Who we are

Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) is an independent and voluntary association of the 28 urban councils in Zimbabwe. It is an achievement oriented and business like organisation that seeks to promote efficient and effective delivery of public services by its members.

UCAZ Vision:

UCAZ aspires to be a vibrant and proactive gender sensitive institution, strategically focussed and well resourced to sustainably deliver a quality service to its membership for the benefit of sustainable local socioeconomic development of local communities.

UCAZ Mission:

UCAZ is an association of urban governments, which, through strength in unity of purpose and in the true spirit of smart partnership, advocates, negotiates, lobbies and initiates improvements in local and national legislation, development programmes and services to enhance urban life for both women and men in Zimbabwe.

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Funded By:



Best Practices in Participatory Budget Process for Five Cities in Zimbabwe

Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe





Best Practices in Participatory Budget Process for Five Cities in Zimbabwe

Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe Publications Harare

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FOREWORD

Participatory budgeting is a consultation mechanism which enables local authorities to form partnerships and community networks and puts the community at the core of the decision making process. It facilitates political and social inclusion of low income and traditionally excluded groups. The process promotes public learning, active citizenship and enhances social justice through collective resources allocation and improved policies.

This publication is a product of the Zimbabwe Local Democracy Enhancement project, which the Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) is implementing in partnership with the Commonwealth Local Government Forum. With funding from the European Union (EU) and the Department of International Development (DFID), five cities namely, Bulawayo, Gweru, Kwekwe, Kadoma and Masvingo are participating in the project. The main objective of the project is to strengthen local democracy through measuring the local governance systems of the participating cities and implementing activities to address some of the identified weaknesses. One of the project activities is to document best practices in Zimbabwean urban local authorities. It is against this background that this research was conducted to document the best practices in participatory budgeting. It is the objective of this publication to facilitate exchange of experience amongst UCAZ members and other local government associations.

UCAZ views this publication as one that will contribute to better service delivery by urban councils through improved governance systems since the budget is key to the development of cities. It is my hope that this publication will provide valuable lessons, which will impact on the local governance sector in Zimbabwe.

I would like to thank all those who contributed to the publication of this document, the participating cities, civil society organisations that were consulted, cooperating partners especially the EU and DFID for their material support.

P.F.Duri SECRETARY GENERAL

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We also owe debt to all Executive Mayors, councillors and council officials who spared moments from their often busy schedule to have interviews with us. We are equally grateful to the members of civil society and the government officials who displayed a very high sense of involvement and ownership of the budgetary process.

We also acknowledge material support from the EU and the DFID without which this study would not have been a reality.

Abbreviations

BURA	Bulawayo Residents Association
CLGF	Commonwealth Local Government Forum
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PSIP	Public Sector Investment Programme
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
UCAZ	Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe
UCLGA	United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WB	World Bank
ZNCC	Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce
ZUCWU	Zimbabwe Urban Councils Workers' Union

Preface

Participatory budgeting is part of the overall strategic effort to promote local democracy and smart partnerships in local authorities. The main objectives of the participatory budgeting process are to:

Promote civic interest and participation in local governance.

 To involve the communities in generating self-sustaining livelihoods options.

 To promote accountability and transparency in local public finance and budgeting.

The main objective of the study was to document the participatory budgeting process highlighting best practices in order to facilitate sharing worthwhile experiences and challenges among urban councils and other stakeholders in local governance. The study concentrated on participatory budgeting processes that could be characterised as enhancing and bringing new insights in local governance and civic participation. The documentation exercise should assist the identification of appropriate intervention strategies for beneficial civic participation in local governance matters in general and budgetary process in particular. The overall objective is to enhance the capacity of member cities to effectively engage different stakeholders in the quest for improved service delivery and promotion of transparency and accountability.

The overall methodological approach was participatory grounded in the assumption that it is the actors who give meaning to their behaviour. The research study was carried out in the five cities namely; Bulawayo, Gweru, Kadoma, Kwekwe and Masvingo. The study was undertaken during the months of April and May 2006. The research employed a multi-pronged methodology. Secondary data was collected from the many studies carried out on municipal finance, participation and particularly smart partnerships programme reports. Primary data was collected through interviews with key informants like Executive Mayors, Town Clerks, heads of Departments, members of civil society and other institutions and focus group discussions with purposefully identified groups of civil society.

It emerged that participatory budgeting system as implemented in the surveyed councils is effective in promoting local democracy and local ownership of processes. In all instances, there was evident increased ownership of the budget by a wide specter of stakeholders. The participatory budgeting process also provided an avenue for ensuring accountability and transparency in the city budget process. Due to the consensual nature of the budgetary process cities

have received no serious objections since the introduction of participatory processes and structures. The participatory budgeting systems have effectively installed more civic institutions of handling disputes and negotiation. The residents associations no longer exist as a "shadow council", but increasingly view themselves and operate as partners in city business. The participatory budgeting structures are more inclusive and some councils have managed to engage the previously politically disengaged communities. The bureaucracy is more responsive as they have to provide more information to the citizens.

The participatory processes have greatly improved the delivery of monopolistic services like water provided by local governments. The involvement of the stakeholders in determining the quality, quantity and price of the commodity to be supplied have acted as effective proxy market forces in the delivery of public goods by cities.

It emerged from the study that the concept of civil society was rather nebulous and in some cases confounding. There was no agreed framework of operationalising engagement of civil society, neither was there a commonly agreed identity of stakeholders. There was general concern that members of civil society had hidden agendas. Civil society was accusing the bureaucracy of malfeasance whilst the bureaucracy regarded such accusations as being driven by sheer malevolence. The relationships between the parent Ministry and cities is characterised by mutual suspicion and subtle conflict. Conflicts emerge around the involvement of Ministry in determining staff conditions of service and councillors' allowances. It also emerged that women are marginalised in local government structures. They tend to dominate the traditional female positions in the clerical and secretarial categories.

This book is divided into six main chapters. Chapter 1 gives the background to the study, it states the unsettling problem, methodology and the objectives of the study. It specifies the population, the data gathering techniques and data analysis. The second chapter is on discourses theories and concepts relevant to participatory budgeting. The chapter interrogates concepts such as budgeting, participation, civil society and the newer concept of social capital. Chapter 3 discusses the participatory budget process concentrating on the experiences of the five cities. Chapter 4 is on best practices established and the emerging issues. Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to conclusions and recommendations respectively. After the recommendations we present what we characterise as an ideal participation model. The model is the researchers' theoretical postulation based on best practices established and the aspirations of various stakeholders consulted.

1.0 Introduction and Background

1.1 Focus of the Book

The participatory budget project is part of the overall strategic effort to promote local democracy and smart partnerships in local authorities. The main objectives of the participatory budgetary process are to:

- Promote civic interest and participation in local governance
- To involve the communities in generating self-sustaining livelihoods options
- To promote accountability and transparency in local public finance and budgeting

The main objective of the study was to document the participatory budgeting process highlighting best practices in order to facilitate sharing worthwhile experiences and challenges between members of UCAZ and other stakeholders in local governance. The practice concentrated on participatory budgeting processes that could be characterised as enhancing and bringing new insights in local governance and civic participation. The documentation exercise should assist the identification of appropriate intervention strategies for beneficial civic participation in local governance matters in general and budgetary process in particular. The overall objective is to enhance the capacity of member cities to effectively engage different stakeholders in the quest for improved service delivery and promotion of transparency and accountability.

UCAZ is a voluntary membership based organisation of all the 28 urban councils in Zimbabwe. UCAZ has since 2004 been implementing a local democracy enhancement programme to promote civic participation in local government matters in five targeted cities. The programme received technical support from the Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) and material support from the EU and DFID. Five cities namely Bulawayo, Masvingo, Kwekwe, Kadoma and Gweru are beneficiaries of the targeted support.

1.2 Background to the Study

Participation and engagement of stakeholders has become the cornerstone for local development. The need to draw municipalities closer to their stakeholders was emphasized by world leaders at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, which endorsed the Local Agenda 21. The Local Agenda 21 highlights the need for people from

all sections of the community and from all parts of the world, to take joint responsibility for development decisions. The Cotonou Agreement (2000) also underscored the need to extend beyond central government to other social actors principally local authorities, private sector and civil society. As key actors in development decisions, local authorities are encouraged to work together with all sectors of the community on the joint implementation of local sustainable development plans.

