

**ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL
SERVICES IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS: THE CASE STUDY OF LUWINGU
DISTRICT COUNCIL OF ZAMBIA**

by

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DECLARATION

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I declare that the dissertation entitled: **ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS: THE CASE STUDY OF LUWINGU DISTRICT COUNCIL OF ZAMBIA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



SIGNATURE
(MR. S. LONGA)

25/05/18
DATE

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the following persons from whom I draw strength and inspiration:

- My wife, Racheal Manda Longa
- My children, Bukata Longa and Malumbo Longa

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SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Provision of municipal services to urban residents particularly those residing in small towns across developing countries, is facing challenges. A small town or rural district of Luwingu in Zambia, is no exception. This study provides an analysis of factors that influence provision of municipal services in developing countries with Luwingu town or rural district in Zambia as the case study. Through this study, it has been shown that urban residents in small towns and to some extent, those residing in urban peripheries such as informal settlements, low-income residential neighbourhoods in major cities continues to experience poor provision and access to basic services such as drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity supply. Influencing effective provision of municipal services in the developing countries including Luwingu district council in Zambia, is a number of factors. Amongst others, is inadequate service infrastructure; lack of human and financial resources in various local municipalities particularly small rural local municipalities including Luwingu district council in Zambia.

KEY WORDS: Municipal services, Luwingu rural district, Small towns, Peri-urban and New Public Governance Theory.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ADF | African Development Fund |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| CBD | Central Business District |
| CIDI | Community Integrated Development Initiatives |
| CLGF | Commonwealth Local Government Forum |
| CLTS | Community Led Total Sanitation |
| CSO | Central Statistical Office |
| DC | District Commissioner |
| ECZ | Environmental Council of Zambia |
| ERB | Energy Regulation Board |
| GNI | Gross National Income |
| IEA | International Energy Agency |
| IMF | International Monetary fund |
| KCCA | Kampala Capital City Authority |
| LED | Local Economic Development |
| MAMPU | Malaysian Administrative Modernisation & Management Planning Unit |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MMD | Movement for Multi-Party Democracy |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MSP | Municipal Service Partnership |
| NACWSS | National Action for the Water and Sanitation Sector |
| NDP | National Decentralisation Policy |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| NWASCO | National Water Supply and Sanitation Council |
| PF | Patriotic Front |
| PLGO | Provincial Local Government Officer |

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| PPPs | Public Private Partnerships |
| PSRP | Public Service Reform Programme |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| RALGA | Rwandese Association of Local Government Authorities |
| RTSA | Road Traffic and Safety Agency |
| SALGA | South Africa Local Government Association |
| SDGs | Sustainable Development Goals |
| SHA | Self Help Africa |
| SIDA | Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency |
| SNV | Netherlands Development Organisation |
| SPSS | Statistical Package for Social Science |
| STATS SA | Statistics South Africa |
| SWASCO | Southern Water and Sewerage Company |
| UC | Utility Company |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNICEF | United Nation Children Emergency Fund |
| UNIP | United Nation Independence Party |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USA | United States of America |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |
| WSC | Water and Sewerage Company |
| WSUP | Water & Sanitation For The Urban Poor |
| ZESCO | Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation |
| ZMW | Zambian Kwacha (Local Currency) |

CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

1.0 Introduction and Background

Provision of basic services by the local authorities in developing countries including Zambia, is faced with a myriad of challenges that range from the capacity (human, financial, capital resources) of the local councils to the influence of central government regarding creation of a policy environment and financial support that would promote effective municipal service provision. International literature indicates that, there is a growing trend in the number of countries across developing countries that continues to experience dissatisfaction and/or complaints related to either inadequate or poor provision of basic municipal services (Montalvo, 2009; Fox, 2015; Sartorius & Sartorius, 2016). Like elsewhere in developing countries, Zambia is no exception. For instance, available Zambian literature on the provision of municipal service by district or local councils has consistently revealed ineffectiveness in the municipal service delivery as well (Chitonge, 2011; Woodling, 2014). Most District Councils, especially those that are located away from the mainline, lack not only skilled human resources, but rarely have the equipment and funding to provide the basic services to the residents.

Funding to the local councils from central government has drastically been reduced since 1991 with government putting emphasis on the need for local councils to generate their own income and thus, becoming autonomous. The challenge therefore, is for the local councils to utilise the opportunities from the natural resources and other resources within their respective jurisdiction and provinces. This poses a greater challenge especially for the district councils that are located far away from the main railways and roads where there are limited economic activities which would assist in the council generating more income in the form of taxes and levies. The traditional sources of income for the local authorities which include property tax, licence fees, personal levy, lease of council properties, bus station and market fees, and trading licence are not sufficient to meet the budgetary requirements that can enable councils to adequately provide municipal services and at the same time, cover administrative costs.

Though over the years there has been a push by central government to have local councils be self-sustaining, there has however, not been a firm and reliable guidance from central government to local councils on how to develop new sources of financial resources (Moonga 2005, in Chibiliti, 2010). Other measures have equally been introduced by either central government or through its cooperating donor agencies to enhance the local council's capacity to provide service delivery effectively. However, sustainability of such efforts has been challenged because of other competing factors which include having stable funding, retention of qualified staff, and the local councils' ability to raise and use revenue locally. In order to identify some of the factors influencing the provision of municipal services in the rural districts, this study has chosen a small town or rural district of Luwingu located in the Northern Province of Zambia.

1.2 Problem Statement

Notwithstanding strides made and the impact of several reforms that were undertaken by the Zambian local government since independence in 1964, one of the challenges still faced by local government is attaining efficient and effective provision of municipal services particularly for communities in small towns or rural districts such as Luwingu (Lolojih, 2008). Consequently, the ability of local councils to effectively and efficiently provide quality service has remained below what is expected. As Tordoff and Young (1994:290) observed, "At the present time, the local authorities, particularly those that are located in rural parts of the country face what amounts to a crisis of capacity in the delivery of services". Staffing levels and the quality of personnel remains one of the factors affecting the effective service provision by most councils. Low staffing levels have influenced the local councils' lack of efficiency in attending to urgent public services. Works or services that should have been attended to or provided within a short period of time, have usually been delayed, and in the process, the local authorities have lost revenue (Lolojih, 2008; Kalibange, 2013). The low-level qualifications of personnel, especially in the small rural local authorities, have equally influenced provision and quality of service delivery. For example, the low quality and inefficiency in the collection and disposal of wastes, water and sewerage, provision of market and road rehabilitation and capacity to budget and manage finances are some of the key challenges faced by most local authorities, particularly in developing countries including Zambia (Mubanga, 2006; Kalibange, 2013).

The centralization of sources of income such as the fuel levy and road licence which were initially collected and utilised by the local councils has contributed negatively to the revenue base at the district council especially that there is no system in place to ensure that such levies are ploughed back into the districts (Chibiliti, 2010; Kalibange, 2013). Through policy directives, income sources such as rentals from council houses, money collected for supplying water, road and vehicle licence issuance and money collected from supplying electricity which were initially collected by the local councils have been transferred from the councils to either quasi government agencies or utility companies established through central government policy reforms. The loss of these income sources by councils has resulted in drastic reduction in income over the recent period and affected provision of service (Chibiliti, 2010).

The sale of all housing units held by local councils country wide for example, was done through a presidential directive. Though aimed at encouraging house ownership and uplifting the standard of living of the tenants by selling these units at discounted rates, depending on the year that the houses were built., the monies raised from the sale of council houses could not be used to build more houses as they were heavily discounted (Chibiliti, 2010). In the long term, the sale of council houses has had negative effect on the capacity of most local authorities to raise income and consequently affected their capacity to finance and thus, sustain service delivery. The introduction of the Water and Sanitation Act no 28 of 1997 brought about the formation of water utility companies and compelled local councils to transfer all water and sewerage infrastructures and equipment to state-owned commercial utilities. According to Chibiliti (2010), none of the water utilities to date have declared dividend even when the local authorities, according to the Act, were supposed to be the major shareholders. The motor vehicle licences issuance is another source of income for the local authorities which was transferred to the now Road Traffic Safety Agency (RTSA) under the Road Transport and Safety Agency Act of 1997 (Chibiliti, 2010; Kalibange, 2013). As a result of the preceding loss of income sources, provision of municipal service by the local councils, especially those in the small rural parts of Zambia, has negatively been impacted.

Additionally, central government's support to local councils is usually very limited in terms of amount and scope of funding; much of the funding is directed to meet administrative costs and very limited amounts are directed at investments in sectors that would assist the councils in generating their own resources or improving the provision of municipal services (Mukwena,1999). Inefficiencies and lack of clarity within the policy framework that guide the

operations of the local authorities and lack of funding for the implementation of various policies and reforms are some of the factors that have influenced effective municipal service provision by the local councils. Policy and programmes such as the Decentralisation policy, The Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) adopted in 1993 , have not, for a long time, been backed with very serious implementation plans and budgets support by central government. As a result, they remain very good documents whose initial objective of enhancing the local government systems remain unattained.

As a result of limitations in the policy framework to support local resource mobilization, coupled with other internal limitations, the local councils have not been able to effectively utilize the vital role that stakeholders such as local leaders, business institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) within the districts would play in assisting to improve municipal service provision. Furthermore, although the 1991 Local Government Act reduced political controls over the executive officers of local authorities and thus, lessened the problems of political interference in the day-to-day running of council affairs, the continued membership of local Members of Parliament(MPs) on Councils frustrate efforts in delivery of municipal services.

Against the background above, the study intends to provide an analysis and discussion of various factors influencing provision of municipal services by local councils to residents usually living in small towns or rural district councils, particularly Luwingu in Zambia.

1.3 Research aim and objectives

The main aim of the study is to provide a critical analysis of various factors that influences provision of municipal service in Zambia with particular focus on the rural district of Luwingu.

In order to achieve the main aim above, the study has the following secondary objectives:

- To discuss the historical background on the provision of municipal services in developing countries
- To present a critical analysis of factors influencing provision of basic services by local authorities in Zambia

- To present an analysis of perceptions of households residing in Luwingu rural district on the provision of basic services by the Luwingu District Council.
- To draw key study conclusions and make policy recommendations on the possible solutions to challenges facing provision of basic municipal services in developing countries particularly Luwingu District Council in Zambia

1.4 Limitations and the study area

Although they will not hinder the study from achieving its primary aim and key research questions, it is however, important to acknowledge that, there are several limitations facing the study. One such limitation is the lack of research and academic writings that could provide enough and recent information on the state of urban development, particularly provision of basic municipal services in small towns. Most of the available literature and research seem to be biased towards urban development and infrastructure development in major cities found in metropolitan municipalities (see also Marais, Nel and Donaldson, 2016). However, other than being one of the study limitations, lack of research and thus, literature on the factors influencing general performance of rural local municipalities in various small towns across developing countries including Zambia, provide the study with an opportunity to use experiences of residents and local officials in various small towns in Zambia, particularly the town of Luwingu (see Chapter Five), to further contribute to the limited existing theoretical debates on the provision of basic services in rural local municipalities and their associated small towns.

Another study limitation is the small scope and thus, small sample that will be less representative of the total population in this small town of Luwingu. Consequently, it will not be possible for the study findings to be generalised. Furthermore, the small sample could be attributed to lack of financial assistance in the form of study bursary or scholarship. Similar to most small towns across developing countries, the study in Luwingu rural district is faced with widespread lack of research and literature information following a research that is mostly biased towards major towns and cities. Since Luwingu District lies in a high rainfall area, the researcher will be left with no option but to conduct data collection just before the rain season starts in late October. The poor road infrastructure that characterises most of the rural parts of the district, make travelling difficult and time consuming, the researcher will have to select

areas that are easily accessible for interviews and primary data collection. The study could be limited by other intervening variables such as lack of access to council documents. Previous studies have identified this as one of the major limitations that most researchers have encountered.

The choice of the study area is based on its importance to the development discourse especially in the small towns found mostly in predominantly rural local municipalities across developing countries and the role that local authorities are playing in the provision of municipal services. The study is limited to the experience of residents in three wards of Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo that comprise the small town or rural district of Luwingu (see Figure 1.1 below) located in Luwingu District Council or local municipality, Zambia. Luwingu District Council is located in the Northern Province of Zambia. Northern Province is one of Zambia's ten provinces. It covers approximately one fifth of Zambia in land area. The provincial capital is Kasama. The province is made up of nine districts.

Luwingu District Council covers a land area of 8892 square kilometres (Luwingu District Planning Unit, 2010). As of the 2010 Zambian Census (CSO, 2010), the district council had a population of 134,426 people. The district council is 995 km north of the capital city of Lusaka and lies 165 km north east of Kasama. Eighty-six per cent (86%) of households in Luwingu District Council are engaged in farming as their main economic activity. The local council comprises elected councillors from twenty two (22) wards, two (2) constituencies and two (2) senior chiefs' representatives. According to Luwingu District Situational Analysis (Luwingu District Planning Unit, 2010), the councillors are policy makers who are assisted technically and legally by the secretariat comprising the Principal and Chief Officers. The Council Secretary is the Principal Officer and Chief Executive of the Council. He is assisted by five Chief Officers namely; Council Treasurer, Deputy Council Secretary, District Planning Officer, and Director of Works. Luwingu District Council operates through standing committees in which detailed deliberations are conducted. These are the,; a) Staff Establishment and Training Committee b) Finance and General Purposes Committee and c) Social Services, Plans, Works and Development Committee.

The District Council carries out its traditional functions of town planning, allocation of plots to individuals and business houses, imposing levies and small trade licensing, maintenance and rehabilitation of feeder roads, administration of chief's affairs, running of markets, garbage collection and provision and maintenance of burial site. Water supply and sanitation has since been surrendered to a commercial utility. One of the objectives for using these commercial utilities is to provide quality, accessible and adequate social services to the local community.

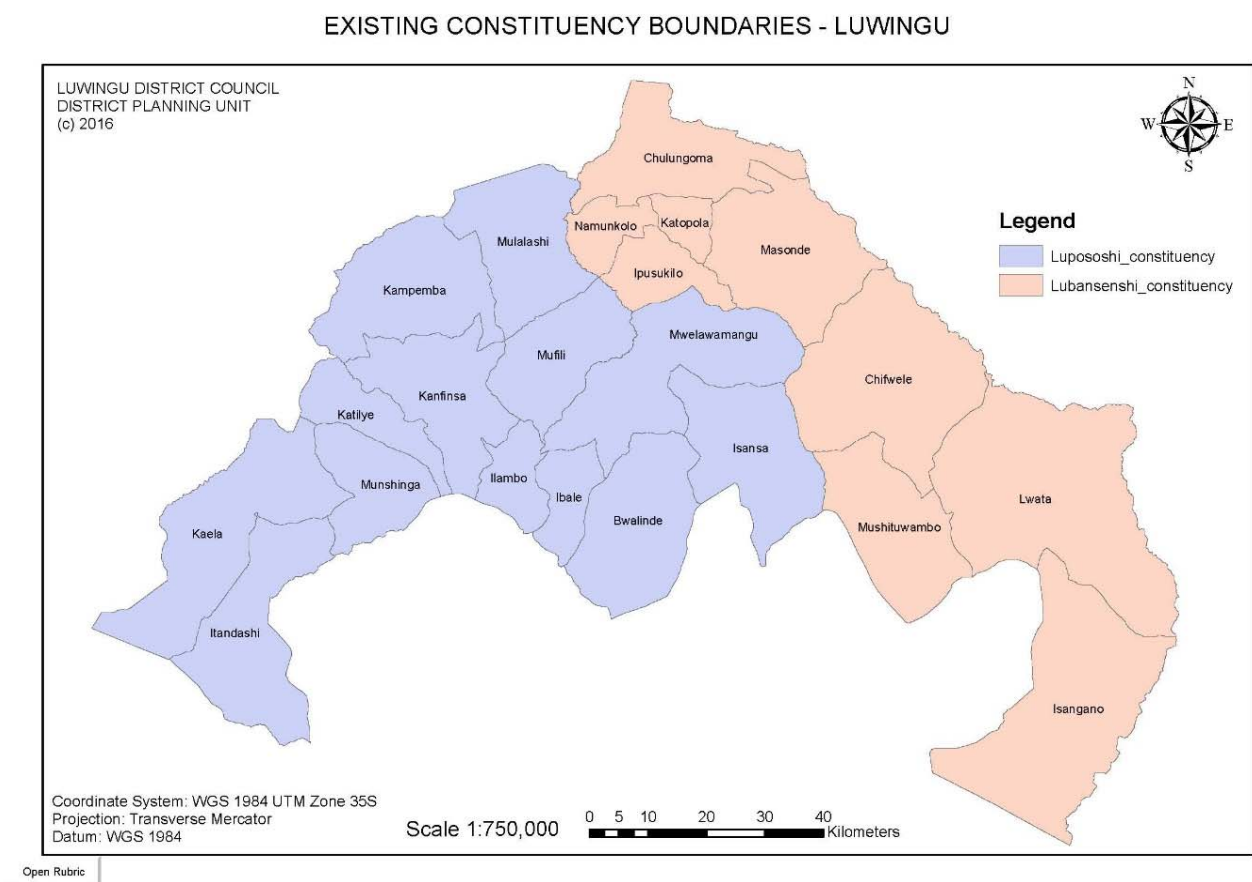


Figure 1.1: Luwingu District Council Map

1.5 The significance of the study

Other than being one of study limitations (see Section 1.4 above), lack of research and thus, literature on the factors influencing general performance of rural local municipalities in various small towns across developing countries including Zambia, provides the study with an opportunity to use experiences of residents and local officials in various small towns in Zambia

particularly the town of Luwingu (see Chapter Five), to further contribute to the limited existing theoretical debates on the provision of basic services in rural local municipalities and their associated small towns. According to Bingham (1991), local government is the level at which direct public services are offered. Thus, the interplay of law, management, and politics in the public agency is best illustrated by ascertaining and assessing the impact of provision of basic services. Ultimately, local government will be, and should be, appraised on its ability to consistently deliver services that raise the quality of life for its citizens. Hence, researching on the factors that influence provision of municipal services in the small town or rural district of Luwingu provides an opportunity to get an insight into the actual issues that are experienced in service delivery at the local level. Therefore, the study conducts an assessment and an attempt to answering questions around the capacity of personnel, availability of resources from local and central government and from non-governmental organizations and how that can be leveraged to improve service delivery. The study will equally answer questions concerning the level of citizen participation in the service delivery.

In addition, the study will be able to bring out key findings and recommendations that would contribute effectively to the future decision-making process around effective municipal service delivery as well as enable the researcher to draw informed conclusions and make relevant recommendations that would contribute to the body of information that could be used by policy makers to develop effective local government municipal service strategies.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Like any academic writing exercise, the study is grounded within a specific theory. It is the view of the researcher that, relevant to the study such as this one that investigates various factors that which could possibly influence the performance of local municipalities in providing local communities with basic public services like water, refuse removal, sanitation and electricity, is theory of New Public Governance. Making this theory relevant to the study is amongst others, its six key principles. A comprehensive and detailed discussion of this theory and its key principles is done in Chapter Two, Section 2.1.

1.7 Research Design and Methodology

Research Design: The researcher adopted both quantitative and qualitative research approach. Quantitative research is a vigorous, systematic process for generating information about the world (Burns & Grove 2007). The researcher used mainly quantitative approach because it measures the properties of phenomena systematically, using structured data-collection techniques, and requires that data be expressed in numbers and as such can be quantified; while qualitative approach was adopted because of being flexible, interactive, and continuous in nature. This assisted in getting in-depth information especially with key informants to the study as well as to validate and triangulate information obtained from the survey.

Sampling: A sample of sixty (60) heads of households was drawn from three wards namely: Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo which are lying within Luwingu District Council. The district valuation roll (account) which is estimated to be around at a total of 445 residential and business registered properties (rate payers) made up the population of the study. With a confidence interval at ± 12 and the confidence level assumed at 95%, a sample size of 60 respondents was estimated using a sample calculator hosted on the following website: www.surveysystem.com/sscalc. To complement the quantitative data from the household's survey of sixty (60) heads of households, the researcher sampled a total of 12 key informants for in-depth qualitative interviews. Amongst these key informants shall be one Provincial Local Government Officer (PLGO), three senior officials from district council, three ward councillors, one Head of Government officer or District Administration Officer (DAO), Two traditional leader's representatives and two from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The researcher used purposive sampling in selecting the wards or study areas where the interviews was conducted during the survey. This is because the coverage of municipal services is not in all the wards, and as such, selecting a ward randomly that is not under any municipal services would skew the results. Key informants such as the traditional leader's representatives, senior and middle management council staff, government officials and other partners such as NGOs were equally selected purposively. While systematic random sampling was conducted to pick the community members for the study.

Data Collection: The researcher used structured questionnaires with the ordinary community members (service end users). While semi-structured questionnaires was used for in-depth qualitative interviews with the various key informants listed above. This is as a result of the

interactive nature of the approach and the greater degree of validity that this approach provides. The data collected comprised primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data was collected both qualitatively and quantitatively while the secondary resources included academic books, research reports, official government policies and reports; newspaper articles, and scholarly journals.

Data Analysis: To bring order, structure and meaning to collected data (Marshall & Rosemary 1995) and draw conclusions (Babbie, 2011) in both quantitative and qualitative data, the researcher used the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for quantitative data analysis. The researcher equally employed both descriptive and inferential techniques in presentation and reporting of findings. The researcher conducted content, narrative and framework analysis for the qualitative data. The responses were transcribed into themes and coded into specific pieces of data that correspond to different themes.

1.8 Ethical Consideration

Before the research was conducted, approval and consent were obtained from the relevant authorities including the office of the Provincial Local Government Officer (PLGO) and Luwingu District Council Secretary (CS). The District Commissioner (DC) and key government officials were notified of the kind of study. All sources of information obtained during the literature review were duly acknowledged. The researcher ensured that information obtained from individual respondents was treated with high level of confidentiality; this was assured through the usage of codes and not names of the respondents and as such remained anonymous. The researcher worked with two enumerators who were identified locally. This was done with the view of ensuring that the local socio-cultural way of life of the local communities that participated in the study was respected and well understood. The researcher equally obtained consent from all participants that availed themselves for the study. All these participants were informed about their rights to voluntarily participate and withdraw their participation at any stage should they wish to do so.

1.9 Clarification of key concepts

It is important that certain key concepts used in the main discussions are clearly defined before proceeding with the study. Such definitions will, amongst others, help the study to avoid misinterpretation and possible ambiguities that could be associated with these concepts. Below is a number of key concepts and their possible definitions.

City, Municipal and District Council: There is no major difference between city, municipal and district councils in terms of legislative provisions. The difference is essentially related to location and, to some extent, scale and diversity of activities. In this regard, **city councils** are usually larger in organisational structure and the services provided, generally corresponding to the size of the served population. **Municipal councils** occupy the middle range in terms of the magnitude of population coverage. The **district council** is the smallest in the hierarchy. It is usually located in a rural or peri-Urban region, and its coverage usually spans across the district. Although its physical or spatial coverage may sometimes be larger than that of a city or municipal council, its population is usually sparsely scattered and smaller.

Local Authority: Either means a city, a municipal or a district council

Local Government: This is a system of government at local level through which local people manage their affairs, for example, councils, and may include traditional establishments recognized by the government.

Provincial and District Administration: Refers to administrative arrangements for carrying out Central Government functions at the provincial and district levels.

Province: Specified geographical area declared under the provincial and district boundaries Act.

1.10 Study layout

Like any writing project, the study is structured into several specific chapters. To adequately achieve the primary aim and objectives of the study, it shall comprise the following six chapters:

Chapter One: Setting the scene

In this chapter, the focus of the study shall be on providing brief background information on the following key study aspects: the problem statement; research aim and objectives; study limitations and study area, the significance of the study; research design and methodology; ethical considerations; and study lay out. The purpose with all these, is to ensure that the study is able, in the end, to accomplish its set aim and objectives.

Chapter Two: Provision of basic municipal services in developing countries: Experiences from small towns

In this chapter, the study focuses on a historical overview of local government systems and mechanisms adopted for provision of adequate basic municipal services in developing countries. To achieve its intent, the chapter is thus, structured as follows:

First, is a historical overview of reasons and measures taken by developing countries to reform their local government systems. Second is the discussion on various challenges facing the local government reform process in developing countries. Third is the discussion and analysis of the level of access to various basic municipal services. The fourth will be a discussion and analysis of various factors influencing general performance and provision of basic municipal services. The fifth is discussion on the role of various service providers- public versus private sector. Thereafter a discussion focusing on various possible solutions and intervention measures to improve provision of basic municipal services. Finally, the concluding remarks and summation of key ideas from theoretical debates.

Chapter Three: Zambia and the provision of municipal basic services in district councils and small towns

This chapter will focus not only on small towns but also contextualise similar experiences and challenges as experienced by residents in urban-peripheries of major towns and cities across Zambia. The chapter is structured as follows: first, is a brief historical overview of the origin and development of local government system in Zambia. Second, is the discussion and analysis

of the role of various entities which provide basic services to local communities across local/district councils. Third, is focus on the level of access to various basic municipal services by local communities. Fourth, is analysis of challenges facing provision and access to basic services. Fifth, is discussion on possible solutions and intervention strategies to improve provision of basic services. Sixth, are the concluding remarks and summary of the main ideas.

Chapter Four: Research methodology

Building on a brief introductory remark in Chapter One, this chapter now provides a comprehensive discussion and explanation of the research methodology employed by the study. Amongst others, the chapter shall provide motivation for decision to choose key methodological aspects such as research design, sampling methods, methods and instruments used for data collection, software used for data analysis and interpretation, and criteria to choose participants by the researcher.

Chapter Five: Households' perceptions on the provision of municipal basic services in Luwingu rural district

This chapter focuses on a critical analysis of perceptions of heads of households on the accessibility, quality and standard of basic services in a small town or rural district of Luwingu. To achieve the above aim, the chapter is structured as follows: First, is the socio-economic profile of the consumers of municipal services in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. Second, is the consumers' perceptions on the general quality of life and provision of basic services by Luwingu District Council specifically in the rural district. Third, is analysis of households' perceptions on the various local service providers, their capacity and skills. Fourth, is analysis and discussion on perceptions of households on how to improve provision of basic services in Luwingu rural district. Finally, are the concluding remarks and summation of key ideas and empirical findings.

Chapter Six: Conclusions, summary and recommendations.

This chapter provides a summary of main study conclusions and recommendations informed mainly by key ideas and findings in Chapters Two, Three and Five. The chapter is thus, structured as follows: first, summary of main study findings and conclusions based on research objectives, followed by discussion on several recommendations in relation to a possible measure to overcome various factors that influence municipal service provision in small towns and rural municipalities both in developing countries in general and our case study area-

Luwingu District in Luwingu District Council or local municipality. Then, is a brief discussion on further research topics related to provision of municipal basic services in developing countries.

CHAPTER TWO: PROVISION OF BASIC MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: EXPERIENCES FROM SMALL TOWNS

2.0 Introduction

Historically, the literature, together with academic writings and research studies on urban development in developing countries, seemed to have been dominated by experiences of citizens residing in major towns and cities than those in small towns- with South Africa being a classical example (Marais, Nel and Donaldson, 2016). This skewed historical research on urban development has, to some extent, led to a lack of information and research on development and the general governance in small towns while major towns and cities enjoy wide publicity and profiling. Despite being a limitation to the study (see Chapter One), this widespread lack of academic writing and research on small towns and their associated rural local municipalities, could further provide the study with an opportunity to fill the existing knowledge gap on issues related to urban development, particularly service delivery in small towns and rural local municipalities.

While on one hand, there is a general consensus in the literature and research that there are usually better basic infrastructure and services in major towns and cities than in small towns. There is on the other hand, a growing evidence that ordinary residents (particularly poorest of the poor) in both small towns in rural municipalities and the peripheral locations of major towns and cities in urban/metropolitan municipalities such as low-class residential neighbourhoods, informal settlements and peri-urban areas alike, usually experience similar challenges. These similar challenges range, amongst others, from urban poverty, unemployment, inequality, poor and inadequate housing, unreliable and poor provision of basic services such as drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity (Montalvo, 2009; Fox, 2015; Sartorius and Sartorius, 2016; Ntema and Van Rooyen, 2016). For instance, Sartorius and Sartorius (2016) argues that South African urban planners both in poor small rural and rich big urban municipalities are confronted with a number of similar dilemmas. Furthermore, Montalvo (2009) argues that richer individuals residing in upmarket neighbourhoods across Latin America particularly urban residents in Belize, Haiti and Jamaica seem to have expressed higher satisfaction levels

with quality, standard and provision of basic municipal services as opposed to poor individuals residing in poorer neighbourhoods.

It is against the background above that while building on the existing wealth of literature and research on services delivery related issues in major towns and cities, the study shall seek to demonstrate the extent to which small towns in rural municipalities continue to struggle with issues of adequate provision of basic municipal services in developing countries. Furthermore, the study found it appropriate to argue that while small towns in rural municipalities are mostly the ones that are severely and hard hit by inadequate provision of basic services in general, international literature further shows that even major towns and cities in urban municipalities, including metropolitan municipalities, are no exception- with residents particularly poor households residing in lower class residential areas, informal settlements and peri-urban areas being equally affected by inadequate provision of basic services. Furthermore, worth noting is the fact that the reflection on some of the similar challenges from major towns and cities should not be seen as an attempt by the study to conduct a comparative analysis between small towns in rural municipalities and major towns and cities in urban municipalities. Instead, such approach should be seen in the context of over emphasise of research and academic studies on development in major towns and cities at the expense of small towns usually located in remote rural municipalities in various developing countries. Something that has in turn, created the existing knowledge gap and thus, lack of information on small towns and provision of basic municipal services.

With particular focus on small towns in rural local municipalities, What follows is the discussion and critical analysis of various factors that influence performance of local municipalities' provision of basic services to urban residents under their jurisdiction. However, before it is possible for the chapter to provide such discussion and critical analysis, it is appropriate for the study to preface such discussion and analysis with a brief clarity on some key concepts that may be misunderstood due to lack of their universal application and/or definition. Such key study concepts include "rural district" and "rural district council" as stated in the study title and the main text (see both Chapters Three and Five). If reference to our chosen case study area of a small town of Luwingu and its local municipality in Zambia as "rural district" and "district council" respectively (see Chapters One; Three and Five) is anything to go by, it would be appropriate for the study to indicate that, equivalent to these two

concepts (as discussed in Chapter 2) shall be theoretical concepts that are widely known in the international literature and research as “small town” and “rural local municipality” respectively. Below is a brief reflection on the historical overview of local government system and mechanisms adopted for provision of adequate basic municipal services in developing countries. To achieve its objective, the chapter is thus, structured as follows:

First, is a brief discussion on the theoretical framework (theory) chosen to ground and guide the study. Following that will be a historical overview of reasons and measures taken by developing countries to reform their local government systems. This is followed by the discussion on various challenges facing the local government reform process in developing countries. A discussion and analysis of the level of access to various basic municipal services shall be followed by a discussion and analysis of various factors influencing general performance and provision of basic municipal services. This is followed by the discussion on the role of various service providers- public versus private sector. Prior to the concluding remarks and summation of the key ideas from theoretical debate, the discussion on various possible solutions and intervention measures to improve provision of municipal services will be presented.

2.1. Theoretical Framework: An overview of principles of New Public Governance theory

Before a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the international literature is provided, it is important to indicate that like any other academic writing project, the study is grounded within the principles and concepts of a particular theory. It is the view of the researcher that, for a study that intend to investigate the perceptions of key local stakeholders (see details in Chapter One and Chapter Four), on factors influencing effective provision of basic municipal services for households in the small town or rural district of Luwingu (Zambia), the New Public Governance Theory will be the most suitable one. There are a number of reasons making the New Public Governance Theory relevant for the study. Amongst these reasons is what this theory envisaged as a driving force for a successful public administration such as the one in Luwingu Local or District Council. As argued by Runya, Qigui and Wei (2015), at the centre of the vision of New Public Governance Theory is public administration that is inclusive of the government, the private sector, non-profit organisations, series of social groups and individuals

working towards a negotiated adaptation to the changing social affairs. It is further the view of Osborne (2006) that, through the New Public Governance Theory, scholars and practitioners in Public Administration sought not only to understand but to influence the development and implementation of public policy and programmes in the best interests of ordinary citizens as well. Other than the vision outlined above, further making the New Public Governance Theory relevant to the study such as this one that seeks to analyse the perceptions of Luwingu residents regarding provision of public services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity by their local municipality, is the six principles of this theory. Below is a discussion on various principles of the New Public Governance Theory and the extent to which their application could assist the study to sustain its critical analysis of provision of basic public services in Luwingu District Council.

Without providing much detail, it is important to note that with its emergence in the 21st century, the New Public Governance Theory was in the main, seen as alternative discourse to most theories that used to influence thinking in public administration discourse during the 20th century. Amongst these theories of the 20th century are the Public Administration Theory; the New Public Management Theory and the New Public Service Theory (Osborne, 2006; Runya et al., 2015; Katsamunskas 2016). Distinguishing New Public Governance Theory from all these 20th century theories while making it relevant to the current public administration discourse particularly our case study of Luwingu Local or District Council, is its six key principles. According to Runya et al., (2015), the theory of New Public Governance comprises the following six principles:

First, is the principle that advocates for the *dispersion of power*. This principle emphasises that, apart from government and the market, other organisations in the communities must be accorded the right to participate both in public affairs management and decision-making processes meant to solve public problems. In so doing, the government is likely to avoid administrative failure and abuse of public power by government officials. Second, is the principle that advocates for the *coordination of the governance*. This principle emphasises a need for government, particularly local government to build dialogue platforms and integrates public resources to ensure that a negotiated consensus, transparency and response is reached between administrators and the members of the public. Third, is the principle that advocates

for formation or establishment of *complex networks*. This principle emphasises public administration driven by a complex network comprising government, state owned entities, market, society, public organisations, community and individual citizens. Fourth, is the principle that advocates for *resource exchange*. This principle emphasises information sharing as one of the key pillars for a successful networking between government and other key stakeholders mentioned in the third principle above. Fifth, is the principle that advocates for *trust and stability of the contract*. This principle emphasises a need to establish public governance that makes provision for practise of informal trust amongst members of complex network so that there is a flexible and changeful public governance. Sixth, is the principle that advocates for recognition of the *role of social public organisations by government*. This principle emphasises the need to allow social public organisations to work with government in ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens.

In the next discussion, including all the discussions in Chapter Three, Chapter Five and Chapter Six, the study shall make an effort to use all these principles of New Public Governance Theory as lenses through which key findings in these chapters shall be analysed and critiqued where necessary.

2.2 Reasons and measures to reform local government system in developing countries: A historical overview

The history of local government system and the subsequent restructuring and reform programmes adopted by various countries in developing countries is not without a historical context. It is against the background above that the discussion and analysis of evolution of local government system in developing countries, particularly in Africa, shall be done within a twofold historical overview. First, is a brief overview of local government under colonial era. Second, is a local government under a post-independence era.

