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**Decentralisation and Poverty Alleviation in Zambia:
Achievable Goal or Deceptive Promise?**

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ABSTRACT

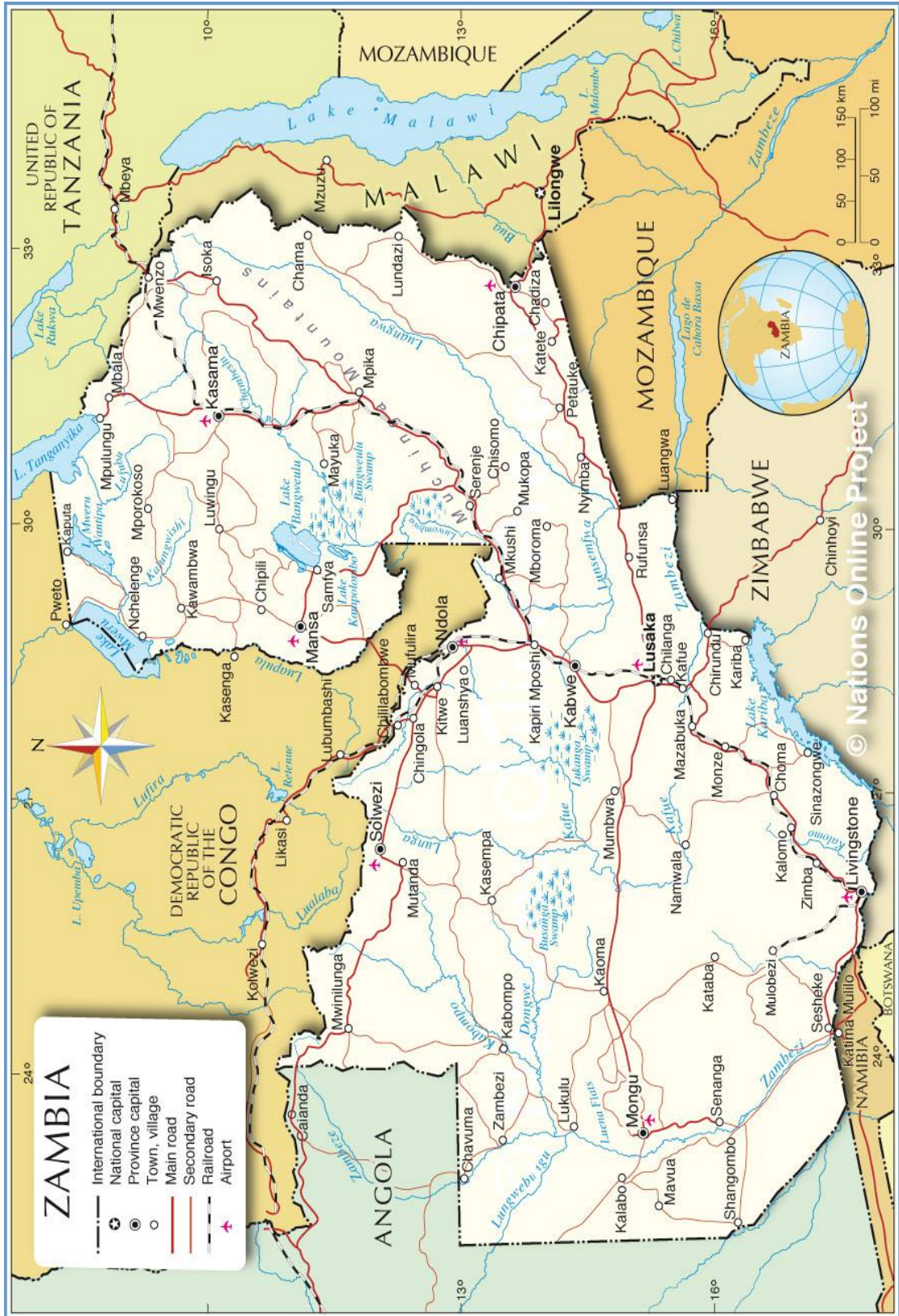
Since the 1990s, decentralisation has acquired increasing popularity among governments and aid agencies. Today, it is hard to find a country that has not undergone the reform of its local government system. Since 2000, decentralisation has been heavily promoted by donors as an important tool to tackle extreme poverty and promote development. Despite this popularity, the pro-poor effects of decentralisation are not supported by unarguable evidence and the literature available offers, at best, a mixed picture. This study tries to contribute at filling this gap, using as case study a country, Zambia, which has been almost neglected by the literature on decentralisation.

Key words: accountability, decentralisation, development policies, empowerment, fiscal decentralisation, local governance, participation, poverty, public services, Zambia.

Sin dagli anni '90, le politiche di decentramento hanno acquisito una crescente popolarità tra i governi e le principali organizzazioni internazionali allo sviluppo. E' diventato ormai difficile trovare un governo che non abbia avviato una riforma in senso decentrato della macchina statale. Dal 2000, il decentramento è stato crescentemente promosso dai donors come uno strumento essenziale per alleviare la povertà e promuovere lo sviluppo economico. Tuttavia, nonostante la sua popolarità, la letteratura accademica è divisa nel valutare gli effetti del decentramento sulla povertà e ha indicato le criticità di tale legame. Questa tesi cerca di contribuire alla discussione accademica in corso attraverso l'analisi di due distretti in Zambia, un paese poco studiato nella letteratura sul tema.

Parole chiave: *accountability*, decentramento, decentramento fiscale, *empowerment*, governo locale, partecipazione politica, politiche di sviluppo, povertà, servizi pubblici, Zambia.

Figure 1: Republic of Zambia



Source: Nations Online Project. Retrieved from: <http://www.nationsonline.org/maps/zambia-political-map.jpg>

INTRODUCTION

Decentralisation refers to the transfer of power and resources from the central units of government towards sub-national levels, either deconcentrated officials at local level responsive to their cabinet minister or elected local authorities accountable to the voter.

Since the 1990s, decentralisation has acquired increasing popularity among governments and aid agencies. Today, it is hard to find a country that has not undergone the reform of its local government system (Connerley, Eaton & Smoke, 2010). In 1994, Dillinger (1994) estimated 12 out of 75 developing and transitional countries had initiated some form of decentralisation.

Decentralisation has been often advocated by governments, aid agencies and civil society organisations as an unavoidable tool, used to reach a tremendous variety of goals, such as democracy, popular participation or an efficient social services delivery. A poignant example is reflected in the mission statement of the Zambian Ministry of Local Government and Housing states:

“To promote a decentralised and democratic local government system and facilitate the provision of efficient and effective delivery of quality housing, infrastructure and social services by local authorities and other stakeholders for sustainable development”¹.

Since 2001, following the publication of the famous World Bank Report *‘Attacking Poverty’*, decentralisation has also been understood as a key policy for poverty alleviation. Therefore, decentralisation has been heavily promoted as an important tool among the strategies used to tackle extreme poverty and

¹ Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) of Zambia. Retrieved from: <http://www.mlgh.gov.zm/> (09/04/2013).

promote development². Local governments are also indicated as key actors in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For instance, in a web-page dedicated to 'participatory local development', UNDP argues:

"In supporting MDG localization - translating national MDGs so that they are relevant, applicable and attainable at the local level - UNDP recognizes the key role of subnational and local governments in putting plans into action and keeping national governments in touch with people's needs, progress made and challenges ahead"³.

Despite this popularity, the pro-poor effects of decentralisation are not supported by unarguable evidence. The (limited) literature available on the last wave of decentralisation in development countries offers, at best, a mixed picture⁴. In the medium term, millions of persons will continue to live within a decentralised system (Connerley, Eaton & Smoke, 2010). Therefore, more academic studies, based on empirical data, are needed to highlight the links and understand the implications of decentralisation for the well-being of people in developing countries.

This study tries to contribute at filling this gap, using as case study a country, Zambia, which has been almost neglected by the literature on decentralisation.

This study is divided in seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the research questions, hypothesis and it clarifies and establishes the relevance of the study within the development discourse and academic literature. This latter will be reviewed in the second chapter, focusing on the main works available regarding the linkage between decentralisation and poverty alleviation.

² According to Kaiser (2006), during the period from 1995 to 2005, 135 out of 511 development initiatives approved by the World Bank were directly linked with decentralization policies. See also the famous World Bank Development Report, titled 'Attacking Poverty', published in 2001.

³ Retrieved from: http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/povertyreduction/focus_areas/focus_local_development/ (09/04/2013). An additional page on UNDP's website is also dedicated to 'MDGs Localisation'.

⁴ For an insightful analysis of the last decentralization experiences, see: Agrawal and Ribot (1999); Bird and Rodriguez, 1999; Bossuyt and Gould, 2000; Crook and Sverrisson, 2001; Jonhson, 2001; Crook, 2003; Smoke, 2003; Vedeld, 2003; Jütting and Kaufmann, 2004; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Steiner, 2007; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008; Treisman, 2007; Linder, 2010; Connerley, Eaton and Smoke (2010), Sepulveda and Martinez-Vasquez, 2011.

The third chapter explains the conceptual framework used in the analysis of decentralisation in Zambia while the fourth will outline the methodology followed for data collection and analysis.

Chapter five introduces the legal framework of the local governance system in Zambia today, taking into consideration the political, administrative and fiscal regulations. Given the long Zambian tradition in terms of local governance, its evolution is briefly outlined in order to better understand some of the mechanisms visible in the current functioning of the local institutions.

Finally, chapters six and seven describe the main outcomes of the research, on the political and socio-economic dimension. The political dimension – ‘empowerment’ – is analysed through three main variables: participation, representation and political accountability. The socio-economic dimension will be mainly studied through the analysis of the households’ income and their access to public services.

THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

1.1 Research Objective

The objective of this study is to analyse if and how decentralisation policies initiated in the 1990s have had a positive impact on alleviating poverty in two rural districts in Zambia. In line with the current development discourse, we accept the current understanding of poverty and decentralisation as ‘multi-dimensional’ concepts. On the one hand, poverty is defined for the purposes of this research and maintains the current working definition as

“the result of economic, political, and social processes that interact with each other and frequently reinforce each other in ways that exacerbate the deprivation in which poor people live” (World Bank, 2001: 1).

On the other hand, decentralisation, defined as the transfer of power and resources from the central units of government towards sub-national levels, has huge effects across a country’s economy, political structures and society (Steiner, 2007; Jütting et al, 2005; Eaton and Connerly, 2010). Therefore, both the political and socio-economic mechanisms of this linkage will be analysed, using two main dimensions:

- Political dimension (through ‘empowerment’)
- Socio-economic channel (‘through increased ‘efficiency’ and ‘targeting’).

The academic evidence already available seems to disagree or at least to be cautious in supporting this linkage. In the opinion of Steiner: “There is no

automatism in decentralization bringing about the expected outcomes” (2005: 6).

This study attempts to provide additional evidence on the pro-poor outcomes of decentralisation policies as claimed by the donors’ or governments’ discourse and to challenge this automatism. To do so, a theoretical framework linking decentralisation and poverty alleviation will be used. It is inspired by Jütting et al. (OECD, 2004), Steiner (2007), Crawford (2008), Asante and Ayee (2008). In addition, this research will make use of a previous field work in Mali (Serrenti, 2012) and different field works undertaken by the researcher in different African countries over the last 3 years⁵. The use of these combined complimentary approaches will increase the assessment of outcomes allowing for a comparative prospective, further linking the research’s results with previous academic work.

Specific objectives of this study are therefore to investigate, on the one hand, if and how decentralisation had a positive impact in empowering the populace and namely the poorest and most marginalised groups in Zambia. On the other, to understand if and how the local government in Zambia, as reshaped by the Local Government Act in 1991, has been able to provide a more efficient and an increased number of services or development projects to the communities, targeting the most vulnerable groups.

1.2 Research Questions

This study attempts to address the following research questions. The sub-questions are divided according to two main level of analysis: on the one hand, a ‘macro level’ – understood as the goals of the local government reform – is investigated, focusing on the nature and features of the local-central interactions created by the decentralised system. On the other hand, the

⁵ The countries include Kenya, Djibouti, Ivory Coast, Mali and Ethiopia.

'micro-level' which addresses the two main dimensions in the relation between decentralisation and poverty: the political and socio-economic dimension.

A. General question:

1. Do decentralisation policies have pro-poor effects in Zambia?

B. Sub-questions (I): macro level

2. Which are the main goals of the last decentralisation reform – as reshaped with the LG Act in 1991 and the Decentralisation Policy (2009) – and the main institutional features of the Zambian local government system?

C. Sub-questions (II): micro level

3. Does the functioning of the local institutions in Zambia allow for the empowerment and the inclusion of the poorest in the decision-making?
 - Has decentralisation increased popular participation of Zambian's living in rural areas in public affairs?
 - Has decentralisation created better opportunities for people, especially the poorest and most vulnerable or marginalised, to be represented within the local government institutions?
 - Has decentralisation created or improved accountability mechanisms at the local government level, therefore facilitating responsive elected councillors to the needs of local residents?
4. Has decentralisation helped local institutions in Zambia to undertake local development initiatives and create opportunities to support households' income in the last 5 years?
 - Do rural local councils in Zambia have an impact (positive or negative) on the households' income?
 - Are local councils able to create opportunities to improve the economic situation of the residents?
5. Has decentralisation allowed local institutions in Zambia to provide a better access to public services (ex.: water, education, etc.) especially to the poorest and most vulnerable groups?
 - Which is the impact of the development initiatives undertaken by the local councils in Zambia on the different wealth groups (ex: 'poor', 'rich', average)?
 - Which is the local perception on the local government performance?

1.3 Research Hypothesis

A. General hypothesis:

1. Decentralisation may have pro-poor outcomes but at a very limited extent.

B. Sub-questions (I): macro level

2. Decentralisation in Zambia has been mainly by 'default' and not 'by design': international pressures have had a leading role in the creation of the local government and sub-district structures but a lack of governmental commitment has hindered its full implementation

C. Sub-questions (II): micro level

3. Decentralisation has facilitated the inclusion of the community but the lack of solid accountability mechanisms and the weakness of district and sub-district structures hinder full empowerment of the poorest and most marginalised groups in the society.
4. Decentralisation is used by central elites to keep or strengthen their electoral power at the grassroots and by local elites to attract the resources available for development projects.
5. Decentralisation in Zambia has helped to undertake local development initiatives and provide services for the benefit of the most vulnerable but only to a limited extent.
6. The limited impact on poverty alleviation in terms of development initiatives and provision of social services is mainly due to the lack of real financial autonomy and a persistent lack of capacities at local level.

1.4 Relevance of the Research

Decentralisation policies have reached great relevance in the last two decades. Most of the developing but also developed countries have been introducing (or at least, discussing) different forms of decentralisation as a means to reach different ends such as popular participation, increased accountability, higher access to service delivery, or poverty alleviation.

First, today elected local governments are often important centres of political power and policy formulation, vested with of a wide range of responsibilities related to the provision of public services such as water supply, health, education, etc. (ICHRP, 2005). Also, the economic and political pressures that have determined the current decentralisation wave, are still in place and it is expected that in “the short to medium term we will continue to live in a decentralising area” (Snyder, 2001 quoted by Eaton and Connerly, 2010: 3). Moreover, especially in previously highly centralised countries, these reforms have huge effects across a country’s economy, political structures and society, which explain the importance for deepening our understanding of the current reforms (Eaton and Connerly, 2010. Crawford and Hartman, 2008).

Second, scholars have created an impressive stock of literature on specific aspects of decentralisation (political, administrative, fiscal, impacts of decentralisation of some public goods or services as health, education, etc.). However, despite the current popularity of decentralisation, there are still few works analysing the impact of the last wave of decentralisation reforms on poverty alleviation. More studies are needed to understand the functioning of local government institutions and their role in improving social well-being (Bossuyt and Gould, 2000).

Third, drawing on the literature available, there is seemingly unfounded trust on the pro-poor effects of decentralisation policies. Individual country and cross-country case studies draw a quite variegated picture, where successful reforms cohabit with quite negative experiences⁶. This is coherent with the nature of decentralisation that “does not occur in general but rather in a particular context, so that decentralisation takes many different forms in different countries at different times” (Bird and Rodriguez, 1999: 299). Therefore, this analysis attempts to contribute to the larger understanding of

⁶The literature indicates the state of West Bengal in India as an example of positive impact of decentralization policies on poverty alleviation (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001). However, most recent cross-country studies show a mixed or negative scenario (among others, see: Jütting et al., 2005).

the decentralisation outcomes on poverty reduction using the experience of the last two decades in Zambia.

Fourth, most of the literature available has been either directly funded by international institutions as the World Bank, USAID or other governmental or non-governmental agencies, that have also been the main supporters of decentralisation in the last decades (Conyers, 1984)⁷. Also, many studies use only secondary literature, with still few using an empirical approach, with data collected during extensive field work⁸. The intent of this study tries is to fill this gap, using data collected during three different visits in Zambia between 2011 and 2013.

Moreover, this research introduces an original methodological approach to address the topic of this study. On the one side, the analysis moves from a locally defined conception of 'poor', 'average' and 'rich'. On the other side, mixed method research and participatory tools are used in order to understand the impact of local institutions on poverty alleviation in the two selected Zambian districts. From my knowledge, in the literature on decentralisation, this represents a completely new and innovative approach.

Fifth, only a few countries have been particularly popular and featured in the literature on decentralisation and its overall impacts on local communities: Ghana, Uganda, West Bengal (India), China are a few examples. Although interesting and relevant, the works focusing on Indian and Chinese states/provinces cannot be used as benchmark for other countries given their unique characteristics in terms of social, political and economic culture. Ghana and Uganda, and to some extent Kenya, have been 'over-studied' by the literature in the last fifteen years as they witnessed the most far-reaching

⁷ As noticed by Conyers (1984), this body of literature tends to assume a prescriptive and descriptive approach and it is often linked to technical assistance or consultancy work.

⁸ On the donors' side, many publications and evaluations are available as World Bank (2008a,b), OECD (1995) or European Commission (2007). Some popular cross-country studies on the linkage between decentralization and poverty reduction use secondary literature as Jütting et al. (2004 and 2005) and Crook & Sverrisson (2001).

decentralisation reforms. However, it is now time to focus on the experience of other countries that have tried to follow the same reform trajectory. Zambia has been largely left out of the discourse of academic literature which, in the last years, have mainly focused on health issues (ex.: HIV-AIDS) or economic topics (ex.: liberalisation, mines, trade unions, etc.)⁹. Very limited literature is available on other academic disciplines (ex.: history, anthropology, etc.) and studies on the evolution and current features of the local government structures are almost absent¹⁰.

⁹ In her literature review on decentralization, Conyers (1984) argued some countries had received much attention by the literature, namely India and Nigeria, followed by Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Tanzania, Ghana, Kenya and Sudan. Zambia up to 1983 had been the focus of almost 20 studies.

¹⁰ A remarkable exception is the well documented book by Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola (ed.) (2008) on some aspects of the Zambian post-colonial history, mainly the political dissent, the public role of religion, and some political and economic issues during the Third Republic. Also, the last important works analyzing the Zambian political and administrative features date often back to the '90s, when the end of the single-party regime and the beginning of the multiparty Third Republic attracted much attention by the academic literature (see: Gulhati, 1991; Bjornlund and Bratton, 1992; Ndulo and Kent, 1996; Carcangiu, 1998; Bratton, 1999; Barlett, 2000; Burnell, 2001, 2002a/b; McDonagh, 2002; Gould, 2006; Burnell, 2006).

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

1 INTRODUCTION

Today, decentralisation is a widespread phenomenon that involves and takes place in most of the countries, not only in Africa, but also in Asia, Latin America and Europe (Crook and Manor, 1998; Eaton and Connerley, 2010; ICHRP 2005; Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006). As Treisman put it, with an ironic tone:

“For anyone who might not yet have noticed, political decentralization is in fashion. (...) It is hard to think of any other constitutional feature – except perhaps democracy itself – that could win praise from both Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, Newt Gingrich and Jerry Brown, François Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac, Ernesto Zedillo and Vicente Fox, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin” (2007:1).

However, decentralisation and the debate on local government are not new (Agrawal and Ribot, 1999). Decentralisation experiences in Africa are rooted in colonial history and since then, they have passed through different waves of popularity, following a ‘pendulum model’ between centralisation and decentralisation (Mawhood, 1983).

Since independence, in African states and in many other developing countries, “political actors have embraced decentralisation as a means towards many different ends. (...) More specifically, three overarching goals: democracy, economic development and public security, have convinced governmental and

nongovernmental actors around the world to support decentralisation” (Connerley, Eaton, & Smoke, 2010: 1)¹¹.

Not surprisingly, it has generated vast literature on various aspects of decentralisation, involving different academic traditions and concepts¹². However, Bardhan in 2012 has argued that “The literature on decentralisation in the context of development is still in its infancy” (2012: 203). To review this immense literature is not an easy task. Decentralisation is a complex phenomenon that has widespread effects on different levels of a country’s system and not only within the institutional legal framework (Olowu, 2001). For instance, it may change the power relations between and within the central and local institutions; it may influence the citizens’ approach and involvement in politics and public affairs; or it may alter the pattern of production and distribution of public services. Not surprisingly, different academic schools and traditions have studied the past and current waves of decentralisation: in particular, public administration and legal studies, political science, sociology, political economy, anthropology (Conyers, 1986)¹³. Moreover, although a wide

¹¹ For instance, Eaton and Connerley (2010) indicate Brazil, the Philippines, and South Africa as moved by democratic concerns; China, Chile, and Vietnam by economic goals; Colombia, Ethiopia, and Sudan as a mean to settle internal armed conflicts.

¹² Some scholars have tried to review the trends in the literature on decentralization. In particular: Conyers (1984) offers a review of the literature on following what she identifies as the main cleavages (or ‘scopes’) in the literature: temporal, topical and geographical scopes. In a more recent paper, Conyers (2007) offers a critical discussion on the most relevant literature produced on the linkage between decentralization and service delivery. See also, Rondinelli et al. (1989), Cheema and Rondinelli (2007, especially chapter 1), and White, 2011.

¹³ Conyers offers an insight of the “disciplinary origins” of the concept and have noticed a lack of coordination and the tendency for each discipline to use “their own ‘languages’ (1984: 190-191). A major challenge for scholars and development practitioners is “the need to scan a vast amount of literature, including material which is of peripheral – but nevertheless significant – interest. For example, there are volumes of literature on popular participation and community development, rural development management, regional development planning and organization design which are not primarily concerned with decentralization but include relevant and useful ideas and information” (Ibid.: 191). In addition, it is interesting to note that, not surprisingly, from this review of the literature emerges how the popularity of decentralization in the academia is strictly linked to the ‘waves’ of decentralization (see: heading 3 in this chapter). In fact, a first group of major contributions emerged in the ‘60s, following the first attempts to establish ‘decentralised’ local government structures after the Second World War (see: Maddock, 1963: *‘Democracy, Decentralisation and Development’*; Fesler, 1965: *‘Approaches to the understanding of decentralisation’*; Alderfer, 1964: *‘Local Government in Developing Countries’*; and Ursula Hicks, 1961: *‘Development form Below: Local Government and Finance in Developing Countries of the Commonwealth’*). A second group of studies emerges in the ‘80s, as a result of the new local government experiments initiated in the ‘70s by many developing governments and development agencies (see: Conyers 1981, 1983, 1984 and 1986; Mawhood, 1983; Rondinelli,

range of literature is available, it is often “complex, inconsistent, and conflicting” (Cohen and Peterson, 1999: 3).

This chapter is divided in three parts. The intension is to understand the main discussions and results that have emerged in the literature over the past decades. First, we will try to understand the meaning of ‘decentralisation’ and to review the different types that have been proposed and discussed over the past decades.

Second, given that usually decentralisation is initiated not as an end in itself but to reach other goals, we accept that “since decentralisation is successful only when it succeeds in promoting this ends, it should be judged accordingly” (Eaton and Connerley, 2010: 2)¹⁴.

However, these goals (democracy, economic development and public security) have emerged in different historical periods and they have experienced various cycles of popularity and understanding both in the academia and within the practice of governments and aid agencies. This evolution is strictly connected to the dramatic challenges imposed by the state-building and economic goals pursued by African states in the post-independence period, and also by the role played by the international development agencies. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter, we will briefly focus on the goals and evolution of academic and governmental support to decentralisation in the period between the 1960s and the 1990s.

During the 1990s a new wave of decentralisation started, mainly triggered by two main phenomena: the emergence of what Huntington (1991) called the ‘third wave’ of democratisation; and the failure of development policies that

1981; Rondinelli, 1982; Rondinelli et al., 1983). Finally, more a more recent group of studies emerged in the ‘90s with the last wave of reforms (Crook & Manor, 1998; Rao, Bird & Litvack, 1998; Bird & Rodriguez, 1999; Manor, 1999; Bossuyt, 2000; Crook & Sverrisson, 2001; Johnson, 2001; Von Braun & Grote, 2002; Crook, 2003; Vedeld, 2003; Smoke, 2003; Jütting et al. 2005; Steiner, 2007; Crawford and Hartmann (Eds.), 2008; Connerley, Smoke & Eaton, 2010).

¹⁴ A similar approach in the discussion on decentralization is also used by Asante & Ayee (2008); Olowu (2001); Olowu and Smoke (1992).

were pursued by the Washington consensus through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs).

This last 'decentralisation wave' is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the previous one. As already mentioned, the geographical scope of this wave is completely new and it has not a similar reference in the past. Today almost everywhere in the world governments are implementing some kind of decentralisation reform, or they are at least talking about it.

Also, the 'quality' of this wave is different. In fact, decentralisation has emerged in the same period as a key reform within the international development policies. However, the pursued goals have gradually evolved. If in the 1990s 'democracy' is the key word for new local government experiments, in 2000 'development', 'poverty reduction' and 'conflict management' also emerged, following new international development strategies as designed by the World Bank famous report '*Attacking Poverty*' (World Bank, 2001).

Finally, in the last part of this chapter, will attempt to provide a critical review of the results suggested by the literature on the last wave of decentralisation.

2 CONCEPTS AND TYPES

2.1 Definition

The 'object' decentralization is not easy to define as it has been applied over the last decades by governments, development agencies and scholars to identify a variety of policies. Scholars in the 1980s seem to agree on the 'vague' understanding of decentralization both in the academia and among the governments and also on the need for further clarification of this concept (Adamolekun, 1991). For instance, Conyers has argued that "everyone knows roughly what 'decentralisation' means, but defining it precisely presents problems because it can be used in a number of different ways and in significantly different contexts" (1984: 187)¹⁵. Still in the 2000, decentralisation was defined as "highly political" (Bossuyt and Gould, 2000: 2) and "slippery" (Bird, 1995 as quoted by Olowu, 2001: 2).

Despite this assumption, many scholars tried to provide a definition of decentralization, in order to clarify its meaning and facilitate analysis¹⁶. Rondinelli broadly defined it as

"the transfer or delegation of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions from the central government and its agencies, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area wide or regional development authorities; functional authorities, autonomous local governments, or nongovernmental organizations" (1981: 137)¹⁷.

In a following paper that appeared in the review *Development and Change*, this definition was further expanded to include "a situation in which public goods

¹⁵ This idea has been also supported by other scholars in the same period: Mawhood (1983); Adamolekun in 1991 still has talked about "confusion over definition" (1991: 185) and Bardhan in 2002 has stressed: "different people mean different things by decentralization" (2002: 186). For a list of definitions on decentralization and its different types, see: UNDP, 1999. Dubois & Fattore (2009) have recently offered an interesting critical review of the evolution of this concept.

¹⁶ This need is strictly linked with the 'second wave of decentralisation' in the '70s and early '80s.

¹⁷ Another influential work is "Decentralisation: the territorial dimension of the state", where Smith defines decentralization as "reversing the concentration of administration at a single centre and conferring powers on local government" (Smith, 1985 quoted by Asante & Ayee, 2008: 2).

and services are provided primarily through the revealed preferences of individuals by market mechanisms” (Rondinelli et al., 1989: 59). This approach was strongly criticized by Slater who has argued it is weak and mainly at the service of the neo-liberal discourse of the international institutions. They were probably both right as it is true that many countries that have implemented decentralization reforms in the late 1970s and 1980s were moved pre-eminently by economic reasons, pushed by the international development institutions as the World Bank¹⁸.

However, this academic dispute between Rondinelli and Slater is interesting because it highlights a defining issue within decentralization which is linked to the ‘feelings’ usually attached to it or, to use Conyers’s words “much of the terminology associated to decentralization has emotive overtones” (1986: 595). This ‘emotional’ approach to decentralization has become even stronger since the 1990s, when decentralization gained a new momentum following dramatic political changes that affected many developing countries, especially in Africa.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the main goals of local government reforms, which were pursued by governments and so enthusiastically supported by the international development agencies, were reflected in the definitions given by a new set of scholars. The concept of ‘democratic decentralisation’ acquired momentum and it provided the basis for a rich academic literature¹⁹. Thus, decentralisation is described as a “transfer of power away from a central authority to lower levels in a territorial hierarchy (Crook and Manor, 1999: 6) characterized by an “increase in the scope and depth of subordinate group participation in authoritative resource allocation” (Heller, 2001: 133)²⁰.

¹⁸ See headings 3 and 4 in this same chapter.

¹⁹ For an insightful analysis on democratic decentralization, see: Crook and Manor (1998); Manor (1999); Ribot, 2002; Vedeld, 2003; Olowu and Wunsch (2004); Chikulo (2010); Dauda (2006). Heller (2001) and Linder (2010).

²⁰ Democratic decentralization is used as synonymous of ‘devolution’, a specific type of decentralization emerged in the ‘90s (see, heading 2.2 in this chapter).

Although the term decentralization can still be considered as broadly embracing different types of ‘power transfer’ from central to local units or governments, today it is more often associated with concepts titled: ‘devolution’ or ‘democratic’²¹. These two words are often used synonymously by governments, development agencies and practitioners to describe aspects of decentralisation.

2.2 Types

Given the broad definition commonly associated with the term ‘decentralisation’, the scholars and developmental practitioners have tried to better define it, introducing typologies able to identify the main ‘shapes’ decentralisation can take²².

Starting from Rondinelli (1981), a first distinction is made between ‘functional’ and ‘areal’ decentralisation to distinguish whether the transfer of powers and responsibility focuses on the tasks and activities or on the territorial unit²³. Originally, Rondinelli (1981) proposed a distinction based on the ‘degrees’ of decentralization, starting from ‘deconcentration’ (the lowest degree), ‘delegation’ and ‘devolution’ (the highest degree of decentralization). Deconcentration is defined as the “least extensive form of decentralisation”, which involves at minimum the transfer of workload “from central government ministry headquarters to staff located in offices outside of the national capital, and the staff may not be given the authority to decide how those functions are

²¹ See Heading 2.2 of this chapter for an insightful discussion on the typologies of decentralization proposed by the scholars in the last decades.

²² Mawhood argues that the controversy on the notion of decentralisation has emerged quite recently in the literature and it is mainly linked to the early works of “Fesler, Hanson and Maddick” (1993: 2).

²³ Precisely, ‘functional’ decentralization is defined as “the transfer of authority to perform specific tasks or activities to specialized organizations that operate nationally or at least across local jurisdictions” (Rondinelli, 1981: 137). The ‘areal’ decentralization is defined as “primarily aimed at transferring responsibility for public functions to organizations within well defined sub-national spatial or political boundaries” (ibidem, 1981: 137).

to be performed” (Rondinelli, 1981: 137)²⁴⁻²⁵. Delegation is the “delegation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to organisations that are only under the indirect control of central government ministries” (Rondinelli, 1981: 138). Finally, devolution represents the highest degree of decentralisation and indicates a situation where local authorities are legally created, have the authority within “recognised geographical boundaries”, have the “power to raise sufficient resources” and they are “given autonomy and independence (...) over which central authorities exercise little or no *direct* control” (Rondinelli, 1981: 138). Rondinelli has subsequently specified this classification, adding ‘privatisation’ that occurs when “governments have divested themselves of responsibility for functions and have either transferred them to voluntary organisations or allowed them to be performed by private enterprises” (Rondinelli et al., 1983: 28)²⁶.

In his work on *‘Decentralisation: the way forward for rural development’*, Parker has also introduced a different typology based on the following dimensions: political, fiscal and institutional. In a political form of decentralisation the focus is on “increasing public participation through citizens' active engagement in public institutions” and where an active commitment of the government is required (1995: 23). ‘Fiscal decentralization’ indicates the need for local institutions to have appropriate resources “to cover the costs of providing

²⁴This extreme form of deconcentration is controversial. It represents the minimum amount of decentralization as it actually translates in ‘centralisation’ of power. Manor has accepted this definition, however he has better elaborated this point: “When deconcentration occurs in isolation, or when it occurs together with fiscal decentralization but without simultaneous democratization - that is, when agents of higher levels of government move into lower level arenas but remain accountable only to persons higher up in the system - it enables central authority to penetrate more effectively into those arenas without increasing the influence of organized interests at those levels. The central government is not giving up any authority. It is simply relocating its officers at different levels or points in the national territory. In such circumstances, it tends in practice to constitute centralization (...)” (1999: 5). A similar form of decentralization has been experienced in Zambia in the ‘80s when the local government system was reshaped under the Local Administration Act in 1981 (see: chapter 5).

²⁵ The type ‘deconcentration’ was also subdivided in ‘field’ and ‘local’ administration’: the first involves the “transfer of decision-making discretion to field staff”; the second indicates that at local level the different ministry line agents are also responsible at district, provincial or regional level to a representative appointed usually by the Ministry of Interior of Local Government. The local administration may be ‘integrated’ or ‘unintegrated’, depending on the status of the ministry and local officials (Rondinelli, 1981: 137-138).

²⁶ See also Adamolekun, (1991), Agrawal and Ribot (1999).

rural public good and services” and they can have the form of locally-generated resources; transfers from higher-level institutions; and resources from borrowing” (1995: 28)²⁷. Finally, ‘Institutional decentralisation’ is used to refer how different institutions are actually involved in the decentralization programme. Here a variety of institutions may be concerned (state institutions, civil society, etc.) and a legal framework applied.

Manor (1999) has simplified these first attempts and introduced a classification still used today: ‘deconcentration’ (or administrative decentralisation), ‘devolution’ (or political / democratic decentralisation), and ‘fiscal decentralisation’²⁸.

Figure 2: Forms of decentralisation

	Privatisation	Delegation	Deconcentration	Devolution
Economic				
Administrative				
Political				
Fiscal				

Source: Steiner (2005:10)

Deconcentration is the “dispersal of agents of higher levels of government into lower level arenas” (Manor, 1999: 5) and it refers to what Parker (1995) has called ‘administrative decentralisation’²⁹. Devolution (or political decentralization) is defined as “transfer of resources and power to lower level authorities which are largely or wholly independent of higher levels of government, and which are democratic in some way and to some degree” (Manor, 1999: 6). Finally, ‘fiscal decentralisation’ is used as in Parker (1995) to refer to “downward fiscal transfers, by which higher levels in a system cede

²⁷ Some authors refer also to ‘market’ to identify the same concept (Cohen and Peterson, 1999).

²⁸ Interestingly, this classification recalls the approach used in classic definitions (used during the colonial period), where ‘deconcentration’ was characterized by the following elements: presence of ministry line officials at local level, performing specific tasks as dictated by and under the supervision of the central authority. On the other side, ‘decentralisation’ entailed the presence of local political structures separated and independent from the central government, with the power to take and implement decisions, within a limited area and with its own financial autonomy (Mawhood, 1993: 1-4).

²⁹ See Cohen and Peterson (1999) for an insightful analysis on administrative decentralization. See also Ribot (2002).

influence over budgets and financial decisions to lower levels” of government either in the form of deconcentrated civil servants or appointed bureaucrats (Manor, 1999: 6). However, some have argued that fiscal decentralization is not a type *per se* but it is a transversal concept that refers to both deconcentration and devolution (Ribot, 2002). Despite this minor debate, this typology is today widely accepted³⁰.

Finally, as already mentioned, since the 1990s, the emergence of ‘democratic decentralisation’ followed the democratic shift experienced by many political regimes during that decade. Democratic decentralization refers to the concept of ‘devolution’ and ‘political decentralisation’ but it stresses the democratic feature of the local agency to which the power is transferred: a council elected through free, fair and regular elections, downwardly accountable to the voters (Ribot, 2002; Crook and Manor, 1998; Johnson, 2001; Vedeld, 2003).

The concept of ‘democratic decentralisation’ as emerged in the 1990s highlights that the evolution of this notion is strictly linked on the one hand, to political and developmental challenges that the newly independent states faced since the 1960s. And, on the other, a major role has been played by national and international development agencies that have regularly put ‘decentralisation’ (or some type of it) up in their agenda during the last decades. Keeping these actors in mind, this will be focus of the analysis in the following pages.

³⁰ The last major works on decentralization all refer to this typology. See: Crook and Manor, 2000; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006; Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007; Treisman, 2007; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008; Connerley, Eaton and Smoke, 2010. Schneider (2003) has also offered an analysis on how to measure these different forms of decentralisation.

3 WHY IS DECENTRALISATION SO POPULAR?

Decentralisation is not a new concept in the debate on local administration in Africa (Agrawal & Ribot, 1999). On the contrary, decentralisation is rooted in colonial history and since then, it has passed through different waves of popularity, following a 'pendulum model' between centralisation and decentralisation (Mawhood, 1983). An historical review of decentralisation in Africa is beyond the scope of this analysis. However, a brief evaluation of its waves of popularity in the last decades is needed to clarify the academic debate³¹.

To my knowledge, Olowu & Wunsch (2004) have offered the most advanced and precise review of the history of African decentralisation and the following analysis makes constant reference to their work. Their identification of four phases in the African experience is accepted here as it emphasizes the different phases of its popularity among African governments and aid agencies during the first 30 years of independence. Their review also better represents what Mawhood has labelled "pendulum model" to indicate the "swings into favour and out again" (1983: 8) of decentralisation and identifies the shift between decentralisation and centralisation as one of the main features of the construction and evolution of African independent states³².

³¹ The aim here is to highlight the goals and claims that played as driving forces in the implementation of decentralisation policies in Africa and, more generally, in the developing countries³¹. In fact, some of the driving forces that shaped the first decentralisation experiences until the late '80s and their results had an important role in shaping the features of the last wave of local government reforms, which started in the '90s. This review concerns mainly the African experience. However, examples from other Latin American or Asian countries may also be included. In fact, as it will emerge during the discussion, some driving-forces of decentralization were similar for many developing countries and not specific of the African experience.

³² Mawhood borrowed and developed the concept of the 'pendulum swing' from an earlier work by Wraith, R. (1972). *Local Administration in West Africa*. London: Allen and Unwin.

3.1 The Pendulum Swings In and Out

Many authors indicate period between the end of World War II and the beginning of the independence as the first phase in the history of decentralisation in Africa (Mawhood, 1983; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004).

World War II shifted the previous international equilibrium and completely rewrote the rules on which the national governments and the international system laid on. In fact, in the aftermath of the War, France and the UK were subject to political, economic and ideological pressures that imposed an urgent revision in their approach towards the colonies (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004)³³. Therefore, a first wave of decentralisation in Africa started, aimed at improving the efficiency in delivering the public services and at increasing the participation of the local African elite in the public decision-making.

Therefore, in the 1950s, African colonies went through a major administrative restyling. In British African colonies, the local governments were partly or fully democratised, allowing local representatives to represent the *native* interests. The same trend became visible in the French colonies: the system of *communes* already established before the World War II was 'upgraded' and, in 1955, forty-four more cities in West Africa acquired the status of *ville* (Hesserling, 1985).

The late colonial period has been defined by some as the 'golden age' of local administration in Africa (Olowu, 1989). In fact, at independence, the African states inherited a system characterised by:

³³ On the political side, the colonies had provided a tremendous support during the war in terms of human lives and commodities. In many cases, the colonial administration 'bought' the support of the growing African leaders with the promise of increased autonomy and involvement of the *subjects* into the colonial administration. Economically, the colonies were also increasingly perceived by the European civil society as an intolerable burden that was diverting huge amount of resources that could have been employed to finance the reconstruction's efforts at the end of the World War II. Finally, ideologically, the colonies appeared completely outdated. In fact, the war against authoritarian regimes and the crimes perpetuated under the imperialist Nazi-fascist flag provoked the emergence of the new concept of self-determination and the right to independence (Parker & Rathbone, 2007; Calchi Novati & Valsecchi, 2005; Meredith, 2005).

- "A tradition of elected councils
- A well-defined local tax system (ranging from per capita flat rates in most places to graduated personal rates in East Africa, and the beginning of a property/land tax in the major urban centres).
- Involvement of local governments in a range of minimal infrastructures services: especially in education, health and sanitation, rural roads and water supply, agricultural extension services, and natural resources management – all of these with carefully articulated grant systems from the central government.
- Involvement of municipal governments in major capital investment activities and the rural governments in cooperatives and community development activities". (Mawhood and Davey, 1980 as cited by Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 32).

However, in this system, local governments were mere "tools of administrative management" and a real democratic effort was not made (Ribot, 2002: 5). Nevertheless, one major effect of the reshaped local administration was the emergence of a stronger African elite: leaders such as Senghor or Kenneth Kaunda, who lead their countries toward independence, started their political career in the local governments and climbed the political ladder, reaching prestigious positions as MPs or ministers at the wake of independence (Parker & Rathbone, 2007; Meredith, 2005).

The 1960s opened a completely new phase in the African history. The independent states inherited a delegitimized colonial local administration, based on a coercive system, ruled by the traditional (*native*) authorities and the *prefets* or district officers nominated by the governors. This system was generally initially inherited by the new independent government; however some modifications were needed in order to use it to pursue the two main goals of independent states in Africa: nation-building and a fast socio-economic development³⁴. In this period:

³⁴ According to Manor: "Local or regional councils, which some colonial authorities had created, might be maintained or occasionally extended in the name of deepening democracy. But they were often held in low esteem by the new rulers because they had been used by the imperial powers as mere sops and substitutes for self-determination at the national level" (1999: 19). Main modifications included the introduction of centrally controlled elections or simply their abolishment; the transfer of many functions related to the provision of public goods, services and infrastructures to the central authorities; and the reduction or increased control over the resources available for the local authorities (Ribot, 2002). See also: Manor, 1999; Mamdani, 1996.

“Decentralisation was used to expand the reach of the state, so reforms took the shape of deconcentration – extending central administration into the local arena. This was reinforced by the period’s dominance by one-party states and socialist governments, which did not create the space for elected local government” (Ribot, 2002: 5).

Not surprisingly, one of the first decisions often taken by the newly independent African states was the abolishment of the system of local governance inherited by the colonial administration and its substitution with a new legal framework. In different countries, a new law regulating the local administration was introduced few months after the independence, often under the label ‘decentralisation’. However, these new systems were mainly designed to address the needs and goals recalled above, resulting in a general centralisation of the power. In this framework of “centralisation via nominal ‘decentralisation’”:

“Leaders now had to deliver and they saw democratic local governments as irritants at best, if not obstacles, to their ambitions to build powerful states. Leaders of newly independent states such as Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, and Sekou Touré in Guinea, among others, followed the same pattern” (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 33-34).

Looking back to these early experiences, Nyerere in 1984 severely criticized the decision to dismantle the local government system as inherited by the former colonial states:

“There are certain things I would not do if I were to start again. One of them is the abolition of local governments and the other was the disbanding of cooperatives. We were impatient and ignorant... We had these two useful instruments of participation and we got rid of them. It is true that local governments were afraid of taking decisions but instead of helping them we abolished them. Those were two major mistakes” (Nyerere, 1984 as cited by Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 34).

In the 1970s, many African countries experienced tremendous changes in their political and economic structures. Most African states responded to those crises with more centralised and authoritarian regimes and they were forced to accept the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the international financial institutions (Parker & Rathbone, 2007; Calchi Novati & Valsecchi, 2005; Meredith, 2005). In the 1970s and 1980s, the idea of

decentralisation acquired growing popularity and usually with a positive connotation attached to it:

“Most of us – and most governments like the *idea* of decentralisation. It suggests the hope of cracking open the blockages of an inert central bureaucracy, curing managerial constipation, giving more direct access for the people to the government and the government to the people, stimulating the whole national to participate in national development plans” (Mawhood, 1983: 1).

This third vague of decentralisation has been characterised by a higher variety if compared with the experiences of “nominal decentralisation” of the 1960s (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 33) and they usually belonged to the ‘deconcentration’ rather than ‘devolution’ type. Moreover, the motives pushing towards decentralisation focused on national development, efficiency and greater participation of the grassroots to the development efforts (Conyers, 1984: 188). Decentralisation was integrated within the SAPs as a strategy to reduce the size of the central state and its costs (Olowu, 2001). The results of this wave of decentralisation were quite fragmented and the reforms did not really contribute to the expected results; in fact,

“The fundamental weakness of the decentralisation reforms of the 1980s associated with SAPs was (...) their lack of attention to the nature and type of decentralised structures they were promoting. No clear distinction was made between deconcentration and devolution (...). No real changes in *governance* at the localities were made. (...) During this time, there was no real commitment to shifting power from the center to the localities, (...)” (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 38).

The mid-1990s saw the emergence of a new wave of popularity of decentralisation, which is qualitatively and quantitatively different from the previous ones. Many factors have contributed to this renovated trust in decentralisation, as the failure of previous centralised attempts of public sector reforms, growing urbanisation, and pressures from the international donors (Olowu, 2001: 10). The latter have looked at decentralisation as a tool to respond to new democratic demands that emerged in the early 1990s in many

African states, which often resulted with the end of various authoritarian or single party regimes and the emergence of new multi-party democracies³⁵

More lately, and especially after the publication of the famous World Bank report 'Attacking Poverty' (World Bank, 2001), governments and aid agencies also supported the idea of a positive effect between (democratic) decentralisation and poverty alleviation, understood as a multi-dimensional concept³⁶. Also, the Millennium Development Goals ask for a decentralised approach:

"Local governments need to lead MDG-based local planning and implementation involving their communities. National averages on MDGs often mask differences in living standards across regions and communities in a country, so localizing MDGs allows local governments to keep national governments informed of the specific needs of their regions or localities. In middle-income countries, MDG localization helps draw attention to pockets of poverty, so that basic services can be improved in the underdeveloped areas identified" (UNDP, website, last accessed on the 04/04/2013).

Olowu has argued that "local governments can alleviate poverty, because they are particularly well placed to help target small scale industries, agriculture support and needy members of the community, provided that the capacity exists to deliver such programmes" (2001: 24). Moreover, Ayee has illustrated that:

"(...)Decentralisation must be viewed more realistically, however, not as a general solution to all of the problems of underdevelopment but rather as one of a range of administrative or organisational devices that may improve the efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness of various levels of government under suitable conditions" (Ayee, 1997: 54-55).

In general, since the 2000s, decentralisation (especially in the type concerning democratic decentralisation or devolution) is claimed to have a wide range of benefits such as empowerment, increased popular participation and

³⁵ This democratic wave that involved not only Africa but also many other developing countries have been analysed by the landmark study by Samuel Huntington (1991), "The third wave: democratisation in the late twentieth century".

³⁶ See chapter 3.

accountability, resources mobilisation, increased efficiency and responsiveness of the local authorities (Crook & Manor, 1999; Blair, 2000; Crook & Sverrisson, 2001; Olowu, 2001; Wunsch, 2013).

4 DECENTRALISATION: A COMPLEX REFORM

Despite its current popularity, the literature has identified numerous issues that have hindered decentralisation from producing its benefits. The most recurrent issues are proposed below, mainly – but not exclusively – drawing on the African decentralisation experiences.

4.1 Lack of Political Will and (re)centralisation

First, the commitment of the national elites to the implementation of decentralisation is a main factor influencing the outcome of the reforms (Ayee, 1997; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Jütting et al., 2005). In fact, as Crook and Sverrisson clearly put it:

“different governments do have different political purposes and motives for introducing decentralisation reforms and these purposes are embodied in the details of the structure and form of the decentralisation scheme or, more subtly, are revealed only in the way that the system functions after it is introduced” (2001: 2).

A useful distinction that emerged in the literature is between decentralisation ‘by default’ or ‘by design’ (Bossuyt and Gould, 2000; Jütting et al., 2005, Crawford, 2008). In the first case, where the national government is the main initiator of the reforms, there is a general agreement within the national elites of the desirability of decentralisation and thus, it is embedded in the national strategies to achieve better governance or pursue the development goals.

Decentralisation is considered 'by default' if the introduction of decentralisation has been the result of strong international pressures³⁷.

This difference seems particularly important as decentralisation is more successful when it is introduced 'by design', due to the fact that it implies a greater local ownership (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004)³⁸. On the other hand, usually decentralisation 'by default' comes along with a general lack of political will. In this case, the national elites are not committed to the decentralisation reform or may *officially* accept it solely to please the donors³⁹. For instance, studying the local system in Malawi, Chinsinga has argued that:

“Malawi experience demonstrates one key problem with the design of donor-driven decentralisation policy reforms. They are more often designed on the basis of donor’s ideological arguments than on the analysis of empirical reality of what exists on the ground. Consequently donors often prevail in pushing for decentralisation policy reforms, but it is largely the prerogative of the national and local politicians (...) to decide how exactly to put them into practice” (2008: 99).

Also, with respect to decentralisation, the national elite may be fragmented, with “some working for it and others against it” (Olowu and Wunsch, 2004: 23).

The importance of the national elites’ goals has been demonstrated by the experience of some countries where decentralisation actually resulted in increased *centralisation*. Crawford (2008) has introduced the concept of ‘politics of (de)centralisation’ to stress this process: national elites undertook decentralisation reforms to pursue mainly their national interest and one

³⁷ Mali is an example of reforms introduced 'by design'. It does not imply that the aid agencies are not involved in the decentralization process. In the Malian experience, *donors*, and especially the European Commission, have been extremely active in promoting and financing the decentralization reforms. However, the main drivers in initiating the devolution process were the national elites and the design of the reform was mainly a result of a national debate (Guillaume Lévy, 2003; Berthomé, 2003; Serrenti, 2012).

³⁸ Jütting et al. (2005) have argued that the most 'best performers' in their cross-country study (Kerala or West Bengal in India, Bolivia, South Africa, the Philippines and Ghana) had introduced decentralization mainly 'by design', while the 'worst performers' had introduced it 'by default' (Guinea).

³⁹ The national elites may be just not willing to share the power with local institutions or they fear a fragmentation of the country, with risks to the national unity (Olowu, 2001).

cannot expect them to promote ‘decentralisation from above’, aimed at increasing the citizens’ participation and the pro-poor outcomes⁴⁰.

4.2 Weak Legal Framework

A second issue concerns the entrenchment of decentralisation in the national legal framework. This implies two different aspects. On the one hand, decentralisation is usually stronger when it is included in the constitution if compared with the cases where it is regulated by other legal instruments such as decrees or ordinary laws (Thede, 2008 cited by Crawford & Hartmann, 2008: 14)⁴¹.

On the other hand, the lack of a clear division of roles and responsibilities between the local government institutions and the central government creates additional challenges, corroding the decentralised potential benefits especially in terms of public service delivery (Smoke, 2013: 13 cited by Crawford & Hartmann, 2008: 14). In some cases, the central government have also indirectly undermined the powers transferred to the local authorities by revising the sectoral policies (ex.: health, education, water) and diverting the funds accordingly (Jütting et al., 2005).

4.3 Central / Local Relations

Strictly linked to the commitment of the national governments is how the new decentralisation structure (devolved or deconcentrated) reshapes the central–local relations (Jütting et al., 2005). In fact, decentralisation necessarily implies

⁴⁰ On the contrary, a pro-poor outcome is likely only if the decentralisation process is initiated to meet the popular demands, organized through civil society organisations as political parties or social movements (Crawford, 2008)

⁴¹ For instance, Zambia included the local government for the first time in the Third Republic’s Constitution. The previous legal framework was regulated only through ordinary laws (see chapter 5, heading 2).

a reallocation of powers and resources within the governmental structures both at national and local levels. Therefore, different patterns of local–central relations necessarily influence the way decentralisation is *actually* implemented on the ground and its pro-poor outcomes⁴².

For instance, in some cases, although the system is formally decentralised, the government can still play an important role at local level through its network of line ministries departments (Steiner, 2008). In some case, decentralisation may even exacerbate the ethnic tensions that it was supposed to address (Treisman, 2007).

4.4 Failures in Participation and Accountability

A fourth recurrent issue in the implementation of decentralisation reforms concerns the extent of popular participation *actually* achieved through (democratic) decentralisation. The literature has highlighted that decentralisation does not always facilitate the inclusion of the citizens in the political debate or in the decision-making process. Often, the expectations for an increased accountability are deceived; and, finally, in many cases, it does not improve the information available to the residents on the local politics and development initiatives undertaken by their local representatives (Jütting et al., 2005; Treisman, 2007; Azfar, Livingston, & Meagher, 2011).

In many cases, the new devolved institutions are also likely to be occupied by the local elites, excluding the most vulnerable or the minorities from the power positions (Olowu, 2001) or reinforcing the existing patterns of inequality and poverty (Johnson, 2001).

⁴² Crook and Sverrisson have identified four different scenarios of possible relations. The first is when “the ruling elite or central authority is seeking to build its power bases through alliances with established local or regional elites”. A second occurs when “the central ruling elite challenges (...) locally powerful groups” or to weaken regional or ethnical political rivals; finally, a fourth scenario, “is associated with consolidation or renewal of an already powerful ruling elite” (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001: 2-4).

These issues seem to support the idea that decentralisation is not actually sufficient for the creation of a democratic environment at the grassroots⁴³. In some cases, on the contrary, “politics and institutions are more democratic at national level than the local level”, thanks to a stronger role played by media or the political party system (Azfar, Livingston, & Meagher, 2011: 233). Therefore, the type of regime and the presence of strong democratic experiences are also regarded as important preconditions for a successful decentralisation, as they can create an enabling environment for greater participation and accountability (Manor, 1999).

4.5 Resources Do Not Follow Functions

Fifth, many authors have indicated that an additional issue is that resources (financial and human) usually do not follow the transfer of functions. Thus, the local institutions are often assigned important responsibilities in the delivery of public goods and services (ex.: water provision, education or health, etc.) but they are not granted the necessary resources (Adamolekun, 1991); or, simply, there are not enough resources available within the overall public system (Wittenberg, 2011).

Financial resources are mainly constituted by government grants and local taxes; however, often, the first are not enough to cover the increased responsibilities, and the revenue raising powers may be limited (Steiner, 2007)⁴⁴. Governmental grants are usually highly political and may also be subject to conditionalities over their use, limiting *de facto* the decision-making powers of the local institutions (Bird & Rodrigues, 1999)⁴⁵. Delays in

⁴³ Some authors have contested the compatibility of local government and democracy at local level (Olowu, 2001).

⁴⁴ For an analysis of a successful system of resource allocation (West Bengal, India) see: Bahl, Sethi & Wallace (2010).

⁴⁵ Bird & Smart (2002) have studied the conditions required for a successful transfer design of governmental grants, mainly in addressing the problems of vertical and horizontal fiscal imbalance.

delivering the central grants are also frequent, creating serious issues in local authorities' budgets (Azfar, Livingston, & Meagher, 2011)

Moreover, across Africa, the local taxes collection is a common issue and usually this does not represent a reliable source of resources for the decentralised institutions (Olowu and Smoke, 1992; Steiner, 2008).

Corruption within the decentralised institutions is also frequent, due to the principal-agent problem (Steiner, 2007 and 2008, Blundo, & Olivier de Sardan, 2001)⁴⁶. Fisman & Gatti also argued that usually there is a “very strong and consistent negative association” (2002: 13) between decentralization and corruption.

Human resources may also represent a critical aspect in the implementation⁴⁷. For instance, civil servants that used to be employed by the government do not always accept to be relocated at local level, under the direction of the local institutions (Crawford and Hartmann, 2008; Olowu and Wunsch, 2014). Conflicts between civil servants and local politicians can be quite common and aggravated by the confusion over the respective responsibilities and powers⁴⁸.

Moreover, the lack of training or adequately educated local civil servants or councillors can undermine the potential efficiency of the local institutions on the delivery of public services and goods (Steiner, 2008). In other cases, they do not seem to know the local preferences, pushing them to allocate the resources accordingly (Azfar, Livingston, & Meagher, 2011).

⁴⁶ Steiner (2008) identifies some reasons for the emergence of corruption practices at local level, such as low salaries or emoluments for the civil servants and politicians, weak monitoring and auditing capacities or, lack of accountability mechanisms.

⁴⁷ Ayea considers bureaucracies as “one of the most important factors that influences the successful implementation of decentralization” and it has provided an insightful analysis of the consequences of the lack of civil servants' support in implementing decentralization reforms (1997: 37).

⁴⁸ Steiner (2008) has also indicated that this problem can even be exacerbated, especially when the economic benefits of the councillors (usually emoluments more rarely salaries) are bigger than those of the bureaucrats with full time jobs.

Finally, even the presence of resources does not guarantee success in service delivery or economic performance, meeting the expected pro-poor benefits. Sometimes, the local councils fail to meet the demands of the public (Crook and Manor, 1998). Other recurrent issues include: increased subnational spending, higher central and local budget deficits, and higher inflation (Treisman, 2007; Linder: 2010).