Smart Partnership

In response to this global trend and in line with one of the components in its Strategic Business Plan, Municipal Smart Partnerships and International Cooperation, UCAZ initiated a programme to improve relations between urban councils and their different stakeholders through the Smart Partnership Programme. The decision to embark on smart partnership was built on the firm belief that councils do not have a monopoly of resources and ideas. In their quest to deliver efficient services, councils are often hamstrung by lack of adequate resources and capacity, which are often abundant within various stakeholders. The best way to tap into these resources and capacity is through establishing partnerships. Smart Partnership is a philosophy that is based on a 'win-win' and 'prosper thy neighbour' relationship among partners. The main principles guiding smart partnership include inter alia:

- Dialogue
- Shared Vision
- e Win-win
- Ethical commitment and trust
- Efficiency

The Smart Partnership Programme seeks to increase stakeholders' impact on councils' policy formulation by forging partnerships between urban councils, labour, business and communities for enhanced service delivery. Through the programme, councils and stakeholders would benefit from smart partnerships, as they are afforded an opportunity to share valuable resources, and to take advantage of each other's expertise so as to avoid duplication of effort. The programme promotes more direct and effective citizen's participation in local governance by facilitating smart partnership dialogues between urban councils and urban stakeholders. The aim is to turn local authorities into responsive and accountable institutions for sustainable development. The programme objectives are as follows:

• To enhance the capacity of urban stakeholders to impact on council

decision-making processes by promoting direct and effective citizen's participation in local governance.

To ensure quality and equality of service delivery.

 To enhance transparency in decision-making by councils and their accountability to the residents.

To contribute to the continued democratisation of local government and depoliticisation of service delivery

To ensure sustainable development.

The inception of the Smart Partnership Programme was marked by UCAZ commissioning a baseline survey on the existing channels of communication between urban councils and stakeholders in February 2001. Some of the findings of that survey were that communication channels between stakeholders and councils were not properly structured, and that urban councils were failing to respond to the demands of stakeholders due to lack of resources, manpower shortages and the negative confrontational attitude of stakeholders.

In response to the findings from the baseline survey mentioned above UCAZ organised a National Dialogue on Smart Partnerships for Enhanced Service Delivery whose main objectives were:

To understand the concept of smart partnerships at national and local level

 To share problems and possible solutions to issues affecting urban councils with urban stakeholders.

 To develop an ideal framework of communications between urban councils and civil society.

To share experiences in Service Delivery Surveys.

At that National Dialogue four urban local authorities volunteered to participate in the pilot programme that led to the establishment of Smart Partnership Hubs in all urban local authorities. These local authorities were:

- i. Zvishavane Town Council
- ii. Kadoma City Council
 - iii. Chinhoyi Municipality, and
 - iv. Karoi Town Council

The programme was further replicated in Ruwa Local Board with improvements from the pilot phase. The pilot programme exposed the need and efficacy of smart partnership in urban local governance. The introduction of smart partnership is commendable because it assisted the councils in various ways such

as unfreezing the polarised relationship that existed between councils and ratepayers. In most cases ratepayers were always complaining that councils are inefficient, but as a result of the Smart Partnership Programme, some of thembegan to realise that councils' problems needed a holistic approach. Communities should own the problems first and then participate fully and assist councils in generating sustainable solutions. What commonly emerged from the activities under the pilot programme was the stakeholders' willingness to cooperate with councils in improving service delivery within their areas.

However an essential condition they have expressed is the availability of a consultation mechanism that would ensure that stakeholders are well informed of the operations and decisions of council particularly those that have a financial implication that has to be borne by the residents and ratepayers. The challenge is on how the smart partnership intervention can address the contentious issue of stakeholder involvement in council operations without necessarily usurping the powers of the officials both elected and appointed who have the legal mandate to superintend council operations. The pilot programme has however given positive indications that such a framework of operations can be established and is also functional in solving local governance problems. It however emerged that technical support is required to ensure that partnership is nurtured.

The enhancing democracy project is an escalation of the smart partnership programme stemming from and informed by the results of the earlier activities. The design of the project is such that it assesses the local political mechanisms and processes in selected Zimbabwean cities, identifies weaknesses in the local democratic systems and develops strategies and plans of implementation to address these. This is being done in the context of promoting dialogue and enhancing participation in local governance. Under the project, Mayors and councillors are being exposed to the trends in local government internationally.

The project has developed and is refining specific criteria upon which the assessment of local democracy is based. The assessment operates through an urban governance index and international peer review mechanism drawing upon the many partner cities that the participating cities have and strategies for enhancing local democratic governance will be implemented in partnership. The lessons learnt from the project will be disseminated throughout Zimbabwe and the southern African region via the final seminar, documentation of best practices and development and publication of toolkits, conferences and the Local Government Institute in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Justification and Significance

Local government is the sphere in which most citizens operate and hence the capabilities of local governments to a very large extent define the capacity of national governments. The majority of citizens in urban areas are born in city hospitals, go to city schools, live in council houses, receive medical treatment from council clinics, play sport in council sports stadium, and will finally be buried in council cemeteries. To the majority of citizens local government is the government they engage with more often and hence its ability to deliver is critical for local democracy.

Central to the activities of any public institution are the issues of finance and participation by the various stakeholders. A budget is an important summary of council's priorities; it is a statement of what a council intends to do and it also enables policy implementation. To some extent a budget can be a measure of the capabilities of a local authority. For the stakeholders, a budget is an index of whether their demands and needs are taken care of by the city.

Local governance is the closest and the most accessible level of government to people; it traditionally provides services utilized by individual households. The decisions of local governments therefore have a direct impact on the private lives of residents especially women because they are traditionally responsible for providing for and caring for the family and homes. There is increasing recognition that gender; the socially ascribed roles of men and women affect access and entitlements to council services by residents. Women contribute uniquely to the development and appropriate management of services provided by local governments. They should therefore be part of the local democratic system and have full access to the decision making structure. Until the interests of women have been adequately represented at the local level, the system is not fully democratic. It is therefore important that any budget process takes into account and reconciles the different and sometimes conflicting demands of both men and women. In view of the foregoing the gender dimension was highlighted in the study.

1.4 Methodology

The overall methodological approach was participatory grounded in the assumption that it is the actors who give meaning to their behaviour. In this regard, the research attempted to capture the various viewpoints of the councillor, council executive and the many stakeholders.

The research study was carried out in the five cities participating in the local governance democracy project. The five cities are Bulawayo, Gweru, Kadoma, Kwekwe and Masvingo. The study was undertaken during the months of April and May 2006.

1.4.2 Secondary and primary data sources

The research employed a multi-pronged methodology. The research study utilised both secondary and primary data. Secondary data was collected from the many studies carried out on municipal finance, participation and particularly smart partnerships programme reports.

Primary data was collected through interviews with key informants like Executive Mayors, Town Clerks, heads of Departments, members of civil society and institutions like UCAZ and focus group discussions with purposefully identified groups of civil society.

1.4.3 Interviews

Fieldwork involved in depth interviews with Executive Mayors, Town Clerks, heads of Departments and members of civil society. There were also key informant interviews with institutions involved with municipal governance. These include labour organisations, and non-governmental organisations.

1.4.4 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were held with members of civil society. These discussions tried to highlight the main issues relating to household livelihoods, unemployment and general issues.

1.4.5 Data Analysis

The literature review involved content analysis of the identified relevant materials. For interviews and to complement the questionnaires, we used a variety of organizational development techniques some of which are presented below:

Technique	Purpose						
STEP Factor Analysis	To analyse elements of the background environment in which change is meant to occur, including sociological, technological, economic and political factors.						
Rapid Reconnaissance of Organisations (RRO)	An interactive participatory style of data collection and analysis which enables facilitators to understand organisations rapidly by identifying critical actors, coalitions, antagonisms, power relations etc. It also takes into account both the formal and informal structures, processes, systems and relationships						
Force-Field Analysis (FFA)	A tool to identify and quantify the predominant forces for and against change. To anticipate the balance of these forces, and to assist in defining strategies to counter negative forces						
SWOT	To determine individual and organizational strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats during a change capacity enhancement process.						