2.2.1 Colonial era and local government system

It is widely acknowledged in the international literature that local government system in developing countries, particularly Africa, is influenced heavily by the legacy of colonialism. While the focus of the study is mainly on the post-colonial era, it is perhaps, appropriate for

the study to briefly acknowledge and thus, reflect on the historical context to the current state and provision of basic urban municipal services in various local municipalities across developing countries, particularly Africa. Synonymous with colonial era is, amongst others, governance characterised by centralisation of power at the national government. This was to a large extent, intended to maximize growth through centralizing control over the economy, through promotion of development strategies based on central planning, large-scale technology transfer, industrialization and spatial centralization to capture economies of scale and promote growth (Smoke, 1994). To a large extent, such centralisation of power and control at the national government should be seen as some of the possible triggers of emergency of theory of the New Public Governance, particularly its principles of *dispersion of power* and *complex networks* later in 21st century (Osborne, 2006; Runya et al., 2015).

As opposed to the two principles stated above, the practise of centralisation during colonial era resulted in government systems that espoused centralisation of most development responsibilities including those happening at local government level, and as a result, hindered development of a much efficient local government system. Additionally, the colonial municipal services provision systems that were adopted also seemed to have been designed to favour the areas which were occupied by the colonialist, and thereby, leaving areas which were predominately occupied by the majority of indigenous people under developed with poor infrastructure for service provision. These historical experiences are evident in the literature review of some countries such as South Africa, Uganda and Kenya. To mention but a few, the experiences of South Africa, as discussed in the commentary on access to service provision in South Africa (see Nnadozie, 2013), show that, one of the greatest development challenges in South Africa is the severe inequality in access to basic services across different demographic segments of population. This great divide between the “*haves*” and “*have-nots*” in terms of social amenities stems from historic legacies both of the colonialism and its crystallisation into apartheid system in 1948 (Nnadozie, 2013). Similarly, to South African experience and elsewhere in developing context, literature indicates that the Ugandan and Kenyan models of local government system and thus, provision of municipal basic services are strongly inherent in British model of local government as former coloniser (HABITAT, 1998; Stamp, 1986). It is thus, against the legacy of unequal and uneven colonial distribution; development and provision of services infrastructure that the current state and quality of municipal basic services should be understood. Next is the discussion on actual processes and measures taken by

governments in developing countries particularly Africa to effect paradigm shift from colonial local government system to post-independence local government system.

2.2.2 Post-independence era and local government system

Following long standing history of colonial rule and its discriminative policies and legislative frameworks in Africa, the post-independence era saw attempts by African states to amongst others, rid themselves of deeply entrenched and institutionalised segregated and uneven provision of public services. Post-independence period further saw governments embracing a paradigm shift towards making provision of basic municipal services not only responsive to the basic human needs but, more efficient and inclusive through a number of policy and institutional reform measures. Consequently, a series of structural reforms, operational and financial strengthening of local governments were affected (Stamp, 1986; Deva and Grant. 2003). One such attempt was a common course by various African states to reform their local government sphere in ensuring that it responded to collective basic human needs such as provision of drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity to mention but a few. Consequently, international literature provides evidence for a threefold subsequent approach towards local government reform in most African countries (Olowu and Smoke, 1992; Stamp, 1986; Deva and Grant. 2003). First, driving the local government reform in Africa was an immediate need to create enabling environment for effective local government that would provide opportunities to include previously marginalised and neglected local citizens in all decision-making processes of local governments. Second, a need to replace the historically centralised colonial government system with a more effective and responsive local government system that would help to redress the severe impact of structural adjustment cutbacks in the budgets of previously centralised colonial governments. Third, a realisation that unlike central governments, a reformed local government system would be in a better position to mitigate the negative effects of structural adjustments policies and programmes on the well-being of poor residents. Hence, although with exception of Kenyan government (see also Olowu and Smoke, 1992), the post-independence era saw a widespread political will amongst governments in developing countries particularly Africa, turning towards decentralisation as one of the key strategies to reform local government system (Bratton, 2012).

Other African countries that embarked on a wide and generic local government reform programme include South Africa, Uganda, Malawi, Botswana to mention but a few (Stamp, 1986; Deva and Grant. 2003; Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2013). For example, it is argued by Stamp (1986), that subsequent to local government reforms, the Kenyan Local authorities' functions were spelt out in two types; mandatory and permissive. A municipal council's mandatory functions were primary education, public health (although the establishment of health centres and dispensaries was permissive), road maintenance, and burial of destitute. All local authorities carried the permissive functions of administrative activities, sewerage and drainage, street lighting, housing, water supply, markets, slaughterhouse, social services, cemeteries, ambulances, and fire control. Similar to the Kenyan situation, through reform of local government system, the second schedule of the Local Governments Act 1997 of Uganda lists the functions that must remain with central government, and those that may be devolved specifically to local government. As for Ugandan local government, the Act effected reform by ensuring that the provision of marketplaces, water supply, sanitation, refuse collection and disposal, cemeteries, livestock slaughterhouses, environmental protection, consumer protection, roads and transport and primary health care remain a mandate of the local municipalities (Ndandiko, 2006; 2010; CLGF, 2013;). Local government reform is not unique only to Africa but has also been a popular concept in Asian countries as well. For instance, Zakaria, Ngah, Noordin, Sawal and Hussin (2012) argue that, after restructuring largely informed by a report and recommendations of Royal Commission of Enquiry in 1967, more powers were devolved to local authorities in Malaysia. For the first time in the history of Malaysia, local authorities could execute not only their mandatory functions but discretionary functions as well. The following are some of the mandatory functions that could be executed: refuse removal, street lighting, water supply while discretionary functions included amongst others, provision of recreational parks and housing (Zakaria et al., 2012).

Related to the concept of local government reform could be varying approaches adopted by various countries in categorising their local authorities in terms of size, geographical location and capacity- a strategy to probably facilitate a successful differentiated approach and policy intervention by central governments. Another one related to the concept of local government reform could be a process that most countries embarked on to re-define the structuring of various local municipalities to ensure that they are responsive to the geographically-driven community needs. Thus, while the intension of the study is not to provide any definition of

either rural municipalities or urban municipalities, it may however, be appropriate to reflect on how different countries made attempts to categorise or distinguish between what could be seen as rural municipalities and urban municipalities. Literature indicates that following her post-independence decentralisation programme in 1988, the Ghanaian government introduced a threefold categorisation of her local government system. For instance, the largest municipality in Ghana is known as a Metropolitan Assembly that usually comprises a city/larger town with a population over 250 000, followed by Municipal Assembly that usually comprises a one town local government area with a population over 95 000, and then a District Assembly or Local Government Area that usually comprises a district capital and other small urban centres and rural areas with a population over 75 000 (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010).

Another African country with similar geographically inclined categorisation of local municipal system such as that of Ghana is South Africa. Given the history of her special type of colonialism, South African literature and research indicates that a post-apartheid South African government embarked on a local government reform programme by amongst others, adopting a fivefold categorisation of her local municipal system (Tullock, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2017). For instance, the first category comprises the largest local municipalities called Metropolitan Municipality. The second category is called B1 and refers to all local municipalities made of secondary cities. The third category is called B2 and refers to local municipalities made of larger towns. The fourth category is called B3 and refers to local municipalities made of small towns. In this category (B3), local municipalities are usually without any large town and a significant proportion of their urban populations reside in one or two small towns. The last category is called B4 and refers to local municipalities that comprise no more than one or two small towns as they are mostly rural with dominance of rural villages and former homelands. In line with the study's primary aim and focus, it is thus, important for the study to indicate that for a proper contextualisation of Chapter Five and its focus on provision of basics services in a small town or rural district of Luwingu found in a predominately rural local municipality called Luwingu District Council in Zambia, this chapter shall in its focus, put more emphasis on local municipalities that may (one way or another) be equated to those categorised as B4 (mostly rural) category and District Assembly in South African and Ghanaian contexts respectively.

Other than categorisation of local governments, another aspect of governance in the post-independence era is the structure of spheres of government in developing countries. Notwithstanding the existence of a two-tier government structure in countries such as Tanzania, Botswana, Somalia and Cote d' Voire (Habitat, 1998; CLGF, 2013), there is however, a common consensus in literature that, synonymous with state governance in most developing countries is a widespread adoption of a three-tier government structure that comprises local, provincial or regional and national spheres (see Stoker, 1998).

2.3 Challenges facing the post-independent and reformed local government system in developing countries

Notwithstanding the extent to which all the local government reform measures discussed above have brought about some degree of local autonomy, improved governance and response to local needs by most local authorities in developing countries. It is further argued in the literature that from an administrative functions point of view, most local authorities in Africa seemed to have acquired few powers and attained limited technical competencies (Bratton, 2012). While the primary focus of the study shall be on significance of local government reforms in improving their general performance, it would also be appropriate for the study to briefly reflect on challenges facing the reformed local government system in developing countries and the extent to which these challenges could be ascribed to few powers, limited technical competencies and other related issues. While it is appropriate for the study to acknowledge widespread evidence both in international literature and research on political will to undertake various programmes, policies, and legislative frameworks to reform local government system in developing countries particularly Africa, the actual implementation seems to have yielded mixed results. Thus, the current arrangement of local government system and the general performance should in the main, be understood within the context of the latter view. If the three main pillars or principles that drove agenda and program on local government reform across various developing countries Africa is anything to go by, it should not come as a surprise to see a post-independence local government system that in the main, made provision for two broad categories of local governance that culminated into rural municipalities and urban municipalities (Olowu and Smoke, 1992).

While they may be found in different geographical spaces and thus, enjoy uneven access to socio-economic and infrastructural opportunities, it is argued in the international literature that both rural and urban municipalities are grappling with a number of similar inherent and historic weaknesses and challenges. According to Olowu and Smoke (1992), perpetuating the current weaknesses in local government system in developing countries particularly in Africa is a variety of issues which includes amongst others- scarce managerial and technical expertise; centralisation of development in major cities; and existence of strong central governments and their reluctance to share power with lower spheres of governance such as local government. Furthermore, common challenges facing both rural and urban municipalities in developing countries particularly Africa ranges from poorly developed and administered local sources of revenue, failure to meet service needs of local residents, insufficient staff and lack of adequate professional training, low pay scales and poor incentives, poorly developed or non-existent managerial procedures and record keeping, stifling and inefficient bureaucratic control coupled with undue political interference in local administration by either political principals or senior officials from upper spheres of government (Olowu and Smoke, 1992; Mapfumo and Madesha, 2014; Ntema and Venter, 2016). While acknowledging some fundamental differences, Bratton (2012) further confirms existence of some similarities and common experiences between rural and urban municipalities by arguing that in resource-poor rural municipalities and overpopulated urban municipalities, public institutions such as local authorities often lack material and organisational means to govern effectively. Further confirming this view, Devas and Delay (2006) argue that while urban municipalities seem to attract more qualified professionals than rural municipalities, they however, are both faced by a similar challenge- their inability to retain their highly qualified staff members who are often enticed by high wage rates in private sector (Devas and Delay, 2006). This is further confirmed by Armitage (2014) who argued that the few fine engineering graduates produced by South African Universities are more likely to seek employment in either developed countries or local private companies than public sector entities such as local municipalities due to better salaries. Hence, it does not come as a surprise to have 83 local municipalities in South Africa who were operating literally without any civil engineering professionals in their employment in 2013 financial year (Armitage, 2014). Affordability of payment of competitive and market related remunerations by public sector particularly local municipalities could go a long way in ensuring either recruitment of new competent personnel or retaining the current personnel.

Despite these similar challenges, it would however, be inappropriate for the study to create impression that there are no fundamental differences that should be acknowledged between small towns and their rural municipalities; and major towns and cities with their urban municipalities. Hence, it is important for the study to indicate in advance, its intent not to draw any comparison but to make an attempt to focus on common issues and challenges facing provision of basic services particularly to poor residents (who by far, are a common denominator) both in small towns usually run by rural municipalities and peripheral locations in major towns and cities usually run by urban municipalities to the extent possible. Some broad observations made by Olowu and Smoke (1992) further confirm the latter view on common experiences that go beyond geographical borders and size of a municipality. Contrary to the widespread belief that urban local authorities are considered more successful than their rural counterparts, Olowu and Smoke (1992) are of the view that, there is little relationship between size and type of local authority and revenue generation performance. Evidence in this regard being a minimal difference between \$US 5.50 per capita generated annually by a city of Lagos metropolitan municipality in Nigeria and a \$US 4.62 per capita generated annually by a rural local municipality called Gokwe District Council in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, while acknowledging the historic uneven level of service infrastructural development in favour of major towns and cities run usually by urban municipalities, Olowu and Smoke (1992) argue that there are some broad inherent similarities between rural and urban municipalities in terms of structure, operations and revenue generation performance-particularly in Africa. For instance, regardless of whether rural or urban municipality is somewhere in the African context, all these local authorities share a twofold history. First, in terms of their structure, they are all designed after the model inherited from their common colonial history. Second, they all at least, have control over some own-source revenues even though, their overall fiscal systems are strictly overseen by their respective central or national governments.

Acknowledging the severity of poor services in small rural local municipalities as compared to their more urban larger local municipalities, Van Mescht and Van Jaarsveld (2012) argues that subsequent to the national research study commissioned by the South African National Department of Provincial and Local Government on the state of services provision, the local municipality which was found with basic services on the verge of total collapse was rural local municipality in Eastern Cape Province. At the centre of the eminent collapse was several issues which included high staff turnover, inadequate funding through both own and

intergovernmental financial transfers, poor maintenance of water and sanitation infrastructure. Similar to South African rural local municipalities and their associated small towns, provision of basic services in small towns in Namibia is not as effective and efficient as is supposed to be. For instance, with exception of few small towns, Haardt (2013) argues that poor service delivery in most small towns across Namibia could be attributed to a number of issues including understaff, inadequate intergovernmental transfers that is compounded further by late release of funds by central governments; undue political interference in local affairs; lack of visionary leadership at local level; lack of private public partnership policies; and high rate of vandalism. Some of Namibian small towns and their small rural local municipalities affected by the issues listed above include Tsumeb Town Council; Oshikuku Town Council; Oranjemund Local Authority, Eenhana Town Council, Ondagwa Town Council; Ongwediva Town Council (Haardt, 2013). If the discussion above is anything to go by, it would be appropriate for the study to argue that, continuation of general administrative, governance and service delivery issues in most post-independence and reformed local government systems is a demonstration of an urgent need to adopt some of the key principles of New Public Governance Theory. It could thus, be only through embracing principles such as *coordination of the governance, dispersion of power; resource exchange and complex networks*, that the severe impact of most of the current challenges such as undue political interference in local affairs, understaff and lack of private public partnership in these post-independent and reformed local governments could be minimised significantly. Next is the discussion and analysis of state and level of access to various basic municipal services in developing countries.

2.4 The state and level of access to drinking water; sanitation; refuse removal and electricity in developing countries

In the discussion and analysis above, the focus was on the reasons why governments in various developing countries embarked on review and reform of their local government system and the possible administrative and performance implications that emanated from such reform programmes. Consequently, it is the view of the study that all these reforms had far reaching implications for the actual standard, quality and accessibility of various basic urban municipal services particularly in small towns. Below is a discussion and analysis of state, quality and level of access to sanitation, drinking water, refuse removal and electricity in various urban communities.

2.4.1 Provision and accessibility of sanitation

The discussion below intends to provide a detailed analysis of the state of sanitation amongst local urban communities in developing countries. To achieve that, both the information and supporting statistics obtained from literature, research and official reports by international agencies such as United Nations, would be key in analyzing the state of sanitation and level of access by communities in various developing countries particularly Africa.

Despite being essential for health, livelihoods and quality of life, provision of proper and adequate sanitation remains one of the stubborn challenges yet to be overcome by most developing countries. This view is further confirmed by the United Nations (2015) when indicating that the global Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (lately called Sustainable Development Goals) target for access to improved sanitation is being missed worldwide- with only 95 countries meeting the target. According to Duflo, Galiani and Mobarak (2012), about 2.6 billion people in the world are literally without access to proper sanitation. Majority of these people are found to be residing in Africa and Asia. Furthermore, it is argued by United Nations (2015) that, one in three people (2.4 billion), in 2015 residing in urban centres (both small towns and major towns and cities) across developing countries still use unimproved sanitation facilities including 964 million still relying on open defecation.

It is in the context discussed above that it does not come as surprise to have some of Kenyan small towns such as Bondo, Siaya, Maua, Othaya, Kitui being literally without any acceptable sanitation action plan, program and system due amongst others, to lack of funding and technical skills amongst municipal officials (African Development Fund, 2009). Similar to Kenya, the national community survey in 2016 shows that backlog in access and provision of sanitation increases from larger cities in urban municipalities to small towns in rural local municipalities across South Africa. For instance, areas with the lowest access to improved sanitation in 2016 were small towns and rural local municipalities of Maphumulo- with access rate of 16.1%, Makhuduthamaga- with access rate of 20.8%, Mfolozi- with access rate of 21.7%, Nongoma- with access rate of 23.5% and Bushbuckridge- with access rate of 24.3% while those with the highest access to improved sanitation were major towns and cities in urban local municipalities

of Overstrand- with access rate of 99.2%, Hessequa- with access rate of 98.7% and Stellenbosch- with access rate of 98% (Statistics South Africa, 2017). This should be understood within a much bigger South African context in which the national community survey shows that in general, backlogs in the provision of sanitation increases from 12.7% in metropolitan municipalities to 25.9% and 50.6% in B3 category local municipalities (local municipalities with several small towns) and B4 category local municipalities (mostly rural local municipalities with at most, one or two small towns as their urban core) respectively (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Of these figures, is worth noting that nationally, there is about 25.9% of households currently relying on pit toilets, while 2.2% of households rely on bucket toilet system and 2.4% being literally without any form of sanitation (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Yet, despite these backlogs, it is important to indicate that South Africa is one of very few developing countries to have achieved the MDG target in terms of halving the proportion of citizens without access to improved sanitation in 2012 (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

Another country affected by poor and inadequate provision of sanitation is Bolivia. For instance, lack of sanitation and drinking water supply has negatively affected tourism in Lake Titicaca Region found in one of rural municipalities in Bolivia (World Bank, 2015). Similar to other developing countries, Namibia is no exception. For instance, about 60% of residents in town peripheries and two informal settlements of small towns of Oshakati and Ondangwa in Oshana Region (Namibia) are without any access to sanitation (Helao and Naidoo, 2016). Furthermore, the National Action Committee for the Water and Sanitation Sector (2011) reveal that following the economic collapse, Zimbabwe's level of sanitation and sewerage service access declined from 54% service coverage in 1990 to only about 30% in 2008. Furthermore, the report by UNICEF/WHO (2015) shows that the backlog in sanitation access across urban areas in Zimbabwe was estimated at slightly above 6 million in 1990, but this figure has since increased by over 50% and currently stands at 9.5 million people. These backlogs could to some extent, be attributed to sanitation provision that operates without a strong and clear institutional framework with senior accountable officials responsible for provision of sanitation plans and undertakings. Several legal instruments exist for the sanitation sector, but enforcement is weak. Unclear revenue collection and reinvestment mechanisms for growth points in small towns hinder effective maintenance and expansion of sanitation services.

While inadequate provision and access to drinking water and proper sanitation remains a key challenge for residents in both rural and urban municipalities across developing countries, it is more pressing in larger cities particularly amongst residents in urban peripheries such as lower class residential areas, informal settlements and per-urban areas (Duflo et al., 2012). For instance, access to proper or improved sanitation in Sub-Saharan Africa stands at 44%, while in Southern Asia is 57% access rate (Duflo et al., 2012). As argued earlier in the discussion, inadequate access to water-borne toilets or flushing toilets and other basic services such as piped drinking water and refuse removal is not a challenge unique only to small towns in rural municipalities. This phenomenon is also common in larger cities particularly amongst poor residents who reside in urban peripheral areas such as lower class residential areas, informal settlements and slums as well. For instance, despite being some of the largest Metropolitan Municipalities or Assemblies in Ghana, both cities of Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi are faced with inadequate access to water-borne toilet system or flushing toilet system particularly in poor communities residing in the urban-peripheries of these cities (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). While the city averages in terms of access to flushing toilets in these two cities remains low- with only 23.2% of total city population in Accra having access to flushing toilets and 39.3% access rate in Sekondi-Takoradi city, of great concern should be lower figures recorded amongst poorest communities. Sabon Zongo and Ga Mashie, which are some of the poorest neighbourhoods in Accra (Ghana), have access rates of 6.5% and 11.1% to flushing toilets respectively. These access rates are even lower than the city average of 23.2%. Similar to poorest communities in Accra, in two selected poor neighbourhoods of New Takoradi and Kwesimintsim in the city of Sekondi-Takoradi (Ghana), the access rates of 6.5% and 9.7% to flushing toilets respectively is way below the city average of 39.3% (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010).

Similar to Ghana and other developing countries, inadequate provision of sanitation remains one of the key challenges for several cities in Mozambique. For instance, of the eighteen (18) intermediate or secondary cities in Mozambique, none has achieved a more than 50% provision of sanitation to their urban populations (World Bank, 2017). This should not come as a surprise given the fact that across small towns and intermediate cities, only one in ten urban households has access to sanitation-hence, none of these intermediate cities in particular, has a proper sanitation treatment facility (World Bank, 2017). Contrary to intermediate cities, in metropolitan cities such as Maputo, the provision of sanitation varies from urban-core to urban-

periphery. According to World Bank (2017), city of Maputo has 89% access to provision of sanitation in the CBD as compared to a mere 25% access rate amongst households in urban-peripheries such as informal settlements and low class residential neighbourhoods.

Other than African states discussed above, inadequate provision of water-borne sanitation or sewerage system remains one of the key challenges facing local authorities in India as well. As shown during the 54th round of Indian National Sample Survey in 2009, about 26% households were without latrines, 35% households were using septic tanks while a mere 22% households had access to water-borne sewerage system (Vaidya, 2009). In a nutshell, about 30% to 50% of urban residents (both in small towns and peripheral locations in larger cities) in India are without access to sewerage system while less than 20% of total waste water is treated (Vaidya, 2009).

2.4.2 Provision and accessibility of safe drinking water

International literature and research indicate that the biggest challenge is not insufficient fresh drinking water to cater for the personal and domestic needs of every single person in the world but the uneven distribution of this natural resource by responsible entities such as local municipalities and other local stakeholders (UN Habitat, 2015). Thus, subsequent to the widespread uneven distribution of safe drinking water supply, there is about 11% of the world's population that still lack access to this resource today. Due to uneven distribution influenced by world political economy, the research further shows a worrying figure of 40% population in Sub-Saharan Africa currently without access to safe drinking water (UN Habitat, 2015). However, despite the unevenness in terms of access to improved drinking water that varies from one country to another, one of the latest reports by United Nations (2015) shows that the global MDG target for drinking water is being met by most countries in 2010 worldwide. Yet, as indicated above, not all countries and regions of the world could claim to have achieved the same success. One such region being Sub-Saharan Africa where almost half of the population is still using unimproved sources of drinking water while one-fifth of population in South Asia experiences unimproved supply of drinking water (United Nations, 2015). Notwithstanding strides made by most countries particularly in Asian countries in meeting their MDG targets on safe drinking water, literature paints a somewhat worrying picture for most African

countries. For instance, of the 53 African countries, only 26 seem to be on track to meet their MDG targets on safe drinking water (Duflo et al., 2012). While access to improved water sources is fairly common, of great concern are low levels of access to piped water by ordinary citizens.

For instance, the access rate to piped water in Sub-Saharan Africa is 35% while in Southern Asia and South Eastern Asia is 51% and 52% respectively (Duflo et al., 2012). Other than regional disparities in access to safe drinking water (and other services), such disparities do exist even between small towns in rural municipalities and major towns and cities in more urban municipalities. To confirm the view above, the South African national community survey in 2016 shows that the highest rates of access to piped drinking water is recorded amongst households residing in more urbanised provinces of Western Cape (with access rate of 99%) and Gauteng (with access rate of 97.4%) while households with the lowest access rate are living in two most rural provinces of Eastern Cape (with access rate of 75.1%) and Limpopo (with access rate of 79.9%); this is according to information obtained from (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Hence, subsequent to the high number of rural local municipalities in the province, it should not come as a surprise to have about 18% of households in Eastern Cape Province still relying on unsafe sources of drinking water which includes amongst others, rivers, and streams (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Some examples of local urban communities with lowest rate of access to safe piped drinking water in Eastern Cape Province include those in small towns of Ngquza Hill with access rate of 19.4%, Port St Johns with access rate of 20.3% and Mbizana with access rate of 23.3% (Statistics South Africa, 2017). It is further argued by African Development Fund (2009) that, in some Kenyan small towns such as Bondo, Siaya, Maua, Othaya, and Kitui, residents experience coverage of drinking water supply that ranges from below 20% to 50% due to ageing and inadequate water infrastructure. Furthermore, about 60% of residents in town peripheries and two informal settlements of Oshakati and Ondangwa in Oshana Region (Namibia) are without any access to piped water (Helao and Naidoo, 2016). As argued earlier, literature and research indicate that, in general, residents of small towns in rural local municipalities are more affected by inadequate access to drinking water than their counterparts residing in major towns and cities across more urban local municipalities. Being no exception, the national community survey in 2016 shows that the percentage of urban residents who are literally without any access to safe piped drinking water in South Africa increases from 1.7% in metropolitan municipalities to 12.1% in B3 category local

municipalities- being local municipalities with small towns, and 31% B4 category local municipalities- being local municipalities with at most, one or two small towns in their area (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

If information and discussion on the international literature above is anything to go by, it would be appropriate for the study to argue that inadequate provision of safe, piped drinking water is not unique to small towns only but to some major towns and cities as well. For instance, Mapfumo and Madesha (2014) argues that across both small towns, major towns and larger cities in Zimbabwe, the number of urban Zimbabweans without access to safe drinking water increased from 250 000 in 1990 to just over 2.1 million in 2010. This is further supported by Chinhanga (2010) who stated that, most municipalities in Zimbabwe are characterized by inadequate household water service provision. Subsequent to the growing shortage of drinking water in Zimbabwe, communities in different areas started to experience health related challenges that include the outbreak of cholera, diarrhea and child mortality (Mapfumo and Madesha, 2014). Furthermore, in 1990 Tanzania recorded about 92 percent of its urban households who used drinking water from improved sources, however, this percentage declined to 77 percent in 2015 (see UNICEF, 2015).

Other than urban areas in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, Kenyan urban citizens in general, face similar challenges. One of the towns affected by inadequate provision of drinking water is Nakuru which is a capital administrative of Nakuru Local Municipality in Kenya. According to Nyasani (2009), while inadequate water supply affects almost all residents in Nakuru town, it would seem that the hardest hit are those residing in low-income settlements such as Kaptembwo Rhoda where only 4% of households have access to regular water supply.

As argued earlier in the discussion, inadequate access to piped water and other basic services such as sanitation and refuse removal is not a challenge unique only to small towns in rural municipalities but a common phenomenon in major towns and cities particularly amongst poor residents who reside in urban peripheral areas such as lower class residential areas, informal settlements and slums. For instance, despite being some of the largest Metropolitan Municipalities or Assemblies in Ghana, both cities of Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi are faced

with inadequate access to piped water particularly in poor communities (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). While the city averages, in terms of access to piped water in these two cities, remain low- with only 43.6% of total city population in Accra having access to piped water and 46.8% access rate in Sekondi-Takoradi city, of great concern should be lower figures that are being recorded amongst residents in poorest communities. Registering even lower than the city average of 43.6%, residents in Avenor, Sabon Zongo and Ga Mashie which are some of the poorest neighbourhoods in the periphery of Accra city (Ghana) are having access rate of 28.1%; 41.8% and 35.4% to piped water respectively. Similarly to poorest communities in Accra, in two selected poor neighbourhoods of New Takoradi and Kwesimintsim in the periphery of city of Sekondi-Takoradi (Ghana), the access rates of 10.3% and 14.3% to piped water respectively is way below the city average of 46.8% (Owus and Afutu-Kotey, 2010).

Similar to Ghana, inadequate provision of drinking water remains a challenge both to small towns and larger cities in Mozambique. As argued in the report by World Bank (2017), across small towns and larger cities in Mozambique, only one in three urban households has access to safe drinking water. Other than African states discussed above, inadequate provision of drinking water remains one of the key challenges facing local authorities in India as well. As shown during the 54th round of Indian National Sample Survey in 2009, the inadequate provision of drinking water (both in larger cities and small towns) led to a 2.9 hours water supply to consumers in these urban centres (Vaidya, 2009). Furthermore, the national survey revealed that only 41% of households had sole access to their principal source of drinking water while 59% of households rely solely on public or communal sources for their drinking water in these Indian urban centres (Vaidya, 2009).

2.4.3 Provision and accessibility of refuse removal or solid wastes

Refuse removal or collection of solid wastes is one of the key basic services that largely remain the responsibility of local authorities across developing countries. In terms of its significance, refuse removal does not only have or add economic value towards tax base of local municipalities but also has implications for public health and the physical appearance of towns and cities. According to literature, this service is currently consuming between 20% and 50% of total budgets in most local municipalities especially in developing countries (SIDA, 2006;

World Bank, 2012). Despite being mainly public-sector driven, there is a gradual tendency amongst local authorities in developing countries (see discussion below) to outsource provision of this service-either through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or private companies (Hossain, 2013;Fox, 2015). Regardless of whether it is done through public-sector approach or private-sector approach, provision of refuse removal or collection of solid wastes in developing countries is not without criticism or weaknesses. For instance, about 60% of residents in town peripheries and two informal settlements of Oshakati and Ondangwa in Oshana Region (Namibia) are without any access to refuse removal (Helao and Naidoo, 2016). With international trends showing increase in backlogs from major towns and cities in urban local municipalities to small towns in rural local municipalities, South Africa is no exception. The national community survey that was conducted in 2016 shows that nationally, there are about 30.1% households who are without any form of refuse facilities (Statistics South Africa, 2017). A significant number of these are currently residing in small towns and rural local municipalities- with evidence showing a decline in access to refuse removal services from 86.3% in metropolitan municipalities to a mere 12.6% in rural local municipalities (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Hence, it is not surprising to have high levels of satisfaction about provision of refuse removal amongst citizens residing in more urbanised municipalities and major towns or cities such as Swartland- with 93.3% satisfaction level as compared to those residing in small towns and rural local municipalities such as Port St Johns- with 9.6% satisfaction level (Statistics South Africa, 2017). However, the higher average percentage in metropolitan municipalities does not mean that there are no variations between and within these large urban centres.

Despite being some of the largest Metropolitan Municipalities or Assemblies in Ghana, both cities of Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi are faced with inadequate access to refuse removal particularly in poor communities residing in peripheral locations of these cities (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). While the city averages, in terms of access to collection of solid wastes in these two cities, remain low- with only 20.8% of total city population in Accra having access to collection of solid wastes and 5.6% access rate in Sekondi-Takoradi city, of great concern should be lower figures recorded in poorest communities. Sabon Zongo and Ga Mashie, some of the poorest neighbourhoods in Accra (Ghana), have access rates of 15.1% and 11% to solid wastes collection respectively. These percentages are even lower than the city average of 20.8%. Similar to poorest communities in Accra, in two selected poor neighbourhoods of New

Takoradi and Kwesimintsim in the city of Sekondi-Takoradi (Ghana), the access rates of 5.5% and 5% to collection of solid wastes respectively is also slightly below the city average of 5.6% (Owus and Afutu-Kotey, 2010).

Other than Ghana, inadequate provision of solid waste collection remains one of the key challenges facing local authorities in Kenya. In Kenya for example, literature indicates that despite its existing collection capacity of 200,000 tonnes, the city of Nairobi had to grapple with about 500,000 tonnes generated of refuse in 2000-translating into 60% uncollected refuse (Henry, Yongsheng and Jun 2006; Habitat, 2011). Ugandan local municipalities are no exception. The report by the Republic of Uganda (2010) shows that the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), despite incurring enormous collection costs, did not have the capacity to collect and dispose refuse. Consequently, out of 1,200–1,500 tons of garbage generated in the city per day, only 400-500 tons could be collected- resulting into 40% collection rate (Republic of Uganda, 2010). This implies that 60% of solid waste generated daily was not properly collected and disposed. This has resulted into indiscriminate disposal by the public. Although not a primary focus of the study, poor collection of refuse has several implications for these towns and cities. For instance, Water Aid, Water & Sanitation for The Urban Poor (WSUP) and Community Integrated Development Initiatives(CIDI) (2011) pointed out that limited capacity to manage solid waste has resulted into many people using unconventional methods of disposal which include pits within the backyards where it is regularly burnt, which in turn had far reaching implications. Some of these implications are blockage of water drainage channels and streams; subsequently causing flooding in the low-lying areas during the rainy season and unpleasant odors. Furthermore, environmental degradation and pollution are some of the direct consequences of this act.

2.4.4 Provision and accessibility of electricity supply

One of the severely affected regions by inadequate access to electricity is Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Farlam (2005), countries in this region have 600 million people currently without access to electricity. Furthermore, the report by International Energy Agency (2002) shows that, the average per capita electricity consumption for Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) was 112.8kWh in 2000- representing a mere five per cent of the world average. It is

further estimated that at the rate of connections of the past decade, it would take almost 80 years to electrify Sub-Saharan Africa (IEA, 2002). One of the countries experiencing inadequate access to electricity supply is Mozambique. For instance, across small towns and larger cities in Mozambique, only one in four urban households has access to electricity (World Bank, 2017). Although there are variations between local municipalities, it would however, seem appropriate to argue that unlike Mozambique, South Africa is one of the few countries with significant increase in the number of households with access to electricity- with national community survey showing access rate of 87.6% amongst households nationally (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Although marginal, access to electricity supply is higher in more urban local municipalities-with access rate of 88.7% as compared to access rate of 85.6% in small towns and rural local municipalities (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Despite the above average percentages across these urban centres, it would seem that urban areas that continue to experience lowest access rate to electricity are small towns in mostly rural local municipalities-. Evident to this is the disparity or variation between the small town and local municipality of Jozini, with access rate of 41.6% households compared to access rate of 98.4% in the major town and local municipality of Swartland (Statistics South Africa, 2017) A steady improvement in electricity supply in Tanzania was noted; supply increased from an average of 12 per cent in 2007 to 18.4 per cent in 2012. Of this, the coverage in urban areas increased from an average of 26.5 per cent in 2007 to 34.7 per cent in 2012 (United Republic of Tanzania Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2014) shows that in 2013, just over 41 per cent of households in urban areas had access to electricity supply.