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As already discussed⁴⁹, the main goal of this research is to analyse if and how decentralisation policies have had a positive impact on alleviating poverty. The academic evidence already available (see chapter 3, “Literature Review”) seems to disagree or at least to be cautious in supporting this linkage. However, at least in the last two decades, decentralisation has been heavily promoted as an important tool within the strategies to tackle extreme poverty and promote development.

This study attempts to provide additional evidence on the pro-poor outcomes of decentralisation policies and to challenge this automatism. For this purpose, a conceptual framework is used (figure 3). It describes the ideal linkage between decentralisation and poverty alleviation and it draws on the existing literature and previous frameworks, mainly those proposed by Jütting et al. (2004; 2005), Steiner (2007), Asante, Ayee (2008), Crawford & Hartmann (2008)⁵⁰. As Steiner argued, this framework “(...) takes the form of an optimal scenario and is not meant to be in any way an image of the real world based on empirical evidence” (2007: 175). However, it facilitates the analysis as it

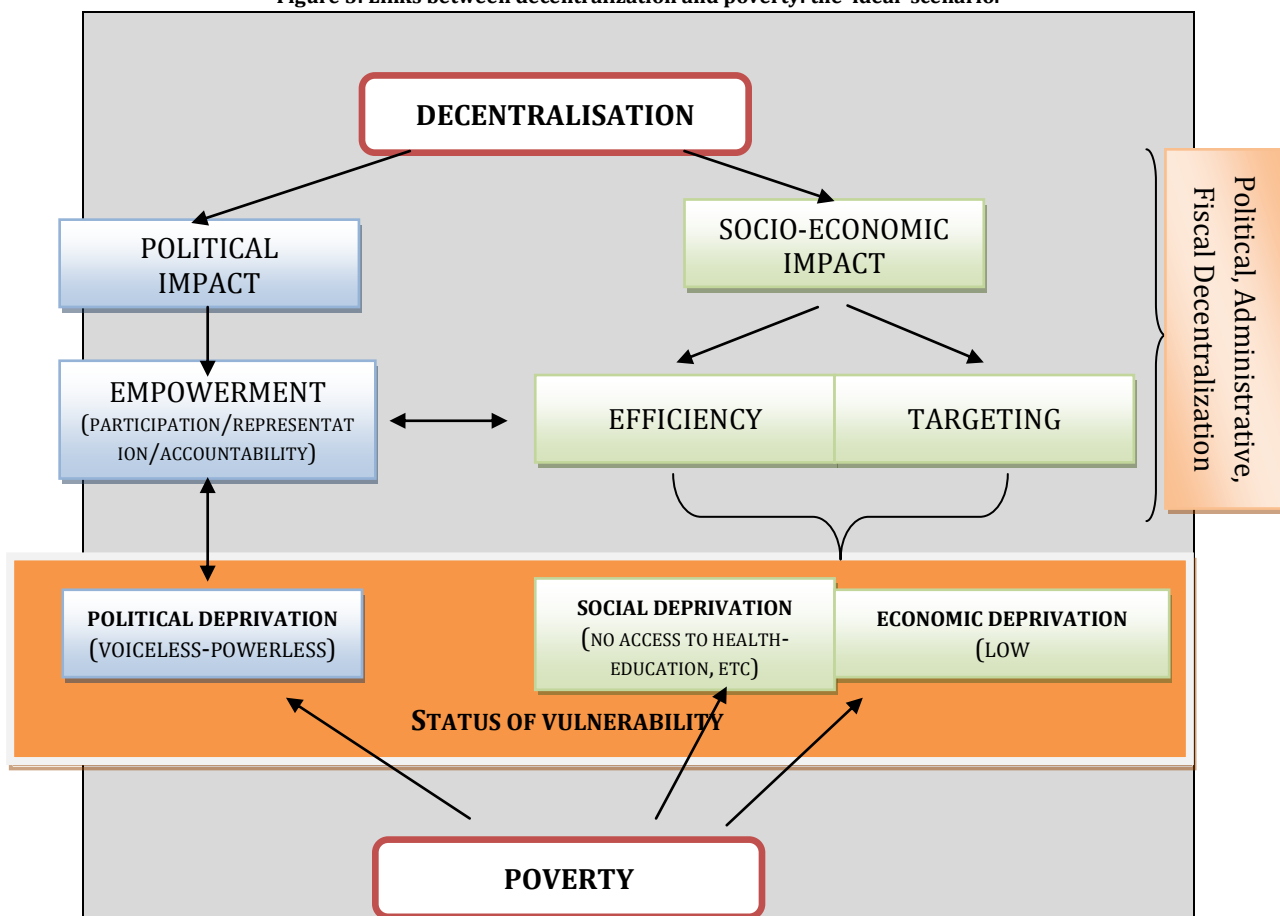
⁴⁹ See chapter 1 and 2.

⁵⁰ The framework proposed in this study is very similar to the frameworks proposed earlier by these scholars. This is intended to help the comparison with the academic work and to compare the Zambian case-study to the decentralisation experiments carried out in other countries.

breaks down the possible channels of influence and impact that decentralisation policies may have on poverty alleviation.

In this chapter, the main elements composing the possible *theoretical* linkages between decentralisation and poverty alleviation will be analysed. Firstly, ‘poverty’ the groundwork concept is introduced: the conceptual framework lays on a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty, emerged from the academic literature in the 1960s and today is widely accepted in both academia and by major development agencies⁵¹.

Figure 3: Links between decentralization and poverty: the ‘ideal’ scenario.



Source: Author’s elaboration from Steiner (2007); Asante & Ayee (2008); Jutting et al. (2004; 2005).

Nowadays, poverty is defined as a general status of vulnerability that “denotes people’s exclusion from socially adequate living standards and it encompasses

⁵¹ The evolution of the concept of decentralization, poverty and the new international strategies to tackle ill-being and deprivation are further discussed in heading 2 of this chapter.

a range of deprivations” (OECD, 2001: 18). The World Bank (2001) defines poverty as a general status of vulnerability, which includes three main types of deprivation, namely political, social and economic deprivation (see figure 3):

“Poverty is the result of economic, political, and social processes that interact with each other and frequently reinforce each other in ways that exacerbate the deprivation in which poor people live” (World Bank, 2001: 1).

This shift has been translated in a threefold strategy for poverty alleviation based on “promoting opportunities”, “facilitating empowerment” and “enhancing security” (World Bank, 2001: 1-12)⁵².

Secondly, following the World Bank’s rationale, decentralisation may help at addressing the *political deprivation* understood as “voicelessness and powerlessness” (World Bank, 2001: 15) through “empowerment”. This latter is understood as increased participation and inclusion (representation) of the poorest, in decision-making and increased accountability of the elected councils to the voters⁵³.

Finally, “promoting opportunities” refers to economic and social growth, understood as increased possibility for the poorest to access material resources or economic opportunities and increased access or quality of public services such as water or education. Thanks to its proximity, decentralized structures are supposed to be better placed to plan and implement pro-poor projects as they have better knowledge of the local needs and priorities⁵⁴

⁵² ‘Enhancing security’ is beyond the scope of this study, which limits the analysis to the political and the socio-economic impacts and do not discuss the ‘security’ or ‘conflict management’ implications. The latter has been relatively less studied by the literature on decentralization. Steiner (2007) has included ‘security’ in her framework as “Judicial Power” and “Regional autonomy”. The following (non exhaustive) list of studies provide an insightful analysis of the security implications: van Dijk (2008), Hartmann (2008), Schelnberger (2008), Tilburg (2008), Braathen & Bjerkreim Hellevik (2006), Dreher & Fischer (2010) and Gjoni & Wetterberg (2010).

⁵³ See heading 3 in this chapter.

⁵⁴ See heading 4 in this chapter.

2 KEY 'MULTI-DIMENSIONAL' CONCEPTS

2.1 Decentralization

The 'object' decentralization is a 'slippery' concept (Bird, 1995): it is not easy to define as it has been applied over the last decades by governments, development agencies and scholars to identify a variety of policies, including 'centralisation'⁵⁵. Conyers for instance, argued that "everyone knows roughly what 'decentralisation' means, but defining it precisely presents problems because it can be used in a number of different ways and in significantly different contexts" (1984: 187)⁵⁶.

In the following analysis, we understand decentralisation as a multi-dimensional concept and we accept a broad definition of decentralisation, as "the deliberate and planned transfer of resources away from the central state institutions to peripheral institutions" (Olowu, 2001: 2).

Drawing on Manor (1999), the following typologies are also accepted:

- Devolution or political or democratic decentralisation:
It entails the transfer of power and resources (human or financial) from the central government to democratically elected sub-national units, relatively independent from the centre and mainly accountable and responsible to the local population.
- Deconcentration or administrative decentralisation:
It entails the transfer of authority, responsibilities and resources (human or financial) to local branches of the central government and ministries.
- Fiscal decentralisation:
It entails the transfer of financial resources and the authority over budgets to democratically elected local councils or deconcentrated agencies.

⁵⁵ See chapter 2 heading 2 for an insightful analysis on the academic debate on the concept and types of decentralization.

⁵⁶ This idea has been also supported by other scholars in the same period: Mawhood (1983); Adamolekun in 1991 still talks about "confusion over definition" (1991: 185).

This latter type is treated, as suggested by Ribot (2002) more as a cross-cutting feature of devolution and deconcentration than as a type *per se*. Therefore, the impact of decentralisation on poverty alleviation will mainly refer to the role played by local councils (devolution) and deconcentrated ministerial departments.

2.2 Poverty

The concept of poverty has tremendously evolved in the last two decades and today is one of the most important “buzz-words” in development discourse and strategies. However, as argued by Ruggeri-Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, “Ironically, while the objective of poverty reduction currently has overwhelming support, particularly among the donor community, there is increasing debate about what this objective *means*” [...] (2010: 243)

An idea of this shift is simply captured when comparing a few definitions of poverty, which have been published in major development institutional publications between the 1990s and 2000.

(1990s): “This Report defines poverty as the inability to attain a minimal standard of living”. [...] “Household incomes and expenditures per capita are adequate yardsticks for the standard of living as long as they include own production, which is very important for most of the world's poor”. [...] (World Bank, 1990: 24- 38).

(2000s): “This report accepts the now traditional view of poverty (reflected, for example, in World Development Report 1990) as encompassing not only material deprivation (measured by an appropriate concept of income or consumption) but also low achievements in education and health. [...] This report also broadens the notion of poverty to include vulnerability and exposure to risk—and voicelessness and powerlessness” (World Bank, 2001: 15).

(2000s): “Poverty is multidimensional. Poverty denotes people's exclusion from socially adequate living standards and it encompasses a range of deprivations. The dimensions of poverty cover distinct aspects of human capabilities: economic (income, livelihoods, decent work), human (health, education), political (empowerment, rights, voice), socio-cultural (status, dignity) and protective (insecurity, risk, vulnerability). Mainstreaming gender is essential for reducing poverty in all its dimensions. And sustaining the natural resource base is essential for poverty reduction to endure” (OECD, 2001: 18)

In the 1990s, the main donors⁵⁷ still used a traditional ‘monetary approach’ to describe poverty. Rooted in the pioneering work by Booth (1889) and Rowntree (1902), it was mainly based on poverty lines, where ‘income’ and ‘consumption’ were the main variables⁵⁸. The monetary approach defines poverty as “A shortfall in consumption (or income) from some poverty line” (Ruggeri-Laderchi et al., 2010: 247). Poverty is considered in its ‘absolute’ sense, as it is calculated with regard to the purchasing cost of a minimum basket of needs or is linked to subsistence and nutrition (Madden, 2000; Lister, 2004)⁵⁹. Over time, other indicators such as life expectancy, health or literacy were acknowledged as important signs and measures of poverty. Nevertheless, they were considered as only ‘attributes’ of the main definition (‘income and consumption’) and poverty was mainly seen as a development and economic growth issue (Lister, 2004; World Bank, 1990).

This monetary approach to poverty has been extremely successful and became popular especially during the 1960s-1980s⁶⁰. Today, it is still widely used

⁵⁷ The main donors include the World Bank, USAID, the European Union and various UN agencies as ILO, FAO, UNDP (Rondinelli & McCullagh, 1981; Conyers, 1983 and 1986).

⁵⁸ In 1887, Booth carried out a study on the poverty levels in London, hit often by widespread riots by the poor. His approach included also non-monetary dimensions as well as qualitative and quantitative methods. Few years later, Rowntree, in 1902, used a pure quantitative method based on household surveys and elaborated for the first time a poverty line based on the minimum sum of money needed to pay for some basic needs as housing, food, light, fuel, clothing, etc. A detailed analysis on the monetary approach its tools and evolution of the concept and measurement of poverty is provided in Blackwood and Lynch (1994).

⁵⁹ This approach is referred as ‘basic needs’ and it has been used by Orshansky (1965) to calculate its poverty line. For other studies using the monetary approach, see Joseph and Sumption (1979). On the difference between absolute, relative or ‘hybrid’ definitions and measurement of poverty see also Hagenaars & de Vos, 1998; Blackwood & Lynch, 1994; Lister, 2004.

⁶⁰ According to Scott, seven reasons are the pillars of the success of this approach: “1. The British imperial and colonial influence and influence on governments and educational systems in the Empire and Colonies (...). 2. The power and attraction of statistics, and their influence on policy and opinion (which both Booth and Rowntree experienced). 3. The growing authority of statisticians, statistical procedures, and concepts of scientific rigour in the professional analysis of numbers. 4. The training of students in statistical, sampling and questionnaire survey methods, and the ease with which such training could be routinised, giving an easy task to teachers and providing skills to students for later employment. 5. The rise and power of economists and of economics as a profession, particularly after the second world war. 6. The ability of questionnaire surveys to generate poverty lines to provide comparisons between countries, between geographical and administrative regions, and between categories of people and of occupations, and, when in time series, to indicate changes over time. 7. The usefulness poverty line statistics for practical and policy purposes: they fulfill the needs of the state to simplify and count poverty in order to make it legible, enabling it to grasp a large and complex reality” (Scott, 1998 quoted in Chambers, 2007: 15-16).

although it is often integrated with other mixed or participatory methodologies⁶¹.

As shown by the definitions above, in 2000 the understanding of poverty radically changed: the traditional and economic-oriented definition was rejected, and the concept of poverty became multi-dimensional, embracing the new perspectives introduced in the 1970s by the 'Sen's 'capability approach' or the Townsend's relative 'deprivation approach'. In 1962, Peter Townsend criticized the 'absolute' approach to poverty based on poverty lines with income or consumption as main indicators:

"My main thesis is that both 'poverty' and 'subsistence' are relative concepts and that they can only be defined in relation to the material and emotional resources available at a particular time to the members either of a particular society or different societies. [...] "Poverty is a dynamic, not a static, concept" (Townsend, 1965: 210 -219).

Therefore, according to this idea of poverty as 'relative deprivation' a household is poor when it is "lacking certain commodities that are common in the society they are living in" (Hagenaars & De Vos, 1988: 215)⁶². His definition goes beyond the mere consideration of 'commodities' availability but differentiates between 'income' and 'living standards', 'material' and 'social' deprivation⁶³. However, according to Amartya Sen:

"Poverty is, of course, a matter of deprivation. The recent shift in focus [...] from absolute to relative deprivation has provided a useful framework of analysis. But relative deprivation is essentially incomplete [...], and supplements (but cannot supplant) the earlier

⁶¹ See chapter 4 on "Methodology", where participation and mixed methodologies are discussed. Despite the introduction of new methods some authors have also highlighted how, even nowadays, the economic approach continue to dominate and "maintain a higher status" if compared with non-economic measures (Sumner, 2007).

⁶² Townsend also introduced the concept of 'social participation' that later inspired the concept of poverty as "social exclusion", mainly adopted by the European Institutions (see: Ruggeri Laderchi et al., 2010).

⁶³ Material deprivation refers to material goods, the social one to "ordinary social customs, activities and relationships" (Townsend, 2007 quoted in Lister, 2004: 22).

approach of absolute dispossession” (Sen, 1981 as quoted by Townsend, 1985: 663)⁶⁴.

Sen reconciled the absolute and relative approach and measurement of poverty through the introduction of a new concept of poverty: ‘capability to function’⁶⁵:

“At the risk of oversimplification, I would like to say that poverty is an absolute notion in the space of capabilities but very often it will take a relative form in the space of commodities or characteristics”. (Sen, 1983: 161). “Basic capabilities [are] the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to certain minimally adequate levels” (Sen, 1993, p. 41).

The capabilities approach and, more generally, a multi-dimensional approach to poverty, has been formally accepted by international donors in the late 1990s/2000 (Akindola, 2009; Narayan, 1999; O’Boyle, 1999; Klasen, 2008, Saunders, 2004.)

The shift from an economic to a more social or multi-dimensional approach has been well described by Misurelli & Heffernan (2012) in their work that outlines the change of the meaning of poverty from the 1970s to the 2000s. They first identified three main ‘attributes’ (called, ‘memes’) of poverty (ex.: basic needs, multidimensional and deprivation); then, they analysed the frequency of their use in the development literature⁶⁶. As shown by figure 3, the concept of ‘basic needs’ exploded in the 1990s, also thanks to the notions of

⁶⁴ The debate over these concepts has been quite animated between Sen and Townsend; see: Sen (1983) and (1985) and Townsend (1985).

⁶⁵ Sen describes capabilities as a bicycle: “Take a bicycle. It is, of course, a commodity. [...] Having a bike gives a person the ability to move about in a certain way that he may not be able to do without the bike. So the transportation characteristic of the bike gives the person the capability of moving in a certain way. That capability may give the person utility or happiness[...]. So there is, as it were, a sequence from a commodity (in this case a bike), to characteristics (in this case, transportation), to capability to function (in this case, the ability to move), to utility (in this case, pleasure from moving). It can be argued that it is the third category—that of capability to function—that comes closest to the notion of standard of living. The commodity ownership or availability itself is not the right focus since it does not tell us what the person can, in fact, do. [...] At the risk of oversimplification, I would like to say that poverty is an absolute notion in the space of capabilities but very often it will take a relative form in the space of commodities or characteristics. (Sen, 1983: 160). However, he does not provide a list of specific capabilities (Ruggeri-Laderchi, 2010).

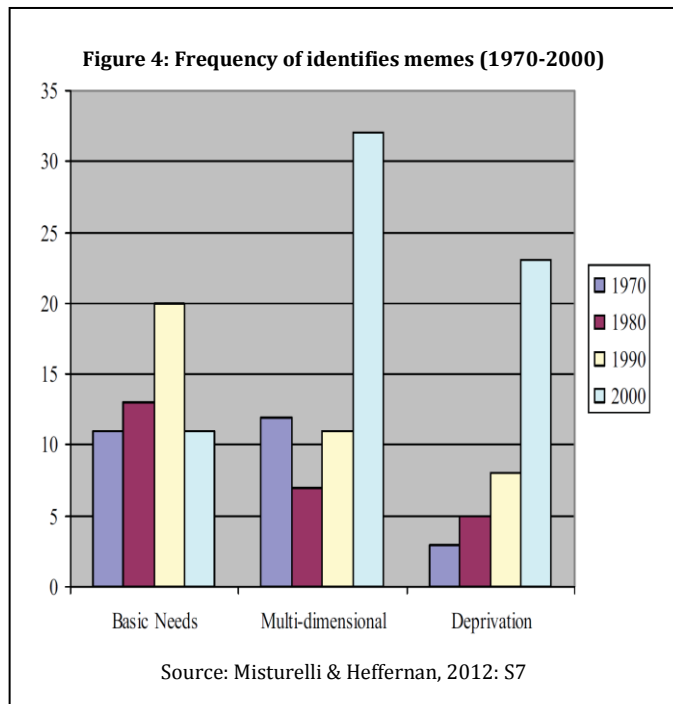
⁶⁶ These authors have used the concept of meme as coined by Dawkins (1989). Their results are drawn on the review of using 578 documents offered by NGOs, international donors, governments and researchers, covering the period (1970-2000).

'basic capabilities' or the 'functionings', as introduced by Sen. In the 2000 the two key-words highlighted in the poverty debate are deprivation and multidimensional.

'Deprivation' was first used by Townsend in 1970 but only in the 2000s did this concept significantly expand.

Finally, 'multidimensional' was first used in the 1970s,

"[...] when researchers emphasised that poverty also had social, political and psychological dimensions (Hensman, 1971; Streeten, 1971; Osotungun, 1975). [...] The term was further extended in the 2000s, [...]. Interestingly by this decade, the term was linked to both deprivation and basic needs". (Misturelli & Heffernan, 2012: S12-13).



Inevitably, this new multidimensional understanding of poverty required a shift towards multidimensional strategies to tackle ill-being and deprivation. In 2000, the World Bank introduced its new policy, based on three main pillars: "promoting opportunities", "facilitating empowerment" and "enhancing security" (World Bank, 2001: 1-12)⁶⁷.

Following the World Bank's rationale, "promoting opportunities" involves mainly the "material opportunities", with a focus on overall economic and

⁶⁷ Some scholars have critically reviewed the enormous shift in the World Bank's approach to poverty and its development strategies by the end of the '90s and the beginning of the new millennium. In particular, Pender (2001) has focused on conditionality and the new role acquired by the poorest, within a new framework that, "relativizes the primacy of economic growth" (2001: 397). In addition, Boer (2001) and Wade (2001) has provided some interesting insights on the preparation process of the report, highlighting how the "disagreements" between "finance" and "civil society" (as defined by Kanbur, 2001) emerged and were resolved. This shift is also a consequence of the failure of the structural adjustment policies promoted by the so called 'Washington Consensus' during the '80s and '90s and accused to have increased poverty and inequalities in the developing countries (see: chapter 2).

social growth: “This means jobs, credit, roads, electricity, markets for their produce, and the schools, water and sanitation, and health services that underpin the health and skills essentials for work” (World Bank, 2001: 6-7). “Facilitating empowerment” directly addresses the political dimension of poverty, with policies aimed at increasing, on the one hand, the inclusion in the decision-making process of the poorest; and on the other, the responsibility, and accountability of the public institutions towards the citizens. Finally, “enhancing security” aims at “reducing vulnerability to economic shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability, and personal violence” (World Bank, 2001: 7).

Decentralisation is a key policy within this threefold strategy, able to “(...) reflect local conditions, social structures, and cultural norms and heritage. (...) The poor are the main actors in the fight against poverty. And they must be brought center stage in designing, implementing, and monitoring antipoverty strategies” (World Bank: 2001: 12). The conceptual framework (Figure 3) represents the possible ways decentralisation may *theoretically* contribute to the first two pillars of this strategy, namely ‘empowerment’ and ‘opportunities’ (Jütting et al., 2004 & 2005. Steiner, 2007. Asante & Ayee, 2008. Crawford & Hartmann, 2008)⁶⁸.

In sum, the political impact of (democratic) decentralisation on poverty can generally be translated in terms of “empowerment”. As Jütting et al. argue:

“Political or democratic decentralization is expected to offer citizens the possibility of increased participation in local decision-making processes, from which they have generally been excluded through lack of sufficient representation or organization” (2004:11).

Compared with a centralised system where decisions are taken by a relatively small elite, decentralisation guarantees increased opportunities for the citizens to get involved in the local decision-making and to influence it (Blair, 2000;

⁶⁸ As already explained, the analysis of the role played by decentralization policies in “enhancing security” is beyond the scope of this study (see footnote n° 53).

Crook & Manor, 1998; Manor, 1999; UNDP, 1997; Chisinga, 2008; European Commission, 2007). They also have more chances to hold their representatives accountable for their work, for instance through the vote (Blair, 2000; Cohen and Peterson, 1999; World Bank, 2007; Yilmaz and Beris, 2010). Therefore, decentralisation facilitates the inclusion of the poorest and the most vulnerable, 'bringing the government close to people' (Crook & Sverrisson, 2001; Von Braun & Grote, 2002; Crook, 2003; Vedeld, 2003; Jutting et al., 2004 & 2005; Dethier, 2000. Olowu and Wunsch, 2004).

The socio-economic impact can be translated in terms of improved efficiency and targeting at the local level (Manor, 1999; Steiner, 2005; Collier and Dollar, 2004; Ravallion, 2000). If compared with the central government, the local authorities have an 'informational advantage' on residents' preferences and needs. Thus, they are better placed to provide public services and goods with substantial efficiency gains (Rao and Bird, 1998; Rodden, 2004; Sepulveda and Martinez-Vazquez, 2001; Vedeld, 2003; Von Braun and Grote, 2001).

In the following paragraphs, we will define in detail the main elements of this framework, using the 3 dimensions identified (political, social and economic) and providing:

- a synthetic overview of the main literature and of their use in the development discourse;
- a definition adopted in this study and the variables used to assess them in the two target local districts in Zambia.

3 THE POLITICAL DIMENSION: EMPOWERMENT

In our framework, 'empowerment' represents the main political impact of decentralisation policies. It addresses the 'lack of power and voice', namely the political component within the current multi-dimensional understanding of poverty (Steiner, 2005 and 2007; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008).

Empowerment has emerged as a priority in the development agenda in the 2000s. In its influential report in 2001, the World Bank indicated 'facilitating empowerment' is one of the three strategies for poverty eradication (World Bank, 2001)⁶⁹. According to the World Bank's rationale, the "potential for economic growth and poverty reduction is heavily influenced by the state and social institutions" (World Bank, 2001: 9). In order to produce pro-poor effects, the states should establish and promote key pillars such as "accountable public administration" or the promotion of "inclusive decentralisation and community development"⁷⁰.

Although the term 'empowerment' has been overused in the literature of decentralisation, its definition is rather vague and imprecise (Crawford, 2008).

According with the World Bank, 'empowerment' means:

"[...] enhancing the capacity of poor people to influence the state institutions that affect their lives, by strengthening their participation in political processes and local decision-making" and

"making state institutions more accountable and responsive to poor people, strengthening the participation of poor people in political processes and local decision-making, and removing the social barriers that result from distinctions of gender, ethnicity, race, and social status" (World Bank, 2001: 33 & 39).

Scholars have used these concepts synonymously or as an effect of 'participation' and 'local government capacity' (Jütting et al., 2005), or they just

⁶⁹ As already explained, the other elements of the new strategy are "promote opportunities" and "enhance security" (see: heading 2 in this same chapter).

⁷⁰ Others include: Strong "political and legal basis" that foster transparency on the legal mechanisms; 4) "promoting gender equity"; 5) "tackling social barriers", 6) "Supporting poor people's social capital"

do not make so much distinction between 'participation' and 'empowerment' (Von Braun and Grote, 2002: 73-74).

In this study, 'empowerment' is understood simply as an "increased popular control over government" (Crawford, 2008: 108). Along with a pure theoretical rationale, the first dimension of poverty, 'lack of voice and power' can be alleviated through 'empowerment', which represents the political impact of decentralisation policies. Following the World Bank (2001), as quoted above, it is presumed that empowerment contributes to poverty alleviation through three main channels: participation, representation and accountability (see figure 3).

First, by bringing the government closer to the population, decentralisation may contribute to poverty reduction as it can potentially increase the participation and influence of the citizens in public-decision making, mainly through elections, campaigning, contacting local representatives etc (UNDP, 1997; Blair, 2000; European Commission, 2007).

Second, decentralisation reduces the barriers that usually hinder the access to the decision-making process for the poor or marginalised: it is closer in terms of distance or less expensive in terms of transport to reach the local (decentralized) authority instead of a central government authority. Thus, theoretically, decentralisation allows a better representation of all social groups, making it easier to mobilise, get involved in local government's affairs, bring the instances of marginalised groups (poor, women, etc.) that are usually at the periphery of the public arena and influence the local agenda (Steiner, 2007). Therefore, giving "voice" to the poor, decentralisation may potentially reduce poverty in its political dimension.

Finally, participation and representation in itself do not yet guarantee the representation of all constituencies or the poor/marginalized groups. Only accountability mechanisms guarantee that the voice of the poorer and marginalised can actually be heard, making the local government actually responsive to those demands and instances (Cohen and Peterson, 1999; Ribot,

2002; Ackerman, 2004; World Bank, 2007; Yilmaz, Beris & Serrano-Berthet 2010). According to Steiner, accountability mechanisms:

“[...] form a credible threat to both local politicians and civil servants in the sense that they are punished for unresponsiveness and misbehaviour, they will have greater incentives to act in the population’s interests, encouraging participation and addressing demands” (2008: 37).

In sum, these three elements represent the main theoretical channels that may potentially bring pro-poor benefits. However, how are those potential benefits measured?

Again, the literature does not provide a unique framework of analysis. For instance, Crook has proposed an analysis based on the “quantity of participation”, understood as voters’ turnout, associations etc. and the “changes in its social scope”, i.e. real participation of the poor or analysis of the participation groups (Crook, 2003: 79). Jütting et al. (2005) have agreed that ‘participation’ is a first indicator but they also suggest to measure the local government’s capacity, understood as real powers, resources availability, etc.

Usually, the literature and especially the cross-country studies on decentralisation do not clearly specify the indicators used to assess participation, representation and accountability/responsiveness (Crook and Manor, 1998; Crook and Sverrisson, 2001; Von Braun and Grote, 2002; Vedeld, 2003). As already stated above, all these terms are overused and sometimes used in an interchangeable manner. The same is true for the indicators used to measure them⁷¹.

⁷¹ This can also be explained by the interconnections among those variables. For example, “contacting the local councillors” may be used to measure participation other accountability.

3.1 Participation

Among donors and international organizations, the link between decentralization and poverty reduction through participation has emerged in the wake of the new millennium. As explained earlier in the discussion⁷², in the 1980s the concept of poverty was mainly understood as an economic *feature*: the World Development Report (WDR) of that year never took into consideration a similar linkage (World Bank, 1980). In 1990, the WDR titled “Poverty” analysed the different causes and features of poverty but the ‘lack of voice’ was not among them, although it recognized a correlation between poverty and access to public goods and services (World Bank, 1990)⁷³. Only, in 1997, the concept of ‘voiceless’ emerged in the WDR:

“In nearly all societies the needs and preferences of the wealthy and powerful are well reflected in official policy goals and priorities. But this is rarely true of the poor and marginalized, who *struggle to get their voices heard* [author’s emphasis] in the corridors of power. As a result, these and other less vocal groups tend to be ill served by public policies and services, even those that should benefit them most” (World Bank, 1990: 110).

The report discussed the different mechanisms “to ensure that policies and programs better reflect the full panoply of society’s interests” in order to achieve “greater accountability” and “responsiveness” (World Bank, 1997: 111). Among those, electoral participation, inclusion of minorities, the social capital and the role of NGOs and other associations as “alternative strategies for voice and participation” are explained and discussed (World Bank, 1997: 111-116)⁷⁴. For the first time, decentralization was also introduced as a means

⁷² See: heading 2.2 of this chapter

⁷³ In this regards, the World Bank Report acknowledged, “In general, the poor have less access to publicly provided goods and infrastructure than do other groups. On the whole, governments fail to reach the poor. [...] The poor are often set apart by cultural and educational barriers. [...] In many countries poverty is correlated with race and ethnic background” (World Bank, 1990: 37).

⁷⁴ The WB also acknowledged the need of improving state capabilities in increasing opportunities for voice and participation; however: “There is no blueprint for funding the appropriate balance of voice, participation, and bureaucratic control in provision of public goods. The solution depends on the capabilities of the public agencies in question and other providers and on the characteristics of the public good or service being provided” (World Bank, 1997: 116). Among the mechanisms suggested to

to increase the public participation and as a strategy “to bring the government closer to the people” (World Bank, 1997: 111). However, here political participation is mainly restricted to the vote: more importance is still given to fiscal and economic aspects while ‘participation’ is mainly linked to the management and delivery of social services and goods (World Bank, 1997: 124-129).

Although the World Bank Report 1999/2000 (‘Entering the 21st Century’) represented already a shift in the development thinking and strategies⁷⁵, one needs to wait until the famous WDR (2001), titled ‘Attacking Poverty’ to have the formal integration of ‘voice’ and ‘participation’ in the concept of ‘Poverty’:

“This report also broadens the notion of poverty to include vulnerability and exposure to risk – and voiceless and powerless” (World Bank, 2001: 15).

According to the new framework the “sense of voiceless and powerless in the institutions and in the society” represents a key dimension in the concept of poverty, together with the traditional “lack of income” and the “vulnerability”. (World Bank, 2001: 34)⁷⁶. Decentralisation policies started to have an important role as key tool to enhance popular participation:

“Decentralisation and the creation or strengthening of responsive and effective local government structures, with authority over all or part of revenue from local taxation, are increasingly seen as important elements of participation” (OECD, 1995: 9)

Therefore, as indicated by the conceptual framework (figure 3), decentralisation has the potential to increase popular participation and

increase and reinforce participation we have 1) mechanisms for informing and consulting (ex.: evaluations, consulting users techniques, etc.); 2) mechanisms for design and implementation, which involve the stakeholders in the provision of the public services (ex.: management of natural resources as wildlife, forests, etc. (World Bank, 1997: 117-119).

⁷⁵ Within this new framework: “Plural politics and broad-based participation are rapidly becoming features of modern governance” (World Bank, 2000: 43)

⁷⁶ This ‘sense of voiceless’ implies “rudeness, humiliation, shame, inhumane treatment, and exploitation at the ends of the institutions of the state and society” (World Bank, 2001: 33), “threats of physical force or arbitrary bureaucratic power” (World Bank, 2001: 34). Moreover, “unaccountable and unresponsive institutions are among the causes of relatively slow progress in expanding the human assets of the poor people” (World Bank, 2001: 34).

address the “sense of voiceless” that is the main feature of the political dimension of poverty (World Bank, 2001). Increased levels of participation may enhance pro-poor choices of investment or improve the efficiency of public service delivery (Von Braun and Grote, 2002; Jütting et al., 2004 and 2005)⁷⁷. Also, it creates a wider and deeper space for a direct interaction between the population and the local centres of power, enhancing democracy, reducing the barrier for the poor to mobilise, increased involvement in setting the local agenda, decision-making and oversight of actual implementation (Steiner, 2007; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008; Chisinga, 2008). In this sense, decentralisation directly alleviates poverty as it reduces poverty in its political dimension (Steiner, 2007). In short, according to this theoretical approach:

“decentralisation heralds a permissive and enabling atmosphere for communities to effectively realize their full potential for dignified and fulfilling lives, as it is not only an institutionalised but also a legally underpinned form of participatory development” (Chisinga, 2008: 73).

To study the popular participation within a decentralised system, the literature on the link between decentralisation and poverty alleviation draws mainly on the classic works of political participation (Milbrath, 1965; Almond and Verba, 1963; Nie and Bingham Powell, 1969a-b)⁷⁸.

Crook and Manor, define participation as “citizens’ active engagement with public institutions which falls into three well-defined modes: voting, election campaigning and contracting or pressuring” (1998: 7). According to Blair “Participation is to give citizens a meaningful role in local government decisions that affect them” (2000: 22). Blair also introduces a “casual formula” where the elements are connected through a cause-effect link: thus, popular participation may expand the scope of representation; this may empower the

⁷⁷ They also recognize that “Participation to be operational requires first a minimum education, basic capabilities and equally based gender, religious or castes. Secondly, empowerment of people at local level. Often, these preconditions are not given” (Von Brawn and Grote, 2002: 7).

⁷⁸ For instance, Verba et al. define political participation as “those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take” (1978: 46).

local population and bring in the local agenda for development instances that concern the different groups, contributing to 'benefits for all' and to poverty reduction. Other scholars do not provide a definition but they simply study the concept in relation to responsiveness or accountability (Crawford, 2008. Johnson, 2001).

Scholars have used different ways to measure popular participation within a decentralised system. For instance, Crook and Sverrisson first distinguish between the quantity and scope of participation⁷⁹ and they specify that it can occur in three main setting: in "representative government", the main variables are: "voting in elections", "standing as a candidate", "taking part in election campaigns", "contacting or trying to influence government authorities" and "associational membership"; "direct participation" at community or project level and "mobilization from above" (2001: 6-10). They also note that

"elections are not enough and it is naïve to imagine that simply introducing elections for local offices will transform the relationship between government and citizens, or empower the mass of the poor" (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001).

Von Braun and Grote recognise that the major tool of the poor is "participation in the election process" and they measure it comparing the number of election tiers with the national HDI, the national GNP or the data on services improving human resources such as the health quality index of WHO (Von Braun and Grote, 2002: 9-13). Steiner (2007 and 2008) focuses on both electoral (ex. voting, campaigning) and non-electoral forms of participation as the level of participatory planning, citizens attendance to meetings or contacting/lobbying local governments. Vedeld (2003) simply considers 'participation' as an "essential precondition" for pro-poor decentralisation but it does not give a definition or provides a set of variables from which to measure. Crawford (2008), in the Ghana context, applied the following variables: the electoral

⁷⁹ The quality or scope of participation is defined as the degree of representation of all groups in the population (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001: 6). In this study, the concept of representation is treated separately in the following paragraph.

participation, the attendance at community meetings and contacting of political representatives. Jütting et al., (2004 and 2005) uses 'participation' and 'local government capacity' as variables to measure the overall level of empowerment; participation is measured again in electoral and non-electoral terms but there is not a clear specification of the variables (Jütting, 2004-2005).

Drawing from this literature, in this study participation is simply defined as

“Those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics” (Milbrath & Goel, 1977: 2).

Participation is measured taking into consideration electoral and non-electoral forms of participation. Therefore, when discussing the political impacts of decentralisation on poverty alleviation we will first consider the electoral forms of participation, in particular,

- voting and features of the selected candidate
- standing as candidate, and
- campaigning

are analysed as main variables for the electoral form of participation. Secondly, also some non-electoral forms of political participation will be considered, mainly

- contacting the councillors,
- participation in the WDC/ADC system, and
- attendance at public meetings⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ See: chapter 6.

3.2 Representation

A second channel through which decentralisation may give voice to the poorer and most marginalised is 'representation'. In fact, it is not sufficient to simply have more opportunities to participate. You also need to have increased chances to have representation where the local decision-making takes place.

As explained by Harry Blair:

“Much of DLG’s [Democratic local governance] attraction as a development strategy lies in its promise to include people from all walks of life in community decision-making. The hope is that as government comes closer to the people, more people will participate in politics. All sort of constituencies – women, minorities, small businessmen, artisans, parents of schoolchildren, marginal farmers, urban poor – will then get elected to office [...]” (Blair, 2000: 23).

This is possible because decentralisation reduces the barriers that usually hinder access to decision-making process to the poor or marginalised. Local opportunities, meaning decentralized authorities, facilitate access to decision-making places in term of distance; therefore, transit is less expensive.

Thus, theoretically, decentralisation allows for better representation of all social groups, making it easier to mobilise, get involved in the local government’s affairs, and include issues of marginalised groups (poor, women, etc.) that are usually at the periphery of the public arena and influence the local agenda (Steiner, 2007: 117; Dauda, 2006; Ribot, 2007).

In this study, representation is measured by analysing who usually participates directly in the locally elected bodies as the District Council or the Ward or Area Development Committees (WDC/ADC). Particular attention is given to the representation of traditional leaders, women and to the main occupation of the elected representatives⁸¹.

⁸¹ See chapter 6, heading 3.

3.3 Accountability

Increased participation and representation cannot be automatically translated into empowerment of the poor. Local citizens are empowered if there are mechanisms enabling them to make local governments responsive to the citizens and accountable for their decisions.

Accountability is another “catch-word” that is now widespread in development discourse. This concept shared a similar pattern of popularity with the concept of ‘participation’, as described earlier in this chapter (Ackardt, 2008). In the 1980s and early 1990s, although this concept was present in many donors’ documents, it did not seem to play a central role in their respective development practice. The concept started to become popular at the very end of the 1990s with the third wave of democratisation. There was a shift in the understanding of ‘poverty’ expanding to become a multidimensional concept, a renovated importance of the role of the state, the affirmation of the concepts of the ‘new institutional economics’ and the increasing popularity of ‘democratic decentralisation’⁸².

Within this new framework, only (democratic) decentralisation creates the best conditions for more accountable institutions. Crook and Manor clearly argument this claim:

“Elected decision-makers are closer to the citizens who elect them, and often live locally. Thus, they face greater pressure than higher-level officials to govern according to their constituents’ wishes. They worry about re-election in a few years, and they receive more direct indications of discontent between elections. Bureaucrats operating in field offices of line ministries also feel greater pressure because elected representatives are now closer and more powerful. Citizens quickly

⁸² The New Institutional Economics (NIE) views institutions as formal rules (ex. constitutions, laws, contracts, etc.) and informal rules (ex.: values, social norms). These rules influence the way the actors behave, providing directions for eligibility, responsibilities, rewards, or sanctions. The manipulation of these rules provokes an ‘institutional change’ that can improve the efficiency in the provision of social services and the accountability of the institution. Not surprisingly, donor-funded decentralisation reforms in the last two decades have usually been associated with a wider public administration or civil service reforms as in Mali, Ghana, or Zambia). For an insightful analysis on NIE, see Eggertsson (2013) and Klein (1999)

discern this, and apply greater pressure on bureaucrats through elected representatives. Thus, despite difficulties in creating and sustaining accountability mechanisms, systems can become more accountable under democratic decentralization". (Crook and Manor, 2000: 12).

Therefore, accountability has been defined as "the most crucial element in successful decentralisation" (Crook and Manor, 1994 as cited by Manor, 1999: 7; Steiner, 2008: 38). Although many scholars take into consideration this concept in assessing decentralisation and its impacts, they do not often offer a clear definition and use different indicators for measurement. Accountability for Blair means that "people will be able to hold local government responsible for how it is affecting them" (Blair, 2000). Crook and Manor have used accountability as a key concept in the relationship between popular participation and performance of the decentralised institutions (Crook and Manor, 1998: 10)⁸³. Jütting et al. (2004 and 2005) also have employed accountability as an important variable in their cross-national study but they do not give a precise definition of the concept of the variable used to measure it. Bardhan and Mookherjee have suggested a political definition of accountability as "the ability of citizens to put effective pressure on officials who deviate from the expressed wishes of a majority among them" (2006: 5). Finally, Agrawal and Ribot have introduced a "relational" understanding of accountability where the attention is focused on the actors involved:

"Accountability is also about the mechanisms through which counter powers are exercised by those subject to actors holding decentralized power. Accountability in this sense, to paraphrase Foucault, is not in a position of exteriority to power, but depends on the exercise of a counter power to balance arbitrary action" (1999: 9).

Different indicators have been used to assess the level of accountability, in the most recent works assessing the new wave of decentralisation in the last twenty years. First, it is widely accepted by scholars to consider two forms of accountability: on the one side, accountability of elected representatives to citizens (downward accountability); on the other, accountability of

⁸³ Manor (1999) has indicated accountability as the most important elements for a successful decentralization reform.

bureaucrats to elected representatives (upward accountability) (Manor, 1999: 66-67; Blair, 2000; Von Braun and Grote, 2002; Crawford, 2008; Steiner, 2008)⁸⁴.

Second, it is also widely accepted that different tools help create an accountable system. Through a cross-country study, Blair has identified the following: (1) free and fair local elections; (2) strong and competitive political parties; (3) strong civil society organisations; (4) media; (5) public meetings; (6) formal grievances procedures; and (7) opinion surveys as main tools in creating an accountable system of governance (2000: 27-31)⁸⁵. These tools are commonly accepted by most decentralisation scholars who use these variables in their works. For instance, Steiner has focused on “competitive elections, auditing and evaluation, public hearings, third-party monitoring by a free press and procedures of recall”. This highlights the interactions between civil servants and political representatives (Steiner, 2005: 11 and 2008: 37-38). Crawford (2008) has employed the number of meetings organised by the assembly members, the role played by the sub-district committees and the inclusion of women as variables to assess the accountability of elected representatives to the public. In addition, the institutional regulations and relationship models within the different bodies composing the LG (chief executive, assembly members, sub-committees) are used to assess the accountability of local executives to the public. Finally, Crook and Manor (1998) have assessed accountability using different forms of participation (ex. vote,

⁸⁴ In their work, Kaufman et al. (2004) use “voice and accountability” together with other indicators to measure the level of governance. Also, Devas and Grant have proposed the notion of “horizontal accountability” (of local officials to elected representatives) and “upward accountability (of local governments to central government)” (2003: 310). Finally, Goetz et al., (2001) have proposed a distinction between political, fiscal, administrative and legal or constitutional accountability.

⁸⁵ A more comprehensive list of mechanisms that may help in secure downwards and upwards accountability is also provided by Agrawal and Ribot: “procedures for recall; referenda; legal recourse through courts; third party monitoring by media, NGOs or independently elected controllers; auditing and evaluation; political pressures and lobbying by associations and associative movements; providing of information on roles and obligations of government by the media and NGOs; public reporting requirements for governments; education; embeddedness of leaders in their community; belief systems of leaders and their communities; civic dedication and pride of leaders; performance awards; widespread participation; social movements; threats of social unrest and resistance; central state oversight of local government; and taxation” (1999: 10). More recently, also Ribot (2002) has provided a list of accountability mechanisms.

turnout, kind of electoral competition, etc.) and institutional arrangements (ex. role of the district secretary, the civil service, sub-committees work, relation bureaucrats/elected, etc.)⁸⁶.

This review on how scholars have used accountability to assess decentralisation its pro-poor outcomes shows that there is not a unique framework of assessment. This study draws on these previous works and therefore accountability is understood as those mechanisms that

“[...] form a credible threat to both local politicians and civil servants in the sense that they are punished for unresponsiveness and misbehaviour, they will have greater incentives to act in the population’s interests, encouraging participation and addressing demands” (Steiner, 2008: 37).

We also accept Blair’s conclusions on accountability: (1) the absence of a unique accountability pattern, (2) absence of a mechanism sufficient by itself; (3) no one mechanism is viable in all settings. We also accept the principle of a dual level of accountability: civil servants should be responsible to elected representatives (administrative accountability) and elected representatives should be responsible to the electorate (political accountability).

Therefore, the following analysis on political accountability will take into consideration: (1) the electoral competition and vote; (2) the local information flow; (3) the role of the sub-district structures; and (4) the popular perceptions towards the local (elected) institutions⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ For an insightful critical analysis on the notion of accountability, its main variables that can strengthen government accountability see Ackerman (2004).

⁸⁷ See chapter 6, heading 4.

4 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION: EFFICIENCY & TARGETING

Poverty entails a condition characterised by “material deprivation (measured by an appropriate concept of income or consumptions) but also low achievements in education and health” (World Bank, 2001: 15). Decentralisation is considered a key tool to fight against the socio-economic deprivation. According with the World Bank:

“It can be powerful for achieving development goals in ways that respond to the needs of local communities, by assigning control rights to people who have the information and incentives to make decisions best suited to those needs, and who have the responsibility for the political and economic consequences of their decisions. It is not in itself a goal of development, but a means of improving public sector efficiency”. (World Bank, 2001: 107).

Following this rationale, decentralised local governments are more efficient in providing social services and they can better target them to reach the most in need. Moreover, local governments are also responsible for local development and they should take initiatives to increase local economic growth.

This rationale is based on the assumption that local authorities have an informational advantage if compared with the central government. It is advocated by some as the “greatest virtue of decentralisation” (Treisman, 2007: 209)⁸⁸. For instance, a local councillor or ministry line official may have better information on the residents’ needs and preferences, making them more likely to respond (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2011). According to Hayek:

“We cannot expect that this problem will be solved by first communicating all this knowledge to a central board which, after integrating *all* knowledge, issues its orders. We must solve it by some form of decentralisation. (...) We need decentralisation because only thus can we ensure that the knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place will be promptly used (1945: 521).

Moreover, if compared with the central authorities, local authorities can also identify cheaper ways to provide public services and tailor their provisions

⁸⁸ For an insightful analysis on the potential information advantages of local residents and officials and its shortcoming see Treisman (2007, especially chapters 7 and 9).

according to the residents' conditions in order to reach the poorest and most vulnerable, creating allocative gains (World Bank, 2001; von Braun and Grote, 2002; Asante, 2003; Smoke, 2003; Jütting et al., 2005)⁸⁹.

However, as Steiner has argued:

"It is the power for decision-making rather than for the final provision, which matters. Hence, decentralization is related to poverty eradication if the decision-making power for poverty reduction policies is transferred to the local government level, which often is the case for social services and sometimes for infrastructure"(2005: 13)

Thus, to be effective, the informational advantage assumption needs the transfer of two types of powers from the central authorities to the local governments: on the one hand, the revenue-raising power that guarantees a stable source of resources (financial and human); on the other hand, the decision-making power that allows them to actually allocate and invest the resources in a way that actually meets the residents' demands (Steiner, 2005; Ribot, 2002; Bird and Rodrigues, 1999).

These 'powers' are directly related to local taxation theories and the concept of fiscal decentralisation, which are often perceived as the central issues for a local administration to be efficient and live up to the efficiency expectations⁹⁰.

Local taxes are a key tool as they should constitute the main pillar to guarantee the functioning and the service delivery of a local government system (Bratton, 2012). The local authorities should be able to take decisions on local taxes and its rates and to collect them. In theory, taxpayers should be more willing to pay

⁸⁹ Although these assumptions are generally accepted by the literature, some scholars have expressed some concerns. For instance, Prud'homme (1995) has warned against the "dangers of decentralisation". He has shown that the traditional claims based on the fiscal federalism theories can actually work differently in developing countries, with decentralisation increasing inefficiencies, corruption practices, and instability. For other critical approaches see: Manor (1999) and Tanzi (1995).

⁹⁰ For more information on these type or form of decentralization see chapter 2 heading 2. A review of the fiscal decentralization theories and debates is beyond the scope of this study. However, here some of the major assumption directly related with the assumed linkage between decentralization and poverty alleviation are recalled. For an insightful analysis on fiscal decentralization, see Bahl & Linn, 1994.

taxes at the local level as they have better chances to control public officials and, to see the results of public resources expenditures (Steiner, 2005; Devas and Delay, 2006; Bratton, 2012;)⁹¹.

Strictly linked to the revenue raising power is the design and implementation of governmental transfers to the local authorities. Usually, local revenue is composed by both the resources raised through the local taxation and by those directly received from the central government in terms of grants⁹². Governmental transfers are perceived to be “for good or for ill” (Asante and Aye, 2008: 5) a key feature in the design of a system of local governance. The fiscal federalism theorists Musgrave (1959) and Oates (1972) have supported the need of local government units and theorised the need to distinguish between two types of responsibilities: one the one hand, the stabilisation/redistribution and allocation tasks should be done by the central authorities; and on the other the provision of public goods and services should be a local government responsibility (Steiner, 2005)⁹³. Therefore, within a decentralised system, the central government maintains an important role, mainly in terms of ‘equity’ and ‘redistribution’⁹⁴.

Resources are used by local governments to provide public good and services that should better respond to local needs. This assumption draws on the Oates’ Decentralisation Theorem:

“For a public good – the consumption of which is defined over geographical subsets of the total population, and for which the costs of

⁹¹ The linkage between taxation and decentralization has recently attracted major attention from the literature. See: Fjeldstad (2001); Schneider (2003); Moore and Schneider (2004); Dickovich (2005); Juul (2006), Bratton (2012).

⁹² Other forms of resources may derive from Constituencies Funds, investments, loans (Treisman, 2007).

⁹³ Fiscal federalist theories aims at maximize social welfare, understood as a combination of economic stability, allocative efficiency and distributive equity (Schneider, 2003). Interestingly, according to Steiner, Fiscal federalist theories have been used as supportive arguments for fiscal decentralization; however, “it has never been questioned and re-examined for its relevance and appropriateness. It has simply been taken for granted” (2005:14).

⁹⁴ Local governments may play a role in guaranteeing an internal equity within the local units, but also an inter-jurisdictional equity among the poorest and richest regions in a country (Ribot, 2002; Treisman, 2007).

providing each level of output of the good in each jurisdiction are the same for the central or for the respective local government – it will always be more efficient (or at least as efficient) for local governments to provide the Pareto-efficient levels of output for their respective jurisdictions than for the central government to provide *any* specified and uniform level of output across all jurisdictions” (2006: 3-4).

This theorem links back to the ‘information advantage’ discussed above as it implies that local governments may be even more efficient than (or at least as efficient) as the central government in providing public services and goods, given the proximity to the final user. In this framework, Steiner (2005) has demonstrated that at least theoretically the Decentralisation Theorem and holds valid as pro-poor strategy, although *practically* the assumption is more questionable (Steiner, 2005)⁹⁵. Moreover, the decision-making power on public services may facilitate the provision of public good and services targeting the most vulnerable (Bird and Rodriguez, 1999: 304)⁹⁶.

Finally, local governments can act as economic development agents: for instance, they may provide services enabling the improvement of local economic activities or even incentive new initiatives; they may contribute in creating an optimal environment for business activities (Smoke, 2003; Van Dijk, 2008, Brinkerhoff and Azfar, 2010). Also, the improved quality and access to public services may indirectly positively impact the poorest residents; therefore, providing increased opportunities to engage in productive activities (Steiner, 2007).

The most recent cross-country studies on the linkage between decentralisation and poverty reduction have mainly focused on the social aspect (production and access to social services and goods), paying little attention on the economic side, understood as income and increased business opportunities

⁹⁵ In a recent study, Conyers (2007) has reviewed some case studies in Sub-Saharan Africa, showing negative (or at least mixed) results on the relation between decentralization and service delivery. Mixed results are also coming from ‘national’ studies as Faguet (2002) in Bolivia; Pinto (2004) in Senegal; Meyer-Emerick and Mothusi (2004) in Botswana; Kaag (2003) in Senegal; Isiche (2008) in Kenya.

⁹⁶ The literature does not give a precise guidance on which kind of services should be decentralized (Andrews & Schroeder, 2003)

(Crawford and Hartman, 2008). For instance, Jütting et al. (2004) have taken into consideration only the 'access to social service'. Von Braun and Grote (2002) and Vedeld (2003) have also based the analysis on indicators such as sub-national spending or the provision of public services.

In this study, the economic dimension is equally considered as an important feature of the condition of poverty. Therefore, this study will try to analyse if development initiatives taken by the local authorities in Zambia in the last few years have had an impact (positive or negative) in terms of economic growth and provision of public services and goods such as water and infrastructure.

METHODOLOGY

1 METHODOLOGY

This study entails three main methodological issues. As the general goal of the research is to understand if, and how, decentralisation policies have an impact (positive or negative) on poor people, we first need to define '*what poor is*' and, secondly, to identify who is 'poor' or 'rich' in the target districts. Finally, the last issue is how to analyse the impact of decentralisation on the different wealth groups (ex.: the 'poor', 'rich', etc.) given the complexity and the multi-dimensionality of the notion of poverty as per our theoretical framework.

In sum, these are the three main methodological questions the researcher had to solve at the beginning of this work:

1. How to define poverty?
2. How to identify the 'poor', the 'rich' or the 'average' within the target districts?
3. How to measure the impact of decentralisation on the three main dimensions of poverty (political, social and economic)?

A methodological choice on how to approach the assessment of poverty and development policy is implied, as the decentralisation reforms applied in the developing countries. One possible solution was to use conventional or *institutional* data provided by the international agencies or state institutions. However, these data are frequently available aggregated for the national or province level, while it is less common to find the data for each district.

Moreover, income data was not sufficient to cover the different poverty dimensions (political, social, and economic) so other indexes needed to be used, which made the comparison particularly difficult, adding more challenges in terms of availability and comparability of data⁹⁷.

Thus, the solution was to apply, on the one hand, a participatory assessment approach and on the other, to use ‘mixed’ methodological tools.

1.1 Participatory Approach to Poverty and Development

Norton et al. define participatory poverty assessment as “an instrument for including poor people’s views in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public policy” (2001: 6).

In the last decades, the more conventional methods to assess poverty and development policies have undergone through a conceptual revision that have completely changed the way today we address these concept. The concept of poverty has tremendously changed from a traditional approach, based on ‘income’ and ‘consumption’ as key indicators, to a ‘relative’ approach, where other variables are used to build a ‘multi-dimensional’ understanding of poverty⁹⁸. A result from this theoretical shift was the introduction of new indicators and tools to define and measure poverty: the Human Development Index by UNDP introduced in 1990 is probably the first and most cited example of the research of alternative solutions⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ Some of the indexes/surveys available are the following: a) the “Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys” (MICS) by UNICEF that analyses data on household expenditure, income, labour force, child labour, water and sanitation, and salt iodization modules; the data available is from 1999. The “Living Conditions Monitoring Survey” by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Zambia with survey data on migration, education, health, economic activities of the population, household food production, income, assets, expenditure. Although this survey uses a conventional approach it also includes a ‘self-assessment’ by the poor and it is used as a monitoring source for the achievement of the MDG.

⁹⁸ For a more detailed account of the evolution of the understanding of poverty from an ‘absolute’ to a ‘relative’ and ‘multi-dimensional’ concept, see Chapter 3, heading 2.2).

⁹⁹ Other indexes have also been developed, focusing on specific development aspects; among others: the State of the World’s Children, the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) by UNICEF or the Social

However, some have argued that these efforts are still characterised by a top-down approach, based on Western perceptions of poverty or well-being which does not necessarily match the poor's perceptions. As Chambers argues:

“The question is whether concepts and measures that are universal, standardised, measurable, generated by and designed for conditions in the urban industrial North can be universally applied in the more rural and agriculture South, and whether they fit or distort the diverse and complex realities of most of the poor” (Chambers, 1995: 185).

