors are regularly involved in the convening of stakeholder's meetings in their wards that are critical to development facilitation. According to Chatiza (2010), such meetings may provide some ounce of transparency and accountability. However, more action by Councillors is needed to enhance good governance in the local authorities.

2.8 Conceptual and Theoretical framework

The essence of this section is providing a conceptual analysis linking the fundamental theoretical underpinnings of endogenous development to local government as an enabler of local economic development and providing a theoretical framework for this study. The school of thought-leading this theoretical framework is oriented to developing from the bottom-up thinking integrated with the theoretical pinning and policy patterns with views of self-centred development, participatory development planning, and sustainable development. These narratives, views and conceptual approaches can be summarised from an endogenous growth

theory asserting that a prelude to local economic development is a localised planning process, local control, and retention of local benefits. The endogenous growth approach seeks to answer fundamental questions about why developing countries are not catching up with the developed countries (Romer, 1994: 4). In essence, this approach focuses on how specific localities' socio-economic development can be achieved through locally available resources and the participation of local stakeholders in the development process. The endogenous growth theory follows the discourse on the growing uneven development level across regions. It thus comes up as both a policy and practice with strategies oriented towards promoting local economic competitiveness and growth (Plummer, Tonts, and Martinus, 2014: 1). In essence, the endogenous development approach focuses on economic growth through making decisions based on available local resources, culture, and institutions.

Endogenous development theory is about local self-determination focusing on internal potentials, strengths, and capabilities of a locality in developing a diversified local economy whose benefits are further locally reinvested to support small local scale and labour-intensive economic activities (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 62). In addressing the 'catch up' process of underdeveloped regions, endogenous development promotes higher growth of previously low-income areas leads to benefits being retained locally unlike exogenous development that leads to the exportation of the process of development from the region (Slee, 1993: 43). Plummer et al., 2014 noted that the endogenous growth theory attempts to address uneven development problems through place-based measures. These measures seek to improve local capacity and infrastructure and a range of other 'endogenous' economic, social and institutional conditions necessary for local development and growth.

Endogenous growth theory emerged as a reaction to the neoclassical economic growth models that assert technological change and innovation as an exogenous process rather than a local process innovation central to local economic performance and effectiveness (Plummer et al., 2014: 1). When the development process of underdevelopment territories is endogenously driven, local stakeholders must formulate a territorial development policy. This situation drives territorial development from a bottom-up approach, giving external factors a role in a conceived and defined development policy based on local people's dictates (Vázquez-Barquero Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1139). The endogenous development policy's perspective is that the local actors are the answer to local challenges of globalization (Vázquez-Barquero, 2007:183) as local determination through endogenous planning respects local values as compared to exogenous development tends to trample over them (Slee, 1993:

43). The effectiveness of this approach in promoting economic growth is dependent on the participation of local communities in the development management and control process and the agreements between local actors on strategies and goals that respond directly to local needs (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1135). The endogenous growth approach is synonymous with the human-centred development approach or bottom-up approach and a local participatory approach which emphasizes the view that local areas and actors should lead the process to create their own desired lifestyle and the form of development relevant to the local area (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 61).

2.8.1 Endogenous Development: A Territorial Approach

Endogenous development is a classical approach of economic development based on the local determination of choices, control over the planning process, and the local retention of the benefits within the locale (Slee, 1993: 43). In as much endogenous development is locally determined the associated economic growth and structural change are a territorial phenomenon (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1137). The endogenous development thought emphasizes that economic growth is an endogenous outcome of the process directly occurring with a particular territory, not the result of forces that impinge from outside (Romer, 1994:3). The endogenous growth theory's territorial approach articulates that changes to achieve sustainable economic growth have to begin within a particular territorial area, and this area is the defining force for all the subsequent transformations. The territory is a critical area for transformation. It provides the space for local stakeholders to interact in the development and growth of the area. Endogenous development is thus growth and structural change specific to the development potential to improve the population's standard of living in the territorial area (Vázquez -Barquero and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1137). These circumstances play a central role in the development process in shaping the initiatives based on the local community's interests and goals. In European communities, local economic development started with launching local initiatives that stimulated local economic growth and job creation (Vázquez –Barquero, 2016).

A territorial approach is a radical approach to the neoclassical economic thought that exogenous factors of technological progress and capital accumulation are propellants of economic growth (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 65). Economic growth plans should be locally determined to promote the high economic performance of marginal regions to contribute to the growth of the national economies. The territorial approach is guided by economic

thinking towards investing in the local process and making local industries efficient for national and international market competition. This development process refers to the growth and capital accumulation processes of territories with their own culture and institutions, upon which investment decisions are made (Vázquez-Barquero, 2007:183). This is an economic dimension to development with a territorial specific production system that allows local entrepreneurs to use the productive factors efficiently coupled with the technological change for competitiveness in the national and international markets. The territory is thus an agent of transformation for local enterprises to interact for the development of that area both socially and economically (Vázquez-Barquero, 2002:22).

The territorial approach enables the development of an area through a bottom-up approach. It defines economic growth policies based on the specified territory's interests and goals (Vázquez -Barquero and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1139). The approach pins importance on territorial space and place to develop and its influence on the applications of the design of drivers to stimulate economic growth at local levels. It brings to the fore the discussion on the historical importance of a particular area in shaping its future development path and the local institutions' role in enabling economic growth. The territorial approach allows for a locally determined development process, as Chambers (1983) in Slee, 1993: 47 defines development as breaking down the top-down planning for bottom-up approaches that promotes engagement, dialogue and learning with the beneficiaries of development and also to help the poor voices their concerns, interests and needs. This promotes the consideration of local values as a desirable ingredient of development as a negotiated process rather than imposed (Slee, 1993: 47). This territorial approach to development is important as contexts are not uniform across all territories in the nation and require paying specific attention to the resources available, social and economic dynamic in that territory. Local economic development can also be defined as a territorial concept and approach based on the principles of synergies and partnerships between various local stakeholders operating in a particular locality (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, 2016:5).

2.8.2 Endogenous Development: An Institutional Approach

As Kapser and Streit (1999) note, institutions matter in endogenous development, all human interactions require a degree of predictability bound by institutions or rules to facilitate economic life and exchanges. Institutions are humanly created controls to organise and create order in political, economic, and social interactions for avoiding uncertainties and risks (North, 1991: 97). The institutional approach provides an understanding of the interactions

of various institutional arrangements and combinations of natural and human resources towards a territorial space's economic growth. The territory provides an institutional interaction of a combination of human, natural and entrepreneurial resources for development potential (Vázquez -Barquero and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1141). The institutional relations and their implications determine the success or failure of the endogenous development process. Territories can fail to attain the desired goals through local development policies if existing institutions cannot facilitate economic growth interactions (Vázquez -Barquero and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1142). The endogenous growth theory consequently emphasizes the relevance of local institutions in local growth. Local agencies and their capabilities determine the increase in income and development of the local area to produce the needed outcomes of growth (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 65). The endogenous development approach asserts that self-sustained development is achieved through local institutions facilitating the introduction of local innovations and local knowledge that lead to diversified productive economic activities (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1135).

The institutions' role is critical in the development process because investments decisions into an area are made based on the existing local institutions (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1138). In essence, the successful collaboration of local political and economic actors towards an area's economic growth is based on institutions' conditions. The institutional approach sets the tone for local development by creating a local atmosphere conducive to economic growth. The contracts and mechanisms that regulate relationships between actors, the behaviour codes of the population, governance, and culture all help determine the specific development path in each territory (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1138). The institutional approach disputes the classical thinking that unbounded rationality and perfect information, transactions are costless and instantaneous (Simon 1986:210). We have incomplete information and limited mental capacity by which to process information (North, 1992:1). Accordingly, all political and economic interactions face a threat of uncertainty about unforeseen processes and outcomes and incurring transaction costs. Institutions are formed to reduce uncertainty in these human exchanges, political and economic interactions (North, 1992:1). Institutions provide incentives for local actors to participate in the development process by reducing transaction costs and uncertainties. This approach then applies that an area's economic growth is an output of the institutions that exist, economic development is conditioned by the relation

existing between economic and political institutions (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1138).

The link between the institutional approach and economic growth is based on reducing transactions costs for participating agents and conditions process for capital accumulation. Institutions create trust among the actors to efficiently and attain economies of scale with increased returns (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016). Furthermore, the institutional approach reduces transaction costs by creating connections between the existing conditions and production costs. Thus, the quality of local institutions affects investments decisions, the productivity of local firms, the adoption of technological changes, and the economic development process. Therefore, the local economic development process should create institutions that influence appropriate conditions for economic growth.

The local region where development has to occur becomes a zone for synergising local actors through networks of working relationships with local inhabitants to identify local needs and goals. The endogenous approach takes a territorial approach as it is centred on the idea that the dynamic transformation of local areas and localised economic growth is necessarily anchored on the forces for change within that local area (Oduro-Ofori, 2011: 62). Furthermore, through Local economic development, local people can work together with the support and facilitation of the local state and other external stakeholders to achieve sustainable economic growth and development that brings improved quality of life for all. It gives a new view of institutions' roles in creating the necessary conditions for growth in an economy driven by local needs (Oduro-Ofori, 2011). For all this to be possible institutions, create the social norms and rules that place power on citizens and democratic institutions that allow different political and economic actors to participate in the process that affects the local economy and society (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1138). In essence, the institutions create a condition that reduces risks and creates trust and collaborations among local actors and local communities to facilitate growth.

2.8.3 Local economic development as an endogenous process

The endogenous development approach is relevant to local economic development and the role of local government in creating local institutions of the process. This approach is necessary for this concept as it firstly emphasizes territorial importance. The territory is the centre of local economic development. It is where potentials and local resources to promote growth are identified. The capacities of local communities promote endogenous development.