2.5 Factors influencing the provision and accessibility of municipal basic services

In the discussion above, the focus was mainly on the rate of success by various local municipalities with particular focus on rural municipalities serving communities in small towns. It has emerged that while there is widespread inadequate provision and thus, access by communities to various basic municipal services in small towns, similar experiences were encountered in major towns and cities particularly amongst communities residing in their peripheral locations such as low-class residential neighbourhoods, informal settlements and peri-urban areas. Furthermore, backlogs and successes vary from one country to another as well. In this section, the study intent is to critically analyse factors that may have (in one way

or another) contributed to the widespread inadequacy and poor provision of basic municipal services in developing countries.

2.5.1 The influence of public participation

Public participation or consultations with end users is also vital in determining the success or failure thereof, for any local authority in providing basic services to their constituencies. There is evidence that when applied appropriately, public participation in decision-making processes could boost both local governance and provision of basic services in one way or the other. Thus, in order to put the principle of ‘public participation’ into practice to ultimately influence the decisions made either by public or private sector regarding provision of municipal services, the ordinary community members or end users would usually organize and subscribe to various community-based originations or civil society organizations including non-governmental organizations (Kyessi, 2003). Through organized community structures, ordinary community members would usually be able not only to influence but also to physically participate in the decision-making processes related both to policy-making and actual implementation of programs for provision of municipal basic services. Confirming this view, Robbins (2008), argues that public or citizen participation is a potential mechanism to give citizens greater say over content and form of services delivered by their local authorities. Once a collective consensus is reached on the “*which*” and “*how*” part of service provision, continued public participation is likely to make it possible for local authorities to judge end users’ satisfaction and continuously improve quality and standard of services. For instance, through public participation and consultations in rural municipalities such as Onitsha Local Government in Nigeria and Karatina Town Council in Kenya, residents were highly cooperative and supportive of almost all decisions made by their respective local authorities regarding revised charges to be levied for provision of basic services (Olowu and Smoke, 1992). Similar to Kenya and Nigeria, residents in most of the local authorities in Bolovia were able to take advantage of public participation meetings or consultations to influence decisions over municipal’s spending and how provision of certain basic services should be done (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). Although still faced with some challenges related to provision of basic services, most residents in various local municipalities across Oshana Region in Namibia, cited effective citizen participation as one of the most positive aspects of local governance and improved service delivery (Helao and Naidoo, 2016). Similarly, in Uganda, successful application of

citizen participation or public participation by rural municipalities seemed to have empowered even communities in small towns who would otherwise, not have dared to question those in power (Devas and Delay, 2006).

Literature further indicates that in Tanzania, a notable phenomenon has emerged where ordinary community members, through self-help and local governance within their own neighbourhood associations, have locally mobilized to respond to the backlogs in infrastructure services, water supply and sanitation, roads and drainage channels (Kyessi, 2003). Furthermore, the South African Government has for example, come up with the Municipal Service Partnership (MSP) Policy which is derived from the principles of Batho Pele (People First) and actively promotes an ethos of participation by consumers and other stakeholders through the process of determining and implementing service provision options. Other than improving good governance and political accountability to a certain extent, such close working relations and community support seemed to have boosted rate of payment for municipal services by residents amongst others. Payment of services has in turn, brought in the much-needed revenue for infrastructural development and maintenance. Countries such as Brazil, Argentina; and Peru were to some extent no exceptions when it comes to successful application of public participation or consultation by local authorities (Devas and Delay, 2006; Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). For instance, through the Brazilian model of public participation, local authorities created platforms where residents, particularly poor end users could successfully use their inputs to shift municipal spending in favour of basic services that benefit them most (Devas and Delay, 2006).

Apart from decision-making processes, the significance of public participation could also be seen through other forms such as participation of ordinary community members in taking communal responsibility to provide certain basic services. For instance, following resources constraints and the subsequent failure by local municipality in Dhaka City (Bangladesh) to provide refuse removal services, local residents took it upon themselves to initiate a communal participatory program through which a collective of 100 households voluntarily embark on a house to house garbage collection (Akther, Islam and Hasan, 2009).

Further, evident of significance of public participation in the provision of basic municipal services is experiences of residents and local authorities in countries such as Brazil, Dominican Republic and Ecuador. According to Montalvo (2009), the slightly higher satisfaction levels expressed by ordinary residents about standard and provision of municipal services recorded as follows: in Brazil (58.2%); Dominican Republic (56.9%) and Ecuador (52.3%), as opposed to lower satisfaction levels observed amongst residents in Belize (39.6%); Haiti (39.5%) and Jamaica (37%), could amongst others, be attributed to effective participation by individuals in municipal public meetings. This seemed to have not led only to willingness to pay for municipal services but to high satisfaction level amongst households too .

As seen in the discussion above, the successful application of '*public participation*' and the subsequent sound working relations between ordinary community members and local authorities further confirm the various principles of the New Public Governance Theory. Other than '*public participation*', the successful and working relations between certain communities and local authorities in countries such as South Africa-through its 'Batho Pele (People First) principle, in Onitsha Local Government in Nigeria and Karatina Town Council in Kenya, could, to a large extent, be explained in terms of two key principles of New Public Governance Theory. For instance, effective participation of ordinary residents in influencing decision-making processes in Onitsha Local Government in Nigeria and Karatina Town Council in Kenya could be a further confirmation of significance of principles of *coordination of the governance*, and the principle requiring recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, which as argued by Runya et al., (2015), aims to improve local governance through negotiated consensus, transparency and response between administrators and the members of the public, and allow social public organisations to work with government in ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens respectively.

However, the absence of public participation in both decision-making and implementation of actual programs on provision of basic municipal services seems to have created conflicts between end users and service providers such as local municipalities and contracted private entities. Thus, other than poverty and unemployment, related to lack of citizen or public participation, could be a widespread non-payment of services (Fjeldstad, 2004; Ntema, 2005;

Ntema and Venter, 2016), coupled with vandalism and destruction of municipal service infrastructure in some local communities. More often than not, such destruction and vandalism are attributed to a lack of ‘sense of belonging’ or ‘buy in’ usually justified through what Ntema (2011) refers to as a popular notion of “their service infrastructure” as opposed to “our service infrastructure”.

Consequently, contrary to the positive experiences of residents in rural municipalities such as the ones discussed above, literature and research indicate that residents in small towns and rural municipalities in India are to some extent, denied opportunity to influence any council’s decision due to politically manipulated public participation processes. According to Gaventa and Valderrama (1999), a failure by ward councillors in most Indian rural district councils to regularly hold their compulsory two community meetings called Gram Sabha, have negatively affected relations between councillors and their constituencies. As a result, residents in these municipalities have generally expressed low levels of buy-in or sense of belonging when it comes to municipalities’ new projects and programmes on service infrastructure. Such poor and hostile relations between communities and local authorities should not come as a surprise especially where local governments such as those in Indian rural district councils fail to uphold the Theory of New Public Governance and its key principles particularly the one that requires recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*.

Furthermore, Makanyeza, Kwandayi and Ikobe (2013), argue that one of the several causes of poor service delivery in small Kijido Local Municipality (Kenya) that both residents and municipal officials ranked highly during research survey is lack of citizen participation during public meetings. This in turn created social distance and thus, lack of cooperation between the local municipality and the constituency it is supposed to serve. Despite the general improvement in the provision of municipal services since 1994, in what could probably be attributed to lack of public participation, the national households survey of 2016 indicates that, 75% of households in South Africa do not believe that local municipalities are actively addressing some of the pressing service delivery related issues they felt are most important for households in their respective municipalities (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Hence, it should not be surprising to have highest dissatisfaction levels about provision of municipal basic services such as water, refuse removal and sanitation being expressed by households in small

towns and rural local municipalities like Nqguza Hill- with 70.2% dissatisfaction level, Port St Johns- 62.4% , Mtubatuba- 58.3% , and Jozini- 56.1% (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Furthermore, in a big-piped water scheme in one Kenyan rural municipality, of the fifteen communal water points that were installed by the Ministry of Water Development to serve communities who could not afford their own private connection, only two water points were still working a year later. The failure was due to wide spread non-payment and vandalism of water infrastructure following community complaints about imposition of the project by their local leaders. A similar community reaction to that in Kenya was also experienced in countries such as South Africa, Malawi and Namibia (UNDP, 2007;Shaidi, 2013). For instance, in South Africa, due to marginalisation of citizens in the decision-making process related to the provision of water, the community decided to collectively protest against the provision of service (Shaidi, 2013). In Namibia, as a result of local government's' unilateral decision to implementing a cost reflective tariffs, most poor households were failing to pay, and their debt continued to accumulate resulting into disconnection. As seen in the discussion above, imposition of decision on communities by local governments in the various countries (Kenya, South Africa, Namibia, to mention but a few), is not only recipe for a failed local governance but a further confirmation of a need for the affected local authorities in these countries to uphold and embrace the New Public Governance Theory and its key principles- particularly one on *coordination of the governance*.

2.5.2 The influence of inadequacies of 'own' internal revenue sources and intergovernmental transfers

Other than public participation and its influence on provision of basic services both in rural and urban municipalities, another issue that is worth discussion is mobilisation and collection of adequate revenue in these municipalities. International literature and research indicate that contributing to growing inability by local authorities particularly small and rural local authorities to provide basic services to their constituencies is inadequate revenue generation (Olowu and Smoke, 1992). Hence, given their small local tax and revenue base (; Anderson, 1994; Fjeldstad and Heggstad, 2012; Kamario, 2014), rural municipalities are left with no option but to go beyond just end user fees on water, electricity and sanitation services to depend heavily on intergovernmental transfers or grants in order to boost their low revenue collection (Tullock, 2016). Further compounding the problem of inadequate supply of services such as

drinking water is the failure by local municipalities in these small towns to invest in water storage infrastructure (Helao and Naidoo, 2016). This and other weaknesses manifest themselves in many ways which amongst others include under-collection of local revenue, poor local expenditure management, weak local revenue bases and failure to develop new local revenue sources or levies to complement existing ones including national/central grants (Olowu and Smoke, 1992; Devas and Delays, 2006). Of these challenges, one that seems to pose a serious threat to provision of basic services and infrastructural development and maintenance is the growing culture of non-payment of rates and taxes. While this culture is a common phenomenon both in rural municipalities and urban municipalities, it would seem that its impact is more severe in rural than urban municipalities. For instance, in a country like South Africa where the total outstanding debt for services in all the 257 local municipalities is about R130 billion, it should not come as a surprise to see service delivery related protests being a regular, if not a daily occurrence (Dlamini, 2017).

Other than South Africa, Kenya is another African country experiencing inadequate revenue due amongst others, to non-payment of services. According to Duflo et al., (2012), there is evidence of low willingness amongst residents in some of the Kenyan local communities to pay for improved water quality. Contrary to similar experiences elsewhere where often than not the primary cause is found to be inability to pay, low willingness to pay for water services in Kenya is caused mainly by lack of understanding of use or value of some of new technologies used by their local authorities (Duflo et al., 2012). As argued earlier in the discussion above, severe impact of growing debt due to non-payment of municipal services is more felt in rural municipalities than urban municipalities. Evident of the above argument is the fact that despite their combined share of R57 billion owed by consumers, metropolitan municipalities in South Africa are still able to amongst others pay their water bills to Department of Water and Sanitation (Dlamini, 2017) while the top five local municipalities with the highest water bill arrears and thus, struggling to settle their bills with the Department of Water and Sanitation are in the main rural local municipalities such as Msukaligwa Local Municipality in Mpumalanga Province; Maluti-a-Phofung Local Municipality and Mafube Local Municipality both in Free State Province; Ngaka Modiri Molema Local Municipality and Mdibeng Local Municipality both in North West Province (Fengu, 2017). Consequently, inadequate collection of funding has the potential to hamper any efforts by local authorities to successfully implement their programmes and strategies on services improvements and provision. For instance, it is argued

in the report by World Bank (2017), that the collapse both of 2011 National Urban Water and Sanitation Strategy and 2014 National Integrated Sanitation Program could largely be ascribed to inadequate funding across rural and urban local municipalities in Mozambique in general. Other than growing poverty and unemployment (see discussion below), contributing to non-payment and thus under-collection by local authorities is poor financial management records and skills, out-dated data bases of indigent households, irregular expenditure, corrupt politicians and officials especially in less resourced rural municipalities than urban municipalities (Bratton, 2012; Fengu 2017). With less resourced rural municipalities being the most affected by the inadequate funding, such a situation could to a large extent, be a demonstration of an urgent need to embrace a principle of *resource exchange* as advocated by the New Public Governance Theory. It is the view of the study that, by embracing the principle of *resource exchange* by these poorly resourced local municipalities, it could be possible to request other spheres of government, particularly regional or provincial, to deploy skilled public servants to boost governance and performance at the local government level.

What makes payment of services key is the fact that these charges do not only provide revenue sources for service delivery but also makes determination of the appropriate level of services possible (Fox, 2015). Notwithstanding the common challenge of under-collection faced both by rural and urban municipalities, it is appropriate to note that, unlike rural municipalities, more than half of total revenue collected by urban municipalities particularly metropolitan municipalities is reliably generated from 'own' sources (Bratton, 2012). Furthermore, while many opportunities exist for urban municipalities to improve their local revenue performance, it is undoubtedly extremely difficult if not impossible for rural municipalities to generate greater local revenue hence a far much greater dependence on intergovernmental transfers is inevitable (Devas and Delay, 2006). More often than not, allocation of intergovernmental transfers is not without criticism.

In Nigeria, national grants to local authorities have been in existence since 1976. According to Olowu and Smoke (1992), national grants account for between 80% and 90% of revenue in various rural municipalities while for urban municipalities, this funding constitutes between 40% and 60% of revenue in Nigeria. Although intergovernmental transfers constitute a huge portion of revenue income particularly to rural municipalities, Fox (2015) argues that these

transfers were never sufficient or adequate to ensure financing of adequate service levels at local level- especially in neighbourhoods for residents in small towns and those residing on the peripheral settlements in major towns and cities. Further confirming the view above is the argument made by Hossain (2013) that despite being key financial source for effective provision of basic services, intergovernmental transfers to local authorities in Bangladesh is always inadequate and unstable due to amongst others, central government's incapacity to allocate adequate funds. Other than inadequate intergovernmental transfers, most local authorities in Bangladesh are also faced with a very scant own-sources revenues (Aminuzzaman, 2010; Water Aid, 2011; Hossain, 2013; Zhou and Chilunjika, 2013). Thus, regardless of the degree of financial dependency by various local authorities on their respective national or central governments, it would be appropriate for the study to argue that both rural and urban municipalities require financial support from national governments in order to successfully provide basic services to their residents. For both rural and urban municipalities, the significance of intergovernmental transfers lies in its financial and administrative potential to fill the gaps usually caused both by the vertical distribution of revenues and the differing capacities across local municipalities (horizontal gaps) to collect revenues (Fox, 2015). Further making the above view relevant and applicable to both rural and urban municipalities is the tendency by these entities to approve unrealistic budgets and inflate revenue forecasts-practice that in turn makes provision of basic services difficult (Devas and Delay, 2006).

2.5.3 The influence of state and conditions of service infrastructure

International literature and research show existence of several challenges facing provision of the basic municipal service in developing countries. These challenges usually range from capacity to infrastructure required by local authorities to provide the services. This view is confirmed by a research showing that, like elsewhere in other developing countries (see also UNICEF, 2010; Garmendia, Smits and Foster, 2008), responsible for growing water bill arrears in the top five South African local municipalities (who in the main are rural municipalities) owing Department of Water and Sanitation is poor infrastructure maintenance and inability by these municipalities to deal with water wastage (Fengu, 2017). While in another predominately rural municipality of Polokwane (Limpopo Province, South Africa), loss of water through leakages was attributed to both poor infrastructural maintenance and ageing water infrastructure (Ntema and Venter, 2016). It should thus, not come as a surprise to have a

national community survey showing that poor municipal service delivery, poor maintenance of existing infrastructure, and inability of poverty-stricken households to pay for services are in the main, contributing factors towards inadequate access to drinking water, electricity and refuse removal (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Similar to the city of Polokwane and Polokwane Local Municipality, the city of Masvingo and Masvingo Local Municipality in Zimbabwe is struggling with efficient and effective provision of drinking water due to the growing challenge of ageing and poor water infrastructure (Mapfumo and Madesha, 2014). One of the factors contributing to lack of sanitation and water supply in Bolivia is amongst others, backlog in development of new infrastructure and maintenance of existing infrastructure (World Bank, 2015).

Similar to water provision and related infrastructure, there are challenges related to infrastructure for refuse removal. For instance, some infrastructure related challenges facing refuse collection and disposal in both small towns and larger cities in Kenyan local authorities include widespread lack of sanitary landfills, collection rate of between 50% and 70% (Henry, Yongsheng and Jun 2006). To a large extent, these challenges could be ascribed to inability by most Kenyan local authorities to regularly maintain and service collection vehicles or trucks including poor road infrastructure that makes certain neighbourhoods and dumpsites inaccessible particularly during rainy seasons. Inadequate collection of refuse removals (particularly one driven by municipality itself) in the small town of Nakuru is regularly affected by both inadequate number of trucks and poor maintenance of the few available trucks (Nyasani, 2009). Similar to experiences in the small local municipalities of Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret, poor households in major towns and cities in larger local municipalities such as Nairobi City continue to experience lack of refuse collection due amongst others to inability by Nairobi City to keep all their collection trucks at full operational capacity (Henry et al., 2006). Consequently, communities particularly those residing in poor urban neighbourhoods in these local municipalities including Nairobi City, continue to see emergence of illegal dumping of solid wastes on open veld, river banks and roadsides (Henry et al., 2006). Hence, due to lack of internal technical capacity coupled with shortage of well-developed dumpsites, officials at a small town of Mwenderi (Kenya), picked a dumpsite without consideration to it being a catchment area for small streams that joined with Sosiani River (Henry et al., 2006).

2.5.4 The influence of inadequate administrative capacity, skills and leadership

Other than infrastructure related challenges, Henry et al., (2006), are of the view that human resource related challenges are also equally to be blamed for continued poor provision of basic municipal services in most of the small towns and to a certain extent, major towns and cities. For instance, they argue that in local municipalities of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu (Kenya), responsible for lack of refuse collection particularly in poor peripheral neighbourhoods is their respective human resource that is overstaffed with poorly trained officials. This is further compounded by undue political interference by senior politicians including elected ward councillors in the affairs of appointed municipal officials in various local municipalities (Asaju, 2010; Ntema and Venter, 2016). Consequently, because of undue political interference in the affairs of local municipalities, there is evidence of most of them experiencing operational challenges that include amongst others, delays in the planning and approval of infrastructural development projects; delays in the approval of annual budgets; dictating which projects should be implemented and in which areas and influencing appointment of personnel and offer of contracts (See also Natalini, 2010; Sepola, 2014; Ntema and Venter, 2016).

Considering the South African perspective, for instance, the challenge regarding delayed approval of infrastructural development projects is not free from undue political interference, Ntema and Venter (2016) argued that undue political interference by the provincial political principals in the administrative systems of Polokwane Local Municipality has amongst others led to most key infrastructural development projects being either delayed, derailed or completely stalled-thus, creating backlog in either development of new infrastructure or maintenance of existing but ageing infrastructure. Similarly, Alao, Osakede and Owolabi (2015), added that the local government in Nigeria has not been able to perform optimally because of the overbearing nature of the state government rendering the autonomy of the system relatively paralyzed. Undue political interference and its impact on service delivery is evident in one of the small Kenyan local authority called Kijiado Local Municipality. According Makanyeza, Kwandayi and Ikobe (2013), a significant number, both of ordinary community members and appointed municipal officials or employees, blamed poor service delivery in Kijiado Local Municipality on councillors' interference in the affairs of the local authority while acknowledging the impact of lack of skills and capacity amongst municipal

officials. As argued by Oluwu, (2003), various local authorities in Kenya are hampered by arbitrary and delayed decisions by the Minister responsible for Local Government on what levies individual localities might raise and at what levels they can tax.

Furthermore, Rotich and Zhao, (2005) also observed that most Kenyan local authorities have maintained an inflated workforce, most of whom are redundant but keep the jobs due to political protection by senior political principals in upper spheres of government. For example, planned retrenchment by local authorities of the workforce in Nairobi and in Mombasa cities had to be shelved because of political fallout pitying different political parties and the local authorities. Similar to Kenya, the local system in small towns, major towns and larger cities in Zimbabwe is faced with a severely comprised efficiency, effectiveness and transparency in the provision of their basic services due to constant undue political interference (Mapfumo and Madesha, 2014), one such area being the city of Masvingo and Masvingo Local Municipality. Due to lack of qualified staff, monitoring both of partly privatised and public sector-driven provision of solid wastes in Nakuru town is being criticised by residents for inadequacies (Nyasani, 2009).

Another factor influencing performance of local authorities in terms of provision of basic services to their constituencies is the growing number of ordinary residents or citizens who continue to worry about a perceived lack of political accountability amongst their elected councillors and appointed local officials (Bratton, 2012). Subsequent to such perception, there is evidence for a growing level of dissatisfaction about provision of municipal basic services amongst these residents (Bratton, 2012). For instance, in a household survey conducted in five local authorities (a combination of small and big municipalities) in Bangladesh, about 70% of residents expressed their dissatisfaction about quality and standard of municipal service delivery in their respective neighbourhoods (Hossain, 2013).

Another issue that influences provision of basic services negatively in local municipalities across developing countries is failure by local leaders to interpret and thus, appropriately implement some key strategic planning documents such as policies and legislations. For instance, Helao and Naidoo (2016) argue that inadequate provision of basic services in various

local municipalities across Oshana in Namibia has been blamed by most residents on lack of training and skills amongst municipal officials to properly interpret, understand and implement amongst others, Local Authorities Act 22 of 1992. Furthermore, literature indicates that both residents and municipal employees attributed poor service delivery in Kijiado Local Municipality (Kenya) to widespread demand of bribes by employees of local authority (Makanyeza, Kwandayi and Ikobe, 2013). Incidents of rife corruption in various local authorities is not unique only to African countries- South Africa, Kenya; Zimbabwe, Nigeria (Davis, 2004; Devas and Delay, 2006; Bratton, 2012; Alao, Osakede & Owolabi, 2015; Fengu, 2017) but are also a common phenomenon in other developing countries such as Malaysia in Asia (Zakaria et al., 2012), Belize, Haiti and Jamaica in Latin America (Montalvo, 2009). According to Zakaria et al., (2012), it was during the Transparency International Malaysia Public opinion Survey in 2001 that a significant percentage of ordinary citizens expressed an overwhelming perception of municipal officials and councillors being the most corrupt government employees across all public-sector departments.

Fuelling such negative perception about municipal officials and councillors could most probably be a widespread failure by most local authorities in Malaysia to manage their service delivery efficiently and effectively (Zakaria et al., 2012). Furthermore, it is the view of Montalvo (2009) that responsible for low levels of satisfaction about provision of municipal services in Belize with its 39.6% household's satisfaction rate; Haiti with households' satisfaction level of 39.5% and Jamaica with households' satisfaction level of 37%, is in the main, perceived rampant corruption amongst local officials and politicians.

Further compounding the challenge of inadequate provision of drinking water both in small and larger local municipalities, is a number of infrastructure and capacity related issues amongst others. For instance, in small local municipalities (and associated small towns) such as Nyeri, Eldoret (Kenya) and larger municipalities (and associated cities) such as Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) provision of drinking water is negatively affected amongst others by non-payment, ageing water infrastructure and insufficient financial resources to expand and maintain the existing infrastructure (UN-Centre for Human Settlements, 2000). It is further the view of Armitage (2014) that even South African local municipalities (both small rural and larger urban municipalities), are to some extent, experiencing shortage of skills in some critical

areas. For instance, for all the 284 local municipalities, there are only 1400 civil engineering professionals employed to look after infrastructural needs of about 50 million citizens (i.e. more or less two civil engineers per 100 000 people) – of these, 83 local municipalities were without any civil engineer professional in 2005. This severe skills shortage has negatively influenced not only provision of drinking water but that of sanitation and electricity as well. Low staff morale amongst employees of various local municipalities is another contributing factor to poor performance. For instance, Dzansi, Chipunza and Dzansi (2016), argues that poorly motivated municipal workers are cited as one of the possible contributing factors towards inefficient service provision while Byaruhanga (2011) further argues that the poor service provision by the municipalities in Uganda was due to poorly motivated staff. Similarly, in Nigeria there is the general perception which justifies the non-existing future prospects for employees of local government due to the poor conditions of service in the system. It is further perceived that the local government system is an institution where the old, the unskilled and unprofessional employees constitute the main labour force (Abbass, 2012).

To summarise the various issues discussed above in the context of the New Public Governance Theory, it may be appropriate to argue that, it is only by embracing the principle of *coordination of governance* and its emphasise on the need for local government to build dialogue platforms and strive for a negotiated consensus, transparency and response between administrators and the members of the public, that issues of rampant corruption, undue political interference and lack of political accountability by politicians (as seen in the discussion above) could be resolved. It is further by embracing the principle of *resource exchange* and its emphasise on information, technology and skills sharing between various spheres of government, government and private sector that issues of severe skills shortage in engineering profession at local governments (see discussion above on South African experiences) and absence of competent local policy implementers, could be solved by amongst others, forging and investing on exchange programmes between poorly resourced small rural municipalities and their well-resourced neighbouring metropolitan municipalities, provincial governments and where possible the private sector. Through such exchange programme, one possibility could be that of introducing mentoring programmes as a temporary intervention either by metropolitan municipality, provincial government or private sector to empower officials in these small rural local municipalities struggling with good governance.

2.5.5 The influence of decentralisation:

It is stated in the report by the United Nations (2007) that, a recurring lesson of experience with economic and social development over the past half century is that central government alone cannot achieve economic and social equity. As such, innovative governments find appropriate ways to de-concentrate or devolve authority, resources and responsibilities to local governments and NGOs. Equivalent to the latter is a practise termed as *dispersion of power* in terms of principles of New Public Governance Theory (Runya et al., 2015). This is done with intent to amongst others,; elicit greater participation in political and administrative decision making and to deliver social services that are essential to creating quality life and a strong economy. Governments seeking to improve the quality of their services, strengthen the capacities not only of national, but of local administrative units as well. Furthermore, it is argued by Bratton (2012) that one of the key elements of local government reform in developing countries particularly Africa and Asia is adoption of decentralisation. While the intention is to improve provision of basic services and response rate to local needs by local municipalities, the international literature and research shows a mixed result. It is undisputable reality that through decentralisation, most local authorities have to a certain extent, attain what Devas and Delay (2006) refers to as local democratic control and autonomy. For the World Bank, application of decentralisation was seen as a strategy to attain amongst others, improved service delivery and curb corruption (Devas and delay, 2006). Hence, other proponents of decentralisation such as Hossain (2013) argue that for efficiency gains, local government is the only sphere of government best positioned to provide public services that are responsive to local needs and priorities. Through decentralisation, Montalvo (2009) is of the view that local authorities particularly in developing countries could achieve a twofold local government reform. First, is to provide public officials and politicians a greater administrative ability to recognize, interpret, and satisfy citizens' needs and demands for quality public services. The second is, to take advantage of the proximity of local authorities to allow citizens' participation in ensuring an effective and responsive government. Although literature indicates a mixed result, it would seem that in countries such as India (Karnataka as a case study area), Bangladesh, Ghana and Cote d' Ivoire, decentralisation has led to improved provision of municipal services and thus, increased citizen satisfaction levels (Devas and Delay, 2006).

Despite its intended goal of attaining effective and efficient local authorities, the application of decentralisation has in the main, been widely criticised for growing weaknesses in the governance of most local municipalities particularly in Africa. For instance, is the view of Devas and Delay (2006) that, one of the unintended consequences of greater dependency of local authorities on intergovernmental transfers is the undermining of the very same principle of local autonomy that local authorities so desperately wanted to attain through decentralisation. Thus, there is growing argument that most of service delivery related challenges at the local government level are a direct consequence of a poorly managed process of decentralisation by central governments. Similar to decentralisation, literature indicates that central control of local affairs and governance in countries such as Kenya is not without criticism and thus, implications for provision of basic services. For instance, Devas and Delay (2006) argues that effective provision of basic services in some local authorities in Kenya is severely affected and compromised by delays and sometimes total failure by central government to approve and allocate annual budgets to these local authorities. In a nutshell, it is appropriate for the study to argue that, successful application of concept of ‘decentralisation’ in countries such as Bangladesh, India and Ghana, should serve as a further confirmation of the urgent need for local authorities in other developing countries such as Kenya (as seen in the discussion above), to embrace the theory of New Public Governance particularly its principles on *dispersion of power* and one on the establishment of *complex networks* and its advocacy for a public administration driven by a complex network comprising government, state owned entities, market, society, public organisations, community and individual citizens (Runya et al., 2015).

2.5.6 The influence of approaches: private sector versus public sector

In the main, most municipal services are currently being public-sector driven than private-sector driven. Public provision of municipal services would on one hand, mean the function resting solely with the local municipality (Shar 2005; Ndandiko, 2010) while privatisation of provision of basic services would on the other hand, mean the function being outsourced to a private entity outside formal structures of government including the local municipality (Savas 1982; Hatry 1983 in Shar 2005; Shar 2005; Ndandiko, 2010). While it may vary from one municipality to another, one country to another, the argument on the practise and application of privatisation of municipal services in developing countries is twofold. Firstly, literature

indicates a widespread application and practise of privatisation of municipal services in major towns and cities than in small towns. Secondly, instead of a wholesale privatisation, most municipalities in developing countries seemed to have adopted a more selective approach with refuse removal and electricity being the most privatised services (Habitat, 1998; Grimpsey, 2002; Harris, 2003; Ogunlade and Mwakasonda, 2003; Robbins, 2008; Ndandiko, 2010; SALGA, 2014). Furthermore, Byaruhanga (2011), observed that in most developing countries, the adoption of privatization of certain municipal services was prompted amongst others by fiscal difficulties to sustain provision of services, and in part (George, 1997 in Mirafteb, 2004), by a need to respond to the pressure of structural adjustment programs.

The influence of international agencies and donors could also not be underestimated. For instance, international literature indicates that the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other multilateral organizations are some of the agencies and donors known to have put pressure on developing countries to pursue a neo-liberal policy where the private sector plays an increased role in public service provision as part of a package of economic and structural reforms (Byaruhanga, 2011). Hence, it could be appropriate to argue that a shift by local municipalities towards privatisation (although at a small scale and selectively) of basic services such as water supply, electricity supply and refuse removal and collection should be understood within broader discussion and advocacy of concepts such as “cost recovery” and “affordability” by the World Bank (World Bank, 1991). Consequently, emphasis and adherence by private companies contracted by most local governments to World Bank’s concepts or “cost recovery” and “affordability” is done at the expense of one key recommendation by the theory of New Public Governance for a need to have local government that recognises the *role of social public organisations*. This is so because, amongst others, this principle of New Public Governance Theory emphasises a need to allow social public organisations to work with government in ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens (Runya et al., 2015).

Literature and research, for instance, indicate a growing tendency amongst larger municipalities such as the City of Tshwane and the City of Johannesburg in South Africa to outsource provision of refuse removal services to private sector. Furthermore, due to amongst

others, the unsustainable and unaffordable capital required by the Tanzanian government to subsidise local municipalities, free provision of municipal services could not be sustained and consequently, the quality, standard and level of service provision particularly to communities in urban areas deteriorated rapidly during the late 1970s and early 1980s (United Republic of Tanzania, 1997). To prevent further deterioration of basic municipal services, and bring about efficiency, the early 1990s saw a selective shift from public provision to private provision of certain municipal services in a number of local municipalities in Tanzania (Habitat, 1998). However, while privatisation of public services provision may seem to be working in some of the larger urban municipalities such as metropolitan areas, for small rural municipalities such approach has never been a popular choice. However, this does not suggest that public sector approach towards provision of basic services in these small rural municipalities is working and yielding the desired results. Literature suggests various reasons why privatisation of municipal services does not seem efficient and effective in rural municipalities and to some extent, in urban municipalities. Some of these reasons are discussed in the following paragraph.

According to Fox (2015), two issues about privatisation in small rural municipalities are worth noting. First, given its 'for-profit' element coupled with high costs, privatisation has resulted in growing dissatisfaction and thus, high rate of non-payment of services particularly amongst poor, unemployed urban residents. Second, the need to ensure that contracted private companies meet objectives set out by public sector and deliver affordable services is always difficult to manage and oversee given the lack of skills and capacity in rural local municipalities and to some extent, some urban municipalities. To further confirm the view above regarding disparities between small towns in rural local municipalities and major towns and cities in more urban local municipalities including metropolitan municipalities, the report by Statistics South Africa (2017) shows that although most local municipalities (particularly small and rural local municipalities) still provide refuse removal themselves, majority of metropolitan municipalities have chosen privatisation of this service- although there is evidence of decline lately. Despite reasons for the declining number of metropolitan municipalities that have privatised, collection and disposal of solid wastes may differ from those that prevail in rural local municipalities. There are however, few common contributing factors such as growing unemployment and poverty amongst urban residents; undue political interference and corruption and inadequate funds for regular maintenance of existing collection trucks. An example of some small local municipalities where attempt to privatise provision of some of

the basic services include Nyeri, Eldoret and Kirochi local municipalities in Kenya (UN-Centre for Human Settlements, 2000).

The failure of privatisation of water provision in these municipalities is in the main attributable to their insufficient financial resources including technical capacity required for infrastructure maintenance and monitoring respectively. Other than the lack of capacity by municipalities to monitor and regulate contracted private companies, it would seem that further contributing to the failure of private driven municipal service provision particularly in rural municipalities, is the infancy of the private sector in these areas across developing countries (Marceau, 1985; Habitat, 1998; Ngowi, 2006; Ndandiko, 2010). As a result of this, it may become a challenge for the public sector to find qualified private sector partners to enter into a public private partnership arrangement especially where the private partner has to be legally recognized for, inter-alia, contractual purposes. For instance, most of the contracted private providers of refuse removal services in small and rural municipalities in Kenya are small scale and usually family business that did not have the necessary capacity to deal effectively with the magnitude of the solid waste problem (Habitat, 1998). Additionally, most of this private sector entrepreneurship moreover, remains unguided, functioning without any institutional and/or legal regulation. (Habitat, 1998; Nyangena, 2008). Ngowi, 2006, further observed that the domination of the informal sector in the private sector in Tanzania, which is arguably up to 60% of the private sector are not legally recognized due to lack of registration for various reasons.