1.4.6 Gender Analysis

Seven gender analysis frameworks were considered and three were adopted after being found appropriate for the study. The seven frameworks are Harvard Analytical Framework, People Oriented Planning, Moser Framework, Gender Analysis Framework, Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework, Women's Empowerment (Sara Longwe) Framework and the Social Relations Approach. The Harvard Analytical Framework and People Oriented Planning, Women's Empowerment (Sara Longwe) Framework and the Social Relations Approach frameworks largely informed the study. The Social Relations approach was found appropriate as it concentrates on institutions and links analysis at all levels. The Sara Longwe Empowerment Framework appealed as it concentrates on empowerment and is useful to identify the gap between rhetoric and reality in interventions. However its major limitation is defining development in terms of women's empowerment could lead one to focus on women rather than on gender relations. The Harvard Analytical Framework and People Oriented Planning are frameworks within the efficiency informed Women in Development (WID) approach. These two frameworks are very similar and their strength is the capacity to provide a picture of gender relations of labour. These frameworks are also easily adaptable. Their main limitation though is that they are more concerned with efficiency at the expense of equity and the issues of power are not explicit.

2 Discourses on Theories and Concepts

2.1 Principles of Local Government Finance

Following recommendations by a Commission on Taxation set up in 1986 under the chairmanship of Raja Chelliah, Government adopted proposed principles of local government finance. The implementation of the principles is yet to be done in full but it remains a useful guide to both central and local governments when negotiating issues of local government finance. The guiding maxim to the principles is that of;

Maximum possible autonomy for local governments within their designated spheres, fiscal responsibility, efficiency in the use of resources and inter locality equity. Local governments are not intended to be mere agents of the central government, but active organisations which can mobilize local initiative and give local populations a sense of responsible participation in local affairs (GOZ, 1986; 341).

The logic behind the maxim is that the collective intelligence of local communities and institutions is critical in creating self-sustaining local authorities. The participatory budgetary process is one creative and innovative framework of engaging all local stakeholders in municipal governance.

2.2 Concepts: Definitions and Application

Key concepts and words

Participatory budgeting process, civil society, consultation, participation and gender are the key concepts and words analysed below.

2.2.1 Civil Society

Sachikonye (1995:7) observes that the origins and use of the concept 'civil society' spans centuries back featuring significantly in the writings of Hegel, Marx and Gramasci. Whereas in English political thought the concept was synonymous with the 'commonwealth' or 'political society', it underwent some modification in Hegel, Marx and Gramasci writings in their efforts to try and make a distinction between the state and civil society.

In contemporary political thought, civil society can be conceived as an aggregate of institutions, whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non - state activities- economic and cultural production, voluntary associations and house hold life - and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions.

In relation to local government democracy in Zimbabwe, urban civil society would include voluntary associations, residents and rate payers associations, business associations, professional associations for nurses and teachers, war veterans associations, church groups, drama clubs, sporting associations and NGOs of one variety or another.

The world over, there is an increasing awareness that without an active civil society, democratic government is an 'empty shell'. Local government can only function effectively and responsibly as a democratic accountable body and as a provider of public goods and services when faced with an active civil society able to articulate its views and to demand accountability. Civil society can force issues on the political agenda and ensure public discussions of them (Giddens 2001; 7). There is need for a healthy interplay between local government bodies and local civil organisations to enable the former to fulfil their functions in an efficient and legitimate manner. In the words of one leading political theorist, (Giddens 2001; 7)

Without a developed civil society, there cannot be either a well-functioning government or an effective market system. Yet just as in the case of the state and market, there can be 'too much' of civil society, as well as 'too little'. Important as civic groups, special interest groups, voluntary organizations and so forth are, they do not offer a substitute for democratic government.

2.2.2 Gender

Gender is defined herein as the socially conditioned construction and allocation of roles on the basis of one's sex, age or social position. Gender is an integral and inseparable part of livelihoods. Men and women have different assets, resources and opportunities. Zimbabwean women constitute 52% of the total population yet they continue to be sidelined in power and decision-making at both national and sub-national levels. They constitute less than one third of political and administrative decision makers. Women and men use their experiences in the local environments in different ways, therefore gender neutral planning and budgeting approaches are not sufficiently tailored to equally address needs of both women and men. Gender in politics and decision-making has gained

significantly since the United Nations Conference on Women in 1975 as many countries are now in the process of implementing greater gender equality. The Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1995 and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, IULA Declaration of Women in Local Government of 1998 and other UN conferences during the recent years have provided useful global framework for promoting gender equality. Women participation in local government is increasingly being recognised as a fundamental human right and not a privilege.

The Government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Youth Development launched the National Gender policy whose vision is to have a society where there is political, religious and social equality and equity among women and men in all spheres of life and at all levels. Among other objectives, the policy aims at promoting the advancement of women and men in all sectors and creates equal opportunities for the two gender groups in decision-making in all areas at all levels thus contributing equally to national development. For decentralisation to be successful, participatory and effective specific measures need to be taken to ensure that women effectively participate in local governance process and maximize opportunities created by the current local government system.

Women as a group of citizens have been consistently excluded from governance system. The concept of gender equality is that women and men have equal rights, duties and opportunities in all the essential areas of life. Women and men have different access to and control over economic and political resources as well as different experiences. If local government is to be mainstreamed into the governance process, local government must build on the experiences of both males and females. A local government with a gender-balanced representation is an important step in that direction. It adds to local democracy as well as to the efficiency and quality of activities of local governance.

2.2.3 Participation and Consultation

Lisk (1985; vii) observes that one of the key feature of the wider conceptualisation of development since the mid 1970s is the notion of popular participation. However, while there is growing universal consensus about the critical role of popular participation in promoting economic development and social progress, the concept of popular participation in the development process lends itself to a plethora of definitions and interpretations which reflect the

variety of participatory practices and experiences in the real world situation today. This is not surprising since differences in cultural and socio-economic settings; stages of development and political structures and styles are bound to inform both the degree and the nature of participation in the development process.

Lisk (1985;8) formulated various interpretations of popular participation. Broadly they range from the token involvement of people in the formal decision making process to autonomous decision making by popular organisations at the local level. However, despite the wide variety of interpretations (Makumbe, 1996, Lisk 1985) view beneficiary participation as only being meaningful for the masses if they are effectively involved at the various levels of the development process. For example, popular participation is, considered severely limited when the masses are being asked to choose between alternatives initially selected by bureaucrats. Thus popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in the making and implementation of decisions at all levels and forms of political and socioeconomic activities. More specifically in the formal planning process, the concept relates to the involvement of the broad masses of the population in the choice, execution and evaluation of programmes and projects designed to bring about a significant upward movement in living standards.

The role of popular participation and consultation is closely related to possibilities for the broad mass of the population to influence decision making in favour of popular needs and aspirations. Thus for instance, if the poor are engaged in policy planning together with the municipal governments, more proactive and more efficient policies to address the concerns of the marginalised can be identified. Their involvement in policy-making will help the government understand precisely problems they face and will better enlighten policy makers about the spectrum of policy options available. Wide consultation also promotes understanding, transparency and accountability of local governance by all stakeholders.

2.2.4 Budgeting

Doerr (1998:45) defines the budget as a statement of expected revenues and expenditures for a fiscal period. Nkala (2004) also views the budget as a public fiscal policy instrument which is essentially a mechanism of how fiscal resources will be mobilised and public goods and services allocated, a chronicle of choosing and prioritising public sector investment programmes to be financed, a

statement on the use of public funds in the past and how future revenues will be used in the coming year.

In his analysis of the budget as an instrument of development action, Abrahams (1965:5) identifies a budget as 'probably the single most important instrument of development policy.' This implies that budgets are the primary economic policy instruments of governments. Budgets "are the way local services are funded, and have great impact on the poorest within our communities" (www.particpatorybudgeting.org.uk.) For this reason transparency and participation in the budgetary process is particularly important. Tenets of good governance also dictate that government operations and decisions should be made openly and with the active participation of those people influenced by them. Thus the budget formulation should be a democratic process reflecting the broader mandate of all stakeholders in society clearly indicating negotiated outcomes of competing and contrasting interests from different lobby groups in society. The public should feel a sense of ownership of the budget. Pre-budget seminars, for instance afford civic groups an opportunity to influence the budget formulation process and periodic budget reviews equip stakeholders to contribute from a point of knowledge.

According to a Southern African country report on fiscal transparency and participation (1999), the provision of sufficient opportunity for civil society input in the budgetary process is important because;

Civil society will better be able to hold government to account if they have information on government budget policies, practices and expenditures. Elected office holders will also be more likely to make decisions in accordance with their mandate if those decisions are open to public scrutiny. Holding government accountable can provide a check on corruption;

 Involvement of groups can improve policy and allocation decisions by bringing different perspectives and creativity to budget debates;

 Participation can lead to better programmes and more efficient resource.