The approach also facilitates a participatory process created by institutions that allow different actors to collaborate to achieve. This leads to the creation of local development policies and initiatives that respond directly to local conditions by harnessing local potential and resources. Territories that have implemented local initiatives supported by the quality of local development plans, the participation of the local population and the democratic functioning of institutions have achieved increased development (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1141). The institutional approach of endogenous development also responds to local economic development. In terms of local government legislation, rules, and development agreements, these institutions should be created to allow for local and collaborative participation in the design, implementation, and control of the actions and initiatives.



3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research approach and processes carried for this study. The research process involves the steps followed towards identifying, finding, evaluating, and investigating the information to reach empirical evidence for developing ideas to support the research questions. This research thesis is based on an empirical study using the Bulawayo City Council as a case study. This research study's main thrust was to inquire about the local government's potential to promote Zimbabwe's economic development. The essence was to explore the trending concepts in local government and local economic development and assess the implementation by evaluating current initiatives and projects concerning localised development planning. The study followed an ontological approach to establish the relationship between development initiatives undertaken by the Bulawayo City Council and the economic and social development outcomes in the area. For the field research, a case study of the Bulawayo City Council was necessary to understand and have insights into economic development, local government structures and process in the Bulawayo Metropolitan Area. Process data were collected through a field by seeking contextual viewpoints and local economic development interpretations from participants drawn from the BCC, private businesses, residents, and civic leaders. The main objective of this approach was to have an understanding of measures, structures and processes related to local economic development that are used by various stakeholders in Bulawayo

3.2 Research Setting

This study's field research was carried out in the Bulawayo Metropolitan Area under the Bulawayo City Council's jurisdictional authority as the local government from August July 2019 to December 2019. The Bulawayo City Council provided an excellent case study as the municipality being faced with creating a conducive environment for economic growth to curb problems associated with unemployment amidst the city's de-industrialisation has undertaken initiatives to promote localised economic development. This research's key objective was to investigate the potential of the local government sector in Zimbabwe in enabling local economic development. The Bulawayo City Council was selected as it is the responsible local authority mandated with the development planning and implementation of projects related to the Bulawayo Metropolitan area's development.

This is against the background that, Bulawayo was previously the industrial hub of Zimbabwe. The city's de-industrialisation affected a lot of people livelihood means as the industrial employment share of the city to total employment drastically dropped (Mbirira, 2015:2). This process resulted in rising unemployment in the city and drastically changed the city's social and economic development landscape. The Bulawayo City Council has undertaken considerable efforts to promote economic development. The context in Bulawayo allowed for the research of these components of the research as the research focused on assessing the Bulawayo City Council's ability to discharging the mandate of local economic development. Given local economic challenges, Bulawayo City Council has engaged multiple strategies to address which this research sought to understand. The Bulawayo Metropolitan Area was chosen for this study because the Bulawayo City Council has been one of the central local governments in shaping local economic development in Zimbabwe.

3.3 Research Approach

Field research usually involves conducting ethnographic studies on a small group of people regarding a particular topic for a certain period (Neumann, 2014: 51). The field research process was guided by qualitative methodological and theoretical constructions for procedures and techniques to identify, select, process, and analyse data on local government and local development processes in Bulawayo. This study used qualitative analysis, and the functions of qualitative research have been identified as explanatory and descriptive. The essential purpose is concerned with exploring participants' interpretation of social events that capture their characteristics (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 28). The qualitative approach was suitable to overcome the prevailing barriers to access the target population given the often sensitive political discussions that ensued in this research. The researcher used interchangeably multiple qualitative techniques, including interviewing through in-depth interviews, unstructured or flexible interviews, and taking field notes during informal conversations with community activists and non-participant observational analysis around the city.

The primary research respondents were drawn from the Bulawayo City Council City's Economic Development Unit, the Town Clerk's Department, Social Services Department, the Sub-Committees on Finance and Development, Business Development and the Business, Residents' Association. This allowed the drawing of data for understanding the contextual viewpoints and local economic development interpretations and enabling the role of the

Bulawayo City Council. This approach allowed investigation for the central question of the research. *What is required for the local government to provide an enabling environment for local economic development? And how can the local government sustain solutions to local development challenges?* This methodology allowed the research respondents to actively participate in the research sharing their narratives, perceptions and experiences on the topic under study.

3.3.1 Qualitative Interviewing

Qualitative Interviewing was the primary tool for data collection and was carried out mainly among the officials of the Bulawayo City Council (City Economic Development Officer, Director Housing and Community Services, the Mayor), civil society and community leaders from the Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association and the Streetwise Informal Traders Association, representatives of the Bulawayo Residents Association, Councillors and the owners of small business enterprises to understand their decisions, attitudes and beliefs towards the local government decision making process and initiatives for local development. This approach helped to deduce contextual information on Bulawayo for understanding the local government sector and people-centred approaches to development which was not possible through a quantitative or survey-based approach. The reason for interviewing government officials, civil society and private sector actors was to establish the nature of the multi-stakeholder approach to economic development in Bulawayo.

Qualitative interviewing entails conversing with people under the study, enabling them to share their experiences and understandings. People participate in different life settings and attach different interpretations and meanings to seemingly similar facts and events. (King, Horrocks & Brooks, 2018: 11). The qualitative interviewing technique was critical for establishing personal communication with the research participants. The field research process followed a qualitative technique. It allowed the researcher to directly interact with the various stakeholders involved in the decision-making process in the local governance and the local economy of Bulawayo. The field research process involves conducting ethnographic studies on a small group of people for a certain period (Neuman, 2014: 51). The qualitative research approach augmented this research's objectives as focuses on the constructions of social reality and the interactive process in a society. This allowed the researchers to focus on the interactions of engagement in terms of the central-local relations and the private sector stakeholders involved in the local economic development process in Bulawayo. A qualitative

research approach augmented this research's objectives, as it focuses on the constructions of social reality, cultural meaning, and the interactive processes in society (Neumann, 2014: 17).

The qualitative interviewing method allowed the researcher to have an in-depth one on one conversation with various research participants with an understanding and experience of the topic under study. The researcher also opted to use qualitative interviewing because it is characterised by an increasing level of flexibility (Edwards and Holland, 2013:3), this allowed for questions to be asked depending on the flow of discussion during the interviews. The flexible guide allowed further probing questions to be asked and creating room for establishing a rapport with the participant and discovering information that would not have been solicited through a survey-based approach. Qualitative interviews allow the research to probe answers depending on the topics raised by the interviewee, and a discussion can ensue (Edwards and Holland, 2013:29). This technique allowed the researcher to gain in-depth insights. In some cases, the researcher was confronted with participants not willing to engage in recorded interviews. The researcher easily adjusted for informal conversation and took down field notes. Interviews are flexible to suit an appropriate situation in the field, and they can be formal or recorded (Edwards and Holland, 2013:31).

3.4 Sampling Strategy

A sampling technique is a process of selecting a portion of research respondents that will be representative of the entire population of the study, and facilitating the reaching of conclusion results that can be widely generalised. The sampling technique is fundamental in research as it informs the researcher's quality of interpretations from the primary findings (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007: 281). The focus of the research was mainly on the Bulawayo City council as a local government unit; an estimated total of 35 participants was deliberately targeted and approached because of their relevance to the study. However, some were not willing to engage in the politically sensitive parts of the topic. Through purposive sampling, interview data were collected. This sampling procedure implies that the respondent's identification done was done based on their significance to the study.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics are codes of conduct to research by values of integrity, honesty and openness. Research ethics are vital in the research process; as such various research institutions, universities, and professional associations have adopted specific rules of conduct

to guide the research processes in various fields of study. Ethical considerations define what is or is not legitimate to do or what “moral” research procedures should be observed (Neuman, 2014: 145). In social science, research ethics are likewise vital, including those related to human subject protection, professional integrity, intellectual property, information security and risks that need to be appropriately managed to protect the confidentiality and the privacy of the research participants (Silva, 2012: 8). The research ethics were crucial in honouring the trust participants placed upon the researcher and that the entire research process was guided by integrity. To protect and guarantee the privacy of the research participants, their identities are anonymised by using pseudonyms. For information security, confidentiality, and further privacy, the interview's recording and the transcripts are kept in a password protected laptop only accessible to the researcher. The information was presented in a manner that would not put the respondents any harm and guaranteed the protection of their privacy. Accordingly, the researcher did not use any information acquired in a manner that could bring any sort of harm either embarrassment or emotional and physical to the participants. Other research ethics that were observed entailed transparency and informed consent. The researcher took time to explain to the participants what the research was about transparently, explained therein terms of participating in the research and answered any questions before conducting the interviews to have informed consent. The process of establishing the research ethics to the participants is key for them agreeing to partake in the research after being guaranteed privacy and anonymization of their identities.



4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study is premised on understanding how local governments can enable local economic development from the context of the city of Bulawayo. This chapter provides an analytical discussion of the empirical findings in how the Bulawayo City council as a local government authority is playing enabling and coordinating role with non-state-actors implementing local economic development initiatives to address local socio-economic problems. The economic growth of an area is dependent on the local institutions such as the local government to understand local conditions and harnessing local capacities, resources, and potential to address local challenges. This section of the study provides practical answers to the research questions on what is required for the local government to enable local economic development by explaining how the Bulawayo City Council applied this concept in its jurisdiction area.

The premise of this section is to critically explore policy frameworks, strategic planning, and programs in development processes through which local economic development takes place in the City of Bulawayo. Local government has the purpose of activating the local economic potential through innovation to its entire growth dimension facilitating infrastructural development, supporting local small-scale enterprises, attracting investments, promoting competitiveness and strengthening local organizations (Mandisvika, 2015).