In his influential works, Chambers has criticised the traditional approach to poverty measurement and has theorized a “reversal from top-down to bottom-up, from centralised standardisation to local diversity, and from blueprint to learning process” (1994a: 953). He has also greatly contributed to the research of new participatory methods that could overcome the “six biases” of the “outsiders” and could put “the last first” (Chambers, 1983). These methods were first recognised with the spread of the use of the “Participatory Rural Appraisal” (PRA), which “describe a growing family of approaches and methods to enable people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act” (Chambers, 1994: 953)¹⁰⁰.

The use of participatory methods is today widely accepted and used in the academia as well as by international agencies. Their evolution is still in progress and there is a fast growing literature on the subject¹⁰¹. Nevertheless,

Indicators Development by the World Bank. For a complete list, see Sumner (2007: 10). The academic debate on these new multidimensional approaches is still ongoing. As example: Chambers (2007a) deepens the notion of participation, focusing on some “neglected dimensions of poverty” as ‘place’, ‘body’. More recently, others have focused on the ‘Multidimensional Poverty Analysis’ by UNDP (Alriker, 2014). Very interesting is also the last work of Vijaya, Lahoti and Swaminathan (2014): they criticize the use of ‘households’ as unit of analysis in the ‘Multidimensional Poverty Analysis’ and suggest the ‘individual’ as enhanced unit measure.

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed description on the origin and experience of PRA, see Chambers (1994a, 1994b, and 1998). For a critical review of the participatory methods in the analysis of poverty see Laderchi (2001).

¹⁰¹ NGOs, such as ActionAid or Plan International, have been among the pioneers of the participatory approaches (Chambers, 2007b). The World Bank has also used participatory methods: the ‘Participatory Poverty Assessment’ (PPA) constitutes the first attempt to break the exclusive economic metric rule and introduces participatory methods. The first round was performed in Ghana in 1993 and then followed by Zambia (World Bank, 1994). Others followed: South Africa (1995), Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, etc. Moreover, the new approach to ‘poverty’ introduced by the World Bank Report in 2000/01 was based on an extensive participatory consultation, known as “Voices of the Poor” (Narayan, Chambers, Shah and Petesch, 1999 and 2000b). See also Narayan, Patel, Schafft, Rademacher, and Koch-Schulte (2000a). Some have also criticised the use of ‘participation’ and

the use of 'economic' indicators is still predominant in the development analysis¹⁰².

This research draws on this literature and makes use of participatory approaches to assess poverty and decentralisation policies. These methods better respond to the need to focus on the specific local experience of Zambia, in order to provide additional empirical data to a still lacking literature.

First, the most recent works concerning the links between decentralisation and poverty reduction accept the multi-dimensional understanding of poverty and their analysis goes usually beyond the mere use of economic indicators. Actually, quite frequently, the economic indicator has been 'forgotten', but has been correctly re-introduced by Crawford (2008) in his recent contribution to this topic. Although the widely quoted cross-country studies focus more on the 'empowerment' and the 'service delivery', they usually omit the 'economic' dimension of poverty¹⁰³. This study has also used the 'household income' as an important variable in the assessment of the economic impact of decentralisation.

Second, in this study, the analysis of the data on the impact of decentralisation policies is based on a 'local' and 'participatory' definition of poverty: instead of taking the 'top-down' data from indexes provided by international or Zambian agencies, this study uses a 'bottom-up' approach, using as baseline a local definition of 'poverty' and 'wealth', acquired through focus groups. To my

participatory methods as panacea in the development discourse, defining participation as the "new tyranny" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

¹⁰² For instance, in a short paper Sumner goes through a rapid review of the concept of poverty, to highlight the "apparent contradiction between the consensus over the meaning of poverty and the choice of methods with which to measure poverty in practice" (2007: 4). Moreover, some critical authors have also warned against the "dangers of localism", but nevertheless have found consensus not only among the 'revised neoliberists' and in the 'post-marxists' but also in the "liberal populism of Chambers" (Mohan & Stokke, 2000).

¹⁰³ Crook and Sverrisson (2001) focus on two main variables "responsiveness and participation" and "socio-economic outcomes". This latter is measured using the following indicators: "pro-poor growth", "social equity", "human development", spatial or inter-regional inequity". Von Braun and Grote (2002) use mainly the HDI or other sectoral indexes on health (WHO Index) or literacy (World Development Reports), data on per capita income, etc. to assess the impact of decentralization on poverty. Finally, Jütting et al. (2004 and 2005) use indicators on "empowerment" and "access to services".

knowledge, this approach has never been applied in other earlier works on decentralisation, which usually refer to the Human Development Index (HDI), the World Bank Reports or other statistical data provided by international or local institutions. The use of a 'local' perception of poverty enables a better assessment of the impact of decentralisation through the 'local eyes' of those directly involved and it constitutes an original contribution of this study.

Finally, the multi-dimensional understanding of poverty necessarily implies the use of a multi-disciplinary approach. Addison, Hulme and Kantor argued: "Thus we believe that the next frontier in poverty research is at the intersection of dynamics and cross-disciplinarily" (Addison-Hulme-Kanbur, "Poverty Dynamics", 2009: Kindle loc. 101). This approach implies a sort of 'revolution' in the conventional methodology as it goes beyond the traditional shift between quantitative and qualitative methods and calls for mixed methods of research.

1.2 Mixed Methods Research

'Mixed methods research' implies the use of both qualitative and quantitative research tools within a same research project. Traditionally, these two methods have been considered incompatible. On the one hand, quantitative methods have traditionally used structured interviews or surveys to collect data, before proceeding to their statistical analysis; they are mainly number based and they mainly use a deductive process. On the other hand, qualitative methods has prevalently used focus groups discussions, semi or unstructured interviews, participatory observations as data collection methods; they are mainly text-based and do not require a statistical analysis (Bryman, 2012).

In the last decade, mixed methods research has emerged and have slowly acquired slowly growing academic recognition. In 2003, Tashakkori and Teddlie wrote their "Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research" and, a few years later, a "Journal of Mixed Methods Research" was published. In his recent review on articles on mixed methods research, Bryman

(2012) has classified the ways qualitative and quantitative methods are combined using 232 academic journal articles, and, although supporting their use and validity he has also warned against their 'overuse':

"(...) mixed methods research should not be considered as an approach that is universally applicable or as a panacea. It *may* provide a better understanding of a phenomenon than if just one method had been used" (Bryman, 2012: 649)¹⁰⁴.

The emergence of a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty as well as of decentralisation has created new methodological challenges for researchers, which often have been solved using mixed research methods. In fact, talking about poverty, Addison et al., pointed out:

"Over the past decade, there has been growing interaction between two stands of, or two approaches to, poverty analysis in developing countries – the qualitative and the quantitative. Interaction between these approaches has been forced to some extent by the strengthening (in some case mandated) requirement by development agencies to expand the traditional quantitative base of their poverty assessment with a qualitative component. The best-known case of this trend is the World Bank's Poverty Assessments" (2009: Kindle loc. 165)

Also, the literature on the links between decentralisation and poverty reduction has used different kinds of methods, although the qualitative methods are probably still predominant. For instance, studying decentralisation in Ghana, Crawford (2008) makes use of household surveys and focus group discussions. On the other hand, Steiner (2008) mainly uses unstructured interviews to collect her data on decentralisation in Uganda. As Patton explained:

"There is no rule of thumb that tells a researcher precisely how to focus a study. The extent to which a research question is broad or narrow depends on purpose, the resources available, the time available, and the interests of those involved. In brief, these are not choices between good and bad, but choices among alternatives, all of which have merit" (2002: 224)

¹⁰⁴ For a insight on the academic discussion on the mixed method research tools, see also Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Silverman (2011)

This study has used mixed research methods for two main reasons. **First**, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was viewed as the best strategy to reach the study's goals and to help answer the research questions, given the complexity of decentralisation and poverty.

Second, the use of mixed methods could give the opportunity to have a more comprehensive account on the impact of decentralisation in the two target districts in Zambia. In fact, on the one hand, the use of quantitative techniques through structured household questionnaires enabled the collection of quantifiable data, the creation of a 'wealth index' and the analysis of the data using statistical tools. On the other hand, the use of self-assessment techniques and the local perceptions on poverty and wealth have enabled the assessment of decentralisation policies using the 'view' and 'perceptions' of the individuals or groups 'affected' by those policies.

Thus, the data gathered through quantitative techniques have been enriched by also using qualitative tools. The use of both research methods could give an added value in terms of completeness of the information available to the researcher. For instance, the focus groups allowed an in-depth discussion on some issues, such as the use of development funds or the way development projects are undertaken by local institutions. Moreover, follow-up questions to the household questionnaire gave the possibility to the respondent to elaborate further, providing valuable information to the researcher.

Thus, first, I have used a qualitative technique as a focus group discussion in order to acquire data on the local perceptions and on the definitions of 'very poor', 'poor', 'rich', 'very rich' or 'average' (neither poor, nor rich). As already explained, the researcher decided to use self-assessment techniques and rely on the local perceptions on poverty and wealth: the communities' self-assessment is an added value to the research as it enables an evaluation of the decentralisation policies using the 'view' and 'perceptions' of the groups 'affected' by those policies.

Secondly, quantitative techniques were also used through the construction of a 'wealth' index (based on the 'local' definitions) the classification of the

households in accordance with their 'wealth' status, and the analysis of the additional data.

Thirdly, focus groups discussions were also used to assess both the impact of decentralisation policies on the different wealth groups, and the perceptions of the 'local elite' towards the local institutions (the district council and the WDC/ADC). The same perceptions were also collected through the household surveys. In this case, the use of the both research methods could give an added value in terms of completeness of the information available to the researcher. For instance, the focus groups discussions allowed an in-depth analysis on some issues, such as the use of development funds or the way development projects are undertaken by the local institutions. On the other hand, follow-up questions to the household questionnaire gave the possibility to the respondent to elaborate further, providing valuable information to the researcher.

1.3 Ontology and Epistemology

This study aims at understanding if and how decentralisation policies have an impact (positive or negative) on poor people in two districts in Zambia, by using a participatory approach and by highlighting the local perceptions towards the main local institutions and development projects. The acceptance of a constructivist approach is implied: local institutions are not understood as a tangible and as an objective phenomenon that follow their own objective rules and that "have a reality external to social actors", as implied by the objectivism approach (Bryman, 2012: 32). Here, we accept a constructivist approach by which "social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but they are in a constant state of revision" (Ibidem: 2012: 38).

2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The following sections will outline in detail how the different qualitative and quantitative research methods were used and their purpose. In short, in the two districts, the following research methods were used:

1. Focus Groups discussions: with community leaders based on the PADev methodology; the goal was to collect the data to create a bottom-up definition on five wealth categories (ex.: 'very poor', 'poor', 'average', 'rich' and 'very rich') to discuss the benefits of the development projects funded by the local government and to assess the overall performance of the local councils and the WDC/ADC.
2. Household survey: 80 respondents were interviewed in the two districts. The goal was to collect the data on residents' political participation, their socio-economic situation, and their access to public services¹⁰⁵.

The research was also enriched by key informant interviews and by the collection and review of documents stored in the local councils' archives or libraries (ex.: local councils' budgets, ministerial circulars, etc.). Valuable information was also acquired through the 'participatory observation' of the researcher, who was directly involved in the daily work of the local authorities.

2.1 Focus Groups Discussions: PADev Methodology

The PADev methodology has been developed by the African Studies Centre in Leiden, the Royal Tropical Institute (Amsterdam) and the University of Amsterdam, in partnership with three Dutch NGOs (ICCO Alliance, Prisma and Woord en Daad). The original goal of this methodology was to respond to the increased needs by development aid agencies for effective and rigorous tools to assess the effects and impact of their interventions in the field. Not

¹⁰⁵The help of some assistants was also necessary to aid the researcher during the data collection. In particular, a translator was usually required for the household questionnaire and sometimes also for the focus group meetings. In Samfya and Chipata, community workers attached to the planning department were extremely supportive in helping in this task. Every time, the translator was somebody already familiar with the local government functioning. He/she received additional explanations on the goals of this study prior to the survey rounds or focus group meetings.

surprisingly in the last 10-15 years, the attention (also in the academia) on the monitoring and evaluation methods have been steadily increasing, triggering both the development and use of different methods by international donors (ex.: EU, USAID, and to a lesser extent, UN agencies and the World Bank)¹⁰⁶.

Thus, this methodology has been developed with the primary goal to assess development projects. According to Dietz et al.:

“PADev is an approach to development assessment that is holistic and participatory, and at the same time rigorous, and frequently makes use of both qualitative and quantitative data. It aims to add both context and depth by building up a big picture of development and change in an area over time. This is done through a more inclusive approach, which gives a clear voice to the beneficiaries of development interventions. Additionally it can be used as a set of tools for participatory history writing at local levels of scale” (2013: 7).

PADev Methodology has been tested in four rounds of workshops in Burkina Faso and Ghana between 2008 and 2012¹⁰⁷. The complete methodology consists of nine participatory exercises, to be run during a three-day workshop with different groups (men, women, youth, etc.): 1) Events, 2) Changes, 3) Wealth group categorisation, 4) Project recall, 5) Project Assessment, 6) Best/worst projects, 7) Relationship between changes and projects, 8) Wealth group benefits, 9) Assessment of agencies (Dietz et al., 2013).

2.1.1 RELEVANCE OF PADEV METHODOLOGY FOR THIS RESEARCH

The use of the PAdDev methodology perfectly fulfilled the needs of this research work and also provided answers to some challenging methodological issues.

A first issue in this study was “how to define poverty”. Different methods could be used: for instance, we could use the data provided by international

¹⁰⁶ Bamberger & White (2008); Chambers, Karlan, Ravallion & Rogers (2009); Banerjee & Duflo (2011); Forss, Kruse, Taut & Tenden (2006).

¹⁰⁷ The research project is now finished. All the data, the analysis and guidebook are available for consultation in a dedicated website (www.padev.nl).

institutions, such as the World Bank or used other economic-based tools. However, as already discussed, these tools were not considered sufficient by the researcher, also because in the Zambian case, data is not available at province or district level¹⁰⁸.

A second issue was to find or elaborate tools for a focus group discussion, with the goal of gathering data on the overall performance of the local institutions (local council and WDC/ADC) and the impact assessment of local government's projects on the different wealth groups. The PADev methodology addressed these issues, thanks to *ad hoc* exercises aimed at gathering this information and with the added value of a participatory approach.

Moreover, it also responded to a third issue: the need to have a tool able to assess the variables used for this study (ex.: participation, representation, efficiency, etc.) and their evolution over the time. The original project proposal aimed at creating an historical comparison between the actual decentralised institutional framework and the centralised one before the establishment of the local councils. This scheme could perfectly apply for a country like Mali, characterised by a long history of centralised government during the colonial, post-independence period and the shift in 1992 with the establishment of both a new democratic constitution and a local government system¹⁰⁹.

However, the same scheme could not apply for Zambia, which is characterised by a longstanding local government tradition also found in rural areas. Lacking the 'shift' between a 'before' and 'after', the historical comparison was not longer relevant anymore. For this reason, the PADev methodology could not be used as developed by the scholars at the Afrika Studiecentrum as first planned, but needed to be adapted following the features of the Zambian experience.

¹⁰⁸ See heading 1.2 in this chapter.

¹⁰⁹ The intended research proposal was to pursue the study of local government system in Mali by drawing from a previous research undertaken in 2008. However, the military putsch in March 2012 created unsuitable conditions for the research. For an insightful description of the setting of this research see heading 3.1 in this chapter.

2.1.2 CHANGES IN THE METHODOLOGY

Different changes were applied in the actual implementation of the PADev exercises¹¹⁰.

1. Participants and timing

“To be sufficiently representative, a workshop should consist of participants from all relevant categories of the local population. In practice, this means sampling participants in a way that does justice to the demographic, social-cultural and social-economic composition of the community”. (Dietz et al., 2013: 7-8).

It has been suggested to hold different workshop at the same time by grouping specific groups (ex.: women, man, etc.). In the two districts, it was not possible to find suitable assistants to help the researcher to carry out additional focus group discussions in each ward. It was therefore decided to hold only one workshop per ward, regrouping only community leaders identified through the help of the local councils (ex. traditional and religious leader, WDC member, members from the professional/gender associations, teachers, etc.)¹¹¹. This choice was driven by the consideration that, if a choice had to be made, priority should be given to those groups that had *presumably* more information on the local authorities, their functioning and activities, and were therefore able to provide additional information to the researcher.

2. Exercises and timing

As already explained, the PADev methodology needed also to be adapted to the features of the Zambian local government tradition. Five out of nine exercises were used, skipping those that were more time-related aimed at creating a

¹¹⁰ As suggested by Dietz et al. (2013), the PADev methodology can be used in its entirety, or by using selected exercises and components to complement the other evaluation tool (2013: 9).

¹¹¹ More information on the sampling process is provided in heading 3.2 in this chapter.

historical comparison between the performance of previous system and the actual one, or more focused on NGOs project implementation (ex.: Exercises 1 and 2, “Events” and “Changes”, exercise 6 “Relationship between Changes and Projects” or exercise 9 “Historical assessment of best/worst projects”).

The use of fewer exercises also reduced the time necessary to carry out the focus group discussions. Instead of a three-day workshop as planned in the original methodology, a three/four hour one was sufficient to gather the data, the organisation of which proved to be cost and time-efficient. The workshops were always organised in the afternoon to maximize the participation of the community members.

2.1.3 THE FOCUS GROUP EXERCISES

The focus group discussions were firstly aimed at developing a bottom-up definition of poverty, according to local and not Western standards. The definitions were to be used during the data analysis to built a wealth index and to classify the survey’s respondents according to this ‘local’ definition of wealth and poverty.

Secondly, during the focus groups additional information was collected on the major developments of the projects implemented in the last few years by the local council in order to assess their impact on the wealth groups identified during the first exercise. Finally, the focus group participants helped assessing the performance of the local institutions, namely the local council and the WDC/ADCs.

Thus, using the PADev methodology, five exercises were used to collect the data, as outlined below¹¹²:

¹¹² The results for each exercise are available in Annex 1.

1. Wealth Group Categorization

Question: "Please describe the things that make a person 'very rich', 'rich', 'average', 'poor' and 'very poor'. Using 10 stones can you estimate the proportion of very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor people in your community?"

This exercise was particularly useful not only to acquire the local perceptions on the different wealth groups but also as 'easy' start of the workshop. It allowed the participants to 'break the ice' and to get familiar with the researcher and the exercises. Moreover, the researcher paid attention that each participant had the opportunity to get involved in the discussion from the beginning of the meeting.

2. Project Recall and Assessment

During this exercise the participants were asked to recall the projects that



were realized within the ward in the last years by the district council. Three options were provided here: either the project was funded directly by the local authorities (district council or line ministry departments) or it was implemented by the District Council through CDF funds. Sometimes, the participants mentioned projects implemented by NGOs. For each project, they were also asked to assess its impact, choosing between the

following options: 'big positive' impact, 'small positive', 'no impact', negative impact' or 'cannot assess'. During the exercise, a simple list of the recalled projects was created to be used for the following exercise.

3. Best 3 / Worst 3 Projects

Question: "What are the best/worst projects that have come to your community? Why is 'Project X' one of the best/worst projects?"

This exercise was held in two sequences. During the first one, the participants were asked to think about the list of projects produced during the previous exercise and were then reported in an *ad hoc* sheet. Each of them were also given a stone and then asked to place it on the sheet, inside the 'case' that represented the project they considered as the best executed in the ward. The top three 'best projects' were therefore identified and ranked according with the number of stones attributed to each of them. The same exercise was then repeated for the 'worst projects'.

4. Wealth Group Benefits

Question: 1) "How much does a 'very rich' / 'rich' / 'average' / 'poor' / 'very poor' person benefit from project X? Please use a big stone for big positive benefits; a small stone for small positive benefit; and no stones for no benefit".

2) "How much has a 'very rich' / 'rich' / 'average' / 'poor' / 'very poor' person suffered from project X? Please use a big stone for an important negative harm; a small stone for small negative harm; and no stone for no harm".

During this exercise, a big sheet was placed on the ground, listing the five wealth categories identified with the first exercise, using the local language terminology (ex. 'poor' = 'aba pina', etc.). A participant was then given both big and small stones and asked to consider only the first best project. In addition, a big or small stone was to be placed on each of the wealth group categories in accordance with the 'amount' of benefit they had received from the project and they were then required to explain his/her choice. This first distribution was then discussed with the other participants. Sometimes the first choice was confirmed by the other participants, together with additional comments and

explanations. Some other times, a debate started and different distributions of stones were finally agreed upon. The exercise was repeated for each 'best' and 'worst' project, requesting every time a different participant to propose a first distribution of the stones.

5. District Council and WDC/ADC assessment

Question: "Read the statements below to participants and for each of them ask if the statement is "always", "usually" or "sometimes" true or "usually not true" (also possible: "unable to assess").

Statements:

1. Commitment: "They care about our development and they work focus on it"
2. Realistic expectations: "They fulfil their promises"
3. Honesty: "When something goes wrong, they tell us honestly".
4. Relevance: "They really addressed the problems that affect us"
5. Participation: "We can give our opinion on the types of projects they do and how projects are done. The traditional leaders & community are involved"
6. Efficient: "The projects are managed in a good and transparent way. No corruption or mismanagement"
7. Trustworthiness: "We feel we can trust them"
8. Impact: "The results really improve the lives of many people in the area"



The different answers were also available on a big sheet visible to everybody to facilitate the understanding of each participant. The technique of the previous exercise was also used: for each statement, a participant has to propose a first answer to the statement, which was then debated and agreed

upon with the others. It is important to note that this way of proceeding is coherent with the local ways of debating and taking collective decisions. A same pattern was observed by the researcher during the three-day workshop for the draft constitution in Samfya.

2.2 The Household Survey

The household survey has a twofold purpose. It was intended to acquire information on the households in the target communities in order to make possible their classification in accordance with their 'wealth', as defined during the focus groups discussions. Secondly, each respondent was asked questions aimed at gathering information on the possible political and socio-economic impacts of decentralisation on poverty. The categories outlined in the 'Theoretical Framework' were therefore used within the household survey. For instance, "empowerment" was assessed using electoral and non-electoral behaviours, the type of representatives sitting in the local council, etc¹¹³.

The household survey is divided in five main parts and needed around 20 to 30 minutes to be completed. A first part is dedicated to general information on the family (ex.: age, religion, education, etc.); a second part focuses on the 'socio-economic situation of the household (ex. job of the wife or husband, income, land, animals owned, etc.). The third and fourth parts are devoted to acquire information on the 'political dimension' of decentralisation policies for the local elected council and the sub-district structures (WDC/ADC). Finally, the last part focuses on the provision of services¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ More information on the variables used to assess the political and socio-economic impact of decentralization has been already outlined in chapter 3.

¹¹⁴ The household questionnaire is available in Annex 2

2.3 Key informants

Interviews with key informants were also used in order to acquire additional information on the functioning and on the perceptions having regard to local institutions and their role in the local development. No structured red questionnaire was used and interviews were mainly adapted to the respondents' role and expertise. In the two districts, key informants involved councillors, executive and clerk officials in the local authorities and line ministries (Health Board, Luapula Water and Sewage Company, Agriculture Board, Department of Education and Standard Office – DESO, DEBS). It was not always easy to meet the councillors as they are mainly located in their wards, often far away from the district centre. In Chipata, the meetings were easier as a full council meeting was held during the field research period and the researcher could participate in the works. In Lusaka, the main key informants involved professors working in the university and officials working in the Local Government Association of Zambia (LGAZ),

Table 1: List of key informants

Name	Institution	Date
Prof. Lolojih	UNZA	27/09/2012
Maurice Mbolela	Director - LGAZ	28/09/2012
Prof. Momba	UNZA	05/10/2012
Brian Musama	Community Worker - Samfya District Council	Various
Chibwe Albert	Councillor Masonde ward	22/10/2012
Albert Chungutunawe	Councillor Chinkutula ward	22/10/2012
-	Councillor Kasansa ward	26/10/2012
Ignatius Phiri	Administrative Assistant - Bangweulu Constituency Office	01/11/2012
James Mulenga	Acting director - District Commissioner Office	06/11/2012
Charles Mwandila	Vice-chairperson - Local Government Service Commission	09/11/2012
Brian Chumpuka	Assistant Director - Decentralisation Secretariat	13/11/2012
Various	Full council meeting - Chipata	19/11/2012
Various	CDF Committee meeting - Luangeni Constituency	21/11/2012
Various	CDF Committee meeting - Chipata Central	26/11/2012

Source: Author's elaboration

2.4 Documents and Additional Sources of Information

During the field work, great attention was also paid to the collection of relevant documents concerning mainly the work of the target local councils, the sub-district structures or ministerial regulations. These documents were fundamental to understand:

1. The resources available to the local councils (ex.: general grants, special grants, CDF, local taxation, etc.);
2. How the resources available are used for pro-poor or development needs;
3. The functioning of the sub-district structures as a tool for the inclusion of the populace in the decision-making process.

Chipata was particularly resourceful due to the fact that the Municipal Council has a dedicated archive. In Samfya, it was far more complicated as there is not a proper archive and the documents are stored either within the personal files or computes of the different officials or staked upon the floor or randomly on the shelves. Thus, in Chipata it was possible to collect documents such as the CDF minutes, the budgets (2011, 2012, 2013) or the Councils' meeting minutes (2011, 2012). In Samfya, it was possible to collect only few of these documents. However, the planning office had a little archive with the minutes of the WDC/ADC meetings, which was very helpful to understand how the sub-district structures work in that area. In Lusaka, the following libraries/achieves were particularly resourceful: the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA), the Local Government Association of Zambia (LGAZ).

The data collected through the focus groups discussions and the survey were also compared and analysed taking into consideration the results of the 5th Afrobarometer round in Zambia (2013) and the Governance survey (2010).

The Afrobarometer is an independent research project that collects political, economic and social data on African countries. This research has greatly expanded since its first round was implemented in 1999 - covering 12 countries - to currently reach 35 countries in its 5th round in 2013. A 6th round

has been recently launched in March 2014. The researchers collect data on topics such as ‘Democracy and Politics’, ‘Participation and Civic Engagement’, ‘Citizenship and Identity’, ‘Taxation’, etc. using standardized questionnaires that allows a comparative analysis of data among the countries and over time¹¹⁵. . Zambia has completed 5 rounds up to this date (in 1999, 2003, 2005, 2009 and 2013)¹¹⁶.

The Governance Survey was organized by the Governance Secretariat in collaboration with the Zambian Central Statistical office, the Governance Institutions and the CSOs. The goal of the survey is to “effectively and systematically monitor governance in the country and to assess it in terms of its effect on development and on the link to poverty reduction”. The data used in this research refer to the last round in 2010.

3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 The Units of Analysis: Setting

The data used for this study were mainly collected during a three months field-work period in Zambia from September to May 2012.

It must be noted that the original setting for this research was two *cercles* in **Mali** (Segou and Kolokani)¹¹⁷. However, after the unforeseeable events in

¹¹⁵ Additional information on the Afrobarometer project, its history and the results is available on its dedicated website: “Afrobarometer.org/homepage”

¹¹⁶ “From 21 January 2013 to 8 February 2013, the Afrobarometer surveyed a nationally representative, random, stratified probability sample of 1200 adult Zambians. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in the language of the respondent’s choice” (RuralNet Associates, 2013: 2).

¹¹⁷ The intended research proposal was to pursue the study of the local government system in Mali by drawing from the results of a previous research undertaken in 2008 and by using the connections inside the country to organise the work and to collect the data. A first two-week visit was organised in Bamako in March 2012 to establish a direct contacts with the University of Bamako, some local research centres and the target local councils. The visit was initially very fruitful as the researcher was immediately able to have the support of the Faculty of Social Sciences and the ODHD (“*Observatoire du Développement Humain Durable et de la Lutte Contre la Pauvreté*”). Unfortunately, the military putsch occurred before any contact with the local authorities could be established compelling the researcher to leave the country as soon as the airport reopened for civil transportation. An account of the results

March 2012, it was no longer viable to pursue the study as originally planned¹¹⁸. Zambia was chosen as an alternative setting to carry out the research. It can be argued that the shift between the two countries is huge given the completely different historical experience and traditions. On the one hand, Mali was influenced by the Muslim expansion in the pre-colonial area and by the French centralised administrative style; it has always been at the bottom of the human development index; it went through a long period of authoritarian rule before starting its democratic experience in 1992 and establish, for the first time, a system of local government. On the other hand, Zambia was heavily influenced by the Church Missionaries from the first colonial explorations, where the British established an indirect rule based on the inclusion of traditional chiefs in the colonial system as Native Authorities; at independence it “was one of the most industrialised and urbanised” (Rakner, 2003: 44); finally, at local level, it experienced the democratic rule throughout the post-independence period, except during the 1981-91 decade, when the state and party apparatus were merged and elections abolished for the district councils.

In sum, the two countries are completely different under an economic, ethnic, religious, historical and administrative perspective. Zambia was finally chosen because it could address the main challenges raised when Mali was definitively rejected as an option: the lack of direct knowledge of the country, the lack of local contacts or key informants, and the relevance of the research.

First, the researcher had a first opportunity to visit Zambia in May/June 2013 during an evaluation mission of two EU funded projects to support the

of this first study on decentralization can be found in Serrenti (2012a), “Il decentramento in Mali: dal teorema dei testi alla pratica delle collettività territoriali”, in Pavanello, M. (ed.) (2012).

¹¹⁸ First, the combination of the political instability in Bamako, the occupation of the northern regions by a foreign militia and the French military intervention in January 2013 constituted serious problems in terms of security. Second, from a scientifically standpoint, the research could not be accurate as the data collection would have been negatively affected by the ongoing events. Third, the local government system basically collapsed or stop working given the confusion and the uncertainty at national level. For a critical overview of the events in Mali during and after the putsch see Serrenti (2012b), “Mali: un problema spinoso per la sicurezza internazionale”.

decentralisation reform. This first visit provided precious information to the researcher on the decentralisation process, and it was used as a first assessment of the viability of the doctoral research in the country. It was found that despite the delays in the implementation of the last decentralisation reforms, the country has the minimum requirements needed for the research (ex. legal framework on local government since 1991, decentralisation policy (2004) and implementation plan (2009), etc.).

Second, two local councils gave their consent to host the researcher during the field work phase, with direct access to elected representatives, administrative officials and local communities. Moreover, in Zambia, the researcher could rely on the support and contacts of a Zambian national, graduate at the University of Cagliari, and on the contacts within the European Delegation in Lusaka.

Third, it was found that Zambia has almost been neglected in the studies on local government in Africa as, at least in the last two decades, studies have primarily focused on other important topics (ex.: health related issues (HIV/AIDS). More generally, Gewalt, Hinfelaar and Macola explained the weak academic literature on post-independence Zambia:

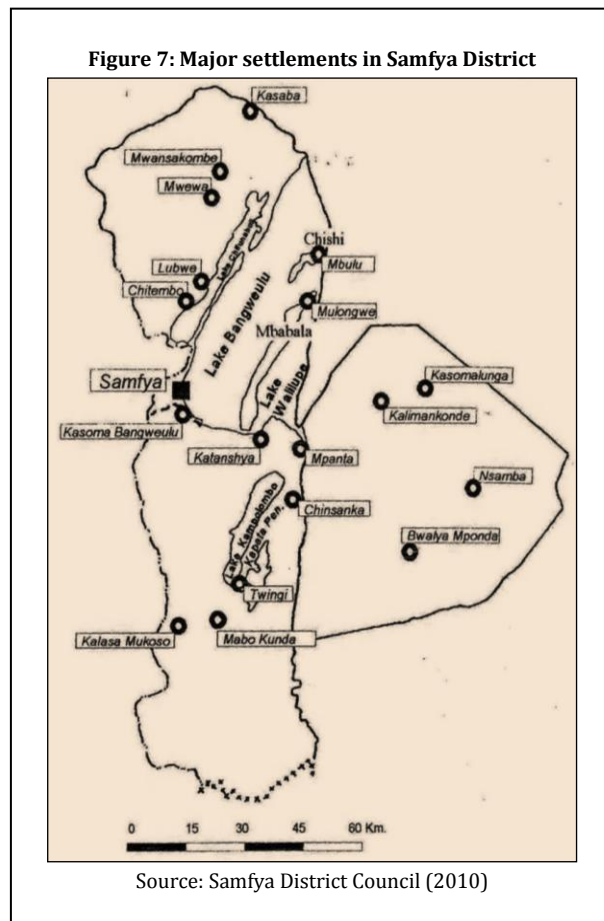
“In contrast with the rich tradition of academic analysis and understanding of pre-colonial and colonial history of Zambia, the above-sketches post-colonial trajectory has been all but ignored by historians. The teleological assumptions of state-led developmentalism, the cultural hegemony of UNIP and its conflation with national interests, and a narrow focus on Zambia’s progressive diplomatic role in Southern African affairs, have all contributed to a dearth of studies centring on the reverse lived experience of Zambians” (2008: 3).

Other options were rejected. For instance, Ghana or Uganda went through more advanced and ambitious local government reforms and have been carefully considered by the researcher. However, they are also quite popular in the academic and donor-funded studies on decentralisation. In these cases, the relevance of an additional study on this topic could be quite marginal. Moreover, the researcher could not rely on previous experiences in these countries and no valuable contacts were available.

Thus, the field phase started in Zambia in September 2012 for a three months period and it was followed by a third short visit in May/June 2013. Most of the time was spent in the two target ward (4 weeks in Samfya and 3 weeks in Chipata) where the researcher was integrated within the Planning Departments. The remaining weeks were used to collect other valuable information and documents in Lusaka (ex.: Governance Secretariat, Ministry of Local Government and Housing, Local Government Association of Zambia, etc.).

3.1.1 SAMFYA

Samfya district is located in Luapula province, in the northern part of the country, 700 km from Lusaka. From Lusaka, it is accessible through a quite busy and bumpy highway, after a trip of at least eight hours by car or much longer with the public transports. Samfya, and the province, are also connected to the Copperbelt province through the Congolese corridor (the Pedicle road).



The first White settlements were established by the churches: in 1905, the White Fathers opened two mission posts in Lubwe and Kasaka and later, in 1937, the Christian Mission in Many Lands joined with an additional mission post. The first development of the district under the colonial administration started when the British decided to establish a harbour in 1941 to help the transportation of supplies to the Copperbelt. During this period, Samfya was still ruled as Native Authority; it is only in the 1950s,

that the area was upgraded to a permanent settlement and in 1959 it became a Rural Council, headed by a permanent District Commissioner. (Samfya District Council, 2010). Today, Samfya has the status of District Council under the 1991 Local Government Act.

Figure 8: Celebration for the election of a new Paramount Chief



Source: Author's caption

The Samfya District's main geographical feature is the presence of Lake Bangweulu, which makes the district quite unique in terms of vegetation, landscape and economy. In fact, two thirds of the district is covered by wetlands (swamps and dambos) and other water bodies (ex.: rivers and lakes) (Samfya District Council, 2010).

198.911 residents are today living in Samfya (20% of the whole province) with a growth rate in the period 2000/10 of 2% (CSO, 2012b:

23). Three main ethnic groups are present within the district and each of them is ruled by a Paramount Chief a network of chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen: the Kabende, (mainly in Samfya Central), the N'gumbo (in the area North of Samfya town) and the Unga (mainly in the Bangweulu swamps)¹¹⁹. Many churches are

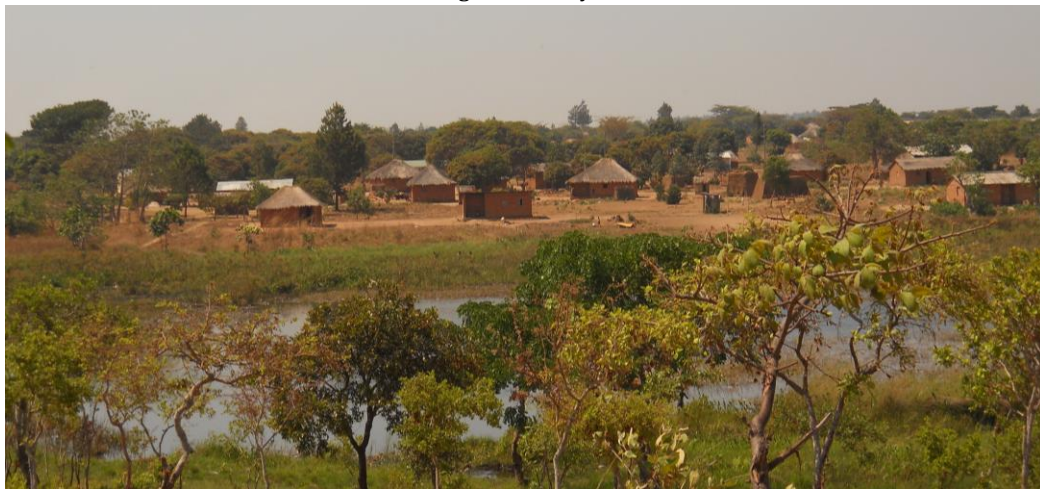
¹¹⁹ The respondent to the household questionnaires were 52.5% Kabende, 40% N'Gumbo and 7.5% Unga.

also established in the district with a majority of them being Catholic, the Seventh Day Adventists and the CMML¹²⁰.

Fishing and subsistence farming are the main activities of the area, but no commercial farmers are present in the district¹²¹. Trade is also a common occupation, mainly in charcoal, fish, transportation and other essential commodities.

In 2012 the district had 33 Health Centres. In 2010, the first causes of mortality were malaria, followed by respiratory tract infections and diarrhea¹²². HIV prevalence is also important, a reported rate infection of 13.2%, although this represents a better rate if compared with other provinces and it is below the national percentage (14.3%) (CSO and MoH, 2009). The most recent data on education are not encouraging. In 2010, Samfya district has 100 basic schools which means “on average one school in every 100 km²” (Samfya District Council, 2010: 68). Community schools are also available but with very poor

Figure 9: Samfya



Source: Author's caption

¹²⁰ The household survey showed that 53.4% of family members were Catholic, 15.6 of which belonged to CMML and 11.3% to the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Other denominations also active in the district include the Pentecostal and the New Apostolic.

¹²¹ The main crops harvested are cassava, millet, maize, groundnuts, and sweet potatoes (Samfya District Council, 2010)

¹²² The 33 Health Centres were distributed as follows: “27 Rural Health Centres, 1 stage II Health Centre, 1 Health Post, 2 Hospital Affiliated Health centres and 2 first level Mission Hospitals (Samfya District Health Office, 2012).

education standards. The provincial net school attendance for grades 1-7 is 77.1% (primary school) but it falls at 36,8% for grades 8-12 (secondary school) (CSO, 2012a). Drop-outs are also frequent during the school year¹²³.

No recent data is available on the access to water, whether terms of number of water points available or in terms of quality of such water points in the Samfya district¹²⁴. In Samfya town, pipe water is available for the residents, the proportion of which represents 9% of the district population¹²⁵. The rest of the population uses mostly open and unprotected water points, especially in the swamps and islands (Samfya District Council, 2010). As also observed by the researcher, water and electricity disruption are quite common.

3.1.2 CHIPATA

Chipata Municipal District is part of the Eastern Province and it is located along the international borders with Malawi. From Lusaka it is accessible by flight, although buses or other forms of car-sharing are the most common way to reach the district. The district is divided in 22 wards and composed by three constituencies as shown by figure 10.

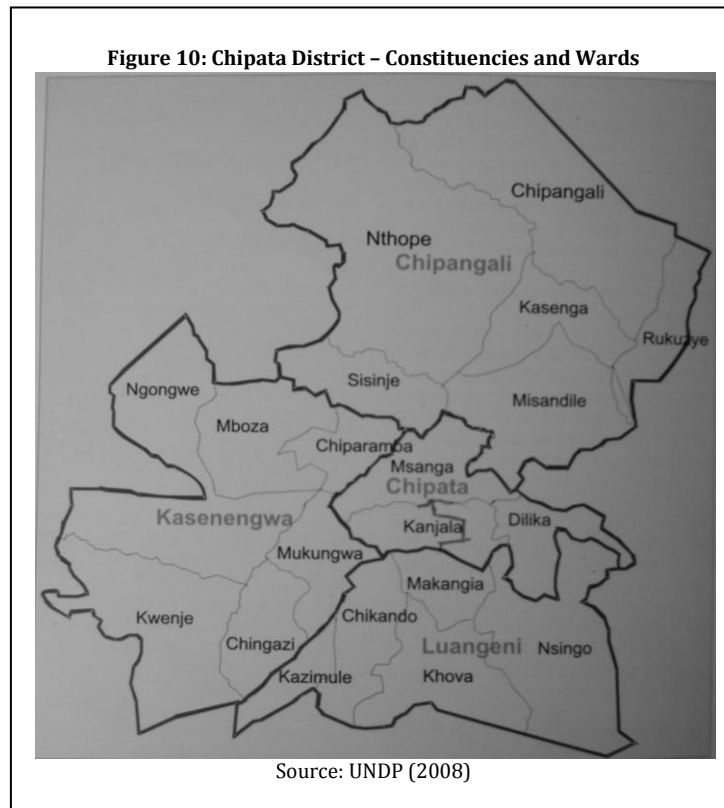
Chipata is densely populated, with a population of 455.783, and a growth rate of 2.2% in the period between the last two censuses, 2000-2010 (CSO, 2012b). Until 1964, the date of the creation of the Chipata Rural Council, the District had been divided in three Native Authorities (the Nona, Chew and Kunda Native authorities), covering a wider area when compared to today's size. In 1974, the district was divided in separate units to create the Chipata, Chadiza and Katete

¹²³ The main reasons for dropouts are usually: economic, due to the death of the parents, pregnancy or marriage. (Samfya District Council, 2010; CSO, 2000 and 2012). In 2012, the mean years of schooling in Zambia was 6.7 (UNDP, 2013)

¹²⁴ The most recent data are those provided in the Integrated Development Plan, with data dating back to 1997 (Samfya District Council, 2010).

¹²⁵ Since 2009, pipe water services are provided by the Luapula Water and Sewage Company. Before, the District Councils were in charge of water provision.

Districts (s.d., 1972). Today, the District has reached the status of Municipality, despite the fact that 80% of the population still live in the rural areas.



There are two major ethnic groups in the district, namely the Ngoni and the Chewa¹²⁶. There are two 2 Paramount Chiefs, supported by two senior chiefs and several other chiefs and headmen. The religious composition in Chipata is more variegated and fragmented if compared with Samfya. Among the household

members, the majority belonged to the Catholic Church, the Reformed Church of Zambia and to the Pentecostal¹²⁷.

Chipata’s economy is also more variegated if compared with Samfya, as former benefits from its position as the last Zambian town before the Malawian border. Subsistence farming represents the main occupation for most of the residents. The district is one of the major producers in the country of maize, cotton and tobacco. However, small scale trading and transport are also important component of the local economy. Moreover, many NGOs or donors are located in Chipata and have an office in the district. The municipality is also often

¹²⁶ 50% of the respondents were Ngoni and 30% Chewa. Other ‘tribes’ included in the household survey include the Tongas, the N’Kunda, the M’Bemba and the Timbuka.

¹²⁷ In the household sample 27.2% family members belonged to the Catholic Church, 14.7% to the Reformed Church of Zambia, and 11.4% to the Pentecostal. It is worthy to notice that a Muslim community is also present in Chipata but completely absent in Samfya (5.1% in the household sample). Other denominations are also present, such as the Baptists and the New Apostolic.

chosen as conference centre, thanks to the presence of a five-star hotel (Protea) and a commercial centre (Shoprite).

In 2012, the district had 43 health facilities and 69% of the population could access safe water supplies. However, as in Samfya, the first causes of mortality were Malaria, followed by respiratory tract infections and diarrhoea (Chipata DHO, 2012)¹²⁸. Chipata has a high rate of HIV prevalence, reaching a rate of 26.3% in 2004 (UNDP, 2008). The Chipata Water and Sewerage Company guarantees the provision of water in the urban area; the majority of the population living in the rural area may supply its needs through wells or boreholes.

The district in 2012 had 135 basic schools in addition to different secondary schools. Community schools are also quite common in Chipata District. The literacy level is quite low and it reached 54.9% of the population; 44.2% of children were not enrolled at school mainly due to the unavailability of schools or the need to walk long distances to reach the nearest one (UNDP, 2008). The provincial net school attendance for grades 1-7 is 64% (primary school) and it falls at 25% for grades 8-12 (secondary school) (CSO, 2012a). As in Samfya, drop-outs are also frequent during the school year.

3.1.3 WEALTH PERCEPTIONS

The previous paragraphs have shown that poverty is a widespread condition of the majority of the population living in the target wards. According to the focus group discussions, poverty is a common condition in the two target districts (table 2)¹²⁹. This high proportion of 'poor' and 'very poor' is consistent with the official data on poverty in the rural areas in Zambia and in the Luapula and Eastern Provinces in particular (CSO, 2012a). However, it is

¹²⁸ The under-five mortality rate in Zambia is still 69/1000 and the life expectancy at birth is 49.4 years (UNDP, 2013a).

¹²⁹ See chapter 4, heading 2.1.3 and 6.1.

also possible that in some cases, the *hope* for more funding coming through the researcher or the '*elite*' belonging of the participants could have played as bias in the assessment of the wealth distribution.

The participants are also consistent in arguing that the 'very rich' are absent or almost absent in the ward. They often argue that this category of household do not live in the ward as they prefer to settle in more 'advanced' or urban areas, with better access to services. In some cases, as in the Chiparamba or Djilika wards, the focus group participants decided to assign to this category 'half a stone' to highlight that this type of household is present but they are very few in the ward¹³⁰.

Table 2: Perceived distribution of the population across the wealth groups

WARD	VERY RICH	RICH	AVERAGE	POOR	VERY POOR
1. Chimana	1	1	3	4	1
2. Mano	0	0	1	6	3
3. Chifunabuli	1	1	2,5	2	4
4. Masonde	0	0	2	5	3
5. Katansha	0	2	3	2	3
6. Dilika	1	2	4	2	1
7. Chiparamba	0,5	1,5	2	2	4
8. Kanjiala	0,5	1,5	1,5	2,5	4
9. Mkowe	0	1	2	3	4
Total	0,4	1,1	2,3	3,2	3
%	4	11	23	32	30

The table shows the outlier values. Orange = 1 stone from average. Red = 2 stones from average. Source: Author's elaboration from Focus Group discussions

¹³⁰ At the beginning of the exercise, it was explained that 1 stone could be considered as 10% of the population.

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1 FOCUS GROUP

This study has used focus group organized in nine wards (five in Samfya and four in Chipata). This study uses a purposive sampling, which is by large the most used in qualitative research and is part of the non-probability family. It implies that the sample is selected strategically because “those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed” (Bryman, 2012: 418).

Participants have been selected using a mix of snowball and accidental techniques. Usually, in the two districts the key contact person in the wards was either a WDC/ADC member or the head teacher. The latter has involved other participants with the profile required by the researcher and that happened to be available for the meeting during the selected afternoon. The target participants were usually the main community leaders in the ward: religious leader, ADC/WDC member, a traditional leader, members of the farmer or business association, teachers, etc¹³¹. In two cases in Chipata, the participants were chosen among the community leaders already selected to participate during a meeting organized by the council to prepare a ‘participatory development plan’ (table 3).

In eight cases, the rule of maximum 8-10 participants’ group size was respected. In one case, a numerous delegation from the women’s association was also invited, without previous consultation with the researcher. The selection of participants was usually done by a WDC/ADC member, after careful instructions and explanation of the academic (i.e.: not ‘official’ or ‘public’) goals of the workshop.

¹³¹ More information on the sampling process is available under heading 3.2 in this chapter. Quite interestingly, no religious leaders were involved by the contact persons in focus group discussions. This may partially be explained by their unavailability due to previous commitments. In addition, as confirmed by the results and by the history of the churches in the country, the religious leaders are perceived as *neutral* with respect to the political power. As the focus of the meeting was to acquire data on the functioning of local government, sub-district structures and decentralization, the religious leaders were probably excluded as perceived *not relevant* by the contact person.

The participation of each community leader was also encouraged, following as much as possible a ‘cycle’ order in the interventions or stimulating the participation of the less vocal members. The ‘stone method’, as outlined in the PADev methodology was also used: the use of ‘stones’ enhances greatly the discussion and the engagement of the participants as it is perceived as an element of ‘fun’. It make the discourse less abstract, especially when some quantitative data (ex.: percentage of families per wealth group in the community”) needed to be discussed.

Table 3: Focus Groups - List of Participants

WARD	DATE	N° of Partici p.	List of participants	Male	Femal e
Chimana	17.10.201 1	10 +	1) Community leader 2) Cooperative leader (x 2) 3) Business person 4) Women’s Association (x 20) 5) ADC (x 4) 6) Headman 7) Teacher	10	20
Mano	18.10.201 2	8	1) Women Club (x 2) 2) Headman 3) ADC Member 4) Health Office Adm + ADC 5) Youth Association Representative 6) Farmer Association member 7) Business community member	5	3
Chifunabuli	20.10.201 2	6	1) Teacher + ADC Member 2) Constituency Assistant 3) Farmer Association member. 4) Women Association member 5) Headman 6) Business community member	5	1
Masonde	26.10.201 2	7	1) Farmer Ass. member (x2) 2) Women Association member 3) Teacher 4) Headman 5) Business Association member 6) ADC member	5	2
Katansha	27.10.201 2	9	1) Fishers community member 2) Headman 3) Trader 4) Fish trader 5) ADC (vice-chairperson) 6) ADC Chairperson 7) Headman 8) Farmers’ cooperative member 9) Headwoman	5	4
Dilika	29.11.201 2	6	1) PTE Chairman 2) Works chairperson 3) Farmers’ cooperative member	3	3

			(x2) 4) Traditional birth attendant 5) Head teacher		
Chiparamb a	30.11.201 2	8	1) Community member 2) Headman 3) Zone member (x 5) 4) ADC member	4	4
Kanjala	01.12.201 2	8	1) RCZ Association 2) Peace Corp Volunteer 3) Women club (x 3) 4) Headman 5) Head teacher 6) Farmers' Association member	4	4
Mknowe	04.12.201 2	8	1) Village representative 2) WDC 3) Farmers' Association member and councillor 4) Teacher 5) Zone member (x 2) 6) Farmers' Association 7) Officer at Ministry of Agriculture	6	2

Source: Author's elaboration

3.2.2 SURVEY

This study has used survey data gathered using a non-probability sample of respondents of the type 'convenience sampling' (table 4). A convenience sample is "one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility" (Bryman, 2012: 201). A clear limitation of this method is that generalization of the results is not possible; however, this research did not aim to provide a general understanding of the impact of decentralization on poverty alleviation in Zambia or even in the two selected district. This would be impossible given the geographical distances to be covered and the limitations in time and resources. The aim here was to provide a trend of the sample's perceptions towards decentralization in two Zambian districts: although it is not representative of the entire population of the district, it provides valuable information on some issues and features of the local government system in Zambia, which deserves more attention by the scholars and can be the basis of future investigation.

A household questionnaire has been administered to 80 heads of households (ex.: the wife or the husband)¹³². Geographically the respondents are equally distributed between the two districts: Samfya (Luapula Province) and Chipata (Eastern Province). The districts have been chosen randomly. The choice of Samfya and Chipata was mainly determined by the fact that the researcher had already established personal contacts with the district administration during a first short visit in the two districts in May-June 2012¹³³.

The researcher decided to target 5 wards¹³⁴, following discussions with the two contact persons in each districts¹³⁵. Their choice was generally taken following practical considerations, such as geographical distances, costs, transport challenges, and accessibility. In Chipata, the Municipal Council had organized a round of meetings in each ward to prepare the “Integrated Development Plan” so the researcher followed a few times the council’s team during the visits as it could guarantee an easier access to the communities in terms of costs and practical organization¹³⁶.

The villages and households have been chosen within the rural or semi-rural setting. In Samfya, due to the presence of fishermen, due attention was given to visit some villages where they could be located. Moreover, it was tried whenever possible to avoid households adjacent to the WDC/ADC office¹³⁷.

¹³² This covers 565 family members.

¹³³ This visit was part of a monitoring and evaluation visit organized by the Delegation of the European Union in Lusaka.

¹³⁴ The wards are the sub-districts units in Zambia. The wards are also sub-divided in ‘zones’, which represent a smaller geographical unit and are composed by a group of adjacent villages. For more and updated information on the districts and their subdivision, see the Ministry of Local Governance and Housing’s website: www.mlgh.gov.zm.

¹³⁵ In each district, the contact point was an official working in the Planning Unit.

¹³⁶ The visits organized by the Municipal Council failed the first three times due to communication failure between the ward community and the council. The researcher had to quickly organize two additional visits, using as main practical rules already stated. Despite the additional challenges, as these failures provoked delays in the collection of data, they were extremely useful for the researcher to have a direct experience on how activities are organized within the council and directly observed the challenges and issues affecting the good functioning of the local authority.

¹³⁷ Both districts had launched the constructions of offices for the sub-districts committees in each ward. However, in some wards, it was found that the constructions had already been somehow finalized while in some others, they were still ongoing or had not started yet.

Finally, respondents have been chosen randomly, according to the availability of the person. It was tried as much as possible to maintain a gender balance. In total, the survey involved respondents from 11 wards and 27 villages; 38 men and 42 women were interviewed. A face-to-face approach was chosen, most of times given the high level of illiteracy rate; only in a few cases, the respondent was asked to fill the form, which was reviewed at the end, together with the researcher, to verify a good understanding of the questions or to provide some missing information. Here below, I provide the full list of the target wards and villages:

Table 4: Household survey - Target wards, constituencies and villages

District	Ward	Constituency	Village
Samfya	Chimana	Bangweulu	- Kabanga - Chimana Market - Mwanfuli
Samfya	Mano	Bangweulu	- Chakuyela
Samfya	Chifunabuli	Chifunabuli	- Mbwili - Ntolele - Bwacha
Samfya	Masonde	Chifunabuli	- Miponda
Samfya	Katansha	Bangweulu	- Ivor - Muchinshi - Katansha
Chipata	Dilika	Chipata Central	- Kachingule
Chipata	Chiparamba	Kasenengwa	- Chiparamba sub-centre
Chipata	Kanjala	Chipata Central	- Kagunda - Kalonje - Dumisa
Chipata	Mkowe	Kasenengwa	- Chikuwe
Chipata	Nthope	Chipangali	- Kambani - Katawa
Chipata	Kasenengwa	Kasenengwa	- Mudongo - Masiwa - Madzimawi

Source: Author's elaboration

4 ETHICS

Because ethics is critical in every research effort, and ethical considerations should be the *leit motiv* “at every stage – before, during and after” the research work (David and Sutton, 2011: Kindle 839). In this research, special attention was given to the main principals that should be followed in social science research, namely “voluntary participation and the right to withdraw, protection of research participants, (...), obtaining informed consent” (Silverman, 2013: kindle loc. 4143).

In this research, special attention was also given to obtain an informed consent from the institutions or participants involved. The Councils in Chipata, Samfya and Choma¹³⁸ were duly informed on the focus and goals of the research and the researcher asked for their authorisation to hold her work in the district and the procedure they require to formalise it. In Samfya, no formal authorisation was asked by the Districts’ officials, while Chipata asked the researcher to send a request letter to the Town Clerk for his consideration and approval, which was duly prepared. In both cases, the first visit upon arrival in the two districts was paid to the Town Clerk, and the same was replicated before departure. The same rule was followed for the preparation of the focus group discussions and the household interviews. In particular, households were approached by asking the permission of the husband or wife, as well as their availability for a 20/30 minutes interview, considering their daily duties.

Moreover, confidentiality of information was guarantee to the districts and to the focus group and household participants. In these two last cases, the researcher highlighted that no names should be asked or noted during the interviewing process, which the respondents could directly verify during the discussion, adding an element of trust and facilitating the research work.

¹³⁸ Choma district in Southern Province was also targeted at the beginning of the fieldwork as another possible location for the data collection. However, due to the time and resource constraint the research was limited to Samfya and Chipata. Upon arrival in Lusaka, the researcher had the chance to meet two officials working in the Planning Office in Choma and directly explain her research work and needs.

Moreover, it was also stressed that they had the right to withdraw or to ask additional information on the purpose and content of the research. The name of the districts will only be changed in the event of the publication of this study, so as to guarantee their anonymity¹³⁹.

Moreover, the preparation of the household survey and the focus group discussions also involved a specific analysis of possible issues related with the cultural differences or the relation with some vulnerable groups.

5 LIMITATION OF THIS RESEARCH

The sudden change of target country for this research constituted a tremendous challenge for the execution of this study, in terms of preparation, background knowledge and logistics. Zambia and the Southern Africa region were somehow new to the researcher, as no previous field work had been carried on prior to this study.

This sudden change has constituted a serious challenge, especially in the preparation of the household survey and the focus group discussion. Moreover, in the short time left between the first visit in Zambia in May 2012 and the field-work in September 2012, maximum efforts have been used to acquire a good understanding of both the regional context and the Zambian governance system. However, this has also allowed the researcher to reach a higher level of understanding of local governance issues both under a former French and British colonial rule.