Participatory budgeting is one mechanism used at local level that brings local communities closer to decision-making process (www.particpatorybudgeting.org.uk). According to the UN Habitat (www.unhabitat.org/governanace)

Participatory budgeting is an innovative financial practice that helps to enhance

2.2.5 Local government

Local government is defined as those statutory sub-national structures of government whose primary purpose is the delivery of service to the constituent communities. Local government is the sub-national government closest to the people that deals with the administration of affairs of a local nature.

3 Participatory Budget Process: Experiences of the Five Cities

In this chapter we present the participatory budget processes as they occur in the surveyed five cities. Before outlining the specific actors and activities in the project cycle we provide a context within which participatory budgeting takes place in each city.

3.1 Experiences of Bulawayo

Participatory budgeting in local authorities has been going on for some time and it was initially at the instigation of the Government when local authorities were required to produce consultation certificates. The consultations took various forms in different councils but in Bulawayo the council invariably consulted the Residents Associations before submitting the budget to the Minister. In essence they consulted after the budget was prepared in order to fulfill the statutory requirements in terms of the Urban Councils Act. Accusations of not properly consulting were often leveled against the council. This scenario resulted in weak linkages between City of Bulawayo and other stakeholders particularly residents.

The current phase of the participatory budgeting system took the process to a higher generation as the City now consulted not only the residents association but also a wider group of stakeholders. Since 2000 the participatory budget process has involved a number of stakeholders specifically the AAG, ZNCC, religious organisations, Residents Associations, political parties and educational institutions. To ensure fair and adequate representation, the city is conveniently divided into different interest groups like civil society, commerce, industry and ordinary residents.

The budget cycle in Bulawayo

Identification and segmentation of stakeholders

This is the initial process where council identifies existing and new stakeholders in the budget process. The most prominent stakeholders are Bulawayo Residents Association (BURA), ZNCC, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), AAG and religious organisations.

Apex consultation with special interest stakeholders

The City holds consultations with the identified stakeholders. Different consultations are held for each identified sector. The purpose of the

consultations at this stage is to review the performance of the current budget in order to inform future budget formulations. At this stage the stakeholders are required to submit issues to be addressed in the next budget. They would also be required to rank in priority order their requirements. The experience of Bulawayo has been that separate ranking by different stakeholders in different locations have produced consistent results. Over the past two years the ranking order has been in order of priority, water, waste management and health services. Bulawayo was the only city out of the five surveyed to have consciously engaged the stakeholders in ranking the priorities. Hence in that regard Bulawayo is a trendsetter in that best practice.

Consultations at ward level

Council prepares a schedule of ward consultative meetings. The schedule is publicized and the councilors are responsible for, mobilizing stakeholders at the local level. The invitations are targeted at the ordinary residents who might not necessarily be affiliated to an identified interest group. The ward level meetings are deliberately facilitated by an outsider to council. This is meant to promote neutral lateral dialogue. Bulawayo was the only city to appoint neutral facilitators and it is a practice that should promote open dialogue. Targeted and provocative questions on the needs and priorities of residents are posed and various financing options are discussed. The capabilities of residents to absorb the tariff structure are also seriously put under scrutiny. To operationalise the process the satisfaction survey is undertaken. The satisfaction survey would result in residents saying for example they currently enjoy 80% satisfaction in water delivery. They would then specify the target satisfaction level for example 100% in water delivery. The agreed target service standards are used as benchmarks in service delivery.

Consolidation of service requirements

At this stage the requirements are consolidated and costed with technical input from the council executive. Consolidation has been easy as the stakeholders' priorities often converge. A preliminary budget is produced out of this process. In that regard the draft budget is produced only after consultations in a way ensuring that the needs and priorities of all stakeholders are taken into account.

Feedback consultative meetings on preliminary budget

The preliminary budget is taken back to the stakeholders for further input at ward and apex levels. At this stage councilors rely heavily on council officials to explain how the service and priorities would have been costed. The explanation usually results in agreement of tariff levels that meet expectations of all stakeholders

including council. The consultative meetings are also corroborated by the Executive Mayor's 'meet the people" meetings at both ward and council levels that are meant to explain issues to residents as well as capture their concerns on service delivery by council.

Preparation of final budget

Council after taking into account issues raised by various stakeholders and the operating environment produces the final budget through the Finance Committee. The proposed budget is submitted to full Council for approval. Once approved all councilors are obliged to defend the budget. That unity of purpose is critical for the smooth implementation of the budget. Whilst consultations are a critical component of the budget formulation process the final decision on budget rests with the council as the responsible authority.

Advertising and calling for objections

After council approves the budget it is advertised in local newspapers calling for objections.

Submission of budget to the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development

After dealing with objections if any in terms of the statutes, the budget is submitted to Minister for his information and gazetting of tariffs where appropriate.

Gender bias

Though the city became aware of its shortcomings in gender balance through the urban governance indexing process they are yet to seriously redress the situation. Of particular note was the misconception over the term gender were more often than not officials took gender issues to refer to women issues and not the dynamic relationship between the two sexes.

Information sharing

The City of Bulawayo has established information kiosks through which information about the city is disseminated. The kiosks are reportedly popular with the younger generation who are usually left out by other official communication channels.

3.2 Experiences of Gweru

Participatory budget process in the city of Gweru started in around 2000 under a programme receiving technical and financial support from the Urban Institute

The Budget Cycle in Gweru

Invitation to stakeholders to submit budget proposals

The Treasury department issues invitations to stakeholders including council departments, councillors, business and civil society to submit proposals for the coming year. In generating proposals stakeholders take into account the performance of the current budget and desired levels of service delivery. This invitation encourages all stakeholders to consult with their constituencies on service requirements they wish to be contained in the next budget. At this stage each sector or ward conducts consultations in which they set priorities to be considered by council.

First stakeholders' meeting

A public meeting is convened to receive submission from all wards and various interest groups. The meeting can be broken into series to ensure adequate articulation of issues by all stakeholders.

Consolidation and costing of submissions

The council executive consolidates the submissions from all stakeholders. The collated submissions are costed taking into consideration current income levels and inflation projections. A preliminary budget is then produced. This preliminary budget simply translates the stakeholders' aspirations and service requirements into resource obligations.

Second stakeholders' meeting

A public stakeholders meeting is convened where the preliminary budget is presented by council. Civil society, council executive, councillors and WADCO representatives invariably attend this meeting. The budget is discussed with stakeholders expressing their views. The meeting attempts to reprioritize needs taking into account the tariff obligation and desired service requirements against available resources. At this meeting a budget task force is elected from stakeholders present. The members of the task force should necessarily be non-

councilors. There was evidence that because the task committee was selected from the floor the members sometimes ended up having to learn more about council as they had limited knowledge about council operations. It might be useful to review the practice to ensure that specific sectors are represented in the budget task force.

Review of budget by the budget task force

The budget task force's main responsibility is to review the preliminary budget taking into account concerns raised by all stakeholders. In this exercise the budget task force gets support from the executive arm of council especially the Treasury and Engineering and Works departments.

Presentation of draft budget to stakeholders

The budget task force presents its draft budget to a stakeholders' meeting. The draft budget is thoroughly discussed and if significant concerns arise the budget is referred back to the task force. This referral to the task force can be repeated till some agreement is reached. In the event of convergence the budget is agreed upon and referred to the Finance Committee of council. The Finance Committee will further analyse the budget to ensure that council's operational interests are catered for.

Presentation of budget to full Council

The Finance Committee then presents the proposed budget to full council for adoption. At this stage the full Council has little option but to accept the agreed budget. After full Council has adopted the proposed budget it then advertises for objections in terms of the Urban Council Act.

Quarterly budget reviews

Though the City has agreed to the principles of quarterly reviews with stakeholders, they are still to have such joint reviews.

3.3 Experiences of Kadoma

Kadoma has formal smart partnership between the City and other stakeholders. The smart partnership dialogue was held at Mazvikadei in 2000. Among the more significant outcomes of the Mazvikadei dialogue was the creation of task forces to better engage other stakeholders. The aim of establishing smart partnership was to deepen democracy through stakeholders' participation. The city established task forces on Water, Transport, Budget, Housing and Community

Services and Health. The first three task forces are very active whilst the ones on social services are moribund. The Budget Task Force has become a significant and potent institution and structure in delivering and steering the participatory budgeting in Kadoma. The task force is an avenue of consultation and participation and creates a framework of enhancing ownership of the budgetary process among various stakeholders. It is also a means of legitimizing ownership of participatory budget processes.