A thematic approach was applied in coding the data gathered from interviews, policy documents and discussions and interviews with Councillors, council administrative personnel and community leaders into meaningful information for answering the research questions. The empirical data was generated through a thematic approach developing broad themes from the interviews with Councillors, ex Councillors, council's officials.

Designation of respondent	Number	% of the total sample
Councillors	10	33,25
Administrative Managers	9	29,03
Residents Association Members	5	16,12
Private And NGO Stakeholders	7	22,58
Total	31	100

Table 4.1: Research Sample

4.2 Bulawayo City Council

The Bulawayo City Council is a local government responsible for the governance of the Bulawayo Metropolitan area. Chakaipa (2010), in his discussion of decentralisation, define local government as a representatively established entity with a service delivery mandate. It is a legal entity with powers and jurisdictional authority over a particular area within the national legislation's limits. The conceptual and practical arguments behind the local government are that it is a participatory and popularly elected structure with a mandate to address the needs at local levels and ensure the translation of those needs into the existing programmes and projects and the maintenance of essential public services sustainable basis. The purpose of the Bulawayo City Council is to establish forums for active citizen participation within the Bulawayo area harnessing local knowledge and efforts in the execution of its mandate. The Bulawayo City Council's institutional functions can be summarised to provide public services at an affordable cost to communities within Bulawayo Metropolis more responsively and efficiently, promoting public participation and engagement of various stakeholders in governance.

1.2.1 Political Structure- Council Arm

The Council, which is the political arm, is headed by the City Mayor and the Deputy Mayor. The council is made of 29 ward Councillors elected by the general population during the national elections for a period of five years. The Councillors are categorised into different Standing committees which make recommendations to be considered in the Full Council meeting every month for policy adoption and decision making. The council 's standing committees are as follows; -

- a. *General Purpose Committee*- this committee operates as the management committee composed of the Mayor, Deputy mayor, Chairpersons of the other Council standing committees except for the Audit Committee and the future Water supplies and Water Action Committee. The committee works directly with the Town Clerk's Department to supervise and monitor its overall operations.
- b. *Finance and Development Committee*- this committee is established in terms of the terms of section 96(2) of the Urban Councils Act (29:15). It is responsible for regulating the financial affairs of the council following standing orders and by-laws of the council.

- c. *Environmental Management and Engineering Services Committee*- this committee is established in section 96(4) of the Urban Council Act (29:15) with its terms of reference around environmental conservation, solid waste management, construction, and infrastructure maintenance.
- d. *Health Housing and Education Committee*- this committee is established in section 96(3) of the Urban Councils Act (29:15). It is responsible for managing policy on health provision, welfare and all matters relating to housing and education provision.
- e. *Business Committee*- is responsible for strategic and operational plans of the Municipal, commercial entities.
- f. *Municipal Procurement Committee*- The Municipal Procurement Committee meets on an as and when required basis. Its terms of reference are arranging tenders and making recommendations to the Council regarding the acceptance of tenders and procurement of goods, materials, and services.
- g. *Audit Committee* - This committee is established in terms of section 97 of the Urban Council Act (29:15) regarding monitoring the use of the financial, physical assets and human resources. The committee also recommends to the Council appropriate methods of investments.

Adopted from the policy records of Bulawayo City Council

Through its political and administrative structures, the Bulawayo City Council can enable and promote local economic development. A relationship between these two structures of power cooperates through the committee's system and the departments that closely develop policy and council-by laws that facilitate and have a purpose of developing the area jurisdiction. The Urban Councils Act (29:15) empowers the Bulawayo City Council powers to make by-laws and policies relevant to address the various socio-economic challenges experienced in the city area through the committee system. Through exercising the political and administrative powers, the Bulawayo City Council has the mandate to ensure the development of the areas under its jurisdiction by formulating and implementing development plans and programmes that address various socio-economic development challenges. Local government can also enable local economic development. For example, through the Environmental Management and Engineering Services Committee, the Bulawayo City Council has a responsibility for constructing infrastructures such as the road and transport system to facilitate productive social and economic activities. In this regard, the local government has political and administrative measures and various departments that play

different roles to facilitate local development. Public investment in transport infrastructure and physical capital strengthens relations with other locations within the localities network, thus facilitating exchange and increasing the competitiveness of local area (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1140).

1.2.2 Administrative –Management Arm

The Bulawayo City Council's administration is split into six departments headed by the Town Clerk's Department.

- a. *Town Clerk's Department*- its primary functions are to give administrative direction to the organisation's affairs. It manages and guides the municipal organisation following the statutory powers and duties conferred on the Council by statutes and the policies laid down by the Central Government and the Council.
- b. *Chamber Secretary's Department*- main areas of responsibility are servicing Committees and the Council by offering legal services and statutory advice.
- c. *Engineering Services Department*- operates guided mainly by the terms of reference of the Townlands and Planning Committee for planning matters and the Environmental Management and Engineering Services relating to water, sewerage, storm water, road construction, and maintenance. The Engineering Services Department is responsible for the provision and maintenance of all civil engineering and town planning.
- d. *Financial Services Department*- oversees Council's financial matters such as cash flows, accounts, spanning from budgeting, and charges for services, revenue collection and expenditure.
- e. *Health Services Department*- principal function is to safeguard the community's health services and environmental health services.
- f. *Housing and Community Services Department*- main functions are the management of the Council's housing estates including the registration of house-seekers on the waiting list and the allocation of Municipal built accommodation and residential stands, the related community services, parks services, promotion and engaging in cooperative schemes.

Adopted from the policy records of Bulawayo City Council

4.3 Bulawayo City Council Local Economic Development Plan

The Bulawayo City Council local economic development plan is underlined through the City of Bulawayo Master Plan 2000 – 2015 and the current City of Bulawayo Master Plan 2019 – 2034. The master plan's basic objectives are to promote local economic development by enhancing the local investment climate, bulk infrastructural and residential development for urban regeneration to promote local tourism, and encourage industrial and commercial activities in the city. In post-independent Zimbabwe, Bulawayo City Council was the first city to formulate a City Development Master Plan that strategically positions the local authority beyond merely an administrative agency but also as an entrepreneurial hub. The Bulawayo City Council's local economic development plan acknowledges and seeks to address variegated challenges in the city such as the economic and industrial meltdown, rising unemployment levels, dilapidating infrastructure and dry spell droughts leading to rising urban poverty levels. The main thrust of local economic development as implemented by the Bulawayo City Council is double-pronged focusing on economic and social development programmes through organising business and investment conferences to sell the city as an ideal investment destination and corporate social responsibility programme encouraging the businesses sector to make social investments (City Economic Development Unit Official, 2019).

The Bulawayo City Council plays a crucial role in creating the necessary enabling conditions for local economic development through its legislative function of creating by-laws. In addition to the local development plan, the local authority is responsible for improving living standards through policies to step up human development, reduce poverty, and provide good governance. The local economic development plan is then implemented to address challenges that confront the easy business development in the city, skills provision and community development. Through its legal mandate, the Bulawayo City Council is a prerequisite for enabling a local development plan that speaks directly to addressing various social and economic problems faced in the city areas through implementing implement plans, programmes and strategies for the effective development of the metropolitan area. The Council Chairperson of the Finance and Development Committee noted that the development for promoting business activity in the city is also oriented towards infrastructural development through the construction of a road network that will facilitate the ease of doing business in the city. In this scenario, the Bulawayo City Council seeks conditions that will promote vibrant business and economic activities in the city through its strategic plan.

Whilst faced with a potential economic calamitous, the City, through the master plan, seeks vigorous to enable economic diversity and attracting meaningful investments and vibrant tourism. The Bulawayo City Council is often celebrated as one of the best in local government excellence within Zimbabwe; however, like other local authorities, the local economic developmental plan is suffocated by the pressure to serve its growing urban population demands service delivery efficiency, provision of housing and employment opportunities and another majority of problems arising from the massive de-industrialisation that occurred in the city. The local economic development initiatives are then centred on addressing the adverse social and economic effects of deindustrialisation that occurred in Bulawayo. The city sets to engage in development projects that will generate employment through boosting industrial productivity, water projects to address perennial water problems, massive construction of houses to generate employment and address housing shortages. The city master plan has focused on the following policy indicators that seek to address the main social and economic challenges in Bulawayo.

- Engaging in Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) to promote an increased role of the private sector in service delivery and the City development initiatives was strategically aimed at stimulating an economic revival of the City by creating employment opportunities for the people of Bulawayo.
- The City development plan commits to steer partnership with other international cities through the city twinning programs, e.g. the Twinning with the Durban eThekweni Municipality in South Africa and the City of Aberdeen in Scotland, international development partners and donors like the Australia Aid, UN-Habitat and Dabane Trust among others, to trade modern technologies in ICTs and also exportation of development initiatives in other cities to promote employment and employability on its technological empowered people.
- They recognised the pipeline dream of the Zambezi Water project, commitment to completing the Gwayi- Shangani dam and Mtshabezi pipeline to address the water challenges in the City.

The development plan aims to facilitate fair use of local resources for industrial, residential development; enhance the investment climate, stimulate local economic development and act as a framework for employment creation, social, recreational and cultural activities (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 13). As noted by an official from the City Economic Development Unit, since undergoing massive de-industrialisation, the city lost a majority of its investors.

However, much equipment was left behind lying idle. Hence, part of the strategic development plan is to entice investors to rebuild using the already existing resources and infrastructure. This strategic plan is centred on this approach of encouraging investment into the city. It will be beneficial for the community in addressing the astronomical figures of unemployment to go down when investors set their business in the city.