Another limitation of the study is linked to the limited geographical scope. This research intends to highlight the impact on *two* districts in Zambia, without intention of generalisation. The results of the focus group discussion and the household survey can give a preliminary view of the local perceptions towards

¹³⁹ The real names of the districts are used in the following pages and it will be limited to the purpose of the PhD defense.

the local government and on the impact of decentralisation policies on the poorest. However, more comprehensive studies on the different aspects highlighted in this research are absolutely needed, especially in the actual context where the Patriotic Front's government is launching a new 'decentralisation campaign'.

However, on the other hand, this limitation is also inherent to decentralisation: in fact, decentralisation is a complex phenomenon and many scholars have warned against easy generalisations (Bossuyt and Gould, 2000). In fact, "The essence of decentralisation is that it does not occur in general but rather in a particular context, so that decentralisation takes many different forms in different countries at different times" (Bird and Rodriguez, 1999: 299).

6 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WEALTH INDEX

6.1 The Index: Goal and Meaning

The wealth index is a composite measure of a household's cumulative living standard. The variables used to build the index have been identified and defined using the focus groups, as already explained in the previous paragraphs.

The first exercise of the focus group was divided in two main steps: firstly, the participants were asked to provide a definition of 'very poor', 'poor', 'average', 'rich' and 'very rich' families within the district. Secondly, they were asked to quantify the five different groups using the 'stone' technique, as described by the following:

"Please describe the things that make a person very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor in your district. Using 10 stones, can you estimate the proportion of very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor people in your community?" (Dietz, 2013)

The table 5 shows, as example, the results of the exercise held in Chimana Ward on 17.11.2012¹⁴⁰. It was explained to the participants that the 10 stones should be considered as representing the whole population in the district, with one stone representing therefore 10%, two stones 20%, etc.

Table 5: Focus Group, exercise 1: "Wealth groups' definition"

Group	Category	Local Name	Description	Distribution (10 stones)	%
WARD 1 CHIMANA WARD	Very rich	ABA KANKALA SANA	They are usually commercial farmers and they hire cheap labour (community leader). They are hard workers (cooperatives). Farmers have tractors and other machines for agriculture. They have kettos, pigs, goats and they own 200 hectares of land. They can access loans and invest their money (businessperson). They have billions of kwacha, buses, cars, and tracks. They own a bus mansion. Children are very educated, they go in private schools and sometimes they study overseas. They are not dependent, they dress well, they have high quality shoes, and they eat 4 meals a day. For funerals, they use many cars and they are buried in big caskets.	1	5%
	Rich	ABA KANKALA	Farmers have no machinery and they use small materials. They own a car and sometimes a bicycle. They can have one shop, 2 houses and 20-50 hectares of land. They eat sweet potatoes, cassava, beans, groundnuts and peanuts. They have 2 meals a day. Their children go to high school. They buy clothes.	1	5%
	Average	PAKATI	They have a big land (10-20 hectares). They go for second hand clothes. They eat 2 meals a day. Children go to public school. They own one simple house topped with a grass roof or even iron sheets. Some have a car. They own a boat or canoes.	3	30%
	Poor	ABA PINA	For funerals, people hold them on their shoulders. They have a "grass house", and one bike. They have two meals a day. They own 2-4 lima (one hectare) of land, and a canoe. Only some children go to school because they cannot afford to pay the fees for each of them.	4	40%
	Very poor	ABA PINA SANA	They beg for money and for food. To eat is a problem for them. They are dependent from others. They have street kids that sometimes steal. They have handicaps. If they have one, their house is very poor, they sleep on the floor without blankets and they have poor toilets. They do not have shoes. They do not have soap or water so they have problem to wash themselves.	1	10%

Source: Focus group held in Chimana Ward, Samfya District on 17.10.2012

¹⁴⁰ The data collected during the Focus Group exercises are available in Annex 1.

6.2 Preparation of the wealth index

The wealth index ranges from 0 as minimum value to 100 as the maximum value: 0 corresponds to the maximum level of poverty (or the minimum of wealth) while 100 implies a maximum level of wealth (or the minimum of poverty).

The preparation of the wealth index followed different steps, as follows:

1. Choice of variables identified using the definitions of the different wealth groups provided by the participants of the focus group discussions. The participants were left free to provide their contribution, with minimum input by the researcher. Thus, they used different variables to describe and define the state of poverty and wealth (ex.: the house's features, the vehicles, etc.).
2. The definitions of each wealth group have been elaborated by the researcher, in order to identify the main variables used by the participants of the focus group. The researcher has identified these variables and aggregated the definitions, as showed by the table in annex 1.2. Every focus group has identified the following macro-variables: 'Food' (ex.: number of meals a day); 'House' (ex.: size, type, facilities, etc.); 'Job' (ex.: farmer, civil servant, businessman/woman, etc.); 'Dressing Style' (ex.: quantity and quality of clothing available for the family); 'Access to School' (ex.: number of children in school, type of school, grade reached, number of drop-outs, etc.); 'Land & Livestock' (ex.: quality and type of land and livestock owned); 'Vehicles' (ex.: quantity and types of vehicles owned by the family); access to 'Water' and 'Health' facilities.
3. The questionnaire did not cover all the variables identified by the focus group participants due to time constraints. Ten variables have been identified and used for the construction of the wealth index. Priority was given to those variables that had the smallest amount of missing data.
4. A value has been assigned to the different modalities. The maximum and minimum value is not identical for each variable but changes according with the modalities.
5. Definition of the standard score of the value of the variables, as identified in (3). All the variables have therefore the same minimum value ('0') and the same maximum value ('10').
6. The sum of the standard score of the variables amounts to a value between 0 and 100, which represent our final score in the wealth index.

7. Each family interviewed through the questionnaire is attributed one of the following labels in accordance with the standardized score: 'very poor', 'poor', 'average', 'rich' and 'very rich'.

6.3 Variables

The following variables have been identified; by analyzing the definitions given by the participants of the focus group discussion (see point (2) in the previous paragraph):

- Type of house (ex.: iron/grass roofing, mud or bricks.)
- Access to electricity
- Radio or TV available at home
- Income
- Job of the wife
- Job of the husband
- Quantity of livestock owned by the family
- Type of livestock owned by the family
- Quantity of land used
- Quantity of land owned
- Education of the children
- Access to safe water
- Age of the mother at first pregnancy
- Number of family members
- Number of wives

Among those variables only those with a quantity of missing data smaller than 20% have been considered. Thus, the following have not been used: 'water' and 'number of wives'. The use of these variables could also present specific issues: in the two districts visited families with their own borehole or who can access pipe water are quite rare. The common pattern is to take water from public boreholes or directly from the lake (in Samfya) or from other unprotected sources. Therefore, 'water' can be used to distinguish the 'very rich' or sometimes the 'rich' but the other groups are usually 'equal' in terms of the quality of water accessed. Moreover, also the number of wives can be misleading. Polygamy is usually associated with wealth: often traditional leaders or politicians have an official wife and one or more 'unofficial' ones.

Table 7: Wealth Index – Variables and Modalities: sector ‘Home’

HOME	House	Mud
		Bricks
	Roof	Grass
		Iron
	Electricity	Yes
		No Electricity
	Facilities	No
		Radio
TV		

Source: Author’s elaboration

However, especially in the rural setting, men often decide to have a second wife just to ‘show’ his wealth to society although it does not correspond to his real economic situation. In this case, instead of being rich, the family will become even poorer, given the increasing number of people depending on a single source of revenue. The other variables have been divided in sectors, as showed in the following:

Table 6: Wealth Index – Variables and Modalities: sector ‘Income’

INCOME	They beg / They work for food < 200K (Very Poor)
	201-300k (Poor)
	301-500k (Pakati)
	501-1000k (Rich)
	>1000K (million/billion of ZKW) (very rich)

Source: Author’s elaboration

1ST SECTOR: HOME

The variables taken into consideration are the type of house, the access to

Table 8: Wealth Index – Variables and Modalities: sector ‘Job’

JOB	No Job Housewife Piece-Work		
		Business	Small Business
			Small Grocery Shop- Restaurant Keeper
	Big Shops (Ex.: Shoprite)		
	Self-Employed	Ex.: Carpenter, Mechanic, Welder, Cook And Construction Worker	
	Miner		
	Civil Servant	Teacher (Community School)	
		Teacher	
		Head Teacher	
		Nurse	
		Agriculture/Health Officer	
	Agriculture	PA (Constituency Officer)	
		Simple Farmer	
		Commercial Farmer	
		Herder	
		Fisher	

Source: Author’s elaboration

electricity or other type of facilities (table 7).

2ND SECTOR: ‘INCOME’

The family income is taken into consideration. The modalities have been defined by the author, after consultation with key informants both in Lusaka and in the

districts (table 6).

3/4TH SECTOR: 'JOB' (HUSBAND AND WIFE)

One takes into consideration the husband's job. It is possible for a person to have more than one job. Here, the following two cases are considered:

1. a 'main occupation' plus a 'secondary occupation';
2. a 'main occupation' plus up to three 'small jobs'.

The same rules are used to analyse the wife's job (table 8).

5TH SECTOR: 'ACCESS TO EDUCATION':

This indicator has been calculated in two phases (table 9).

1) An index is calculated as a ratio between the degree

of education *actually* obtained and the *potential* degree the child could reach at his age at the moment of the interview. This allows, for instance, taking into consideration the drop-outs due to inability of the family to pay school-fees. According to the law, every 7 years old child must be enrolled in the primary school¹⁴¹.

2) A mean is calculated based on the degree of education reached by each child: the scores obtained in (1) have been summed up and divided by the number of children in the family, obtaining an indicator of the access to education in the family.

6TH SECTOR: 'LIVESTOCK':

One takes into consideration both the type (ex.: chicken, goat, cattle, pig or sheep) and the quantity of livestock owned by the family.

Table 9: Wealth Index - Variables and Modalities: sector 'Education'

ACCESS TO EDUCATION	No school
	Primary only (1-7)
	Basic (8-9)
	Secondary School (10-12)
	University

Source: Author's elaboration

¹⁴¹ Sometimes, richer families manage to send their children to school at an even earlier age (5 or 6 years old).

Table 10: Wealth Index - Variables and Modalities: sector 'Land'

LAND	No Land
	<2 Lima
	<1 Arc (3 Lima)
	2,1-4 Lima
	3,1 Arc-1h
	1,1-5 Hectares
	5,1-10 Hectares
> 10 Hectares	

Source: Author's elaboration

7TH SECTOR: 'LAND'

One takes into consideration both the land 'owned' and the land actually 'used' by the family for farming. The modalities have been defined by the author, after consultation with key

informants both in Lusaka and in the districts. It was calculated as following:

1. Land 'owned'
2. Land 'used' as percentage of the land 'owned'
3. Standardization of the two indexes
4. The mean of the two indexes represent the final value for this sector. The modalities have been defined by the author, after consultation with key

informants both in Lusaka and in the districts.

Table 11: Wealth Index - Variables and Modalities: sector 'Vehicle'

VEHICLES	No Vehicle
	Bicycle
	Motorbike
	Car
	Boat
	Canoe
	Oxcart
	Tractor

Source: Author's elaboration

8TH SECTOR: 'VEHICLE'

The type of vehicle owned by the family is taken into consideration. The boat and canoe are viable options only in Samfya, given the presence of the lake. The modalities have been

defined by the author, after consultation with key informants both in Lusaka and in the districts.

Table 12: Wealth Index - Variables and Modalities: sector 'Household size'

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	1-2 members
	3-4 members
	5-6 members
	7-8 members
	9 members or +

Source: Author's elaboration

9TH SECTOR: 'HOUSEHOLD SIZE':

The number of member composing the household is taken into consideration. The *dependants* are also included.

The modalities have been defined by the author, after consultation with key informants both in Lusaka and in the districts.

Table 13: Wealth Index - Variables and Modalities: sector 'Age of the wife at first pregnancy'

AGE AT BIRTH of FIRST CHILD	> =21 years old
	21-19
	19-16
	< 16 years old

Source: Author's elaboration

10TH SECTOR: AGE OF THE WIFE AT FIRST PREGNANCY.

The modalities have been defined by the author, after consultation with key informants both in Lusaka and in the districts.

6.4 Variables: Scores' Assignment

The scores have been attributed to each modality according to the definition of each wealth group in the focus group and taking into consideration the feedback received by different resource-person both in Lusaka and in the districts.

Table 14: Wealth Index - Scoring: sector 'Home'

HOME	House	Mud	0
		Bricks	10
	Roof	Grass	0
		Iron	10
	Electricity	Yes	10
		No Electricity	0
	Facilities	No	0
		Radio	10
		TV	20

Source: Author's elaboration

1ST SECTOR: HOME

The house in the rural areas can be built with mud or bricks, covered with grass or iron sheets and have access to electricity or other appliances such as the TV or radio. The sum of each modality gives the total for

the sector 'Home' (table 14).

The *missing* data have been recovered using a method called 'matching' (table 15). This method is based on the assumption that two statistical units having some identical variables are likely to perform in a similar way or have similar habits. Following the researcher's experience and the suggestions of the

resource persons in Zambia, the other variables used for the index have been ranked as follows:

- Income
- Job (wife + husband)
- Land
- Livestock
- Vehicles
- Education

One assumes that two families with similar income and job, and owning the same typology of vehicles and the same quantity of land and livestock, live in a similar house. When a full matching was not possible, priority was given to the first three variables. The missing units have been replaced as follows:

Table 15: Missing data (Home) and matching units

Missing data	Matching unit	Value	Explanation
1	64	0	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock
2	60	0	Same: Income, Land, Livestock, Vehicle, Education
3	34	60	Same: Income, Livestock, Vehicle, Education
4	14 & 36	60	Same: Income, Job, Land
5	50	0	Same: Income, Land Very similar: Job, Livestock
6	51	10	Same: Income, Land Very similar: Job, Livestock
7	58	40	Same: Income, Job, Livestock, Vehicle, Education
8	66	10	Same: Income, Job, Livestock
9	61	10	Same: Income, Job, Vehicle, Education
10	72	40	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock
11	56	10	Same: Income, Job, Livestock
12	76	10	Same: Income, Land, Livestock, Vehicle
13	38	10	Same: Income, Job, Livestock
14	34	60	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock
15	63	60	Same: Income, Livestock Very similar: Job, Vehicle
16	64	0	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock
17	38	10	Same: Income, Livestock, Vehicle
18	19 - 33	60	Same: Income, Vehicle, Education Very similar: Job, Land, Livestock
19	33	60	Same: Income, Job, Land, Education
20	38	10	Same: Income, Job Very similar: Livestock, Vehicle, Education
21	18 - 33	60	Same: Income, Job, Land
22	17 - 38	10	Same: Income, Job, Vehicle The researcher has also used her own notes on the house ("grass roof, house made by bricks, sofa at home)
23	64	0	Same: Income, Job, Livestock, Vehicle
24	77	20	Same: Income, Job, Livestock, Vehicle
25	53	0	Same: Income, Land, Vehicle
26	45	30	Same: Income, Job, Livestock, Vehicle
27	57	20	Same: Income, Job Very Similar: Land, Livestock, Vehicle, Education
28	53	0	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock, Vehicle
29	43	10	Same: Income, Livestock, Education Very similar: Job, Vehicle
30	64	0	Same: Income, Job, Land, Livestock, Vehicle
31	71	50	Same: Income, Job, Vehicle
32	34	60	Same: Income, Job Very similar: Land, Livestock, Vehicle

Source: Author's elaboration

Table 16: Wealth Index – Scoring: sector ‘Income’

INCOME	They beg / They work for food < 200K	0
	201-300K	10
	301-500K	20
	501-1000K	30
	>1000K (million/billion of ZKW) (very rich)	40

Source: Author’s elaboration

2ND SECTOR: ‘INCOME’

The modalities for the variable ‘Income’ have assigned the scores according with the table. In this case, there was only one

missing data (interview n° 77) which was assigned the lowest score (table 16).

Table 17: Wealth Index – Scoring: sector ‘Job’

JOB	No Job Housewife Piece-Work		0
	Business	Small Business	10
		Small Grocery Shop- Restaurant Keeper	20
		Big Shops (Ex.: Shoprite)	30
	Self-Employed	Ex.: Carpenter, Mechanic, Welder, Cook And Construction Workers	20
	Miner		20
	Civil Servant	Teacher (Community School)	10
		Teacher	30
		Head Teacher	
		Nurse	
		Agriculture/Health Officer	50
	Agriculture	PA (Constituency)	
		Simple Farmer	10
		Commercial Farmer	30
		Herder	10
Fisher		10	

Source: Author’s elaboration

3/4TH SECTORS: ‘JOB’ (Husband and Wife)

The husband’s and wife’s job has been taken into consideration, giving different scores according to the type of job (table 17). The case of multiple jobs is also taken into consideration

and they are attributed to the interviewed. There were no missing data.

5TH SECTOR: ‘ACCESS TO EDUCATION’

This indicator has been calculated in two main phases:

1. Firstly, an index is calculated as a ratio between the degree of education *actually* obtained and the *potential* degree the child could reach at his age

at the moment of the interview. The following reference table has been used for the calculation (table 18)¹⁴²:

Pupil’s age	Potential degree obtained	Type of school	Score
7-11	1-5	Primary school 1	20
11-14	5-7	Primary school 2	20
14-16	8-9	Basic junior	20
16-19	10-12	Basic upper secondary	20
20-24	University Degree	University	20

Source: Author’s elaboration

According to the law, every 7 years old child must be enrolled in the primary school. Sometimes, families decide to start their children’s education earlier, at 5 or 6 years old. Others prefer to send them even later (ex.: 8 years old). The decision usually follows the family’s wealth level, with the richest families following the first pattern and the poorest the second one. However, the survey data show that every family tries to send their children to school, at least for a few years. For this reason, the first modality (7-11 years old – Grade 1-5) covers the first four years of formal education.

For every child the score is calculated as follows:

- 1st Example 1: The child is 8 years old and he/she has completed a school grade between 3^o (*real score*: 20). Given the age, his/her *potential* education level equals ‘20’ as score. The final score is calculated as a ratio between the potential and the real education: $(20/20)*100 = 100$
- 2nd Example: The child is 15 years old. His/her potential education level should be between the 8^o/9^o degree in the Basic Junior School. However, he has reached grade 6^o (score: 40). Therefore, the ratio is: $(40/60)*100 = 67$

For each child the index will range between 0 and 100.

¹⁴² The modalities for the ‘pupil’s age’ and the ‘potential degree obtained’ have been selected taking into consideration the Zambian laws and the education system. This scheme has also been used by the Central Statistical Office in a recent survey (CSO, 2012a)

2. Secondly, the mean is calculated (score obtained by each child / total number of children in the family). The final score is the indicator of the mean education level in the family.

Obviously, many children in the family had not yet attained the school age. Therefore, in families with children younger than 7 years old, the mean (as described at point 2) is calculated taking into consideration only the children in school-age and not the total number of children.

In some cases, all children are less than 7 years old. In this case scenario, the data is considered as *missing*. In this case, one possible option could be to assign the score '0'; but it would penalize the family that cannot objectively send their children to school not because they cannot afford the school fees but only because they have not yet reached the school-age. Moreover, the survey data showed that all families try to send their children to school, in their early age of education. Therefore, the score assigned to these cases was calculated as the mean of the other families with children in school-age: '70'. The missing data was 17 (17.5%).

6TH SECTOR: 'LIVESTOCK'

Another important variable to understand the well-being of a family is the type and quantity of livestock owned. This data was calculated as follows:

1. Chicken and goats: in this case scenario, a score is assigned only on the type of animal and not on the quantity. In fact, according with the focus group's definitions, the 'poor' or 'very poor' may have only these two types of livestock and cannot have access to others.
2. Other types of livestock: In this case, the quantity becomes relevant. According to the focus group discussions, a way to distinguish between 'average', 'rich' and 'very rich' families is to look at the number of livestock owned: the 'average' families may have 'a small quantity', etc. Therefore, for cows, pigs, sheep and ducks the quantity is also taken into consideration.

Table 19: Wealth Index - Reference table 'Livestock'

LIVESTOCK	No Livestock		0
	Chicken		10
	Goat		20
	Cow	n° 1	30
		n° 2-3	40
		n° > 4	50
	Pig	n° 1	20
		n° 2-3	30
		n° > 4	40
	Sheep	n° 1-5	20
		n° 6-10	30
		n° > 10	40
	Duck	n° 1-5	10
		n° 6-10	20
n° > 10		30	

Source: Author's elaboration

As shown by the table 19, the scores have been assigned with consideration paid to the value of each type of livestock. It is evident that the cost of a chicken is not the same as that of a pig or a cow. Therefore, the scores have been attributed following the prices level as determined by the Farmers' Association

(www.farmproces.co.zm) and following the feedback of the resource persons in Lusaka or in the districts.

In 9 cases (11, 2%) the data were incomplete because the number of livestock owned was missing¹⁴³. In this case, the lowest amount for the typology of livestock owned was attributed so to avoid overestimation.

Ducks were considered as chicken (questionnaires n° 14, 15 and 32). Doves were indicated only by one respondents and they were not considered for the attribution of the score (questionnaire n°45). Questionnaire n° 54 had an atypical, although correct, data: the interviewed individual, a lady living in Chipata district whose main occupation was chicken rearing, owned an important amount of these birds that the researcher could even verify. Being an irregular and unique data if compared with the sample, it was considered as an 'outlier' and therefore only the type of livestock has been considered with an assigned score of '10'.

¹⁴³ The missing data are linked to the questionnaires n° 13, 14, 15, 22, 24, 29, 32, 40, and 45.

7TH SECTOR: LAND

As already explained in the previous paragraph, the calculation of this indicator followed two main phases, taking into consideration 1) the land available to the family and 2)

Table 20: Wealth Index - Scoring: sector 'Land'

LAND	1. No Land	0
	2. <2 Lima <1 Arc (3 lima)	10
	3. 2,1-4 Lima 3,1 Arc-1h	20
	4. 1,1-5 Hectares	30
	5. 5,1-10 Hectares	40
	6. > 10 Hectares	50

Source: Author's elaboration

the quantity of land actually used for farming (ex.: a family may have a big quantity of land available but be able to use only a small part due to economic constraints) (table 20)¹⁴⁴.

In the first index, the scores are assigned according to the quantity of land available to the family. In this case, the data are complete and there are no missing data.

The second index considers the ratio between the quantity of land *actually* uses by the family for farming and the quantity available. In this case, the missing data were 29 out of 80 (36%).

The missing data have been estimated following the 'Likelihood Principle', taking into consideration the most frequent and most likely scenarios:

- The missing data for the modalities 2 and 3 (<2 Lima <1 Arc (3 Lima) and 2.1-4 Lima / 3.1 Arc-1H) were replaced with the score of the quantity of land available to the family. In fact, it was observed that all families interviewed had access to modality
- The survey data show that every family uses all the land available if they have access to modality 2 and 3 (ex.: the family has access to 1 lima and they cultivate 1 lima).

¹⁴⁴ It is important to remember that Land issues are regulated in Zambia by the Lands Act (cap. 184 of 1995), by the Land Acquisition Act (cap. 189 of 1970) and the Agricultural Lands Act (cap. 187 of 1994). In Samfya, there are two main categories of land: 'Customary' and 'State' land. The first one represented 90% of the land in Samfya and it is directly managed by the chiefs; State land is controlled by the Council, as an agent of the Ministry of Lands.

- The missing data for the 4th (1.1 - 5 hectares) and 5th (1.1 - 5 hectares) modalities have been replaced by calculating the mean of the data available for each modality. In fact, it was observed that in this case there is no common pattern for modalities 2 and 3. Therefore, the missing data in modality 3 were replaced by '80' (mean of data available for modality 3) and the ones missing in modality 4 were replaced by 62 (mean of data available for modality 4).

8TH SECTOR: VEHICLES

The typology of the vehicle is taken into consideration when calculating this variable (table 21). The vehicles may be divided between those that have as

VEHICLES	No Vehicle	0
	Bicycle	10
	Motorbike	20
	Car	30
	Boat	20
	Canoe	10
	Oxcart	20
	Tractor	30

Source: Author's elaboration

pre-eminently a personal/transport use (ex.: bicycle, motorbike, car) and those mainly used for production activities (ex.: boat, oxcart, tractor). This distinction has been used to calculate the maximum score for this variable: '70', i.e. maximum '40' for vehicle for

personal transport (ex.: car = 30 + bicycle = 10) and maximum '30' for production vehicles. Data for this variable were complete.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	<=2 Members	100
	3-4 Members	75
	5-6 Members	50
	7-8 Members	25
	>= 9 Member	0

Source: Author's elaboration

9TH SECTOR: HOUSEHOLD SIZE

The focus group discussions have highlighted a positive relation between the size of the household and poverty (table 22). The modalities have therefore been

defined using some recent studies published by the Central Statistical Office (CSO). First, according to these surveys, the mean household size is 5.2 members.

The level of poverty of the family is correlated with the household size and the modalities have been defined as follows: (1-2 member(s), 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9 e + members). In this study, it was decided to adopt the same pattern as the definition of the modalities¹⁴⁵.

Table 23: Wealth Index - Scoring: sector 'Age of the wife at first pregnancy'

AGE AT BIRTH of FIRST CHILD	>=21 years old	20
	21-19	15
	19-16	10
	< 16 years old	0

Source: Author's elaboration

10TH SECTOR: AGE OF THE WIFE AT FIRST PREGNANCY

According to the legal framework “A marriage between persons either of whom is under the age of 16 years shall be void” (Marriage Act, Part 5, n°

33 (1). Therefore, the legal age for marriage is 16 and ‘0’ was the score attributed to this modality, as they represent the cases of ‘early pregnancies’. The scores assigned to the other modalities have taken into consideration that, according to the last surveys, half of the women have already given birth to their first child when reaching 18 years old. Finally, “If either party is under the age of 21, the written consent of the father shall be provided” (Marriage Act, Part 3, n° 17). There were 10 out of 80 missing data and they were scored ‘0’ as in this case, there were no valid assumptions that could be considered (table 23).

6.5 Standardisation

Table 24 shows for each variable, the maximum and minimum scores.

The standardisation allows to translate these scores in a value between

Table 24: Wealth Index - Standardization

Variable n°	Minimum	Maximum
1	0	60
2	0	40
3	0	60
4	0	60
5	0	100
6	0	190
7A	0	50
7B	0	100
8	0	70
9	0	100
10	0	20

Source: Author's elaboration

¹⁴⁵ CSO (2012a and b). In this study, it was also highlighted that between 2006 and 2009 the poverty levels had increased for the families composed of 7-8 members.

0 and 10¹⁴⁶. The sum of each standardized value is the final indicator of the family's well-being, and it can be a number ranging between 0 and 100.

6.6 Label assignment

A label has been assigned to each family in order to easily identify its status (table 25). The distinction between the standardized values has been decided taking into consideration the definitions of well-being and ill-being provided by the participants to the focus group discussion. Finally, for the purpose of the analysis, the 'very poor' and 'poor' were considered as a homogeneous group, given the limited number of households belonging to the first category. No household were identified as belonging to the 'very rich' group. This data is not surprising and it is coherent both with the wealth group definitions provided by the focus group participants and by the socio-economic data available for the two districts (CSO, 2008).

Table 25: Wealth Index - Label assignment

Score	Label	Sample %
0-20	Very Poor (VP)	4%
20-35	Poor (P)	48%
35-55	Average (not rich - not poor; A)	39%
55-80	Rich (R)	10%
80-100	Very Rich (VR)	0%

Source: Author's elaboration

¹⁴⁶ The formula to calculate the standardized score is the following: (normal score*10)/maximum normal score.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA

1 THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA

1.1 The 'Long March' of Decentralisation in Zambia

Zambian decentralisation has a long history, rooted in the colonial and even pre-colonial times¹⁴⁷. Since its independence, in 1964, decentralisation has been high in the government agenda. Kaunda, the first Zambian president, explained the concept of 'participatory democracy' as follows:

"Our Party Programme can only be implemented successfully if it is a people's programme (...) we have therefore decided to have the type of democracy in which citizens participate not only through their freely elected representatives but also by their direct involvement in the decision-making process (...). Hence the importance we attach to the decentralisation of all forms of power institutions. This is what a people's participatory democracy means" (Kaunda, 1971 as quoted in NIPA, 1981: 1).

¹⁴⁷ A critical analysis of the local government system is beyond the scope of this research. This chapter will briefly outline the local government evolution in the post-independence period and its current legal framework. This will be used in the following chapter to understand some of the trends and bottlenecks highlighted by this study (see chapters 6 and 7). The literature offers a quite good analysis of the local administrative and political framework under the first two local government reforms in 1965 and 1980 (Tordoff, 1974 and 1980. Mulford (1967). However, given the current 'rush' towards decentralization, studies on the legal evolution of the local administration, on the changes in the power relations among local actors during the time (ex. district councilors, district governors, council secretaries, chiefs, etc.) would be very helpful to have a better understanding of the current implementation of the decentralization policies in Zambia. The most recent literature has focused more on the democratic changes in the '90s but little attention has been given to the local government reform. (Berlett, 2000. Bjornlund and Collier, 1993. Bratton and Liatto-Katundu, 1994. Carcangiu, 1998; Bratton, 1999. Burnell, 2001 and 2002b. Gulhati, 1991. Van de Walle and Chiwele, 1994). For a review of the late colonial administration and politics, see Davidson (1948), and Tordoff (1974).

The administrative system inherited by the colonial times was characterised by a fragmentation and overlapping of functions and it was perceived as inadequate by the new Zambian rulers. Thus, the colonial government system was immediately abolished and, only one year after its independence, in 1965, the first Local Government Act was approved. However, as discussed below, the local administration was deeply influenced by the national political events, and especially by the adoption of a one-party system in 1972, the merger of the party and government's structures in 1980 and the return to a multi-party democracy in 1991.

1.1.1 DECENTRALISATION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE YEARS

At independence, in 1964, Zambia inherited by the British a local government system geographically divided in 8 provinces and 44 districts (Mukwena, 2001). As shown by table 26, each province was headed by a Provincial Commissioner, responsible to the Minister of Decentralisation and in charge of the good administration, the maintenance of the law and order, and the socio-

LEVEL	POLITICAL AUTHORITY	ADM. AUTHORITY	TRADITIONAL
PROVINCIAL (8)		<u>PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER</u> - accountable to the Minister - good administration, preservation of the law, development planning	
DISTRICT (44)		<u>DISTRICT COMMISSIONER</u> - accountable to the Provincial Commissioner	
SUB-DISTRICT			<u>NATIVE AUTHORITIES</u> - accountable to the District and Provincial Commissioner

Source: Author's elaboration

economic development of the province (Tordoff, 1980). Similar functions, but on a smaller geographical unit were covered by the District Commissioner in the rural areas, who was generally the most senior official at district level:

This system was found inadequate by the new independent government. As observed by Tordoff:

“One of the most urgent tasks in 1964 was to transform the inherited structure of provincial administration – the focal point of the colonial system of government – into an instrument of economic development” (Tordoff, 1980:185).

Few months after the independence, the previous system of local government was abolished. In 1965, a new law, the “Local Government Act” (LGA, 1965) was approved (table 27). The new act established three different types of local authorities: municipal, township in urban areas, and rural councils (LGA, 1965: art. 7)¹⁴⁸. In 1966, the first local elections occurred under the new legal

Table 27: Local government system in 1965-71				
LEVEL	POLITICAL AUTHORITY	ADM. AUTHORITY	COORDINATION & DEVELOPMENT	TRADITIONAL
PROVINCE (8)	RESIDENT MINISTER (OR STATE MINISTER)	RESIDENT SECRETARY	- PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES	
DISTRICTS (44)	MAYOR – CHAIRPERSON DISTRICT GOVERNOR	DISTRICT SECRETARY	- DISTRICT DEV. COMMITTEE	
SUB-DISTRICT BODIES (ward – zone)		WARD COUNCIL	- WARD DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (WDC) - VILLAGE PRODUCTIVITY COMMITTEE (VPC)	CHIEFS

Source: Author’s elaboration

framework and, for the first time in the history of the country, the local administrators were chosen by universal adult suffrage. A Mayor, elected among the councillors, was the representative of the Council for one year office; rural and township councils were headed by a Chairperson. The

¹⁴⁸ During the colonial period, the Municipalities were managed by a “Municipal Council” and it was regulated by the Municipal Corporations Ordinance (1927). The Townships fall under the Township Ordinance (1929) and they were administrated by a Management board, composed by elected and non elected members. The last level of administration was constituted by 75 ‘Native Authorities’, established with the ‘Native Authorities Ordinances’ between 1929 and 1936 (LGAZ, 1997). In this study, we focus more on the rural administration. For more information on administration in the urban areas in the first 20 years of independence see Rokadi (1988) and Torfoff (1980, especially chapter 7). The reforms echoed those implemented in Tanzania in the same period (Tordoff, 1965).

administrative head of the Council was the Council Secretary, selected within the civil service and it was by far the most prominent personality within the district. In fact, once the former position of 'District Governor' was abolished together with the previous colonial administration, it was not replaced by anyone, at least initially¹⁴⁹.

"At independence, Zambia inherited a fragile tradition of local government, based upon different principles of English municipal authority and colonial indirect rule. Nevertheless, this tradition served as a foundation for a relatively uniform system of representative local government councils and the desirability of such a system has never been seriously questioned by the Government" (Greenwood and Howell, 1980: 163).

In 1969, a series of reforms started to change the shape of the local administration, towards an increased centralization and politicization. A representative of the central government was finally introduced in January 1969, with the 'District Governors' appointed directly by the president to whom they were accountable¹⁵⁰. They were regarded as the district's political and administrative representatives and their main task was the promotion of the governmental policies, especially towards the implementation of the socio-economic initiatives.

At district level, as well as at provincial level, coordinating committees were also established in 1965 to help the implementation of the Transitional Development Plan (Chikulo, 1981). The District Development Committees

¹⁴⁹ A directive of President Kaunda of 19 June 1966 assigned to the Council Secretaries the role of "chief Government coordinating officers (...) with particular reference to the work of economic development" (Presidential Circular of 19 June 1966 as quoted by Tordoff, 1980: 186). The role of the Council Secretary was weakened when the government decided to appoint the regional secretary of UNIP as chairperson of the District Development Committee (DDC) and, finally, its representative at local level, in 1967. The situation was different at provincial level where the Resident Secretary was accountable to the stronger political figure of the Resident Minister. The Council Secretary was therefore more involved in political affairs than its provincial counterpart was. For details on the local administration in the early years of independence, see Tordoff (1968 and 1980).

¹⁵⁰ The introduction of the District Governor was part of a wider reform of the public administration that also involved the provincial and national levels. These reforms, that increased the control of the government on the local administration, were the result of the Mulungushi Conference in 1967, which produced a deep divide within the major ethnic groups composing the party. For a critical account of the Mulungushi Conference and the early years of UNIP rule, see Tordoff (1974), Macola and Marmer in Gewalt, Hinfelaar and Macola (ed.) (2008). Most of the time, the District Governors were members of the UNIP, and only in rare cases they were civil servants (Tordoff, 1980).

(DDC) were composed by civil servants working in the ministerial local departments, UNIP regional officials, councillors and other stakeholders in the district and, starting from 1969, it was chaired by the District Governor¹⁵¹. The DDC tried to play a coordinating role, to booster the development initiatives at local level and to monitor the progress of the projects' implementation. However, the lack of a clear legal backing and of real executive powers transformed these entities in mere 'talk shops', with limited influence on policies and decision-making (Tordoff, 1980. Chikulo, 1981).

In 1977, the Registration and Development of Villages Act (RDVA, 1971) tried to formalise a participatory system of governance up to the village level, composed by Ward Development Committees (WDC) and Village Productivity Committees (VPC)¹⁵². This latter was composed by the headman and up to nine other elected members for a period of three years (RDVA, 1971: art. 6-7); the WDC is also chaired by the ward councillor and composed by up to nine members (RDVA, 1971: art. 11). The main function of these bodies was the promotion of development in the area, and of the well-being and security of the residents¹⁵³. Sometimes, a Ward Council was also present: composed by two representatives from each VPCs and chaired by the ward councillor, this council had more a coordinating and information role among the WDC and the VPCs¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵¹ Conyers considers the introduction of similar coordinating committees as the "most notable feature" (1981: 112) of administrative reforms in some developing countries, mainly Zambia, Tanzania and Papua New Guinea. She argues that these committees have been traditionally established to overcome the shortcomings of a too rigid vertical structure inherited by the colonial administration. However, she observes that these countries "have gone one step further and established new structures in which horizontal linkages between departments within a geographic area are at least as important as vertical linkages within each department" (Ibidem, 1981: 112).

¹⁵² These committees were first promoted by Kaunda since 1967. However, it is only in 1971 that they received a formal legal backing (Tordoff, 1980).

¹⁵³ Although this law has not been fully applied for the parts concerning the development committees, this is important because it is still formally in force and it constitutes the legal framework for the Ward and Zone Development Committees.

¹⁵⁴ Kaunda has introduced these development committees in his "Humanism" as a pillar of the economic and development strategies of the new independent state. Later, when their existence was formalized, they were also used to extend the influence of the party and the control of the government up to the ward and village level. An excerpt of Kaunda's Humanism is provided in Annex 6.2.

It is quite adamant that the system created by the LGA in 1965, as described so far, appears overly redundant and inefficient. This is also the reason why the government built up different expert teams to assess the bottlenecks and how they could be corrected¹⁵⁵.

Some main features can be identified here. First, especially in the 1970s, the reforms were mainly dictated by the need to pursue the state-building and implement the development programs. Centralism and not a real decentralization was the root of the reconstruction of the local administrative system, especially towards the beginning of the one-party state in the late 1960s (Conyers, 1981)¹⁵⁶. Quite understandably, the government's priority in the early years of independence was not the delegation of power towards the local institutions but the consolidation of the central power under a united and independent state. Decentralization has to be only a tool to reach this goal. In a public statement in 1968, Kaunda called it "decentralise in centralism"¹⁵⁷:

"I define, this decentralization in centralization as a measure whereby through the Party and Government machinery, we will decentralize most of our Party and Government activities while retaining effective control of the Party and Government machinery in the interests of unity. In short, you decentralize to avoid regionalism (...) we should integrate more the Party and Government activities" (as quoted by Tordoff, 1980: 205).

In this context, participatory bodies, such as the VPC and the WDC, that were supposed to involve the citizenry in the decision-making process were instead used as instruments of control:

¹⁵⁵ The first Working Party was set up as early as 1968 and it was composed by civil servants. A second one was led by A.J.F. Simmance in 1971/72 (Tordoff, 1974. Chikulo, 1981. Conyers, 1981)

¹⁵⁶ The 'One-Participatory Democracy' was launched by Kaunda in 1972 (Tordoff, 1974. LGAZ, 1997. Carcangiu, 1998; Conyers, 1981). The reforms were mainly dictated by the need to protect the unity of the country (and of the Party) against the centrifugal forces created by an unstable political and economic context (Rakner, 2003). Chikulo has highlighted how "Political realities at independence alone made centralization of power imperative" (1981: 63). He has also argued that centralization was a result of the distrust of the Zambian politicians towards the bureaucracy that has been the most powerful instrument of control during the colonial time (Ibidem, 1981).

¹⁵⁷ Some authors identified this centralization through decentralization as one of the root of the economic and political crisis experienced by many African states in the late 1970s and 1980s (Olowu, 2001; Wunsch and Olowu, 1995).

“For instance, officers of local representative bodies such as Rural Councils, WDCs and VPCs are overwhelmingly recruited from UNIP constituency officials. Councillors, both elected and nominated, are usually selected from among the Party’s constituencies and are themselves selected by the Party hierarchy from among the Branch officials, and as a result villages have little to say in the matter” (Chikulo, 1981: 63).

Second, the legal framework was not always clear as in the case of the DCC or the District Governor. These latter lacked a clear definition of their roles and they had no real power at local level to hold the other authorities accountable or able to deliver according to their decisions.

Third, the role and integration of the sub-district committees into the district level has to pass through the rural council and not directly through the DCC. Moreover, at this level there is a clear overlapping of bodies, especially when the Ward Council was also present¹⁵⁸. These issues deeply affected the efficiency of the local administration and considerably reduced the capacities of the local authorities in delivering the public services and promoting local development initiatives (Tordoff, 1980).

This redundancy of personalities and institutions with gappy legal provisions on the roles and responsibilities increased the chances of frictions, especially between the Council Secretary, the Council Chairperson and the District Governor.

Despite these shortcomings, this period it is considered as the “most stable and successful in the local government financial history” (LGAZ, 1997: 14) because the local councils were granted different types of grants (ex.: housing, roads, police, health grant, etc.).

The Local Government Act of 1965 stopped working in 1981, when it was repealed with the new legal provisions of the Local Administration Act.

¹⁵⁸ To rationalize these authorities, the Simmance Working Party has suggested transforming the DCC to a committee integrated into the Rural Councils. In fact, it is this latter that keeps the contacts with the sub-district committees and they play as the intermediary between the villages and the DDC (Tordoff, 1980: 197).

However, the features and issues of the 1965 Act's are extremely important to read the current local government system. In fact, in 1991, when the local administration was reformed again to meet the exigencies of the multi-party democracy, the government basically re-established the '65 Act's system.

1.1.2 THE 1980s: THE MERGER OF THE STATE AND THE PARTY

During the 1970s the local government system was gradually modified, following the introduction of the one-party 'participatory democracy' by President Kaunda in November 1972¹⁵⁹. The financial resources were also gradually eroded: for instance, the housing unit grant was withdrawn in 1973, and the police grant severely reduced; in 1975, the land levy was suspended and the electricity undertaking were transferred to the Zambian Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) (LGAZ, 1997: 14-15).

In terms of responsibilities, the Zambian local government system in these first years of independence was based on devolved powers to a mix of locally elected and centrally appointed representatives (Conyers, 1983: 103)¹⁶⁰.

In 1980, the Local Administration Act (LAA) was approved resulting in the full merger of the administrative and party institutions, therefore creating a sort of 'one stop solution' for the political and developmental issues¹⁶¹. Elections at local level were abolished together with the positions of Mayor or Chairperson.

¹⁵⁹ For an insightful analysis of the political events during the first twenty years of independence, see: Tordoff (1974, 1977) and Carcangiu, 1998. Annex 6.1 shows the local governance and the party system in 1978 and after the introduction of Local Administration Act in 1981.

¹⁶⁰ The reforms undertaken in Zambia in these years were partly inspired and influenced by the experience of Tanzania. Both countries moved away from a strict British local government style, creating a 'quite revolution' within their administrative structures. However, unlike Tanzania, in the late '70s, reforms in Zambia were introduced without the assistance of overseas consultants (Conyers, 1981).

¹⁶¹ The reform was officially motivated by political and developmental needs, stressing the increase in local participation and coordination at local level (Conyers, 1986). It is also worth recalling that Zambia was not alone in introducing a reformed local government system: in the late '70s and '80s, other countries such as Ghana and Malawi adopted new decentralization policies, as result of the debt crisis and the launch of the Structural Adjustment Policies (Olowu, 2001).

The District Governor became the chairperson of a Council composed by party members, mainly coming from the UNIP Branch and Constituency sections (LAA, 1980: art. 11). The District Governor was the political head of the district, with the statutory responsibility of “the supervision of the day-to-day functions of the council” (LAA, 1980: section 77 and 79). Moreover, the District Governor chaired also the District Committee, which was had similar tasks as the District Development Committees (DDC)¹⁶². Finally, the administration was always headed by the District Secretary, currently called under the new law ‘District Executive Secretary’. Its powers were increased and included the coordination of a wide range of departments and the day-to-day administration, the preparation of annual reports, budgets and development plans for submission to the council (LAA, 1980: Schedule Part III, Section 79; Conyers, 1981).

Mukwena (1992 and 2001) explained how this structure responded to the UNIP’s need to gain stronger control over the rural areas in a moment particularly critical for the regime: on the one hand, it was urgent to respond to the “loss of morale” among party officials that, after almost two decades after independence, could not see any benefit coming from their support to the Party. On the other side, the economic decline which had characterised the 1970s created a growing disillusion within the provinces and increased the need of an increased local participation to the implementation of the development plans (Conyers, 1981)¹⁶³. Thanks to this new legal framework, the party members became directly involved in the district and provincial administration and had direct access to the sitting allowances, use of vehicles and other benefits.

However, this system was also highly dysfunctional. First, conflicts between the District Governor and the District Secretary became common as their

¹⁶² The District Committee had the responsibility of supervision and guidance in the development activities, of preparing of the development plans; mobilizing the grassroots and publicizing the Party policies and programs (LAA, 1980: Schedule Part II, Section 77).

¹⁶³ See Rakner (2003) for an insightful analysis of the evolution of the Zambian economy.

responsibilities were quite similar and boundaries were not clearly detailed by the law (LGAZ, 1997: 7). Moreover, the reform entailed a significant increase of responsibilities and functions of the local authorities, at least on paper (Conyers, 1986). Wider responsibilities were not followed by the transfer of adequate financial resources, although more power was attributed in terms of revenue collection (Hampwaye, 2008; Chikulo, 1985). In fact, resources in this period decreased also due to the failure of the government to transfer the beer surtax or to pay the salaries (LGAZ, 1997: 16).

In fact, most of these resources were mismanaged and used to support UNIP's activities or members, with a consequent decline in the service delivery:

It is true that the decline in service delivery began to be more pronounced this time partly due to a shortage of funds and the calibre personnel and councillors and owing to the absence of accountability. The ruling party however greatly benefitted from these institutional arrangements. (LGAZ, 1997: 7).

Moreover, considering the 'decentralisation in centralism' was still the leitmotif and the real decision-making power was well established in Lusaka, the local administration only had real powers on minor issues (Saasa et al., 2002; Conyers, 1986)¹⁶⁴. This system was strongly contested by the Parliament since its "stormy" approval in 1980, but it met the increasing opposition from the population, especially in the copper-belt areas (Mukwena, 2001: 13).

2 THE CURRENT LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The current system of local governance in Zambia is based on the new legal framework, which has reintroduced a multiparty system in 1991. The Constitution of Zambia (1991) stated for the first time in its post-independence

¹⁶⁴ The decentralization system that emerges from the Local Administration Act of 1981 has in reality designed a deconcentrated (or administrative) type of decentralization as described by Rondinelli (1981), Manor (1999) and Parker (1995), where the "The central government is not giving up any authority. It is simply relocating its officers at different levels or points in the national territory. In such circumstances, it tends in practice to constitute centralization, since it enhances the leverage of those at the apex of the system" (Manor, 1999: 5). See Chapter 2, heading 2.2.

history that “There shall be such a system of local government in Zambia as may be prescribed by an act of Parliament” [...] and “based on democratically elected councils on the basis of universal adult suffrage” (art. 109)¹⁶⁵. In the same year, the law regulating the local government system was also reshaped, with the approval of the Local Government Act (n° 22 of 1991), which repealed the previous legal framework established in 1980¹⁶⁶.

Decentralisation is also a key reform, introduced in 1993 in the Public Sector Reform Programme, launched by the President Chiluba. This programme aimed at creating an efficient, professional, and well motivated civil service, able to respond the people’s demands in terms of public services. Decentralisation was included a third key component, and it focused on the strengthening of the local government and its capacity to plan and deliver¹⁶⁷.

As a result of these internal and international demands, in November 2002, a ‘Decentralisation Policy’ (NDP) was approved by the Parliament and then finally adopted by President Chiluba in August 2004. In 2009, although a ‘Decentralisation implementation Plan’ (DIP), covering the years 2009-2013, was approved, it basically remained largely unaccomplished, due to the lack of political will to pursue the Decentralisation Policy. The Patriotic Front (PF) has made decentralisation one of its goals, and it introduced it in its political Manifesto¹⁶⁸. A revised ‘National Decentralisation Policy’ (NDP) was launched

¹⁶⁵ Interestingly, in the previous constitutions of post-independent Zambia, the local government was not mentioned in the Constitution although a local government system has always been in place. Thus, in 1991, the local government reached constitutional status. For a comparison between the previous local government systems, see the Local Government Act (1965 and the Local Administration Act (1981).

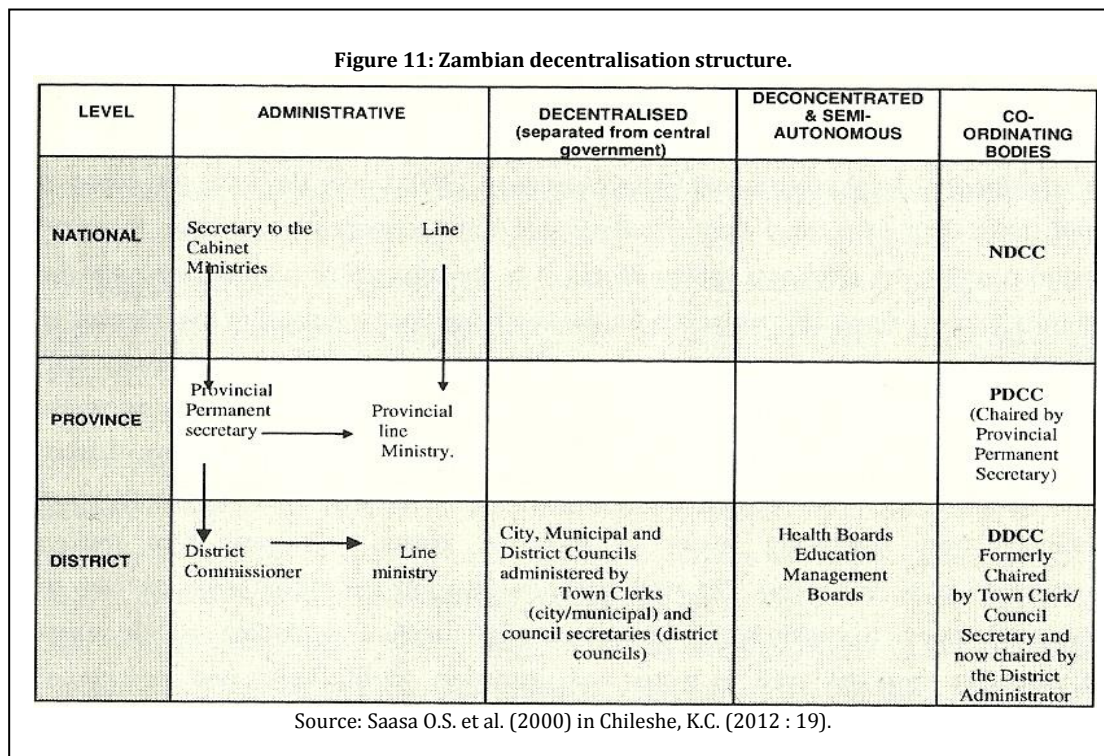
¹⁶⁶ This law is included in the Volume 16, Chapter 281 of the Laws of Zambia. special boards have also been created during that time to manage specific functions (ex.: National Housing Authority (NHA), the Road Development Agency (RDA), the Water Facilities, and the Local Authorities Superannuation Fund.

¹⁶⁷ Some authors have highlighted the bottlenecks in the implementation of this program, mainly due to the resistance of the central government officials to concretely devolve functions and funds. For instance, see: Hampwaye (2008). Tordoff and Young (1994) have also provided a detailed analysis of the decentralization reforms within the PSRP framework.

¹⁶⁸ At page 19, the Manifesto states: “The Patriotic Front recognizes the critical role of local government as an engine for delivering services, infrastructure and development to the community. As a signatory to the Habitat Agenda and the Istanbul Declaration of 1996, Zambia committed itself to promoting decentralization through democratic local authorities and work to strengthen their financial institutional capacities”. The Manifesto (2011-2016) is available online

under the new PF government in 2013. The revised policy contains some new elements, such as a special mention of the role of the traditional Chiefs within the decentralised system (RoZ, 2013).

The figure 11 clearly represents the Zambian local government system. The whole structure appears quite redundant, with overlapping of competences and roles. In addition, it appears as it is a mix of decentralised and deconcentrated structures.



On the one hand, the local councils represent the decentralised component, and they are composed mainly by elected councillors and administration officers. On the other hand, the central government has its own administrative offices, which represent its own ramifications at provincial and district levels (ex.: Deputy Minister, District Commissioner and sectorial Boards). Finally, coordinating bodies, the Development Coordinating Committees, have been introduced in 1995 in order to harmonize and coordinate the work of these

(http://www.ngocc.org.zm/index.php/publications/relevant-publications/doc_download/9-pf-manifesto).

institutions and the other development actors (ex.: NGOs) present at provincial and local levels.

This structure is today mainly based on three levels: the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, ten provinces and 102 local authorities¹⁶⁹, whose details and relations are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Till 2012 the district was composed of 22 wards and 3 constituencies, which were reduced to 18 and 2 respectively with the creation of a new Lunga District¹⁷⁰. The head of administration is the District Commissioner, who chairs also the District Development Coordinating Committee (Samfya District Council, 2010).

2.1 Political Decentralisation

The district represents the focal point of the new system. The Local Government Act establishes a unique tier with three main types of local authorities: 'City' and 'Municipal' Councils in urban areas and 'District Councils' in rural areas¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁹ At independence the number of provinces was 8 and 35 had the status of rural district (Saasa & Carlsson, 2002). The number of provinces and districts has gradually increased and it has been particularly evident in the last few years. Still in 2008, the number of district was 72 and 9 provinces (Kamanga, Chitempo, & Philips, 2008). Today, Zambia counts ten provinces (Muchinga province has been recently created) four cities (ex. Lusaka, Ndola, Livingstone, and Kitwe) and 14 Municipal councils and 84 rural districts (102 local authorities in total). A full list of the local authorities is available at www.mlgh.gov.zm. The increase in the number of districts is not unique to the Zambian experience, and it is usually a result of political pressures. For instance, Ayee has highlighted a similar trend in Ghana where "agitations for more districts (...) led the creation of 28 additional districts in addition to the current 110 districts" (2008: 10).

¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, during the researcher's fieldwork, the Lunga district did not have the infrastructure to host the new administration (ex. council buildings, etc.) and adequate executive officials to run the administration; thus, Samfya District Council was still temporary used to guarantee the start up of the activities in the new administrative unit. An interesting article, which appeared in 2013 in the Daily Mail was not surprisingly titled: "New Lunga District: place of desolation" (Nawa, 2013).

¹⁷¹ As explained by many key informants working in the local government institutions or at national level, the main difference between the three types of councils is linked with the degree of development reached by that area. However, to my knowledge, there is no law, circular or other legal tool clearly establishing the requirements a council should have to reach the status of Municipality or City. The President grants these statuses by statutory proclamation (Local Government Act, art 4).

The councils are composed by elected and non-elected members. Each sub-district area (called 'ward') is entitled to be represented by one councillor, elected by universal suffrage under a first-past-the-post electoral system for a period of five years¹⁷². The non-elected members include the members of the Parliament (MP) in the districts, two representatives of the Chiefs, and by Aldermen¹⁷³.

Each council is headed by an elected 'Mayor' (city or municipal council) or 'Chairman' (district councils)¹⁷⁴ for a period of two years and half¹⁷⁵. The mayor has mainly representative and ceremonial powers: for instance, he/she is the first citizen of the district, may convene special council meetings and presides at them, signs the adoption of the council's minutes and by-laws, and receives dignitaries visiting the council (RoZ, 1991: art. 16).

The councils have to meet at least once every three months for an 'ordinary' meeting, but special meetings can be called any time by the mayor or chairperson (LGA, art. 22) where decisions are taken by majority of the councillors present (LGA, art 26.1). All full council meetings are open to the public and a special notice is posted to publicize them among the populace.

¹⁷² Elections are regulated by the "Local Government Elections Act" (n° 21 of 1991 and amendments). Since 2001, elections for the local authorities are held together with the presidential and national assembly elections for a five years term. The main qualifications to become a councillor are: To hold a Zambian citizenship, to have attained the age of twenty-one years old and; to be an ordinary resident in the area. However, an employee of the council or those who have not paid all pending taxes and fees due to the council or any other public authority (art. 14)

¹⁷³ The 'Aldermen' is "any person who has held office as a councillor of that council for a period or periods amounting in the aggregate to not less than ten years" and their number cannot exceed one third of the total number of councillors. The council may also have a 'honorary freeman': "any persons of distinction and persons who have rendered eminent services to the city or municipality" is entitled to acquire this status (Local Government Act, art 73 and 74).

¹⁷⁴ According with the law, a MP or a chief is not eligible for the position of mayor or chairperson (art 16 (1) (b)).

¹⁷⁵ This term has been recently changed, with the Local Government (Amendment) Act, n° 16 (12/04/2010). Before 2010, the Mayor and Chairperson were elected for one year term. Following the new regulation, the MLGH has recently called all local authorities to hold new elections for the position of mayor, deputy mayor, chairperson and vice-chairperson "on any date from Tuesday 1st April 2014 to Saturday 4th April 2014" (MLGH, 2014). Moreover, the Mayor or the Chairman can be elected for only one term (Republic of Zambia, 2010: art 3(4))

Figure 12: Full Council meeting at Chipata Municipal Council



Source: Author's capture

Full council meetings are usually preceded by committee meetings, which discuss and vote specific matters to be then presented for final approval during the full council meeting. Councils are free to establish or abolish any committee except for the Finance Committee, which can never be eliminated and it is always headed by the Treasurer¹⁷⁶. Unlike the full council meetings, the committee meetings are never open to the public and even the researcher was never invited or admitted to attend such meetings.