The Budget Cycle in Kadoma

The are identifiable activities and stages of the participatory budgetary proves, beginning with the review of current budget through consultations with stakeholders, costing and reviews that eventually feed into the next budget.

Review of current budget

The City through the participative approach undertakes a review of current budget performance around July to August each year. This coincides with the second quarterly budget review. Participants to the stakeholders meeting include among others; Residents and ratepayers associations, WADCO Chairpersons, business community, education, health, government, churches and council employees. The major purpose of the budget review meetings is to ascertain performance of the budget against original targets, with the aim of dropping any projects that have proved difficult to implement. The projects that have proved difficult to implement are either dropped or rolled into the next budget.

Executive Mayor 'meet the people' meeting

Throughout the year the Mayor holds consultative meetings at ward level with residents on a number of issues concerning city business. The main issues raised during consultations invariably revolve around service delivery especially as regards in/adequate delivery in infrastructure services like roads, sewer and general waste management. The meet the people forum besides being a report back framework also evaluates and feeds into the participatory budget process. It was noted that the Mayor's meetings with the people opens and additional avenue for dialogue and also gave the residents realistic access to their representative thereby promoting accountability of elected leadership.

Ward consultative meetings

Following the reviews and invariably between August and September each year, the City through the Budget Task Force holds consultations with all wards. The purpose of such consultations is to get the input of all the stakeholders into what

should be included in the next budget, of course taking into account the challenges identified by the quarterly review consultations. All consultations at ward level are recorded in official minutes that are kept for record and reference purposes at council.

Consolidation of ward inputs

The wards inputs are consolidated at the City level.

Costing of proposals

After consolidation of ward proposals the Budget Task Force facilitated by the Engineering Department costs the proposals and recommends streamlining before sending back the proposal to the stakeholders at ward level. At this stage the Task Force also provides the various options for funding and recommends the appropriate funding modalities.

Negotiation with communities

When the costing is complete the next stage of consultation involves intense lobbying and negotiation as each stakeholder is forced to defend their own interest in the context of not only overall city objectives but also the reality of the finiteness of resources. At this stage the communities generally concur that the budget will be implemented by an agreed date despite that the requisite ministerial approval might take long to obtain. Communities have cooperated and paid their dues despite in some cases the ministerial consent still outstanding. Consenting to payment before ministerial approval is granted poses some serious legal arguments. In the first instance the practice can be perceived as evidence of trust, solidarity and confidence that any local authority would envy. However no matter how desirable local cohesion, when it is used to break a law it begs scrutiny either of the practice or the law being contravened.

Preparation of final draft

After consulting the communities a streamlined budget is prepared and presented to full Council by the Finance Committee. As most councilors will have been involved in the process at this stage it is usual that the budget is merely noted and adopted.

Advertising proposal

The budget adopted by full council is advertised in local newspapers calling for any objections. Since the establishment of the task forces, no meaningful objections have been received from the communities.

When objections are more than thirty then the budget is reconsidered but if not it is sent to the Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Housing for gazetting of tariffs where appropriate.

Quarterly reviews

The city also undertakes quarterly reviews of the budget performance. The process begins with the executive providing a written report and oral account of budget performance first to full Council and then to the rest of the stakeholders. During the quarterly review all heads of City Departments give an oral account of their department activities specifying the highlights, challenges and suggesting corrective measures. The reviews are in essence a form of social audits. Of concern in the review are the following questions:

- What were the targeted/budgeted levels of collection?
- What was actually billed given reality on the ground?
- What are the discrepancies between the anticipated and the actual figures and what does it mean in terms of recommending future collection by council?

The information on the budget performance is then taken to the stakeholders who are advised of how their budget has faired and suggestions on how the situation could be changed for the betterment of council are invited. In reality in the majority of cases the recommendations are to increase the tariff rates given the prevailing high inflation levels and adverse macro economic environment.

Kadoma has established some best practice in budget reviews. Besides being inclusive they are scheduled and the timetable adhered to.

There is also a spirit of teamwork among the council staff, something vital for meaningful engagement of other partners. Most problems in the City are no longer viewed as city authority problems but as Kadoma problems demanding and attracting, attention and indeed effort from various stakeholders. The city has also established a gender focal person (who is also a deputy town treasurer) to assist in gender analysis of the Council's policies and budget in particular as an instrument for allocation of resources vital for service delivery.

3.4 Experiences of Kwekwe

Kwekwe adopted the participatory budgeting approach in early 2001 and has gone through identifiable phases to the present day. As is the case with other

surveyed cities, issues of council budget were previously the exclusive prerogative of the council policy makers and bureaucracy. However that process resulted in high numbers of objections and demonstrations against implementation of new budgets. In a bid to avert objections and demonstrations the city resolved to involve greater number of stakeholders in the budget process. The city purposefully chose an ad hoc budget committee to help council craft and sell the budget to the residents. The Ad Hoc Budget Committee was made of a core team of representatives from industry, commerce, ratepayers and residents association, ministers' fraternity, city worker union representatives and council. The Executive Mayor, Town Clerk, Treasurer, Engineer and chairperson of Finance Committee who sat in the Ad Hoc committee as ex officio members, represented council. These initial efforts at participatory budgeting received support from USAID through a programme implemented by the Urban Institute. The ad hoc committee was effective and there was no more resistance from the ratepayers.

Following a workshop held at Hwange Safari Lodge attended by council representative and members of civil society, the city resolved to improve its participatory structures. The City also realised that the Ad Hoc Budget Committee was mostly constituted of technical people who could not effectively represent the ward level interests. In 2004 the city created ward level participatory structures to facilitate the participatory budget process.

The budget cycle in Kwekwe

Issuance of guidelines by Treasurer

The budget cycle in Kwekwe begins around August and September each year. The Treasurer initiates the process by issuing out budget guidelines for the coming year. The budget guidelines essentially reviews the internal and external environment paying specific attention to issues such as current inflation and projected inflation, prevailing interest regime, Ministry of Local Government guidelines on budgeting, level of anticipated intergovernmental fiscal transfers, levels of urban poverty, the principles of cost recovery and the general outturn of current budget. The practice of issuing out guidelines is unique and establishes some best practice. The practice ensures that all stakeholders at the barest minimum share the context in which the budgeting is undertaken and more importantly reminds stakeholders of the major parameters to be considered.

Departmental Heads Budget Guidelines Meeting

The budget guidelines prepared by the Treasurer are presented to and debated by the council management who adopts a final version to be used in the coming year. The budget guidelines are also presented to a Special Finance Committee (also commonly referred to as the extended Finance Committee) composed of all councilors. The councilors agree on the guidelines and initiate ward consultations on budget proposals. The practice of having a special finance committee with all councilors is some best practice. It ensures that one of the key stakeholders has a framework of engaging at that critical stage.

Preparation of departmental bids

Each department prepares its bids for the year. In preparing the department bids all members of staff from the shop-floor level are heavily involved. Special consideration is also given to queries and request that would have come from the stakeholders during budget reviews in coming with the departmental bids.

Consolidation of departmental bids

The council bureaucracy meets and consolidates the departmental bids into one management proposal. At this stage it is common to trim the departmental bids to conform to expected income levels.

Presentation of proposals to Ad Hoc Budget Committee

The management proposals are presented to the Ad Hoc Budget Committee that reviews it taking into account their constituency interests and the overall outturn of current budget. After some amendments the ad hoc committee usually recommends the proposed budget for the coming year.

Presentation of proposal to ward level

The budget proposals are presented to the ward level. Participation is organised around WADCO that exist in each ward. The ward consultations are conducted in public halls and all residents are invited. The meetings attract a wide audience and members of the Ward budget committees have received training in civic participation from USAID under the Urban Institute programme. As a result of the training, civil society actors have learnt to refrain from introducing partisan politics in civic matters. The ad hoc committee members and council bureaucracy assist in providing responses to technical issues. Each ward consultation is documented and ward representatives submit the ward proposals to a plenary group at Council.

Presentation of ward inputs at plenary

A plenary session is held at council chambers where each ward represented brings forward their ward inputs into the budget. This consultation process involves intense negotiations and compromise. After one to two days of negotiations the proposed budget is agreed. This consultation phase is sponsored by the city that meets the participants' costs for travel and meals. The Ad Hoc Budget Committee has the responsibility of putting together the agreed final proposals.