The city development plan operates under the purview of central government national-macroeconomic policies. In discussion with the former Ward Councillor and Alderman of the City of Bulawayo Batandi Mpofo noted that the local economic development takes policy and institutional dimensions spearheaded by central which the former plays an integral role in national policy formulation. In discussion with the City Development Unit Officials, they noted that the Bulawayo City Council had followed the central government mantra, 'Zimbabwe is open for Business' which has been adjusted to 'Bulawayo is open for Business' as a model for attracting investment. The institutional setup for implementing Bulawayo City council's local economic development plan through the central government is mainly controlled by the ruling party Zanu-PF with prerogative for national development policy frameworks. On the other hand, the local authority is controlled by Councillors from the opposition political party with differing political ideologies and policy interests. In this way, the local strategic plan operates as a political subservient of the central government. Hence as noted by, Council Alderman Mpofo the continuum of the local economic development process in the City of Bulawayo is subjective to political contestations of the ruling party Zanu-PF and the local authority under the opposition party MDC.

4.4 Local Economic Development enablers by Bulawayo City Council

The Bulawayo City council has taken various strategic processes and initiatives to enable local economic development in its area of jurisdiction guided by various policy documents, mainly the City Development master plan. Bulawayo City's success in implementing its strategic plans has been achieved through a combination of delivery models that enable partnerships among stakeholders (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 14). The models seek to promote local economic development through the city council coordinating engagement and collaborations between different local stakeholders from the various sector in the private sector, international and local development agencies, community projects and other public sector institutions to support local initiatives for alleviating various socio-economic problems. Local initiatives facilitate economic growth and local entrepreneurial activities

through co-operatives, self-help and the formation of groups with shared interests and promote local participation in the management of development projects (Vázquez-Barquero, and Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016: 1140). Despite the current economic difficulties Bulawayo City Council has managed success in bulk infrastructure development by implementing local initiatives through infill development strategies that involve sourcing resources from the private sector and development agencies (Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2009: 14).

4.4.1 Public-Private Partnerships

In attempts to reduce poverty in the developing world and address various development challenges, the emphasis is on the local government's role in public-private corporations' establishments to generate economic growth (Cashdan, 1998: 3). In Bulawayo, the first model of public-private partnership was implemented through the initiatives of the Development Forum tasked to consider development actions plans, review national and local laws that hinder private sector participation, and mobilising resources from the private sector for local economic development (Zaaijer, 1998: 47-48). The Bulawayo City Council often has minimal financial resources. Creating conditions for private sector participation is vital for presenting private financing partnerships opportunities to encourage local development. The public-private partnership model of the Bulawayo City Council follows engaging local, regional and international private companies to invest in the social, economic and infrastructural development of the City of Bulawayo. His Worship, the Mayor of the City of Bulawayo, noted that the city engages private sector contractors because servicing residential areas has increased as putting up residential housing areas requires a road network, sewer and reticulation structures and necessary infrastructure which is done by the contractors. Most of the partnerships signed by the City council are construction deals that seek to promote infrastructural development in the city. The projects that result through the public-private partnership engagement model of the Bulawayo City Council result in infrastructural development, and create employment opportunities, reversing the effects of de-industrialisation by encouraging re-industrialisation in the City of Bulawayo.

The Bulawayo City Council's public-private partnership engagement model is based on the endogenous growth theory's institutional approach. The engagement model is based on a set of institutions that are rules and policies that regulate the relationship between different stakeholders and the Bulawayo City Council to avoid uncertainties. Based on that Kapsner and Streit (1999) and North (1991), interactions require a degree of predictability bound by

institutions that are humanly created controls political, economic, and social interactions for avoiding uncertainties and risks creating an order. The public-private partnership engagement model is an institution used by the Bulawayo City Council to interlink and collaborates with different private sector organisations for local economic development. This cooperation can facilitate development in the area as relies on the strengths and potential abilities of different stakeholders. These partnerships have promoted the successful local development plan through strategic initiatives under the special economic zones and the infrastructural development programmes as discussed in the below sub-sections.

4.4.1.2 City Special Economic Zones and Investment Incentives

As part of the strategic master plan for enabling local economic development, the Bulawayo City Council operates incentives programmes from small-medium scale enterprises to prominent multinational corporations. The investment incentives initiatives create conditions that encourage companies to identify Bulawayo as the right investment destination. The investment incentives are also applied to designated special economic zones in the city to promote both local and foreign direct investment into projects that will create employment and development. The City Economic Development Unit official noted that Bulawayo was no longer a preferred investment destination after de-industrialisation in favour of Harare the capital city. The investment incentives and special economic zones are meant to bring back investment and economic development to the City of Bulawayo. The City Economic Development Official also noted the investments incentives include rates and tax rebates, discounted land prices and facilitating other licencing and development permits. According to Wekwete (2014), the private sector is selectively driven by the profit logic and investment into the region is motivated by both central and local governments' profit incentives.

Mbiba and Ndubiwa (2009), noted that as part of the development strategy the Bulawayo City Council implemented the incentives programme with the objectives to promote investment and facilitate their greater involvement commerce and industry for the business that has previously been excluded, to attract new sustainable technology and industries and to strengthen the processes of existing investors. The investment incentives are awarded to companies based on their estimated contribution to the local economy in terms number of people employed, the amount and new technology brought to the city. Furthermore, under the special economic zones, the Bulawayo City Council facilitates the investing stakeholder's behalf. This administrative process often frustrates and prohibits the investors from reducing

the duration and costs associated with applications and investment plans approval and licencing processes. These investment incentives are lucrative in minimising the costs and expenses of setting up a business enterprise in Bulawayo for an investing party. This strategy by the Bulawayo City Council is enabling local economic development as it encourages local and international investments into the city.

The drive encourages private sector participation in local economic development; Bulawayo has been the only City that has established four special economic zones that work in parallel with the investment incentives. The special economic zones in the Bulawayo area were designated as Belmont Industrial area, Kelvin industrial area, Donnington Industrial area and Invumila Industrial area. Under these zones, private companies are classified as special economic zones. Companies are granted conditions for easy-of-do business and encourage city investment opportunities through different sectors in infrastructure development, utility services for solar power plants, textiles, and leather processing (Bulawayo City Economic Development Unit Official, 2019). In the special economic zones, the Bulawayo City Council facilitates companies to operate through unique and favourable amenities to make local companies more competitive in the foreign markets through the tax rebates and various kickbacks to make the companies more productive. Through the special economic zones and investments incentives, the Bulawayo City Council enables an environment for boosting economic productivity through special and preferential treatments for stakeholders that bring economic productivity to the city.

The arrangements under the special economic zones facilitate development and increasing the gross domestic product of the city. In discussion with the officials from the City Economic Development Unit notes that special economic zones encourage investments into the city as they were currently facilitating the process of special negotiation with Chinese Gas Company based in Zambia to build a gas factory for domestic, industrial and medical use, this project will attract an estimated foreign direct investment to the tune of USD\$ 5 million with an estimated revenue of USD\$ 2 million per annum. A local company Shepco expanding its operations into Bulawayo encourage by the designated special economic zones project will generate revenue of an estimated USD 4 million through a USD\$ 2 million capital injection. Coleman (Pvt) Ltd will invest approximately 15 million dollars in foreign direct investment through the capital, and the project is estimated to generate approximately USD 4.5 million per annum. The designation of these zones as facilitated by the Bulawayo City Council creates an enabling environment for local economic development because the projects

contribute towards the introducing new technologies and skills, value addition, import substitution and creation of thousands of direct and indirect jobs in the main projects and downstream (Zimbabwe Special Economic Zones, 2019)⁹.

4.4.1.3 Bulawayo Infrastructure Development Initiatives

The public-private sector model implemented by the Bulawayo City Council speaks directly to the local economic development initiatives and addresses various social and economic problems. In an interview City Councillor Moyo noted that the council is committed to promoting and facilitating local development by engaging in projects that create employment opportunities for the residents through housing and building construction, reconstructing, grading and renovating at least 5km road per ward area with highlighters such as the improvement of the road network in ward 17 connecting Pumula North and the peripheral areas of Hyde Park Methodist, and St Peters. The engagement in infrastructural development of the Bulawayo City Council also enables local economic development as good infrastructure facilitates economic and business activities through ease of communications and transportation of goods and services. The public-private partnership model has been key in enabling local economic development in the city as it enhances investment infrastructural development projects despite challenging national and global economic situations. This strategic approach creates direct and indirect employment (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009: 15).

Bulawayo has continued to benefit from partnerships with investors, for example, the engagement with construction investors under the Zimbabwe-Malaysia Holdings for a bricks production business and local construct of 15 000 housing units in Bulawayo (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009). This was to ameliorate the increasing demand for housing in the City. Such activities provide some employment opportunities for the local population. The construction of low-income and middle-income housing also boosted the City's employment sector, encouraging sustainable local development. Records from the City Economic Development Unit also indicate that Bulawayo City Council on 17th September 2018 engaged the Chinese Housing Contractor based in Southern Africa, Unik Construction Engineering Private Limited for building constructions, infrastructure developments such as water supply, sewer reticulation, road construction, railway and bridge construction. The project is financed by the Bulawayo City and the African Development Bank and has been running in the high-density suburbs of Tshabalala, Mpopoma and also Pumula East. Unik Construction employs

⁹ <https://www.zimseza.co.zw/press-statement-on-licensed-special-economic-zone-investors-in-bulawayo/>

local youths, reducing the number of unemployed youth in communities and improving the lives of these communities. The project employs respective persons of those communities, including the residents in the development of their community. This development is welcomed in the wake of unemployment and escalating poverty levels in the City after the dry rainy season in 2018-2019.