The functions of the local authorities are multiple and various and are precisely listed under section 61 of the Local Government Act. In short, the 63 functions assigned to the local authorities cover sectors such as general administration, agriculture, community development, education, public amenities, public health, water and sanitation, registration (ex.: births, deaths, marriages) (MLGH, s.d.: 20)¹⁷⁷. They are supposed to be the main drive of socio-economic development at local level,

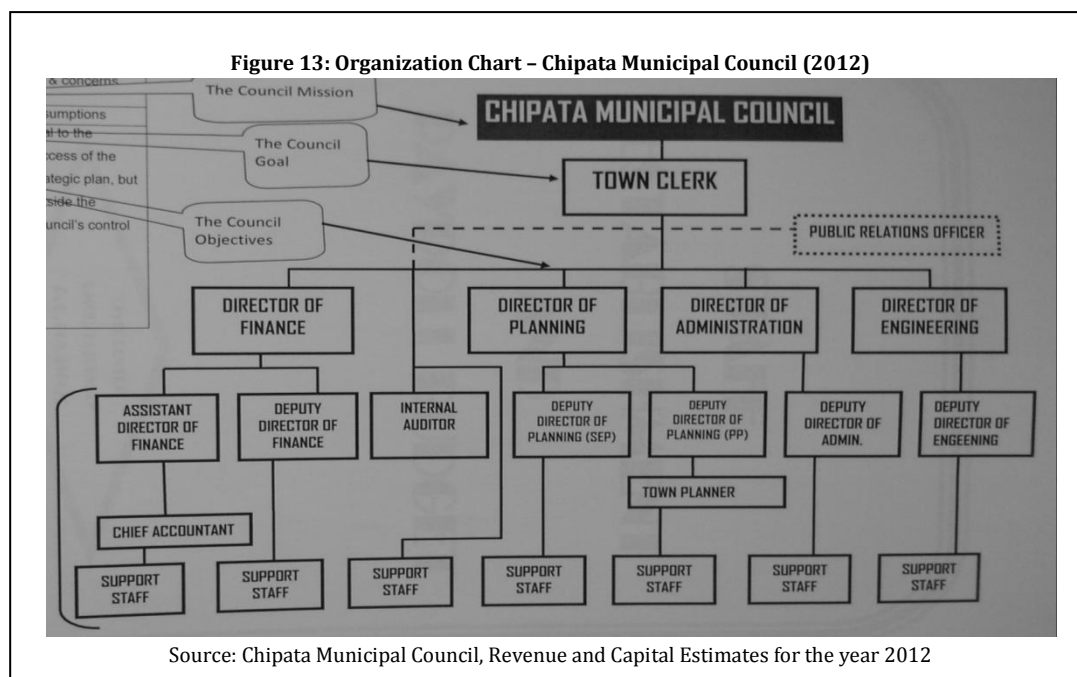
¹⁷⁶ These committees are usually headed by the director of the respective council's unit. Other key committees are 'Works' headed by the Director of Works and the 'Establishment Committee' usually headed by the deputy council's secretary (MLGH, 2008: 35).

¹⁷⁷ For instance, the local authorities may establish and maintain public roads, lighting in the streets, take measures to store, market or preserve agricultural produce, to protect local forests, to establish and maintain a public transport system, schools, colleges and nurseries or environmental and public health services.

The local authorities have also the power to make by-laws for “the good rule and government of its area”. However, before gaining its legal force, the by-law has to be sent to the Minister for its confirmation and approval (art 81 and 82). Moreover, the Minister can also amend, revoke or refuse to confirm a by-law (art. 82.4 and 83).

The councillors do not receive a regular salary but they are entitled to receive a sitting allowance for any meeting as well as additional fees to cover the expenses occurred during their duties as councillors (ex. travelling, subsistence, etc.) (LGA, art 71).

2.2 Administrative Decentralisation



Zambian local administration is articulated in two levels: one that is directly linked to the local authority and represents its administrative wing; the other is an expression of the presence of the central government at local level.

The Council's administration is headed by the Town Clerk or the Council Secretary, (in urban and rural areas respectively) and composed by different departments. As Principal Officer and Chief Executive of the Council, the Town Clerks are directly accountable to the council¹⁷⁸ and they are responsible for the overall coordination, planning and organisation of the departments (table 27)¹⁷⁹.

Usually, 'Administration', 'Works', 'Finance' and 'Planning' Departments are always established to perform the basic duties of the local authorities (table 28). They are headed by a Director and they are accountable to the Town Clerk and the elected councillors. Other departments are also sometimes present, especially in larger councils¹⁸⁰.

The councils may also appoint officers and other employees to assist the local

Table 28: Main departments established within the Councils and functions.			
ADMINISTRATION DEP.	WORKS OR ENGINEERING SERVICES DEP.	FINANCE DEP.	PLANNING DEP. OR UNIT
Headed by the Director of Administration - Personnel matters - General functioning of the council	Headed by the Director of Works - Works and physical development - Supervision and direction of infrastructure works and maintenance	Headed by the Director of Finance - Finances and accounts of the council - Preparation of budget, receipts and payments	Headed by the District Planning Officer - Development planning of the council's area - Secretaries
Source: MLGH, (2006: 63-64) and author's own elaboration through direct observation and informal talks with the councils' administrative officers.			

authorities in carrying out their duties (LGA, art. 90). However, after the Local Governance (Amendment) Act came to force in 2010, this power is limited only to lower divisions (I and II), which include drivers or social workers. The 'high

¹⁷⁸ This statutory position is regulated by the LGA (section 2) and by Statutory Instruments n° 115 of 1996 ("Service Regulation") and n° 56 of 1992 (Functions of the Secretariat).

¹⁷⁹ They assure the legal compliance of the decision taken by the council; they provide guidance to the Mayor/Chairperson sitting on the administration of the council. The Town Clerk/Council Secretary acts also as liaison officer between the government and local administration and assures the custody of the main documents (MLGH, s.d.).

¹⁸⁰ In Samfya, for instance, only the four basic departments were in place. Chipata Council has an additional department: 'Public Health, Environment and Social Services'.

level' positions within the council, such as the Town Clerk or the administrative directors are now appointed directly by the Local Government Service Commission in Lusaka. Among others the powers of this Commission include the appointment of officials considered "necessary for the performance of the functions" of the council and their transfer from one council to another (RoZ, 2010: art. 93 and 94)¹⁸¹.

Figure 14 clearly synthesises the main difference between the administrative and political staff within the local councils, in terms of duties, responsibilities, accountability and selection process.

Figure 14: Organization Chart – Chipata Municipal Council (2012)

No	Subject	Councillors	Officers
1	Assuming Office	Electoral process	Appointment (by the council)
2	Accountability	Electorate/government	The council
3	Engagement	Part time	Full time
4	Remuneration	Allowance	Conditions of service
5	Type of contract	Social contract with electorate	Conditions of service
6	Professional qualifications /training	None	Specified by service regulations or professional bodies
7	Responsibility	Collective	Individually (office)
8	Disciplinary action	Code of Ethics/Standing Orders	The council (Conditions of Service)
9	Role	Policy maker	Advisory and implementing
10	Answerable to	Electorate/government	The council
11	Suspension or dissolution of council	Collectively affected	No effect
12	Tenure of office	5 years	Conditions of Service
13	Power and authority vests	In the council (collective)	In the office
14	Area of operation	Ward (and outside)	Council area (and outside)
15	Resignation	Takes effect upon receipt (sec. 14 1(a) and 2 of LGA	Conditions of Service

Source: MLGH (2006: 62)

The MLGH and the presidential Cabinet Office have their own ramifications at local level. At national level, the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) is responsible for the administration of the local government

¹⁸¹ Interestingly, given some confusion among the local authorities, a MLGH's Circular has recently repeated, "the Ministry is not the employment authority of the Council staff. As things stand, it is the Local Government Service Commission that recruit staff on behalf of the employing Councils. In essence, the staff is Council employees who should be disciplined by the Councils themselves. The Ministry has nowhere to take these officers appointed to serve in your respective Councils, because the Ministry is NOT the employer" (MLGH, 2012: MLGH/101/8/13).

system¹⁸². Each province is politically headed by a Deputy Minister and he is assisted by a Permanent Secretary responsible for the coordination and the administration of the province¹⁸³. Provincial Heads of Departments are also appointed to carry out functions assigned to them by the respective sector minister (ex.: health, education, planning, etc.) and they are accountable to those ministries directly. At district level, since 2000, the District Commissioner is the head of administration and the representative of the government at local level¹⁸⁴. He is appointed by the President and he reports to the Provincial Minister. He is in charge of supervising and coordinating the political and administrative institutions operating within the district. Finally, field ministerial departments are also in place at district level and they report to their respective provincial departments or directly to the ministry (RoZ, 2002: 8)¹⁸⁵.

2.3 Coordinating Bodies and Deconcentrated Departments

As established in the previous paragraphs, the Zambian decentralised model is characterized by a redundant system of political and administrative bodies, with a mix of decentralisation and deconcentration, together with a strong presence of the central authority at local level. In order to facilitate the coordination among the different institutions and the harmonisation of development activities, the MLGH has established in 1995 the “Development Coordinating Committees” at national (NDCC), provincial (PDCC) and district

¹⁸² The main duties assigned by the law to the MLGH coordination of the local government authorities, urban and regional planning, provision of social amenities, valuation of properties, provision of public houses, water supply, municipal infrastructure, feeder, community and urban roads. More information about the duties and mission of the ministry are available in its website (www.mlgh.gov.zm).

¹⁸³ The Provincial (or Deputy) Minister Report directly to the President.

¹⁸⁴ As in the case of the provincial Minister, the District Commissioner is chosen by the President through political logics and he/she usually is a member of the ruling party. Before 2000, the district has not a ministerial representative, except for the different departments (Saasa et al., 2000).

¹⁸⁵ The Ministry of Health or Education is represented by the “District Health Office” and the “District Education Office”. Other Ministries (ex.: Agriculture) have also offices at local level.

(DDCC) levels¹⁸⁶. The Provincial and District Development Coordinating Committees (PDCC and DDCC) are ‘forums’ in charge of the planning, implementation and monitoring of development activities at provincial or district levels. A similar body is also established at national level (NDCC) for the horizontal coordination among the different branches of the public service.

At district level, the District Commissioner (DC) is the chairperson of the DDCC; the Council’s Planning Unit guarantees the secretariat duties and oversees the preparation and coordination of the DDCC’s meetings¹⁸⁷. The DDCC members include the heads of line ministries departments, the council, NGOs and other actors involved in local development activities. During the DDCC meetings, each authority presents a summary of its own activities and its forecast for the following months. The DDCC lies on a very weak legal framework and it is not effective in pursuing its mandate. As explained by a council’s official to the researcher during an informal talk:

“In theory the DDCC is the best way to guarantee coordination among the departments. In reality, the coordination is not good and each department plans for its own. You are not accountable to the District Commissioner and the DDCC is more a ‘talk shop’ than a real coordinating body. In any case, even when a resolution is taken, there is never a follow up”¹⁸⁸.

2.4 Sub-Districts Bodies

The role and functions of sub-district bodies are in *theory* regulated by the “Village Development and Registration Act” as approved in 1971 and amended

¹⁸⁶ These committees have been established with the Cabinet Circular n° 1 of 1995.

¹⁸⁷ The position of District Commissioner has been introduced in 1999 and they replaced the Town Clerks in the coordination of the DDCCs but they are accountable to the Provincial Permanent Secretary (Chileshe, 2012:19). This decision, according with Mukwena (1992) is driven mainly by political considerations. Not surprisingly, the new appointees were namely members of the MMD (Sikazwe, 2010: 11).

¹⁸⁸ At provincial level, the PDCC is chaired by the Permanent Secretary and headed by the Deputy Minister. It has features similar to the DDCC with the difference that the administrative scope is wider as it includes all the councils, ministerial departments, service facilities and other development bodies established in the province. The PDCC suffers of the same weaknesses already outlined for the DDCC.

in 1994¹⁸⁹. This act regulates the roles and duties of the chiefs and headmen and establishes a system of *participatory* bodies: a 'Village Productivity Committee', a 'Ward Council' and a 'Ward Development Committee'. However, this system has never been completely operational. The current framework is based on the National Decentralisation Policy, which states that "At sub-district level, Area Development Committees (ADCs) will be established in each ward. The nature of ADCs will vary between urban and rural districts" (NDP, art. 5.2.3). Moreover, the Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP) describes the ADC as a

"formal multi-functional developmental institutions that shall be run by citizens at the ward level. ADCs are intended to facilitate local-level dialogue on developmental matters and are primarily intended to facilitate practical involvement of people in project formulation and implementation. They will also support Councils through the generation of timely, reliable, and accurate data for service delivery planning" (DPI, 2009: 10).

The ADC is intended to be a-political and focuses on development issues, proposing projects, prioritizing the needs, participating to the implementation and the monitoring process. Therefore, they are supposed to play an important role in the developing planning, guaranteeing a bottom-up and participatory approach:

"ADCs' mandates shall include the preparation and approval of integrated ward development plans and budgets before they are transmitted to the district level, where they will form a key input into the district planning and budget processes" (DPI, 2009: 10).

Finally, the ADCs should also be involved in the resources mobilization and revenue collection.

¹⁸⁹ The Village Development and Registration Act has been amended by the Act n° 13 of 1994 and it is part of the Volume 16, chapter 289 of the Laws of Zambia.

After the approval of the DIP, the (re-)establishment of the ADCs has gained new momentum, with the enthusiastic support of many donors¹⁹⁰. According with the guidelines, the ADC's should include elected and non-elected members. The elected members come from the Zones Development Committees (ZDC): the ZDC members should be democratically elected by the community and then, its members should choose one or two members to sit in the ADC as their representatives. The ex-officio members with no voting powers include a chief representative, political leaders (ex.: councillor or MP), CBOs operating in the ward or government officials (Petauke District Council, 2012).

2.5 Fiscal Decentralisation

The main source of revenue for the councils is constituted by local taxes and fees or by government grants or loans.

The government can assign 'general' or 'specific grants' to the councils. The general grant is usually assigned annually by law, as a share of the national revenues to the local authorities, and it can be used according with their own priorities (ex.: to cover their functioning costs or to support specific development projects)¹⁹¹. However, they represent a still small proportion of the total expenditures of the Republic (figure XXX); moreover, most part of it is used to cover the administrative costs as salaries and functioning (Kamanga, Chitembo, & Philips, 2008).

The special grants have some 'conditionalities' attached and usually they are assigned to the local authority to finance specific projects involving the

¹⁹⁰ For instance, the European Union has supported projects in the two districts visited under this research but also in Choma (Southern Province), Petauke (Eastern Province), and Ndola (Copperbelt province).

¹⁹¹ The 'General' or 'Recurrent' Grant has become mandatory since 1992, whereas it was discretionary prior to that date. However, it has been granted quite irregularly in the last years, both in terms of timing and amount (MLGH, 2008; Chileshe, 2012 and author's informal interviews with key informants).

provision of public services or the payment of the officers' salaries (RoZ, 1991: art 45.3; RoZ, 2010: art 5).

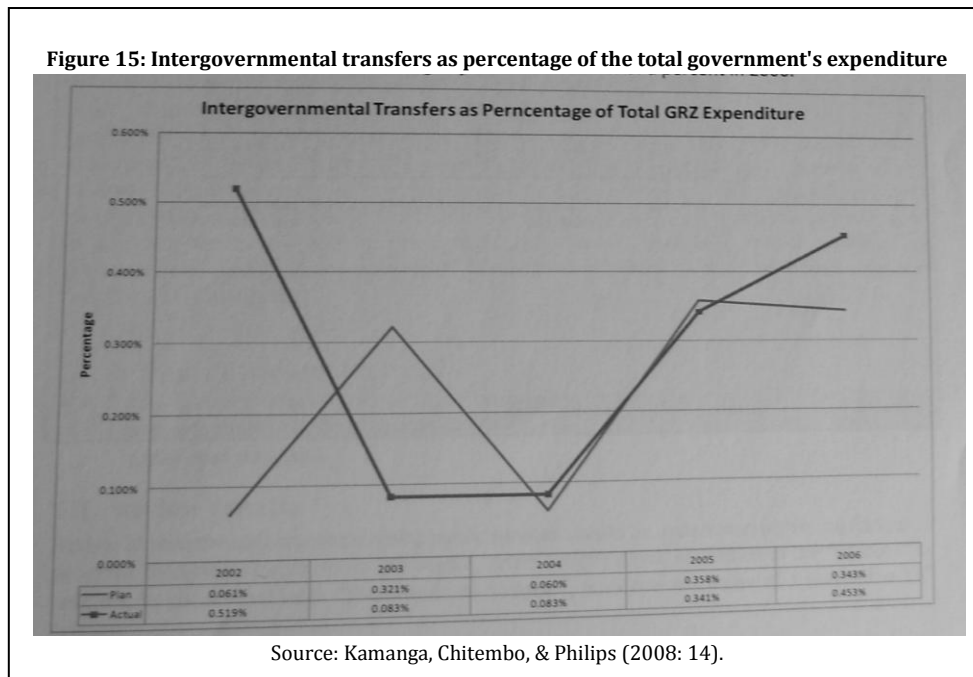
TYPE OF TAX OF FEE	DESCRIPTION
Property tax	Local tax calculated as a share of the value of a property located inside the district (ex: house).
Personal levy	Local tax calculated as a lump sum paid twice a year by those with a formal employment and earning an income above a certain ceiling.
Rent from Council properties	This constitutes a quite marginal part, as most of the properties have been sold. However, usually they are rented at a quite low rate, making impossible to provide the proper maintenance of the buildings.
Fees and Charges	Local taxes on the use of specific services provided by the local authority (ex. market fees, fish levy, cattle levy, charcoal levy, bus stations, etc.)
License and Permit Fees	Local taxes on any type of business operating in the district (ex.: Building permits; building and health inspection fees; trading licenses; health and burial permits, etc.).
Other taxes	Local taxes include the fees or charges imposed for the delivery of specific documents by the council, as marriage or burial certificates, plans approval, dog license, etc.
Source: author's elaboration from different sources (MLGH, s.d.; MLGH, 2008)	

A share of the local authorities' revenue comes from the imposition of levies, taxes or charges on property, trade or licences, as regulated by the Local Government Act¹⁹². The local authorities may also impose levies on property, business, trade, purchase or sale of commodities through by-laws (LGA, art 69.1). They may also impose additional fees or charges on "services provided or goods or documents supplied by the council" or on licences or permits. However, the council cannot impose personal levies or fees on owners' rates

¹⁹² Except for the legal provisions included in the Local Government Act, additional laws constitute the financial framework of the council. These include: the 'Rating (Amendment) Act' (n° 12 of 1997 as amended in 1999) regulating the owners' rates; the 'Personal Levy Act', (cap. 329 of the Laws of Zambia); the 'Market Act' (Cap. 290 of the Laws of Zambia) regulating the market levies; the 'Liquor Licensing Act' and the 'Traditional Beer levy' (Cap. 167 and 168), regulates the sale and production of liquors; the 'Trades Licensing Act' (Cap 393), regulating the granting of trade licenses. In 2009, the 'Crop Levies' have been abolished through by the MLGH through the Circular MLGH/101/23/1 of 12th October 2009.

without the approval of the minister (LGA, art 70.1). The local authorities are also allowed to borrow money, but never from a foreign institution.

Since 1991, the resources available to the local authorities have been steadily decreasing, due to the withdrawal of the Motor Vehicle Licence and the grants from City and Municipal councils, and the obligation to sell the council's housing stock at very low rates. In 1991 the government allowed the civil



servants with more than 22 years of service to access the retirement, resulting in the collapse of the Local Authorities Superannuation Fund (LASF). Moreover, in 2000, the water undertakings were transferred from the local councils to the commercial utilities and, in 2001, the government decided a 50% salary increase for unionised workers without a matching budgeting increase (LGAZ, 1997; Kamanga, Chitembo, & Philips, 2008).

Finally, the local authorities are also involved in the management of the Constituency Development Funds (CDF)¹⁹³. This is defined as a “locally-based development funding arrangement that channels money from central

¹⁹³ The Constituency Development Funds are regulated by the Circular n° MLGH/102/28/1 of 26th December 2006 (see also: Annex 4.1).

government directly to the 150 electoral constituencies for local infrastructure projects” (Caritas Zambia, 2012: 11)¹⁹⁴.

The CDF have been introduced in 1995 with the purpose of financing “micro-community projects for poverty reduction” (MLGH Circular, 2006). The CDF are granted by the MLGH to the Constituencies; however, they are managed directly by the local authorities and are part of their Capital Budgets. Project proposals are presented once a year to the Planning Unit of the Council by sub-district structures, as the WDC/ADCs, CBOs or other registered clubs, societies or associations within the constituency¹⁹⁵. The granting procedure follows different steps and involves different institutions: firstly, the projects are scrutinised by the Constituency Development Committee (CDC)¹⁹⁶. The CDC has the task of analysing the financial viability and approving the projects eligible for funds. Then, the approved list of projects is sent to the Planning sub-committee of the District Development Coordinating Committee that has to appraise the project, provide technical support and recommendations and check there is no overlapping with other initiatives already undertaken by other governmental departments or civil society organisations. Finally, the projects are approved during a full council meeting and they are supposed to be implemented within 12 months¹⁹⁷. Given the meagre resources usually available for development projects, CDF are the most important and reliable tool for the Councils to realise their Districts Development Plans (if available!)

¹⁹⁴ A district may be composed by one or more constituencies. For instance, Samfya is divided in three constituencies (Bangweulu, Chifunabuli e Luapula); Chipata has four constituencies (Chipangali, Chipata Central, Kasenengwa, Luangeni).

¹⁹⁵ Projects are sometimes sponsored directly by a councillor or by the MP for the constituency.

¹⁹⁶ According to the CDF Guidelines of 2006, the CDC is constituted for three years in each constituency; it is formed by the MP or its representative (usually the Particularly Assistant of the Constituency Office), two councillors nominated by the council’s assembly, a chief representative appointed by all Chiefs in the constituency, the Director of Works of the council and four community leaders selected by the MP or the councillor.

¹⁹⁷ The CDF guidelines provide a list of projects that are potentially eligible for funding. The main sectors include: water and sanitation (ex.: construction or rehabilitation of boreholes); roads (ex.: bridge construction and maintenance); agriculture project: (ex.: irrigation); other social amenities (ex.: markets and bus shelter, education and health programmes, sport and recreational activities); other economic activities (ex.: income generating activities). A full list is provided in Annex 4.1

and finance projects directly aimed at supporting poverty reduction initiatives through a participatory approach¹⁹⁸.

CDF funds, together with the other sources of income, are included in the 'annual estimates' of revenue and expenditures, which the Councils have to prepare annually and have to be validated by the Minister before the beginning of the financial year (LGA, art 39).

¹⁹⁸ The CDF have enormous limitations and their potential impact is often limited by mismanagement and strained power relations within the district. For an insightful analysis on the CDF system in Zambia, see Caritas Zambia (2011).

DECENTRALIZATION – POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN ZAMBIA:
POLITICAL DIMENSION

1 INTRODUCTION

Empowerment represents the main political impact of decentralisation policies. In chapter 3, it was highlighted how ‘empowerment’ has emerged as a priority in the development agenda in the 2000s, and it is now a quite popular concept in the development discourse. Decentralisation can alleviate the ‘lack of power and voice’ that characterises the political dimension of poverty by creating a wider space for participation at local level, providing a better representation of the most marginalised or poorer groups of society.

Bringing the government closer to the population, decentralisation may contribute to poverty reduction as it can potentially increase the popular participation and the influence of the citizens in the public-decision making process (Blair, 2000). Moreover, decentralisation reduces the barriers that usually hinder the access to the decision-making process to the poorest or most marginalised: it is closer in terms of distance or less expensive in terms of transport to reach the local (decentralized) council instead of a central government authority. Thus, theoretically, decentralisation allows a better representation of all the social groups, making easier to mobilise, to get involved in the local government’s affairs, to bring the instances of marginalised groups (poor, women, etc.) that are usually at the periphery of the public arena and influence the local agenda (Steiner, 2007: 117).

In sum, decentralisation may potentially reduce poverty in its political dimension as it can give a ‘voice’ to the poor, creating channels to bring their needs up in the local debate and influence the decision-making.

However, it is not enough ‘to be able to speak’. You also need to make sure that your ‘voice’ will be heard, so that the local authority is *actually* receptive to the poor’s needs and priorities and takes actions to provide adequate solutions. Therefore, only accountability mechanisms – creating a system of incentives and sanctions - can guarantee that the voice of the poor and marginalised can actually be heard, making the local government responsive for those demands and instances. These three elements – participation, representation and accountability – will be the focus of the analysis in the following paragraphs.

2 PARTICIPATION

2.1 Electoral participation

2.1.1 LOCAL ELECTIONS AND FEATURES OF THE SELECTED CANDIDATE

The introduction of local governments’ elections provides a first element of immediacy and ownership between the local institutions and the citizens. Zambian local government traditions date back to the colonial period under the British indirect rule. However, participation through direct election of the local councillors has not always been the rule and, as witnessed in most African countries, Zambia witnessed a highly centralised and authoritarian rule, especially during the Second Republic: between 1980 and 1991 the local councils were basically composed by nominee belonging to the UNIP. Since 1991, when the multi-party democracy was reintroduced, elections for the local councils based on universal suffrage have been regularly held¹⁹⁹. The last

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 5.

local government elections were held in 2011 together with the elections for the Presidency and the Deputies at the National Assembly (tripartite elections).

Data from the household interview show that the electoral registration and electoral participation in the two districts were particularly high: all except one respondent said they did not register. In September 2011, only 4 respondents did not vote to the tripartite elections, the reason being either a health condition or a job impediment²⁰⁰. However, contradictions emerge when these data are compared with the official results. In fact, according to the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ, 2011) in 2011, the voter turnout at Local Councils elections was not so impressive: in Samfya, it was 56.48% while in Chipata, it was 52.43%²⁰¹.

This difference can be explained in two ways: on the one side, the electors could vote at the same time for the President, the MP and the local councillor. The voter turnout can be positively influenced by the concurrent holding of the national and sub-national elections. On the other side, studies have highlighted how the respondents try to “adjust” their voting behaviour when interviewed (Blair, 2000).

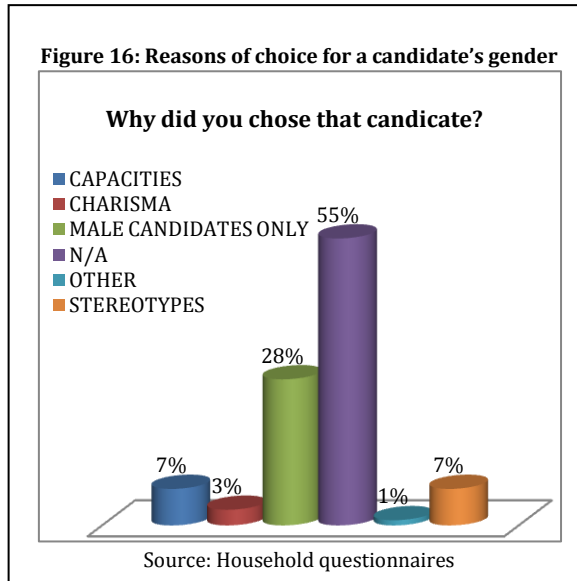
The data on electoral participation seem particularly low, taking into consideration that the voter turnout for the president was 53.65% and only 42.25% of the voting age population turned out²⁰².

²⁰⁰ A high participation to the vote is observed also in the 2001 and 2006 tripartite elections.

²⁰¹ In detail, the turnout in the ward visited was the following in Samfya: Chimana: 47,42%; Mano: 57,31%; Chifunabili: 59,50%; Katanshya: 54,10%; Masonde: 57,01%, average 55,06%. In Chipata these were the target ward voter turnout: Dilika: 51,46%; Chiparamba: 57,05%; Kanjiala: 53,01%; Mkowe: 54,75%; Nthope: 42,45 % (EISA, 2011).

²⁰² The voter turnout during the Third Republic has not always been high, even for the presidential elections. For instance, the first presidential election as multi-party country in 1991 had a turnout of 45%. Bjornlund, Bratton and Gibson have defined this result as “surprisingly low” given the expectations and the drive for a political change convincely supported by the population. They argued this rate is the result of “errors in the voter rolls, but also, among voters, the fear of violence on Election Day and general unfamiliarity with plural politics” (1992, p. 431).

The survey's respondents were also asked the gender of the candidate they voted for in their ward and why. Not surprisingly, the majority of the survey's respondents voted for a male candidate. The majority have not given a reason for choosing a male candidate, reflecting probably reality of the voter turnover (Figure 16). The 28% chose a



male candidate simply because there were no women running for office in their ward and it was therefore not possible to consider other options. In 5 cases only, the respondents have stressed the capacity of the candidate as their main reason of their choice, no matter the gender (but only one from Samfya). In 5 more cases, the response is linked to a stereotype about the gender²⁰³:

R25 (F): *“Men are more fitted to development because they are more committed”*

R27 (M): *“Men are more intelligent than women”*

R40 (M): *“Men are more energetic”*

R51 (M): *“There were no female candidates up to that calibre for standing”*

R73 (M): *“Only men can bring development”*

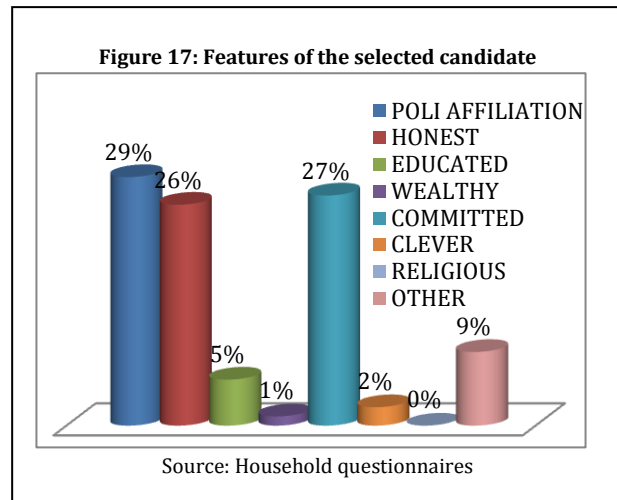
One female respondent explained why there were only male candidates:

R34 (F): *“Women don't involve themselves in politics. We don't commit in leadership positions”.*

These answers introduce the issue of the role of women in the Zambian political life that will be analysed in more detail in the following chapter on 'Representation'.

²⁰³ 'M' or 'F' corresponds to the respondent's gender.

The 3 main features that have guided the choice of the respondent have been the political affiliation (29% of responses), the commitment (27%) and honesty (26%) (Figure 17). Wealth, education or the religious belonging of the candidate do not seem to have an impact on voters' decision-making. In 3 cases the respondent said to have decided following the promises of the candidate, while in the 3 they confessed to have picked one randomly, just for 'the sake of voting'.



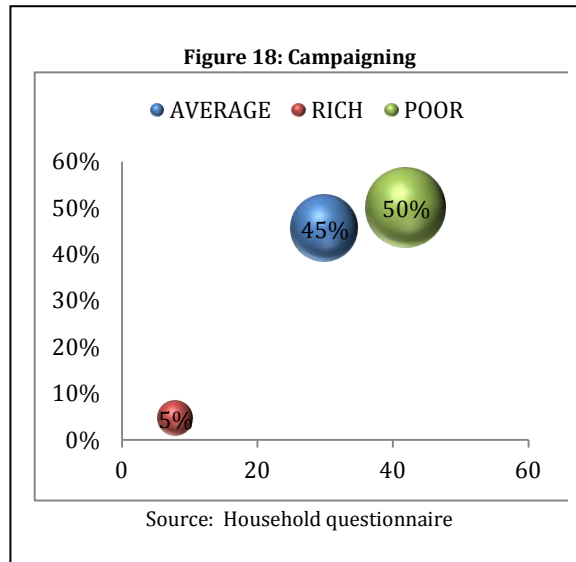
2.1.2 RUNNING FOR OFFICE AND CAMPAIGNING

The number of candidates running for the local government office is another indicator of measuring political participation (Crawford, 2008). The number of those contesting council elections seems quite low among the respondents both at district, ward/area and zone level, without significant differences among the wealth groups. Only 1 out of 80 respondents stood as candidate for the Local Council in 2011 and 1 for the zone committee. The official results of the 2011 local elections confirm a rather low number of candidates at ward level: usually 2 or 3 candidates stood in each ward and they usually belong to a political party, although independent candidates are also accepted by the law²⁰⁴. In Samfya, only 4 wards out of 21 had more than 3 candidates running

²⁰⁴ In Samfya, only 4 wards out of 21 had more than 3 candidates running for office and only 6 candidates out of 58 were independent; in Chipata, the ratio is 6 out of 19 wards with 11 independent candidates out of 61. (EISA, 2011). This data is particularly relevant, as it reveals the entrenchment of political parties at local level and it suggests a major role played in the decentralization system. Unfortunately, very few studies have involved the analysis of the political parties and of the local elections in a decentralized system. The most advanced work to my knowledge is Gary Bland's analysis on 'Elections and the Development of a Local Democracy (Bland, 2010) where he has provided a framework of

for office and only 6 candidates out of 58 were independent; in Chipata, the ratio is 6 out of 19 wards with 11 independent candidates out of 61. (EISA, 2011)

The active support to a candidate standing for the local elections also implies an active involvement and participation of the voters/citizens. The survey data shows that 28% of the respondents have actually campaigned for one candidate in the 2011 local council election (Figure 18). There is a high inclination to campaigning in



‘poor’ or ‘medium income’ families, as around half of them in the survey sample actively supported a candidate. However, this high percentage does not imply a genuine interest of these two categories in local politics: most of the candidates’ campaigning activities are directly financed by the party and they usually reward the ‘followers’ for their active support during the campaign. Campaigning is therefore seen by the local population more as an income/service-generating activity than a pure ideological motion. Moreover, as Crook and Manor highlighted, there is also a difference in the way ‘participating in an election campaign’ is understood: in Western countries, it is usually associated to formal activities directly involving the ‘volunteers’ (ex. distribution of leaflet, preparation of a political rally, etc.); in the four countries covered by their study in West Africa or South Asia²⁰⁵, people usually feel to have participated to the campaign even if they only “become involved in

analysis and a cross-country comparison that includes Zambia. Some interesting considerations on political participation and the role of political parties in Zambia can also be found in Bratton and Alderfer (1997), Bratton (1999 and 2007). However, these works focus mainly on the national level.

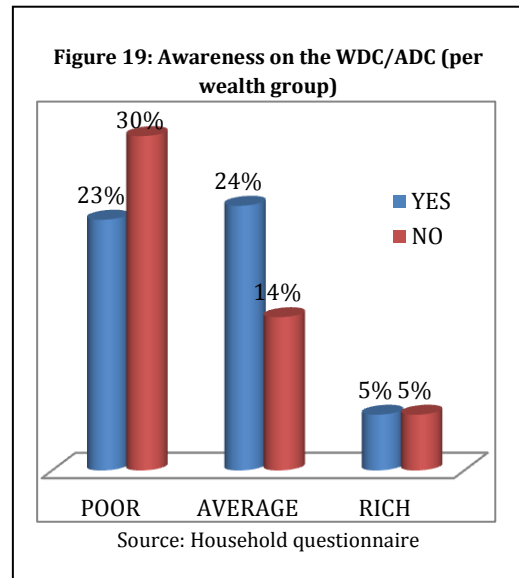
²⁰⁵ The countries are India, Bangladesh, Ivory Coast and Ghana.

processions or been touched by the election events in some way” (Crook and Manor, 1998: 272).

2.2 Non-Electoral Participation

2.2.1 PARTICIPATION AT WARD LEVEL: ADC/WDC

Another channel of participation at ward level should also be assured by the Ward (or Area) Development Committees (WDC/ADC) (Petauke, 2012). In theory, each zone elects directly the zone representatives through a public election open to the community; one person is then selected to represent the zone at the WDC/ADC, often the chairperson or the secretary. Their main role is to



promote development activities but they may also represent a potential link between the local council and the residents. The WDC/ADC may discuss and propose development initiatives directly to the council through the ward councillor or to the Constituency Development Fund Committee. Three aspects need to be analysed to understand the quantity and quality of participation at this level: (1) the community’s awareness on the existence of these structures, (2) the vote procedures and (3) the actual participation to their election.

Figure 22: Awareness on the WDC/ADC (per district)

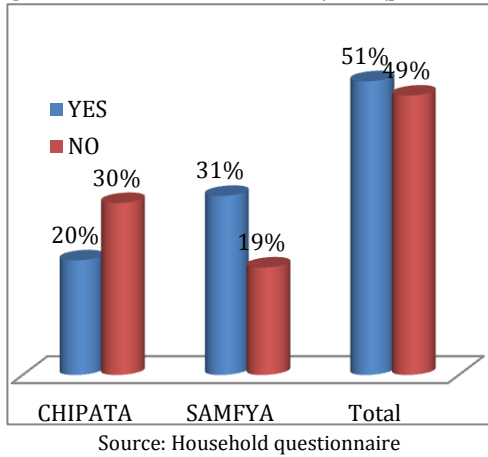


Figure 20: Awareness on selection procedures of WDC/ADC's members (per district)

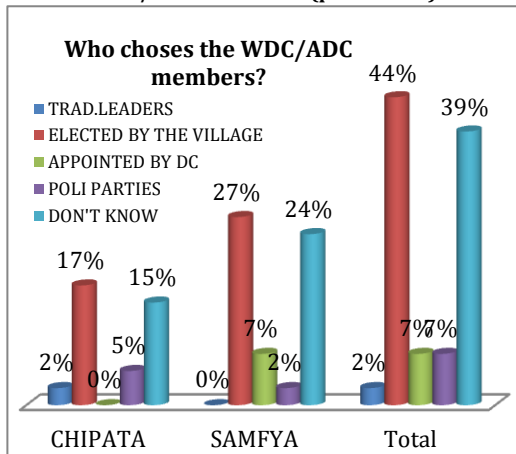
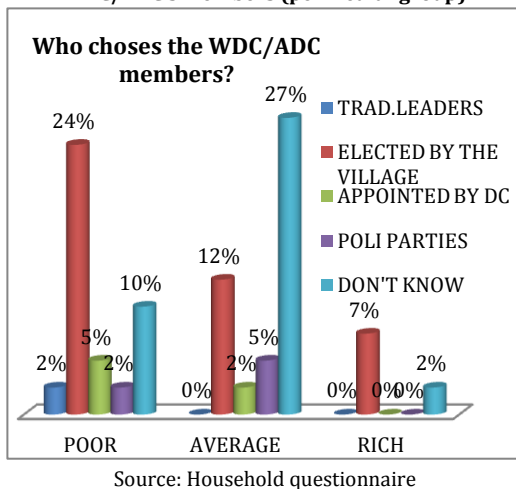


Figure 21: Awareness on selection procedures of WDC/ADC's members (per wealth group)



Firstly, a community member should be aware of the existence of these bodies to be able to participate. The figures 19 and 12 show the awareness level of the survey respondents on the presence these development committees at ward level. Only half of the interviewees (51%) are aware of their existence while 49% completely ignore it. Moreover, most of the respondents who answered positively have only a vague knowledge of their role or they just know they exist without any other kind of information. In Samfya the respondents show a higher awareness than in Chipata. Also, the data analysis per wealth groups highlights that the 'poor', which represent the biggest group in absolute number in the selected rural areas, have a lower awareness level about the WDC/ADC than 'medium-income' families.

Secondly, it was important to understand the overall level of residents' understanding about this bodies and how they get involved. Among those who are aware of the existence of the WDCs/ADCs (51% of the sample) only the 49%

correctly answered that “they are elected by the ‘villages’”, while the 39% did not know or had a wrong understanding of how it works (ex.: appointed by the DC or by political parties). In other words, less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the survey sample is aware of the ‘rules of the game’ to chose their zone/ward members in the WDC/ADC (figures 20 and 21).

When discussing this aspect with the interviewees and focus groups’ participants, the researcher noted firstly some emphasis on the concept of ‘community’ and, secondly, a clear contradiction between this concept and the reality of the data survey.

First, when asked “who chooses the WDC/ADC members?” the survey respondents usually reply without hesitation “the community”, stressing the participatory approach of the process. The same happens in informal discussions with WDC/ADC members, other officials or the focus group participants. They all describe the following procedure for the Zone or ADC/WDC elections: “a general meeting is publicized among the community, everybody can participate to the discussion and to the vote and even get elected”. So described, the process seems really democratic and participatory, with meetings at village level where all the residents can participate.

However, this statement represents a clear contradiction with the general “community’s ignorance” about WDC/ADCs as shown by the data. Moreover only 9 respondents out of 80 have actually participated to the elections. This contradiction can be explained by (1) the uncertainty of the WDC/ADCs bodies that have been created and recreated different times (2) the influence of political parties and leaders in the choice of the members. First, the Ward Development Committees were an old idea of the president Kaunda that, in 1967, theorized their creation in “Humanism” (Part 1).

According to this early formulation, ward committees would engage in such basic economic functions as allocating and enforcing agricultural production targets, supply farmers with fertilizers, credit and

marketing facilities, and planning economic investment for the ward (Tordoff, 1980: 202-203)²⁰⁶.

However, since the early years, these structures did not always survive or function properly and they were severely influenced by the political parties and the local administrators. The Ward Development Committees were recently re-introduced in the National Decentralisation Policy (NDP) developed and approved in 2002 and in the Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP), approved in 2009. However, most part of the NDP and DIP were not actually implemented mostly because of a general governmental unwillingness to devolve powers and resources to district level (Bland, 2010). The WDC in Samfya and Chipata were therefore created by the district/municipal councils mainly with the donors' support. In Samfya, they were lately given new life in 2007 thanks to a project funded by MS Zambia – Danida. The WDCs, renamed “Area Development Committees” were re-elected in all 22 wards, a coordinating structure (ADC Forum) was created with the task of analysing and consolidating reports from the ADCs for submission to the DDCC and the council. ADCs' members were also trained and the population sensitized on the new structures and on how they could be used for poverty reduction purposes²⁰⁷. In Chipata, the 22 wards were re-created in 2000, mainly with the support of UNDP-funded projects. However, in both cases, the projects discontinued and many WDC/ADCs dissolved or stayed in stand-by for some time before being re-created again²⁰⁸. This uncertainty may explain the data on the lack of awareness: simply put, these structures have not proved – at least recently – to be really able to promote the local development and their presence was not visible to the eyes of the population.

²⁰⁶ In this framework, the Village Productivity Committee constituted the basic institutional level. This structure was further developed with the Registration and Development of Villages Act (1971) and the Pocket Manual for Village Productivity and Ward Development Committees (Tordoff, 1980). See also: Kaunda (1968).

²⁰⁷ This information was collected by the author through an unstructured interview with Brian Musama, ADC Coordination Officer in Samfya (10/10/2012).

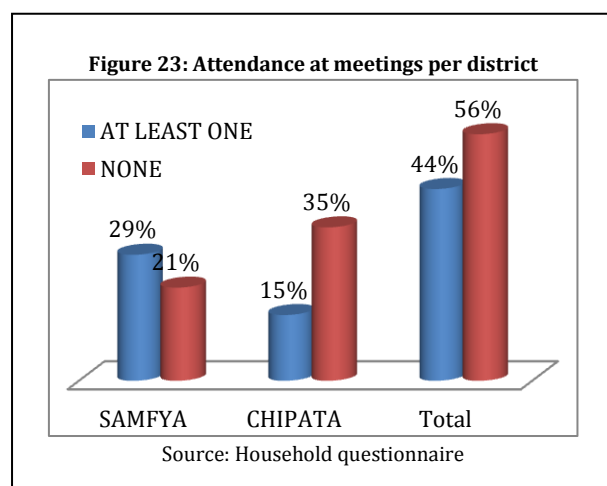
²⁰⁸ During the fieldwork research, both districts had recreated the ADC/WDCs thanks to a European Commission's project aimed at supporting the local authorities in the decentralization process.

Secondly, the participation to the zones or WDC/ADCs elections is somehow restricted by the influence of political parties. Although, everybody stresses emphatically their non-political nature, often the members are chosen through political affiliation. The reality of zone elections is therefore more similar to the following one: a public meeting at zone level is called by the ward councillor and the planning director in the council; however, people close to the most prominent public figures are keener to be informed and to participate. During the meeting, a person stands and proposes the name of a resident as candidate to the Zone Committee; others will do the same. No open discussions are usually involved in the choices. Most often, if nobody disagrees, the proposed candidate will be elected. Obviously, it is quite easy for the political parties to push for the election of their supporters and use it as a tool to reward them. In some cases, a WDC/ADCs member managed to get eventually elected as councillor for the ward.

2.2.2 ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS

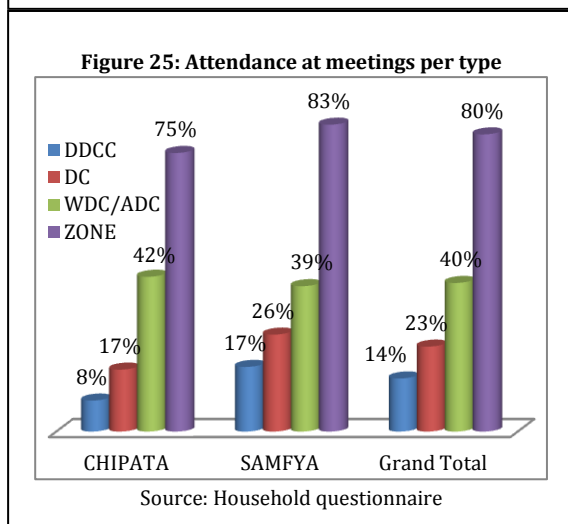
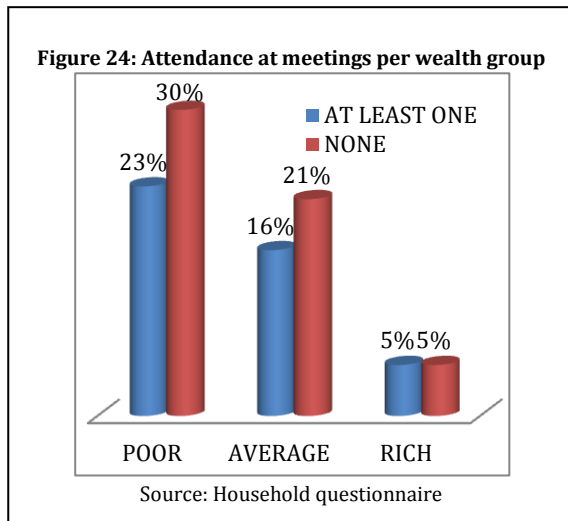
Another important indicator in assessing the participation is the community's attendance at public meetings (ex.: full council meetings or ward/zone meetings).

The majority of respondents (56%) never attended a public meeting in 2012 (Figure 23). Differences can be noticed between the two districts: in Samfya, the participation is higher (29%) than in Chipata (15%), where the majority of the respondent did not participate



to any public meeting (35%). Moreover, the data per wealth group suggest that the economic status of the family does not influence the participation trend of a family in public meetings in rural areas (figure 24). Finally, the zone meetings

are the most attended (80%), followed by the WDC/ADC (40%) and the full Council meeting (23%) (Figure 25). Chipata and Samfya follow similar patterns of the attendance for the zone meeting, but Chipata shows a higher participation at WDC/ADC meetings than Samfya.



A first explanation of these set of data can be found in the uncertainty nature of the WDC/ADCs' structures, as explained in the previous paragraph. Although rooted in the early period of independence, today, while the population's awareness about their presence is rather low, they are still perceived as 'new'. In that regards, each district has its own way to understand their role and its linkage with the councillors.

As a second explanation, it is not surprising that the zone meetings are the most attended with very few participating at the full councils meetings in Samfya or

Chipata. In this last case, distance and cost of transport can still be a barrier. The geographical dimension of the ward is rather big and the resources needed in terms of time/costs to attend these meetings are too high if compared with the actual 'benefit' in term of influence or information.

Thirdly, there is also a general lack of knowledge among the population on the law's prescription on the functioning of the local authorities. Many are therefore not aware of the possibility of attending the local councils' meetings. For instance, a survey promoted by the University of Zambia showed that 58%

of respondents were not aware of the legal provision allowing the public to attend the full Council meetings and only 10.7% attended (UNZA-PAS, 2005: iii).

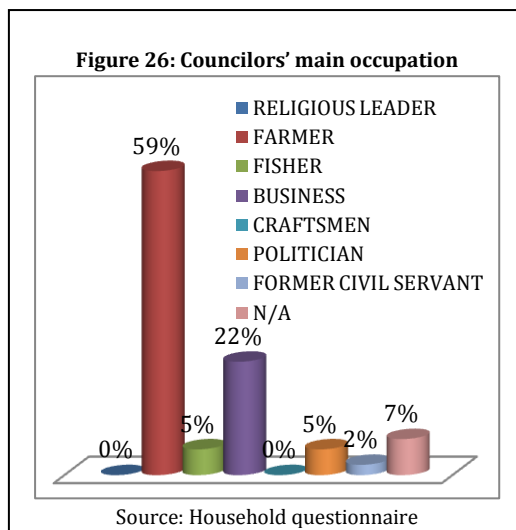
3 REPRESENTATION

3.1 Who are the Local Representatives?

Theoretically, decentralisation allows a better representation of all the social groups, making it easier to mobilise, get involved in the local government’s affairs, bring the instances of marginalised groups (poor, women, etc.) that are usually at the periphery of the public arena and influence the local agenda. Therefore, because it may give “voice” to the poor, decentralisation may potentially reduce poverty in its political dimension (Steiner, 2007).²⁰⁹ In a decentralised system:

“The hope is that as government comes closer to the people, more people will participate in politics. All sort of constituencies – women, minorities, small businessmen, artisans, parents of schoolchildren, marginal farmers, urban poor – will then get elected to office [...]” (Blair, 2000: 23)

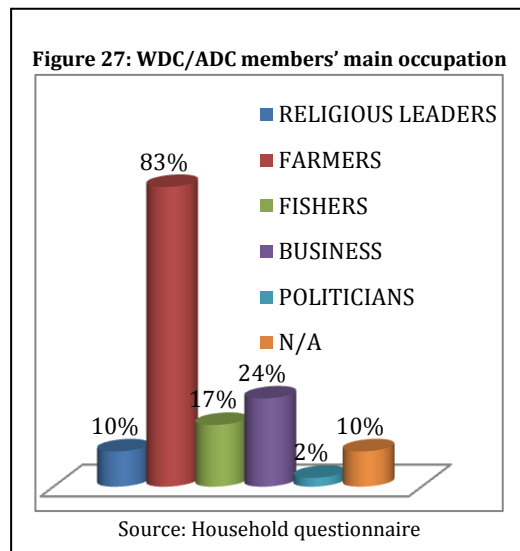
Which are the main features of the local representatives? According to the



survey’s respondents, the councillors and the ADC/WDCs members are usually farmers or businessmen (figures 26 and 27). Very few are just politicians at council level although they usually belong to a political party. The reason is that councillors do not receive a salary for their job but only an allowance when sitting in full

²⁰⁹ See chapter 2 and 3.

council or commissions meetings²¹⁰. The local government seems to actually create a space also for the most disadvantaged categories, as farmers (or fishers in Samfya), where they can be directly represented. In Chipata, for instance, nine councillors out sixteen declared that they were small scale farmers with a monthly income of less than 300 Kwacha (less than 40 Euros)²¹¹.



Another interesting data is the absence of religious leaders as local government representatives. However, they appear as members in WDC/ADCs (in Chipata only). As clearly highlighted by Marja Hinfelaar (2008) and Austin Cheyeka (2008), the Catholic and the Charismatic churches have played an important role in the political arena. Despite the socialist

rhetoric that has characterised Zambia during the First and Second Republic, Christian churches were strongly embedded in Zambian society and the Church and the State have always tried to influence and co-opt each other. Zambian political leaders have always acknowledged the role of the religious chiefs within the society and they have always tried to have their support:

“[...] in the Africa public’s perception, a ‘religious leader not only commands a degree of secular influence but it also perceived of being endowed with power stemming directly from the spirit world’. These

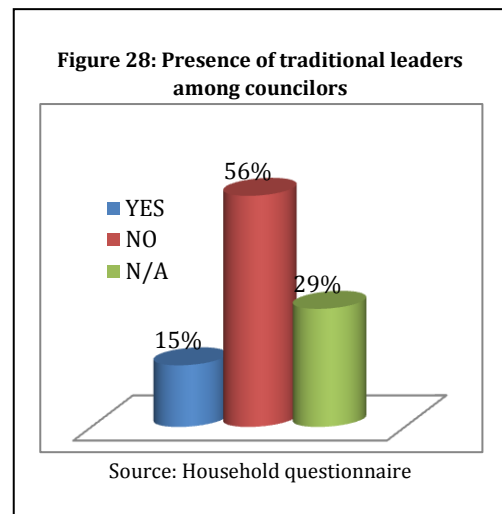
²¹⁰ The label ‘politician’ is understood as somebody who has as main occupation, and economically depends on, politics. The status of councillor gives the right to have sitting allowances but not a monthly salary; therefore, although they usually belong to a political party, they cannot technically be defined as ‘politicians’ as they usually keep their previous occupation as main source of income. The respondents were then asked their opinion on the councillors’ allowance. 73% of the respondents were not aware or they did not know the amount the councillors are eligible to gain for their work. The 15% believe it is adequate.

²¹¹ Meetings with the councillors were particularly difficult as they usually reach the district capital only for committees or councils’ meetings. However, in Chipata, a full council meeting was organized during the author’s fieldwork (19/11/2012) and it was possible to interview some councillors. It was agreed on that they would remain anonymous and that the interviews would be informal. It explains why they are not included in the list of key informants provided in Chapter 4.

alleged spiritual power raised high expectations within society”. (Hinfelaar, 2008: 133).

At local level, the importance of the Churches is also high. Usually, religious leaders do not openly campaign or participate to the political competition. However, political leaders always seek the support of the religious chiefs, especially when the election for the National Assembly is concerned (Hinfelaar, 2008; Cheyeka, 2008). Religious leaders are also involved when wider consultations are needed. In Samfya, for instance, the leader of the Catholic Church was elected as ‘president’ during the Public Consultation organised to collect the input of the populace on the new draft constitution in October 2012²¹². The participants to the three-day public consultation agreed to choose him, thus recognising his role as chief within the society; moreover, as ‘neutral’ power not directly involved with politics, he could be better placed to overview and guarantee the proper implementation of the consultation, the discussion and the vote.

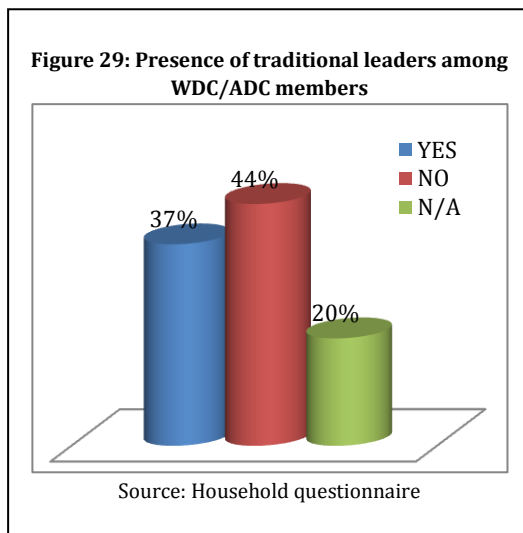
A similar role is played by the traditional leader, or Kings (Figure 28). More than half of the respondents (56%) know that traditional leaders are usually not directly involved in ‘active politics’ although the number of those who ‘do not know’ (N/A) is still high (29%). It is also interesting to observe that 32% of ‘very poor’ or ‘poor’ people do not know if their traditional leaders are directly



involved in the local council affairs. The “medium-income’ group and namely the ‘rich’ show to have a better understanding of this issue. In the WDC/ADCs,

²¹² A round of public consultations started throughout the country to collect the views of local authorities and civil society members on the draft on the new constitution (Republic of Zambia, 2012). The researcher could participate at the round held in Samfya on 01-03/12/2012.

traditional leaders seem to be more represented (44%). However, the data show a certain ‘uncertainty’ of the respondent to this question (Figure 29).



Here, two remarks need to be made. On the one side, the uncertainty and the high percentage of ‘N/A’ show a widespread of a lack of understanding on the local government’s work and of civic education, especially among the poorer. On the other side, it also highlights the special role that the traditional leaders have within the Zambian political system. As already

stated, their role is similar to the one played by religious leaders. However, their involvement in politics is stronger and official. In fact,

Zambia is an exemplar of the modern African phenomenon of dual authority, marked by the coexistence of “the real of state sovereignty and the realm of traditional government; both systems effectively govern the same communities of citizens-subjects” (Sklar, 1993 cited by Bratton, 1999: 572-573)

Rural Zambia is divided into 286 Kingdoms, which makes three Chiefs or Kings within each constituency as average (Baldwin, 2013). According to the Constitution, the King cannot run for office at any level (presidential, national or local)²¹³. However, chiefs are represented at National level through an *ad hoc* chamber, the ‘House of Chiefs’, with a consultative and supportive role. Moreover, in his study based on empirical data on the relation between the MP and the Kings, Baldwin (2013) highlights the role played by the chiefs at local level:

“They still have power in allocating land, administering justice, and organising community projects, they have up-to-date information on

²¹³ The Constitution of Zambia (1991) establishes that “A person shall not, while remaining a Chief, join or participate in partisan politics” (art 129).

local issues and people often seek their advice on private matters. Before undertaking any initiative in their 'kingdom', especially if customary land is involved, one needs to consult them and have their approval. They have the trust of the population and they can therefore influence positively the campaign of a candidate running for office. It is common practice for MPs candidates to spend great efforts to seek and demonstrate the support of the Chiefs in their constituency. Even the President has usually his network of paramount chiefs and regional leaders which constitutes his backbone political support" (2013: 798).