Other than rural municipalities, literature further indicates the extent to which privatisation of public services remain a challenge even to urban municipalities including metropolitan municipalities in developing countries. For instance, the attempt by local authorities in two Ghanaian metropolitan areas or assemblies of Accra and Sekondi- Takoradi to privatise solid wastes collection in poorest communities residing in peripheral locations or neighbourhoods such as Sabon-Zongo, Ga Machie, New Takoradi and Kwesimintsim, triggered a series of complaints by community members blaming their local councils for having failed to monitor and hold contracted private enterprises accountable- citing amongst others, political patronage networks, lack of internal capacity to monitor and corrupt relations with these private enterprises (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010). This may probably be the reason for the current 20% door-to-door refuse collection through privatisation and an 80% central container or

communal collection system through public sector approach in the city of Accra (Owusu et al., 2010). Similar to Ghana, a selective application of privatisation of refuse collection is evident in some of larger cities in Kenya. For instance, local municipality in the City of Nairobi could not adopt a city-wide or blanket privatisation of refuse collection opting instead to introduce it exclusively in urban-cores such as CBD (usually dominated by business enterprises and retail sector) and upper class residential while continuing with a separate public-sector approach in lower class residential neighbourhoods in the city (Henry et al., 2006). Consequently, operation of private companies such as Kenya Refuse Handlers Limited, Domestic Refuse Disposal Services Limited and Bins (Kenya) Limited is synonymous with improved and efficient privatised refuse collection services in the CBD and upper class residential neighbourhoods in Nairobi City. Similar to the selective application of privatisation followed in Kenya, the adoption of privatisation of refuse collection in the City of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in 1994, saw collection rate improving from between 2% and 4% to 75% in both city centre and market sites (UN-Centre for Human Settlements, 2000).

Although not a common phenomenon, there is some evidence showing that resistance and lack of enthusiasm on the part of some local municipalities in the developing countries to share responsibilities with private sector enterprises, let alone completely giving up these responsibilities has challenged the flourishing of the private sector in the provision of services. Privatization of some municipal services is seen by municipalities as giving up power, authority and control by the local municipal authorities and it has not been found easy to do willingly (Habitat, 1998; Nyangena, 2008). In Uganda for example, there was a common phenomenon where private operators have to contend with conflicting directives from public authorities at different levels of government, ministries and even different regulating agencies (Ndandiko, 2010). In Kenya, local municipalities still interfered in the running of water utility companies, senior officers of respective municipal authorities continued to use the utility company facilities as if they were still a department under the municipalities (Ndandiko, 2010). This is further inhibited by the absence of clear policies on privatization of municipal services as well as absence of appropriate legislation to support privatization of municipal services. Existing legislation on service provision in many developing countries was designed to define public sector responsibility in infrastructure and is inadequate in a situation of private involvement (Marceau, 1985; UNDP, 2007; Ndandiko, 2010).

Despite both tendencies to adopt privatisation and the subsequent lack of internal capacity to sustain public-sector driven approach towards provision of municipal basic services, it would seem appropriate for the study to argue that public-sector driven approach remains a popular choice to small towns in rural municipalities including most of the major towns and cities in urban municipalities (see also Marceau, 1985; Tordoff and Young, 1994; Habitat, 1998; Kitchen, 2004 in Shar, 2005). The inability of local municipalities particularly those serving small towns to attract and contract private sector, (including a failure by some metropolitan municipalities to oversee adherence of contracted private companies to service level agreements) could be a clear indication for a need for these municipalities (with the support of upper spheres of government) to prioritise what New Public Governance Theory refers to as urgent need for government to recognise *role of social public organisations* which could possibly be appropriate vehicles for ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens (Runya et al., 2015).

2.6 Possible intervention strategies to improve provision and state of basic municipal services

In the previous section, the discussion focused largely on general factors influencing effective provision of basic municipal services to residents in small towns across the various rural municipalities and to the extent possible, on those residing in peripheral settlements such as low-class residential neighbourhoods, informal settlements and peri-urban areas in major towns and cities serviced mainly by more urban municipalities. While the primary focus shall be on small towns in rural municipalities, it is however, appropriate for the study to reflect (to extent possible), on those intervention strategies that could possibly be applicable to challenges facing local communities in peripheral settlements across major towns and cities as well. As argued earlier in the discussion, one of the possible solutions to the challenges faced particularly by less-resourced and capacitated local municipalities serving small rural towns could be a political will amongst political principals to integrate in their strategic planning documents, some key principles of the New Public Governance Theory. As argued by Runya et al., (2015), some of the relevant principles that could serve as guidelines include the following: recognition of *role of social public organisations by government, dispersion of*

power, resource exchange and the establishment of complex networks. Other than New Public Governance Theory, it would seem appropriate for the study to argue that, even literature on provision of basic municipal services in developing countries provides some interesting possible solutions.

If literature and thus, discussion above is anything to go by, it would be appropriate to argue that in order for local municipalities in small towns to deal and probably mitigate the impact of various challenges (as discussed above) on the provision of basic municipal services particularly, it is important that these local municipalities formulate not only appropriate policies and legislative frameworks but implement realistic and well thought -through intervention programmes and strategies. To mitigate the impact of inadequate provision of basic municipal services, Nyasani (2009) argues that local municipalities particularly those serving small towns should consider investing in expansion of service infrastructure and improved routine maintenance particularly in low-class residential neighbourhoods including peri-urban areas. Furthermore, in order to deal with widespread lack of capacity and technical skills particularly in small rural local municipalities, Van der Mescht and Van Jaarsveld (2012) suggest secondment or deployment of ex-municipal engineers who are currently employed in the private sector to avoid a possible total collapse of essential services such as drinking water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal. This would to a large extent, require amongst others, a sound partnership between public and private sectors. This is also advocated by New Public Governance Theory through its principle of *resource exchange* and its emphasis on a need for information, technology and skills sharing between government and private sector (Runya et al., 2015). Furthermore, literature refers to a concept of a '*Lean Government*' as one of the possible intervention strategies likely to mitigate the impact of poor local governance and thus, performance in delivering basic services (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2003; Teehankee, 2003; Makanyeza, Kwandayi and Ikobe, 2013). Without discussing in detail, related to the concept of 'lean government' is a need to adhere to several principles such as Total Quality Management (TQM), Organizational Strategic Management, and Training and Development (Teehankee, 2003). If properly applied, 'lean government' could lead to governance system at the local government level that is run in total partnership with all stakeholders, whose focus is on promoting the advancement of the private sector and citizens through a well-managed policy and regulatory environment. A practice that could further embrace the principles of *role of social public organisations, coordination of governance and*

the establishment of *complex networks* that are advanced in the theory of New Public Governance (Runya et al., 2015). It is through performance-based management systems (as entrenched in TQM) that poor performance associated with poorly motivated staff could be overcome by local municipalities- examples of best practices in this regard being South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana (Pretorius & Schurink, 2007).

Despite several challenges faced by local government reforms in various countries, Helao and Naidoo (2016) are adamant that, an on-going process of reform is one of several key strategies with potential to eventually lead to improved provision of basic services at the local level. For a successful implementation of on-going reform, there could be a need for continuous up-skilling of municipal employees. This could probably be the reason why Helao and Naidoo (2016) suggest a need for a compulsory on-the-job training and guidance on local governance and related policies, legislations and programmes. In addition, (Byaruhanga, 2011; Abbass, 2012) proposes a training framework that emphasizes reshaping attitudes of government officials as opposed to the traditional training programmes that are skills-based. To boost the general performance of rural local municipalities in responding to the services' needs of residents, particularly in small towns, Haardt (2013) further suggests complimentary rather than competitive relationships amongst or between local councils governing these small towns. An example in this regard could be what Fox (2015) refers to as 'contracting out to other municipalities' and 'municipal cooperation.' The success of municipal contracting and cooperation depends largely on the voluntary agreements amongst neighbouring municipalities- with association of several rural municipalities in Spain being a good example of how municipal cooperation could help in the provision of refuse removal to communities in small towns (Fox, 2015). However, like any other arrangement, municipal cooperation (given its voluntary nature) has its own weaknesses- one such weakness being its inability to enforce any cross subsidisation and thus, failing to solve problems of different service levels across these cooperating local municipalities (Fox, 2015). Beyond municipal-to-municipal partnership or cooperation, what becomes further relevant is ability by local municipalities and other spheres of governance to embrace the concept of sound and working 'intergovernmental relations'. Despite being a mechanism to facilitate what the discussion in this chapter has referred to as 'undue political interference' at the local level, sound intergovernmental relations is one of the possible intervention strategies that could boost provision of basic municipal services at the local level.

For instance, the sudden improvement in the provision and access to drinking water, refuse removal and electricity in the Winterveld community which is one of the peri-urban areas on the outskirts of the City of Tshwane (South Africa), could in the main, be ascribed to sound intergovernmental relations the city has with both Provincial and National spheres of government (Ntema and Van Rooyen, 2016). Similar to the City of Tshwane, Ntema and Venter (2016) further argued that City of Polokwane Local Municipality (South Africa), has worked in partnership with national and provincial governments to significantly reverse rural-urban migration from adjacent rural villages through investment in water supply, electricity supply and roads infrastructure. Another example of a successful implementation of municipal service provision as a result of sound intergovernmental relations is found in Uganda. According to Deva and Grant (2003), the local council system in Uganda was designed to create opportunities for participatory decision-making at all levels and it has been quite successful in this. It has, for example, sound intergovernmental relations that have not only enhanced planning and decision making for municipal service delivery, but equally resulted in the substantial increase in resources flowing through local governments which in turn has enabled local councils to deliver improved services and undertake new investment (Deva and Grant, 2003). Similarly, Uganda and Botswana to mention but a few, (see also Deva and Grant 2003; Layman, 2003) are some of the countries that have recorded success in the provision of municipal success through forging sound intergovernmental relationships. Furthermore, it is through sound intergovernmental relations, that the Malaysian Federal Government managed to respond to poor service delivery at local level by establishing a unit called Malaysian Administrative Management Planning Unit (MAMPU) with sole purpose to formulate compulsory training programs and operating procedures on capacity building amongst elected and appointed leaders serving at various local authorities (Zakaria et al., 2012). Through the intervention, the Malaysian local authorities were compelled to adhere to provision of basic services guided by strict quality control initiatives. Hence, Godana and Mukwena (2004) and Musukuma (2010), argued that, the quality and standard of basic services provided by the local municipalities is largely determined by technical and capital support that both provincial and national governments are able to leverage through intergovernmental relations. These measures could to a large extent, ensure that there is a strong partnership between different entities within public sector before seeking any partnership with their counterparts in the private sector. There is also evidence in the literature suggesting intervention by donors in ensuring possible

improved local government system and thus, effective provision of basic services. For instance, workshops with municipal personnel and public participation became vital to intervention programmes undertaken by donors in ensuring the strengthening of governance at local government level and successful implementation of new local initiatives and programmes respectively (Olowu and Smoke, 1992).

In a strategy or state's intervention that in all the likelihood could mitigate the impact of lack of internal capacity to manage and monitor (amongst others) contracted private enterprises and NGOs, different countries adopted different approaches. For instance, for both larger cities and small towns, the central government in India has adopted a twofold intervention strategy towards improving internal performance of their local authorities in general (Vaidya, 2009). Firstly, in improving provision and standard of drinking water, sewerage and solid waste management in various Indian local municipalities, the central government introduced a compulsory National Benchmarks for all these sectors. Secondly, to improve performance monitoring in all the Indian local authorities (rural and urban municipalities), the responsible National Ministry introduced a set of compulsory guidelines in form of a document called Handbook of Service Level Benchmarks that stipulates standardised framework applicable to the three sectors mentioned above. To overcome poor or lack of refuse collection in local municipalities such as Mombasa, Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret, the Kenyan Central Government introduced a compulsory concept of "The 3Rs Approach" (Henry, Yongsheng and Jun, 2006). Through this approach, local communities, NGOs and CBOs in these local municipalities are mobilised to adopt a threefold approach towards solid wastes disposal called 'Reduce', 'Reuse' and 'Recycle'. Hence, cities such as Nairobi in Kenya saw emergence of an NGO called City Garbage Recyclers. Although debateable (see previous discussion), privatisation of certain services such as refuse collection was seen as a possible solution to the growing challenge of uncollected solid wastes in some of Kenyan local municipalities (Henry et al., 2006). Just like decentralisation (Rondinelli, Nellis, and Cheema 1983); intergovernmental; privatisation (Habitat, 1998; Hope, 2002; K'Akumu & Appida, 2006; Ndandiko, 2010; UNDP, 2011, if properly implemented with political will to invest both in human resources and physical infrastructure, public participation could also be one of the possible solutions to the growing challenge of poor service delivery and related community protests (Grindle, 2002; Carmel 2002). In a nutshell, it is the view of the study that while maintaining a balance, it would seem that there is an urgent need for local municipalities to

embark on a paradigm shift from just a mere development only to effective management of services infrastructure across various sectors- water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity being some of the examples.

2.7 Conclusion:

The primary focus of this chapter was the discussion and analysis of international literature on the general factors influencing provision of basic municipal services to communities particularly in small towns. Based on the discussion and analysis, it is appropriate for the study to conclude that access to reliable, effective, quality and affordable municipal services remain a challenge to small towns in various rural municipalities including a number of poor communities residing specifically in the peripheral locations such as low-class residential neighbourhoods, informal settlements and peri-urban areas in certain major towns and cities. While acknowledging the variation in the severity of backlogs in the provision of basic municipal services from major towns and cities in urban municipalities to small towns in rural municipalities, literature indicates several common factors that influence provision of basic municipal services in these areas- with the following as some of the examples: inadequate sources of funding (be it 'own- local revenue' or 'intergovernmental transfers'); lack of required administrative and technical skills and capacity; and inability of service infrastructure in general to respond to services needs of urban communities. It may also be appropriate to conclude that while widespread lack of sound private sector in small towns makes privatisation of municipal services impractical, it would seem that even in larger cities privatisation could to some extent, work only when it is applied to communities residing in urban-core such as CBDs and upper class residential areas as opposed to poor households residing in urban-peripheries such as lower-class residential areas, informal settlements and peri-urban areas. Hence appropriate for the study to conclude that instead of a city-wide approach, local municipalities may find it appropriate to adopt an area-specific or what is known as a differentiated approach to privatisation of certain services- with privatisation (given its high monthly service charges) likely to succeed in affluent communities while public-sector approach (given its lower monthly service charges) is more likely to succeed in lower class or poor residential areas of the same city or town. Furthermore, since effective provision of basic services is dependent on amongst others, infrastructure development and maintenance and effective cost-recovery measures. It is of paramount importance for local authorities especially

rural local authorities to institutionalise the concept of good governance and management practices as one of their key pillars or principles. A paradigm shift to ‘good governance’ in these struggling local municipalities should amongst others be guided by the willingness to embrace in particular the principles of recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, *dispersion of power*, the establishment of *complex networks and coordination of governance* (see full discussion on each principle in the discussion above) as advanced by New Public Governance Theory. Notwithstanding the existing historical disparities and variations between rural local municipalities serving residents in small towns and urban local municipalities serving residents in major towns and cities, it is appropriate for the study to conclude that key to a successful local municipality is amongst others, its ability to develop, maintain and distribute basic infrastructure and services.

CHAPTER THREE: ZAMBIA AND THE PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL BASIC SERVICES IN DISTRICT COUNCILS AND SMALL TOWNS

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two focuses on the discussion and analysis of factors influencing the general performance of local municipalities in providing basic services particularly to residents in small towns including those in peripheral locations such as informal settlements, low-class residential neighbourhoods and peri-urban areas in major towns and cities across developing countries. Before it is possible to provide an analysis of existing Zambian literature on the various factors influencing provision of basic services by local municipalities to citizens residing both in small towns and major towns and cities, it is appropriate for the study to acknowledge the existing gap both in research and academic writing on issues related to urban development. To a large extent, the existing imbalances in the profiling of issues related to urban development particularly provision of basic municipal services both in small towns and major ones and cities in Zambia is a tendency not unique to Zambia only and thus, dominated urban studies across developing countries (see also Chapter Two). To a large extent, this could be attributed to a research that has historically been biased more to larger cities particularly metropolitan areas (see also Marais, Nel and Donaldson, 2016), at the expense of small towns usually found in rural local municipalities far from metropolitan and more urban municipalities. Other than being one of the study limitations (see Chapter 1), lack of research and thus, literature on the factors influencing general performance of rural local municipalities in various small towns across developing countries including Zambia, provide the study, particularly this chapter and Chapter Five, with an opportunity to use experiences of residents and local officials in various small towns in Zambia particularly the town of Luwingu (see Chapter Five), to further contribute to the limited existing theoretical debates on the provision of basic services in rural local municipalities and their associated small towns. It is against the background above that the discussion in Chapter Three shall not only focus on small towns but also contextualise similar experiences and challenges as experienced by residents in urban-peripheries of major towns and cities across Zambia.

Against this background, the chapter is structured as follows: first, is a brief historical overview of the origin and development of local government system in Zambia. Second, is the discussion and analysis of the role of various entities which provide basic services to local communities across local or district councils. Third, is focus on the level of access to various basic municipal services by local communities. Fourth, is an analysis of challenges facing provision and access to basic services. Fifth, is discussion on possible solutions and intervention strategies to improve provision of basic services. Sixth, is concluding remarks and summary of main ideas.

3.1 Historical overview of local government system in Zambia: From colonial to a post-independence era

The focus of the study now shifts to a discussion on a twofold history of local government in Zambia. Like elsewhere in the developing countries, Zambia's history of governance particularly local government sphere is deeply rooted in the colonial system imposed by the then British colonial master. Hence, it is undisputable fact that, colonialism has influenced conceptualisation and operationalisation of local government model that the Zambian government adopted and continues to follow. It should however, be noted that while a brief reflection of colonial era would be key in grounding the study, the primary focus of the discussion in this chapter shall in the main, be on the reform and general performance of local government in the post-independence era. For the study, both concepts of post-independence and post-colonial shall be used interchangeably. Next is the comprehensive discussion and analysis of a twofold historical overview of origin and development of the Zambian local government system.

3.1.1 Zambian local government system in a Colonia era

Like elsewhere in the developing countries, Zambia's history of governance particularly local government sphere is deeply rooted in the colonial system imposed by the then British colonial master. It should however, be noted that while a brief reflection of colonial era would be key in grounding the study, the primary focus of the discussion in this chapter shall in the main, be on the reform and general performance of local government in the post-independence era.

Historically, literature indicates that following its establishment in 1924, the British colonial administration in Zambia was set out to mainly provide quality basic municipal services exclusively to white colonial minorities or communities (Beyani, 1984). To effect such discriminative policy and its related programmes, the colonial authorities had to amongst others, unilaterally impose the enactment of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance in 1927 and the Townships Ordinance in 1933 (Beyani,1984). Consequently, the enactment of these two pieces of legislative frameworks, culminated into establishment of segregated councils or local authorities that included amongst others, proclamation of the Livingstone Township Council in 1928; and Ndola Township Council in 1932 (Beyani,1984). Other than the local government sphere, the enactment of colonial legislative frameworks seemed to have had far reaching implications on other upper spheres of governance- with the Provincial and District Boundaries Ordinance being one such legislation. Under this legislation, the country was geographically divided into districts with these regional areas further culminating into formation of various provinces. The governance of these upper spheres of governance (districts and provinces) was effected through Provincial Commissioners (PCs) and District Commissioners (DCs) being overlooked by the Secretary for Native Affairs, at Central Office in Lusaka (Kalibange, 2013).

Regarding municipal service provision under the two legal frameworks mentioned above, councils were mandated amongst others to establish and manage markets, parks, slaughter facilities, sewerage systems, refuse disposal services and water and electricity supply system and maintenance of order within the community (Lolojih, 2008; Kalibange,2013). However, during this era, Kalibange (2013) points out that, municipal services provision in townships was more prominent in residential areas that were predominately occupied by whites as opposed to those occupied by black indigenous people. The nature of the colonial administration was such that whites would reside in a separate residential area from that of the indigenous blacks and the quality of municipal service provided in these areas were much better in comparison to that of the areas hosting the blacks. Amongst the mandated municipal services provided in the townships where the majority black people lived were communal water supply, public toilets, sewerage systems, refuse removal, play parks, welfare schools and market places (Lolojih, 2008). Other than being a mechanism to promote low standard provision of drinking water to black communities, communal water supply was further in sharp contrast to the on-site water supply instituted for individual white households (Kalibange, 2013). Next is the

discussion and analysis of the history of local government system in Zambia in the post-colonial era.

3.1.2 Zambian local government system in a post-independence era

Following the end of colonial era and the subsequent dawn of a post-colonial Zambian government in 1964, the country was ushered with a much needed political and administrative transition. In undoing the legacy of colonialism, the dawn of post-independence saw amongst others, government's commitment towards eradication of inequalities in the provision of basic services. The Zambian literature and research indicate that the dawn of new post-independence Government of the Republic of Zambia enacted the Local Government Act of 1965 which among other things, aimed not only at ensuring effective and equitable provision of services but one which is inclusive to the local communities regardless of their geographical space and socio-economic status (Simposya, 1984; Chibiliti, 2010; Kalibange, 2013).

Other than inclusive provision of quality basic services, the enactment of the Local Government Act of 1965 further marked an administrative transition from a discriminative municipal legislative framework such as Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1927 and the Townships Ordinance of 1933. The Local Government Act of 1965 considered the spatial differences and thus, levels of infrastructural developments in both urban and rural areas. Hence, under this Act, the new government adopted what one could refer to as a “targeted approach” in ensuring not only provision of adequate and efficient basic services but a fair distribution of municipal resources in bringing about infrastructure development and spatial equality between various urban residents including rural and urban residents in general. In order for government to redress the spatial inequalities created by the legacy of colonialism, the Local Government Act of 1965 advocated amongst others the following specific principles- equity in the distribution of developmental projects, municipal services, allocation of resources, and an improvement in the role to be played by citizens in decision making processes. All these principles on a reformed post-independence local government system in Zambia particularly the latter one, seems to further confirm the view expressed by the New Public Governance Theory regarding local government reform in the 21st century. As argued by Runya et al., (2015), it is the view of New Public Governance Theory that an attainment of a reformed local government system could be realized by embracing amongst others, active citizenry and public

participation through principles of active *role of social organisations* in government affairs and administration, principle of *coordination of governance* in order to achieve a negotiated consensus, transparency and response between local administrators and the members of the public.

Consequently, in 1981 the Local Government Act of 1965 was repealed and replaced by the Local Administration Act of 1980 in 1981. The repealing of the Local Government Act of 1965 was amongst other things aimed at making the local government much more effective by decentralizing the functions of government to the lower tiers of governments, promoting integration and cooperation between different levels and institutions, such as the state administration, party organs for the ruling party (UNIP) and local councils, and at the same time enabling councils to take a direct and substantial role in the development process of a district than they did under Local Government Act of 1965 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 1980; Mukwena, 1999; Mubanga, 2006; Chibiliti, 2010; Kalibange, 2013). Such attempt to embark on decentralization as part of local government reform process should also be understood within the context of one of the principles of New Public Governance Theory that advocates for *dispersion of power*. As argued by Runya et al., (2015), it is only through *dispersion of power* as one of key principles of new Public Governance Theory that other organisations in the communities including local government officials must be afforded the right by the central government to participate both in public affairs management and decision-making processes meant to solve public problems. The sudden need to remain relevant to fast changing post-independence political developments, saw establishment of a new legislative framework called Local Government Act of 1991 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 1991). Subsequent to adoption of Local Government Act of 1991, the Zambian local government system saw a total abandonment of party structures from the councils and integrative role of the district councils (Mukwena, 1999). The 1991 Local Government Act based on the principles of good governance, amongst others facilitated reintroduction of the election of councils' representatives based on universal adult suffrage (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 1991).

Furthermore, while operating within the limits of the various post-independence legislative frameworks such as Local Government Act of 1965; Local Administration Act of 1980; and

Local Government Act of 1991, the Zambian Government embarked on post-independence local government reform process that was characterised by a twofold approach. First, the local government reform process that took place between early 1980s and mid 1990s which was driven mainly by the principle of privatisation of public assets and services. Consequently, the reforms in water and sanitation sectors led amongst others, to the adoption of National Water Policy in 1994 which was followed later by enactment of the Water Supply and Sanitation Act of 1997 (African Development Fund, 2009). Despite being a national programme that focuses both on urban and rural communities, key to reform of water and sanitation sectors was prioritisation of water and sanitation needs in predominately rural areas and small municipalities such as our chosen case study area of Luwingu rural district (see Chapter 5). This was evident in the establishment of the National Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme. According to African Development Fund (2009), the programme had a twofold aim for water coverage in rural areas and small towns- first, being to strengthen the capacity of key stakeholders such as local authorities, private sector, state-owned commercial utilities and NGOs responsible for supply of water and sanitation in rural areas and small towns and then empowering communities in rural areas and small towns to manage their own water and sanitation services in a sustainable manner. Secondly, phase two of the local government reform process that started in the late 1990s, saw a shift from privatisation to commercialisation and/or corporatization of public utilities and services particularly at the local government level (Chitonge, 2011).

This post-independence reform or restructuring process (see discussion below) did not happen without both the macroeconomic and local administrative implications on the general performance of local governments. Although their sustainability is debatable, it would on one hand, seem that one of the spin offs from post-independence era is the generally stable Zambian economy with her Gross National Income (GNI) per capita stood then at US\$200 (World Bank, 2005; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006). Subsequent to the economic stability, the Zambia's GDP was also larger than that of Botswana, Gabon and Panama during this period. This economic boom was as a result of attractive copper prices on the international market (UNDP, 2006; Dagdeviren, 2008; Chibiliti, 2010). Given this stable economy (World Bank, 2005), municipal service provision was equally impressive. Secondly, (see Mukwena, 1999; Lolojih, 2008; Chibiliti, 2010) the kind of policies which the Government of the Republic of Zambia was pursuing regarding the provision of municipal services, enabled the

municipalities to provide equitable, adequate and acceptable standards of services to the residents.

On the other hand, the widespread reform or restructuring of Zambian local government system in the post-independence has amongst others seen establishment of at least ten regional state-owned commercial utilities in 1989 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010) with the eleventh commercial utility being established recently following establishment of Muchinga as the 10th province in 2011 (National Water Supply and Sanitation Council 2013). According to NWASCO (2013), the following are the current operational state-owned commercial utilities responsible for water and sanitation provision in various local or district councils across the country- Lusaka WSC, Nkana WSC, Kafubu WSC, Mulonga WSC, Lukanga WSC, Southern WSC, Chambeshi WSC, North Western WSC, Western WSC, Eastern WSC, and Luapula WSC. These utilities were established with one sole purpose which is to rescue an inherently fragmented and poor service delivery by local authorities.

Similar to the decentralisation programme discussed earlier, such an attempt to embark on establishment of state-owned utilities as an intervention strategy and part of local government reform process, should further be understood within the context of one of the principles of the New Public Governance Theory that advocates for recognition of *role of social public organisations* in order to ensure that provision of public services by government is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens (Runya et al., 2015).

Furthermore, other than local issues, it would seem that driving implementation of the post-independence local government reform in Zambia was to a certain extent, pressure and imposition by international and development agencies such as World Bank and IMF (Chitonge, 2011). In order to effect the local government reforms or restructuring process that could speak amongst others, to financial autonomy of local government sphere, the Zambian government had to adopt a widespread decentralisation approach towards the general governance in 1990s (Chitonge, 2011). Consequently, the 1990s' concept of local government reform culminated into a full blown National Decentralisation Policy of 2004 (African Development Fund, 2009). It is within the framework of this national policy that a broader concept of Public Service

Reform Programme was later adopted and used to advocate for an improved quality, delivery and efficiency of public services through devolution of functions and authority to local councils (African Development Fund, 2009). Although the intention was to devolve not only financial responsibilities but others as well through decentralisation, it would seem that results are mixed with Chitonge (2011) arguing that there has been a mismatch between “devolution of responsibilities” and devolution of resources” to various local municipalities in Zambia.

However, despite the mismatch mentioned above, it is argued in the research report by African Development Fund (2009) that the various reforms at local government seemed to have had a positive impact on the general performance of water and sanitation sectors in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Politically, the period prior to 1991, was not only known for a political ideology and thus, administration driven by socialism but was dominated by a one-party political system (Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015). It was only post-1991 following resistance by citizens, that there was paradigm shift from one-party political system to a multi-party political system in Zambian politics and administration by extension. Consequently, with transfer of political power from Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to Patriotic Front (PF) in September 2011, there was a stronger emphasis on further decentralising of government operations (NWASCO, 2013). Amongst recent administrative changes meant to improve efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery is the creation of Muchinga Province as the 10th province and further 29 districts bringing the current number to 102 districts from the previous figure of 73 districts (NWASCO, 2013).

In a nutshell, although results are mixed, it would seem that, the post-independence period was dominated by local reform programme driven mainly by ‘decentralisation’ of government activities and responsibilities by national government to both local governments and various key local stakeholders. To a large extent, the application of ‘decentralisation’ by the Zambian government (as discussed above), does not differ much from what is envisaged by New Public Governance Theory through its principle of *dispersion of power*, the principle of *coordination of the governance*, and the principle that requires recognition of *role of social public organisations by government* (see Runya et al., 2015). At the centre of all these principles of New Public Governance is a need for government, particularly local government, to embrace

the principle of transparency, consultation, negotiations and public participation in all key decision-making processes- a view envisaged by ‘decentralisation’ as well.

3.2 Service providers responsible for provision of basic municipal services: A shift from local authorities to state-owned utilities, non-governmental organisations and private sector

While provision is made for private sector and NGOs to play a certain role in the provision of services such as water and sanitation, it would be appropriate for the study to argue that it is the local authorities who (directly as sole service provider or indirectly as shareholder) in the main, have a legal mandate to provide water and sanitation services to communities residing under their jurisdiction (African Development Fund, 2009). Although the situation differs from one local municipality to another, it would seem appropriate for the study to further argue that the post-independence period particularly late 1990s in Zambian local government system saw a widespread gradual replacement of provision of basic services solely by local municipalities and/or private sector with a more inclusive approach called public-private partnerships (PPPs) in so far as provision of certain basic municipal services is concerned (Chitonge, 2011). Evident of the downscaling in the involvement of local authorities in the provision of basic services is the 7% of the total Zambian population that received supply of safe drinking water directly from local authorities in 2004 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). At the centre of sudden post-independence replacement of local authorities as sole providers of basic services by other service providers particularly state-owned commercial utilities, is continued inability to raise much needed revenue. For instance, the Zambian literature (see Mubanga, 2006; Tyrie, 1994) indicates that municipal basic services are funded through different mechanisms that range from local revenue generated through taxes and rates, intergovernmental transfers in a form of central government grants, to donor funding. Noteworthy is that government grants are not usually a reliable and predictable revenue source for local authorities in that these are given arbitrarily without putting into considerations the various circumstances facing the local authorities such as the amount of income contribution to the central government coffers, the local authority population coverage, the size of their budgets (Mubanga, 2006; Chibiliti, 2010). For example, in the 2010 national budget, the total allocation to local government was K135.3 billion (current US\$ 13.53 million) which translated to only 0.8% of the national budget. Similar to local authorities in most developing countries, further compounding the challenge of inadequate provision of basic services is inability by most local authorities particularly those

serving small towns and rural areas to collect the much-needed revenue from local sources such as user charges, property rates and external source such as national and international funding donors (Lolojih, 2008; Daka, 2009; Chibiliti, 2010).

Following the withdrawal of local or district councils as sole providers of basic services such as water and sanitation, it does not come as a surprise to have a post-independence water and sanitation supply dominated by the state-owned commercial utilities while only 1% of total population is being serviced by the private sector (NWASCO, 2013). The 1% coverage in drinking water and sanitation supply by private sector is in the main, dominated by the mining companies serving their employees. The involvement of private companies especially the mines played a very significant role also in ensuring improved municipal service delivery in the areas in which they were operating in (Dagdeviren, 2008; Chibiliti, 2010). For instance, in the Copper Belt Province, the mines provided all the social services, which included water, recreation facilities, sewerage, refuse collection, electricity and other services in nearly all districts as part of their social responsibility. Zambia Sugar Company and the local authority have entered into a similar arrangement, where Zambia Sugar Company, holds the water rights and pumps water from Kafue River and supplies water to both its factory and its employees (a population of 16 000), as well as to Southern Water and Sewerage Company (SWASCO), a utility company (UC) engaged by the local authority to operate work supply in the entire Mazabuka town (Zambia Sugar Plc. Annual Report, 2015). The poor performance and inadequate provision of basic services by Zambian local authorities could amongst others be attributed to their weak local revenue base.

For instance, compounding the fiscal challenge faced by most local authorities is a number of issues- firstly, is their inability to attract donor support coupled with little financial help from upper spheres of government; secondly, is their low revenue collection rate caused in the main by lack of enforcement of disconnection policy; non-metering of water points; and inefficient collection systems mostly resulting from poor record keeping on debtors (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Furthermore, with various local municipalities being insolvent and thus, unable to sustain privatisation in 1980s, that has in turn led to a shift to commercialisation of public services such as water provision in most Zambian local authorities in late 1980s and early 1990s (Chitonge, 2011).

Further making shift to state-owned commercial utilities a popular choice in the post-independence era was the government's intention to overcome inadequate provision of basic services caused mainly by inherent institutional inadequacies in various local municipalities (Nyambe, 2010). Hence, it did not come as a surprise to have about ten regional state-owned commercial utilities being established by various Zambian local municipalities in late 1980s (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010). To cite a sector specific example, Nyambe (2010), indicates that as part of post-independence programme on local government reform, the Zambian local government system saw establishment of at least nine (9) state-owned commercial utilities in water and sanitation supply in 1994. As argued earlier in the discussion, driving the establishment of these state-owned commercial utilities is an urgent need to correct a fragmented provision of basic municipal services across local municipalities in Zambia. Amongst others, the practise saw conversion of municipality's water departments into independent private companies registered under Companies Act (Chitonge, 2011). Evident of popularity of shift from local authorities towards commercial utilities is the 38% of total Zambian population that received supply of safe drinking water directly from various state-owned commercial utilities in 2004 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Interesting about this paradigm shift is the fact that, this was not a policy choice by Zambian government but rather an imposition by international donors for their much-needed development-aid programmes.

For instance, following adoption of commercialisation of basic services at the local government level, the local municipality in the city of Lusaka established a state-owned commercial utility called Lusaka Water and Sanitation Company to provide both drinking water and sanitation (Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015). Other than private companies, there is also involvement (although at a small scale) of NGOs in providing sanitation and water to residents of particularly informal settlements across Lusaka. There are various reasons why privatisation of municipal services is adopted at a small scale with most local authorities opting to substitute with state-owned commercial utilities across Zambia. For instance, Nyambe (2010) argues that unlike most local authorities and to some extent, contracted private companies, it would seem that most state-owned commercial utilities possess a certain level of required financial and human resources expertise.