The essence of the public partnership model facilitates the Bulawayo City Council to implement its local strategic development plan to address problems in the city through resources mobilised from the private sector. Due to the limited resources, the Bulawayo City Council engages private contractors and developers to invest in infrastructural and housing development. With the growing population, the demand for housing has also been on the increase, but the local authority has not been able to match these demands in terms of housing services delivery. This promoted the council to engage various private stakeholders in the servicing of residential stands such as the E.CT Shoniwa servicing 350 stands in the new Pelandaba West Suburb, Ranch Metro in Emganwini to service 97 stands, Home link to service 136 stands in Parklands East, Hawk flight to service a further 180 stands in Pelandaba and Emthunzini, Glenkara Homes and 250 residential stands in Pelandaba West. All these private developers have attracted more employment opportunities for the Bulawayo Citizens, abating the housing demands and ensuring effective and efficient housing service delivery. The Bulawayo City Council has also engaged community-based organisations such as the Bulawayo Home Seekers Consortium Trust also partnered with the City of Bulawayo to service the residential areas in Cowdray Park's Garikai/ Hlalani Kuhle stands. This partnership with the Home Seekers Consortium Trust was the result of the residents in areas of the Hlalani Kuhle were facing infrastructural challenges to access clean water and sewer systems as such facing posing a health hazard to the residents. The project was aimed at making the area habitable by connecting to the critical sewer and water reticulation systems. Another key infrastructural development project facilitated by the Bulawayo City Council through its public-private partnership model is the Egodini Mall Redevelopment Project contracted through Terracotta Private Limited. The project created massive employment opportunities for city residents.

Under the infrastructure development initiative, the Bulawayo City Council has partnered with banks. In 2017 City of Bulawayo partnered with the Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe (CBZ) Holdings in the Mahutshula East housing project for servicing 670 stands each measuring 600 square metres with water, sewer and tarred roads and CABS Bank in the

Pumula South to finance the housing development programmes through loans and mortgages. The Council 's partnership with the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe for promotion of economic development and growth, development through infrastructure setup which included energy, transportation systems, water and sanitation, information communication and technology and housing. The Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe has financed infrastructure development and housing project, servicing stands, installing sewer services and creating road networks to the tune of more than US\$ 1, 5 million.

4.4.2 Bulawayo City Promotion and Tourism

The Bulawayo City Council runs a publicity initiative managed through City Council's Public Relations Department, City Economic Development Unit and the Bulawayo Publicity Association. In terms of the main strategic plan on local economic development through the publicity initiative, the Economic Development Unit officials attend and organise various investment conferences and events at local, regional, and international levels to publicise the City of Bulawayo as an ideal investment environment. As part of these events, the Bulawayo City Council hosts experts and different stakeholders from various sectors such as the banking sector, international development agencies and private businesses to share ideas and guidance on propagating the local development enterprise in Bulawayo (City Economic Development Unit Official, 2019). This initiative is often run in parallel with the corporate social responsibility programme to encourage the private sector to address community problems related to poverty and unemployment in the city.

In discussion with the officials from the Public Relations Section, they noted that the City of Bulawayo has been gaining a negative reputation as a previous industrial hub that lost investors and de-industrialisation over the years. The publicity initiative runs promotional activities and events selling the positive image of the City of Bulawayo through its touristic appeals. For example, during the 125 years celebrations of the City of Bulawayo, a promotional campaign title 'Re-Imagine Bulawayo' sent a new message about the city as an opportune investment area. The City Economic Development Unit Official highlighted that a combination of the programmes in promoting local economic development are begging to bring positive results as over the years Harare has been seen as an ideal investment area but recently through the special economic zones number of investing companies and amount of investments is on the increase.

The City of Bulawayo is hosts various tourist attractions scenes that used as part of the city promotional initiative. The Bulawayo area is endowed with multiple cultural heritage sites, crafts centres, and nearby tourist attraction centres that have a high economic potential. These include craft and culture centres such as the Bulawayo Arts Gallery, Natural History and Monuments museum, Railway museum, Nesbit Castle, Hillside Recreational resort area, the Mzilikazi Art and craft centre and nearby Kham ruins and dams and Matopos Hills. The city boasts diverse cultural, craft, and tourism potentials that the Bulawayo City Council has exploited for the local economic development plan. Through these endowments, the council runs multiple conferences and public campaigns to boost city tourism and revise the city as an ideal investment destination. The City Economic Development Official note that the city strategic master plan on local economic development also exploits business tourism that will give the City limelight, attract investments and more businesses into the City. One of the significant events is the annual Zimbabwe International Trade Fair hosted by the City of Bulawayo. It is organised as a business networking event for local businesses to interact with other regional and international partners. The event is used for marketing the city of Bulawayo tourism sector and local businesses. It makes them international brands by giving them international recognition.

In 2019 the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair event attracted more than 500 local Bulawayo exhibitors to showcase to international stakeholders from more than 14 countries. Companies from Belarus, Malaysia and Uganda also boosted hopes in the City to create long-lasting investments that will attract foreign direct investments through trade tourism and cultural exchange. The Zimbabwe International Trade Fair event also bring business to a variety of informal sector business like ice cream hawkers, fruit vendors, among others, promoting local development in all sectors of the City's economies. The City strategic policy aims to harness multi-sectoral industrial capital, ICTs, and business ideas during the ZITF to oil the wheels of its semi-defunct industrial economy to create employment opportunities for its highly unemployed populace. The entire cultural and tourism sector has economic viability that is being exploited by the Bulawayo City Council to support local enterprises' growth.

4.4.3 Economic Gardening

According to Hamilton-Pennell (2016), economic gardening is an entrepreneurial approach to local economic development by growing and encouraging local businesses enterprises. This approach is premised on that local entrepreneurial activity if cultivated and support can grow

new local wealth and economic growth in terms of jobs, increased revenues, and a vibrant local business sector (Hamilton-Pennell, 2016). In Bulawayo, this approach adopted diversification for supporting local economic development through local and home-grown economic activities rather than strongly focusing on external investments. This is so far an initiative through the support of community-based income-generating projects. The community-based projects are supported through an incubators scheme by the Bulawayo City Council which provide free land or discounted workspace rentals, seed funding, mentoring and training in carpentry, metalwork and urban farming. The City Economic Development Unit official noted that the incubators schemes support community-based projects to be innovative, productive, and contribute to the city's economic growth and create more employment opportunities. Councillor Moyo noted that in efforts to reverse the de-industrialisation process's effects, the Bulawayo City Council has availed workspaces for various business activities in high residential areas to promote local entrepreneurship and businesses.

Bulawayo City Council adopted the urban agriculture policy in 2006 as a drive for local empowerment, creating self-reliance amidst the loss of jobs due to de-industrialisation, as an income generator and sustainable use and management of natural resources (Bulawayo City Council, 2008: 7). The urban agriculture policy seeks to contribute to economic development in the City by targeting unemployed youths, widows and the majority of Bulawayo residents identified as poor. The City Economic development Unit Official commented that urban agriculture contributes to economic development in the city as it provides income-generating projects for the unemployed, addressing urban poverty and promoting a healthy balanced diet for the urban poor. Urban agriculture has also contributed to the growth of small scale businesses that sell the produce from the urban gardens and farming allotments. The main vision of the urban agriculture initiative by the Bulawayo City Council was to promote diversified urban agricultural projects both commercial and subsistence to boost social, economic and commercial activities in terms of food production and job creation (Bulawayo City Council, 2008: 10). The urban agriculture policy was also adopted by the Bulawayo City Council as part of efforts to support the informal sector.

Furthermore, the City council has been adopting progressive measures to support the growing informal sector. The unprecedented growth of the (urban) population in well as insufficient formal employment opportunities have resulted in the growth of the informal economy. Following the Statutory Instrument (SI 216) of 1994, which relaxed some controls on home

industries policy, the local authorities formulated policies to permit employment creation activities in domestic areas (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009).

4.4.5 Service Level Benchmarking and Programme Based Budgeting

Performance management and improvement were adopted as an integral part of driving national economic growth and development by the Government of Zimbabwe. Accordingly, the Bulawayo City Council has adopted performance management related practices such as service level benchmarking and programme based budgeting as systems for monitoring, effectively and efficiently improving service delivery. This is one of the key enablers of City development as presented in the City budget. It seeks to promote a review of how services are delivered for improvement to the satisfactory levels for the city residents. This enables the city to reflect on its previous misgivings on service delivery, learn from other local authorities particularly through the twinning arrangements with the EThekweni Municipality in Durban and Aberdeen City in Scotland. The essence of this programme is to review the performance of the Bulawayo City Council against other local authorities for learning and adopt best government practices that promote intra-city development. It responds directly to critics like Mpfu who cited that the City lack monitoring and evaluation system that confronts the City's developmental failures. This process was promoted and sponsored by the World Bank, the City of Bulawayo adopted it to allow peer local authorities to audit the governance practices and policies implemented in the City. The process will create an enabling environment to implement successful policies that will foster socio-economic development.

At Bulawayo City Council the service level benchmarking processes works in collaboration with other performance-based models like the programme based budgeting model. It was introduced by the Ministry of Local Government with much focus on stimulating growth through sector-specific budgeting. The principal aim is to allow the City to create a nexus on its budget to specific plans and policies so as improve service delivery. This idea of budgeting allows allocation of specific costs to specified planned policies to measure the performance of the City on service delivery. It will also enable specific City departments to account for the allocated funds, ameliorate corporate corruption and graft. To this end, various implemented policies will be subjected to auditions that will give a proper evaluation of the city's funds purported for service delivery. This process allows for strategic planning and review of the Bulawayo City Council's service delivery model and its programmes to

evaluate if they are effectively responding to the local needs of the people. These governance approaches have earned the local authority the status of being one of the best managed in the country and a leading stakeholder in local governance excellence.