The same role is played by the chiefs at council level. They are always represented by their nominees at the council, where they seat as full council members. They same applies at the Constituency Development Fund Committee, the body that reviews and selects the projects to be founded under the CDF framework. Moreover, each ward councillor needs to work closely with the chiefs and to seek their support for any development or administrative initiative (ex. tax collection, etc) Baldwin (2013).

In Samfya, the different role played by chiefs and religious leaders has been visually demonstrated by the spatial position occupied by them during the Consultations for the draft Constitution: before being called a 'president' of the Consultative Assembly, the Catholic priest was sitting behind the first row of chairs occupied by the councillors, the chiefs and the representative of the District Commissioner. Moreover, the chiefs have not even been proposed by the audience as possible candidates for the 'presidency' as their role is not seen as 'neutral' as the religious leader²¹⁴.

The position and role occupied by religious and traditional leaders within the society and the relatively high number of poor farmers within the local

²¹⁴ These information was collected by the researcher during the public consultation (see footnote n° 112).

The perception of the Churches as a 'neutral' player is also visible in other important political events in the history of the Third Republic: Bjornlund et al., (2000) highlight the role played by the three leading denominations (Zambian Episcopal Conference, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, and the Christian Council of Zambia) in the organization of the Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC) in 1991. This latter was an umbrella organization constituted by civil society organizations and the three denominations with the purpose to guarantee an independent monitoring during the first multi-party elections in 1991. The ZEMCC's members elected some churchmen as their representatives. Moreover, always during the first campaign, the churches played the role of mediators between Chiluba and Kaunda (Bjornlund et al., 2000).

councils proves that in these two Zambian districts, there are no informal barrier hindering all the different groups of society to be represented at local level, created by local elites (ex.: social, traditional or economic)²¹⁵.

In Mali, for instance, the introduction of the local council resulted quite often in an open ‘battle’ between traditional and modern elites: in some *communes*, the traditional elites managed to gain the control of the council; in others, it provided the opportunity for younger and modern groups to acquire the political control, although after a tremendous competition against the traditional elites (Lévy, 2003). The same resistance was highlighted in Malawi where the power struggles involved the councillors against the MPs and the chiefs, but also against the bureaucrats (ex. council’s Secretary) and the Assembly (Chiweza, 2005; Chinsinga, 2005 and 2008).

Thus, the elite capture in term of power seems less important in Zambia than in other countries²¹⁶. This is also supported by the focus groups discussions and the data survey where most of the respondents testify that ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ families benefited most from the development projects initiated or supported by the local council, as compared to the ‘rich’ families²¹⁷.

However, the fact that the traditional or economic elites have not monopolised the local assemblies does not impede the creation of new marginalised groups. In fact, although a certain education level is required in order to seat as councillor, the number of those *actually* able to participate is limited. In Chipata, in the last full council meeting of 2012, the 2013 budget was discussed

²¹⁵ In this study, we accept a generic concept of elite (social, economic, traditional etc.) as expressed by Steiner in her work in on decentralization in Uganda (Steiner, 2008: 64). As she points out, the type of elite depends on the country’s context and it is therefore more accurate to use a wider understanding.

²¹⁶ In this aspect, Zambia is more similar to the Ghana experience, characterized by a limited elite-capture (Crawford, 2008). This may be easily explained by the historical context: for instance, in countries like Zambia, with a long tradition of local government and interaction between the traditional and political power, the ‘struggles’ for power are not as important as in countries that come from a history of centralisation.

²¹⁷ See chapter 7.

and approved²¹⁸. However, how many of the 22 ward councillors were actually able to read that budget and to understand what was going on during the discussion? 'Very few' was the answer of a key informant to this question and it was also directly noticed by the researcher: very few were actually able to ask questions on the new budget, or actively participate to the discussions and many looked actually quite bored by the agenda of the day²¹⁹.

Therefore, a first issue is the actual capacity of the councillor. Those who are more educated or more familiar with the local government structures and work will have an advantage in capturing resources and initiatives for their own ward (or/and interest) and they can therefore guarantee a better representation of their ward or group.

A second factor, which is able to explain the relative or apparent absence of an 'elite-capture' in terms of power and development initiatives, is the role played by the political parties at local level²²⁰. Political parties are indeed well rooted in the wards and zones and they are able to create a network including all folks of the society²²¹. Only those linked to a certain political party are able to access the 'privileges' linked to these status. As highlighted earlier in the analysis, the number of the independent councillors is very limited; the political parties often use the local councils to maintain and strengthen their network of popular support, to be mobilised when the National Assembly needs to be renovated or a President elected (Bratton, 1999 and 2007; Burnell, 2001).

²¹⁸ The author could participate to the full Council Meeting held in Chipata on the 19/11/2012.

²¹⁹ The researcher could observe that only 2 councilors engaged in a discussion on the budget and one of those was actually a local MP. The name of the informant, an official working in Chipata district, is kept anonymous, as agreed with the informant.

²²⁰ The studies on the political parties and their role at local level are very limited as noticed by Bland (2013). In Zambia, it represents an interesting topic for further academic investigation and it may help to better understand the functioning of the local government, especially in the rural areas.

²²¹ The entrenchment of the parties at local level can be explained through the recent history of the local administration in Zambia, in particular, with the one-party participatory democracy started in 1971 and the merger, in 1981, of the political and party structures under the Local Administration Act (1981). For instance, Tordoff and Young argued, "This new structure was in practice used to underpin the power of the ruling party at local level (...)" (1994: 287). See also chapter 5.

3.2 Women's Representation

The representation of women within the local government structures can be used as another important variable to analyse the potential benefits of decentralisation policies in terms of 'empowerment'. The data from the household survey show an important gender imbalance in the political representation. 78 out of 80 respondents answered that usually the councillors are men²²². The additional explanations given to the answers were compared and aggregated in the following categories:

1) 'Social stereotypes': the answer contains a comparison between men and women, which implies a "lack" of a particular feature in women that makes them 'unfitted' for this duty (ex.: "Men are more active and clever" (R42 [M]) or "Women are not honest when they receive funds" (R1 [F]); or finally "Men have more wisdom than the women" (R9 [F]). This category includes the cases where the answer openly expresses the social distrust against women in politics (ex.: "Leadership is perceived only for men" (R8 [F]); or "Men are more than women because people think women cannot perform better than them" (R79 [M]).

2) 'Barriers created by men': the answer directly indicated that the main problem is the creation of "entry barriers" to women in politics by men (ex.: "Men are selfish, they don't allow women to participate" (R4 [F]) or "Men are selfish. Women try to get involved but when they reach the moment of choosing the candidates, one finds out that the men have already decided among themselves" (R37 [F]).

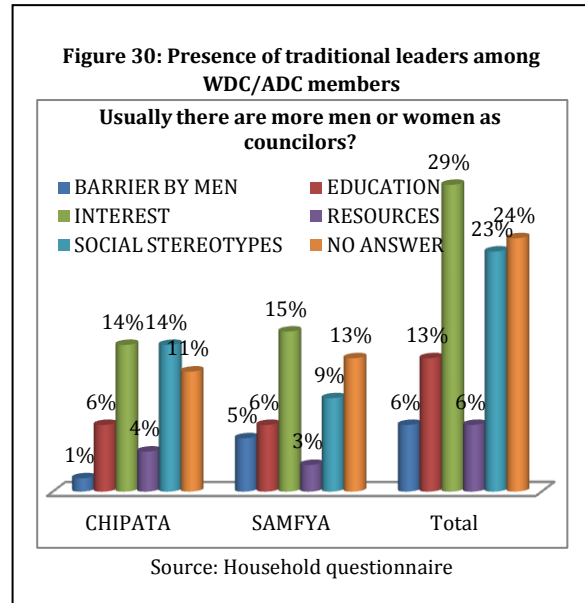
3) 'Interest': the answer stresses a generic lack of interest in politics by women without any linkage to social pressures or male behaviour (ex.: "we prefer to put a distance from leadership positions" (R5 [F]) or "Women don't get involved in politics and leadership" (R20 [F]).

²²² One respondent said, "both" (R. 45) while another one "I do not know" (R. 49).

4) 'Education': the answers stress the lack of education as the main reason of the gender unbalance in local politics.

5) 'Resources': the answers stress the lack of resources (money or transport) as main reason of the gender unbalance in local politics.

Figure 30 shows that the majority of respondents stress the “lack of



of respondents stress the “lack of interest” (29%) by women as the main reason for their small representation in the local council followed by “social stereotypes” (23%) and “education” (13%)²²³. The two districts follow a common pattern, except for the “social stereotypes”, that are indicated as the main reason for the exclusion of women by local politics. That reason is more cited in Chipata (14%) than in Samfya (9%)²²⁴.

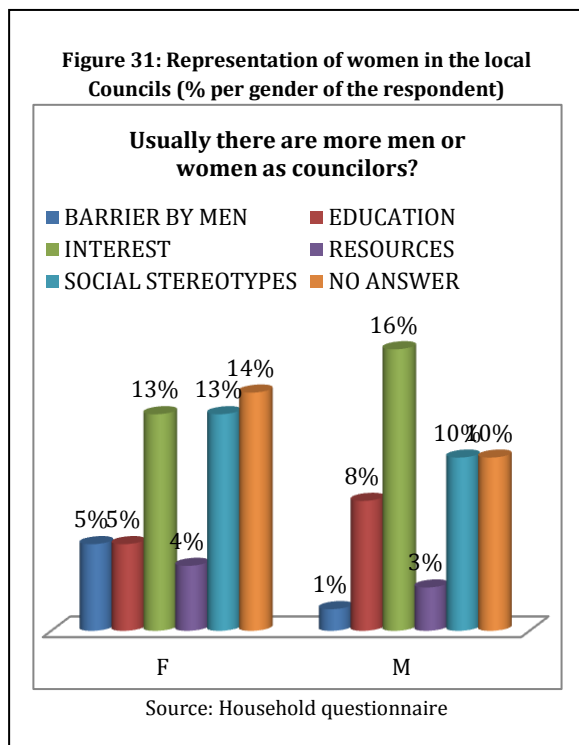
The analysis shows that the majority of respondent choosing not to reply is female (14%), against the 10% of male respondents (Figure 31) This can be partly explained by certain bias: some women felt embarrassed or amused while answering to this question in front of a “white and female researcher” and a male (in most cases) interpreter.

Other differences can be noticed comparing answers by gender:

²²³ It is also interesting to note the high percentage of “No answer” (24%). The analysis shows that the majority of respondents choosing not to reply are female (14%), as compared to, the 10% of male respondents.

²²⁴ A possible reason can be a greater consciousness about ‘women rights’ in Chipata, also due to the proximity to a major urban center and the more remote location of Samfya. For instance, the author was invited to participate to a meeting in Chipata for the preparation of the ‘16 days of activism against Gender Based Violence’ on the 21/11/2012.

1. According to men the “lack of interest” (34%) is the main reason explaining the poor number of women as local councillors while this is important for women but much less (24%).



2. Women stress the importance of “barriers created by men” (10% of women against 3% of men) while both genders recognize the importance of “social stereotypes” (24% of women against 21% of men).

3. Lack of education is quoted more by men (16%) than women (10%)

The social stereotypes around female involvement in politics are summarised in a nutshell in the following events told to the researcher during a focus group

discussion in Chipata:

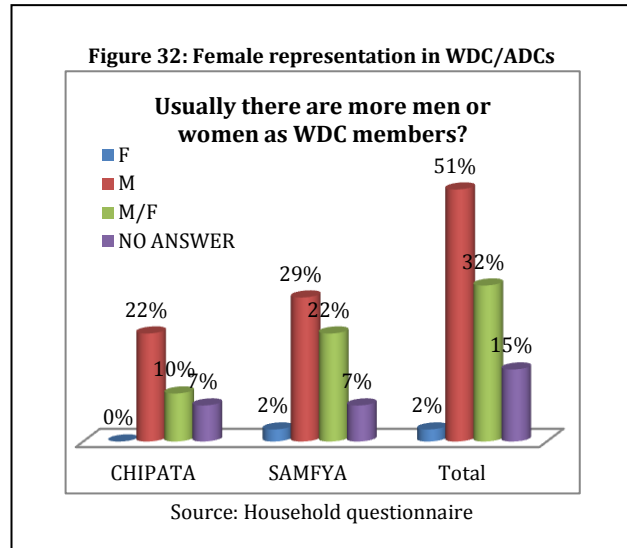
“A woman was elected as ward councillor. At the time she was single, but after a while she got married and she had to follow her husband in Petauke. Therefore, during her absence, there was no development in the ward”²²⁵.

According to some informants, “women could run for office and do a good job as well as a man, but only if they are single or widowed: the marriage hinders the woman to fully participate because she *has responsibilities*”. As explained directly by the former councillor, her husband decided to get a divorce and after a few months, she had to come back to Chipata, where in the meanwhile she had lost her position²²⁶.

²²⁵ Petauke is another district in the Eastern province. Focus Group in Kanjiala (Chipata) on the 01/12/2012.

²²⁶ Focus Group in Kanjiala (Chipata) on the 01/12/2012.

At WDC/ADCs level, the gender balance seems more respected (figure 32). Very often the 50-50% rule is followed in the election of the sub-district bodies²²⁷. However, the role and the strength played by the female members may change from ward to ward. Often, women are not given positions



of responsibility: most of the times they are assigned the role of WDC/ADC secretaries and, more rarely, of deputy president. It was also observed that sometimes during the meeting women were very vocal even if their male counterparts were present. In other cases, the women asked or waited the advice of a male member before replying to a question.

In sum, data from the household survey and from direct observation has highlighted serious issues in female representation in the local political arena.

This is confirmed by the official data: at local government level, only 85 women were elected out of the 1382 councillor that reported in the elections in 2011. This represents a female representation rate of 6.1%. This rate is even in decline if compared with the previous elections in 2006, when female representation in the local authorities reached the 7% (Diakonia, 2013: 35).

The same applies for the National Assembly, where only 17 women were elected (11%). The last elections represented a step back in the quite positive trend that had characterised the female representation in Zambia: in 1991 women representation in politics was 4.8% while in 2006 was 15.19%. Despite this failure, the government has tried to balance the poor female

²²⁷ This balance has also been observed by the researcher during some meetings held with various WDC/ADCs members during a first visit to the two districts in May-June 2012.

representation in Parliament through the appointment of more women in decision making positions (ex. Inspector General of Police, Auditor General, Drug Enforcement Commission, Acting Chief of Justice, etc.) (Diakonia, 2013: 36).

4 ACCOUNTABILITY

4.1 Elections

A first and direct tool to make political representatives accountable for their work is the vote. Elections may serve to reconfirm the thrust of the citizenry towards the politician, if its office is considered successful by the voters; on the other side, failure to respond to popular demands or to pursue the campaign's promises may translate in their electoral defeat when running for a second term. However, this mechanism can work only if elections are free, fair and recurrent (Blair, 2000; Ribot, 2002; Crook and Manor, 1998; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Connerley, et al., 2010).

Since its independence, Zambia passed through three main important political phases: the "First Republic" (1964-1972) was marked by the preeminent role of Kenneth Kaunda and its United National Independence Party (UNIP) at national as well as local level. The deterioration of the economic outlook following the early 1970s crisis and the increasing internal political pressures drove Kaunda to establish a one-party system. Although Zambia stopped to be a multi-party democracy, the country still remained a 'one party-participatory democracy': elections were still held at all levels (presidential, national and local level) but some competitiveness was left only at local level (Tordoff, 1974 and 1980; Tordoff & Young, 1994). Since 1991, Zambia is again a multi-party democracy and five rounds of elections were regularly held until the last tripartite ones in 2011. According with the last round of Afrobarometer (2012), Zambians perceive the last tripartite elections as "completely free and fair" (62%) or "free and fair, but with minor problems" (23% - Afrobarometer, 5th round, 2012). Also, different reports prepared by independent observers

confirm this perception (see: European Union, 2011; EISA, 2012). However, the pre-requisite of freedom and fairness has not always been fully respected: for instance, elections in 1996 and 2001 were perceived as fraudulent by international observers as well as by the population. Not surprisingly, these years registered a considerable decrease of the voter turnout (Diakonia, 2013)²²⁸.

4.2 The Media

In order to reach a good level of accountability, the residents should also have access to the information related to the work of their local council and councillors (Blair, 2000; Ribot, 2002; Crook and Manor, 1998; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Connerley, et al., 2010). The figures 25 and 26 show the main channels the interviewees and their family use to acquire information on the work and decisions taken by their District/Municipal Council.

The information channels are very different in the two districts, the main reason being the lack of community radios in Samfya, which

Figure 33: Source of information on Council's work (Samfya)

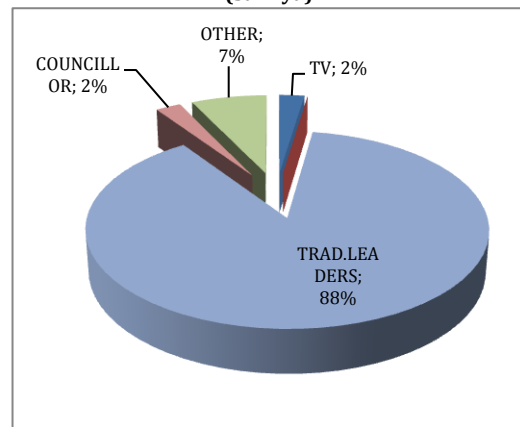
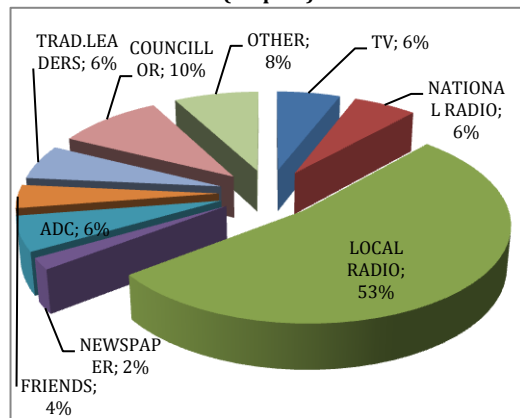


Figure 34: Source of information on Council's work (Chipata)



Source: Household survey

²²⁸ Unfortunately, data is not available on the councillor turnout. This is due to a complete lack of documents at local level on the results of the previous elections. In Chipata, a councillor official explained that after every election all the documents are sent to Lusaka at the Electoral Commission (ECZ) and any public record has been kept in place, with a considerable loss in terms of historical knowledge. However, interviews with local representatives suggest that in 2011 a high number of ward councillors were not reconfirmed into their office.

are largely present in Chipata. Thus, in Samfya, people rely much more on traditional leaders to have information on decisions taken by the local council. Although the one of the ward councillor's duty should be to inform his voters about the council's affairs, the data from the two districts clearly show that he actually plays only a marginal role.

The data on the information related to the country's affairs (ex.: the government's decisions and initiatives, economic trends, etc.) reveal a different pattern in the communication flow, where the radios (national and local) are by far the most communication medium used by Zambians in the two districts.

The importance of traditional leaders in Samfya a vector of information, seems to be confirmed also for the national news²²⁹.

Figure 35: Source of information on country affairs (Samfya)

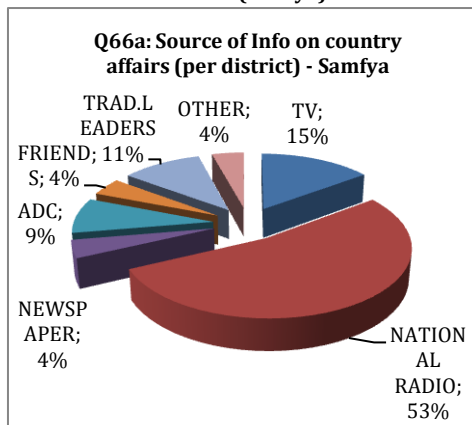
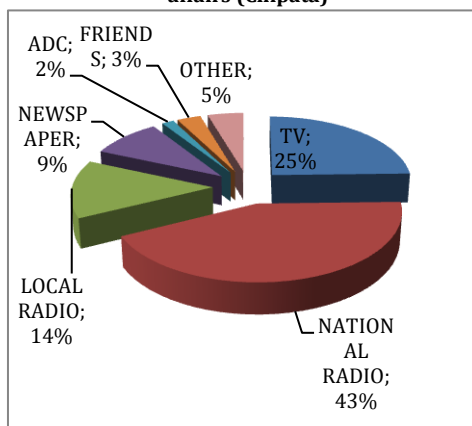


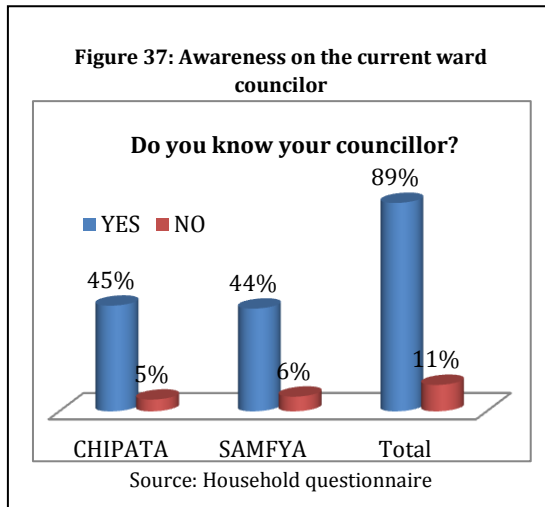
Figure 36: Source of information on country affairs (Chipata)



Source: Household survey

²²⁹ The analysis of data per wealth group shows not surprisingly that 16% of 'poor' households rely on TV against 48% of 'average' families as main source of national news. Most of families rely however on national radio channels and, on a very limited extend, on newspapers.

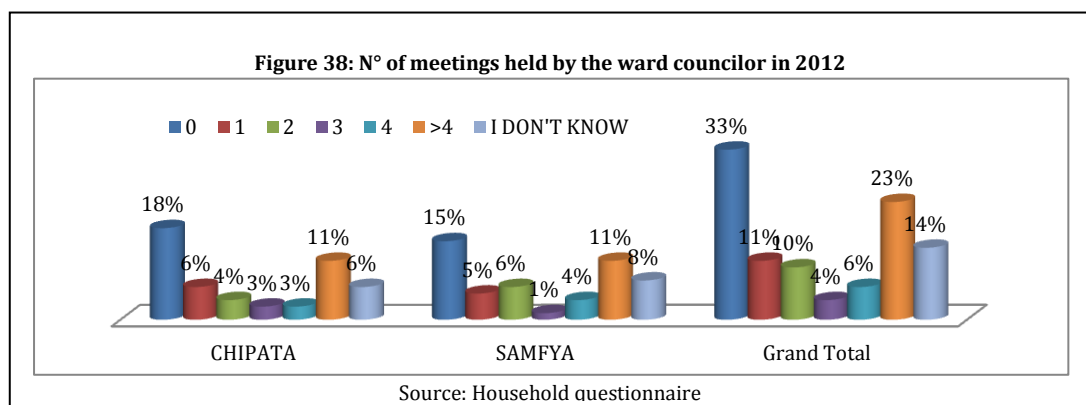
4.3 Meetings Organised by the Ward Councillors



The respondents have shown to know who the current ward councillor is (Figure 37)²³⁰.

According to the 33% of the respondents, their councillor has not called for any meeting in the ward during 2012 (elections were held in September 2011), while the 14% were not aware of any. 54% said that

at least one meeting occurred (Figure 38). The councillor should regularly call for meetings with the community in his/her district in order to report on the activities/decisions already implemented or approved by the local council, to plan future interventions, and to hear the needs of the communities. The data collected show that this task is usually forgotten by the councillor. According to these latter, the main reason is the lack of funds: as already mentioned, the councillors have only a 'token' for their presence at official meetings but not to cover at least the costs linked to the communication activities within the ward²³¹. During the campaign, for instance, the candidate is usually assigned a



²³⁰ Usually, the name of the councillor was asked to confirm this information.

²³¹ This information was collected by the author through informal interviews in Samfya (see list in Chapter, 4) and in Chipata after the full council meetings held on the 19/11/2012.

budget by his/her party to cover the costs of travelling around the ward to hold meetings with the electorate. It is not the case once they are elected²³².

4.4 Popular Perceptions on local institutions

4.4.1 THE LOCAL COUNCILLOR

Figure 39: Household perceptions on the councillors' main features

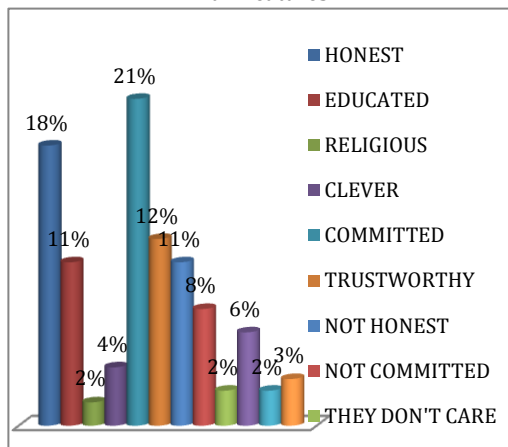
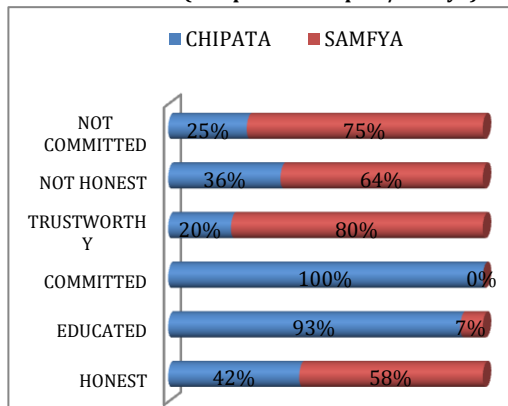


Figure 40: Household perceptions on the councillors' main features (comparison Chipata/Samfya)



Two options per respondent were possible.
Source: Household questionnaire

What is the popular perception towards the local representative?

The most recurrent words to describe the councillor are 'Committed' (21%), 'Honest' (18%), and 'Trustworthy' (12) (Figures 39 and 40).²³³. The majority of the respondents (72%) have described the local councillors using a positive attribute instead of a negative one (28%). However, in Samfya the interviewees showed to have a higher consideration of the figure of the local councillor (77%) than in Chipata (67%).

²³² 74% of the respondents reported that the meeting was mainly organized and open to the community at zone level, where also the traditional leaders were invited (53% of meetings organized with the community). Only 8 respondents reported a meeting organized with the ADC/WDC while 7 opened only to political party members.

²³³ The survey's respondents were asked to choose one or two features - among a given list of positive/negative features - better describing their councillors. This implies a general evaluation of the councillors that held the office in the last years: the question had the main purpose to highlight a general perception of the interviewees toward their local councillors.

The distribution of values for each of these positive/negative features highlight the different perception that people in the two districts have on the local councillors (Figure 41): the majority of “Committed”, “Honest” and “Trustworthy” options were gathered in Samfya, while all “Not Committed” answers were gathered in Chipata. Moreover, a higher number of respondents in Samfya perceive that their councillors are “Not Honest” if compared with Chipata, where people stressed also “Education” as their main requirement. Some interesting observations may also be drawn if one compares the data collected with the respondents’ wealth group (Figure 42). The ‘poor’ and the ‘rich’ have a more negative perception of the local councillors, while the ‘average’ group has expressed a more positive one²³⁴.

Figure 41: Household perceptions on the councillors’ main features. Aggregated data per positive / negative feature (district)

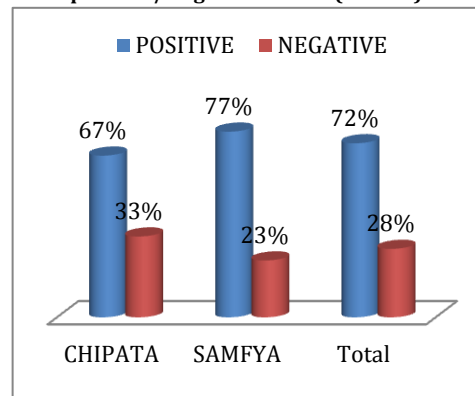
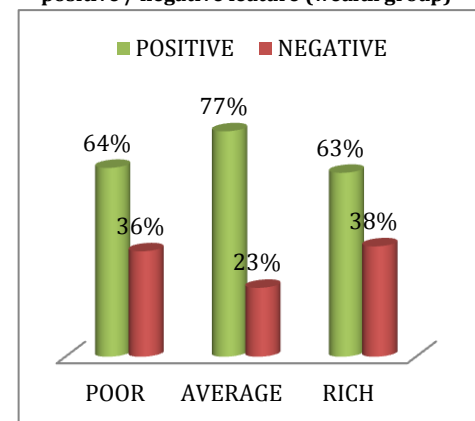


Figure 42: Household perceptions on the councillors’ main features. Aggregated data per positive / negative feature (wealth group)



Two options per respondent were possible. % calculated on the total n° of answer per district (33) and wealth group (34).

Source: Household questionnaire

²³⁴ The ‘poor’ think that the local councillors are usually ‘Honest’ (20%), ‘Committed’ (14%) and ‘Educated’ (13%); according with those belonging to ‘Average’ group, the main features of the local councillors are ‘Commitment’ (35%), ‘Trustworthiness’ (17%) and ‘Honesty’ (15%).

Figure 43: Perception of councillor's performance (per district)

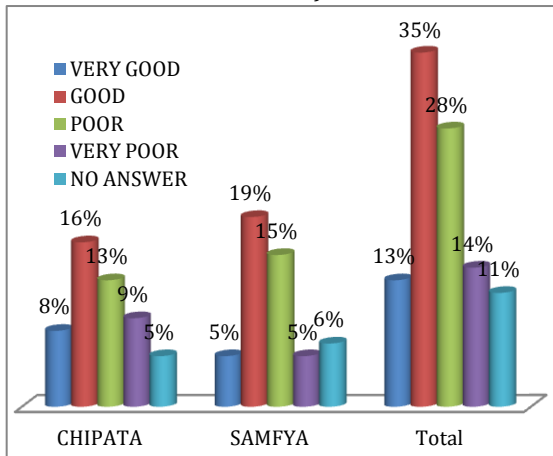
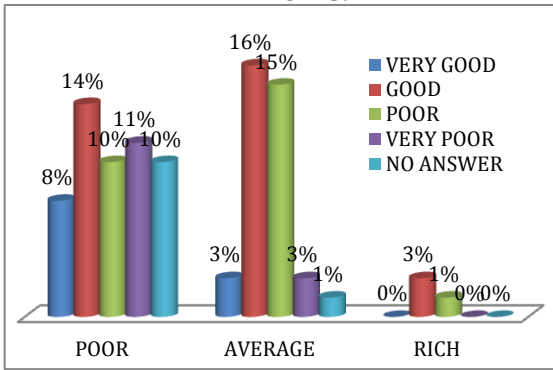


Figure 44: Perception of councillor's performance (per wealth group)



Source: Household questionnaire

56% of the respondent said that the councillors are actually able to work effectively and to 'bring development in the district'. However, some differences can be found between the two districts: in Samfya, people have more trust in the councillors' work while in Chipata the majority think they are not able to manage the council²³⁵. The analysis of the data per wealth group shows that those belonging to the 'average' group are almost all convinced that the councillors are able to manage the district and bring development, while the 'Very poor/poor' is split between 'yes' and 'no'. These

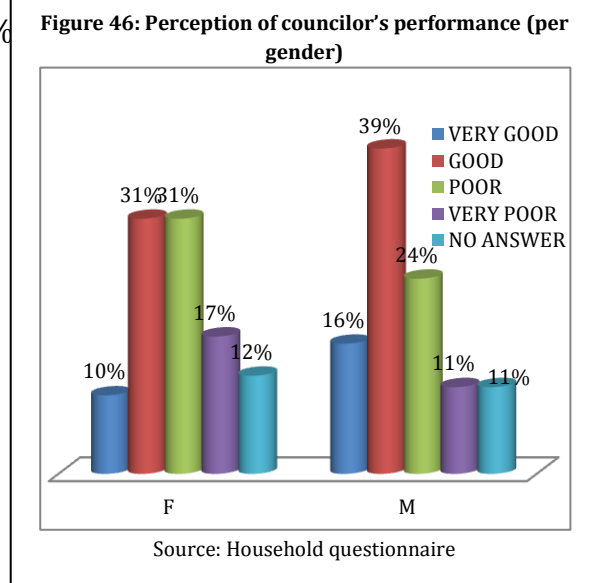
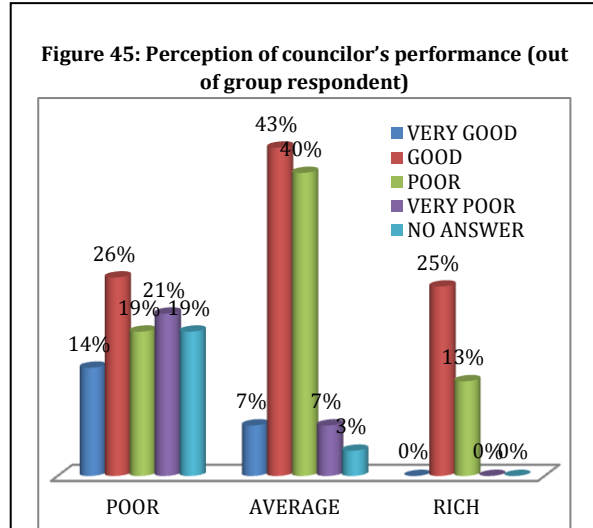
results may be interpreted as a higher level of trust in the potential of the councillors' work in the 'average' group than in the others.

Almost half of interviewee (48%) expressed a positive appreciation on the work of their ward councillor (Figure 43) while 42% judged their performance as "poor" or "very poor". No major differences are noticeable between the two districts, except for a slightly worst perception of the ward councillors' work in Chipata (24% against 20% in Samfya).

²³⁵ The respondents were asked if, according with their opinion, the councillors were capable of managing the district and of bringing development projects. The interviewees were asked to give a generic appreciation on councillors' performance (taken as a group and in the last years) and not an evaluation on the actual ward or district councillors. The idea here is to highlight a general perception towards the duty bearer.

The analysis of the data per wealth group (Figure 44) suggests that 10% of those who could not express a judgment on their ward councillor belong to the 'poor' wealth group, only 1% to the average' (usually because they did not know him). The 'poor' are also those that more often have judged as 'very negative' the performance of the councillor (3% against of 14%).

Figure 45 takes into consideration the number of interviewees belonging to the 'poor' and 'average' group and analyses how each group considers the performance of their councillor.



- The 'average' seem to have a more positive perception of their councillor: 59% of the respondents belonging to this group judged the work of their councillors as "good" (48%) or "very good" (11%).
- On the other hand, 42% of 'poor' people expressed a negative judgement or they were not able to express one (16%).

Finally, figure 46 shows the opinion, based on their gender, of their councillors' performance:

- 55% of male respondents have a considerably higher appreciation of their councillors (16% "very good" and 39% 'good') compared with their female counterparts (31%).
- On the other hand, 48% of women think their councillor is performing in a "poor" or "very poor way" against the 35% of men.

- The data related to “no answers” suggests that the knowledge about who is your councillor and what is he doing is more related with the wealth group one belongs to rather than the gender.

The positive judgements are usually supported by concrete realisations that the respondent has seen during the office of the ward councillor or they acknowledge his effort to meet people and bring their demands to the council. On the other side, the negative usually stress the lack of “improvements” in the ward or commitment (“he is doing nothing!”) as main reason.

DECENTRALIZATION – POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN ZAMBIA:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a condition characterised not only by material deprivation, (understood as a general lack of an adequate income or consumption level). It also includes a limited access to important public services as education and health. Decentralised local governments are perceived as more efficient in providing a wide range of public goods and services and in targeting the most in vulnerable and marginalised. Moreover, local governments are considered as key actors in pursuing local development as they can take initiatives to increase local business opportunities and growth (World Bank, 2001).

In this chapter, these suggested socio-economic benefits of decentralisation will be analysed using empirical data collected in the two target district in Luapula and Eastern province. Firstly, we will look at the household situation and trends as it emerges from the household questionnaire and we will try to understand if and how the local institution have had an meaningful influence in this trend. Secondly, we will highlight the type of projects that have been implemented within the wards as recalled during the focus group discussion and we will analyse if and why the residents assess them positively or negatively. Third, we will try to understand if the new services provided in the wards by the local authorities have had an impact on poverty alleviation. Finally, household survey and the focus group discussions will be interesting information on the communities' perceptions towards the local Council.

1.1 Socio-Economic Indicators on Poverty

1.1.1 HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVELS

The household questionnaires confirmed a high incidence of income poverty: 60% of the respondents declared to have a monthly income of less than 300.000 ZMW²³⁶, which is less than 1.5 \$ per day²³⁷.

The income trends in the last five years are negative, with 46% respondents reporting a decrease, 29% reporting an increase and 25% with no change in their income (Figure 47). Samfya and the wealth category 'very poor' and 'poor' have been more affected by this negative trend if compared with Chipata and the 'average' or 'rich' groups ²³⁸ (Figure 48).

The reasons for the decrease are

Figure 47: Changes in income levels in the last 5 years by wealth group

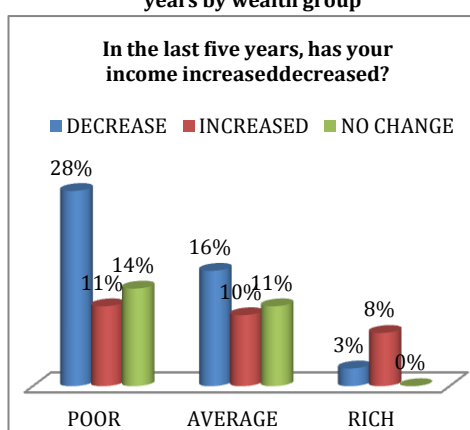
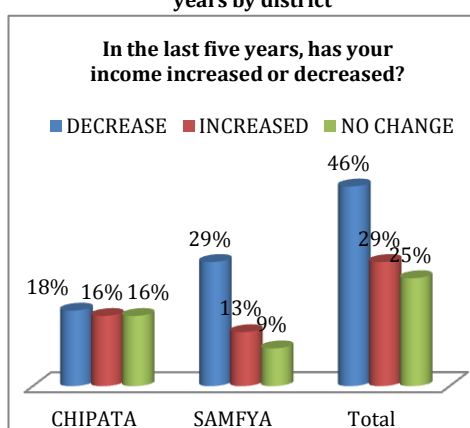


Figure 48: Changes in income levels in the last 5 years by district



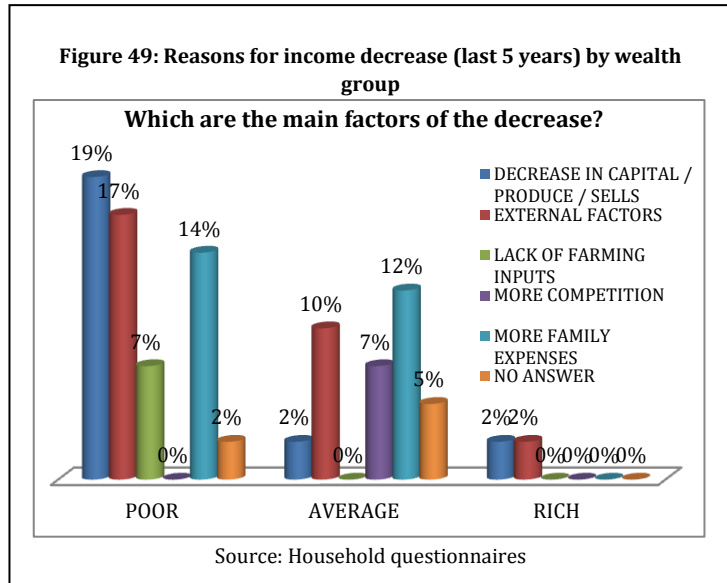
Source: Household questionnaires

²³⁶ This study refers to the values of the Zambian Kwacha until 2012. The 1st January 2013, the Bank of Zambia has introduced the 'rebased' currency, which is currently in use.

²³⁷ This data is coherent with the World Bank and the Zambian Central Statistical Office data, which reports 60,5% of Zambians living below the national poverty line in 2010 (CSO, 2012a).

²³⁸ Official data show the same pattern in the period 2006-2010 at national and provincial level. Luapula province, where Samfya is located, reported a sharp increase of the poverty from 73.9% in 2006 to 80.5% in 2010. The extreme poverty has particularly increased from 53.6% to 64.9% in the same period. The Eastern province is also deeply affected by poverty but it registered a slight fall in the overall poverty level, from 78.5% to 77.9% between 2006 and 2010. However, it shares with Luapula the increase in extreme poverty levels from 56.4% to 58.7 (CSO, 2012a).

mainly attributed to a fall in their produce (24%) and other external unpredictable factors as the weather, the soil fertility or the crop prices (29%). The lack of fertilizers is usually mentioned as reason for the fall in the agriculture production.



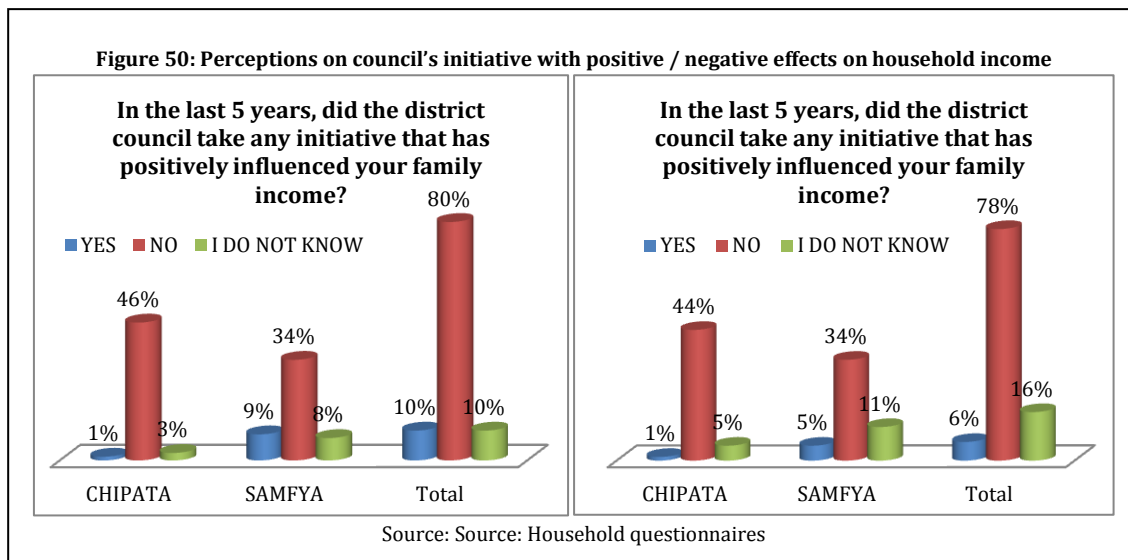
The rise of family expenses is also indicated as a factor that has impacted negatively on the family economic resources (figure 49).

The increase in income was mainly due availability of more fertilizes, the use of more land or different techniques for farming. Some also reported a salary increase, the start of a new job or a new business (ex.: small shop or bird hunting).

The majority of the respondents had the perception that the District Council had no role in the decrease or increase of the family income (figure 50). Interestingly, the respondents often looked surprised for this question, and it was necessary to explain further its meaning²³⁹. The construction of feeder roads by the Council was indicated as having a positive impact on the household income, because it facilitates the transport of the farming inputs / outputs and increases the business opportunities with better access to the markets. Another reason for a female respondent from Samfya was the

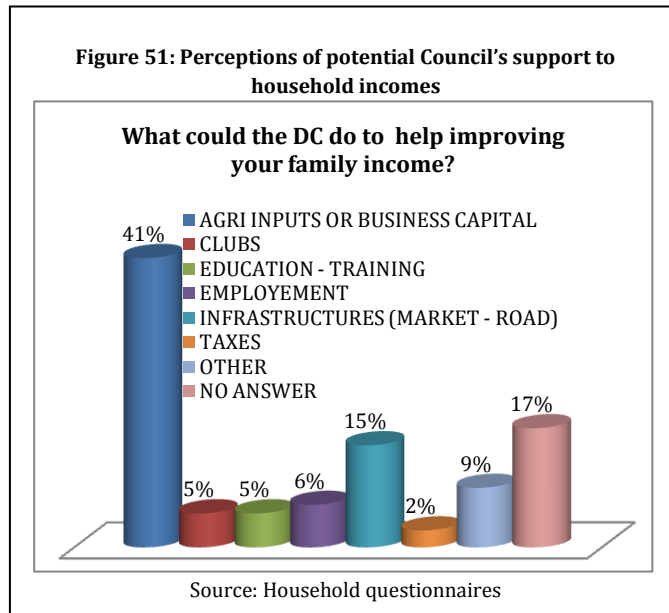
²³⁹ During the survey, the researched noticed that many respondents seemed to perceive the role of the Council as neutral towards the household income trend, as they would not expect it to take any real initiative to improve their income situation.

construction of a borehole close to the village that made easier to access safe water and increased the time women could use for other activities²⁴⁰.



Interestingly, a respondent from a 'rich' household indicated the rise of personal levies as having a negative impact on its income.

The hesitancy in answering to this question shows that most people do not expect the Council to *actually* take initiatives, no matter if with positive or negative impact on their income. However, they also seem to acknowledge the *potential* role the district could play to improve their household income. In fact, when asked what the Council *could do* to support the household income, the



²⁴⁰ In a few other cases, the provision of agriculture inputs was also indicated as a reason of positive impact on the family income. However, this is usually a responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, through its deconcentrated offices at district and ward level.

respondents have usually quite clear ideas. As shown by figure 51, the majority ask for the provision of agriculture inputs or capital to start a new business, while 15% stressed the need for basic infrastructure as roads or markets.

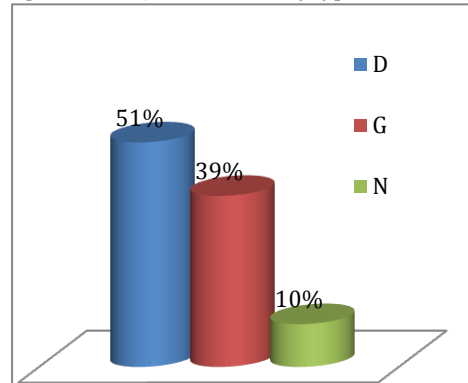
1.1.2 PROVISION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

In the two districts, the main sectors of intervention of the local government authorities were education, water and sanitation and infrastructures²⁴¹.

Other projects indicated by focus group participants included the construction or rehabilitation of health centre (ex. clinic, maternity wing, etc.), community halls (ex.: WDC/ADC offices), the provision of trainings or agricultures services, the construction of markets, or social projects (Figure 53)²⁴².

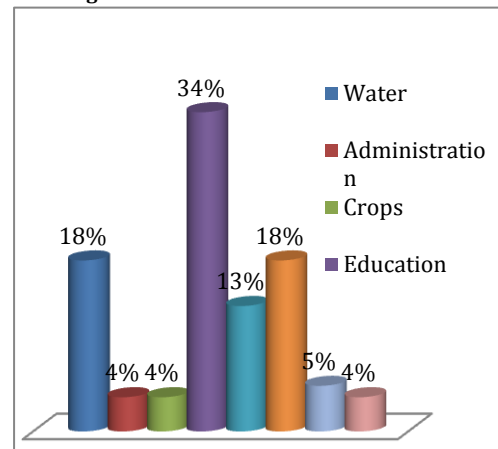
The focus group participants were asked to recall only the projects implemented by the Council or

Figure 52: Projects' initiator by type of authority



Source: Focus groups

Figure 53: Main sectors of intervention

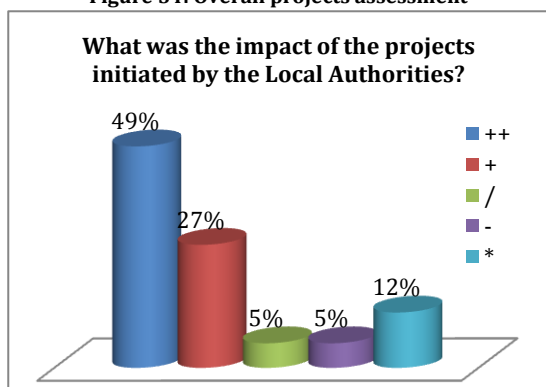


D= District; G=Government; N=NGO. Source: Focus group.

²⁴¹ As noticed by the researcher, especially in Samfya, infrastructure issues are particularly intense given the presence of the lakes, rivers and swamps. Often, during the rainy season the water submerges the road and the residents are obliged either to follow other longer roads or to cross through the water. Roads issues are also severe in Chipata, especially during the rainy season.

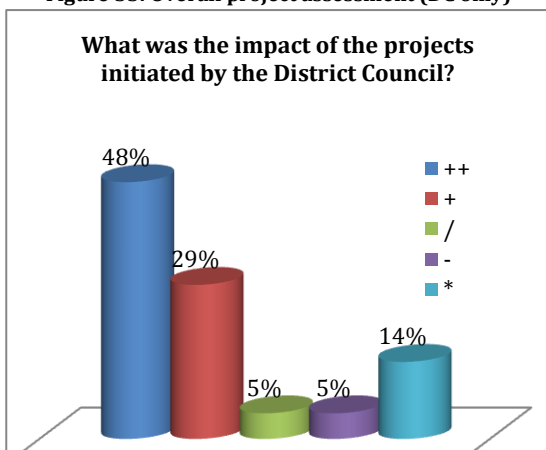
²⁴² The sectors more represented in the focus group discussion are those also indicated by the household participants, namely 'education' (14%), 'infrastructures' (24%), and 'water' (22%). However, in this case the respondents were asked, for the sake of simplicity, to focus only on the last 12 months, no matter the implementing institution (the focus group participants were asked to focus only on local authorities and not NGOs). This data can only be indicative of a trend, as it is possible for a project to be recalled by different respondents.

Figure 54: Overall projects assessment



Percentages calculated on the number of projects initiated by the local authorities (council or ministry departments: 73 projects. Source: Focus group discussions

Figure 55: Overall project assessment (DC only)



Percentages calculated on the number of projects initiated by the District Councils: 42 projects. Source: Focus group discussions

ministry line departments for education, health, etc. Thus, 51% of recalled projects were founded by the Council, 38% by a ministerial department (Figure 52)²⁴³. Similar data resulted also from the household questionnaires²⁴⁴.

During the second exercise, the focus group participants were not only asked to recall the projects but also to assess them. For each of them, they were asked the *quantity* and *type* of impact today ²⁴⁵, choosing between 'big positive' (++), 'small positive' (+), 'negative' (-), or 'no impact' (/).

Figure 54 shows that 79% of projects were assessed positively (49% 'big positive' and 27%

²⁴³ During the focus group discussions, the participants recalled 82 projects. Although, it was explicitly asked to recall projects implemented by the Council or ministry-line department, in a few cases, NGO-funded projects were also mentioned as considered important by the participants and included under the label 'N' (11%).

²⁴⁴ The values from the household survey are the following: 45% District Council, 36% Government departments, and 19% Other (NGO + NA). A limitation of the household survey data is that errors from the respondents cannot be assessed and taken into consideration. For instance, sometimes the label 'government' is used just to refer to public institutions or the difference between the ministerial departments at local level and the Council is not so clear for the respondent. However, one way to correct some imprecision from the interviewee was to ask if the money came from CDF or to ask additional details about the project.

²⁴⁵ The original PADev methodology assesses the impacts of the projects 'then', when it was first realized and 'now'. This research has taken into consideration only the impact today, given the time constraints for the fieldwork.

'small positive' impact). Only a small proportion were judged as having negative impacts, mainly because they were not perceived as useful for the community and the resources could have been used for other more important interventions²⁴⁶. The percentages does not change much if one considers only the projects funded and implemented by the Council, as showed by figure 55.

Interesting data emerge from the third focus group exercise, when the participants were asked to choose the best three project and the three worst among those previously recalled (Figures 56, 57, 58)²⁴⁷.

First, the results suggest that projects funded and managed by the Councils are proportionally less appreciated by the residents. In fact, although the projects funded by the Council (mainly through CDF) account for the 51% of the recalled interventions, they represent only the 31% of those indicated as 'best projects'. On the other side, the projects funded and managed by local ministerial departments (39% of the recalled projects) seem to be more appreciated, representing the 50% of the 'best projects' sample²⁴⁸.

However, the data seem to suggest that the interventions initiated by the Councils are not only the less appreciated but they are also indicated more often as 'worst' projects, representing the 59% of the 'worst sample' (Figure 58).

A common feature of these projects is that some were not timely completed or they were characterised by poor management, as in the case of this health post build though CDF:

²⁴⁶ For instance, in the case of the rehabilitation of a dam in Mkowe Ward (Chipata), the participants argued: "The dam is there but it cannot hold enough water and there is no fish. In the '70s, we were eating a lot of fish but it has been destroyed by the fishermen".

²⁴⁷ In some cases, the participants could not indicate two projects as 'best' or 'worst'. Only two 'best projects' were indicated in Kanjala. Less than three 'worst' projects were indicated in the following wards: Mano (2), Chiparamba (1) and Kanjala (1). In total, 26 were indicates as 'best projects' and 22 as the 'worst'.

²⁴⁸ The same applies to the few recalled projects implemented by NGOs: they represent only 10% of the total recall projects but the 19% of the 'best'.

“We have seen mothers delivering on their way to the hospital. This health post is not yet completed so it is not operational so we cannot assess” (Focus Group, Dilika Ward, Samfya, 29.11.2012).

In other cases, although the project is positive, the constructions were poorly done and they need constant maintenance:

“The idea of the road is good but it was realised with a poor workmanship. The road already needs maintenance and as soon as the rain arrive, it is be difficult to use the road”. (Focus Group, Chifunabuli Ward, Samfya, 20.10.2012).

Also in this case, the road was funded through the Constituency Development Funds. Finally, in other cases, the focus group participants lamented the exclusion from the use of the new service provided by the Council. In Kanjala ward (Chipata) some participants lamented that:

“Only those under 5 years old are use it [health post]. Mothers and children are using it. Men do not benefit”. (Focus Group, Kanjala Ward, Samfya, 01.12.2012).