Presentation of proposal to finance committee

The Ad Hoc Budget Committee presents the proposed budget to the special finance committee composed of all councilors. As all councilors will have been involved in consultation at the sub city level all their interests would have been considered in earlier processes to the extent that very few amendments are effected on the budget at this phase.

Adoption of budget by full Council

The proposed budget is presented to the Full Council who would endorse the budget, as they will have all participated in the special finance committee. After adoption the budget is advertised calling for objections.

Quarterly budget reviews

After every three months the Ad Hoc Budget Committee reviews the performance of the budget. The process is cascaded to the ward level if there is need for a supplementary budget. However the issues of the budget review are also constantly on agenda at monthly ward report back meeting by the councillors.

3.5 Experiences of Masvingo

Masvingo was one of the cities to benefit from the Urban Institute programme on civic participation in council decision. With the support of the Urban Institute Masvingo initiated the participatory approach in budgeting from around 2000. The support provided by the Urban Institute was critical in helping the city identify the major stakeholders in the budgetary process. In Masvingo the city conceptualised the participatory process as assuming two models, the collaborative and the watchdog models. In the collaborative model (which was reportedly championed by the Urban Institute) the council collaborates with stakeholders who are for all intents and purposes engaged as equal partners. The

stakeholders are involved in all detailed processes and are assumed to share the necessary accountability and responsibility that come with taking decisions that affect pubic life. The watchdog model implies that the council retains its principal statutory role while the stakeholders keep a watchful eye, making regular feedback critical for council processes.

Masvingo regarded the two as being mutually inclusive and uses both models but with more sympathy on the watchdog model. The argument was that the collaborative model in its purest form undermines the statutory role of city and leads to conflict between council as a statutory decision maker and the stakeholders as partners.

Budget cycle in Masvingo

Mid-term review

The mid-term review of the current budget undertaken around July each year signals the beginning a new budget cycle. The review in which all major stakeholders participate is critical to budget formulation.

Internal departmental consultations

The cycle begins with the internal consultations within council when each department is required to project its next year's requirements. Invitations for departmental requirements are sent out by the Treasury Department around July each year. When issuing out invites of contributions to next budget the Treasurer provides some budget guidelines detailing out the major economic factors and local variables to be considered when crafting new bids. Invitations are sent out simultaneously to Heads of departments and councilors.

Ward and departmental consultations

Following the invitations by the Treasurer consultations are held in all departments and wards. In wards such consultation meetings are called for by the councilors and are advertised as public though invitations are extended to specific stakeholders like those involved in social service sector, health and education. Ward consultation meetings are reportedly well attended given the emotive nature of the agenda. In the opinion of one councilor, it is the only time that the citizens of different political persuasions consciously collaborate for common good.

Consolidation of departmental requests

Councilors usually present their bids following a guideline provided by the Treasurer. The bids from wards and council departments are defended and justified before final consolidation.

Presentation to finance committee

The consolidated management proposals are costed by the Treasurer before submission to the Finance Committee.

Presentation to full Council

The Finance Committee chairperson presents the proposed budget to Full Council that discusses the whole budget item by item. After considering the budget the full Council adopts the budget with or without amendments.

Presentation to residents

The proposed budget is then presented to the residents. Stakeholders make their input commenting on various aspects of the budget.

Consideration of inputs from the stakeholders

The Council through the Finance Committee reviews inputs and comments on the budget from all stakeholders before preparing a final proposal.

Advertising the budget

After taking into account the concerns of the stakeholders the budget is then advertised calling for objections and other relevant legal procedure as outlined earlier on are adhered to.

Budget reviews

Once the budget is implemented, the council and its stakeholders undertake scheduled quarterly reviews. The reviews essentially assess the performance of the budget given the prevailing conditions. However members of civil society raised concerns that they were not properly consulted when Council effected a supplementary budget and such consultations were token and meant to endorse a position already taken by council.

Information Sharing

The city runs a newsletter Chindigwana Cheruzivo. However the newsletter has also been a casualty of the adverse macro-economic environment as council fails to issue it out on a regular basis.

4 Participatory Budget Process: Best Practices Established and Emerging Issues and Challenges

4.1 Best Practices Established and Emerging Issues

Participatory budget effective

It emerged that participatory budgetary system as implemented in the surveyed councils is effective in promoting local democracy and local ownership of the budgeting process. In all instances, there was evident increased ownership of the budget by a wide spectrum of stakeholders. The participatory budget process also provided an avenue for ensuring accountability and transparency in city budget process.

Reduced number of objections

Due to the consensual nature of the budgetary process cities have received no serious objections since the introduction of participatory processes and structures. The few objections received were in a majority of cases recommendations on increasing the vertical and horizontal equity of licensing fees among the various businesses. Most of the objections relate to the quality of service delivery and not the tariff regime. The participatory budget systems have effectively installed more civic institutions of handling disputes and negotiation.

Changed role of residents associations

The residents associations no longer exist as a "shadow council", but increasingly view themselves and operate as partners in City business. They have ceased to be a pressure group but have become partners in council. The beneficial effects of this development needs to be assessed critically given that contending viewpoints are an essential ingredient for any modern democracy. The question is; if residents associations and every other significant stakeholders have become part of council then who is watching from outside?

Increased revenue collection

Despite increasing poverty there is less default and increased collection of revenue. In the case of Kadoma city collection rates increased from an average of 40% to about 60% before and after setting the Budget Task Force. There is correlation between existence of participatory structures and increased

cooperation and we hypothesize that the participatory budget structures could have increased cooperation by increasing the costs of shirking and non-compliance. It was also noted that Kadoma, Masvingo and Kwekwe operate without overdrafts.

Establishment of more inclusive and responsive Institutions

The participatory budget structures are more inclusive and some councils have managed to engage the previously politically disengaged communities especially minorities like whites. The bureaucracy is more responsive as they have to provide more information to the citizens. However as observed in the Brazilian, Porto Alegre case (www.worldbank.org/particpation), the officials could be more interested in being understood than understanding the position of the communities. In one case a council official claimed that they gave too much and complex data to vocal groups in order to 'silence and fix' them and the officials were happy the stakeholders ceased being a 'nuisance'.

Introduction of proxy market forces

The participatory processes have greatly improved the delivery of monopolistic services like water provided by local governments. In a market situation the forces of demand and supply and alternatives apply helping in determining the correct supply level and pricing of goods. However such market forces cannot apply in the provision of public goods like street lighting or goods under monopoly like reticulated water. The involvement of the stakeholders in determining the quality, quantity and price of commodity to be supplied have acted as effective proxy market forces in the delivery of public goods by cities.

Unclear position of private sector

The private sector was one of the vocal stakeholders. There could be reason for concern that if private sector involvement is not well balanced with other forces then that could lead to serious intrusion of private sector interests in the province that should in principle and by law be the preserve of the 'public and third' sectors. However that opinion is also informed of the need to engage private sector as an important stakeholder in the process.

Nebulous concept civil society

It emerged from the study that the concept of civil society was rather nebulous and in some cases confounding. There was no agreed framework of operationalising engagement of civil society, neither was there a commonly agreed identity of stakeholders. There was general concern that members of civil

society had hidden agendas. In some cases it was alleged that small time politicians who would have failed to gain entry into council or are not patient enough to wait for next round of elections attempt to run councils under the banner of civil society. We witnessed some uneasy relations between council bureaucracy and civil society in some councils.

Civil society was accusing the bureaucracy of malfeasance whilst the bureaucracy regarded such accusation as being driven by sheer malevolence. Such allegations are understandable given the dynamic partisan political identities resident in contemporary Zimbabwean urban politics. It was alleged that some civil society actors especially residents associations had questionable constituency as they consistently failed to produce membership registers. In the event that the constitutions and membership registers were available there were concerns that no regular elections were held in terms of the constitutions.

However in some cities like Kadoma that we characterise as having higher levels of social capital most civil society actors are accepted on 'face value'. The residents association in Kadoma was considered legitimate despite not having a constitution. There was no evidence that the civil society actors were forcing themselves into council processes. However the resident association also had misgiving about other actors like the vendors' association and the Informal Sector Association who were also accepted but they wanted to fall under residents association. The argument was that too many actors crowd the scene and bring unnecessary competition and duplication of functions.