4.5 Bulawayo Local Economy

The ability of the Bulawayo City Council in promoting local economic development is dependent on understanding the local conditions and situation in its area of jurisdiction. This positions a local government in terms of facilitating the exploitation of local potentials and capacities, to understand the existing threats and challenges to the development of an equally responsive solution. The Bulawayo City Council local economic development plans and initiatives are based on understanding the local economic situation in the metropolitan area. The local economic situation in Bulawayo is directly influenced by the national political and economic affairs in the country. Zimbabwe is a unitary state; its national government developed a centralised form of governance since gaining independence. Though, its economy is generally capitalist and influenced by global capitalist forces and policies. The government policies throughout the years have affected how local governments are run, particularly concerning the foreign policy that triggered the imposition of western sanctions and the economic collapse in the country. Zimbabwe went on economic recession and subsequent collapse of manufacturing and industrial sectors of the economy and the Bulawayo area was the most affected in Zimbabwe with the highest level of de-industrialisation. The collapse of the economy contributed to scathing levels of unemployment in Metropolitan cities particularly Bulawayo, hitherto an industrial hub which it lost to Harare (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009). This has led to a shortage of essential skills through migration as many skilled Zimbabwean nationals moved to the diaspora where there are utilising their skills, burdening what is left of the productive industry. As such, cities like Bulawayo as Mandisvika (2015) postulates are not an exception to the urban miseries caused by expanding the number of job seekers and soaring poverty.

4.5.1 The informal sector and opportunities in Bulawayo

The de-industrialisation of the Bulawayo led to the unprecedented decline of the formal employment economy and rapid growth of the informal economy as a means of self-employment. The informal sector presented in this study reflects both the authorised and non-authorised traders or services providers within the jurisdictional area of the city of Bulawayo. The exponential growth of the informal economy in Bulawayo was mainly characterised by

the self-employment activities such as street trading or vending, selling of wares, food, cell phone spares and repairing. The growth of the informal economy has experienced multiple challenges in Zimbabwe as the urban policy largely characterises such economic activities with disorder and often suffer continued persecution from the state authorities. However, given the growth of the informal economy, the Bulawayo City Council has adopted progressive planning to accommodate informal economic activities in the city as an opportunity for local economic development in terms of providing self-employment and livelihood means for the residents that lost their employment in the de-industrialisation process. In 1994, Statutory Instrument 216 was adopted to relax controls on home industries policy; the Bulawayo City Council formulated by-laws to permit employment creation activities such as tailoring, bookmaking, wood and stone carving, car repairs were among other productive industries in residential areas (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2009). This resonates with the idea that local economic development at the most micro level must cater for individual households seeking to expand and improve their incomes –through more local investment in their present undertakings or attempting to start a new business (Wekwete, 2014: 18).

City Council Alderman Mpofo noted that the informal sector is the largest employer in Bulawayo and the City Council has adopted by-laws that govern and support the conduct of informal economy activities in the city especially street vending. The council has designated areas where informal activities are permitted and built trading bays and other infrastructure such as toilets. Some formal businesses are also creating marketing networks with the informal economy for selling some of their wares. The country's economy encourages many corporate businesses such as Pepsi Zimbabwe, Delta Beverages and Lyon Stores to partner with the City of Bulawayo to provide vending bays to commission street traders to market and sell soft drink beverages and ice creams, creating more employment opportunities in the city. The informal economy in Bulawayo presents an opportunity that can be exploited for local economic development in terms of employment provision and livelihoods as formal employment has contracted to high levels of over 80 per cent. This is coupled with low salaries that are below the poverty datum line in the formal economy, closure of industries and the absence and safety nets for the poor and distressed groups.

4.5.2 Small Medium Enterprises in Bulawayo

The present local economy in Bulawayo has been largely defined by the de-industrialisation process that occurred. In the wake of the loss of employment followed by the closure of industries, the Bulawayo City Council has adjusted to a local development plan that also supports the local practical needs in terms of livelihoods. Councillor Moyo noted that the Bulawayo City Council availed shopping centres in residential areas, council shops in Makokoba and Nguboyenja and tuck shops in for Cowdray Park and Emganwini high-density residential areas to promote local entrepreneurship and businesses. The city of Bulawayo conforms to the indigenisation policy dictates of empowering local businessmen who have an interest in the development of the city, create employment and decent work. The idea of shopping centres in tandem with the existence of the informal sector, allows informal businesses to grow out into the competitive retail market. However, Alderman Mpofu noted that the concerns that the idea of indigenising businesses in the city of Bulawayo must not be overlooked as a national policy but must be localised to accommodate local businesses and local interests. His submission is premised on that most businesses in residential areas are benefiting people from other provinces outside Bulawayo. The city of Bulawayo lacks institutional structures that accommodate local entrepreneurs into the metropolitan economy.

The Bulawayo City Council has provided for the spaces of business, financial capital for small scale and medium enterprises and this has translated into investment potential in the City. Many skilled artisans that suffered job losses due to the closure of industries have a desire to utilise their skills as entrepreneurs in the city but are hindered by financial capital. Some college graduates in metalworking, food processing, spray-painting, plumbing and mechanical engineering wishing to pursue a career in their skilled trade have encountered difficulty in starting their businesses or finding employment opportunities. The government of Zimbabwe established the Empowerment Bank as a support system that offers bank loans to such individuals especially youth to establish their businesses; however, the initiative has been met with much resistance with many local youths expressing mistrust of the government loans. The Bulawayo city council as a source of support system to local small scale and medium enterprises avails business premises such as factory shells, council shops; vegetable stalls the recently constructed vegetable markets at the high-density Pumula Old suburb among others. In return, the Bulawayo City Council charges rents for small businesses leading to more revenue sources for the local authority.

4.6 Local Economic Development inhibitors in the City of Bulawayo

The Bulawayo City Council has translated its master plan for local development through various programmes and initiatives that seek to address locality specific problems in Bulawayo. The local economic development approach in Bulawayo is solid and addresses a variety of issues; however, there are a plethora of elements that impede the implementation of these plans and policies. Understanding the factors that hinder the local government is important towards recommending a way forward on its role in enabling local economic development. These include lack of adequate human and financial resources, too much control of the local government by central governments, political and administrative conflicts of interest and the lack of political will towards the implementation of local development plans.

4.6.1 Central Government and Political interference

The top-down national government system makes local authorities susceptible to central government interference, and the Bulawayo City Council has been no exception to this case. From discussion with various officers in the Bulawayo City Council, an emerging theme was that the political contestations defining the central-local relations in some cases undermine the opportunities, policy initiatives and resource allocation in light of local conditions. The argument has been that the central government has legislative authority to policy and administrative directives to the Bulawayo City Council but in some cases, these directives conflict with the local initiatives. This affects local economic development which requires the Bulawayo City Council to implement a policy that effectively responds to local conditions. A majority of individuals noted that central government interference pose challenges for most local development programmes of the Bulawayo City council. The main to the local government system is its susceptibility to constant political intervention at the expense of efficiency, effectiveness and transparency in service delivery, (Mandisvika, 2015). City Councillor Moyo noted that the Bulawayo City Council in 2019 implemented the Selbourne Brooke Housing project which targeted individuals working in foreign countries such as South Africa, Britain and the United States as an effort for raising foreign currency for importing goods and services for local projects and the central government shut this project down.

Constant interference in the local government business by the central government frustrates local plans for economic development. The idea that the local government is a government

tier closest to the people positions itself as a policymaker in local economic development and is comprehensively knowledgeable about its constituency problems. It must be involved in development policing unperturbed by central government interference. In the wake of the 2013 general elections to gain political popularity, Zanu-PF through the central government's control influenced a policy directive ordering local authorities' debts rates owed by residents to be cancelled. Through this directive, the Bulawayo City Council lost an estimated 5million United States Dollars.

4.6.2 Political Administrative Conflicts

The successful implementation of local economic development relies on the relationship between the political arm (Ward Councillors) and the administration arm coordinate as primary institutions for enabling economic growth in the Bulawayo City Council. However, one of the impeding factors has been the conflict between the council staff and the Councillors. A recent example is a conflict between the Town Clerk senior administrative official of the city and the Deputy Mayor that streams through social media videos. The conflict and tensions result from the Council being divided into warring factions instead of working as a team towards achieving the same development goal. The mayor articulated that a collaborative interface is critical in enhancing good governance as it enhances accountability and transparent systems of the Council with each side monitoring the other's activities. Due to mistrust, open communication is affected, leading to difficulties in checks and balances. This is an issue that also affects local development planning. Without open communication between Councillors and the administrators, the needs and problems affecting the residents are not prioritised.

The Council administrative staffs are technocrats appointed to advise on policy issues and Councillors are elected officials. Most of them have little expertise in the local government. At times, the conflict may be ideological, as some Councillors may be guided by populism when formulating some policies rather than strategic planning. Hence, it is also imperative to understand the role of the Bulawayo city council's administrative staff as a provider of technical expertise through the management committee on development in the city. One of the interviewees cited that political and administrative conflicts lead to overall organisational tensions and poor performances. Allegations were raised that some middle-level executive officials align with Councillors against their superiors to frustrate the efforts and lead to their dismissal from duty. The Councillors also comprehend to sabotage administrative officials that they do not trust and dismiss them from their positions. On the other hand, it is also

alleged that executive officials also undermine policies introduced by Councillors and fail to achieve development objectives set out in the 5-year office term for Councillors. A collaborative interface is critical in enhancing good governance as it enhances accountability and transparent systems of the Council with each side monitoring the activities for effective performance in local economic development.