Furthermore, literature indicates that transfer of sanitation, water and refuse removal to private sector in several mining towns of Copper Belt was not sustainable and thus, terminated. A classic example being a failure by Asset Holding Company-Mining Municipal Services to provide any improved provision of sanitation and drinking water- leading to termination of contract by municipalities running these mining towns in 2005 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010). Subsequent to the termination, these services were then entrusted to commercial utilities owned by local municipalities. Other than private companies and state-owned commercial utilities, another method of service provision that seems to gradually gain the momentum in various Zambian local municipalities is Community-Led Total Sanitation (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010). Amongst key stakeholders in this method are ordinary community members, local government officials and traditional leaders particularly in more rural local municipalities. While the actual provision of basic services and other key functions such as leak detection and on-going and systematic repairs of infrastructure remains exclusive responsibility of either state-owned commercial utilities or contracted private companies, it is only on joint programmes on public awareness/education on metering and water pricing that NGOs and CBOs become active partners (Nyambe, 2010). One of the examples of a sector-specific CBO is Water Management Committees commonly established by poor households residing in various unplanned, peri-urban areas across Zambia (Nyambe, 2010). Further related to Community-Led Total Sanitation is utilities called The Water Trust Model that are operational mostly in unplanned, peri-urban settlements in big cities such as Lusaka (Woodling, 2014). For instance, working in close partnership with Lusaka City Council, several non-governmental agencies successfully undertook the responsibility to provide safe drinking water in six peri-urban communities of Chaisa, Chazanga, Chibolya, Chipata, Garden and Kanyama (Woodling, 2014). Of significance about these Water Trust Models or Organisations is their ability to empower poor households particularly women and instil a sense of belonging to all community initiatives and projects on water supply. They also seemed to have played a key role in mobilising local communities in these peri-urban settlements in participating in community projects to build more localised water infrastructure (Woodling, 2014). Subsequently, similar to state-owned commercial utilities, most of these Water Trust Organisations such as one operating in Kanyama and Chaisa were found to have provided water supply of better quality than that of most local authorities including Lusaka City Council (Woodling, 2014). Hence, it does not come as a surprise to have about 55% of total Zambian population being supplied with safe drinking water directly by combination of Community Development Driven Schemes such as Zambia Social Investment Fund and

individual households in 2004 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Consequently, it would seem appropriate for the study to conclude that driving a post-independence provision of basic services in Zambia is in the main, Community Development Driven Schemes or individual households followed by state-owned commercial utilities, local authorities and the private sector respectively.

Thus, the dominant role played by state-owned commercial utilities, community-based structures such as Community Led Total Sanitation, Water Trust Models/Organisations in the provision of basic services such as drinking water in most local governments in Zambia, further confirm the significance of grassroots participation as envisaged by New Public Governance Theory through its principle that require recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, through its principle of *dispersion of power*, the principle of *coordination of the governance*, (see also Runya et al., 2015). Consequently, application of these principles could further enhance our understanding of the rationale for improved provision of basic services in areas where *Zambian local governments seemed to have dispersed power* and given due recognition to *role of social public organisations* to partner with state-owned commercial utilities and structures such as Community Led Total Sanitation in providing improved basic services.

3.3 The state and access to provision of basic municipal services

The focus now shifts to the discussion and analysis of the level of access to various basic municipal services by local communities in urban areas across Zambia. Under scrutiny will be the general performance both by rural and urban local municipalities or district councils serving communities in small towns or rural districts and those in major towns and cities in Zambia. Despite being inadequate, in Zambia like elsewhere in developing countries (see Chapter Two), the sources for much needed revenue is fourfold- with grants by the national government accounting for 12% of total income of local municipalities; the donors contributing an average of about 44% of the total revenue for local municipalities; the NGOs making a contribution of 4% towards the total revenue of local municipalities while local municipalities are on average responsible for about 37% of their total revenue generated locally through rates and taxes (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Next is the discussion and analysis of various

factors influencing effective and efficient provision of basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal in Zambian local municipalities.

3.3.1 Provision and access to drinking water

Guiding the provision of basic municipal services in all Zambian local municipalities is amongst others the country's 2030 vision. One of the key principles of the 2030 vision is its intent to ensure that *“every household have access to adequate, clean and safe drinking water and sanitation services in 2030”* (Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015:494). To be precise, the intent with vision 2030 is to achieve a long-term goal of 90% access to adequate sanitation and 100% access to adequate safe drinking water by citizens in 2030 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2013). While focus of the discussion shall be mainly on small towns or rural districts to major towns and cities, it is however, appropriate for the study to acknowledge that further aligned to the country's vision 2030 is two water related national programmes. According to Government of the Republic of Zambia (2013), there are two national programmes- one focusing on urban water provision which is called the National Urban Water Supply and Sanitation Program (2006-2015) and the other one for rural areas and small rural towns called the National Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Program (2011-2030). Related to the two national programmes and 2030 vision mentioned above, is National Water Policy of 1994. To ensure successful implementation of post-independence reforms in water sector, local authorities and other entities responsible for provision of water had to adhere to seven key principles enshrined in the National Water Policy of 1994. According to the African Development Fund (2009) the following are key principles of the National Water Policy of 1994:

- Devolution of authority to local authorities and allowing participation of private enterprises in water provision
- Achievement of full cost recovery in the long run for the water supply and sanitation services through user charges
- Human Resources development leading to more efficient local government institutions
- Technology appropriate to local conditions
- Increased Government of Republic of Zambia spending priority and budget spending to water sector

- Separation of water resources functions from water supply and sanitation
- Separation of regulatory and executive functions within the water supply and sanitation sector

Notwithstanding the strides made, it would however, seem appropriate to argue that for most local municipalities, there is still a long way to realisation of 2030 vision outlined above. Zambian literature indicates a continuation of inadequate and poor provision of basic municipal services in one way or another. For instance, the national access level to safe drinking water both in rural and urban local municipalities declined from 73% in 1990 to 49% in 2000 and then a slight improvement to 53% in 2005- this decline since 1990 being due amongst others to growing urban population in Zambia (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). However, it would seem that the urban population is better serviced than the rural population- this being despite the rapid growth in urban population since independence. For instance, exclusive focus on urban population shows a continued national access rate of 83.5% in 2012 and 83.9% in 2013 to safe drinking water (NWASCO, 2013; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2013). Despite improvements in water provision, there are still existing backlogs. Furthermore, it is the view of Chitonge (2011) that inadequate provision or distribution of drinking water in Zambia is twofold. First, there is gradual decline in water provision from major towns and cities in urban municipalities to small towns in rural municipalities. Second, is the view that further disparities exist between urban residents living in peripheral low-income neighbourhoods and those in urban core high-income areas. Across various towns and cities, local municipalities are faced with a challenge of deterioration and low coverage of water provision (Chitonge, 2011). Furthermore, disparities exist between poor urban communities and rich urban communities in various urban local municipalities. According to Chitonge (2011), there is water and sanitation coverage of average 35% in urban peripheries such as low-income neighbourhoods and peri-urban areas as compared to average 74% services coverage in urban core such as middle and high-income neighbourhoods across Zambian local municipalities. Confirming this view, Nyambe (2010) argues that unlike in urban-core areas such as high income residential areas, residents in unplanned, peri-urban areas across most major towns and cities in Zambia are largely dependent on communal taps for provision of drinking water coupled with rainwater harvesting.

Hence, it is not surprising to have about 56% of residents living in about 33 unplanned, peri-urban settlements in and around Lusaka being without access to drinking water (Woodling, 2014). In an attempt to mitigate the growing challenge of water shortage in these peri-urban areas, the Zambian National Cabinet took a bold decision to adopt a peri-urban water supply and sanitation strategy in 1999 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). The intention being to develop sustainable water system in low-income urban communities while strengthening institutional capacity at local or district council. However, despite continued disparities mentioned above, it is the view of research report by African Development Fund (2009) that, Zambia is not threatened by water stress or scarcity. Thus, it would seem appropriate for the study to argue that, responsible for the disparities amongst Zambians are probably management and distribution of existing water resources rather than shortage of water as a natural resource.

3.3.2 Provision and access to sanitation

Contrary to the gradual improvement in drinking water sector, the provision of adequate sanitation in Zambia remains a key challenge- both in urban and rural areas. Evident to this is a mere access level of 23% of households both in rural and urban local municipalities in 2005 (Government of The Republic of Zambia, 2006; CSO, 2007). This figure (although significantly low), shows an improvement from a 15% of national Zambian population with access to proper toilet facilities in 2000 (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). However, an exclusive focus on urban residents shows a slightly improving situation in terms of provision of sanitation. For instance, despite existing backlogs, the access rate to sanitation amongst urban residents showed slight improvement from 57.3% in 2012 to 58.7% in 2013 (NWASCO, 2013; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2013). Like provision of drinking water (see discussion above), provision of sanitation is characterised with uneven distribution. Uneven distribution of sanitation is on one hand, evident from small towns to major towns and cities and then from urban peripheries such as low-income neighbourhoods and informal settlements to urban-core such as middle to high-income neighbourhoods in major towns and cities. For instance, the disparities between small towns and major towns and cities could to some extent, be justified in terms of number of recorded complaints regarding poor quality and provision of sanitation- with service provider serving the capital city of Lusaka and its surrounding districts recording about 17 and 23 complaints in 2012 and 2013 respectively

compared to 28 and 53 complaints for service provider in small towns of Chingola and Mufulira and a further 26 and 37 complaints in Luwingu, Kaputa and Mbala during the same period (NWASCO, 2013).

Furthermore, given the 60% of total urban population that resides in informal settlements in the capital city of Lusaka, there is about 10% to 20% of households currently supplied with sewerage system (Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015). As argued by Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, (2015), this has in turn left an estimated city's population of 90% relying on privately owned pit latrine facilities- with most households sharing toilets. This view on the existing disparities in access to sanitation is further confirmed in the research report by Government of the Republic of Zambia (2010) which shows that only about 29% of total urban population in Zambia have access to sewer while a further 30% of total urban population is connected to septic tanks or improved households-levelled pit latrines. Thus, similar to most small towns, it is the view of African Development Fund (2009) that, even major towns and cities with their peri-urban areas that currently accommodate between 50% and 70% of the total poor Zambian urban population, basic services such as sanitation and water are of poor quality, inadequate and unreliable. Evident of this view is the current estimated national figure of about 90% of poor urban population residing in peri-urban areas which are literally without sanitation (African Development Fund, 2009). To demonstrate the magnitude and scale of inadequate provision of sanitation, research reports paint a worrying picture even at the provincial level. For instance, the research report by African Development Fund (2009) shows that the access rates of sanitation services and water supply in Luapula and Northern Provinces is less than 4% and 21% respectively. Majority of the people affected in these provinces are the poorest households residing mostly in rural areas, rural small towns and peri-urban areas in major towns and cities.

3.3.3 Provision and access to refuse removal

Due to the swelling population and changing life style, the generation of refuse is on the increase in most urban areas particularly major towns and cities. For instance, in 2001, the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ) estimated annual average amount of solid waste

generated in Lusaka to grow from 220, 000 tons recorded in 1996 to 530, 000 tons in 2011- an increase of 141% (ECZ, 2001). Disposal sites in most of the district councils are either not there or they are poorly managed. Taking the Lusaka situation as a reference point, less than 14 % of the waste generated in the urban centers finds its way to the disposal sites (ECZ, 2004). The resulting effect of this situation is that the management and disposal of refuse has become a serious challenge for the local municipalities who are by law mandated to (directly or indirectly) provide refuse collection services. Competing factors such as limited funds available to the councils, skilled labour and limited equipment and tools to use has made it very difficult for the local municipalities to deal effectively with the bulk of refuse generated in most local districts (ECZ, 2001; ECZ, 2004; Lengwe, 2014).

In Lusaka, the city council has come up with a unit responsible for waste management. The Waste Management Unit (WMU) is the regulatory Unit of Waste Management in the city and is mandated to plan, organize, execute (directly or indirectly) and supervise waste management services in other selected areas in the city and the management of disposal site (<https://www.lcc.gov.zm/waste-management/>). The Waste Management Unit (WMU) is responsible for generation of sufficient funds to pay for all the expenditure required to provide an efficient and affordable waste collection and disposal service in the entire city. Amongst their function is the contracting of private waste collection companies to collect waste in Waste Management Districts (WMDs) on a franchise basis. There are currently nine (9) refuse removal companies under this arrangement in Lusaka which is operating in different allotment as allocated to them. The council through various appointed companies or individuals would enter into an agreement with individual residents or corporate institution that are in need of the service, and then the municipal appointed refuse removal companies or individual would provide the service at a fee.

Other than major towns and cities such as Lusaka, the small towns are also experiencing challenges of inadequate provision of refuse removal. One of the recent studies on public service provision by local governments in Zambia was done by Lolojih (2008) in Luwingu and Choma Districts. In Luwingu District, the results of the study revealed that service provision

by Luwingu District Council was not effective. In terms of refuse collection, the findings revealed that the District Council was failing to provide the service to the residents of Luwingu. Solid waste disposal in the district was generally managed at individual household level. Furthermore, the study shows that solid waste collection and disposal is usually being hampered by lack of a serviceable refuse truck. The district council has only two refuse trucks which constantly experience mechanical breakdown. However, the district council managed to provide waste disposal services to the markets and bus stations using trucks mainly from government institutions such as Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives and Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (Loljih, 2008). With regard to the town of Choma, Loljih (2008) noted that garbage collection and disposal, and maintenance and construction of roads were among the services that constituted a serious challenge to the municipal council. The findings revealed that the district council did not have a serviceable and reliable refuse truck to collect and dispose garbage resulting in filth being littered all around the residential areas, markets and town centre. Furthermore, it was observed that due to the council's inability to collect and dispose garbage, solid waste management at household level was carried out through the use of pits to bury or incinerate the waste.

3.3.4 Provision and access to electricity

The provision of household electricity was up until 1970 under the Zambian local authorities (Beyani, 1984). During this period access to electricity was very limited to households in urban areas especially those around the line of rail and the Copper Belt Province. For instance, as at 1998, only 48% of urban households had access to electricity while only 2% of the rural population had such access (Central Statistical Office, 1998). According to Woodling (2014) access to electricity is not a challenge faced by small towns only as it is a common phenomenon in major towns and cities such as Lusaka. He argues that about 65% of Lusaka's population is found in unplanned, peri-urban settlements and thus, literally without any access to electricity and other basic services such as drinking water and sanitation. However, with the passing of Zambia Electricity Supply Act in Parliament and the subsequent establishment of the Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation Limited (ZESCO), as the sole supplier of electricity, all electricity undertakings that were previously managed by the local authorities were transferred

to ZESCO. However, despite such paradigm shift in the administration and supply of electricity, access to quality, reliable and affordable electricity services continue to be a major challenge to most people in Zambia (Energy Regulation Board, 2010). The Zambia demographic health survey report (CSO, 2015) records that only 62% of the urban household have access to electricity and only 2% of the households living in the rural areas had access to electricity in 2010 (ERB, 2010). To mitigate the backlog, Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO), the state-owned commercial utility that owns and distributes over 80% of the country's electricity, had by end of 2010 connected 34,881 new customers, compared to 23,459 and 34,825 in 2008 and 2009 respectively. Of these new connections, only 11,321 (32%) were metered. The remaining 23,560 customers were added to the existing backlog of unmetered customers of 103,662. The implication was that all the unmetered customers were not paying their monthly charges thereby affecting the financial viability of the company's operation (CSO, 2015).

As shown by Zambia Development Agency (2014), ZESCO further managed to install capacity of about 2259MW, with unexploited hydro power potential of about 6000MW in 2014. With the growing demand for electricity, it was estimated that by 2015 there was likely to be an increase to a deficit of more than 550MW. However, despite this huge potential in hydro resource and the growing demand for electricity supply, for the past twenty to thirty years, there has not been serious investment in infrastructural development (ZDA, 2014). For instance, the national electricity consumption increased by 6.8 percent, from 10,720.5 GWh in 2014 to 11,449.9 GWh in 2015. The increase in consumption was mainly attributed to increased demand from the mining sector which had increased by 6.4% from 5,871.3 GWh in 2014 to 6,245.6 GWh in 2015. Meanwhile, this was followed by the domestic sector, which includes residential customers at 3,482.0 GWh (30.4%) (ERB, 2015). Therefore, despite the involvement of state-owned companies in the provision of electricity, accessibility and affordability of this service continues to remain a challenge to most residents particularly poor households in various urban areas.

3.4 Challenges facing provision of various basic municipal services

The existence of challenges in the provision of basic municipal services does not necessarily mean a complete failure by local or district councils and state-owned commercial utilities to

mitigate the severity and magnitude of the challenge. The various challenges (see discussion below) continue despite efforts by these stakeholders to mobilise and raise awareness through amongst other media campaigns in local Post News Paper and Water Voice; face book pages, twitter handle, and water watch groups (NWASCO, 2013). For instance, in an attempt to solicit regular feedback on quality and standard of water and sanitation services, there is a total number of eleven (11) Water Watch Groups established in local or district councils of Lusaka, Kabwe, Kapiri Mposhi, Ndola, Kitwe, Kalulushi, Solwezi, Kasama, Mpika, Livingstone and Mongu (NWASCO, 2013).

As indicated earlier in the discussion, the challenges continue despite efforts mentioned above. The challenges facing local or district councils in Zambia vary in their severity- with service providers in major towns and cities such as Lusaka being able to overcome certain challenges compared to those operating in small towns such as Luwingu and others (NWASCO, 2013). For instance, while state-owned commercial utility responsible for water and sanitation provision in Lusaka and other four districts of Luangwa, Chongwe, Chirundu Kafue and Chilanga has a good compliment of highly qualified staff, the opposite is true for commercial utility (e.g. Chambeshi Water and Sanitation Utility) operating in a cluster of twelve (12) small towns that includes amongst others, Luwingu, Kaputa, Kasama, Nakonde, etc.- which are commonly known for high compliment of unskilled staff and inability to attract and retain qualified staff (Pelekamoyo, 1977; Chikulo, 1983; Lolojih, 2008; Kalibange, 2013; NWASCO, 2013; SHA, 2013;). Further confirming the view above, the baseline report by Self Help Africa-Irish Aid Local Development (2013), observed that the Luwingu District which had staff establishment of a total of 56 employees, was currently with a short fall of 11 employees especially in critical departments such as those in basic service provision. Additionally, (Tordoff et al., 1983; Lolojih, 2008) observed that the council's ineffectiveness in the provision of public service is attributable to very high administrative costs compared to costs that directly relate to public service delivery. Similar to Luwingu District Council, Kalibange (2013), observed that the Kabwe Municipal staff organisation establishment had some under qualified staff holding the following positions:, Director of Finance and Director of Public Health & Social Services . A recent study on sector capacity (Ministry of Local Government and Housing & the Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Demark, 2007) further observed serious gaps in staff numbers, qualifications and skills at the district level and in commercial utilities across various Zambian local and district councils.

It is the view of this study that, to address these inequalities between those regions with good compliment of highly qualified staff (e.g. Lusaka, Chongwe and Chilanga) and those with compliment of unskilled staff and inability to attract and retain qualified staff (Luwingu, Kaputa and Kasama), the Zambian government may have to embrace the principle of *resource exchange* as advocated by New Public Governance Theory. Through *resource exchange*, New Public Governance Theory advocates for a need for government particularly local governments to create working partnerships with other successful neighboring municipalities including state-owned utilities and private companies to share and exchange information, technology and skills where possible (Runya et al., 2015).

Notwithstanding slight improvements made particularly by some local or district councils in major towns and cities with regard to water billing, collection efficiency, response to complaints by end users, Lolojih, (2008) and Chitonge (2011) , argues that various factors affecting efficient provision of drinking water particularly to urban residents in low-income and unplanned, peri-urban areas remains failure by district councils in general to invest adequately on infrastructural development and maintenance. Like elsewhere in developing countries, at the centre of such inadequate investment, is the limited fiscal capacity which in turn makes infrastructural development and maintenance unaffordable to most district councils in Zambia (Pelekamoyo, 1977; Lolojih, 2008; Kalibange, 2013; SHA, 2013; Chikulo, 1983). This point that further confirms one of the main arguments or findings in Chapter two. One of the challenges faced by provision of drinking water and sanitation in various local municipalities or district councils across Zambia is the deterioration due amongst others, to inadequate and decreasing capital investment; inadequate maintenance and expansion of water infrastructure, inadequate participation by key stakeholders including community members; inability to attract skilled personnel, and inadequate human resource capacity in general (African Development Fund, 2009; Chitonge, 2011; NWASCO, 2013).

Another challenge facing water sector both in rural district councils and urban local councils is water wastage or unaccounted for water (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). For instance, in 2010, there was about 48% of unaccounted for water in Lusaka while about 42%

and 62% was unaccounted for water in Mulonga and Luapula respectively (Chitonge, 2011). These figures further confirm the view expressed earlier in the discussion that, challenges are more severe in small towns than major towns and cities. As shown in the discussion above, contributing to the challenge of unaccounted for water, is a number of factors including poor infrastructural maintenance by local authorities (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). One of the small towns experiencing inadequate provision of water due to ageing infrastructure is Petauke District Council (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Furthermore, Nyambe (2010); attributes unaccounted for water particularly in Lusaka, Kafubu and Mulonga, to ageing infrastructure, poor billing and illegal connections. Confirming the view on ageing infrastructure as a challenge facing both small towns and major towns and cities in Zambia, Woodling (2014) argues that a bulk of water infrastructure in particular was built between 1940 and 1960 and was never regularly serviced or maintained.

Other than communities in small towns, it would seem that privatisation of certain basic municipal services such as water and refuse removal was less effective and thus, unsustainable in low-income neighbourhoods and unplanned, peri-urban areas as compared to communities in high-income neighbourhoods in major towns and cities across Zambia (Chitonge, 2011). This is mainly due to low prospects for profit and subsequent high rate of default (non-payment) amongst poor households in these peripheral locations of major towns and cities including small towns. Responsible for the current figure of about 90% of city's population in Lusaka to be functionally without any sewerage system is amongst others the failure by the local municipality to implement and adhere to some of the key strategic planning documents such as Sanitation Master Plan and 1994 National Water Policy (Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010). As argued in Zambia (2010), non-adherence to the 1994 National Water Policy in particular could be confirmed by a wide range of challenges surrounding provision of drinking water and thus, demonstrating a deviation from the following seven key principles governing municipal policies in water and sanitation:

- Separation of water resources management from water supply and sanitation
- Separation of regulatory and executive functions
- Devolution of authority to local authorities and private enterprises

- Achievement of full cost recovery for the water supply and sanitation services in the long run
- Human resources development leading to more effective institutions
- The use of technologies more appropriate to local conditions
- Increased budget spending to the sector

It is further the view of Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, (2015) that, such failure to adhere to several key strategic planning documents could be attributed to widespread lack of capable officials and administrators, and undue political interference in the affairs of local municipalities including Lusaka City Council. This situation has left these households with no option other than to resort to poorly planned and technically weak on-site sanitation facilities such as pit-latrines. Another unintended consequence of the poor and inadequate provision of services such as drinking water and sanitation is the growing culture of non-payment of municipal services by residents particularly those living in low-income and unplanned, peri-urban areas (Banda, 2010; UNDP, 2011). For instance, one of the small towns that experienced a growing culture of non-payment of services by households is Petauke District Council (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). This should not come as a surprise given the fact that about two thirds of Zambian populations are poverty stricken (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2010). Despite poor households, there is also a growing tendency for non-payment amongst government institutions. According to Government of the Republic of Zambia (2004), government institutions particularly in small rural towns are not only significant water users but amongst the worst defaulters. Other than local municipalities, even commercial utilities or companies owned by various local municipalities seem to struggle to cope with increasing demand for provision of services such as water, sanitation and refuse removal. For instance, Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, (2015), argue that while the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company is able to cater for the few households with access to sewerage system, it is mainly , unable to provide for the majority of households who depend on pit latrines and septic tanks.

Other than lack of infrastructure expansion, another challenge facing water and sanitation infrastructure is failure by most local municipalities including Lusaka City Council to afford a

regular maintenance and repairs of the infrastructure (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006; CSO, 2007). Related to municipal fiscal capacity is inability by most Zambian local authorities to spend their budgets (NWASCO, 2010). Furthermore, most local municipalities in Zambia are criticised for low levels of investment in infrastructural development, expansion, repairs and maintenance (NWASCO, 2010). Another challenge facing provision of sanitation in particular is poor profiling of sanitation coupled with fragmented planning (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2013). It is further argued in the research report by African Development Fund (2009) that impeding an efficient and effective provision of water and sanitation in various communities in Zambia is poor community participation. Poor community participation could be attributed to a limited mobilisation of communities caused by inadequate staff and time constraints prevalent across government spheres particularly district council level (African Development Fund, 2009). Behind the widespread inadequate staff particularly in those remote rural district councils governing small towns, is inability of these district councils including state-owned commercial utilities to either recruit or retain well qualified professional staff (Government of the Republic of Zambia et al., 2007). Compounding this challenge is the weak local economy that makes it difficult for these poor local councils to afford market related remuneration packages- with more professionals opting for private sector as the employer of choice (Government of the Republic of Zambia et al., 2007). Like elsewhere in other developing countries, Zambian local authorities both in rural and urban areas, are faced with ageing and dilapidated service infrastructure (African Development Fund, 2009). Partly responsible for the deterioration of service infrastructure across various local municipalities in Zambia, is amongst others, lack of investment plans where investments were done, were either done by donor funding than the national treasury or without effective participation of key stakeholders such as ordinary community members and district councils, lack of proper technical and logistical support to district councils (African Development Fund, 2009). Other than infrastructure and capacity related issues, further compounding inadequate water provision is more dams that continue to dry up than previous years (NWASCO, 2013).

For instance, supply of drinking water in small towns of Nakonde, Luwingu Mpika and Kasama have experienced interruptions due amongst others to drying up of Nakonde dam and regular breakdowns (NWASCO, 2013). Another challenge for provision of basic services is related to inadequate and unreliable central government's funding to the local or district councils. The

small size of funds made available and delays in releasing them always led to intense frustration within the local government system in Zambia (Moomba, 2002). According to (Tyrie, 1994; Moomba, 2002), funding from central government is unreliable in the sense that planned amount to be disbursed to the municipality is always not known in advance, making planning difficult; the criteria adopted in disbursing grants is not known; and the reasons for delays in releasing funds in most cases is also not made known to the local municipalities. Furthermore, Tyrie (1994), argues that most central grants given to local authorities in recent years have been non-matching grants (for no specific service), and their quantities have not been predetermined by any link to a specific share of sales or any other tax. It is within the context outlined above that Lolojih, (2008) expresses serious concerns regarding the lack of transparency and accountability in the activities of local or district councils.

Notwithstanding some improvements in the provision of municipal services achieved particularly in regions and local districts that managed to establish sound relations with state-owned utilities, attract qualified staff, it would seem that, there are regions and local district councils that continue to experience poor service delivery due amongst others, to poor relations with local organisations and absence of qualified staff. It is also evident from the discussion above that common in these poorly serviced communities are lack of community participation, undue political interference and inadequate technical and administrative capacity. It is thus, the view of this study that, these challenges could be overcome by ensuring amongst others that the Zambian government helps the affected municipalities to create conducive environments for a possible adoption of New Public Governance Theory as a guiding tool. It is through adoption of principles of New Public Governance Theory such as recognition of *role of social public organisations by government, resource exchange* and establishment of *complex networks* that issues of lack of community participation, monopoly of skilled staff by resourced regions and local districts could be resolved even in small rural local municipalities.

3.5. Possible intervention strategies to improve provision of basic municipal services

As argued earlier in the discussion, one of the possible solutions to the challenges faced particularly by less-resourced and capacitated local municipalities serving small rural towns could be a political will amongst political principals to integrate in their strategic planning

documents, some of the key principles of New Public Governance Theory. As argued by Runya et al., (2015), some of the relevant principles that could serve as guidelines include the following: recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, *dispersion of power*, *resource exchange* and the establishment of *complex networks*. Other than New Public Governance Theory, it would seem appropriate for the study to argue that, even the introduction of commercialisation of water supply in the late 1990s, seems to have helped most local government to overcome the problem of undue political interference in the affairs of governance at local level-something found to be contrary (see Chapter Two) to the general experience in most developing countries (Chitonge, 2011). This said, it should not be taken to suggest that there was no undue political interference at all. Likely to improve provision of basic services particularly in low-income and per-urban areas could amongst others be government's commitment to incentivise private service providers and maximisation of capital investment in infrastructural maintenance and expansion in these poor urban peripheries (Chitonge, 2011).

Research and literature further acknowledge the significance of devolution both of resources and authority to local municipalities as a possible counter measure to both undue political interference and inadequate provision of basic municipal services such as sanitation, water and refuse removal (Government of Republic of Zambia, 2013). To a large degree, such devolution shall take governance and administration at the local level one step closer to the initial concept of local government reform program anchored within decentralisation policy adopted nationally by a post-independence Zambian government. Yet, emphasis on devolution of resources and authority to local government should not be used to absolve the national government with its key constitutional mandate-hence, the intention by Zambian government to work closely with its partners to roll out national programme to boost planning, monitoring and evaluation through development of effective national information management system (Government of Republic of Zambia, 2013). It is further the view of African Development Fund (2009) that to undo the negative impact of poor service infrastructure on the provision of basic services, there may be a need to advocate for a sector investment programme.

Another possible solution for a widespread lack of technical skills is the advocacy for introduction of programmes to train and assist artisans to establish their own repair outlets for

water supply and sanitation system (African Development Fund, 2009). To address the issue of fragmented and uncoordinated support to municipality's water and sanitation sectors, the Zambian Ministry of Local Government and Housing is amongst others, exploring the possible adoption of a Sector Wide Approach (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). Such approach would amongst others require prioritisation of the following: (1) clarification of assignment of roles and responsibilities in the water and sanitation sectors, (2) strengthening the status of district level institutions, (3) improvement of information and M&E systems, especially with regard to investment and financial information (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2004). To address the challenge of under qualified officials employed particularly by the various district councils in remote small towns and rural areas, it is part of a longer term planning by the national government to forge a sound partnership between district councils and institutions of higher learning such as universities- through such partnership, government will not only offer scholarships to municipal employees to study in these institutions but also ensure that water and sanitation forms part of their curriculum (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2007).

3.6. Conclusion

Like elsewhere in developing countries particularly Africa, Zambia continues to experience backlogs or disparities in the provision of basic municipal services such as drinking water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal particularly in small towns or rural districts and peripheral locations such as informal settlements in some of the major towns and cities. While various factors are responsible for the poor performance by local or district councils, it would seem appropriate for the study to conclude that at the centre of inadequate provision of basic services and administrative challenges is inability of these local or district councils to raise adequate revenue-through both 'own local revenue' and external 'intergovernmental transfers and donor funding'. Contrary to most developing countries as seen in Chapter Two, the role of Zambian local or district councils in the provision of basic services such as water and sanitation seemed to have evolved from that of being sole services provider to being a shareholder in an arrangement which saw state-owned commercial utilities taking a leading role in services provision. Such changes have in the main, been instigated by changes in socio-economic and political landscape particularly transition from colonial to post-independence era. The role of

the private sector is very insignificant- with companies such as mines being allowed to offer an exclusive provision of water, sanitation and refuse removals to their employees only.

Other than being the main driver for improved provision of municipal services in some of Zambian local municipalities, the role of state-owned utilities such as Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation and public awareness raised amongst others by community based structures such as Water Watch Groups, further give credence to significance of these local stakeholders as expressed by New Public Governance Theory through its principles of recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, *resource exchange* and establishment of *complex networks*. In the next chapter (Chapter Five), the focus shall be on contextualising these theoretical views within the realities and experiences of Zambians residing in the small town of Luwingu, a rural district found in Luwingu District Council.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

Building on the brief discussion in Chapter One, the focus now shifts to a more comprehensive and detailed discussion and description of research methodology employed by the study. The focus of the discussion shall be on the description of research methodology in terms of research designs and research techniques including sampling strategies. In the next discussion, all these methodological aspects and others are discussed in detail.

4.1. Research design and methodology

From a literature perspective, research design is being described differently by different scholars. One such scholar is De Vos (2003), who has described research design as an overall plan for conducting a research project. From the perspective of Polit and Hungler (1999), research design is described as a blueprint, or outline for conducting a study where maximum control is guaranteed over factors that could interfere with the validity of the research results. While for Bryman (2008), research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data gathered during the fieldwork. In ensuring that the study is guided by the principles included in the descriptions above, the researcher adopted a case study design. Apart from being a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, it is the view of Bryman (2008), that case study design or research is also concerned with complexity and particular nature of the case under the investigation. Hence, the study chose the community of Luwingu town residing specifically in three wards of Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo (see Figure 1.1, in Chapter One), to investigate the complex nature of factors influencing provision of basic services in their local municipality. Amongst methods employed to investigate the provision of basic municipal services in Luwingu, is qualitative and quantitative research methods (these two methods are discussed in detail below). In the next discussion, focus shall be on the two methods- qualitative and quantitative research methods and their significance to the study.

4.2. Research strategy

The success of a research design is largely dependent on the research strategy a researcher chooses to employ for his or her research study. It is the view of Bryman (2008) that, comprising a research strategy is two key components- qualitative and/or quantitative research methods. A combination of these two research methods in undertaking a single study, result in a study being seen to have employed a mixed research method (Babbie, 2011; Bryman, 2008). Thus, for the study undertaken in Luwingu town as a case study area, the study adopted a mixed research method. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative research not only to arrive at conclusive findings but to also get a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the various factors (both internal and external) that influence the effective and adequate provision of basic municipal services in developing countries with a particular focus on Zambia. The next discussion focuses on the two research strategies- qualitative and quantitative and their significance to the study.

4.2.1. Qualitative research

As indicated briefly in Chapter One, the study employed a mixed research methodology comprising qualitative and quantitative research methods. In this section, the focus is on the different types of qualitative methods employed in the study in order to achieve its aim and objectives. According to literature, qualitative research method is widely accepted as one that involves the non-numeric and interpretation of observation with the sole intention to discover some key underlining meanings and patterns of relationship (Babbie, 2011). As widely noted in theoretical discussions by amongst others Babbie, (2011) and Bryman (2008), some of the common characteristics of qualitative research method include the following:

- The method places emphasis on interpretation and understanding rather than on causal explanations based on general universal laws
- It employs a data collection method that is not limited to observable behavior but includes descriptions of the subject's meanings, intentions and reasons
- Places emphasis on understanding human behavior in terms of non-observational meanings, intentions, values, beliefs and assumptions derived from human behavior
- It rejects the distance created by the quantitative research approach between the social scientist and the subject

It is further the view of broader literature that, qualitative methods usually use semi-structured questionnaires which allow for mostly “open-ended” questions (Babbie, 2011). Interesting about this, is the flexibility of this approach which amongst others, allows a tailored made list of interview questions that often than not, differ from one interviewee or informant to another. Its flexibility is also found in its ability to allow further probing by the researcher during the interview with the key informant (Bryman, 2008). In the case of qualitative methods, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be much more detailed than the quantitative methods which tend to ask completely different types of questions (see discussion below) (Babbie, 2011). Based on the discussion above, it is thus, appropriate for the study to take a stance that, seemingly, a qualitative approach is not only flexible, but is equally interactive and assists in getting in-depth information especially with key informants. Furthermore, through qualitative strategies such as in-depth qualitative interviews with participants in Luwingu as a case study area, the study is likely to validate, and triangulate quantitative information obtained from participants through a household’s survey.