Relations with the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development

There were general concerns as regards the role of the Ministry in general and the attitudes of some Ministry officials in particular. The involvement of the Ministry in determining the working conditions of senior city staff and councilors and Mayors' allowances was a bone of contention. In this instance Council staff were quick to point to the Labour Relations Act that makes them and council competent contracting parties thereby making the involvement of the Ministry rather superfluous. The argument from council staff is rather too simplified as the Minister has overall mandate over the local government sector.

Outside the statutory provision for the Minister to gazette charges in former local government areas there is no legal backing for the practice of the Minister 'approving' council budgets. Cities generally share a concern of the Ministry's capabilities to make an informed opinion over the budgets. It is a common and

shared opinion among council staff that the Ministry uses standard guidelines to determine levels of charges when in fact the variables affecting the actual tariff are city and situation specific. The critical question was the basis on which the Ministry bases its decision. Also of great concern was the Ministry's technical capacity to analyse the budgets.

However the role of the Minister between two competent parties needs to be defined and defended. If interventions consistently result in unfavorable outcome for council staff then the situation might close all options for senior staff. The senior staff seem prepared to get what their employer can afford even if it is lower than what they perceive to be their worth. However they do not appreciate getting a cent lower than what they perceive is their worth solely because a government bureaucrat deems thats what they are worth. In rationalizing the situation, it can be ludicrous to rule out that the morally weaker could adopt perverse copying strategies like absenteeism, moonlighting and outright corruption.

The councilors generally expressed concern at the low levels of allowances given the increased frequency of meetings. The councilors were also concerned at seemingly unfair treatment between elected councilors and appointed Commissioners. Though the Commissioners we supposed to perform functions originally assigned to councilors, they earned several times more than the elected councilors.

Complementarity between Executive and Councillors

Despite initial paranoia over the involvement of officials at ward level processes there was growing complementarity between councilors and officers at ward level as councilors often enlisted the services of the technical staff to explain some budgetary concerns to the citizens.

Participatory budget extends to other issues

Participatory budgeting has contributed a lot to urban governance as stakeholders are now aware and appreciate difficulties faced by local authorities in service provision. It has provided councils with opportunities to explain issues to residents. More issues on local governance other than the budget emerge and are resolved. A form of social contract results from this consultation.

Women representation in Council

The position of women in decision-making positions in councils was as per table 1 below.

Table: Male and female participation in top decision-making positions in five Cities (2006)

	Bulawayo		Gweru		Kadoma		Kwekwe		Masvingo		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Mayors	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5
Deputy Mayors	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5
Councillors			2	15	2	14	1	13	3	7		
Town Clerks	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5
Chamber Secretary	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5
HODs	1	3	0	4	0	5	0	4	0	4	1	18

The table above demonstrates the marginalisation of women in local governance in Zimbabwean cities. This above scenario is notwithstanding the fact that nationally, nearly 52% of the population comprises women.

Women tend to dominate the traditional female positions in the clerical and secretarial categories. Officials and councillors blamed women for being their own worst enemies; "they don't support one another" was a common lament. One could argue that it is a typical case of blaming the victim for their unfortunate situation. The unfavourable position of women in decision-making structures of local governance could be more a result of men's action than that of women. As one discerning councillor put it, "Partisan party interests and discipline has contributed a lot to women's positions and the calibre of leaders in general'.

4.2 Challenges and Concerns

Role of central Government in approving City budgets

Councils are concerned as regards the role of the Minister of Local Government in 'approving' city budgets. The arguments from council is simple, the contracting parties who are competent before the law have consented to a contract that one party will provide a certain service in return of payment by the recipient and no dispute exists. Cities share the general opinion that the assumed roles of arbiter by the Ministry in a case where there is no declared dispute is unfortunate and misplaced mistrust that council pay through delays in effecting the new budget. There are also serious concerns as regards the Ministry's capacity to undertake a serious analysis and evaluation of all budgets before adopting or recommending amendment. Given the high level of consultation that participating local authorities underwent the role of the Ministry in gazetting tariffs for former local government areas has become largely superfluous and a hindrance to fruitful local engagement.

Managing the changing roles of Councillors

As the participatory budget process takes root more inclusive institutions like budget task forces are established and have a decisive impact on the role of the councilor in representative democracy. It becomes critical to carefully manage the changing roles of the councilors and councils as other stakeholders increasingly take a more active role in civic functions.

Councillors questioned the creation of competing parallel structures. They seem not prepared to manage a budget they have not created and answer on its performance when they are not completely in charge. Some stakeholders are reportedly too ambitious and would use the participatory avenue to get at councilors and officials they have differences with. Some stakeholders participate for personal gain and allegedly become arrogant and confrontational when they are not included in the task force.

It was also observed that the councilors have to put more time to council business in response to challenges brought by the broad macro environment.

Budgetary process not enshrined in law

The cities have generally accepted the need to engage other stakeholders in the budget process. However the major challenge is that the existing statutes do not provide a guiding framework for the participatory process. Indeed some sections of existing legislation like the requirement for the Minister to receive all budgets works against a sense of local ownership of the participatory budget process.

Lack of capital funds

Increasingly the only viable source of revenue for capital development, PSIP has been dwindling hence the inability to implement most capital projects. It was argued that previously councils would be funded for their own proposals whilst

in the current situation, all local authorities are funded for centrally determined services. It was alleged that for the two years 2005 and 2006 local authorities have invariably and consistently been allocated funds for sewerage and water treatment despite their different needs and demands.

In any event the funds allocated under PSIP are often reduced and then released late when their values have been eroded through inflation. The non-availability of long term loans and grants for capital investments puts pressure on councils to increase rates and charges in order to meet expenditure of a capital nature. Increased levels of charges are generally unwelcome in an inflationary environment where citizens are suffering from eroded purchasing power.

Adverse macro economic fundamentals

The adverse macro economic fundamentals with inflation reaching 1000% poses a serious challenge to most parties especially councils. It becomes difficult for cities to live within their budget outlines. Under some of the provisions of the governing law, the urban councils are not suited to manage the crisis of the current magnitude. Quotations of goods are usually valid for hours or days and do not accommodate the lengthy tender procedure that cities are required to implement. In following the law, cities end up paying more and it is that compliance cost that has sometimes become worrying. An example was given of IT equipment quoted for \$520 million but because council had to go to tender they ended buying the same equipment from same supplier at \$1, 8 billion. In that case the compliance cost was given as \$1,3 billion on procurement of goods worth \$520 million!

Furthermore participatory budgeting results in social contract between city and stakeholders. In the contract the city undertakes to provide a service at a determined charge however inflation often forces the city to renege on its promise and come back to stakeholders to negotiate for an increase in charges.

The relationship between civic participation and deteriorating macro economic conditions presents an interesting paradox. The adverse macro fundamentals threaten contracts and trust yet social contract become more critical as every dollar needs to be applied to the highest priority. One council official summarised the paradox in a Shona idiom, "Imhashu yemugwere inotogochwa yakabatwa gumbo". (Translated to mean that in a situation of shortages there is greater need to be more judicious in application of resources).

Identification of stakeholders

There are no clear guidelines on who is a stakeholder and hence each city is left to define the membership of stakeholders. There are allegations that in some cases cities selectively engage only those parties considered agreeable and malleable.

Attendance of consultative meetings

Some consultative meetings are not well attended such that emerging opinion cannot be representative of the constituencies. This is particularly so as some members of community fail to attend WADCO meetings for fear of being mistaken for sympathizing with particular political parties.

Lack of sincerity

Council officials invariably feel betrayed when partners who participated in the budgetary process then raise serious objections with the Minister well after consensus has been established in Council. It is assumed that the Ministry's attitude promotes such deviant behaviour on the part of stakeholders.

Gender sensitivity

Despite broad agreement on the need to make the budget more gender sensitive, there are still no agreed frameworks on how to make the budget gender sensitive. There are also no clear agreements on indices to use in measuring the gender sensitivity of the budgets. Technocrats have found the terms gender and child sensitivity very nebulous at times confounding and generally difficult to operationalise.

Potential for development of local elite

The Brazilian Porto Alegre case study (www.worldbank.org/participation) observed that there was always danger that in the participatory process that common citizen can be replaced with 'participating citizens'. The participatory structures are hence under constant threat of the influence of the local elites.

5 Conclusions

Increased ownership of the budget

The participatory budget process has enhanced a sense of ownership of he budget by a wide spectrum of stakeholders. Those stakeholders consulted largely regarded themselves as part of council.