4.6.3 Economic Challenges

Throughout the study, it has been established how central government economic policies have affected local economic development. The national government system and procedures, the related national economic challenges also translate to the local economies. The lack of foreign currency reverses in Zimbabwe has negatively affected local authorities' services that are necessary to facilitate local economic processes such as road and transport infrastructures. Councillor Moyo stated that foreign currency shortages that are symptoms of national economic challenges in the country have affected the local authority's local development initiatives in a quest to provide services. For example, Councillor Moyo further acknowledged that Bulawayo City council could not afford to repair its refuse collection trucks as foreign currency is needed to purchase essential spares to repair the trucks. Some unique materials such as water pipes, sewer pipes, among other materials are imported, and thus foreign currency is required for service delivery in the city. The Bulawayo City Council has a backlog of some development programmes related to service housing, commercial and industrial stands to cater to the metropolitan economy's residential and business sector of the metropolitan economy. According to the World Bank (2019) shortage of foreign currency and government austerity policies have contributed to shortages in fuel, electricity dampened the economic activities; Alderman Mpfu asserts that such conditions have retrogressed some developments in the City of Bulawayo.

4.6.4 Bureaucracy and Red Tape

The locus of decision making in the city of Bulawayo is standing committees and sub-committees. As per the urban council's act (29:15), the Bulawayo city council must decide through standing committees that meet once a month. The City Economic Development Officer noted that it delays some investment opportunities as each committee with its terms of reference deliberates on those issues brought before it, makes firm recommendations to the full Council that meets every first Wednesday of the month and if proposal misses the sitting it has to wait a month before it is considered. The process of decision making of the Council

is too bureaucratic and poignant for investments. To a greater extent, it may frustrate investment into the City. However, it complies with the Acts of Parliament. Alderman Mpofo elaborates that, it may take up to six months after applying to the City council for land to start a business. Within months of waiting for permit costs may incur, as such some business ideas may never materialise. For Alderman Mpofo, most potential entrepreneurs shy away from investing in the City as institutional red tapes frustrate individual businesses.

The local authorities' institutional environment is guided by tightened regulations that always put red tapes that protect the central government's interest before local communities. The Egodini Mall project presented this study with various lessons with regards to the nature of bureaucracy from central government to local councils exhibiting strict controls on the vertical approach of governance. Under the Mugabe administration, the then Minister of Local government Saviour Kasukuwere influenced the Local Government Board to block the Egodini Mall's construction (Zimeye, 2016). According to the Zimeye report, there were allegations of corruption from the Councillors for squandering funds of the project, whilst on the other hand, there was a counter-corruption allegation from the Minister for trying to hijack the project by imposing a Harare constructor instead of the local constructor based in Bulawayo. As a result, it took the removal of the Mugabe administration for the Egodini Mall to commence, and for the Local Government Board that had previously rejected the commencement to stamp its approval instantly. The Egodini Mall project's struggles to commence lasted over three years only to be saved by the new Mnangagwa's administration. Such shameless display of bureaucracy fused with the corruption and self-interest of the politicians has led to various projects and investments in the city to suffer stillbirth and even frustrate potential investment in the city.

5. FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed to investigate ways of how local government can be used to promote a developmental state through the local economic development approach. Several objectives of this study were set as-

5. To examine how the concept of local economic development is applied in Zimbabwe.
6. To understand how the local government collaborates with other stakeholders to promote local economic development.
7. To provide an overview of the political, policy and legislative changes in Zimbabwe shaping local government and local development
8. To recommend policy directions and transformations to enable local economic development in Zimbabwe.

To achieve the set objectives the research traced and examined the global understanding of the concept of local economic development and how it has been applied in Africa. Within this study's context, the primary research question behind the drive for decentralisation in Africa was centred on whether local governments can enable local economic development. The central question was thus- How can local government enable local economic development in Zimbabwe?

Some Secondary Questions were set, namely;

1. What are the roles and responsibilities of local government concerning local economic development?
2. What is required for local government to provide an enabling environment for local economic development?
3. How does the local government collaborate with other stakeholders to address local development challenges?
4. What factors are impeding the economic role of the local government?

The local economic development approach has been adopted in developing countries such as Zimbabwe as a solution to context-specific problems. As in the case study of this research, local economic development has been adopted by the Bulawayo City Council to address problems peculiar to the city through initiatives to reverse the negative effects of de-industrialisation, create employment opportunities; develop infrastructure, and attraction of investment to boost economic growth. As with evidence gathered during this research, the Bulawayo City Council has implemented most of the local economic development plans as a reaction to emanating development problems in the city. This is a challenge as the

programmes lack a proactive approach for protecting communities from various economic shocks before they occur. Accordingly, there is a need to enhance local authorities' capacity in harnessing the local potentials as a preventive and proactive development approach rather than reactive. The local government should be more engaged to bring economic benefits and improved quality of life proactively.

The Bulawayo City Council has played a vital role by implementing policy plans that create a conducive environment for initiatives that support local development problem-solving. Despite the Bulawayo City Council playing a pivotal role in enabling local development, promoting economic growth should be a vital responsibility of all society and government sections. Economic development requires a coordinated effort among different stakeholders collecting mobilising human, financial, physical and natural resources to achieve long term economic growth. In terms of the Zimbabwe legislative and policy framework on local economic development, various government tiers' responsibilities are not established, often leading to central-local conflicts and political-administrative conflicts. Also, the legislative framework is limited in clearly specify the key role for local government in economic development which are often relegated to mostly provision of land-related services than playing an economic function. The local government policy framework should be reformed clearly defining the responsibilities of the local government and the duties of both political and administrative officials at the local and central government levels. The essence of the reforms will be to cushion the political-administrative interface and different stakeholder's engagement for effective coordination as a mechanism for driving community interests and demands of the local citizenry. The translation of different development planning into actions at various government levels and their impacts on the community is dependent on the clear establishment of roles and mandates among key stakeholders; understanding the synergy with subnational and local governments in facilitating, convening, dialoguing and coordinating local development (Wekwete, 2014: 19).

The City of Bulawayo lacks proper monitoring and evaluation systems in development projects. Mandisvika (2015) notes that various stakeholders focus on creating spatial plans and policies that promote local economic development. However, these initiatives seem to be in vain since no measures are in place to ensure the achievement of plan or policy objectives. Hence, it is imperative to highlight that lack of systems that monitor development initiatives are a causal factor to various projects suffering an early demise and even novel projects failing to achieve sustainable development goals. Council Alderman Mpofu noted that over

the years the leaders have been unable to affect systems that promote sustainable development in the City of Bulawayo because there is no yardstick of measuring the ability of potential developers by the policymakers; as such projects like Egodini mall have been slowed down in terms of achieving sustainable results for the community. This is because Zimbabwe, like other Southern Africa countries, lacks an existing operation and policy framework to guide local economic development planning and subsequent approaches to monitor and evaluate progress.

Due to the lack of guiding national frameworks to guide the implementation of local economic development, another gap is the lack of clarity of roles among different government agencies and levels leading to administrative and political conflicts. Accordingly, the capacities and potentials of different local economic development actors are not properly coordinated for local economic development. As such, there is a need for understanding that coordinated agreements among local, national and regional stakeholders will ensure that LED efforts result in the best development outcomes (Wekwete, 2014: 40). The guiding national framework should define actors' function roles involved in local development to avoid coordination conflicts.

Recommendations

The section above has some recommendations to promote the role of local government in enabling local economic development. The further suggestions that should be noted are as follows;-

- Local economic development should be supported through regulatory and legal statutory instruments that define different actors' responsibilities and mandates. The regulatory and legal framework should also clearly define and demarcate the roles between the central government and local government, between political and administrative roles. This is a key measure to address challenges of political-administrative conflicts and central government interference that undermine the effective implementation of local development initiatives.
- Monitoring and evaluation practices should be adopted in local development planning for documentation, analysis progress measuring outcomes versus sustainable development and national development goals. This will allow for mechanisms to measure and identify challenges that are hindering the attainment of the desired goals through local initiatives.

- Local economic development and the role of local government in Zimbabwe are not well-documented cases. Government institutions should engage in learning exercises from best practice cases through national and regional exchanges coupled with local research to understand how local government can be capacitated to enable local economic development.
- Local conditions should create incentives to motivate the private sector's participation in local economic development and finance development initiatives as a lack of resources is challenging some enterprises' success. These incentives can be in the form of tax rebates for local investments, elimination of processes and procedures that too much red tape structures and frustrate the local investment initiatives.
- Local economic development should not only be left to the local government; different actors should collaborate for economic growth; instead, local institutions should play a coordinating role for the local development plan with supporting various stakeholders.