In an attempt to align itself with the principles described above, the study conducted (through its qualitative approach), a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with a number of key informants from various local institutions. Amongst these institutions, the study targeted the representatives from local municipalities, traditional leadership and state’s own utilities responsible for provision of water and electricity. The study formulated “open-ended” questions that were in the main, informed both by the literature findings and views and trends that emerged during household survey. Through in-depth qualitative interviews, the researcher was provided with an opportunity to engage with various key informants on their deeper understanding and perceptions informed by their personal experiences of factors influencing provision of basic municipal services in three wards (Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo) in the small town of Luwingu found in Luwingu District Council. It is thus, the view of the researcher that, qualitative method through its in-depth interviews, proved to be the most appropriate approach and relevant in undertaking the research since it provided the platform for expression of different opinions guided by the research aim and objectives and at the same time, explore the phenomena. Further appropriate about the qualitative research strategy for Luwingu town is the fact that, this research strategy will enable the study to generate an intensive and detailed examination of the case study (Luwingu town) by using unstructured interviews with local participants.

Notwithstanding the various strengths of the qualitative research strategy discussed above, it would seem that this strategy is not without criticism or weaknesses. Without giving much focus on weaknesses or criticism, it is appropriate to list the following as some of the key criticisms formulated by Bryman (2008) against any qualitative research strategy:

- Qualitative research strategy is too subjective
- It is difficult to replicate
- It has problems of generalisation
- It lacks transparency

4.2.2. Quantitative research

In a mixed research method employed by the study, there are two main components- qualitative research method (as discussed and described above) and quantitative research method (see discussion below). With regard to the latter, the literature review and theoretical debates referred to it (quantitative method) as one that allows a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data is used for generating information about the world (Burns & Grove 2007). As widely noted in theoretical discussions by amongst others Babbie, (2011) and Bryman (2008), some of the common characteristics of quantitative research method include the following:

- Quantitative research is more structured and controlled
- The scope of research tends to be wider and more universal than qualitative research
- It consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses

Other than the characteristics listed above, further unique about the quantitative research method is its advantages. As shown in the literature, quantitative research is widely known for being more efficient and economical, for requiring fewer people to administer individual questionnaires, for being impersonal in nature, the level of anonymity is higher as such have a possibility of gathering much more objective responses. (Neuwman, 1997; Babbie, 2011). It is against the above background information on the history of quantitative research method and the intent by the researcher to achieve key study aim and objectives that it was found appropriate to employ quantitative research method as part of its mixed research. Using household survey, the researcher used a close-ended questionnaire to solicit the views of a

sampled (see details on sample size below) group of local residents in three wards of Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. In a more structured manner, the participants in Luwingu were allowed to objectively express their perceptions on their experiences of provision of basic municipal services by their local or district council. In a nutshell, the researcher found the method appropriate for the study in that it systematically measures the properties of adequacy and effectiveness of services provision as a phenomenon using structured data-collection tools and requires that such data be expressed numerically, so it such can be quantified.

Notwithstanding the various strengths of a quantitative research strategy discussed above, it would seem that this strategy is not without criticism or weaknesses. Without giving much focus on weaknesses or criticism, it is appropriate to list the following as some of the key criticisms formulated by Bryaman (2008) against any quantitative research strategy:

- Quantitative research strategy is being criticised for being unable to distinguish people and social institutions from ‘the world of nature’
- For an artificial and spurious sense of precision and accuracy usually found in its measurement processes
- Its failure to facilitate connection between research and everyday life
- For its static view of social life that is independent of people’s lives created by analysis of relationships between variables

4.3. Sampling strategies and methods

One of the characteristics of social science research such as this one is that it allows use of sample to possibly present a popular view shared by majority of community members. It is against the background above, that the focus of the study now shifts to a discussion on sampling strategy employed by the researcher in investigating factors influencing adequate and effective provision of basic municipal services in three wards of Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo in a small town or rural district of Luwingu. The discussion below is on different aspects comprising sampling in a research project.

4.3.1. Target study population

Since it is always impossible to include and work with all community members when investigating a phenomenon through research, it was important that the study draws a sample from Luwingu area. In achieving the study aim and objectives, the researcher opted for a small sample size comprising key local stakeholders in the provision of basic services. To meet the requirements of a quantitative research as outlined in the discussion above, the researcher worked with a sample of 60 heads of households in the three wards in Luwingu rural district. Each ward had a sample of 20 heads of households. In meeting the requirements for the qualitative research but also to complement the quantitative data from the household survey of sixty (60) heads of households, the researcher conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with a total number of twelve (12) key informants residing in Luwingu rural district. Amongst key informants who participated in the study was one provincial local government officer, three senior officials from district councils, three ward councillors, one Head of Government officer or District Administration Officer, two traditional leader's representatives and two from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Further related to sample size is the concept of sample frame. According to Bryman (2008), sample frame is the listing of all units of study in the population from which the sample will be selected. Based on this definition, it is worth noting that the district valuation roll (account) which is estimated to be around a total of 445 residential and business registered properties (rate payers) in the small town or rural district of Luwingu was used as a sampling frame. With a confidence interval at ± 12 and the confidence level assumed at 95%, a sample size of 60 respondents was estimated using a sample calculator hosted on the following website: www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.

4.3.2. The eligibility criteria

According to the literature, eligibility criteria specifies what characteristics the objects, subjects or members of the population possess in order to be included in the study (Polit and Hungler 1999). To ensure adherence to the principle mentioned above, the study developed a clear set of criteria that helped the researcher in identifying members of the community who could make meaningful contribution to the study. For instance, in identifying the sixty community members for a household survey, the researcher ensured that these are adults who are eighteen years and older, who are rightful owners (heads of households) responsible for all household's

expenditure including payment of monthly account for municipal services. These households had to strictly reside in the three wards mentioned above. For participants in in-depth qualitative interviews, the researcher allowed the various institutions such as local municipality, NGOs, traditional tribal councils and state-owned utilities to identify people whom they believed could represent their respective institutions.

4.3.3. The sampling procedure

Literature on research and sampling techniques refers to two broad categories of sampling—these being probability and non-probability sampling (Babbie, 2011; Bryman, 2008). Thus, the process of selecting a portion of the population to represent the entire population is what is called sampling (Polit & Hungler 1999). Rather than making attempt of studying the entire population of the residents of Luwingu District who meet the criteria, a smaller number of residents from three specific wards of Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo was chosen. It should also be noted that, with only 60 participants, it may not be possible to claim that such a number is representative of the entire town. Collecting data from the entire population, capturing, analysis and interpretation of such massive data would have been almost impossible considering the financial and time constraints which the researcher encountered. For this study, the researcher employed two specific types within the probability sampling method. To select heads of households in the three wards in Luwingu town, the study employed a systematic random sampling method while for selection of key informants for in-depth qualitative interviews the purposive random sampling method was used. As argued in the literature, purposive sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research in selecting the units to be observed on the basis of the researcher's judgement about which ones will be the most useful or representative for the study (Babbie, 2011). This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest. With regard to systematic random sampling, it is the view of Bryman (2008) and Babbie (2011) that systematic sampling is a type of probability sampling in which every k th unit in a list is selected for inclusion in the sample. For the 60 respondents from three wards in Luwingu to be included, the researcher used the Luwingu 2010 valuation roll which had a total of 445 registered property rate payers as a sample frame.

Using the sample size of 60, the sampling interval was calculated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Sampling interval} &= \text{Population} / \text{sample size} \\ &= 445/60 \\ &= 7.4 \\ &\text{Approximately } 7\end{aligned}$$

Therefore, a random number (household) was picked between 1 and 7, thereafter every seventh household was selected as part of the participants. These were further restricted to the three wards in which the study took place.

4.4. Data collection methods

Data gathering is one key component of a research project in a social science setting. To gather the required data that could suit a mixed research method that is being employed by the study, the researcher used two different types of data gathering instruments or tools. The first one was a structured interview questionnaire usually used during a household survey. The above view is further supported by Bryman (2008) who says that one of the two main ways of administering a survey instrument is the structured interview. For the study, this instrument (structured interview), was used as part of a quantitative research strategy to solicit the views of sixty (60) respondents from the three wards of Luwingu. Comprising such structured interview with respondents was a set of closed questions contained in a questionnaire that was divided into five main sections (see Annexure A). The following are the main sections into which the household survey questionnaire is divided: Section A- Biographic/Demographic Profile of participants in Luwingu town; Section B- Migration patterns and trends both in the small town or rural district of Luwingu and the surrounding towns and rural villages; Section C Socio-Economic Profile of participants; Section D - General Quality of Life amongst the participants; and Section E focused on Public Services in terms of level of access, standard, quality and efficiency in their three wards but also Luwingu District Council as a whole. The second instrument used was unstructured interviews. As defined by Bryman (2008) and Babbie (2011), unstructured interview is an interview guide comprising a list of topics or issues usually covered through an informal questioning during the interview. For the study, this instrument (unstructured interview), was used as part of a qualitative research strategy to solicit the views and perceptions of twelve (12) key informants chosen from local institutions such as

Luwingu local municipality or rural district council; traditional councils; local NGOs and local state-owned utilities responsible for provision of water and electricity. Comprising such unstructured interview with these key-informants was a set of open-ended questions contained in an interview guide or schedule (see Annexure B), that was administered during face-to-face in-depth interviews. To ensure that all the views expressed by various key informants during these face-to-face or one on-one- in-depth interviews are accurately captured in the study, the researcher had to (as per consent or prior permission by each key informant) use a voice recording device. Through the said method, the process of transcription became quite possible and easy for the researcher.

Further noteworthy is the fact that, for the administration of household survey questionnaire in the three wards, the researcher engaged two properly trained research fieldworkers who reside in the area. The training of these two fieldworkers was conducted by the researcher himself. While all the in-depth qualitative interviews with the key informants were conducted by the researcher himself. To ensure that all research ethics such as obtaining participants' consent for their voluntary participation in the research, protecting their identity and winning their trust, the researcher did several things that are worth noting. First, he presented each participant with an official and signed letter of instruction from the University of South Africa (see Annexure C). Second, the researcher ensured that both he and the fieldworkers obtained consent from each participant prior to any participation. To protect participants' identity, the researcher ensured that all the direct quotes obtained during in-depth interviews with key informants including some of the common remarks made by participants of the household survey, are kept anonymous in the text- see all direct quotes in Chapter Five.

In conclusion, it may be appropriate for the study to make the following theoretical observations regarding the discussion above. It is the view of Van Lill and Visser (1998) that structured interviews and their closed questions have several strengths which include amongst others, the ability to assist in gathering and arranging abstract information. Because all respondents to a study provide answers to the same questions on the questionnaire, measurement is enhanced, analysing and coding of closed questions which mostly make up all structured questionnaires is made easy. Additionally, closed questions are easier and faster to respond to, as respondents do not have to come up with their own answers. While on semi-structured or unstructured interviews with their open-ended questions, Van Lill and Visser (1998) are of the view that, it provides a rich variety of alternative responses, thereby providing

an opportunity for in-depth information to be collected, which is not restrictive like in the case of closed questions.

4.4.1. Data capturing and analysis

In ensuring that both quantitative and qualitative data gathered complement each other in helping the study to achieve its main aim and objectives, the researcher employed two methods for capturing and analysis. To bring order, structure and meaning in order to draw proper conclusions from quantitative data collected through a 60 households survey in the three wards, the researcher used Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16 and Microsoft Excel for data capturing, entry and analysis. The relevance of SPSS software is further confirmed by the strong views expressed by scholars such as Marshall and Rosemary (1995); Bryman (2008); Babbie (2011) that, SPSS is probably the most widely used computer software for the analysis of quantitative data for social scientists. Consequently, the researcher used both descriptive and inferential techniques in the presentation and reporting of findings. A descriptive approach assists in presenting measures of central tendency and dispersion and measures of relationship, while at the same time, summarising a collection of data into an organised, visual representation of data in a number of ways so as to draw meaning from data (see also Brink 1990).

With regard to analysis of qualitative data gathered (using voice recorder device and notes) during in-depth interviews with key informants, the researcher used what Bryman (2008) referred to as ‘qualitative content analysis’. Through this, the researcher transcribed all qualitatively corrected data in the study into themes which were then coded into specific pieces of data that correspond with different themes (see various examples of direct quotes used to complement quantitative data in Chapter Five). The analysis of qualitative data was done in two main ways which included thematic and content analysis. The researcher used thematic analysis in analysing the data which entails coding or development of words or phrases that serve as labels for section of data (see also Babbie, 2011). Thematic analysis as the term entails, does not only mean counting the words or phrases but includes also identification and describing the ideas or concepts within the data. The researcher used thematic analysis for the study as a way of analysing qualitative data gathered during interviews with all key informants in Luwingu town because it was essential to determine the main underlying factors arising from

the respondents whose influence on the provision of municipal services by Luwingu Council is vital.

4.5. Research ethical considerations

As briefly discussed in the previous sections, the study adhered to several key research ethics before, during and after fieldwork and writing up of results. It is argued in the literature that, research ethics is typically associated with morality, and both deal with matters of right and wrong (Babbie, 2011). Researchers world over, are faced with a number of ethical predicaments when using human beings as participants in research studies, and as such precaution (as already done for this study), has to be applied so that their human rights are not infringed, but protected. The researcher considered and applied all the important ethical agreements as argued by Babbie (2011) in terms of what is proper and improper in the conduct of a scientific inquiry. Below are some of key ethical aspects the study observed during the entire process.

Firstly, it was important for the researcher to ensure that both thesis writing, and fieldwork processes are preceded by acquisition of ethical clearance certificate issued by University of South Africa. Thus, following a successful adjudication of an application submitted by the researcher for ethical clearance in the Department of Development Studies, University of South Africa, the study was given a clearance certificate by Departmental Higher degree Committee. Secondly, the researcher ensured that no participant was interviewed without prior consent. Thus, before the research was conducted, consent was to be obtained from all relevant authorities including the office of the Provincial Local Government Officer, Luwingu District Council Secretary including the District Commissioner. The researcher fully informed the participants in the study about the nature of the study and obtained consent from all participants that availed themselves for the study. No money or any payment in kind was paid out to the participants, their participation was purely voluntary. The researcher ensured that information obtained from individual respondents was treated with high level of confidentiality. Furthermore, each participant was re-assured of this throughout the interview. The researcher also worked with fieldworkers that were identified locally, this was done to ensure that the local socio-cultural way of life of the local communities was respected and well understood.

The study also observed to a large extent, a principle of respect for human dignity. As argued by Polit and Hunger (1999), this principle includes the participant's right to self-determine and the right to full disclosure. The right to self-determination is based on the principle of respect for persons and the argument that people are more than able to scheme their own destiny. Therefore, they should be treated as autonomous agents, who have the freedom to behave in the manner that they choose without being externally controlled (see also Burns and Grove 1999). The respondents' right to self-determination was ensured by explaining the purpose, its significance and potential benefits of the study to them, by soliciting for their informed consent, and by providing the participants with the right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time they were not comfortable to continue and that there were no punitive measures to be meted out on them. The respondents were made aware of their rights not to answer questions when they felt that information sought for was too personal, and they could opt not to disclose anything. The participant's right to full disclosure was ensured by the researcher explaining to the participants the nature of the study, the participant and researcher's responsibilities, the risks and benefits that were involved in participating, and that the participants had the full right to decline taking part. All these were made clear to the participants before administering the questionnaires.

Another ethical principle observed by this study was anonymity and confidentiality of participants. As argued in the literature, anonymity means that the researcher cannot identify a given response with a name or any form of identity of the respondent (Babbie, 2011). Confidentiality implies that the researcher cannot share the details or information given by respondents with any other person or institution other than himself and the institution undertaking the study. Meaning that information provided by respondents is not to be disclosed to any other person without prior permission of the respondent concerned. The respondents were assured that only the researcher and the research assistants would have access to their responses. Another principle observed by the study is that of beneficence. As argued by Polit and Hunger (1999), the principle of beneficence includes freedom from harm and exploitation. Human research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteer for the study. There was no physical harm on any participant resulting from their participation in the study. However, psychological discomfort may have resulted especially when eliciting information on personal characteristics such as their level of education, monthly income, amount of debt owing to the local council which seemed to be demeaning and hence, caused some discomfort. However, participants were informed of the nature, risks and benefits

of participating in the study, and not only that, but also participants were free to opt out or avoid responding to questions that they deemed uncomfortable or that would injure them.

4.6. Conclusion

Building on a brief reflection done in Chapter One, this chapter discussed the research methodology employed by the study. The discussion focused on the reasons and justification for use of mixed research method to investigate factors influencing provision of basic municipal services in three wards- Katopola, Chulungoma and Namukolo, found in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. The mixed research method is found to have been relevant and thus, assisted the study to achieve its main aim and objectives while adhering to all basic ethical principles. In the next chapter (Chapter Five), focus shall be on analysis of empirical findings achieved through operationalisation of this mixed research method in Luwingu town.

CHAPTER FIVE: HOUSEHOLDS' PERCEPTIONS ON THE PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL BASIC SERVICES IN LUWINGU RURAL DISTRICT

5.0. Introduction

The review of literature in Chapter Two and Chapter Three provided a critical analysis both of the state and level of access to four basic municipal services- drinking water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal including the current backlogs. In these chapters, the discussion further focused on challenges facing provision of these services in developing countries in general and Zambia respectively. In the said chapters, it was argued that provision of municipal basic services in most local municipalities continues to be below the expectations of consumers, due amongst others, to poor standard and quality. Subsequent to these literature findings and conclusions, the main argument in this chapter is that, the empirical evidence from the small town or rural district of Luwingu (see Chapter One for a brief profile of this case study area) further confirms the conclusion in Chapter Two that provision of basic services through outsourcing (to either private companies, state-owned companies or NGOs) seems to have yielded services of a more acceptable standard and quality than the one done solely through local municipalities themselves- particularly if implemented in neighbourhoods with high employment rate.

Against the above background, the chapter aims to provide a critical analysis of perceptions of heads of households on the accessibility, quality and standard of basic services in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. To achieve the above aim, the chapter is structured as follows: First, is the socio-economic profile of the consumers of municipal services in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. Second, are consumers' perceptions on the general quality of life and provision of basic services by Luwingu District Council specifically in Luwingu Rural District. Third, is analysis of households' perceptions on the various local service providers, their capacity and skills. Fourth, is analysis and discussion on perceptions of households on how to improve provision of basic services in Luwingu Rural District. Finally, is concluding remarks and summation of key ideas and empirical findings.

5.1. Socio-economic profile of households in Luwingu rural district (town)

The section focuses on a brief discussion on various aspects comprising the socio-economic profile of consumers of municipal services in Luwingu rural district (town). Key to the discussion shall be two aspects- biographical details and the employment and income of households.

5.1.1 Biographical and household information

The biographical and household information covers the respondents' gender, nationality, age, marital status and highest academic qualification obtained. However, for this discussion, focus shall be on gender, age and employment and income status and migration patterns only.

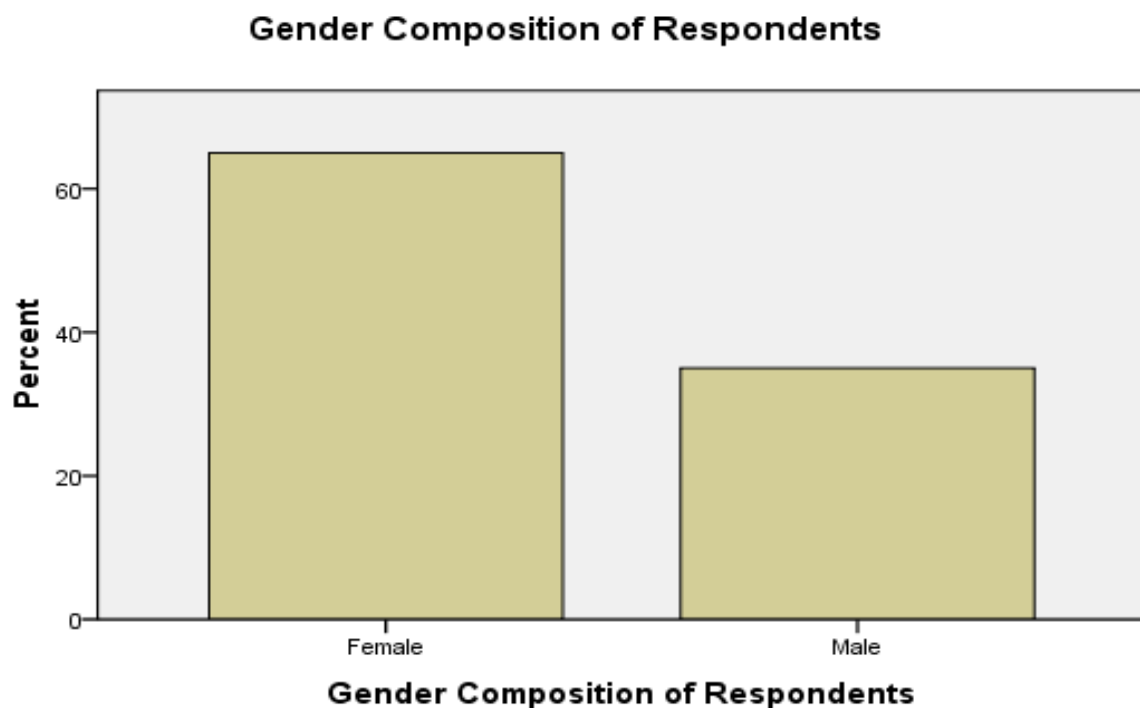


Figure 5.1: The Gender Composition of the respondents, 2017

The following comments could be made regarding the findings presented in Figure 5.1 above. There are more females than males who participated in the study. The findings show that 65% of the respondents were female while 35% were male. Since the field work was done during the day, this could to a certain extent, mean that there are more males employed than females. A trend similar to one found commonly in international literature and research on communities

especially developing countries with a history of colonialism and its patriarchal and segregative tendencies particularly in the employment sector. Noteworthy is the fact that all (100%) of our respondents are Zambians by birth and most had been residents of this local council area for more than four decades. The empirical findings further indicate that the respondents are aged between 20 years and 74 years of age- with the average age of 37 years. The findings further confirm the information contained in the national statistics (see also CSO, 2014). To a large extent, this reflects a fairly young and economically active population. With the average age of 37 years, it would be appropriate for the study to argue that the population in Luwingu District Council is relatively young and consists of economically active population. Hence, it does not come as a surprise to have high rate of employment (82%) which in the main is dominated by the self-employed people (53%).

5.1.2 Households and migration patterns

The focus now shifts to the discussion and analysis of level of mobility amongst households in Luwingu rural district (town). Amongst key migration related questions that the researcher asked the respondents are - the year of migration to the town of Luwingu, place of origin before migration, the reasons for migration to Luwingu town and whether they intend to leave the town in future. Below is Figure 5.2 that shows different years in which different individuals and/or households migrated to Luwingu.

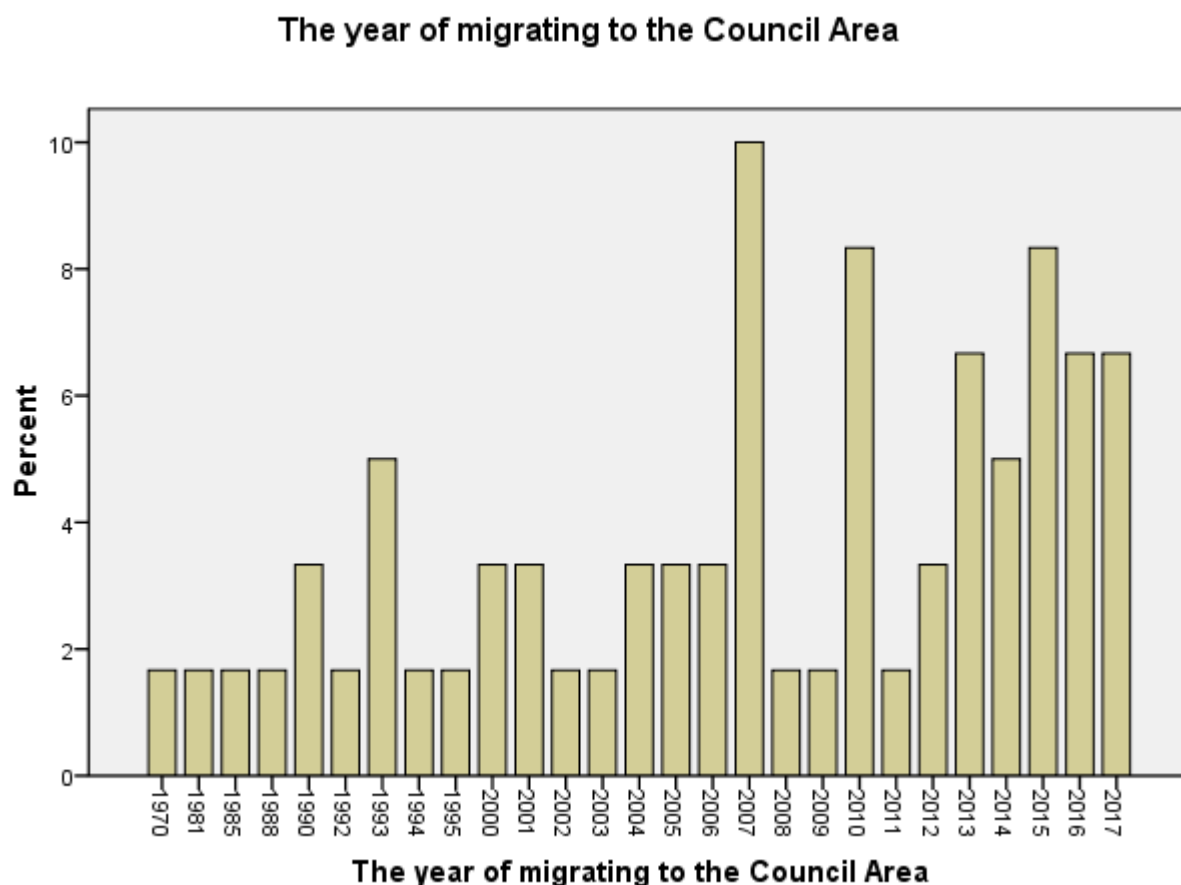


Figure 5.2: The year of migration to town of Luwingu, 2017

It is possible to make the following comments from the information presented in Figure 5.2 above: Both the interviews and Figure 5.2 show that majority of the respondents migrated to the town of Luwingu between 2007 and 2017. Most of them indicated that they migrated to the town being originally from various areas within Luwingu district council and other neighboring rural districts (towns). Noteworthy is the fact that the area has in general experienced migration or influx of new residents and thus, possible population growth over a number of years- particularly the past decade (2007-2017). This influx could amongst others be attributed to the perceived proximity of Luwingu District Council area to some local economic opportunities and easy access to social amenities such as health facilities (public clinics) and public schools. Confirming this view, is amongst others, the current figure of 82% (see Figure 5.3 below) for the general employment rate (although majority-53% are self-employed) and the satisfaction levels of 63% for local health facilities; 60% for local public schools and 78% for local public transport system.

This finding seems to confirm the argument made in literature review (see Chapter Two) regarding role played by improved roads and public transport system including accessibility of public facilities such as schools and clinics in attracting both new and former residents of a peri-urban called Winterveld on the periphery of City of Tshwane (Ntema and van Rooyen, 2016) and rural villages adjacent to city of Polokwane (Ntema & Venter, 2016). Hence, it should not also come as a surprise to have about 58.3% of residents in Luwingu rural district (town) expressing their strong preference for permanent stay in the area despite it being a small rural town. Confirming the above views on the significance of economic opportunities and social amenities, one key informant mentioned that *“most of us came to this place in search of a good life,”* while the other said: *“in the rural areas far away from the district, it is very difficult to find schools and clinics nearby, but at least here most schools and clinics are nearby”*. The main reasons advanced by most (45%) respondents to migrate to Luwingu were amongst others, to seek economic opportunities and social opportunities in a form of social amenities- schools and clinics. Households’ survey and interviews further reveal that migration to Luwingu was also driven by transfer of workers particularly civil servants from other districts of Zambia to Luwingu.

5.1.3. Employment status and income levels of households in Luwingu rural district (town)

This section profiles the socio-economic background particularly the employment status and income levels of households who participated in the study. Below is Figure 5.3 that shows employment patterns amongst participants in Luwingu.

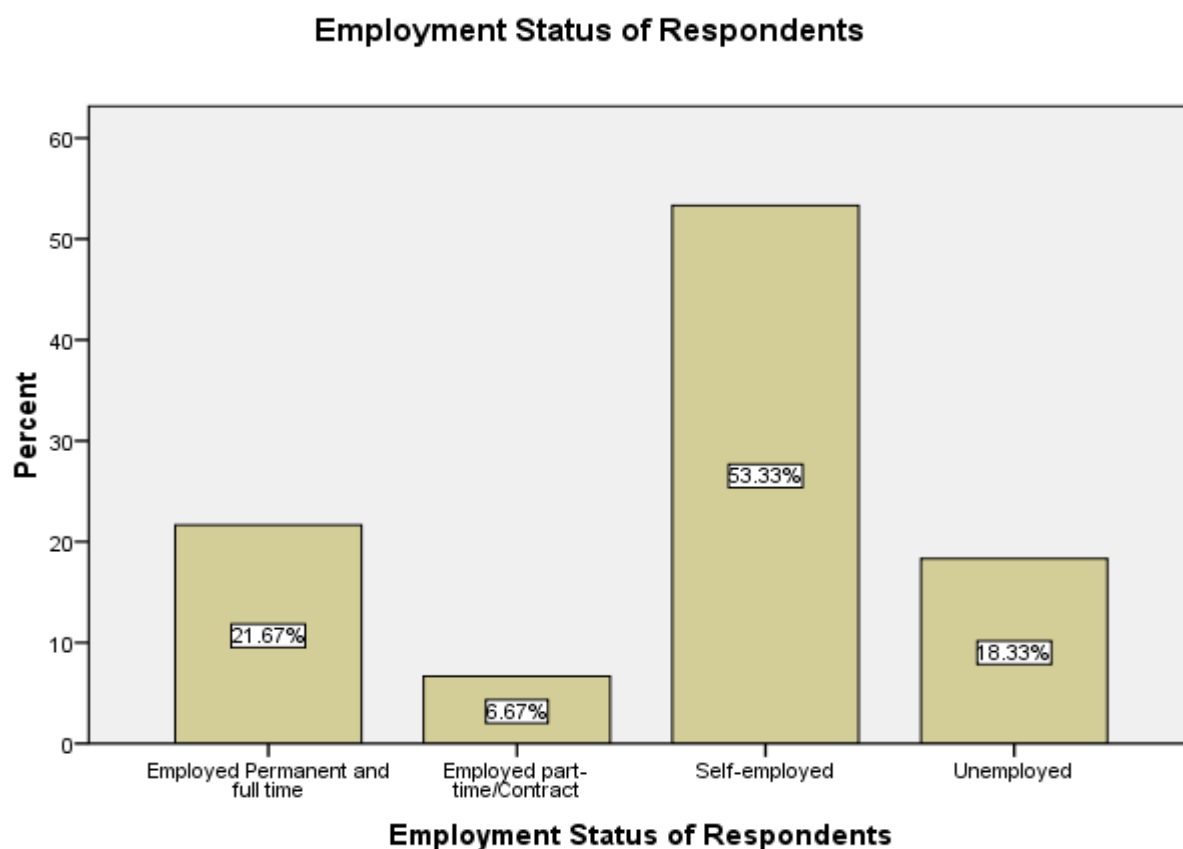


Figure 5.3: Employment status of respondents in Luwingu, 2017

It is possible to make the following comments from the information presented in Figure 5.3: The data presented in the figure above is informed by key questions asked to respondents during interviews. Amongst the questions asked to respondents were the following: to state their main current economic activity, the kind of work or business which they are involved in to generate income for the household. These were in four categories including: permanent /full-time employment - who was regarded as a person who worked for a public or private employer and received remuneration in wages, salaries either in cash or in kind; part-time/contract employment = those persons who are only in employment for a fixed period of time. A self-employed person was defined as a person who operated his/her own economic enterprise(s) and the unemployed are defined as those persons that are not in any gainful economic activity.

Based on the key questions and categorizations mentioned above, the study revealed that a significant number of participants in the small rural town of Luwingu are employed. According

to information in Figure 5.3 above, a combined figure of 82% of the respondents are in one way or another employed-. Out of 82%, about 53% of respondents are currently self-employed. These results are not very far from the national statistics (CSO, 2014) that revealed the average employment status for the province to be at 75.1%. More than anything else, it may be appropriate for the study to argue that, a positive rate of employment in the area is likely to boost payment of services and thus, general performance of the local council. Hence in a simple ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ response, it did not come as surprise to have about 80% of respondents indicating that their municipal accounts are up to date as they do not owe the local council or district. As a small rural town with a weak or absence of strong base for private sector, the high employment rate amongst ordinary citizens consuming municipal basic services is likely to boost local council to generate ‘own local revenue’ required for strengthening governance capacity of local council.

The correlation between employment rate and improved capacity by local municipalities to provide basic services is also confirmed in the international literature presented in Chapter Two (see also Ntema and Venter, 2016; Fjeldstad, 2004; SALGA, 2016). Further confirming this view is some of the remarks made during in-depth interviews with key informants. One respondent mentioned that *“The economy of Luwingu is hugely dependent upon public employees, small businesses and subsistent farmers...there are no industries, and so it is very difficult for the council to generate adequate revenue locally, and even put up fees that are beyond the capacity of the people”*. Hence, it is important to note that even though 82% of the respondents are currently employed, a significant number (53%) of them are in self-employment- which is generally characterized by small and medium scale business, petty trading and subsistence farming.

Related to employment rate, is the total monthly income these respondents are able to generate. The 2017 study findings indicate that the average monthly income of the respondents’ household is 2093 ZMW (USD 209.3 at current ZMW/USD exchange rate), with most (33.4%) of the respondents falling between 1500.00 ZMW (USD150.00) and 1800.00 ZMW (USD180.00). These results are not far away from the Living Condition Monitoring Survey of 2015 (CSO, 2015) which put the average monthly household income at 1801.30ZMW. Given that the average monthly household expenditure is ZMW 1588.00 (CSO,2015), it may be appropriate for the study to argue that most of the households or residents of Luwingu are living slightly above the poverty line. Consequently, with both above poverty line status and

high rate of employment amongst Luwingu residents, it is no wonder that there is high rate of satisfaction about provision of certain basic services by the local council.