Another health centre in Chimana ward (Samfya) created long discussions among the participants as the centre targeted people with HIV/AIDS, excluding the others. Women in particular expressed a very negative attitude towards this project

Figure 56: Projects' initiator

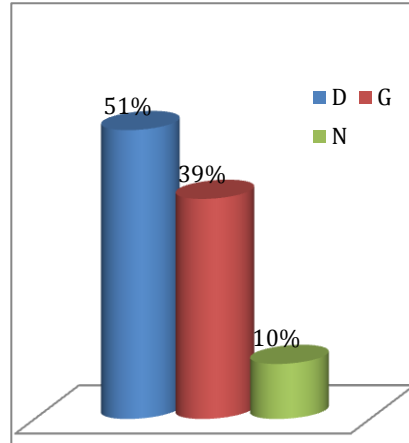


Figure 57: Best projects

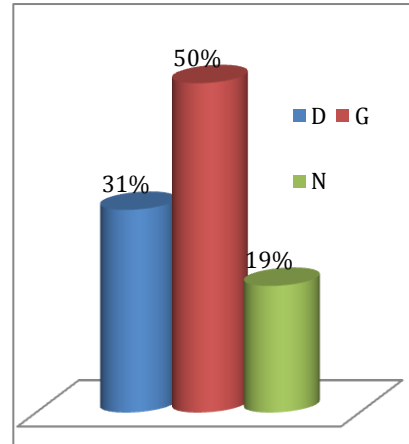
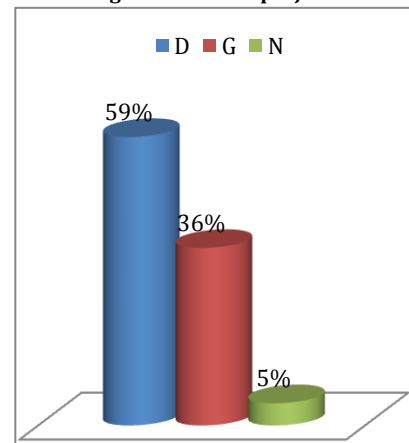


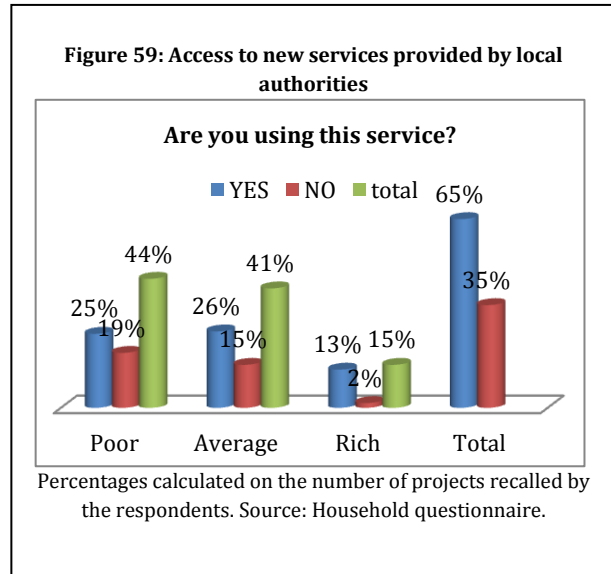
Figure 58: Worst projects



Source: Focus groups

1.1.3 IMPACTS OF PROJECTS ON WEALTH GROUPS

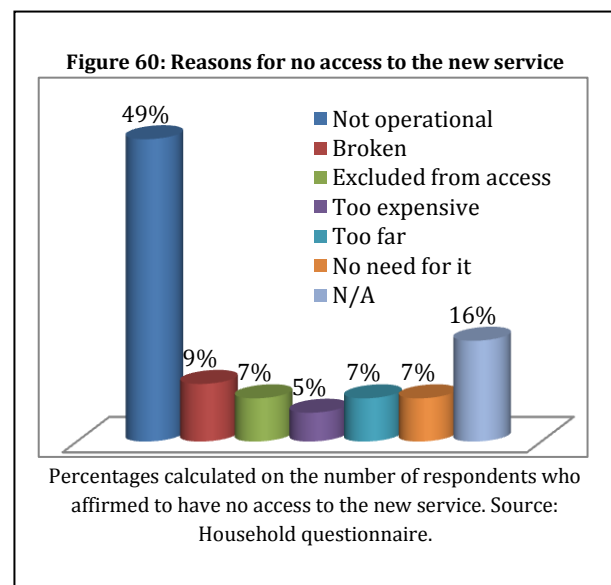
Figure 59 offers interesting insights on the awareness and access to the new services. Firstly, 65% of households are using the services provided by the new projects; 35% are not using them. Secondly, it is interesting to note that the 'rich' household are using almost all the services they can recall; the same does not apply to the other



groups, where the proportion of new services they are not using is bigger. Thirdly, on the one side, the 'rich', although fewer (they represent the 10% of the sample), contribute for 15% of recalled projects. On the other side, the 'poor' contribute for the 44% despite them represent the 52.5% of the sample. A 'rich' household can recall at least a mean of two projects while a 'poor' one can recall only 1.3, and the 'average' 1.7. Not surprisingly, richer households appear more informed on the development initiatives undertaken in the ward.

In sum, the richer can recall more development initiatives than the other groups and they have more chances of using the new services provided, if compared with the other groups and especially the poorer.

Figure 60 shows the main reasons hindering the respondents to use the new services and infrastructures provided in the last year by the local authorities. More

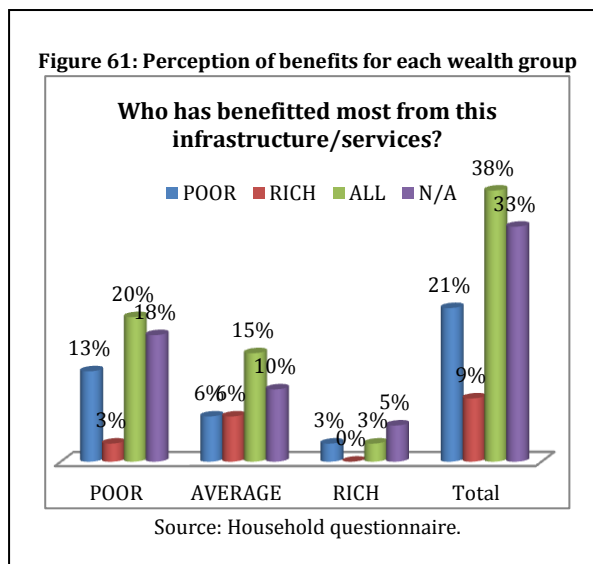


frequently the works are not completed or, although completed, they are not open yet.

This data can be partially linked to the short timeframe considered for this question. However, another reason is directly linked to the usual pattern of project implementation at local level. In fact, it is common practice, especially for CDF projects, to budget only ‘one piece’ of the whole infrastructure. For instance, in the first year one can ask the construction of the main infrastructure; even if, at the end of the first year, the ‘skeleton’ will be build, the school would not been completely yet. The second year, one can ask for the construction of the roof. But then the school will only need the furniture, the Ministry of Education to take the school under its authority and to send teachers.

The household respondents were also asked which wealth group (ex.: the rich or the poor) was gaining more benefits from the projects they could recall (Figure 61).

Usually, the whole community could benefit from the services provided in the district in the last year (38%). If not the whole community, the poorest have

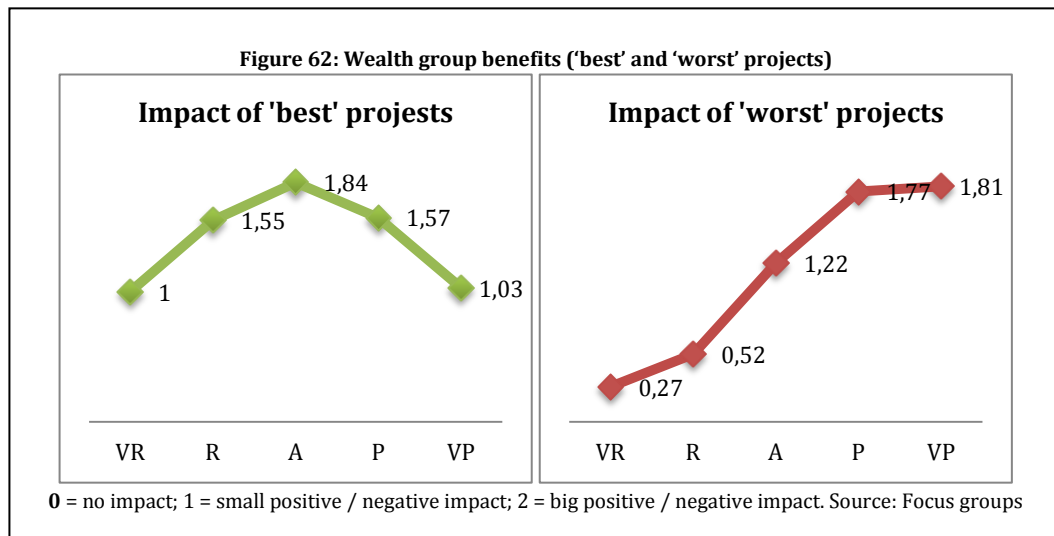


higher benefits from the new projects (21%)²⁴⁹. This data seem to suggest that, putting aside the delays in completing the works, the new roads, water points, or schools are actually used as they respond to the needs of the people and the

²⁴⁹ The same pattern applies when the respondents are asked to assess the benefits on gender (ex.: man or woman) or different occupation group (ex. farmers, businesspersons, etc.). The respondents have also taken into consideration the projects not completed yet, evaluation their *potential* future benefit for the population.

poorest, which also constitute the majority of the population in these areas, are actually reached by the new services.

The figure 62 shows that the ‘average’ usually benefits more from the projects, followed by the ‘poor’ and the ‘rich’. According to the participants, often the ‘very rich’ or ‘rich’ benefit less from some kind of projects (ex.: health, education or water) because usually they have alternative channels to access



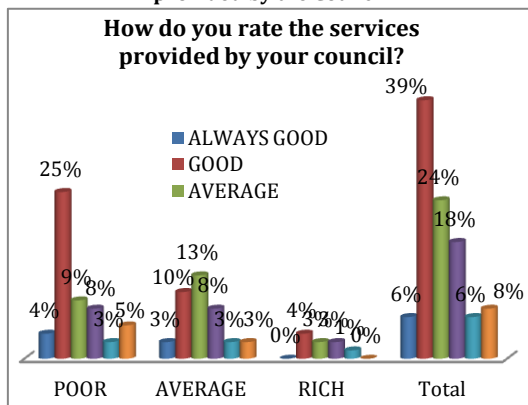
these services. For instance, the ‘very rich’ and sometimes the ‘rich’ prefer to send their children to private school, or they have their own well so they do not need to access to public boreholes. However, they are indicated as benefiting more from infrastructure projects as roads or bridges because they have usually have a car or a motorbike, and not only a bicycle as the ‘average’ or the ‘poor’. These latter benefits more from social projects as they can access only the health, education, water services provided at local level: they have less financial resources so they can only afford the locally provided services. The poor have smaller benefits as usually their resources are so limited that they can even afford to use the services provided by the new projects.

The same logic applies also in the case of the ‘worst’ projects. The small impact created by worst projects on ‘very rich’ and ‘rich’ household derives, as already explained, from their possibility to access the same services elsewhere, even with better quality. The others groups are more affected as they cannot diversify their access to the services, moving in other wards or districts where these are available. The ‘very poor’ are often indicated as the most affected in

terms of *potential benefit lost*: the funds could have been better used or simply used for a good intervention directly targeting this category.

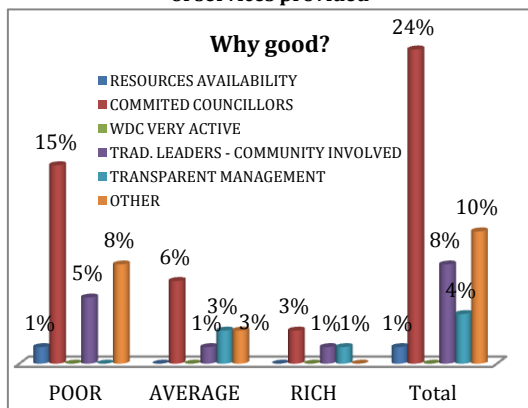
1.1.4 LOCAL PERCEPTIONS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT’S PERFORMANCE

Figure 63: Perception of quality of services / projects provided by the Council



Percentages calculated on the total respondents (80).
Source: Household questionnaire

Figure 64: Perceived reasons justifying to the quality of services provided



% are calculated on the total of those assessing the services 'always good' or 'good' as shown in figure 63.
Source: Household questionnaire.

The respondents of the household survey expressed a moderate overall satisfaction for the services provided by the Council, with 45% rating the services as 'always good' or 'good'. On the other side, 24% consider the services as 'poor' or 'always poor' and 24% 'average' (figure 63).

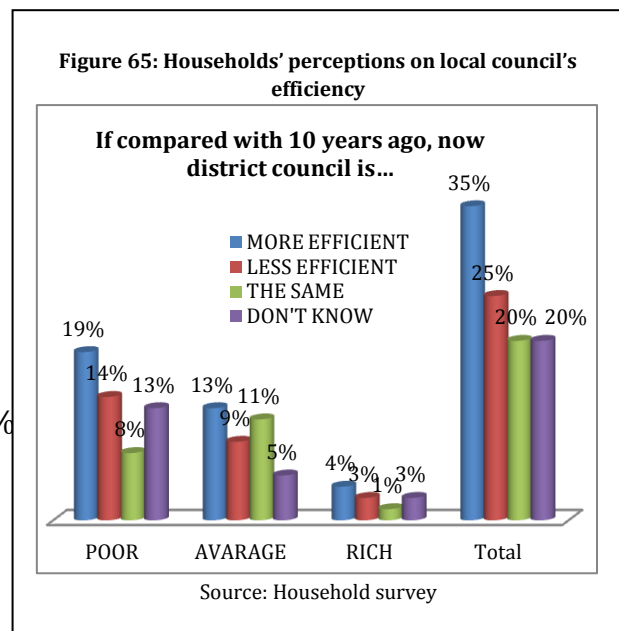
The wealth groups showed a different perception towards the projects and services provided by the Council. The poor seem to appreciate them more, with a bigger majority of 'good' ratings (25%) over the 'average' (9%) or 'poor' and 'always poor' (3%). The 'average' group is more critical, with the majority judging the services as 'average' (13%), followed by the 'always good and good' (13%) and 'poor' and

'always poor' (11%).

The main reason justifying a 'good' perception toward the services provided is the commitment of the councillors (24%), intended as concrete realisation of infrastructures (figure 64). For instance, some argued that: *"They did this*

shelter and the toilets for the market” or “Now they are maintaining the road”, or simply “the work they do is visible”. The same applies when the respondents justify a negative appreciation towards the services: “I have not seen development projects by the District Council” or “they do not visit this place to see the problems people are facing”. In sum, the realisations of new infrastructures or frequent visits by the councillors seem to be the main tools used by the residents to assess their local institution performance in terms of service provision.

A rather negative assessment emerges when the household respondents are asked whether the efficiency of the Council has changed in the last ten years (figure 65). The majority (35%) think there has been improvements, but still the 25% judges the Council less efficient or just the same as ten years ago (20%).



The focus group discussion allows highlighting the perceptions on the local councils. The participants were read 9 statements and they were asked to assess if those were ‘always’, ‘usually’, ‘sometimes’ or ‘never’ true. Figure 30 shows the result of this assessment. The overall average varies between 0 (Chimana) and 1.6 (Chiparamba) and it clearly show a generally negative perception toward the local government. However, in Samfya (S) the perception was more negative than in Chipata (C): the first five wards scored 0.7, the last four scored 1.1²⁵⁰.

²⁵⁰ These values are calculated as a simple average of the overall scores of the wards in the same district.

The participants to the focus group discussions acknowledge the realisation of some interventions, judged positively when realised. Moreover, in the wards scoring higher values, the residents are usually more involved: *“The community is always involved before and in the implementation as we always need to provide the 25% of the materials”* (Focus Group, Mkowe ward - Chipata, 04.12.2012). However, in different wards the focus group participants expressed some frustration for not being involved in the decision-making of project or for the complete absence of the councillor: *“They never came to ask about our problems. They do not have meetings with us, not even with the headman”* (Focus Group, Kanjala ward - Chipata, 01.12.2012).

Different issues were highlighted during the discussions. Firstly, delays in the project’s completion are quite common: *“Using the CDF, the District Council can finance projects every year and we can see them. The new services provided are not timely done, and every time you request a service it takes a lot of time before you can have it”* (Focus Group, Katansha ward - Samfya, 27.10.2012); Secondly, often participants lamented a lack of honesty, in terms of transparency, insufficient information or corruption: *“Most of the time, if they cannot do a project they cannot explain why. They are not able to explain to people how much money is there and about what project. Before, under Kaunda, there was more collaboration so we knew those details”* (Focus Group, Katansha ward - Samfya, 27.10.2012); or *“They are not honest because they do not go around sensitizing the community and even if you apply for a job in the District Council, they prefer to hire somebody from their family”* (Focus Group, Chimana ward - Samfya, 17.10.2012). Thirdly, others argued that resources are channelled towards the township or diverted in other wards: *“Sometimes the District Council promises something, but after we discover that the money has been diverted to another ward to finance another project”* (Focus Group, Katansha ward - Samfya, 27.10.2012). Other issues concern the delays in the payments for the salaries, the lack of coordination within the local authority and the lack of a proper follow up and project management: *“They are only sometimes efficient because each project has a timeframe and a monitoring procedure.*

However, some projects are unfinished and there is no transparency or monitoring” (Focus Group, Chifunabuli ward - Samfya, 10.10.2012).

Table 30: Assessment of the local Councils

Group	Long term commitment	Realistic Expectations	Honesty	Relevance	Participation	Efficiency	Trust in people	Impact	Overall (average)
1.CHIMANA ward (S)	0	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.MANO ward (S)	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	1
3.CHIFUNABULI ward (S)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0,9
4.MASONDE ward (S)	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,6
5.KATANSHA ward (S)	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	1,0
6. DILIKA ward (C)	1	1	*	1	2	1	1	1	1,1
7.CHIPARAMBA ward (C)	1	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	1,6
8.KANJALA ward (C)	1	1	0	0	0	*	0	0	0,3
9.MKOWE ward (C)	1	1	1	1	3	*	1	2	1,4
Total (average)	0,9	1,0	0,4	0,7	1,1	0,9	0,9	1,2	

Each assessment was assigned the values as follows: 3 = Always; 2 = usually; 1 = Sometimes; 0 = Rarely/never; * = unable to assess. The values on the last row and the last column are averages. Source: Focus group

1.1.5 WDC/ADCs MEMBERS

As already noted, the sub-district structures are not a real vehicle of information and inclusion of the community into the decision-making system. The majority of the population does not know what these structures are and how they work. Nevertheless, respondents aware on their existence understand the WDC/ADCs as a ‘development tool’ and as shown by the survey results, they support the need of an intermediate body as they feel it is useful

for development. It can explain why the 66% believe that the WDC/ADCs can actually 'promote development in the community'. At the same time, a 27% were not able to express an idea: they agree that these institutions are "too young" and it is not possible yet to express a judgement. The same idea has been expressed during the focus groups discussions:

"The ADC has just started to work. Only some of them are honest. Since their election, the ADC members have started to have meetings with the zones to discuss about problems. Some put too much politics in their work instead of doing just development. They involve themselves in politics and some of them are politicians. We can trust only some of them" (Focus Group, Masonde Ward (Samfya), October 2012).

Among the poor, the number of those who cannot express an opinion is quite high 20%. This implies that, although they know about the WDC/ADC, they do not have information of its role and work.

Figure 66: Households' perceptions on WDCs' effectiveness (per district)

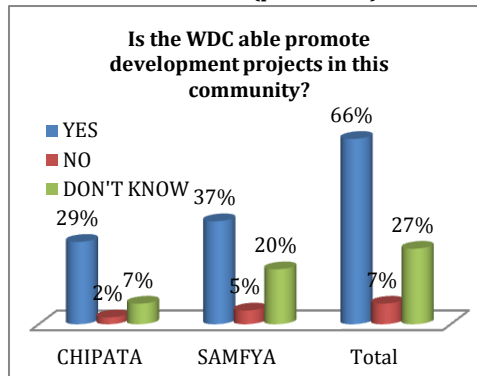
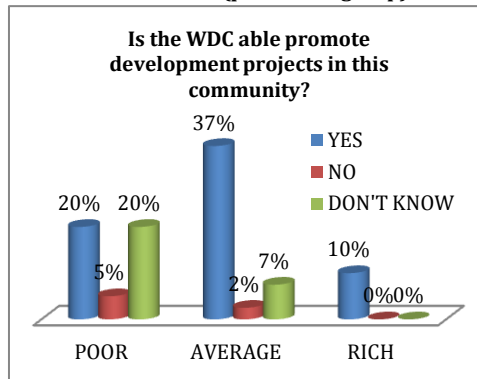


Figure 67: Households' perceptions on WDCs' effectiveness (per wealth group)



Source: Household questionnaire

CONCLUSION

Today, decentralisation is a widespread phenomenon that seems like occurring everywhere (Crook and Manor, 1998; Eaton and Connerley, 2010; ICHRP 2005; Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006). Among donors and governments, decentralisation policies are quite popular and it is likely that, in the medium term, we will still be living within a decentralised system (Connerley, Eaton, & Smoke, 2010).

The history of decentralisation in Africa is well rooted in the colonial pattern of local government. However, the current wave of popularity started in the 1990s is quantitative and qualitative different from earlier experiences. It is quantitative different because, as mentioned above, decentralisation is occurring everywhere, and it is difficult today to find a country that has not recently introduced or reformed its local government system or that it is not discussing about it. It is qualitatively different because today the goals that decentralisation is meant to achieve are different from past experiences. Since independence, African states and aid agencies have promoted decentralisation initiatives as a means towards many different goals, such as fast development, increased efficiency of the government machine, increased popular participation in development initiatives, and even increased centralisation (Agrawal & Ribot, 1999; Ribot, 2002; Olowu & Wunsch, 2004)²⁵¹.

The last wave of decentralisation has been promoted as a mean to support the democratic experiences started in the 1990s and, lately, the new development agenda as described in the famous World Bank Report 'Attacking Poverty'

²⁵¹ See chapter 2, heading 4.

(World Bank, 2001). This new agenda understands poverty as a multidimensional concept and suggests a comprehensive approach to alleviate it, composed by three main strategies: 'promoting opportunities', 'facilitating empowerment', and 'enhancing security' (World Bank, 2001) ²⁵² . Decentralisation is widely considered as a key policy able to promote democracy (empowerment), to create an enabling environment for development (opportunities), and to address the needs of autonomy and self-government (security) (Steiner, 2007).

However, the pro-poor effects of decentralisation are not supported by unarguable evidence: the literature on the last decentralisation experiences undertaken in development countries offers, at best, a mixed picture²⁵³. Moreover, this literature is still growing, it is not always based on empirical evidence and it is often donor-funded. This study has tried to contribute to the discussion, providing additional empirical evidence on the links between decentralisation and poverty alleviation in a country, Zambia, that has been almost completely neglected by the literature on this topic²⁵⁴.

Which are the goals of the last decentralisation reform in Zambia?

Zambia has a longstanding history of local government. After independence, the local administration was reformed three times, with the Local Government Act (1965), the Local Administration Act (1980). The current framework is regulated by the Local Government Act, introduced in 1991, after the end of the one-party experience and the re-introduction of the multi-party democracy.

This new system is half way between the decentralisation 'by default' and 'by design'. In fact, on the one hand, the current local government system is very

²⁵² See: chapter 3, heading 2.2.

²⁵³ For an insightful analysis of the last decentralization experiences, see: Agrawal and Ribot (1999); Bird and Rodriguez, 1999; Bossuyt and Gould, 2000; Crook and Sverrisson, 2001; Jonhson, 2001; Crook, 2003; Smoke, 2003; Vedeld, 2003; Jütting and Kaufmann, 2004; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Steiner, 2007; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008; Treisman, 2007; Linder, 2010; Connerley, Eaton and Smoke (2010), Sepulveda and Martinez-Vasquez, 2011. See: chapter 2 and

²⁵⁴ See: chapter 2, heading 1.5.

similar to the one introduced in 1964, it is largely the result of internal discussion and there is a widespread support in the national elites for the desirability of an efficient network of local councils. However, on the other hand, the last two decades have also been characterized by a lack of political commitment in pushing further the decentralisation agenda, as shown by the failure in completing the implementation of the National Decentralisation Policy²⁵⁵.

Although, the actual local government system is legally stronger than the previous ones due to its entrenchment in the Constitutional provisions, the overall legal framework does not guarantee a real autonomy in decision-making to the local authorities, with the central government still playing a major role. In fact, the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) still retains a considerable number of powers that, *de facto*, limit the autonomy of the local administration²⁵⁶. Other limits have been indirectly introduced through sectorial policies, with powers and resources channelled towards the line ministry departments. Moreover, the mayor has a mere ceremonial role, with the council secretaries (or town clerk) playing major tasks in the day-to-day work of the local councils. Finally, the District Commissioner, a government appointee, represents the government at local level. Inevitably, confusion over the respective functions is still frequent, as well as overlapping of initiatives and functions. The District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC) is ineffective in harmonizing the work of the council and the

²⁵⁵ Decentralisation is one of the pillars of the Public Sector Reform Programme, introduced in 1993 by former President Chiluba. The National Decentralisation Policy (NDP) has been approved by the Parliament in 2002, but adopted by the President only two years later, in August 2004. A Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP) was adopted only in 2005 and it was intended to cover the years 2009-2013. However, the implementation plan remained largely unfinished. A revised Decentralisation Policy was approved by the new PF government in 2013.

²⁵⁶ For instance, the minister has special powers in terms of audit and suspension of the councilors (LGA, 1991, art. 52 and 60); the by-laws made by the council can enter into force only *after* the confirmation by the minister and this latter can refuse to sign them, require a modification or even revoke a by-law already approved (Ibidem, art.: 82 and 83). Finally, the minister has also the power to suspend the councillors and appoint an administrator to discharge the functions of the local authority (Ibidem, art. 88).

ministerial departments, resulting in a mere “talking shop” (Saasa & Carlsson, 2002: 120).

In sum, it is clear that the central government, at least till the 2013 elections, has not been committed in moving forward the decentralisation agenda. It has largely preferred to put more efforts in strengthening the deconcentrated departments instead of the democratically elected local council, aiming mainly at securing the central power into the district.

The reason behind this choice is mainly political. In fact, the ruling parties (the UNIP, especially since the 1970s or the MDD after 1991), have historically used the local authorities to secure their popular support. The analysis has shown that in the 1980s the political and governmental structures were merged in order to guarantee a complete control of the center over the district²⁵⁷. After the re-establishment of the democratic regime in 1991, political parties could, at least theoretically, compete on equal basis for power. In reality, various studies have expressed concerns over the actual pluralism achieved by the democratic state; Chikulo, for instance, has defined the Third Republic as “de facto one-party state” (Burnell, 2001: 240). The predominance of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MDD) lead by Frederick Chiluba was also clearly visible at local level:

“The MDD’s hold on local government is no less strong, retaining a clear majority of seats in all councils in eight of Zambia’s nine provinces in the 1998 local elections, with Eastern Province – UNIP’s heartland – the sole exception” (Burnell, 2001: 240).

Although it is too early for an assessment, one can understand the current enthusiasm of the Patriotic Front’s government towards decentralization as having the main goal to secure the popular support, at least in the medium term.

²⁵⁷ See: chapter 5.

Not surprisingly, the importance of the political parties at local level has also emerged in the analysis of the impact of decentralisation on the political dimension of poverty.

One of the leading questions of this study was: **“Does the functioning of the local government in Zambia allow for the empowerment and the inclusion of the poorest in the decision making”?**

In the analysis, ‘empowerment’ was analysed in term of increased participation, representation and accountability²⁵⁸. Decentralisation creates opportunities for electoral and non-electoral participation. However, it is not sufficient to guarantee a widespread participation of the rural communities into the local public affairs. Data from the two target districts have shown that electoral participation has been quite moderate in the last electoral rounds, with variations in the voters’ turnout mainly linked to the general political context²⁵⁹. Moreover, the active participation as candidates is still limited and involves mainly those having a political affiliation, with only a marginal number of independent candidates running for office. Data from non electoral forms of participation as the involvement in the Zone or Ward Development Committees as voters or during their meetings is extremely low, marking their marginal role in increasing participation of the grassroots in the public affairs.

Decentralisation is also claimed to enable for a better representation of all the social groups, especially the most marginalised groups such as the poor, or women, which are usually at the periphery of the public arena and cannot effectively influence the local decision-making. The local government in Zambia seems to create a space also for the most disadvantaged categories: for instance, field data has shown that even poor small scale farmers (or fishers in Samfya) were able to access a seat as councillors in the local assembly. Moreover, the role played by religious or traditional leaders is influential but

²⁵⁸ See, chapter 3, heading 3.

²⁵⁹ See, chapter 6, headings 2.1 and 4.1.

they cannot directly run for elections²⁶⁰. On the other hand, representation of women is rather challenging, as shown by the data on their active participation as candidates or councillors²⁶¹.

The data seem to exclude the presence of the 'elite capture' of the local institutions by specific economic or social groups as shown by many authors (Blair, 2000; Olowu, 2001; Johnson & Start, 2001; Johnson, 2001. Crook, 2003; Chinsinga, 2005 and 2008; Crawford and Hartmann, 2008). This is also supported by the field data on the impacts of development projects initiated by the local council, where 'poor' or 'very poor' families have more benefits²⁶². However, one concern is the actual 'capacity' of the councillor. Those who are more educated or more familiar with the local government structures and work will have an advantage in capturing resources and initiatives for their own ward (or/and interest) and they can therefore guarantee a better representation of their ward or group. Secondly, the data suggest a strong role of the political parties in defining the local politics. Political parties are indeed well rooted in the wards and zones, and they are able to create a network including all folks of the society²⁶³. Therefore, political parties or, more precisely, the national ruling party, seem the access point to access resources and get involved in the local decision-making.

This important role played by political parties at local level, necessarily influence the accountability mechanisms, which appear quite weak in the two districts. On the one hand, elections does not seem to play a central role in 'punishing' the badly performing councillors. Firstly, this mechanism can work

²⁶⁰ For an insightful analysis on the role of traditional and religious leaders in Zambia, see: chapter 6, heading 3.1.

²⁶¹ For an insightful analysis on the involvement of women in local politics, see: chapter 6, heading 3.2.

²⁶² See chapter 7.

²⁶³ The entrenchment of the parties at local level can be explained through the recent history of the local administration in Zambia, in particular, with the one-party participatory democracy started in 1971 and the merger, in 1981, of the political and party structures under the Local Administration Act (1981). For instance, Tordoff and Young argued, "This new structure was in practice used to underpin the power of the ruling party at local level (...)" (1994: 287). See also chapter 5.

only if elections are free, fair and recurrent, which has not always been the case in Zambia in the last electoral rounds. For instance, elections in 1996 and 2001 were perceived as fraudulent by international observers as well as the population and not surprisingly these years registered a considerable decrease of the voter turnout (Diakonia, 2013). Secondly, since 2001, Zambia adopted the formula of the 'tripartite' elections (presidential, national assembly): the voter's attention is easily diverted to the national issues instead of the local ones, with the consequence that some respondents admitted to have voted for the local council only for the sake of voting. Moreover, the information flow on the local government's activities is often quite limited: field data have illustrated the central role still played by traditional leaders in filtering the information and the limited opportunities of regular consultation between the councillors and the voters.

This study has also tried to analyse the socio-economic impact of decentralisation. In fact, today poverty is understood as a condition characterised not only by material deprivation but also by a limited access to important public services as education and health. Decentralised local governments are perceived as more efficient in providing a wide range of public goods and services and in targeting the most vulnerable and marginalised. Moreover, local governments are considered as key actors in pursuing local development as they can take initiatives to increase local business opportunities and growth (World Bank, 2001). Therefore, this study has firstly tried to understand if:

Has decentralisation helped local institutions in Zambia to undertake initiatives and create opportunities to support households' income?

The data on the household income and its change in the last five years have shown the high incidence of poverty in the two councils and a quite negative trend especially for those belonging to the poorest groups of the society. These results have also been recently supported by the Zambian Central Statistical Office, which argues that "(...) in rural areas, the incidence of poverty was

generally higher among small scale farmers” (CSO, 2012a: 185), namely the occupational group most represented in the areas studied in this work.

Moreover, the data have indicated no evidence supporting the idea of a role played by the local government in this negative trend. The field data suggest a neutral role instead: the councils had no impact (either positive or negative) on poverty levels, at least in their economic dimension:

“Results further reveal that the incidence of poverty barely changed among small scale farmers between 2006 and 2010, from 81.5 to 79.9 per cent, while it remained almost static among medium scale farmers at about 70 per cent (...).These results demonstrates that there is a lot more that needs to be done in order to reduce poverty among the small and medium scale farming households found in rural areas” (CSO, 2012a: 186).

Secondly, this study has analysed if decentralisation has helped to increase the quantity and quality of public services, reaching the poorest and most deprived groups living in the rural areas.

Water and sanitation, education and infrastructures are the most represented sectors in the development initiatives undertaken by the local authorities (councils or deconcentrated departments). Usually, the projects funded and managed by the councils are appreciated by the residents. However, the councils’ development initiatives have more chances to fail meeting the needs of the residents than those funded by the deconcentrated departments. The reasons are mainly linked to the delays in completion, the poor management and quality of the new infrastructure that need constant maintenance or the exclusion of some groups from their use. In sum, the Council’s initiatives are appreciated but they often fail to meet the expected quality because of bad management or the need of constant maintenance. More generally it can be concluded that this failure is mainly linked to the failure of following the simple principle of ‘finance follows function’, with the councils responsible of the provision of numerous services but without the financial and human

resources necessary to *actually* supply them²⁶⁴. Moreover, the lack of commitment highlighted earlier in the discussion, does not create the most enabling environment for the council to deliver effectively and efficiently; in fact,

“Councils are mired in largely personnel-cost related debt, yet often deficient in skilled manpower as well as other financial and material resources.(...) As a consequence, most council provide minimal local services and where they do, it is largely to populations who live in the immediate vicinity of the council. They are widely perceived by local people and businesses as, at best, irrelevant, or at worst, an unwelcome irritant, being a taxing entity where little is provided in return” (Kamanga, Chitembo, & Philips, 2008: 10).

Thus, the councils seems not able to match the demands for public services and goods due mainly to resources constraints and an important part of it is channelled through the Constituency Development Funds (CDF) and not through the statutory resources as local taxes or governmental grants.

The field data has also indicated that projects initiated by the local authorities usually target the whole community, which is mainly composed by ‘average’ or ‘poor/very poor’ households. However, decentralisation seem to have a quite limited impact on alleviating the social deprivation of the poorest, while it guarantees more benefits for the ‘average’ group. In fact, the data have also shown that, on the one hand the ‘rich’ have more chances than the ‘poor’ and ‘very poor’ to have information on new services available in the ward and to use them. On the other hand, the ‘poor’ and ‘very poor’ have relatively less benefits from good development initiatives than other groups, and especially the ‘average’. However, they are the most affected by the bad development initiatives, as they have usually no other ways to access the services not provided locally.

In sum, **is decentralisation having pro-poor effects in Zambia?** The answer appears rather negative and local governments show to have played a limited

²⁶⁴ See chapter 5, heading 2.5.

role in alleviating the political and socio-political vulnerability of the population in the target districts. However, it does not imply that decentralisation should be rejected. Field data show that, despite the poor performance, communities still understand the local councils as an important *potential* driver of development.

1 FOCUS GROUP EXERCISES

1.1 Wealth Group Categorization

Question: Please describe the things that make a person very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor. Using 10 stones, can you estimate the proportion of very rich, rich, average, poor and very poor people in your community?

DISTRICT	GROUP	CATEGORY	LOCAL NAME	DESCRIPTION	STONES	%
SAMFYA	WARD 1 - CHIMANA WARD	VERY RICH	ABA KANKALA SANA	They are usually commercial farmers and they hire cheap labour (community leader). They are hard workers (cooperatives). Farmers have tractors and other machines for agriculture. They have kettos, pigs, goats and they own 200 hectares land. They can access loans and invest their money (businessperson). They have billions of kwacha, busses, cars, tracks. They own a bus mansion. Children are very educated, they go in private schools and sometimes they study overseas. They are not dependent, they dress well, they have high quality shoes, and They eat 4 meals a day. For funerals, they use many cars and they are buried in big casket.	1	5%
		RICH	ABA KANKALA	Farmers have no machinery and they use small materials. They own a car and sometimes a bicycle. They can have one shop, 2 houses and 20-50 hectares of land. They eat sweet potatoes, cassava, beans, groundnuts, peanuts. They have 2 meals a day. They children go to high school. They buy clothes.	1	5%
		AVERAGE	PAKATI	They have a big land (10-20 hectares). They go for second hand clothes. They eat 2 meals a day. Children go to public school. They own one simple house with grass roof or even iron sheets. Some have a car. They own a boat or canoes.	3	30%
		POOR	ABA PINA	For funerals, people hold them on shoulders. They have a "grass house", one bike. They have two meals a day. They own 2-4 lima (one hectare) of land, a canoe. Only some children go to school because they cannot afford to pay the fees for each of them.	4	40%
		VERY POOR	ABA PINA SANA	They beg for money and for food. To eat is a problem for them. They are dependent from others. They have street kids that sometimes steal. They have handicaps. If they have one, their house is very poor, they sleep on the floor without blankets and they have poor toilets. They do not have shoes. They do not have soap or water so they have problem to wash themselves.	1	10%
SAMFYA	WARD 2 - ANO WARD	VERY RICH	ABA KANKALA SANA	They live in a mansion built with concrete and roofed with iron sheets. They own a big amount of livestock and farm products. They own a car, beautiful clothes and they dress well. This is people like the President or they have big shops and a big piece of land (until 150 hectares). They afford 3 meals a day. Their children go to very good schools. They employ people in their farm or as house-servants (while they are busy to count the money). They are commercial farmers with many types of machinery. People are attracted to go to their funerals because their relatives provide a lot of food, they use cars and they have a concrete-made grave with a stone. They own hammer mills and fishponds. At home, they have electricity, refrigerators and all the electronic appliances. They have engines for their boats. They drink purified water and they live in low-density areas.	0	0

SAMEYA	WARD 3 - CHIFUNABULI WARD	RICH	ABA KANKALA	They are farmers who can afford to have enough food to go to one season to the other (2-3 meals a day). They have capital for medium-size business. They own a decent house and their children go to high school. They have some machinery. Fishers have a boat. They own a house but not a "fancy " one. They employ few people to work for them. They treat ordinary water with chlorine. They may own until 50 hectares of land.	0	0
		AVERAGE	PAKATI	They afford 2 meals a day. They do not own a car but just a bicycle. The house is made by bricks but they may have a grass roof. They own a black and white TV set. They engage part time workers for small jobs. There is not a big crowd to their funeral and they have a simple grave. They have solar panels, no sofas but a lounge suite. They have poor ventilators. Their clothes are not so bad (bud second-hand one). They run a small business.	1	10%
		POOR	ABA PINA	They have a small house with grass roof. They can have until 10 hectares of land but they are not able to use it all. They are hired as workers in other people farms. They live in high-density areas. They own a bicycle. They struggle to pay school fees for their children. They afford to cultivate cassava but not maize as it requires fertilizers. They have 1-2 meals a day. They may be charcoal sellers. They cannot afford to buy groceries in bar but just small quantities. They drink not treated water.	6	60%
		VERY POOR	ABA PINA SANA	They shave by themselves because they cannot afford to pay a barber. They work for food (not for money). They may have one meal a day. They live in mud houses. They are charcoal sellers. Their children do not go to school or if they go, they do not pay the fees. In their house, they do not have a bed or mattress but they sleep only on a reed mat. They do not have household properties. They use firewood for cooking, as they cannot afford to by coal. No sugar. The children are often thieves. They cannot afford proper clothes.	3	30%
	VERY RICH	ABA KANKALA SANA	They have enough for themselves and they can give out. They own a mansion and a car. They can access transport. They afford 3 meals a day and their children can go to very good private schools. With their income, they are able to address basic needs. They are rich beyond everything. They are businessperson or civil servants. They are buried in caskets. They have modern houses with electricity or solar panels and fridge. They own 15 hectares of land or more.	1	5%	
	RICH	ABA KANKALA	They run a business or they are civil servants. They own a vehicle (motorbike or bicycle) and around 5-10 hectares of land. They sell products at the market. They have spacious houses and the roof with iron sheets. Their household is smaller if compared with poor people (the household size increases with the poverty level)	1	5%	
	AVERAGE	PAKATI	They afford 1 or 2 meals a day. They have a sizeable house. Their children go at least to public schools. They may own a boat, a bicycle or a canoe. They may have 1 lima dedicated to maize production (so they are able to access fertilizers and seeds). They own around 2 hectares of land and livestock (chickens, goats, and ketos). They are business people or civil servants	2,5	25%	
	POOR	ABA PINA	They lack of basic needs and they do not have a proper source of income. They cultivate but this is not enough for the family. If they own bicycles, they cannot afford its maintenance. They prefer to use traditional medicine instead of going to the hospital. They have a house with grass roof. They cannot afford to cultivate maize (even if the government provides the fertilizers) but only cassava. They have no mean of communication. Their concentration is on the reproductive system (the rich concentrates on the belly). Children go to school but often the girls get pregnant and they drop out even at 14.	2	20%	
VERY POOR	ABA PINA SANA	They face extreme poverty. To afford a meal is hard and they work for food not for money. They wear patched clothes. Children do not afford to have a bath because they have no soap. At home, they have fights because of poverty. The children have a stunted growth and they are more prone to diseases. Their nutrition is based on carbohydrates. They live in a degraded environment. People contribute to finance their funerals. Girls get pregnant when they are still children.	4	40%		

SAMFYA	WARD 4 - MASONDE WARD	VERY RICH	ABA KANKALA SANA	They own money, any type of vehicles, a big farm (20 hectares and above), a lot of livestock (20 cattle and above, goats, chickens, goats). In their house, they have electricity, a fridge and all the electronic appliances and it is covered by iron sheets. They own different bank accounts. They can afford to pay for high education standards for their children. They have a very balanced diet.	0	0%
		RICH	ABA KANKALA	They own a TV, and house covered with iron sheets, solar panels. They own cattle, goats, chickens. They run medium-size shops or even a private school. They are able to cultivate 5 hectares or above. They can afford to provide 3 meals a day to their children and to send them to very expensive private schools. They are not much in need of essentials commodities like food or clothing. They provide a bicycle or even a car to their children to go to school plus all the school tools (pens, etc.), food and money. Poor people ask them to work for food. Sometimes, they are moneylender. They are not workers but they employ people to work for them. They have a balanced diet and a good dressing code (they can afford to buy expensive cloths).	0	0%
		AVERAGE	PAKATI	They go to public schools. They have 1-2 meals a day. Their houses have a roof covered by grass and sometimes by iron sheets. They may have 3 cows and some chickens or pigs. They can own a bicycle but not a car. They can afford a cheap single solar panel, a radio or a blank & white TV. They are able to cultivate 2 lima also with maize.	2	20%
		POOR	ABA PINA	They fail to buy blankets or proper beds to sleep on. They do not have kettos, maybe only a cat. They can own 1 lima where they cultivate a variety of crops (cassava, millet, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes). They do not have enough money for school fees. They can afford 1 meal a day. They have a poor dressing code. Their children work for money (ex. caterpillars). Sometimes, children are forced to stop going to school due to financial constraints or for their poor diet. Some of them can become street children. "Pakati" laugh at "aba pina"	5	50%
		VERY POOR	ABA PINA SANA	They live in mud houses. During the rainy season, they run out of food and they dress in a very poor way. Sometimes, they cannot afford even a meal a day; they do not have proper beddings and they sleep on sacs. Their children do not go to school and they beg or steal food from others. Women may become prostitutes. The mothers encourage their children to steal or prostitute themselves. They do not own livestock and their children have malnutrition problems. They do not wear proper clothes but just rags. They do not have shoes, soap or salt. The girls get early marriages (even at 12).	3	30%
SAMFYA	WARD 5 - KATANSHA WARD	VERY RICH	ABA KANKALA SANA	They are businessperson. They own a very beautiful house and vehicles. They lack nothing. They own farms, a lot of livestock (chickens, goats, etc.) and until 350 hectares of land. They are commercial farmers, they can diversify their production and they hire workers. They can invest their wealth inside and outside the country. They can eat anytime they want and everything they want (even 4 meals a day!). They own tractors and hammer mills.	0	0%
		RICH	ABA KANKALA	They own big shops (all sales shops), 5/6 vehicles or a boat with an engine. They may have even 7 wives and they have a decent life. They live in beautiful houses covered with iron sheets, with in-built toilets, electricity, and fridge. They have a consistent income (millions and millions of kwacha). They own even 100 hectares of land, livestock (but not in large numbers) and they hire labour to work for them.	2	20%
		AVERAGE	PAKATI	There is no hunger in their homes, they are small-scale farmers or they own small shops. They can afford 2 decent meals a day. They own only bicycles or canoes, 5-10 hectares of land and farmers earn 4-5 million a year (but they have also to buy inputs with this money). They live in a house with a grass roof (sometimes also with iron sheets) and a sofa.	3	30%

		POOR	ABA PINA	They live in huts (mud houses) only sometimes build with bricks. They cannot meet their daily basic needs. They have a very inconsistent income (100.000 K a month or less). They cannot pay the school fees or proper clothes for their children. Their children are enrolled in public schools but when they cannot pay the fees, they are sent away. They can afford to pay only for basic education. They have no proper beddings and they sleep on reed mats.	2	20%
		VERY POOR	ABA PINA SANA	For days, they cannot afford a meal and they depend on things people give them (they need to beg). They do not have blankets and children are covered only by a "chitengue". They cannot send their children to school; they are malnourished and prone to diseases. They are dressed in rags. They do not own land and they cannot cultivate because they are hungry and they do not have energy. They live in a dilapidated house with a roof leaking during the rainy season. They are chronically ill and often they are old people.	3	30%
CHIPATA	WARD 1 - DILIKA WARD	VERY RICH	OLEMELA KWAMBILI	They own a good field (10 arc) and animals (cattle, etc.). Their house is built with bricks and iron sheets. They have solar panels. They afford three meals a day including breakfast. They have "transport" as cars. Their children can go to high schools and to the college. They have decent clothes when they go to church or for special occasions. They employ people. They have an oxcart as transport.	1	10%
		RICH	OLEMELA	They own bicycles and small animals like goats, pigs and chickens. At home, they have a TV set, radios, a second hand solar panel. They are able to send the children to high school. They have 3 meals a day. They own an average garden. They work in the garden by their own and they can employ 1-2 workers to work for them. They can use up to 5 arcs even if they may own more land in the form of bush.	2	20%
		AVERAGE	ALI PAKATI	They can employ some people for piece-works. They have 2-3 meals a day. They may own 2 goats and max 10 chickens. Their children go only to the basic school. They can have a simple sofa. Their house is made with bricks and a grass roof. They own 2,5 arc of land and some of them even a bicycle.	4	40%
		POOR	OSAUKA	They have a garden (2 - 2,5 arc). They can be old age people who fail to use the land or they are disable. They lack inputs like fertilizers or seeds. They cannot send the children to basic school but only primary school*. They have no transport. Some of them can have a chicken but only as gift from other people. They put always the same clothing and they cannot always wash them. They live in mud houses nicely done.	2	20%
		VERY POOR	OSAUKA KWAMBILI	They depend on others and they do piece-works. They don't have time to cultivate because they are too busy with piece-works. They cannot send the children to school. They work for food (or clothing, or chickens, etc.), not for money. They live in mud houses with grass roof. They have poor bedding. They depend on fire. No soap. Most of them are very poor as result of laziness or old age.	1	10%
		CHIPATA	WARD 2 - CHIPARAMBA WARD	VERY RICH	OLEMELA KWAMBILI	They have everything they want: a big land to cultivate, vehicles, bank accounts. At their funeral there are a lot of vehicles and people assisting in the burial. Their children attend very good schools, even outside the country. They can buy vehicles for their children and their spouse. They can have 300 arc or more. They don't cultivate but they sell. They buy fertilisers. They employ many people to work in their land. They own tractors for farming. They live in beautiful houses with everything inside it (electricity, water, etc.) and they have a proper dressing. They own big shops (ex. Shoprite, they own a share of it). They own hammer mills, schools, hospital, surgeries, etc.
RICH	OLEMELA			They eat well and they have good food. They use an ox chart for farming. They may own 10 goats, cows, 5 cattle, sheep. They may own a vehicle and few bicycles. They have good dressing and houses. They own their own borehole. They can sponsor their children to go to good schools but not abroad.	1,5	15%

CHIPATA		WARD 3 - KANJALA WARD - CHIPATA CENTRAL	
AVERAGE	ALI PAKATI	They own their own grocery, simple shops, 5 cattle. They have 3 meals a day and enough food. Their children go to private school but in a trouble way as not always they can afford to pay and they are sent back to public schools. They have some problems to pay their funerals. Their farming goes well and they are able to sell 3 bags of maize.	2 20%
POOR	OSAUKA	They can have one meal a day (lunch). They don't manage to send their children to school but they work. They do piece-works to support the family. Their farming is poor because of a shortfall of fertilizers. They live in mud houses. Funerals are a problem and they are poorly done. Dressing is not up to date and patched clothing. They are often ill because of malnutrition. They cannot afford uniforms for kids at school (if they can afford to send them at school). They don't have good water supplies.	2 20%
VERY POOR	OSAUKA KWAMBILI	They cannot send the children to school. They don't have power to school. Their kids are not well dressed. They do early marriages. They don't have enough food and no money. They do piece-works for other people so they don't have time have to cultivation. They have no shoes and their children have to beg or steal. They have empty stomach. They have one or no meal a day and they cannot use the soap to wash themselves. They have poor sources of water and they usually drink with the animals. They don't have proper houses (attached with grass). They are often sick. Funerals are rampant especially for under 5 years old children. They are aged people with nobody to care about them.	4 40%
VERY RICH	OLEMELA KWAMBILI	They have a lot of wealth, properties and money. They have everything: money, transport. They have a soft life: they have a vehicle and don't stress walking. They can buy everything and they can travel abroad for medication. They have plenty of food. They have all the farming inputs and they are able to feed the family. They are rich farmers and they can sell their harvest abroad, in other countries. Their children are educated and they can study to expensive universities. They can travel at any time. They have good shelter: high class houses built with bricks, glass windows, with fridge, everything inside and a guard. They take flights. They don't have respect for poor people. They go against the laws and bring development down. They may own 3000 hectares.	0,5 5%
RICH	OLEMELA	They are able to feed themselves, they have a medium house (iron roofed). They have transport, they own one bicycle and cattle. They have good food. Their children go to the secondary school. They can employ people to work with them. They are easy to identify at community level. They have a house with electricity and toilets. They use cattle for cultivation. they sell maize. They may own up to 100 hectares. They are businessmen or farmers. Some of them are involved in leadership and no one can compete against them.	1,5 15%
AVERAGE	ALI PAKATI	They can have tea. They employ casual workers to work in their field. They can keep dependants. They can sent their children to school up to grade 12. They live in a house covered with iron sheets and glass windows. They own bicycles and motorbikes. This people can become rich or fall down to poverty.	1,5 15%
POOR	OSAUKA	The poor go to the "very rich" for clothing. They have 3 meals a day but with unbalanced food. They can have a bicycle. The poor can become "ali pakati" or go down and become very poor. They cannot plan the future because they don't have enough money. They can afford to buy two bags of fertilizers. They sleep on the mat, they own middle size or small houses built with bricks and iron sheets, but they take years to build it. They own only chickens or goats. They own 5 up to 10 arc (10 only if they are lucky). Their food is not sure. Sometimes they fail to send their children to school.	2,5 25%
VERY POOR	OSAUKA KWAMBILI	They lack everything. They do piece-works. They don't have clothing or shoes. They live in a grass house that can be compared with a nest. They struggle to find food and they don't have farming inputs. They don't send their children to school. They are not considered in the society for decision-making. They don't have land or transport.	4 40%

	VERY RICH	OLEMELA KWAMBILI	They can own 2 vehicles. They don't miss anything in life (vehicles, cattle, land, etc.). They have 3/4 cattle to use in the land. Their children (both boys and girls) are educated and they go to private schools. They have shops and grain mills. Their children are healthy. They own a vast and well developed land (ex. 20 arc, completely used). They hire people for piece-works. They have electricity in their house, which is covered with iron sheets. The cattle are used as power for cultivation. They can employ workers and invest huge amount of money. They can sell their produce. They have no problems to cover the basic needs. In their farm they can diversify the products (produce and animals). They are often people retired from civil servant jobs (nurses, teachers, etc.). They then start new business as farming or shops. They don't look at the others, they disregard poor people and they look at them as inferior people.	0	0%
	RICH	OLEMELA	They have cattle (as an ox working in the farm, pigs, goats). There is enough food in their homes. They can own 10 hectares land. Maybe they don't own a car but they have a lot of animals. Their children go to school and they are well dressed. They can take their children up to college (all boys and girls). They have a cup of milk or tea. They live a reasonable house with electricity, water and all kind of facilities. They have a complete diet. They grown maize and they go for big markets. They have 3 meals a day. Some of them own a vehicle. HIV people can afford to buy enough foods and drugs.	1	10%
	AVERAGE	ALI PAKATI	They have 3 meals a day but struggling. They own a bicycles or a motorbike. They own 5 he of land and they run some small business (ex. grocery). They cultivate enough for their family. They own pigs. Their children struggle to go to public schools. They buy big quantities of products in other places and they sell it here. They may own a couple of cattle that they can use to cultivate (but they not own a lot of animals). They may afford to buy a second hand vehicle. They are able to build an iron roofed house. They struggle to send their children to secondary school (they can never afford the college). If they are HIV positive, they can sustain the health costs. They manage to have fertilizers through cooperatives (but not from shops). You can put them in two categories: those able to have a bicycle, an oxcart and cattle to cultivate. Their children can have good jobs. However, if they have (ex.) 6 children, maybe they can afford to send only three to school. They are often employed by the government or self-employed.	2	20%
	POOR	OSAUKA	They are lazy, this is why they are poor. They came from poor families and they cannot go up (<i>in the social ladder, ndr</i>). They can have disabilities (ex. blind). They are sometimes alchoolics so they don't take care of their farm. Their children attend the primary level only (maybe they stop at 4 ^o). They can't afford secondary school. They don't have resources to buy farming inputs. They are often orphans who have nobody to pay for them, or elders. Some can afford only a meal a day or none. They are not educated. Some of them are illegal immigrants. They have early marriages. They live in mud and grass houses. They don't have enough food for the whole year. They don't have resources to increase their production and they depend on piece-works or charcoal.	3	30%
	VERY POOR	OSAUKA KWAMBILI	They have one meal a day. They don't have decent clothes or house. They depend on piece-works and they work for food, not for money. They don't have money to buy inputs for their family. Their children don't go to school. They fail to use the advices for their improvement that other people give them. They don't have plans for the future. These people don't go to the farm but they just drink or smoke. They steal things from others. They live in mud houses. They don't force their children to go to school because they don't know its benefits. They depend on other people for food. They run out of food already in December. Sometimes, they fail to have a meal for 3 days. They can't afford any type of transport. They don't have the will to develop. Even if they know how to prepare nutrition food for HIV positive members. They have no blankets or soap. They cannot cultivate. They are lazy. They have fertilizers from the government but they don't use it. They come from remote areas in the bush where wild animals destroy their crops. They stay in that particular area and they don't have information about current affairs, they are completely cut-out from the outside world. They have never seen a vehicle or they have never been reached by service provides. They don't have hospitals and they only use natural remedies.	4	40%

1.2 Wealth Group: Aggregated Definitions

The focus groups' participants have defined during the discussion the main features of very poor, poor, rich, very rich and medium-income families. The definitions covered 10 different "sectors":

Food	Education	Household type
Housing	Land/Livestock	Other (funerals, discrimination, etc.)
Job	Vehicles	
Dressing	Health	

In the following charts will show the definition of each wealth group according with these main "sectors".

THE VERY POOR (ABA PINA SANA – OSAUKA KWAMBILI)

The main features of those living in extreme poverty according with the focus groups participants in the two districts can me summarised as the following:

SECTORS	DEFINITIONS
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eating is a problem / No meal or only one meal a day - No use of sugar or salt - Nutrition based on carbohydrates - They run out of food already during the raining season (December)
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They live in a very poor/dilapidated house and degraded environment - They live in houses made by mud and covered by grass (leaking roof during raining season) - Poor bedding: they sleep on a carpet or on the floor without mattress.
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They beg for money or food - They work for food/clothing/chicken (not for money) - They to piece-works (no time/strength to cultivate) - They spend the day drinking or smoking - They often sell charcoal - Prostitution (women)
Dressing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poorly dressed: they cannot buy clothes and they use rags or patched clothes - No shoes - Babies are covered only by "chitengue"
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Usually, their children do not go to school and they do not force them to go because they do not know the benefits of education. - If they go to school they do not pay the fees and they are sent away. - If they go to school, children have no energy because of malnutrition
Land & livestock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No Livestock - No land - No farming inputs
Vehicles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No transport
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have handicaps or a chronic disease – they are often sick - No hospital, they can only use traditional medicine - Children have malnutrition problems and a stunted growth - No soap or water to wash themselves - They have poor sources of water and they usually drink with the animals.
Household Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They are often old people with nobody to look after them - Early marriages and early pregnancies are common - They have fights within the family because of poverty - Child labour / street children
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They depend from others - Funeral: people fundraise to pay their funeral - They use wood to cook as they cannot afford the charcoal - They are not considered in the society for decision-making. They do not

	<p>have information about current affairs; they are completely cut-out from the outside world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of them are very poor as result of laziness or old age. - They fail to use the advices for their improvement that other people give them. - They don't have plans for the future.
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THE POOR (ABA PINA- OSAUKA)

The main features of those living in poverty according with the focus groups participants in the two districts can me summarised as the following:

SECTORS	DEFINITIONS
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have 1 meals a day (sometimes 2) - They do not have enough food for the whole year
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small / medium size house - Usually, they live in houses made by mud (but nicely done) and covered by grass. Sometimes, they manage to build an house made by bricks and covered by iron sheets, but it takes them years so save the required capital) - Poor bedding: they sleep on a carpet / mat.
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main occupations: Piece – works, day-labourer, charcoal seller - No proper source of income; they cannot plan the future because they do not have enough money - Their children work for money - Sometimes, they are drinkers and they are poor because they do not care about their farm - The poor can go up to middle-income or go down and become very poor. They came from poor families and they cannot climb the social ladder.
Dressing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poorly dressed: they use second hand and patched clothing (they ask the "very rich" for clothing). They put always the same clothing and they cannot always use them
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Usually, only some children go to school. They cannot afford education for every child - Their children attend only the primary school (maybe they stop at 4°). - They cannot afford to buy uniforms.
Land & livestock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - LIVESTOCK: No livestock or chicken/goats, often as a gift from other people. - LAND: they own / use 1 up to 4 lima (Samfya) or 2 / 2, 5 arc (Chipata). They may own up to 10 hectares / 5 arcs but they are not able to use it all. - CROPS: Cassava, millet, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes. - No farming inputs (fertilizers/seeds) or just 2 bags of fertilizers
Vehicles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No transport or just a bicycle (but they cannot afford the maintenance) - A canoe (in Samfya)
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They may have handicaps - Malnutrition issues - No hospital, they can only use traditional medicine - They drink not treated water
Household Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They are often old people or orphans with nobody to look after them - Sometimes, they are illegal immigrants - No family planning (big households) - Early pregnancies are common - Child labour / street children
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funerals are poorly done, they are hold upon shoulders and difficult to pay the service - They are lazy, this is why they are poor - No proper means of communication - They buy groceries in small quantities - They are not educated

THE MEDIUM-INCOME (ABA PAKATI – ALI PAKATI)

The main features of those living in extreme poverty according with the focus groups participants in the two districts can me summarised as the following:

SECTORS	DEFINITIONS
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have 2-3 meals a day - They have enough food for the whole year
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small / medium size house - They live in houses made by bricks and covered with grass or iron sheets. Sometimes, window glass. - Appliances/decor: Black and White TV or radio, simple sofa, poor ventilator - They have cheap solar panels
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main occupations: labour worker, civil servant, small scale farmer, small business (ex.: grocery shop), self-employed - Income: 4-5 million Kwacha (4/5000) a year - Sometimes, they hire day-workers for their field - They can become rich or fall down to poverty - After a good season, they may sell up to 3 bags of maize
Dressing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Second hand clothing
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Their children go only to the basic school (up to grade 12). Sometimes, also to secondary school (but they struggle!) and they can never afford the college. - In big families, they cannot afford education for every child - Usually, they go to public schools. Sometimes, their children go to private school but with troubles as often they can afford to pay and they are sent back to public schools. - Their children can have good jobs.
Land & livestock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - LIVESTOCK: 10 chickens, 2 goats, 2/5 caws, pigs. They use some cattle to cultivate, but in general they do not own a lot of animals. - LAND: they own/use up to 5-10 hectares - CROPS: 1-2 lima dedicated to maize production. - Access to farming inputs (fertilizers/seeds) through cooperatives not shops
Vehicles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A bicycle (most common) - A canoe or boat (in Samfya) - A second hand car (very few) - Oxcart (some)
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They can afford the treatments for HIV/AIDS
Household Type	-
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funerals: some problems to pay for the service but they can afford a simple grave. No big crowd.