Improved disclosure and accountability by local governments

The participatory process has greatly improved the disclosure regime with a lot of cities now willing and able to share information about their operations with various stakeholders. Stakeholders with varied constituencies now have greater access to information abut the city. Councils are increasingly accepting the fact they have to account to the stakeholders for all their actions.

Poor definition of stakeholders

There is no agreed definition of civil society, stakeholders or partner. Without an agreed definition of stakeholder it is problematic to sustain trusting relationship between civil society actors and representative local government structures in the event of conflict. Most civil actors are weak and in need of support.

Readiness to pay given a standard service level

It also emerged that residents are prepared to pay for the priority services as long as service delivery matches the tariff being levied. Residents are less concerned with the costs but more with the quality of the service given an agreed tariff rate.

Matrix on local priorities

Currently councils have no framework of fairly ranking the needs and priorities from the various geographical areas and stakeholders within council. There is need for a commonly shared formula of ranking priorities and demands.

Social capital

Social capital is important for local democracy and economic success of many stakeholders at the local levels. Social capital goes beyond the spirit of traditional community but encompasses a network of relationships deliberately created to foster exchange of information. High levels of social capital reduce transaction costs through reduction of information gathering and dissemination costs.

Inadequate sources of capital finance

The participatory budget processes have often produced budget acceptable to all local stakeholders. However given the macro economic fundamentals, local authorities are unable to finance capital investment from local resources hence the need for them to access external sources. The current State support in the form of loans from the RBZ seems inappropriate, as they are too short term for the nature of operation of local governments.

Critical role of civil society

There is increasing recognition of the role of a civic culture in local democracy. Civil society is important in bringing critical issues on public agendas and causing them to be discussed. Furthermore civil society can be an effective bulwark against the intrusion of market forces in province ideally the preserve of the public sector. Civil society cannot substitute but only compliment the role and function of democratic governments. It is also apparent that civil society is composed of varied and often opposing, conflicting or competing forces and therefore is not immune to ills and evils of corruption and self-centeredness.

Selective application of participatory

Concerns were raised over the selective application of the participatory approach in the budgetary process. Some officers queried the intrusion of the civil arm in the budgetary process when they were excluded in other council processes like town planning.

Positive externalities of participatory budget

Participatory budgeting has resulted in some positive externalities. There was observed increased reporting and accountability systems within the participating stakeholders. The requirements to report back on budget processes have especially improved the operations and efficiency of residents association as it provided a common rallying point. Such processes have also resulted in increased disclosures in civil society organisations.

6 Recommendations

Identification and strengthening of stakeholders

It is recommended that UCAZ spearhead a process of engaging councils through training workshops to commonly agree on who are the stakeholders at the local level. Once identified it is recommended that each city should sign a charter for responsible engagement between the City and other actors. However individual citizens should retain the right to participate in the budget process as individuals without necessarily being affiliated to any association or social grouping. It is further recommended that civil society actors be assisted in building their capabilities, specifically the capability to consult, report back and in some cases provision of physical space. Besides offering halls for public meetings, cities could provide some office space for some resource challenged stakeholders especially residents associations.

Cycle of events

It is recommended that each city outline a cycle of activities in the Participatory Budget process in order to provide a framework of participation, planning, implementation and monitoring and review that facilitates inclusion of the greatest number of stakeholders.

Matrix on local priorities

It is recommended that each council adopt a matrix of processing priorities in a manner understandable to the widest audience.

Further support for stakeholders

All stakeholders are chartering new waters and would requite constant support in form of education and training from UCAZ and other cooperating partners with expertise in participation and generally on other aspects of local governance. UCAZ should take a more active role in linking cities with specialist NGOs that have the resources, mandate and capacity to support councils.

Enhanced facilitatory role of the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development

As trust and commitment from local stakeholders increase the sense of local ownership of city budget by stakeholders increases. In line with that spirit the Ministry's role should gradually shift from that of arbiter to that of facilitating local dialogue and smart partnerships. It is recommended that the Urban Councils Act be amended so that cities can increase tariffs by resolution and the

budget be effected if the specified statutory limit of number of objections of thirty is not received. The arbiter role of the Ministry should be reserved for situations where council fails to resolve issues internally. Even where conflict exists the Ministry's role should be more of facilitator of local dialogue than the current one of final decision maker. The reduced direct role of the central agent will also promote the growth of horizontal relationships between local stakeholders that is symptomatic of high levels of social capital

Enhanced local authority leverage of private resources

It is recommended that the legal framework be improved for local authorities to access private sector financing at affordable interest rates. It is recommended that the municipal bond market be resuscitated, initially with deliberate support of government grant transfers to blend down the interest rates to manageable levels. Besides lessening government debt, municipal bond market promotes accountability and full disclosure in line with the objectives of the local democracy programme.

Information dissemination

To promote full disclosure and strengthen information sharing, cities could invest in information kiosks that could initially be established in council libraries. Councils should also be encouraged to make announcements concerning participatory budget meetings through water and rates statements issued by council.

Increased PSIP allocation

Parallel to establishing a framework for local authorities to leverage private sector financing, in the short run there will be need for government support in the form of PSIP loans. It is recommended that to make participatory budget a reality Treasury allocate more resources under PSIP.

Increased intergovernmental fiscal transfer

It is recommended that a percentage of government revenue be allocated to local authorities on an assured basis so that local authorities can meet social mandates as required by government policy.

Developing gender sensitive participatory skills

It is recommended that the participatory budget processes be more gender sensitive. In that regard the council executives and policy makers should be equipped through training with the necessary gender analysis skills that will enable them to meaningfully engage women (as a disadvantaged group) and mainstream gender in city budgeting.

Councils should implement pro-poor budgeting so that they take into account concerns of the most vulnerable members of society particularly pensioners, disabled and orphans.

7 Ideal Participatory Budget Approach

An ideal participatory budget approach will be context, situation and time specific. What we recommend below are elements of best practices we gleaned from the five cities as operating well and also incorporated what the stakeholders aspire to see. We propose that an ideal and functional participatory budgeting system should have all or most of the following components:

Identified stakeholders

All stakeholders should be identified through an all-inclusive and transparent process. All major stakeholders should be classified into recognizable into sectors so that there is no over dominance of any particular sector. A neutral party like UCAZ or one of the several NGOs should facilitate the identification of stakeholders. The stakeholders should submit details of their constitution; membership and office bearers to council and these should be collated and shared among all stakeholders.

Institutional structures for stakeholders' participation

There should be some institutional structures to facilitate stakeholder input in the budget process. These could take the form of the current budget task forces or committees at council level and ward development committees at sub city levels.

Deliberate membership of participatory institutions

Membership to participatory structures should be qualified. Members of the task force should present a recognizable constituency and there should be evidence of legitimacy of the representatives. The task forces could have representatives of industry, commerce, residents and ratepayers, education, health, council workers union, women and youths.

Documentation of participatory structures

The participatory structures should follow principles of full disclosures in their operations. All meetings should be advertised in local media and public places. Meetings should be held at accessible public places like council schools and community halls. Proceedings of the participatory structures should be recorded and the records kept in council for record and reference.

External facilitation of consultation

An outsider to council who does no have immediate political, business or any

other personal interests to protect should ideally facilitate the consultative meeting.

Guidelines to budget preparation

The city through the executive should annually issue out budget guidelines in which they describe the context in which budgeting is taking place. The budget guidelines should revisit the crucial matters of inflation, pricing, cost recovery and existing obligations like loans that the city has to meet.

Dispute settlement mechanism

There should a permanent neutral dispute settlement mechanism that any party can resort to in the event of a registered dispute. The Ministry could assume that role in the immediate but a more neutral commission will be more desirable later.

Quarterly reviews

All stakeholders should be involved in periodic, preferably quarterly review of the budget. The budget reviews should feed into the coming budget.

Timetable of budget events

Each council should adopt and adhere to a timetable of events. The timetable should indicate the major activities and the responsible parties and the dates on which assignments need to be completed.

Underlying assumptions

The above ideal model is based on the following assumptions:

- That councils continue accessing capital revenue at affordable rates and hence do not have to push all capital investment obligations on current ratepayers.
- The macro economic fundamentals like inflation and price escalation are brought down to manageable levels.
- There is a known system of inter-governmental transfers based on predictable, transparent principles taking into account issues of equity and different resource endowment between councils.
- There is a one-city concept and councils can increase tariffs and charges by way of resolution throughout the cities.
- Stakeholders involvement in budgeting is compulsory and given a framework by the statutes.

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