Conclusion

This study investigated how the local government can enable local economic development. The role played by the Bulawayo City Council was analysed particularly to understand the initiatives implemented by the authority in its areas of jurisdiction. The local economic development approach has gained popularity in the global south as it offers an alternative to top-down, centralised development thinking, towards more community-based planning. These approaches are relevant for tackling various community-specific challenges of poverty and inequality faced in the global south as compared to top-down approaches. In Zimbabwe, the localised development approaches were also adopted post-independence to address challenges faced by previously marginalised communities. As such the drive for local development complemented the democratisation and decentralisation to encourage the participation of local stakeholders.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Field Research Tools

Tool A: Interview Guide: Council Administration

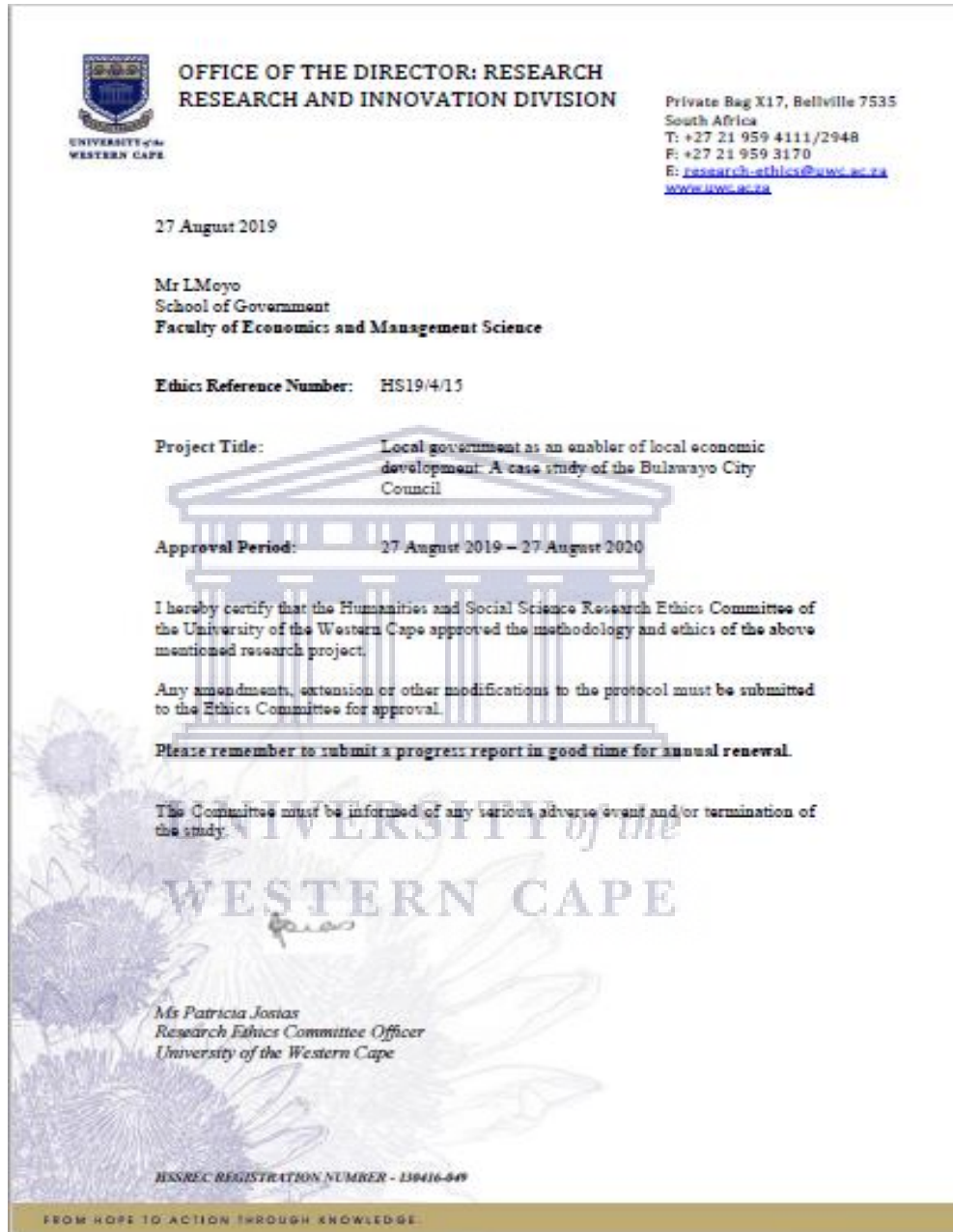
1. Can you please describe the relations between your leadership and the local government in the municipality in terms of its economic development?
2. How does this relation enhance or impede the development of the community and the municipality as a whole?
3. How can it be enhanced for the economic development of the community and the municipality as a whole?
4. What measures have been implemented by Bulawayo City Council to promote economic development in your community? What the effects of these measures on the community and its people?
5. Which community groups here are involved and what role do they play in the local economic development of the community and municipality?
6. What can be done generally to promote the economic development of your community and the municipality?
7. Which opportunities, potentials and resources existing in the community can be harnessed to enhance local economic development activities?
8. How have these opportunities, potentials and other resources been utilized for local economic development in the community and that of the municipality?

Tool B: Interview Guide: Business Enterprises

1. Can you please describe your Business operations?
Further probing questions how many people does your business employ? Why did you locate your firm in this town and in the municipality?
2. Which institutions in your opinion should promote the economic development of the municipality? What should they do to promote local economic development? – (Measures and activities)
3. What challenges does your business face, and, in your view, what can be done by the local government to promote the development of economic entities further in the municipality?
4. How does the local government assist you in your activities and how beneficial are these assistance to your activities? Which activities of the local government impede your business activities (specify) and how do they hinder your business activities? What should be done to address them?
5. Which and how does other organizations, groups, individuals assist/impede the activities of your business?

6. In your view what can be done by the local government to promote the development of economic entities further in the municipality

Appendix 2 Ethical Clearance



The image shows an ethical clearance certificate from the University of the Western Cape. At the top left is the university's crest and logo. To the right, the text reads 'OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH RESEARCH AND INNOVATION DIVISION'. Further right, contact information is provided: 'Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535 South Africa', 'T: +27 21 959 4111/2948', 'F: +27 21 959 3170', 'E: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za', and 'www.uwc.ac.za'. The date '27 August 2019' is printed. The recipient is 'Mr LMoyo, School of Government, Faculty of Economic and Management Science'. The 'Ethics Reference Number' is 'HS19/4/15'. The 'Project Title' is 'Local government as an enabler of local economic development: A case study of the Bulawayo City Council'. The 'Approval Period' is '27 August 2019 – 27 August 2020'. The certificate states: 'I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.' It also notes: 'Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.' and 'Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.' A large, faint watermark of a classical building with columns is visible in the background. At the bottom, the name 'Ms Patricia Jonas, Research Ethics Committee Officer, University of the Western Cape' is printed. The registration number 'HSSREC REGISTRATION NUMBER - 130416-049' and the motto 'FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE' are at the very bottom.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

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27 August 2019

Mr LMoyo
School of Government
Faculty of Economic and Management Science

Ethics Reference Number: HS19/4/15

Project Title: Local government as an enabler of local economic development: A case study of the Bulawayo City Council

Approval Period: 27 August 2019 – 27 August 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Jonas
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

HSSREC REGISTRATION NUMBER - 130416-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE

Appendix 3 Information Sheet Sample

Participation information sheet-

RESEARCH TITLE: Local government as an enabler of Local Economic Development: A case study of Bulawayo City Council, Zimbabwe

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Langton Moyo. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Masters in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The project is guided by the objective of investigating measures on how the local government sector in Zimbabwe can play a role in promoting local economic development. The local government sphere as the tier of government close to the people has the economic development responsibility to drive paradigms that alleviate social problems peculiar to various municipal jurisdictions. The role of the local government in local economic development has been a central debate in development studies as it provides the linkage point between development, citizen participation and collaboration with other non-governmental sectors. Despite central government development interventions at the local-community level poverty is deepening, the local government presents an opportunity for economic transformations. With regards to Zimbabwe less policy research has been conducted on the how the local governments sector can play a role in Zimbabwe, the rationale is to advance knowledge in this field. Accordingly, this research is justified in that there is need to investigate how the local government can drive economic development in Zimbabwe to present an understanding of possible challenges and measures to promote local government effectiveness in that context. This work is envisaged to help the local governments units in formulating strategic policy measures that will enhance local government capacity in driving LED.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your participation will help other people. You will also be asked to share your official understanding of how the Bulawayo City Council has attempted to promote Local Economic Development and challenges that have been experienced hindering the success of this approach. The study will be done in Bulawayo City council offices. The interview will last approximately for about 20-30 mins

CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's nor the individual's particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, always locked away. All the data you provide for this study will be kept in password protected computer files known only to the researcher. Data collection sheets and audio tapes will be kept safely in a lockable filling cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be destroyed

after three months of the final dissertation being marked and graded. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected, and your permission will be further sought before publication of the article.

RISKS OF THE RESEARCH

There are no risks to participating in this research as the data that you provide will only be used for academic purposes. Furthermore, this research will observe the ethical considerations and will be liable to practices that ensure confidentiality and privacy for participation.

BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

- Identifying measures on how the Bulawayo City Council can support small scale business enterprises
- Promoting an understanding of how the Local Economic Development approach can be used to address development challenges in Bulawayo.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student Name	: Langton Moyo
Student Number	: 3806033
Mobile Number	: xxxxxx
Work Number	: xxxxxx
Email	: xxxxxx
I am accountable to my supervisor	: Dr Gregory Davids
Department	: School of Government
Telephone	: xxxxxx
Fax	: xxxxxx
Email	: xxxxxx

The details of the Research and Ethics Committee are:

HSSREC

Research Development

UWC
Tel: 021 959 2988
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

Appendix 4 Sample Consent form for participants

CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TITLE: Local government as enabler of Local Economic Development: A Case study of the Bulawayo City Council 2000-2018.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by (LANGTON MOYO) towards the Master of Public Administration Degree Program at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher. I have also given consent for the interview to be recorded if needed be.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : xxxxxx
Participant Signature : xxxxxx
Date : xxxxx
Place : City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe
Student Researcher : Langton Moyo
Student Researcher Signature : L. Moyo
Student Number : 3806033
Mobile Number : xxxxxxx
Email : xxxxxxx

I am accountable to my supervisor : Dr Gregory Davids
School of Government (SOG)
Telephone : xxxxxx
Fax : xxxxxx
Email : xxxxxx