5.2.Perceptions of households on the general quality of life and provision of basic services in Luwingu rural district (town)

The focus now shifts to a critical analysis of households' perceptions on the extent to which their lives have improved since they came to live in Luwingu District Council particularly the small town or rural district of Luwingu. Such analysis would focus on the following key aspects: First, are consumers' satisfaction levels with standard and quality of basic services and social amenities in Luwingu rural district or town. Second, are consumers perceptions on the capacity of service providers in Luwingu District Council. Third, are perceptions of consumers on the general weaknesses and strengths in the provision of services by the Luwingu District Council. Fourth, are consumers' perceptions on factors that could possibly help to improve provision of basic services in Luwingu District Council.

5.2.1. Households' satisfaction levels with standard and quality of basic services and social amenities in Luwingu rural district (town)

It is argued in the literature (see Chapter Two and Chapter Three) that there is a strong correlation between the quality of basic services such as drinking water and sanitation and the general standard of life of ordinary citizens (Chitonge, 2011; Duflo et al. 2012; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2013; NWASCO, 2013; United Nations 2015;). This view is to some extent being confirmed by the empirical findings from Luwingu as a case study area. While the primary focus of the discussion shall be on the analysis of households' perceptions about four basic services- drinking water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal, it would be appropriate for the study to first provide a brief reflection on views of households on the standard of social amenities or public services such as health facilities, public schools; public transport and recreational facilities in the town or rural district of Luwingu.

Contrary to a widespread dissatisfaction about certain basic services, households in the town or rural district of Luwingu, seem to be very satisfied with accessibility and standard of most

local public facilities. For instance, empirical findings show that about 63% of respondents are satisfied with their local public health facilities while 60% and 78% are satisfied with their local public schools and public transport respectively. The widespread high satisfaction level expressed by respondents on these various social amenities, could probably be one of the reasons why there is currently about 56.7% of respondents who have indicated that their lives are either *the way they expected it to be* or *far better than they expected it to be* the first time they came to live in Luwingu rural district. These respondents indicated that the quality of their life was as they expected or even better than they had expected advancing amongst others, the following reasons: *“Although at a small business scale and with some challenges, Luwingu gave us much needed economic and business opportunities, easy access to good and performing public schools, clinics and public transport system than was the case in areas we previously lived in”*.

Regarding public health facilities in Luwingu rural district, some of key informants particularly traditional leaders expressed their satisfaction in comments like, *“The government has built a number of health facilities and most of these are managed by qualified staff”*. This view was also confirmed during the key informant’s interviews with other local leaders in NGOs where health facilities were not identified amongst those public services that had serious backlogs, and which needed immediate intervention. While the following remarks were made regarding public schools and public transport system in the small town of Luwingu: *“Government has been building a number of schools within the vicinity of the council area, and as such the pupils are not walking long distances to school.” “The current recruitment of teachers by government has addressed the problem of shortage of teachers in most schools.”* Expressing positive sentiments about public transport, some respondents mentioned that: *“Transport is very much available, we do much of our shopping in Kasama and one can go in the morning, do their shopping and by afternoon, they are back.”* Furthermore, these general positive sentiments about public social amenities in Luwingu could also probably be seen as reason why there are currently about 58% of respondents in Luwingu who have expressed their strong preference to permanently stay or reside in this small town. The empirical finding above, further confirms the significance of quality public services in instilling a strong sense of belonging amongst end users of such services (see also Hossain, 2013; Bratton, 2012).

Yet, contrary to the positive sentiments expressed by residents regarding these public services or social amenities, it would seem that more still needs to be done in terms of improving both

access and standard of basic municipal services in the town or rural district of Luwingu. Next is the analysis and discussion of households' perceptions on the provision and standard of four basic municipal services- drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity in Luwingu rural district.

5.2.1.1 Households' perceptions on the provision of drinking water

The focus of discussion and analysis now shifts to the perceptions of end users on the provision of reliable and quality supply of drinking water in Luwingu rural district. This is displayed in Figure 5.4.

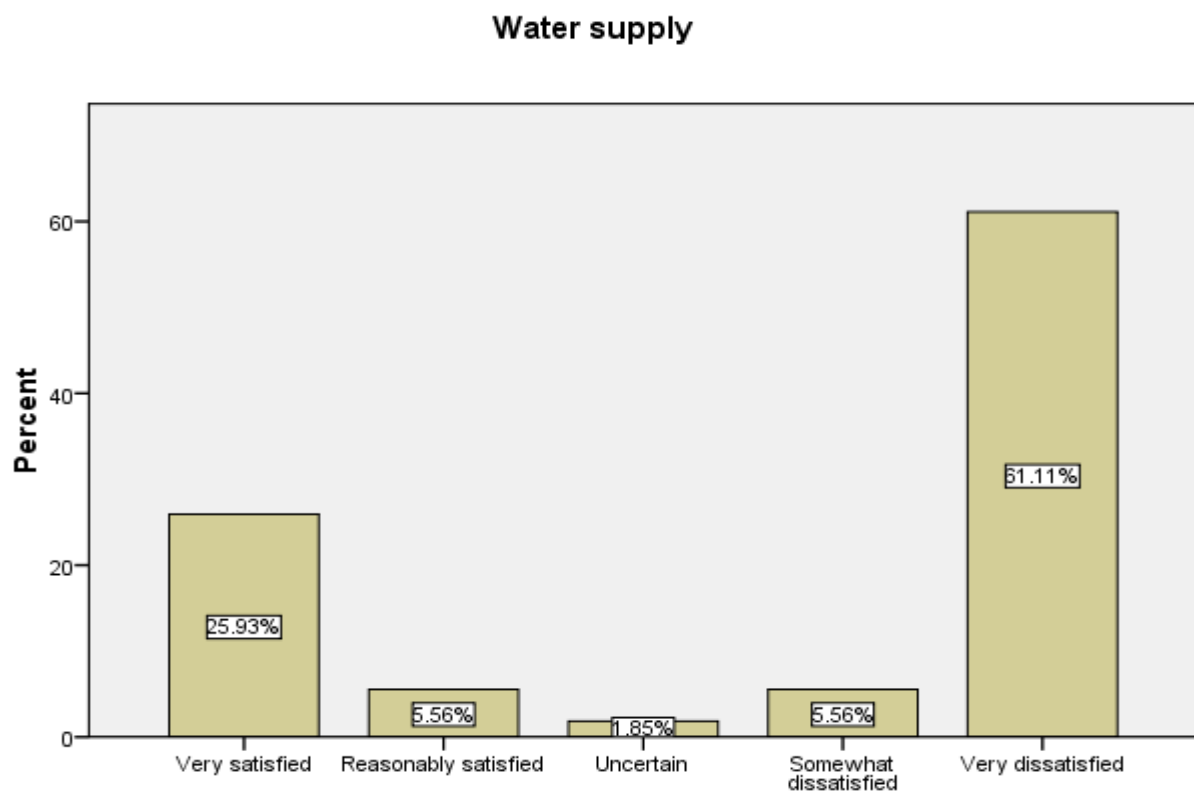


Figure 5.4: Perceptions of households on the provision of drinking water in Luwingu, 2017

From Figure 5.4 above, the following comments could be made: Similar to the national situation demonstrated in Chapter Three (see also Government of Republic of Zambia, 2004; 2007; 2013; Kennedy-Walker, Amezaga and Paterson, 2015) and international context in

Chapter Two (see also Duflo et al., 2012; Nyasani, 2009; Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010), provision of basic services such as drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity in Luwingu rural district is not without challenges. This is evident in the high number (about 56.7%) of respondents in Luwingu rural district who expressed their dissatisfaction with supply of drinking water by their Luwingu District Council in 2017. Various reasons were cited by the residents for their dissatisfaction. Amongst the key reasons they advanced is areas within the council area which are currently not yet serviced with piped water, the billing of water which is characterized with anomalies and these were not effectively rectified despite their regular complaints, failure by local municipality to provide enough notice to people before effecting disconnection, failure to deliver bills timeously to users of the services, generally poor management at the water utility company under their local or district council, lack of maintenance of damaged pipes, low response to faults reported, and highly rationalized water supply.

Confirming widespread dissatisfaction, one of the key informants from a local organization made the following remarks: *“Our area has never had piped water for many years despite it being within close proximity to the central business district and even the council offices”* while the other complained that: *“water bills are not delivered to community members, but the Chambeshi Water and Sewerage Company is good at just disconnection and slow at responding to our concerns regarding the lack of reading of water meters by their staff”*. Of significance about the empirical findings above is the extent to which they confirm literature findings and conclusions made both in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. To a large extent, the perceptions of respondents in Luwingu on challenges of dilapidated water infrastructure and the general lack of capacity at their local council, is in the main, a further confirmation of argument made both in the national and international literature review chapters (see also Nyangena, 2008; Chitonge, 2011; Duflo et al., 2012; NWASCO, 2013; Republic of Zambia, 2013; Mapfumo and Madesha, 2014; Woodling, 2014; SALGA, 2015; UN Habitat, 2015; Ntema and Venter, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2017). Hence it is appropriate for the study in this chapter to argue that, most of the challenges mentioned above by respondents particularly the general poor infrastructural development and maintenance in water sector, is not unique only to the small town or rural district of Luwingu and by extension, the local or district council but a common phenomenon affecting effective and efficient provision of drinking water both in Zambia and various developing countries.

The finding above further shows two other important aspects- first, is the extent to which community members and certain key stakeholders such as NGOs and traditional leadership felt marginalised by their local council. Second, is the extent to which Luwingu district council has failed to adopt or practise an inclusive approach as recommended by New Public Governance Theory through its principles of recognition of *role of social public organisations by government* which amongst others, emphasises a need to allow social public organisations to work with government in ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens, through its second principle of *coordination of governance* that emphasises a need for government particularly local government to build dialogue platforms, integrates public resources to ensure that a negotiated consensus, transparency and response is reached between local administrators and the members of the public (Runya et al., 2015).

5.2.1.2 Households' perceptions on the provision of sanitation

The focus of the discussion and analysis now shifts to the perceptions of ordinary community members residing in the small town of Luwingu on the accessibility, quality and reliability of sanitation supplied by their Luwingu local council. The perceptions of these respondents are presented in Figure 5.5 below.

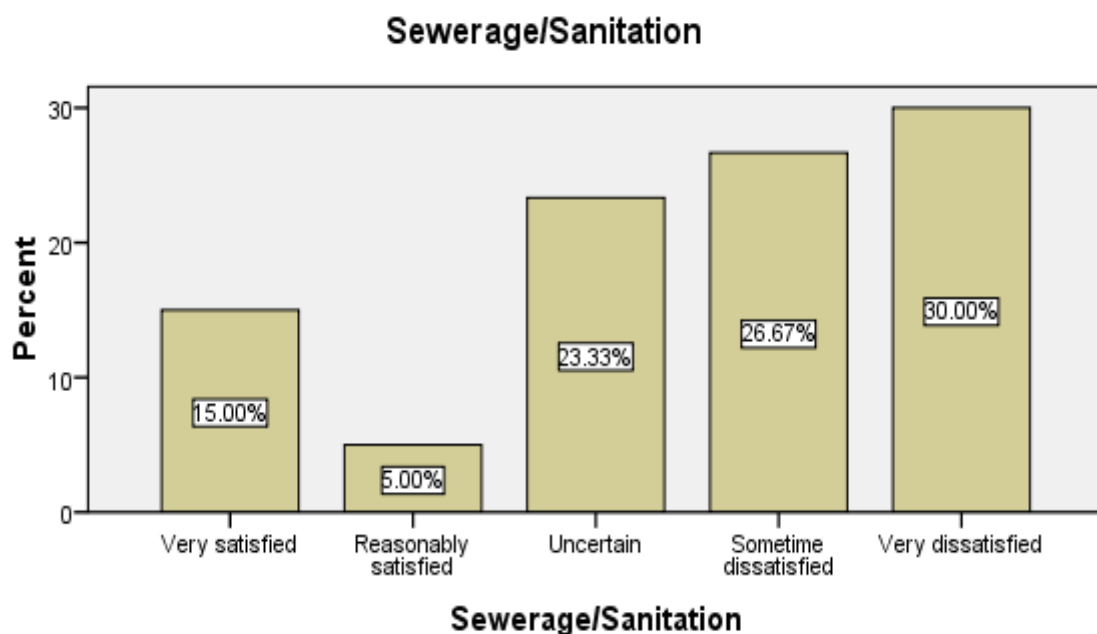


Figure 5.5: Perceptions of households on the provision of sanitation in Luwingu, 2017

From Figure 5.5 above, it is possible for the study to make the following remarks: Similar to perceptions on drinking water, it would seem that provision of sanitation is also not perceived in the positive light by majority of respondents in Luwingu. According to empirical findings in 2017, about 57% of respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the current provision of sanitation. Some of the remarks used by key informants to express their displeasure with sanitation include the following: *“there is very little if anything that the district council is doing regarding sanitation or sewer services, this is left to individual residents.”* While another stated that: *“council has in the past allocated residential plots without ensuring that sanitation related concerns are addressed, for instance residential areas like Chelston are not fully serviced with water even after most people have paid for the service.”* Furthermore, it was clear from the results that the council’s services regarding sewerage and sanitation were almost non-existence in most areas of Luwingu. Discussions with key informants confirmed that other than creation of awareness campaigns or trainings around sanitation through what was called Community Led-Total Sanitation (CLTS), a programme being funded mainly by SNV, the council was not providing any services around sanitation and sewerage and, consequently the CLTS interventions were not covering the entire council area. With increased rate of migration which the district council has experienced in the recent past, the population is most likely to increase and consequently will escalate challenges concerning sewerage and sanitation service provision. The empirical findings above, seems to confirm the main finding made by the study in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. In these two literature chapters, it was found that provision of sanitation is one of the sectors in which there are huge backlogs compounded further by inability of local authorities to afford development of new sanitation infrastructure (see also Lolojih, 2008; African Development Fund, 2009; Helao and Naidoo, 2016; World Bank, 2015). Furthermore, literature review argues that these countries lack amongst others, a strong and clear institutional framework, unclear revenue and reinvestment mechanism, rapid urbanization, coupled with unplanned settlement and culture of non-payment of municipal services.

It is therefore, appropriate for the study to conclude that like elsewhere in most small towns across developing countries including Zambia (see Chapters Two and Three), the community of Luwingu rural district (town) continues to experience inadequate provision of sanitation. Furthermore, with participation of community based structures such as Community Led-Total Sanitation (CLTS) in raising awareness campaigns, it would seem appropriate for the study to argue that, continuation of inadequate provision of sanitation in the small town of Luwingu

may probably be attributed more to lack of capacity in financial and human resources than to failure by the district council to uphold (as seen in the discussion above regarding drinking water) New Public Governance Theory particularly its principles of *coordination of governance* and the one that require recognition of *role of social public organisations by government* in ensuring that social public organisations such as Community Led-Total Sanitation (CLTS) are allowed to work with government in ensuring that provision of public services is done in pursuit of public interests and to serve citizens (Runya et al., 2015).

5.2.1.3 Households' perceptions on the provision of electricity

The discussion and analysis now focuses on perceptions of households on the provision of electricity by Luwingu Local Council. Figure 5.6 below shows the level of satisfaction by residents on electricity supply.

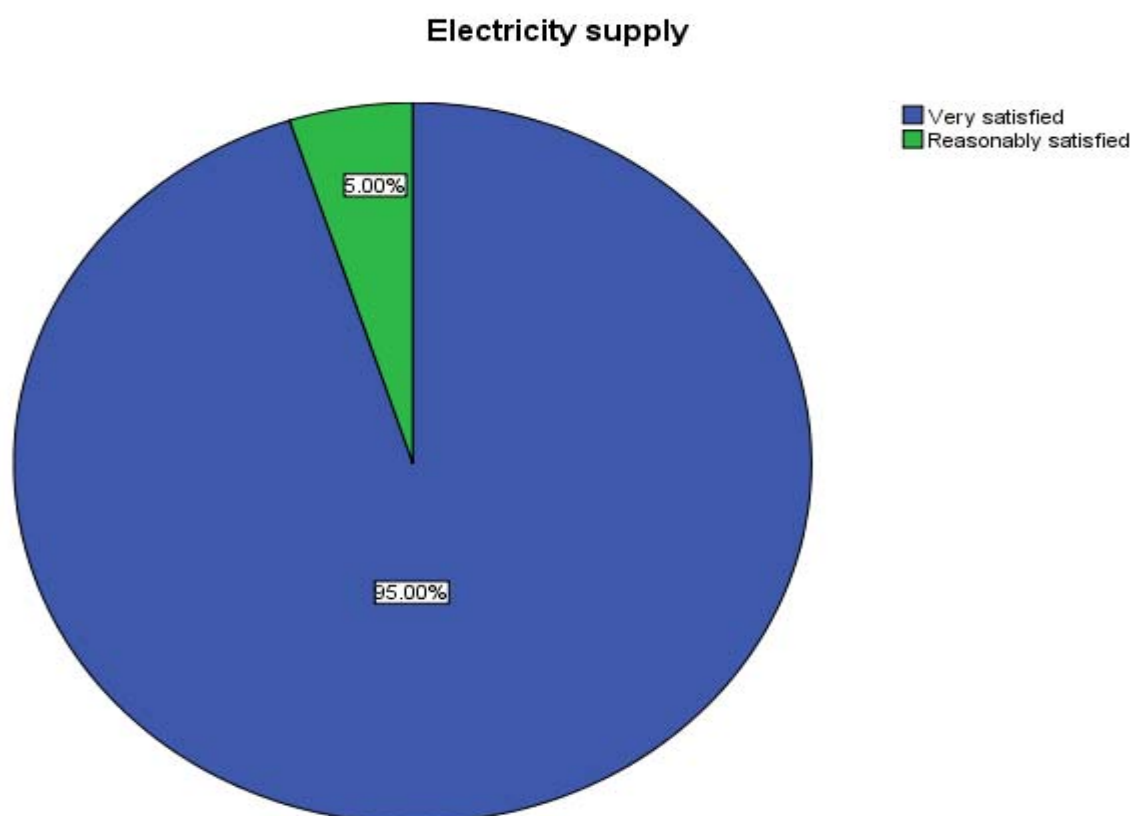


Figure 5.6: Perceptions of households on the provision of electricity in Luwingu, 2017

From Figure 5.6 above, it is possible for the study to make the following comments: It would seem that contrary to high level of dissatisfaction expressed by residents on the provision of drinking water (see Figure 5.4 above), and sanitation (see Figure 5.5 above), an overwhelming number of respondents in Luwingu Rural District are satisfied with provision of electricity. According to Figure 5.6, 100% of respondents are either “very satisfied” (95%) or “relatively satisfied” (5%) with provision of electricity in their community. One of the main reasons cited by the residents for their high rate of satisfaction is the reliable electricity infrastructure that in turn makes consumption affordable. Other reasons cited by residents include amongst others the following: electricity utility company that is very responsive in terms of faults that are reported to them; limited power outages; the introduction of prepaid meters has removed the aspect of human errors in billing and the delays which were experienced in the distribution of bills to customers. These are some of the remarks further made by some of the key informants who expressed their satisfaction regarding accessibility and quality provision of electricity- one local traditional leader mentioned that *“the introduction of prepaid meters is much better because I can plan how to use electricity”* while the other from an NGO said: *“Power outages are now very limited, we now have uninterrupted power supply almost all the time”*. With provision of electricity being the responsibility of a state agency called Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation, instead of local municipality itself, such high approval rate amongst residents of Luwingu must not come as a surprise. This finding further confirms the argument made in literature review chapters. First, it confirms the argument made in Chapter Two that privatization or outsourcing of municipal basic services has to a certain extent, boosted the provision and thus, quality and standard of basic services (see also United Kingdom, 2000; Robbins, 2008; Ogunlade and Mwakasonda, 2003; Habitat, 1998; Ndandiko, 2010). Second, it confirms the argument made in Chapter Three that establishment of national commercial utilities such as Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation has led to a widespread improvement in access and provision of electricity in small towns, major towns and cities across Zambia (NWASCO, 2013; Government of Republic of Zambia, 2013). Consequently, the success of the Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation should be used by Luwingu Local or District Council to correct and improve the performance of other state-owned utilities such as the one responsible for provision of drinking water (see Figure 5.4 above). This correction could amongst others be achieved if there is willingness amongst local Luwingu council officials and those working in state-owned agencies responsible for provision of drinking water, sanitation and those in high performing provision of electricity to support each other through what New

Public Governance Theory called a principle of *resource exchange* to ensure that there is sharing of information, technology and skills between performing and non-performing state owned agencies in Luwingu District Council (see also Runya et al., 2015).

5.2.1.4 Households' perceptions on the provision of refuse removal

The discussion and analysis now shifts to respondents' perceptions on the refuse removal services by Luwingu Local Council. Figure 5.7 on the next page shows the level of satisfaction on the provision of refuse removal.

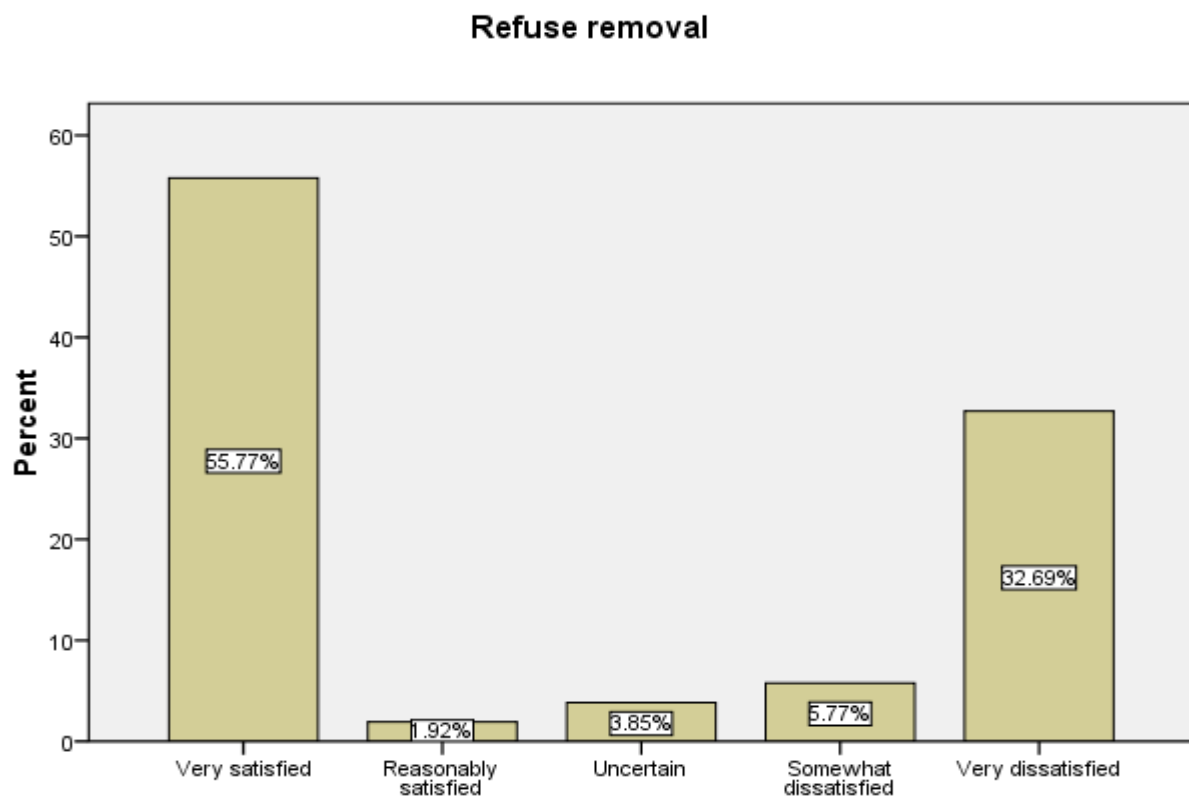


Figure 5.7: Perceptions of households on the provision of refuse removal in Luwingu, 2017

From Figure 5.7 above, it is possible for the study to make the following remarks: Findings indicate that 58% of the respondents were either very satisfied or reasonably satisfied with the refuse removal services provision which were currently being provided by the local authority especially in public places such as markets and streets. It needs to be pointed out that the results

indicate that refuse removal service provision by the local council was satisfactory only in these public places. It was observed that the council does not offer any refuse removal services in the residential areas, but individual residents dispose away individual household refuse by either burning or burying. All (100%) of the households interviewed confirmed that they were disposing their individual household refuse and that the local council was not providing any such services in the residential areas. Of these, about 61% of respondents were either somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with community driven provision of refuse removal services in their residential areas.

The reason advanced for being satisfied with their provision of refuse removal is that, the local council used to take too long to collect refuse. Interviews with key informants equally confirmed that the local council currently does not provide refuse removal services to individual households. This was evident in expressions like *“The council has employed mostly women who normally sweep and collect waste in the markets and streets, the dirt in the residential areas is not collected”* Both senior council staff and the councilors interviewed confirmed that the council was lacking a refuse collection van as it was very expensive for the local council to procure, later to meet the operational and maintenance costs. Similarly, these findings were in agreement with the literature review in chapter Three, where according Lolojih (2008), Luwingu District Council was failing to provide the refuse collection service to the residents and that this was generally managed at individual household level. Additionally, literature review in chapter two (see United Nations, 2014; Duflo, etal, 2012; UN-HABITAT, 2010) equally confirms that similar challenges in provision of refuse collection to residents are faced by municipalities in Countries such as, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Therefore, if these findings and literature review were anything to go by, it can be argued, that refuse collection services provision by the municipality is still a huge challenge and could be better provided through state-owned agencies as it seemed to have been the case with other services such as electricity supply. Furthermore, literature review in both chapter two and three (see Ndandiko, 2010; Habitat, 1998; UNDP, 2007) also showed that there are instances where outsourcing of provision of refuse removal had good results in the provision of refuse collection.

Other than confirming some of the literature findings, the high satisfaction rate amongst respondents about their community driven refuse removal initiative further confirms the view expressed by New Public Governance Theory that responsible for successful provision of

public services is ability and willingness by government to establish *complex networks* that comprise amongst others, government, state owned entities, market, society, public organisations, community and individual citizens (see also Runya et al., 2015).

5.3. Perceptions on the various local service providers, their capacity and skills

In this section, the focus shall now be on how different local entities such as local council, state-owned commercial utilities and/or private companies; non-governmental organisations; and traditional leaders are perceived by ordinary community members in terms of their ability to provide adequate basic services. Below is the discussion and analysis on each of these local role players in the provision of basic services in the small town or rural district of Luwingu. Before it is possible to provide a separate analysis on each role player, it is appropriate to show how different role players are being rated in one combined figure- see Figure 5.8 below.

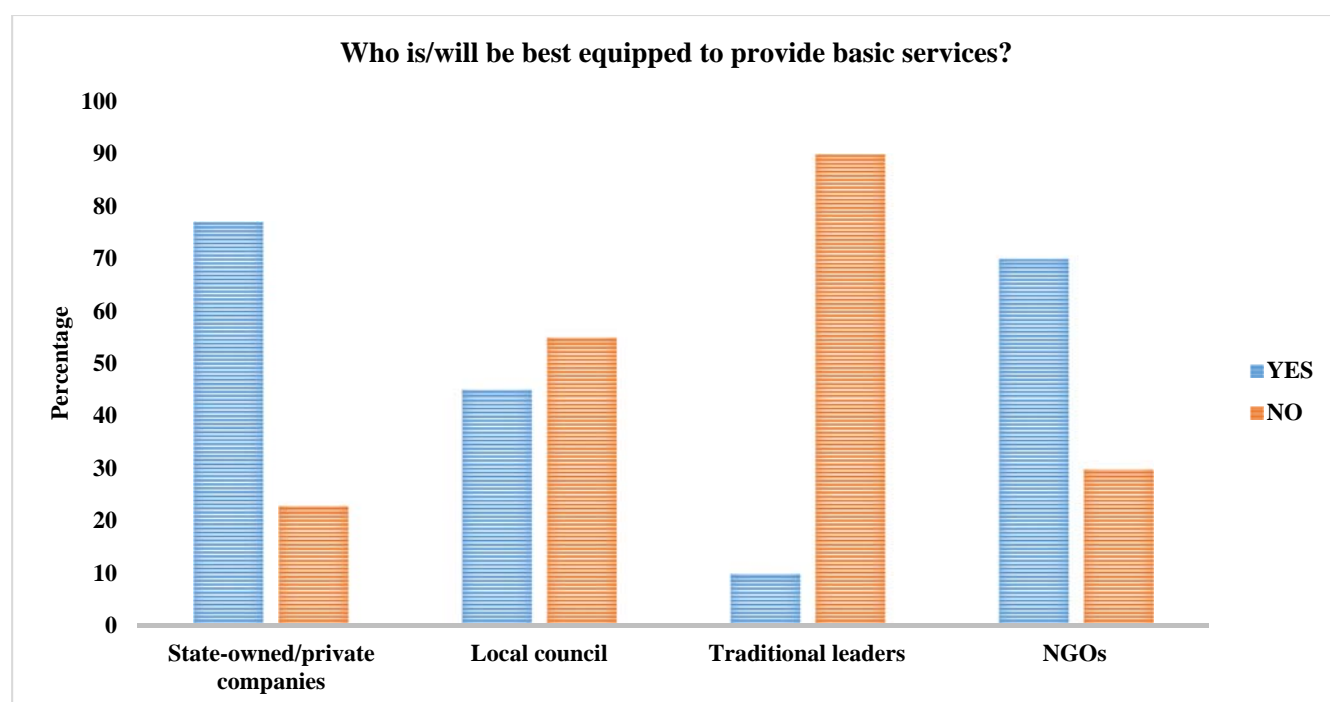


Figure 5.8: Perceptions of households on who is best equipped to provide basic services in Luwingu, 2017

5.3.1. Perceptions of respondents on the ability of Luwingu local council to provide basic services

The Zambian literature discussed in Chapter Three has amongst others, indicated that the general lack of capacity was one of the key reasons for a post-independence paradigm shift from local authorities to state-owned utilities as service providers (see also Government of Republic of Zambia, 2004; Chitonge, 2011). The empirical findings presented in Figure 5.8 above does not only partly confirm the view expressed above but also further raises interesting questions on why some of the state-owned utilities such as the one operating in the water sector in Luwingu local/district council does not perform to the satisfaction of respondents. According to Figure 5.8 above, there are slightly more respondents who perceive local council as less competent to provide basic services in Luwingu Rural District. About 55% of respondents do not believe that Luwingu Local/District Council is best equipped to be a service provider. This negative perception about the inability of their local council to provide basic services is fuelled by a variety of issues. Amongst others, the respondents raised the following issues:

Corruption, misuse or misapplication of funds – while acknowledging the impact of inadequate and unreliable transfer of central funds, respondents are also conscious of the fact that further compounding the challenge of funding is their local council officials and local politicians who are widely perceived to be corrupt and not transparent on the usage of public resources. It is the view of most respondents that even if the local council has or receives funding either from central government or own local revenues meant for service provision, the council often fails to prioritize the use of these financial resources optimally. The respondents stated that, instead of using the funds on improving service provisions, they would for instant, use it for allowances for staff or settle other outstanding arrears not related to service delivery. This notion of misapplication of public funds is somehow confirmed by one civil leader who said: “*Currently the council is owing in terms of allowances to councilors*”. The respondents identified the allocation of land as one of the services where corruption and lack of transparency is evident. The respondents’ concerns regarding corruption, misuse of funds, lack of transparency and misapplication are not new issues and unique to Luwingu District Council as they are already being confirmed in two literature review chapters (see also Chitonge, 2011; Bratton, 2012; Alao, Osakede & Owolabi, 2015; Fengu, 2017; Fox, 2015; Davis, 2004).

Inadequate Human resource – one weakness of the local council which was prominent from the responses of the respondents was the issue of inadequate human resources. Both responses from the household survey and that of the key informants identified the lack of adequate staff (understaffing), and to some extent respondents also bemoaned that local councils did not employ appointed officials on merit, and that they were seriously engrossed with a bad working culture which was non-responsive to the needs of the local residents. Thus, empirical findings largely represented statistically in Figure 5.8 above, indicate that the respondents felt that workers were not employed on merit, and as such there was incompetence by council workers to effectively provide water supply, sewerage/sanitation, refuse removal and electricity supply and other basic services. Hence, most of them expressed high satisfaction rates for services provided by state owned utilities than those supplied by local government. The above empirical finding is however, no different from one made in literature chapters (see also Chikulo, 1983; Smoke, 1994; Ministry of Local Government and Housing 2007; Lolojih, 2008; Aminuzzaman, 2010; Water Aid, 2011; SHA, 2013; Zhou and Chilunjika, 2013;). Further strengthening rejection of local council as a potential service provider (see 55% of respondents in Figure 5.8 above), is the widespread view amongst households and key informants that one of the weaknesses of the local council that affects effective service provision is a poor work culture amongst the council staff. It was observed that poor work culture was endemic and reflected in the poor supervision of work and services, non-responsiveness to challenges or needs in the community regarding service provision, lack of initiative regarding local revenue mobilization, and a general inertia on implementation of effective service provision system in the local/district council. Confirming the above view by Luwingu respondents and key informants, Lolojih (2008) in Chapter Three argues that lack of initiative and poor work culture or habits amongst employees in most Zambian local authorities, is one of the factors that constrains effective service provision to ordinary community members under their jurisdictions.

In a simple ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ response on whether municipal offices and local ward councilors are easily accessible and available, about 73% of the respondents indicated that the offices of the local councils are accessible and within reach while 80% of the respondents indicated that their local ward councilors are not accessible and helpful in resolving their concerns. With the latter, respondents alleged that most community members do not even know who their ward councilor is- as they had never been invited to any community meeting by the ward councilor. Due to lack of consultation either by ward councilors or local council officials, about 65% of the respondents complained of not even being informed or aware of the annual district plan and

budget for service provision; they did not know which services had been prioritized in the 20% of the equalization fund which had to be spent on capital projects. It also became evident during interviews with respondents that most of them were neither aware nor participated in the formulation of the District Strategic Plan which is a three-year strategic document that highlights the main developmental priorities for the local council area. However, a counter response from one of the ward councilors during the in-depth interview seems to suggest the opposite. Expressing the view on community meetings organized by local ward councilors, one of the ward councilors made the following comments: *“As a councilor for Chulungoma ward, I am very much aware of municipal services that are needed in my ward and I hold meetings regularly, the people you are seeing coming in the head teacher’s office are part of the community members who we agreed to meet with so we can discuss some issues that are affecting our community”*.

Inadequate funds – one of the weaknesses that was identified during the interviews is that the local council was not receiving adequate funding from central government to enable it to adequately address the needs of the council area regarding basic service provision. Additionally, the council was not generating adequate local revenues to supplement the funding from central government. Literature review in both Chapters Two and Three (see Tyrie, 1994; Moomba, 2002; Lolojhi 2008) confirmed that most local councils in developing countries including Zambia were dependent on central government funding for municipal service provision. However, this central funding is not adequate and reliable. Additionally, the local council equally lacks adequate and reliable local revenue sources. Confirming some of the above issues is the remark made by one of community leaders in the following words: *“I don’t think the national government is adequately funding our local council, as a result the council is not able to do what they have planned.”* While another respondent mentioned that *“The biggest challenge facing our local council is inadequate financial and human resources due to their internal poor management, lack of revenue generation-internally and externally”*. Another challenge expressed particularly by key informants from local/district council during interviews is that, Luwingu District Council area does not have enough commercial entities and it lacks major industries that could effectively assist the council to generate adequate revenue locally. The weak local economic base due to absence of private sector in small towns across developing countries is not unique to Luwingu Rural District as it has already been confirmed as an international phenomenon by Marceau, (1985); Habitat, (1998); Ngowi, (2006); Ndandiko, (2010). in Chapter Two.

Despite being a serious indictment on Luwingu Local Council, the negative perception and all issues mentioned above go a long way in confirming the argument made both in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Similar to the popular view expressed by respondents in Figure 5.8 regarding inability of Luwingu Local/District Council to provide basic services, literature review reveals that hindering the ability both of most local/district councils across Zambia (Chikulo, 1983, Pelekamoyo, 1997; Lolojih, 2008; Chibiliti, 2010; Aminuzzaman, 2010; Kalibange, 2013; SHA, 2013;) and local municipalities in various developing countries particularly Africa in general (Smoke, 1994; Tyrie, 1994; Moomba, 2002; Davis, 2004; Abbass, 2012; Kalibange, 2013; Zhou & Chilunjika, 2013; Alao, Osakede and Owolabi, 2015; Ntema and Venter, 2016;) is amongst others, allegations of corruption amongst municipal officials and local politicians, incapable and unresponsive local authorities due to unqualified and shortage of staff; tendency by local officials to take unilateral decisions due to lack of transparency and accountability.

5.3.2 Perceptions of respondents on the ability of state-owned/private companies to provide basic services

Other than local council, the other local role player in the provision of basic services in Luwingu Rural District is state-owned commercial utilities which (due to lack of information) are more often than not mistaken for being private companies by less informed ordinary community members. Although they are fundamentally two different concepts, it is however, against the background above that the discussion below shall interchangeably use concepts of state-owned and private companies. The empirical findings in Figure 5.8 above indicate that about 77% of the respondents believe that state-owned companies are the best placed entities to provide basic services. To a large extent, this percentage (77%) in Figure 5.8 above confirms the overwhelming number (100%) in Figure 5.6 of respondents who expressed their support and satisfaction about provision of electricity that is done through state-owned utility called Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation. The respondents' expression of their perception was evident in sentiments such as, *“state-owned/private companies usually have adequate resources to invest in service provision and therefore, they will grant good service provision,”* *“companies would bring about competition amongst the provider of such a service, and as*

such offer the users a choice and a good price". One such perception includes also the fact that these locally based companies are (as perceived by respondents) usually responsive to the challenges that are facing their clients. Furthermore, this widespread support for state-owned commercial utilities by respondents in Luwingu Rural District should be understood within the historical context of Zambian local government system and the subsequent reform process undertaken by government post-independence. The popularity of state-owned utilities particularly in electricity sector in Luwingu Rural District resonate well with argument made in Zambian literature that Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO), the state-owned commercial utility, is currently owning and distributing over 80% of the country's electricity (CSO, 2015; Woodling, 2014). Given both the positive sentiments expressed by respondents and gradual national takeover of state-owned commercial utilities from local authorities, it is appropriate for the study to argue that the future service delivery both in small towns such as Luwingu and major towns and cities is likely to be dominated by state-owned entities than local authorities. This however, does not mean there will be no poor performers as is the case currently with state-owned utility supplying drinking water in Luwingu Council/District (see Figure 5.4 above).

5.3.3 Perceptions of respondents on the ability of traditional leaders to provide basic services

According to the empirical findings presented in Figure 5.8 above, it would seem that, the traditional leaders are not perceived by respondents as potential future service providers of basic services such as drinking water and sanitation. This is confirmed by an overwhelming number (90%) of respondents who disagree with the idea of having traditional leaders as service providers in Luwingu Rural District. The respondents aired a number of reasons why they perceive the tradition leadership as not best suited or equipped to provide municipal services, and these included amongst others, that traditional leaders were not well resourced; they lacked the capacity in terms of human resources and equipment. The respondents' perception of the capacity of the traditional leaders as far as provision of services is concerned is captured during the interviews with key informants in expressions like the following; *"No, I don't think traditional leaders can manage to provide these services, they may be able to take up some functions like raising awareness campaigns, but not completely administering of these services."* The traditional leadership was further perceived as those that could perpetuate

nepotism, corruption, lack of accountability and transparency in their operations. Customary, it is generally not culturally acceptable to question decisions made by traditional leaders, and as such erring traditional leaders would not be questioned or accountable. However, both the respondents and literature review (see Kyessi, 2003; Lolojih, 2008) confirmed that traditional leaders, could however, play a significant role in the provision of municipal service provision as community mobilization and awareness campaign advocates regarding particular service rather than being providers themselves.

5.3.4 Perceptions of respondents on the ability of non-governmental organisations to provide basic services

According to information in Figure 5.8 above, respondents are of the view that, only state-owned commercial utilities and non-governmental organizations are best positioned to provide basic services such as water, sanitation and refuse removal than both the local authorities and traditional leaders. For instance, Figure 5.8 indicates that 70% of the respondents believe that NGOs are capable of providing basic services to residents of Luwingu Rural District. Further supporting their belief are remarks such as the following: “*NGOs are usually serious with what they are doing and have proved to be committed to meeting set targets*”. Additionally, both the households’ survey and in-depth interviews with key informants from NGOs and local authorities perceive the NGOs as being very critical to the provision of municipal services- in the eyes of respondents NGOs are generally accountable, less corrupt, and they have adequate resources and skilled employees. Literature review both in Chapter Two and Chapter Three (see also Carmel, 2002; Robinson, 1997; United Nations, 2007) show that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have (although at a small scale) and continue to play a significant role in the provision of municipal services in most developing countries. It can therefore, be argued that NGOs, even though currently being infused in a small scale, (see also Lolojih, 2008) in service provision, could play a significant role in the provision of municipal services of good and acceptable quality and standard.

5.4. Perceptions of households on how to improve provision of basic services in Luwingu rural district

Before it is possible to analyze perceptions of households and key informants on how provision of basic services in Luwingu could be improved, it is appropriate to first, provide a brief analysis of self-assessment done particularly by respondents in terms of their own possible contribution to some of the challenges facing provision of basic services in their municipal area. Upon being asked about their possible role in the current challenges facing provision of basic services, respondents mentioned some of the following tendencies on their part: vandalizing of public service infrastructure, lack of providing feedback to council using council initiatives such as suggestion boxes placed in various public places including council offices, failure by some residents (although few-20%) to regularly pay their monthly municipal accounts in full or make prior arrangements for partial payments. This unwillingness to pay in particular, is (as alleged by respondents), influenced by a number of factors which include political interference in a form of political statements that discourage residents or users of services from paying, lack of adequate information to the community which in turn led to community members not understanding why such payments should be made. Furthermore, although majority of employed respondents are just above poverty line, it would seem that most of them are, in terms of their average monthly income, relatively in a lower bracket and thus, making it difficult for them to regularly pay their bills in full on taxes such as personal levies, property rates, settlement of municipal water bills and others. For example, commenting on why they were owing due to non-payment of water bills, a respondent remarked that: *“we are owing Chambeshi (water and sewerage utility company) because we had difficulties to raise the money which they have billed us, and we feel there are mistakes on their bills and we have reported this, but it has never been corrected.”*

On how both weaknesses by households and service providers such as local/district council and state-owned commercial utilities in Luwingu could be overcome, a number of possible improvement strategies were suggested by respondents during interviews. Some of the suggestions include the following: the suggestion for local council to embark on public awareness programmes on encouraging residents to continue protecting their service infrastructure, suggestion for local council to support and work closely with community-based structures such as Ward Development Committees and Community Neighborhood Health Committees. The household survey interviews with ordinary community members revealed a

widespread view that, these community task teams or groups are not effectively used by local council to solicit the views of ordinary community members regarding council's programmes on service provision. In some areas within the local council or district, these community-based groups or organizations even after being instituted by the local council, together with other government agencies have not been functional owing to a number of reasons amongst which is the lack of a complimentary support from the local council to enable them carry out their roles effectively. Furthermore, respondents were of the view that the local council should employ qualified staff; local council should also employ adequate number of required staff; local council should pay workers adequately and on time; change work culture; improve on routine inspections on sanitation/sewerage and health related services, improve on local revenue collection; employ agents to collect revenue; improve on consultations with community by instituting service charters, hold regular public meetings, enhance interactions with the community through local government days; and other forums to improve the local council's public image which is at the moment not that positive. Councils are urged to find ways in which corruption in the provision of services would be completely done away with. The council should be able to improve waste management by procuring refuse collection vans, bins and plastics that would be deposited with clients that would be willing to have the service at a reasonable service fee. The council in conjunction with the utility water company, Chambeshi Water and Sewerage, should also work on vandalized or old infrastructure such as water pipes to enhance service delivery and cut on the loss of income through water loss. The councils should enhance local resources mobilization through a number of ways including property rates, by updating the valuation rolls. Currently, Luwingu Local/District Council like others within Northern Province and other provinces, still has old valuation rolls mainly because the cost of updating the rolls are unaffordable to the local council.

5.5. Conclusion

The primary focus of this Chapter was the presentation, analysis and discussion of the empirical data on the households' perceptions on the provision of municipal basic services in Luwingu rural district. Based on the findings, it is appropriate for the study to conclude that Luwingu District Council has over the past decade experienced a general influx of new residents, and thus possible population growth. This could amongst others, be attributed to perceived

proximity of Luwingu town to some local economic opportunities, access to performing social amenities such as health facilities, public schools, public transport system and employment opportunities. Proximity to some of these perceived economic opportunities seems to have been responsible for high rate of employment particularly in self-employed sub-sector of local business in Luwingu town.

Furthermore, the empirical study findings in this chapter seem (to some extent), to confirm both the literature findings in Chapter Two and Three and the applicability and relevance of certain principles of New Public Governance Theory with regard to possible implications of an inclusive public administration on the provision of basic municipal services and the positive role usually played by state-owned utilities in the provision of certain municipal services. Hence, further noteworthy in this chapter should be a general positive perception expressed by ordinary community members towards performance of state-owned utilities such as Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation and the people driven initiatives in providing refuse removal services in residential areas. This finding on state-owned utilities particularly in electricity sector could suggest two things- first, is the possibility of future provision of basic municipal services particularly in small towns being driven and dominated by state-owned companies instead of local governments themselves or private companies. Second, this finding could mean a need to create an environment that would allow practising of principle of *resource exchange* as advanced by New Public Governance Theory in ensuring that there is future collaboration between performing and non-performing state-owned companies across various sectors in small towns such as Luwingu.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. Introduction

In Chapter Two, the focus of discussion was on the factors that influence provision of basic municipal services, particularly in small towns and local municipalities across developing countries. That was then followed by a thorough literature analysis and discussion on the factors influencing provision of basic municipal services in Zambia. In Chapter Five, the study findings and a summary based on the empirical data that was collected both from the households' survey and in-depth interviews in the small town of Luwingu District were presented. The intention of the household survey and in-depth interviews was to further test the perceptions of various stakeholders residing in Luwingu District on the performance of Luwingu District Council or local municipality regarding provision of basic services. Consequently, as per requirement for qualitative and quantitative research methods, data collection and analysis were done per the principles of both the research methods. Against the background above, the focus in Chapter six now shifts to making main study conclusions and recommendations informed mainly by key ideas and findings in Chapter Two; Chapter Three and Chapter Five. The chapter is thus, structured as follows: first, summary of main study findings and conclusions based on research objectives, followed by discussion on several recommendations in relation to possible measures to overcome various factors that influence municipal service provision in small towns and rural municipalities both in developing countries in general and our case study area- Luwingu District in Luwingu District Council or local municipality. Finally, a brief discussion on further research topics related to provision of municipal basic services in developing countries will be presented.

6.1. An overview of main study findings and conclusions

Before the study could discuss main study findings and conclusions, it would be appropriate to first, indicate that, the main objective of the study is to provide an analysis of various factors that influence provision of basic municipal services in small towns or rural districts in developing countries with particular focus on Luwingu District in Zambia. Against the primary aim outlined above, the focus of the study now shifts to analysis and discussion of key findings and conclusions. Next is a number of key findings and conclusions.

- **Poor and inadequate provision of basic municipal services and related high level of dissatisfaction amongst end users remain a common challenge in most local municipalities in developing countries, including Luwingu district council in Zambia**

The results from the literature review (see Chapters Two and Three) and the empirical findings (see Chapter Five), have to a large extent confirmed that poor and inadequate provision of basic municipal services and high levels of dissatisfaction amongst end users remain a common challenge in most local municipalities in developing countries and Luwingu District Council in Zambia is no exception. Key to inadequate provision of basic services is amongst others, inadequate institutional capacity at the local councils. In the case of Luwingu District Council, it was very clear from the literature review and also from the empirical findings of the study that the council was operating with inadequate number of staffs especially in the critical departments that have to do with municipal service provision. These results were not only unique to Luwingu, but equally affected both local and urban municipalities, except that they varied in terms of severity based on the geographic and socio-economic status of the municipalities, with local councils such as Luwingu based in a small town being the hardest hit. Furthermore, the ability of the local councils in effectively providing municipal services is influenced by its technological capacity. The results, in the case of Luwingu Council for instance, indicate that equipment such as refuse removal vans, graders were not operational, and the council is currently not able to meet the cost of maintenance. It is clear from both the literature review and primary data that the council is not adequately resourced as far as human resource and technological capabilities were concerned.

It is also very clear from literature review, other researched work and the results of this study that 'own' internal revenue sources and intergovernmental transfers that most local authorities particularly small and rural local authorities were relying on was inadequate. This has in turn, hampered councils' ability to sustain an effective municipal service provision particularly in small and rural local authorities, and Luwingu District Council is no exception in this respect (see Chapters Two, Three and Five).

- **Similar to communities in small towns and rural municipalities, the hardest hit communities in major towns and cities, are households residing in peripheral locations such as informal settlements, peri-urban and low-income residential areas**

While the primary focus of the study is on provision of basic services to communities in small towns and their respective local municipalities, it would be appropriate to indicate that, literature review both in Chapter Two and Chapter Three has revealed the extent to which certain communities in major towns and cities are equally affected by poor and inadequate provision of basic municipal services. While empirical data for the study is limited only to a local community in the small town of Luwingu in Luwingu local municipality, the theoretical evidence on the above finding shows that poor communities residing in informal settlements and low-income residential neighbourhoods on the peripheries of big cities such as Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi in Ghana, Maputo in Mozambique , Nakuru in Kenya (see Chapter Two) and Lusaka in Zambia (see Chapter Three), are experiencing challenges similar to those experienced by communities in small towns regarding provision of municipal services such as drinking water and sanitation.

- **Unlike in most developing countries where private sector plays a dominant role, provision of basic municipal services in most Zambian local governments including Luwingu District Council, is gradually being dominated by state-owned utilities.**

Notwithstanding the available evidence both from literature review and empirical findings for continued provision of inadequate basics services, it would seem appropriate for the study to conclude that behind improved provision of some of basic services in most Zambian local municipalities is role played by state-owned commercial utilities. Hence it does not come as a surprise to have private sector accounting for a mere 1% coverage of provision of basic services while state-owned utilities account for about 38% coverage in service provision in Zambia (see Chapter Three). This national trend is further confirmed by the significant number (100%) of respondents in Luwingu Rural District who expressed their satisfaction with provision of electricity under the state-owned utility called ZESCO. This does not however, suggest that all state-owned utilities in Zambia, including those operating in Luwingu District Council, are

successful in their performance- evident to this could be high dissatisfaction level (56.7%), expressed for water provision and 57% dissatisfaction for provision of sanitation by state-owned company called Chambeshi Water and sewerage Company (see Chapter Three and Chapter Five). What this instead suggested is a need to correct weaknesses by replicating the success recorded in companies such as Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation both in Luwingu District Council and Zambia as a country.

- **Perceptions of respondents in Luwingu District Council show that provision and access to social amenities such as schools, clinics and public transport may have contributed to a strong sense of belonging amongst local community.**

Despite high dissatisfaction rate amongst respondents regarding provision of some of the basic services such as drinking water and sanitation, a significant number of respondents indicated their intention *not* to leave Luwingu Rural District. They further indicated that their lives are more or less the same way as they expected them to be the first time they came to Luwingu Rural District. Other than high rate of employment and satisfaction rate amongst respondents regarding provision of electricity, responsible for ‘positive’ responses expressed by respondents regarding their intention to stay in Luwingu Rural District and the standard of living, could possibly be their ability to easily access provision of efficient public health facilities, public schools and public transport.

- **Adherence by local authorities to principles of New Public Governance may provide possible solutions to challenges of poor service delivery and governance particularly in small and rural municipalities such as Luwingu District Council**

Despite lack of financial and human resources being some of the underlying causes of poor and inadequate provision of basic municipal services and thus, high rate of dissatisfaction amongst end users, it would seem appropriate to conclude that, adherence by some of the less resourced local authorities to certain key principles of New Public Governance Theory has helped them to partly overcome these challenges. For instance, high satisfaction level amongst respondents in Luwingu Rural District regarding provision of electricity by the state-owned utility called ZESCO and regarding community-driven provision of refuse removal in the residential areas,

has to some extent, proved the relevance of certain principles of New Public Governance Theory. Effective involvement of ZESCO and community members in the improved provision of electricity and refuse removal respectively, is a further confirmation of the relevance and applicability of principles of *coordination of the governance*, *dispersion of power*, the significance of *establishment of complex networks*, and significance of recognition of *role of social public organisations by government*, as advocated by New Public Governance Theory.

6.2. Recommendations

In the discussion above, the focus was on analysis and summary of key study findings both from literature review and empirical findings. Based on these key findings, the study is able to make several policy related recommendations on how local municipalities particularly those serving communities in small towns or rural districts could improve provision of basic services such as drinking water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity. A number of study recommendations are suggested by the study.

- **There should be a change of attitude by local authorities to prioritise ‘own-local revenue’ as primary source of capital required to local development and services provision**

Literature both in Chapter Two and Chapter Three indicates a growing tendency by local municipalities especially those small rural local municipalities serving mainly communities in small towns to be heavily dependent on intergovernmental transfers from national governments. While this may provide the much-needed financial relief to these municipalities faced with poverty, and unemployment, it may however, not be a sustainable intervention due to two main historical challenges facing most developing countries: first, their low economic growth and second, their ever-increasing contesting social needs in other sectors such as health, education and public housing that usually make annual budgeting and allocation very difficult. To realise this, there are various measures that could be taken by small local municipalities such as Luwingu District Council and others both in Zambia and other developing countries. For instance, to achieve this in Luwingu Rural District in particular, the local authority should conclude the updating of its valuation roll. The council is currently using an evaluation roll which was last updated in 2010, however, there are both commercial and residential properties that have been developed since then which are not being accounted for and thus, continue to

default in their monthly payments. Furthermore, the local council should consider strengthening of their revenue collection mechanism by addressing a number of complaints raised particularly by respondents regarding poor communication and engagement through public community meetings by ward councillors and local authority itself.

- **Improving turnaround times in attending to complaints lodged by residents regarding challenges related to drinking water, refuse and sanitation.**

One of the main findings in Chapter Five is a significant number of respondents who expressed their dissatisfaction about delays or none response by council officials whenever complaints are lodged regarding service delivery challenges. Evident of this could be the significant number (57%) and (57%) of respondents who expressed dissatisfaction towards water supply and sanitation respectively. Thus, there is urgent need to improve performance in those services currently recording high levels of dissatisfaction amongst respondents. To achieve this, the local council, through the commercial utility company responsible for water supply and sewerage, needs to ensure that reporting is made easy for residents by indicating where and how this could be done. Similar to the alleged high responsive rate of Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation by respondents, local government and state-owned utility company in water and sanitation sector may have to draw lessons from their local counterpart. Furthermore, there is a need to improve on educating communities about the impact of vandalising public service infrastructure. Additionally, the local council through the assigned utility company must also improve turnaround times for fixing the water leaks and broken pipes. The Municipality should engage with communities and encourage the communities to report on issues of wasted water and burst pipes.

- **A need to improve available internal capacity and skills amongst municipal officials while discouraging undue political interference**

The shortage of capacity and skills is not a challenge unique only to Luwingu District Council, but a common phenomenon in almost all local municipalities in developing countries (see Chapter Two and Chapter Three). In these local municipalities, particularly small rural ones, shortage of skills and staff is recognised as one of the factors which is affecting effective municipal service provision, in that very few qualified staff are willing to stay in these areas as

a result of many reasons amongst which is the lack of good salaries. It is recommended that the local council, through the Ministry of Local Government, should enhance placement of rightful, qualified staff to improve the capacity to provision of services. Furthermore, the local councils especially those in small towns should consider implementation of outstanding recommendations regarding the possible solutions to addressing the wide spread lack of technical skills through, for example, the promotion of training and assisting of artisans to establish their own repair outlets for water supply and sanitation system, and also addressing the challenge of under qualified officials through forging a long term partnership with higher learning institutions. This partnership with training institutions would seek to ensure that a tailor-made curriculum is designed; one that adequately addresses the skill gap which currently exists in the municipal service provision. Alternatively, individual local councils should take advantage and encourage or come up with a deliberate plan for retraining its staff.

6.3 Further research topics

By virtue of being a research study for a Master's Degree, the research project could only deal with issues of provision of basic municipal services at a very small scale and thus, limited scope. Consequently, a number of related and interesting research problems were identified during the research project. Below, is some of these related research problems:

- There is need to conduct a thorough and in-depth comparative study on who, between private sector and state-owned utilities, could make a better partner with local municipalities for provision of basic services. Such study could amongst others, bring an interesting angle in the international literature that seems to have been dominated by analysis and focus on the role of private sector and to some extent, NGOs at the expense of entities such as state-owned companies as possible role players.
- There is also need to further investigate and study on the effects that the introduction of the equalisation fund from central government has had on local councils' capacity to provide municipal service. The study would be able to examine whether the equalisation fund in its current form, is what the local councils need to effectively carry out their constitutional mandate. And whether the provision of basic municipal services to the communities has improved as a result of the equalisation fund.

- Future research could also focus on examining in depth, the dynamics that the socio-economic status within a local municipality area has on the capacity of the local municipality to effectively carry out its mandate.
- Another area of further research would be looking at the most effective mechanisms in which the local municipalities, especially those in the rural areas or peripheries of big cities sharing jurisdiction with customary land, would engage with traditional leaders especially that there have been conflicts of boundaries and local councils' collection of levies in countries like Zambia.

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ANNEXURE A: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | |
|--|--|--|

QUESTIONNAIRE ON HOUSEHOLDS PERCEPTIONS ON MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN KATOPOLA, CHULUNGOMA AND NAMUKOLO IN LUWINGU RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL

Stand number:

Name of the Interviewer:

Tel number of respondent: (preferably the owner of the house / or the head of the household / the person making the main financial decisions in the household)

| | |
|------------|---|
| Katopola | 1 |
| Chulungoma | 2 |
| Namukolo | 3 |

A. BIOGRAPHIC/DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

1. Gender:

| | | | |
|--------|---|------|---|
| Female | 1 | Male | 2 |
|--------|---|------|---|

2. Nationality: (specify country)

3. How old are you? (in years)

Marital Status:

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| Never married | 1 | Married | 2 |
| Divorced / Separated | 3 | Widowed | 4 |
| Living together with partner | 5 | Other: Specify: | 6 |

5. Highest Academic qualification obtained:

| | |
|---|---|
| Never attended school (none) | 1 |
| Sub A-Std 1/grade 1-3 | 2 |
| Std 2-Std 5/grade 4-7 | 3 |
| Std 6-Std 8/grade 8 -10 | 4 |
| Std 9/grade 11 | 5 |
| Std 10/grade 12 | 6 |
| Tertiary education (Diploma, Degree, etc) Please specify: _____ No. of years _____ | 7 |
| Other (e.g. apprenticeships) Please specify: _____ No of years _____ | 8 |

B MIGRATION

When did you first come to live in this council area?

.....

Where did you live before you came to this council area? (name of place/area)

.....

What was your **Two Main** reasons for moving to this council area?

.....

.....

In your opinion do you own this house you are residing in currently?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

(if Yes go to 4.1; if no go to 4.3)

If yes, explain how you acquired this house?

| | |
|--|---|
| I build it myself | 1 |
| I married someone who owns this house? | 2 |
| I inherited it from a family member | 3 |
| I bought it | 4 |
| Other: explain | 5 |

If no, explain your current relationship with the owner?

| | |
|--|---|
| I rent it from a family member | 1 |
| I rent it from another person | 2 |
| I stay here for free (I am a care taker for the house) | 3 |
| Other: Explain | 4 |

Do you intend to leave this council area in future?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

Please give a reason for your answer in 5 above:

.....

.....

Indicate the place you intend moving

.....

.....

C. SOCIO- ECONOMIC PROFILE

1. What is your employment status?

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Employed permanent and full time | 1 |
| Employed part-time/ contract | 2 |
| Self-employed | 3 |
| Unemployed | 4 |

2. How many of the people living in this house contribute to the household income every month? (Yourself included)

Number:

3. What is the total sum of money this entire household receives every month? (all persons included – after tax deductions- including grants)

ZMW/R.....

4. How many People sleep in this house every night?
(yourself included)

Number:

How many of the following ages sleep in this house every night?

| | |
|-------|--|
| 0-17 | |
| 18-59 | |
| 60+ | |

D. GENERAL QUALITY OF LIFE

1. Is your life here in this council area the way you thought it would be when you first came to live here?

| | |
|--|---|
| It is exactly the way I thought it would be | 1 |
| It is even better than I thought it would be | 2 |
| It is not as good as I thought it would be | 3 |
| It is much worse than I thought it would be | 4 |
| I have never really thought about it (do not know) | 5 |

- 1.1 If you answered that your life is not as good (3) **or** much worse (4) than you thought it would be, please motivate your answer:

.....
.....

- 1.2 If you answered that your life is exactly the way (1) **or** even better (2) than you thought it would be, please motivate your answer:

.....
.....

E: PUBLIC SERVICES

In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the accessibility and performance of the following aspects in your council area/community?

| Aspect | Very Satisfied | Reasonably Satisfied | Uncertain | Somewhat Dissatisfied | Very Dissatisfied |
|---|----------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Health care facilities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 Public schools | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3 Public transport | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4 Recreational facilities for community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

If you are **NOT Satisfied** with certain services, what would you say are the main reason for your dissatisfaction?

| Aspect | Two reasons for dissatisfaction |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 Health care facilities | |
| 2 Public schools | |
| 3 Public transport | |
| 4 Recreational facilities for community | |

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following services provided by the local council?

| Service in your area/ward | Very Satisfied | Reasonably Satisfied | Uncertain | Somewhat Dissatisfied | Very Dissatisfied |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Water supply | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 Electricity supply | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3 Sewerage/sanitation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4 Refuse removal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5 Roads infrastructure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6 Street lighting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

If you are **NOT Satisfied** with certain services, what would you say are the main reasons for your dissatisfaction?

| Service in your area/ward | Two reasons for dissatisfaction |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Water supply | |
| 2 Electricity supply | |
| 3 Sewerage/sanitation | |
| 4 Refuse removal | |
| 5 Roads infrastructure | |
| 6 Street lighting | |

In your opinion, do you think the local council is adequately resourced and skilled to provide the community with basic services of required standard and quality?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

Motivate your answer in 3 above

.....

In your view, who is/will be best equipped to provide basic services (water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal) to your community?

| The Sectors | Yes | No |
|---------------------------------|-----|----|
| 4.1 Private Companies | 1 | 2 |
| 4.2 Local Council | 1 | 2 |
| 4.3 Traditional Council/Leaders | 1 | 2 |
| 4.4 NGOs | 1 | 2 |

Motivate your answers in 4 above:

Private Companies

.....

Local Council

.....

Traditional council/leaders

.....

NGOs

.....
.....

In your view, what are some of **weaknesses** of the local council that hinders provision of basic services in your council area?

.....
.....
.....

In your view, what are some of **strengths** of the local council that promote effective provision of basic services in your council area?

.....
.....
.....

What in general is being done by your community that **negatively affect** the ability of local council to provide services of good standard? List at least **Four things**:

.....
.....
.....

What in general is being done by your community that **positively assist** the local council to continue provide services of good standard? List at least **Four things**:

.....
.....
.....

Do you owe local council due to non-payment of services?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

In your opinion, do you think offices of local council are accessible and within a reach?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

Motivate your answer

.....
.....

In your opinion, do you think your ward councilor is accessible and helpful to the community?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

Motivate your answer

.....
.....

In your opinion, do you think there is enough consultation of community by local council on how provision of services should be conducted and improved?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----|---|----|---|

Motivate your answer

.....
.....
.....

What kind of advice would you give to your local council officials for them to improve provision of basic services to the local community in this council area? Give **Three (3)** possible advices

.....
.....
.....

In your view, what kind of role could be played by local community members in assisting local council to provide basic services? Suggest at least **Three** possible roles.

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.....

ANNEXURE B: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS.

In-depth interviews with municipal officials; NGOs, State owned utilities, and traditional leaders

1. How would you describe the state and provision of basic services in terms of successes achieved by the local municipality?
2. How would you describe the state and provision of basic services in terms of backlogs and general challenges facing their provision?
3. Where there are backlogs or poor delivery of services, what are possible causes of such poor performance by local municipality?
4. Which services still needs improvement in terms of provision? Why?
5. In your opinion, do you think local municipality is adequately resourced and capacitated to provide basic services to the community? Motivate your answers
6. What do you suggest local municipality does to further improve provision of basic services? Make Three suggestions
7. What role is being played by ordinary community members in assisting local municipality to provide basic services of acceptable standard?
8. What role is being played by ordinary community members in frustrating efforts by local municipality to provide basic services of acceptable standard?
9. In your opinion, do you think there is always proper consultation with community members by local municipality to discuss service delivery related matters? Motivate your answer
10. How would you describe relationship between local municipality and other key community stakeholders such as traditional leadership and NGOs?
11. How this relationship between local municipality and these stakeholders usually affect (positively and negatively) influences provision of basic services to community members?

ANNEXURE C: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR FIELDWORK RESEARCH



8th September 2017

To whom it may concern.

Re: Letter of Introduction: Fieldwork Research for Master Degree Project

This serves to confirm that Mr Simon Longa (student no: 43624030) is a Masters student under academic supervision of Dr LJ Ntema in the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa. He is conducting fieldwork for his study project titled: **“Analysis of factors influencing provision of municipal services in the rural districts: The case study of Luwingu District Council in Zambia”**. We kindly request your cooperation and participation in the study. Any queries regarding the study can be made to Dr LJ Ntema at 012- 429 2121 OR ntemalj@unisa.ac.za

Best Regards.

PhD Coordinator and Supervisor: Dr Ntema LJ

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ISISHWANKATHELO SESIFUNDO

Ukunikezelwa kweenkonzo zikamasipala kujongene nemingeni kubahlali basezidolophini, ngakumbi abo bahlala kwiidolophu ezincinci kumazwe asaphuhlayo. Le nto iyenzeka nakwidolophana encinci okanye isithili sasemaphandleni aseLuwingu eZambia. Esi sifundo sihlalutya izinto ezinefuthe kunikezelo lweenkonzo zikamasipala kumazwe asaphuhlayo, kwaye sizekelisa ngedolophana okanye iphandle laseLuwingu eZambia. Ngokwenza esi sifundo, kubonakele ukuba abahlali beedolophana ezincinci kunye nabo bahlala kufuphi nazo, njengabo bahlala kwiindawo ezingekho sesikweni nabahlala kwiindawo zabantu abanemivuzo ephantsi kwizixeko ezikhulu, bafumana iinkonzo ezikumgangatho osezantsi. Ezo nkonzo zifana namanzi okusela, ukugcina ucoceko, ukuthuthwa kwenkunkuma nokunikezelwa kombane. Ziliqela iimeko ezinefuthe ekunikezelweni kweenkonzo zikamasipala ezisemgangathweni kumazwe asaphuhlayo njengeZambia, kwisithili saseLuwingu. Phakathi kwezo meko singabalula ukungafakwa ngokwaneleyo kwezilungiselelo nezibonelelo zeenkonzo, (*infrastructure*); ukunqongophala kwemali nabantu abaqeqeshelwe umsebenzi koomasipala bendawo abahlukeneyo, ngakumbi abeendawo ezincinci, kuquka nekhansile yesithili saseLuwingu eZambia.

AMAGAMA APHAMBILI: iinkonzo zikamasipala, isithili sasemaphandleni eLuwingu, iidolophu ezincinci, iindawo ezingqonge idolophu, iNgcingane Entsha Yolawulo Lukawonkewonke.

KAKARETISO YA PHUPUTSO

Phano ya ditshebeletso ya masepala ho baahi ba diteropo haholo ba dulang diteropong tse nyane ho pharalla le dinaha tse ntseng di tswelapele, e lebane le mathata. Torotswana e nyane kapa setereke sa mahaeng sa Luwingu ho la Zambia, le yona e ya tshwana. Phuputso ena e fana ka manollo ya dintlha tse amang phano ya ditshebeletso tsa masepala dinaheng tse ntseng di tswelapele e sebedisa teropo kapa setereke sa mahaeng sa Luwingu jwalo ka mohlala wa phuputso. Ka phuputso ena, ho bontshitswe hore baahi ba diteropong ba leng diteropong tse nyane le ka tsela e itseng, ba dulang mabopong a diteropo jwalo ka diahelo tse sa hlophiswang, metse ya batho ba kgolang tjhelete e nyane diteropokgolong tse kgolo, ba tswelapele ho fumana phano e fokolang le phihlello ho ditshebeletso tsa motheo tse jwalo ka metsi a nowang, tlheko ya dikgwerekgwere, tlhwekiso ya dithole le phepelo ya motlakase. Ke dintlha tse mmalwa tse amang phano e ntle ya ditshebeletso tsa masepala dinaheng tse ntseng di tswelapele ho kenyelletswa khansele ya setereke ya Luwingu e Zambia. Hara tse ding ke boteng bo fokolang ba disebediswa tsa ditshebeletso; tlhokeho ya ditjhelete le basebetsi dimasepaleng tse fapaneng tsa lehae tse kenyelletsang khansele ya setereke ya Luwingu e Zambia.

MANTSWE A BOHLOKWA: Ditshebeletso tsa masepala, setereke sa mahaeng sa Luwingu, diteropo tse nyane, Theori e Ntjha ya Puso ya Setjhaba ya dibaka tse batlang eba di teropo.