THE RICH (ABA KANKALA – OLEMELA)

The main features of those living in extreme poverty according with the focus groups participants in the two districts can me summarised as the following:

SECTORS	DEFINITIONS
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have 3 meals a day - They have enough food for the whole year - They have a balanced diet with sweet potatoes, cassava, beans, peanuts, etc. - They can afford a cup of tea or milk
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Medium size, beautiful house; sometimes, they own more than one - They live in houses made by bricks and covered iron sheets. - Appliances/decor: Toilet, TV and/or radio, fridge and all kind of facilities - They have second hand solar (good ones) panels or electricity
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main occupations: Civil servant, medium-size scale farmer, medium-size business (ex.: all sales shops), involved in politics. - Consistent income of different millions a year

	- They hire 1-2 day-workers for their field
Dressing	- They can buy good and expensive clothing also for their children
Education	- Usually, all their children go to private schools. - They can afford to pay for the secondary school and for the university (but they do not go abroad)
Land & livestock	- LIVESTOCK: medium number of chickens, goats, caws, pigs, sheep. - LAND: they own up to 50/100 hectares (also as bush) but they can use up to 5 - CROPS: They cultivate maize and they can sell their products in big markets. - Access to farming inputs (fertilizers/seeds) and small machineries
Vehicles	- Bicycles - A boat with engine (in Samfya) - A car or motorbike - Oxcart - Sometimes, they do not own a car but they have a lot of animals
Health	- They drink treated water or they have their own borehole - They can afford the treatments for HIV/AIDS
Household Type	- Small household - Polygamy
Other	-

THE VERY RICH (ABA KANKALA SANA – OLEMELA KWAMBILI)

The main features of those living in extreme poverty according with the focus groups participants in the two districts can me summarised as the following:

SECTORS	DEFINITIONS
Food	- They have 3/4 meals a day and they can eat anytime they want - They have plenty of food for the whole year - They have a balanced diet.
Housing	- Mansion, beautiful house - They live in houses made by concrete, bricks and covered by iron sheets and glass windows - Appliances/decor: Toilet, TV and/or radio, fridge and all kind of facilities - They have solar panels or electricity - They may have a guard at their door - They live in low density areas (residential).
Job	- Main occupations: important politicians or civil servants, large-size business, commercial farmers; they own hospitals, schools, hammer mills. - Income: billions of kwacha - They can access loans and invest their money, even abroad or have a share of a company (ex.: Shoprite) - They hire many workers for their field or business
Dressing	- They can buy good and expensive clothing also for their children - They use high quality shoes
Education	- All their children (boys and girls) are very educated and they go to private schools. - They can afford to pay for expensive universities, even abroad
Land & livestock	- LIVESTOCK: big number of chickens, goats, caws, pigs, sheep. - LAND: they own up to 200/300 hectares (also as bush) and they can use a good portion of it - They can diversify their produce - Access to farming inputs (fertilizers/seeds) and all kind of machineries (ex.: tractors)
Vehicles	- A boat with engine (in Samfya) - Cars or motorbikes (also for their spouse or children) - Tractors - They can afford flights
Health	- They drink purified water or they have in-house water facilities

	- Their children are healthy
Household Type	-
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They do not have respect for poor people and they look at them as inferior people. - They go against the laws and bring development down. - Funeral: They are buried in big casket or a concrete-made grave with a stone, lot of people with cars participate and a lot of food is offered by the relatives.

1.3 Project Recall and Assessment

Question: “What projects initiated by the local council have come to your community? When? What was the impact of the project? Why do you say this?”

During this exercise the participants were asked to recall the projects that were realized within the ward in the last years by the district council. Three options were possible here: either the project was funded directly by the local authorities (district council or line ministry departments) or it was implemented by the District Council through CDF funds. Sometimes, the participants have mentioned projects implemented by NGOs. For each project they were also asked to assess the impact, choosing between the following options: ‘big positive’ impact, ‘small positive’, ‘no impact’, negative impact’ or ‘cannot assess’.

++	<i>Big positive</i>
+	<i>Small positive</i>
/	<i>No impact</i>
-	<i>Negative impact</i>
*	<i>Cannot assess</i>

District	Ward	SECTOR	Project name	Initiator name(s)	Initiator type(s)	Project Description	Year	Impact	Reasons for impact assessment (+ additional comments)
	1.CHIMANA WARD	WATER	BOREHOLES	DISTRICT GOV.	D/G	Construction of new boreholes	2011	+	
	1.CHIMANA WARD	EDUCATION	YOUTH SKILLS CENTRE	MoE (GOV)	G	Construction of an education centre	1984	+	In this centre, the youth can learn technical skills so that they can open they own business after completion. There are graduates from these schools who are now able to gain their own life.
	1.CHIMANA WARD	EDUCATION	COMMUNITY SCHOOL - MILEMU	MoE (GOV)	G	Construction of a new community school	2007	*	no answer
	1.CHIMANA WARD	HEALTH	CARE PROVIDER	PRIDEHOPE INTERNATIONAL NGO		This is a support group for orphans, old and vulnerable people HIV positive	2004	-	This is open only to HIV positive people not to everybody. There was a big dispute around this project. Women expressed a very negative attitude towards this project. For others, mainly man, this can also be an useful health centre for HIV people

	1.CHIMAN A WARD	HEALTH	DISTRICT HOSPITAL	(GOV)	G	Construction of the district hospital	2008	+	-
	1.CHIMAN A WARD	SOCIAL	LOCAL RADIO STATION	NA	NA	NA	2010	*	This is still under construction
	1.CHIMAN A WARD	ADMINISTRATION	EU-DECENTRALISATION	DISTRICT EU	D	The construction of an ADC office	2011	*	This is still under construction
	1.CHIMAN A WARD	MARKETS / KIOSKS	NEW MARKET	ADC DISTRICT	D	Construction of a new market in Chimana Ward	2009	-	This is still under construction and the works were not done properly
	2.MANO WARD	CROPS	HAMMER MILL	MoF (GOV)	G	Construction of a new hammer mill serving the ward	2004	/	The project management was very poor and with the money raised you cannot even pay the fees for children. For the ADC member (a Woman) the impact was ++
	2.MANO WARD	EDUCATION	PRE-SCHOOL	DISTRICT COUNCIL	D	Construction of a pre-school	2011	*	The school is under construction so there is no impact visible yet
	2.MANO WARD	ADMINISTRATION	EU-DECENTRALISATION	DISTRICT COUNCIL	D	The construction of an ADC office	2011	+	This is still under construction
	2.MANO WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	EMBANKMENT	DISTRICT COUNCIL	D	Construction of 4 embankments	sd	++	Now, it is safer to cross, also for children. People can better access the market and sell their products.
	2.MANO WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	FEEDER ROAD	DISTRICT COUNCIL	D	Construction of 5 feeder roads	sd	+	Now, it is easier to reach other places (especially for business). Sometimes in the rainy season the road becomes bad and they are asked to pay levies. There is no water drainage.
	2.MANO WARD	WATER	MORE THAN 20 BOREHOLES	DISTRICT JICA	D NGO	Construction of new water points	2007	++	Now, we can afford to drink safe and clean water and the distance from the water point is shorter.
	2.MANO WARD	EDUCATION	PRIMARY SCHOOL	MoE (GOV)	G	Construction of a new primary school	2011	++	Before the students were having classes under the tree. Now, after graduation, students attending this school, can access even high school
	2.MANO WARD	HEALTH	CLINIC	MoH (GOV)	G			*	NOT OPEN YET

	2.MANO WARD	HEALTH	CLINIC IN CHIPAKO AREA	COMMUNITY		Construction of a new clinic		++	Everybody is using this clinic
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	ELECTRIFICATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS	DISTRICT (CDF)	D	Electrification of the primary schools extended to the teachers' compound	2012	++	Now people will have more time to read also during the night. They can have access to TV. People living in the nearby can also apply to have electricity at home (but they need to pay). In this way, they can have TV or internet for example and they can be connected with the outside world.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	SCHOOL BLOCK 1X3	JCPRF		Construction of a new block in the school	2009	++	Before, you could have 75 student in a class. Now they are much less, it is easier for the teachers and they can learn more.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	SCHOOL BOYS	MOE GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a new school for boys	2010	++	Boys and girls are not mixed any more so they have more space
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	PRIMARY SCHOOL IN KATOLA	MOE GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a new primary school	2011	++	This school is closer, so now children don't need to walk for long distance to/from school
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	FARMERS' TRAINING CENTRE	MOE GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a training centre for farmers	1974	+	This was a good project because people can be trained. However, now it is not working and the rooms are used to accommodate nurses and teachers. This project should be revamped.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	EDUCATION	TEACHERS RESOURCE CENTRE	MOE GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a resource centre for teachers	2006	+	The building is open only for teachers, but very few use it as there is a poor reading culture among them.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	SOCIAL	TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES ARENA	GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of an arena to hold the annual traditional ceremonies	2011	++	This is a very important cultural place and it increases the unity of the community
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	ROAD JUNCTION MUSAEILA - Cassava	GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a new road connecting to the junction	2012	++	Now for farmers is easier to transport goods. Before you needed even 2 hours, now you can arrive in 25/30 minutes. It is also easier to reach the hospital in Mansa.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	TOWNSHIP ROAD	DISTRICT COUNCIL CDF	D	Construction of a feeder road inside Chifunabuli	2012	+	The idea of the road is good but it was realised with a poor workmanship. The road already needs maintenance and as soon as the rain arrives, it is difficult to use the road.
	3.CHIFUNABULI WARD	WATER	OLD BOREHOLES	GOVERNMENT NGO	G	Construction of water points	1970s	++	They were built by the government and then rehabilitated by an NGO. We are still using them.

	3. CHIFUNWA BULI WARD	WATER	NEW BOREHOLES	MLGH	G	Construction of water points	2012	*	The new boreholes are not operational yet
	3. CHIFUNWA BULI WARD	WATER	VIP TOILETS	DISTRICT COUNCIL CDF	D	Construction of VIP toilets in the hospital and at the school	2009	++	Now there is a better ratio between toilets and people
	4. MASONDE WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	FEEDER ROAD MIPONDA - KASSONK OMONA	CDF	D	Construction of the feeder road	2008	+	This is a positive project but it is still incomplete
	4. MASONDE WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	NAMUPAK ASWA ROAD REHABILITATION + EMBANKMENT	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the Namupakaswa road and construction of an embankment	2009	+	This project is incomplete
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	Rehabilitation classroom	CDF	D	Roofing of the teachers' house	2010	+	It was uncompleted for a while. The community have built the staff house and with the CDF funds we completed the roof with iron sheets. We asked twice for CDF as the first time the funds were not sufficient to finalise the roofing.
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	MIPONDA PRIMARY SCHOOL	CDF	D	Roofing of the school	2009	++	The school was built by the community and then CDF funds were asked to complete the roof with iron sheets. The project has been completed as it was adequately found.
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	Chitumbe Community School	CDF	D	Roofing of the school	2008	/	There are problems with this project because it was incomplete and the wind blew off everything. The community has reported it to the district. They have not repaired it, so during the raining season children do not go to school.
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	Girls' dormitory. Mironda Primary	CAMFED	NGO	Construction of a dormitory attached to the school	2007	++	This dormitory is accommodating a lot of children
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	Kandolo primary	CDF	D	Construction of a community school	2006	++	It was completely very well
	4. MASONDE WARD	EDUCATION	Bomba Wamenshi Primary	GOV - MoE	G	This school was built as a community school. Then the community asked the MoE to take over.	2003	+	The project is incomplete because the funding was insufficient, but we are using it.

	4.MASOND E WARD	HEALTH	MIPONDA CLINIC MATERNI TY WING	ZAMSIF	G	Construction of the maternity wing to the clinic	late '90	++	It is complete and it works well although it is small
	4.MASOND E WARD	HEALTH	CHIMANA RURAL CENTRE	UNICEF	?	Construction of a rural clinic	2004	++	The project has been finalised and provides services to all the community without need to travel long distances
	5.KATANSHA WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	RURAL ELECTRIFI CATION	RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AUTHORITY	G	Electrification of Katansha ward	2012	++	The children are able to read at night and they can do night classes for children who drop out. This is also good for the clinics, especially when they are patients during the night (ex.: a mother delivery). Moreover, it is also good for business, because many cannot work during the night (ex.: a barber). This is also attractive for civil servants because they do not want to work in places without electricity.
	5.KATANS HA WARD	HEALTH	MATERNI TY WARD AT THE CLINIC	MoH	G	Construction of a maternity wing at the rural centre	2010	++	Now there is privacy. Before we were using an open room even for baby delivery and some women would prefer to deliver at home.
	5.KATANSHA WARD	EDUCATION	MITHIKUL A PRIMARY SCHOOL	MoE GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a new school in Mitiikula	2007	+	Before the construction of this school there was '0 enrolment' but now at least we have some children at school. Before, there was only a community school where you did not need to pay. This new school has good teachers but there are not a lot of children attending because of the fees. The community school cost only 500ZKW while this new school costs 8000 ZKW. Therefore many cannot afford to pay. However, it is positive for those who can pay, as their children do not have to walk long distances.
	5.KATANS HA WARD	MARKETS / KIOSKS	MPANTA MARKET	ZAVISIF GOVERNME NT	G	Construction of a new market in Mpanta	2005	-	People cannot use it because it is poorly ventilated. They should have done it with open walls. They prefer to sell outside the building and it is too distant from here (more than 7 km).
	5.KATANSHA WARD	CROPS	FOOD STORAGE SHED	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of a storage shed for agriculture products	'90	/	In that time people were cultivating in the wetlands like rice, they lived in small houses and they had not place to put the produce. It was used for three years. After the wetlands were flooded, so we stopped these productions and there was no produce anymore to be put inside. The committee managing this shed do not allow us to use it for a different purpose.
	5.KATANSHA WARD	WATER	OLD BOREHOL ES	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of 20 boreholes	2003	+	Some of them were not that deep so during the dry season they dry up. However, when there is water, it gives access to safe drink water without walking long distances. Before the construction of this borehole we went for water stream (ex.: river)

	5.KATANS HA WARD	WATER	PUBLIC TOILETS	CDF	D	Construction of public latrines close to a market	2012	++	Before there were no toilets close to the market. So you could only openly defecate even with the diarrhoea disease.
	5.KATANS HA WARD	WATER	NEW BOREHOLES	GOVERNMENT	G	Construction of new boreholes	2012	++	Not every household has a borehole; however they are not close enough. They are not operational yet.
	5.KATANS HA WARD	ADMINISTRATION	ADC OFFICE	DISTRICT - EU	D	Construction of the ADC office	2012	++	If there are problems or development issues people will have a place to go to bring their problems. It would be easier to find the ADC members, even for the councillors.
	6.DILIKA WARD	HEALTH	HEALTH POST	CDF	D	Construction of an health post	2010	*	We have seen mothers delivering on their way to the hospital. This health post is not yet completed so it is not operational so we cannot assess
	6.DILIKA WARD	WATER	1 BOREHOLE	CDF	D	Construction of one borehole	2011	++	This borehole is helping especially children at school.
	6.DILIKA WARD	HEALTH	STAFF HOUSE FOR HEALTH POST	CDF	D	Construction of a staff house	2010	/	They did not come to ask and involve the community. They MP came and he noticed there was an overdraft as the allocation was 20 million but there were still 1,5 million to be spent. This money was meant to built the clinic and the staff house. However, instead of building the staff house the community built the toilets. However, the Ministry of Health said this toilets were not coherent with the standards. So, they cannot be used and the hospital cannot be operational. We don't know what to do, as nobody gives us direction. There is an environmental health technician who is responsible for this area but he failed to solve this issue.
	6.DILIKA WARD	EDUCATION	ROOF FOR DAMBE SCHOOL	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the roof in the school	2007	++	We are now using this school
	6.DILIKA WARD	WATER	BOREHOLE	Government	G	Construction of a borehole	1991	-	This is not working anymore because the maintenance was not done and now it is too old to be rehabilitated.
	6.DILIKA WARD	EDUCATION	BLOCK 1x3 DAMBE SCHOOL	World Vision	NGO	Construction of a school class	1998	++	This is still helping our children to learn and become teachers, nurses, clerks, etc. The school was even updated to a basic school.

7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	6.DILIKA WARD	WATER	BOREHOLES	JBG	NGO	Construction of 5 boreholes	2006	++	They are all working and we are using them
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIPARAMB A WARD	WATER	BOREHOLES	DONOR (WASH)	D	Construction of 19 boreholes in the ward	2011	++	Now everybody is drinking good and safe water. Before we were drinking the water with the animals. If the boreholes break down we know how to do the maintenance because we were trained. If we need to order spare parts we can ask the council
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	INFRASTRUC TURE	ROAD REHABILITATION	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the Misciolo-Kaluni Road	2012	++	Now the road is wide and there are no accidents any more. It is easy to go to town and transport products.
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	INFRASTRUC TURE	PLOTS DISTRIBUTION	DISTRICT	D	Distribution of plots in the semi-rural areal	2011	-	The plots have no road. Those in planning should correct their mistakes.
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	EDUCATION	MSHAWA BASIC SCHOOL	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the classrooms and construction of the toilets	2011	+	n/a
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	INFRASTRUC TURE	KAMUANN KHUKU BRIDGE	CDF	D	Construction of a bridge	2011	+	Before, during the rainy season you could not cross the river.
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	HEALTH	RURAL HEALTH CENTRE	CDF	D	Construction of toilets	2011	*	This is still under construction so we cannot assess it
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	EDUCATION	KAWAWA SCHOOL	CDF	D	Construction of 1x3 block and 2 teachers' houses	2005 and 2011	++	The teachers and the students are using it. They funds included also the furniture.
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	EDUCATION / CROPS	TRAINING	Minister of Agriculture	G	Training on conservation farming	2011	++	We learn that you can grow crops without fertilizers
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	EDUCATION / CROPS	PERMACU LTURE TRAINING	DISTRICT - EU	D	Training on permaculture systems	2012	++	We learned how to use the water and the soil
7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	7.CHIFAK AMBA WARD	WATER	PUBLIC TOILETS	Total Land Care	NGO	Construction of toilets in the villages	2010	++	Now people do not go to the bush anymore, so we had a decrease in diseases

8.KANJALA WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	FEEDER ROAD KAWA KATALE	District	D	Rehabilitation of the road	1999	++	The road was severely damaged and even the bicycles could not pass
8.KANJALA WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	APOLLO DAM	Government	G	Construction of the dam	1983	++	We are eating the fish from the dam and we sell it to the market. We can also drink safe water
8.KANJALA WARD	MARKETS / KIOSKS	MARKET SHELTER	CDF	D	Construction of a new market shelter	2010-11	++	Before we had no market where to sell our products
8.KANJALA WARD	INFRASTRUCTURE	ELECTRIFICATION OF CHIPATALA BASIC SCHOOLS	CDF	D	Electrification of the primary school and its premises	2010-11	++	Now it is easier to study and children can also use the PCs
8.KANJALA WARD	WATER	Funsani Borehole	Government	G	Construction of an additional borehole	2011	++	Now we have clean water, before we were using the same water the cattle was using
8.KANJALA WARD	HEALTH	HEALTH POST	CDF	D	Construction of a new health post	2003	+	Only those you are under 5 years old are using it. So, mothers and children are using it. Men do not benefit.
9.MKOWE WARD	EDUCATION	MKOWE BASIC	CDF	D	Construction of a 1x3 block	2007	+	The block has been build but it is not completed yet. However, the kids are using it
9.MKOWE WARD	MARKETS / KIOSKS	MARKET SHELTER	CDF	D	Construction of a new market	2011	*	This is still under construction
9.MKOWE WARD	SOCIAL	CHIKIWE LOCAL COURT	CDF	D	Construction of a new local court	2008	+	It is too small but before we could only sit on the floor
9.MKOWE WARD	EDUCATION	KAMBUATIKE SCHOOL	MOE GOVERNMENT	G	Rehabilitation of Staff houses and construction of 1x2 block	2007	++	The accommodation for the teachers has improved there is more place for students of grades 8 and 9. Before, they needed to walk long distances to reach the school
9.MKOWE WARD	WATER	BOREHOLE	Government	G	Construction of one borehole	2008	++	This borehole is serving a lot of people in the community
9.MKOWE WARD	CROPS	STORAGE SHED	Government	G	Construction of a shed	1978	+	They did good maintenance and people are still using it. It looks like new. But you can only use it 'seasonally'.

	MKOWE	EDUCATION	MASAMBA BASIC SCHOOL	Government - CDF	D	Construction of a 1x3 block for the primary school	2010	++	The school was first started by the government and it was finalised through CDF funds. This is helping children a lot because they do not have to walk long distances.
	MKOWE	EDUCATION	MALOCHE COMMUNITY SCHOOL	CFD	D	Construction of 1x2 block	2008	++	Before it was a very little community school. Now it is much better and it is closer to the villages
	MKOWE	EDUCATION	KAPITA BASIC SCHOOL	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the staff houses and 1x3 block	2009	++	Now the students can easily access grades 8 and 9
	MKOWE	INFRASTRUCTURE	MFUWE ROAD	Government	G	Construction of the road	2010	++	Now we are able to transport the produce to the market and it is easier to travel
	MKOWE	INFRASTRUCTURE	KANDAMINGA DAM	CDF	D	Rehabilitation of the dam	2001	-	The dam is there but it cannot hold enough water and there is no fish. In the '70, we were eating a lot of fish but it has been destroyed by the fishermen

1.4 Project's Impacts on Wealth Groups

1.4.1 BEST PROJECTS' BENEFITS

Question: "How much does a 'very rich' / 'rich' / 'average' / 'poor' / 'very poor' person benefit from project X? Please use a 'Big Stones' for 'big positive benefit' (2 in table below); a small stone for small positive benefit (1 in the table below); and 'No stones' for 'no benefit'" (0 in the table below).

For this exercise, the assessment was made only the three best projects, which had been previously selected by the participants from the full list of projects implemented in their ward.

							IMPACT				
	GROUP	SECTOR	PROJECT NAME	INITIATOR NAME	DATE	BEST #	V R	R	A	P	V P
	1. CHIMANA ward	Health	DISTRICT HOSPITAL	GOVERNMENT	2008	1	0	1	1	2	2
	1. CHIMANA ward	Social	LOCAL RADIO STATION	NA	2010	2	1	1	2	2	1
	1. CHIMANA ward	Education	COMMUNITY SCHOOL - MILEMU	MoE GOVERNMENT	2007	3	0	0	2	2	1
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The 'Very Rich' do not go to this kind of hospitals. Sometimes, the R and A use it but they can afford to go in private hospitals. The P and 'Very Poor' benefit most as they cannot pay for better hospitals so this is the only place they can go. The 'Very Rich' and R have other channels of communication (TV, internet). The 'Very Poor' sometimes cannot even afford to have a radio. For the A and P will use it a lot The 'Very Rich' and 'Rich' go to private schools. This school is for 'Average' and 'Poor' as they can all afford to pay the fees. Only sometimes, also 'Very Poor' people can afford it (especially if somebody else pays for the fee) 									
	2. MANO ward	Education	PRIMARY SCHOOL	MoE GOVERNMENT	2011	1	-	-	2	2	1
	2. MANO ward	Water	MORE THAN 20 BOREHOLES	DISTRICT COUNCIL JICA	2007	2	-	-	2	2	2
	2. MANO ward	Health	CLINIC IN CHIPAKO AREA	COMMUNITY	na	3	-	-	2	2	1
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 'Very Rich' and R don't send their children in this school. 'Very Poor' benefit less because they cannot afford the price. 'Very Rich' and R don't use the boreholes. The 'Very Poor' don't have the transport to reach the clinic. 									
	3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Education	ELECTRIFICATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS	DISTRICT (CDF)	2012	1	0	1	2	0	0
	3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Infrastructure	ROAD JUNCTION MUSAEILA - KASABA	GOVERNMENT	2012	2	2	2	2	1	0

3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Education	SCHOOL BOYS	MoEGOVERNMENT	2010	3	0	2	2	1	0
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Civil servants are benefitting more about it and they all belong to the Pakati wealth group. Rich people have already electricity and they do not allow poorer people to use the electric devices at their place. Pakati share it with the others. 2. Very Rich' and R are using a lot the road to transport their farming products with tracks. Other people are not using it a lot, and sometimes you prefer to take the boat to go to Samfya. P people use it with a bicycle to transport charcoal. 'Very Poor' don't use it 3. Very Rich' cannot afford to send their children at school. P people sometimes can, if they are able to pay for the uniform. Pakati and R are usually the teachers, who are more motivated to work in this new school. 'Very Rich' don't send their children here. 								
4. MASONDE ward	Health	CHIMANA RURAL CENTRE	UNICEF	2004	1	-	-	1	2	2
4. MASONDE ward	Health	MIPONDA CLINIC MATERNITY WARD	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	1990s	2	-	-	2	2	2
4. MASONDE ward	Education	MIPONDA PRIMARY SCHOOL	DISTRICT COUNCIL CDF	2009	3	-	-	2	2	1
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Pakati can use much better hospitals even if they need to travel for a long distance. P and 'Very Poor' use it a lot. 2. There is no segregation. Everybody is using the maternity ward 3. Very Poor' cannot afford to pay for the school fees and the uniform, so they have a small benefit. The 'Poor' and Pakati can afford it so they are having good benefits. 								
5 . KATANSHA ward	Infrastructure	RURAL ELECTRIFICATION	RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AUTHORITY	2012	1	-	2	1	1	1
5 . KATANSHA ward	Health	MATERNITY WING AT THE CLINIC	MoH	2010	2	-	2	2	2	2
5 . KATANSHA ward	Education	MITIUKULA PRIMARY SCHOOL	MoE GOVERNMENT	2007	3	-	2	2	2	1
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The 'Rich' have all electrical devices and they have money to apply to have electricity in their house. 'Pakati' and poor benefit indirectly because of things that rich people will bring because of electricity. Ex.: if they bring a weeding machine, they will ask locally for repairing (instead of bringing it in Lusaka). 'Very Poor' have a small benefit too because when they go to the hospital during the night, they won't need any more to pay for a candle. 2. There is no discrimination and everybody can access the clinic, both poor and rich 3. Everybody benefit from this school. Only 'Very Poor' have a smaller benefit because they cannot always pay the school fee so they don't attend regularly. 								
6. DILIKA ward	Education	BLOCK 1x3 DAMBE SCHOOL	World Vision	1998	1	1	2	2	1	0
6. DILIKA ward	Water	1 BOREHOLE	CDF	2011	2	2	2	2	1	1
6. DILIKA ward	Water	BOREHOLES	JBG	2006	2	2	2	2	1	1
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This school was upgraded. The 'Very Rich' may send their children to better schools so they benefit less. 'Rich' and 'Average' have no other places to send their children as there is no other school, so they benefit a lot. The 'Poor' cannot always send their children to school so they benefit less. The 'Very Poor' cannot send their children to school. 								

		<p>2. The Very Rich and Rich use a lot of water (ex.: to wash their clothing or their cars). The 'Average' may use the water for their gardens. The 'Poor' and 'Very Poor' need less water because sometimes they cannot even afford a meal a day.</p>								
7. CHIPARAMBA ward	Infrastructure	ROAD REHABILITATION	CDF	2012	1	2	2	2	1	0
7. CHIPARAMBA ward	Water	BOREHOLES	DISTRICT-DONOR(WASH program)	2011	2	0	0	2	2	2
7. CHIPARAMBA ward	Education	MSHAWA BASIC SCHOOL	CDF	2011	3	0	1	2	2	0
	REASONS	<p>1. Very Rich', 'Rich', and 'Pakati' have their own transport so they have a big benefit from the road. The 'Poor' may only have a bicycle or they walk</p> <p>2. Very Poor', 'Poor' and 'Pakati' benefit a lot because it is the only water point they can use. 'Very Rich' and 'Rich' have often their own water points and they do not need to use them.</p> <p>3. The 'Very Poor' do not send their children to school and the 'Very Rich' send theirs to better schools, so they have no benefit from it.. The school is used mainly by the 'poor' and the pakati' as this is the only school they can send their children to. Only some 'rich' use this school, other prefers better schools.</p>								
8. KANJALA ward	Infrastructure	FEEDER ROAD KAWA KATALE	District	1999	1	2	2	1	1	0
8. KANJALA ward	Infrastructure	APOLLO DAM	Government	1983	2	2	2	2	1	1
	REASONS	<p>1. The Very Rich and Rich use the road with vehicles so they have a big benefit. The Very Poor do not use the road because they do not travel. The Average and the Poor have a small benefit because they can use it only with a bike.</p> <p>2. The Very Rich, Rich and 'Pakati' benefit a lot because they have toilets and bathrooms. The Poor and the Very Poor use it for fishing and they exchange it with the 'meal meal'. The Poor take the water from there.</p>								
9. MKOWE ward	Education	ALL SCHOOLS REHABILITATION / CONSTRUCTION	District Council	2007 2010 2008 2009	1	-	1	2	2	1
9. MKOWE ward	Water	BOREHOLE	Government	2008	2	-	2	2	2	2
9. MKOWE ward	Infrastructure	MFUWE ROAD	Government	2010	3	-	2	2	2	2
	REASONS	<p>1. The Very Rich send the children to private school so they do not benefit from it. 'Rich' people only sometimes can benefit, but they prefer to send their children to boarding schools. The 'Average' and 'Poor' have a big benefit as these are the only schools where they can send their children. The 'Very Poor' are vulnerable; they do not send their children to school because of lack of money or ignorance.</p> <p>2. The Very Rich can drill their own borehole, all the others benefit a lot from this public one</p> <p>3. We all benefit from this road. The poor can even use an ambulance if needed. Also the salt and the soap came with the road</p>								

1.4.2 WORST PROJECTS' IMPACTS

Question: "How much does 'very rich' / 'rich' / 'average' / 'poor' / 'very poor' person have suffered from project X? Please use a 'Big Stones' for 'big negative harm' (2 in the table below); a "Small stone" for 'small negative harm' (1 in the table below); and 'No stones' for 'no harm'" (0 in the table below).

For this exercise, the assessment was made only the three worst projects, which had been previously selected by the participants from the full list of projects implemented in their ward.

DISTRICT	GROUP	SECTOR	PROJECT NAME	INITIATOR NAME	DATES	WORS T	IMPACT				
							VR	R	A	P	VP
	1. CHIMANA ward	Health	CARE PROVIDER	NGO	2004	1	0	0	2	2	2
	1. CHIMANA ward	Water	BOREHOLES	DISTRICT COUNCIL GOVERNMENT	2011	2	0	0	2	2	2
	1. CHIMANA ward	Markets / kiosks	NEW MARKET	ADC DISTRICT COUNCIL	2009	3	0	0	0	0	0
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The 'Very Rich' and R do not go to this kind of hospitals but they can afford private ones. A, P and 'Very Poor' suffer most as this hospital does not assist them. They discriminate people (HIV positive/negative) "Very Rich", 'Rich' and 'Pakati' can afford to pay the bill for pipe water. Here most of the families have the pipe water so boreholes are not useful. P and 'Very Poor' use it a lot. This market is useless, people is not using it 									
	2. MANO ward	Crops	HAMMER MILL	MoF	2004	1	-	-	1	2	2
	2. MANO ward	Infrastructure	FEEDER ROAD	DISTRICT COUNCIL	sd	2	-	-	1	2	2
	REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The benefits are only for projects managers (Pakati - average) who are taking all the money. The roads' quality is poor so it will be covered my grass very soon. The A are using more the road and they put levies on it. 									
	3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Infrastructure	TOWNSHIP ROAD	DISTRICT COUNCIL (CDF)	2012	1	0	0	0	0	2
	3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Social	TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES ARENA	GOVERNMENT	2011	2	1	1	1	2	2
	3 .CHIFUNABULI ward	Education	TEACHERS RESOURCE CENTRE	MoE GOVERNMENT	2006	3	0	0	1	2	2

	REASONS														
		1. The quality of this project is very poor and the money should have been spent for the 'Very Poor'.													
		2. Very Rich', R and Pakati sell their products during the traditional ceremony. P and 'Very Poor' sometimes attend without having any food.													
		3. Only some teachers (Pakati) are benefitting from this centre. 'Very Poor' and P are more affected because they have other problems to face (ex. how to buy the uniforms).													
	4. MASONDE ward	Infrastructure	NAMUPAKASWA ROAD REHABILITATION + EMBANKMENT	DISTRICT COUNCIL (CDF)	2009	1	-	-	1	1	2				
	4. MASONDE ward	Infrastructure	FEEDER ROAD MIPONDA - KASSONKOMONA	DISTRICT COUNCIL (CDF)	2008	2	-	-	1	2	2				
	4. MASONDE ward	Education	CHITUMBER COMMUNITY SCHOOL	DISTRICT COUNCIL (CDF)	2009	3	-	-	0	2	2				
	REASONS														
		1. This road is incomplete as the money was not sufficient. The 'Very Poor' are the most affected because they cannot use it and to get to the same place you need to take another road which is too long. Pakati and P are affected too but they can take the longer road because they own a car or a bicycle.													
		2. This road is not complete and you cannot use it. P and 'Very Poor' have the worst impact because they don't have a bicycle. Pakati can use another road (it depends if they have a vehicle).													
		3. This school is incomplete and the wind blew off everything. People reported to the district but the school wasn't repaired, so during the rainy season children of P or 'Very Poor' families cannot go to school. Pakati don't use this school so they are not affected.													
	5. KATANSHA ward	Markets / kiosks	MPANTA MARKET	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	2005	1	-	1	2	2	2				
	5. KATANSHA ward	Crops	FOOD STORAGE SHED	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	90	2	-	0	2	2	2				
	5. KATANSHA ward	Water	BOREHOLES	ZAMSIF GOVERNMENT	2003	3	-	1	2	2	2				
	REASONS														
		1. Pakati and P people are greatly affected: the market is located very close to the harbour and the swamps. This means that a lot of fish could be available as they could go to buy big quantities of fish directly to the fishermen to resell it to the market. But the market is not working so they cannot have this income. 'Very Poor' people are affected too, because if the market was working they could have some piece works and a good place for begging. Rich people have a small negative impact because they don't have a place where to buy the things they need													
		2. The money used for this project should have been used to finance another project (as the mother shelter in the clinic). 'Very Poor' are dependent from Pakati so if those are negatively affected, they will be affected too. R people can afford to build one in their own yard.													
		3. Water is life so everybody is suffering. The works were not good because they didn't use machines so the boreholes are not deep and they dry up during the dry season, or if they are broken they are not repaired. They R can pay to build one in their own place.													
	6. DILIKA ward	Water	BOREHOLE	Government	1992	1	1	1	1	2	2				

6. DILIKA ward	Health	STAFF HOUSE FOR HEALTH POST	CDF	2010	2	0	0	2	2	2
6. DILIKA ward	Health	HEALTH POST	CDF	2010	3	0	0	2	2	2
REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This borehole is not functional. Thus, the 'Very Rich' and 'Rich' or the 'Pakati' ask the 'Poor' and 'Very Poor' to go and look for water. So these latter have to go and look for water for themselves and for the other groups. 2. The 'Very Rich' and 'Rich' can travel to other hospitals and the worst that can happen is that they die during the trip. The other groups cannot move because they do not have transport so they have no hospital. 									
7. CHIPARAMBA ward	Infrastructure	PLOTS DISTRIBUTION	DISTRICT	2011	1	0	1	1	2	0
REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The 'very rich' can chose places around the road because they have money and they can pay more. The 'rich' may be able to build a small road to connect the plot to the main road. The 'very poor' cannot afford to buy a plot. The 'poor' can buy it but it takes up to five years to put the money aside. 									
8. KANJALA ward	Health	HEALTH POST	CDF	2003	1	1	1	1	2	2
REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Very Rich, Rich and 'Pakati' can go to the general hospital in Chipata or go in to a private one because they can afford to have a transport. The Poor or Very Poor cannot go there even if they get sick because there are no drugs or personnel. 									
9. MKOWE ward	Infrastructure	KANDAMINGA DAM	CDF	2001	1	-	1	2	2	2
9. MKOWE ward	Crops	STORAGE SHED	Government	1978	2	-	1	1	2	2
9. MKOWE ward	Social	CHIKIWE LOCAL COURT	CDF	2008	3	-	1	1	2	2
REASONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The money could be better spent for something else and not for fishing. The 'rich' can drill a borehole and have their water. The others are more affected. 2. We sell our maize directly in Chipata or we use it for consumption, so we do not need the shed. 3. The rich and the 'average' have the money to use this hall. The 'Very Poor' and 'Poor' discuss their issues among themselves. 									

1.5 Institutions' Assessment

Rules: Read the statements below to participants and for each of them ask if the statement is "Always", "Usually" or "sometimes" true or "Usually not true" (also possible: "unable to assess").

Statements:

- 1) Commitment: "They care about our development and they work focus on it"
- 2) Realistic expectations: "They fulfil their promises"
- 3) Honesty: "When something goes wrong they tell us honestly".
- 4) Relevance: "They really address the problems that affect us"
- 5) Participation: "We can give our opinion on the type of projects they do and how projects are done. The traditional leaders & community are involved"
- 6) Efficient: "The projects are managed in a good and transparent way. No corruption or mismanagement"
- 7) Trustworthiness: "We feel we can trust them"
- 8) Impact: "The results really improve the lives of many people in the area"

In the table here below:

++	<i>Always</i>
+	<i>Usually</i>
/	<i>Sometimes</i>
-	<i>Usually not/never</i>
*	<i>Unable to assess</i>

1.5.1 THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

	GROUP	LONG TERM COMMITMENT	REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS	HONESTY	RELEVANCE	PARTICIPATION	EFFICIENCY	TRUST IN PEOPLE	IMPACT
SAMPYA	1.CHIMANA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	They are not committed as if you work for them they don't pay for 3-4 months; you also need to pay a lot of money for a plot but then there are no roads, street lights or services. People apply for CDF but then even if the project is approved, the service required would not be available. They are not honest because they don't go around sensitizing the community and even if you apply for a job in the DC, they prefer to hire somebody from their family. The relevance and participation are not good as they don't involve people and don't ask for feedback. They are not efficient because they don't work as a group they don't share ideas.								
	2.MANO	/	/	/	-	+	-	/	+

	They don't make things real (commitment) and only sometimes they do what they have promised (realistic exp., trust in people). They don't visit us often enough (relevance) and there is no transparency (efficiency).								
	3.CHIFUNAB ULI	/	/	/	-	/	/	/	/
	Commitment: they are not always monitoring the CDF funds. Realistic exp: some projects were not fulfilled. They are only sometimes honest because they don't tell us everything. If a disaster happens, the DC doesn't intervene immediately to give relief (relevance). They don't ask us what we need. For instance: they don't ask how many bags of fertilizers we need. This decision is taken above, but it should be discussed at community level (participation). They are only sometimes efficient because each project has a timeframe and M&E procedure. However, some projects are unfinished and there is not transparency in M&E. There is a little bit of accountability otherwise the task force (<i>against corruption, nrd</i>) would have fired them (trust in people). The impact is sometimes good, because not everybody can benefit from the projects.								
	4.MASONDE	/	/	-	/	-	-	/	/
	We have applied for different projects (ex. the embankments) and they were done; however people who have worked to realise it haven't been paid yet (committed). Sometimes the projects are realised and we can see them (realistic exp.). The councillors don't tell us when things are wrong (honest). Only sometimes they come and address the problems (relevance). They DC don't say about the projects they are going to bring (participation). The DC is not transparent because of corruption (efficient). We can trust them because at least the projects they bring are visible (trust in people). When they do a project, the community have more employment opportunities (impact).								
	5.KATANSH A	/	/	-	/	-	+	/	+
	Using the CDF, the DC can finance projects every year and we can see them. The new services provided are not timely and every time you request a service it takes a lot of time before you can have it. The CDF is released only once a year and it not always arrives to the last beneficiaries (committed). The DC can only partially fulfil the promises because they don't have regular funding and the CDF in only once a year and most of time is not sufficient for everything (realistic exp.). Most of the time, if they cannot do a project they cannot explain why. They are not able to explain to people how much money is there and about what project. Before, under Kaunda, there was more collaboration so we knew those details. They are hiding something so they are not honest. The councillor comes to ask people about their problems and they are responding to our needs (relevance). We are involved in the selection of the projects but not in their implementation (participation). When there is a project they create a project management committee and they explain them how to manage it (efficiency). Sometimes the DC promises to do something but after we discover that the money has been diverted to another ward to finance another project (trust in people). The whole community benefits from the projects (ex.: the clinic) (impact).								
IT AT	1.DILIKA	/	/	*	/	+	/	/	/

<p>They are sometimes committed: sometimes they don't manage because they don't have enough money. They prefer to do projects closer to the town centre. They give excuses (ex. 'there is no fuel', 'we need the lunch allowance for the driver', etc). Also the way they treat people, their attitude is not good: instead of listen the grievances, they make people feel inferior. Then, people get frustrated and they do not go again. (Realistic Exp): Sometimes they do not manage to complete the projects (ex.: they stop before complete the roofing) or they are not done (ex.: health post). (Honesty): The bureaucratic chain is too long, there are too many middle men so it is difficult to assess. It was different if there was a direct channel from the government (or councillor, MP) to the zone. (Relevance): Here, there is not a proper road network. When you go with a complain, they say 'yes' but then they do not do it. (Participation): Usually, yes. For instance, the councillor came to ask us which project was the most important to be implemented. We asked the health post. (Efficiency): Only sometimes: Transparency is not always there, evidences not given and we don't know how much the procurement office paid for the inputs. Moreover, there was an overdraft of 1.5 million, despite the council said they got even 900.000 K more. (Trust in people): Only sometimes, when they are able to 'do things'. (Impact): Only sometimes: for example, we all benefit from the school.</p>									
<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="352 748 539 824">2.CHIPARAMB A</td> <td data-bbox="539 748 651 824">/</td> <td data-bbox="651 748 762 824">+</td> <td data-bbox="762 748 874 824">-</td> <td data-bbox="874 748 986 824">+</td> <td data-bbox="986 748 1098 824">+</td> <td data-bbox="1098 748 1209 824">+</td> <td data-bbox="1209 748 1321 824">+</td> <td data-bbox="1321 748 1410 824">+</td> </tr> </table>	2.CHIPARAMB A	/	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2.CHIPARAMB A	/	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
<p>(Commitment): Sometimes they do things right. They are committed but they don't always manage to finish what they start. (Realistic Exp.): They know where to get the resources. (Honesty): Most of the time they do not fulfil what they promise. (Relevance): They have addressed the problem of water, also through the zone/WDC committee. (Participation): They ask people and involve us (Efficiency): But sometimes there are issues. (Trust in people): When they promise something they do it. (Impact): They involve people in the area (ex.: boreholes and road are for everybody). However, there are challenges to finalise the projects. They start but to finish it takes time.</p>									
<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="352 1124 539 1200">3. KANJALA</td> <td data-bbox="539 1124 651 1200">/</td> <td data-bbox="651 1124 762 1200">/</td> <td data-bbox="762 1124 874 1200">-</td> <td data-bbox="874 1124 986 1200">-</td> <td data-bbox="986 1124 1098 1200">-</td> <td data-bbox="1098 1124 1209 1200">*</td> <td data-bbox="1209 1124 1321 1200">-</td> <td data-bbox="1321 1124 1410 1200">-</td> </tr> </table>	3. KANJALA	/	/	-	-	-	*	-	-
3. KANJALA	/	/	-	-	-	*	-	-	
<p>(Commitment): They promise but they don't fulfil. (Realistic Exp.): During elections, they come and promise but they don't fulfil. (Honesty): They never came to ask about problems (Relevance & participation): They do not have meetings with us, not even with the headman (Efficiency): not able to assess. (Trust in people): They don't come to visit us. (Impact): They failed to fulfil their promise.</p>									
<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="352 1402 539 1478">4.MKOWE</td> <td data-bbox="539 1402 651 1478">/</td> <td data-bbox="651 1402 762 1478">/</td> <td data-bbox="762 1402 874 1478">/</td> <td data-bbox="874 1402 986 1478">/</td> <td data-bbox="986 1402 1098 1478">++</td> <td data-bbox="1098 1402 1209 1478">*</td> <td data-bbox="1209 1402 1321 1478">/</td> <td data-bbox="1321 1402 1410 1478">+</td> </tr> </table>	4.MKOWE	/	/	/	/	++	*	/	+
4.MKOWE	/	/	/	/	++	*	/	+	
<p>(Commitment): They meet the needs of the people only occasionally. (Realistic Exp.): Ex.: the classroom block is not funded properly as it is still incomplete. Every time we don't know if they'll finish or not. (Honesty): They come to check the works. Ex.: The community built a school, they came to visit it and they said it was ok and they took it up. (Relevance): The council don't address the problem because the bureaucracy will delay a lot the solution. They do not concentrate much on rural areas, but only on urban. Sometimes they don't have resources to make them address the problems. It is the system that does not work. They don't fail completely, but sometimes they do. (Participation): They community is always involved before and in the implementation as we always need to provide the 25% in materials of labour. (Efficiency): We cannot assess. (Trust in people): If they promise we trust them but sometimes they fail. Sometimes, they don't have the capacity to run those activities. (Impact): The projects they do are useful (ex.: they sprayed the houses).</p>									

1.5.2 THE ADC/WDC

	GROUP	LONG TERM COMMITMENT	REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS	HONESTY	RELEVANCE	PARTICIPATION	EFFICIENCY	TRUST IN PEOPLE	IMPACT
SAMFYA	1.CHIMANA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	They cannot assess – too early								
	2.MANO	-	-	-	*	+	+	+	*
	The ADC has just started so we haven't seen the realizations yet. We wait to see the fruits.								
	3.CHIFUNABULI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Before people were chosen for its political affiliation now this doesn't happen anymore (commitment). They are fulfilling the expectations because we have seen the projects done but they should provide projects reports (honesty). They see the problems and they report them to the district (relevance). When there is a project, stakeholders are involved (participation). There is efficiency and trust in people because "we have seen the projects and the improvements". They should continue in this way because they have a great potential (impact).								
	4.MASONDE	/	/	/	/	*	/	/	*
	The ADC has just started to work. Only some of them are honest. Since their election, the ADC members have started to have meetings with the zones to discuss about problems (relevance). Some put too much politics in their work instead of doing just development. They involve themselves in politics and some of them are politicians (efficiency). We can trust only some of them (trust in people).								
5.KATANSHA	+	+	/	*	*	*	*	*	
The ADC has just started so we cannot assess. The previous ADC was quite ineffective and it was not working. The new one has just started and, up to now, the members have shown commitment. In the implementation of the project, we haven't seen any mismanagement (honesty).									
CHIPATA	1.DILIKA	*	/	*	+	+	+	/	*
	(Commitment): We cannot assess as the WDC is like a dead house: "we don't see thing coming out" of this committee. (Realistic Exp.): Sometimes, when the WDC is working in conjunction with the council. (Honesty): They don't explain things. (Relevance): They are trying, but they are not always able to do things. (Participation): They usually share information with the people. (Efficiency): Usually, they are able to give us a feedback. (Trust in people): Only sometimes, when they are able to 'do things'. (Impact): Not able to assess								
	2.CHIPARAMBA	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	+
(Commitment): They community rely on the WDC to take the problems to the council (Realistic Exp.): They bring the council's work close to the people but they are not supported by the council. (Honesty): - . (Relevance): They involve the community. (Participation): Sometimes, they make false promises. (Efficiency): They come to the									

community and they ask for problems (Trust in people): They talk with people. (Impact): The WDC helps the community								
3.KANJALA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
In this case it is impossible to assess: out of the 9 participants only 3 knew what the WDC is. 2 are WDC member, one is external.								
4.MKOWE	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
In this case it is impossible to assess: out of the 8 participants only 2 knew what the WDC is. 1 is the former councillor, the other is a WDC member.								

2 QUESTIONNAIRE

1. FAMILY INFORMATION

1. Gender	a. M b. F						
2. Your marital status is...?	a. Married b. Widowed c. Separated d. Unmarried						
3. Age (or birth year)							
4. Where were you born?	a. Same place b. Elsewhere in the province, specify: _____ c. Outside the province, specify: _____						
5. Ethnicity / Mother tongue							
6. Religion	a. Christian, <i>specify:</i> _____ b. Muslim c. Other, <i>specify:</i> _____						
7. Do you or a member of your family have a handicap?	a. Yes, specify whom and what _____ b. No						
8. How many members in your family?							
9. How many wives do you (does your husband) have ?							
	M / F	Years	Where does s/he live? (1) same place (2) same region (3) outside, specify	Education level	Job(s)	Religion	Married ? Y N
WIFE OR HUSBAND							
CHILD 1							
// 2							
// 3							
// 4							
// 5							
// 6							
// 7							
// 8							
10. Did you go to school?	a. Yes, <i>specify level:</i> _____ b. No						
11. Are you (or your wife/husband) a traditional leader?	a. Yes, <i>specify</i> _____ b. No						
12. Are you (or your wife/husband/children) member of an association / development committee?	a. Yes b. No						
13. (If YES) Which one?	a. WDC / ADC b. Women Association c. Youth association d. Agriculture association (farmers, herders) e. Trade Union						

	f. Political party
	g. Other, <i>specify</i> : _____

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION - FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION :

14. What is your main job?		
15. Do you (or your wife/husband) have other income generating activities?	a. YES, <i>specify</i> b. NO	
16. Which is your total family income (monthly)?	a. Less than 200.000 b. Between 200.000 and 300.000 c. Between 300.000 and 500.000 d. Between K 500.000 and 1.000.000 K e. More than K 1.000.000	
17. Which vehicle does your family own if any?	a. Car	<i>How many?</i>
	b. Motorbike	
	c. Bicycle	
	d. Tractor	
	e. Boat	
18. How much livestock does your family own?	a. Cattle	
	b. Goats	
	c. Chickens	
	d.	
	e.	
19. Do your family own a piece of land? 20. If not, Why?	a. yes b. no	
21. How much landdoes your family own?	... does your family cultivate?
	a. 2 lima or less	a. 2 lima or less
	b. 2-4 lima	b. 2-4 lima
	c. 1-5 hectares	c. 1-5 hectares
	d. 5-10 hectares	d. 5-10 hectares
	e. more than 10 h	e. more than 10 h
22. In the last five years, has your income increased or decreased?	a. Increased b. Decreased c. No change	
23. (If Increase) Which are the main factors of this change?		
24. (If Decrease) Which are the main factors of this change?		
25. In the last 5 years, did the district council take any initiative that has positively influenced your family income?	a. Yes b. No c. I don't know	<i>Explain</i>
26. In the last 5 years, did the district council take any initiative that has negatively influenced your family income?	a. Yes b. No c. I don't know	<i>Explain</i>
27. What could the <i>district council</i> do to help improving your family income?		

3. POLITICAL DIMENSION – DISTRICT LEVEL

28. In 2011, did you (and you wife/husband) register to vote?	a. YES, SPECIFY _____ b. No																
29. (If Not) Why?	a. I didn't know b. I was not interested c. It was too expensive d. The registration office was too far e. Other _____																
30. Did you vote in the last tripartite elections? (Y N)	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 40%;"></th> <th style="width: 15%;">2011</th> <th style="width: 15%;">2006</th> <th style="width: 15%;">2001</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>PRESIDENT</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>PARLIAMENT</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>DISTRICT</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		2011	2006	2001	PRESIDENT				PARLIAMENT				DISTRICT			
	2011	2006	2001														
PRESIDENT																	
PARLIAMENT																	
DISTRICT																	
31. (If YES) For the District Council, did you vote for a man or a woman?	a. M, explain ____ b. F, explain ____																
32. (If YES) Please choose a word that describes the candidate you voted for at district level...	a. Political affiliation b. Honesty - integrity c. Education d. Wealthy e. Socially committed (NGO/CBO) f. Clever/Skilful g. Religious h. Other _____																
33. (If NOT) Why not?	a. I didn't know b. I was not interested c. It was too expensive d. The electoral post was too far e. Other _____																
34. During the last year (2011-12), did you stand as candidate for one of the following elections?	a. Parliament Yes No b. District council Yes No c. Zone (WDC) Yes No																
35. Did you (or your wife/husband) campaign for a candidate to the council during the last tripartite elections?	a. Yes b. No c. I don't know																
36. Please choose two words that describe the councillors at District level...	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tbody> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">a. Honest</td> <td style="width: 50%;">b. NOT honest</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. Educated</td> <td>d. NOT educated</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e. Committed</td> <td>f. NOT committed</td> </tr> <tr> <td>g. Trustworthy</td> <td>h. NOT trustworthy</td> </tr> <tr> <td>i. Clever/skilled</td> <td>j. Religious</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	a. Honest	b. NOT honest	c. Educated	d. NOT educated	e. Committed	f. NOT committed	g. Trustworthy	h. NOT trustworthy	i. Clever/skilled	j. Religious						
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c. Educated	d. NOT educated																
e. Committed	f. NOT committed																
g. Trustworthy	h. NOT trustworthy																
i. Clever/skilled	j. Religious																
37. Do you think they are able to manage the district and promote development projects? WHY?	a. Yes b. No c. Don't know																
38. If compared with the work they do for the community, do you think their allowance is...	a. Excessive b. Adequate c. Too low d. I don't know																
39. Are there traditional leaders among the councillors?	a. Yes b. No c. Don't know																
40. Who are usually the other councillors (except for the traditional leaders?)	a. Religious leaders b. Farmers c. Fishermen d. Businessmen																

<p>52. (if YES) Please, choose 3 main features that influenced your choice for the candidate you voted for.</p> <p>53. (if NO) Why not?</p>	<p>b. Honesty - integrity c. Education d. Wealth e. Affiliation to the WDC/ADC f. Skills / cleverness g. Traditional leader h. (Former) civil servant / teacher i. Religion j. Other.....</p> <p>a. I didn't know b. I was not interested c. I was not invited d. Other_____</p>										
<p>54. Please choose two words your WDC's members</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. Honest</td> <td>b. NOT honest</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. Educated</td> <td>d. NOT educated</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e. Committed</td> <td>f. NOT committed</td> </tr> <tr> <td>k. Trustworthy</td> <td>l. NOT trustworthy</td> </tr> <tr> <td>g. Religious</td> <td>h. Clever/skilled</td> </tr> </table>	a. Honest	b. NOT honest	c. Educated	d. NOT educated	e. Committed	f. NOT committed	k. Trustworthy	l. NOT trustworthy	g. Religious	h. Clever/skilled
a. Honest	b. NOT honest										
c. Educated	d. NOT educated										
e. Committed	f. NOT committed										
k. Trustworthy	l. NOT trustworthy										
g. Religious	h. Clever/skilled										
<p>55. Is the WDC able promote development projects in this community?</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. Yes</td> <td>b. No</td> <td>c. I don't know</td> </tr> </table> <p>EXPLAIN:</p>	a. Yes	b. No	c. I don't know							
a. Yes	b. No	c. I don't know									
<p>56. How are they rewarded for the work they do for the community?</p>	<p>a. Remuneration from the District council b. Remuneration from the community c. They benefit from the project (bicycle, etc.) d. No remunerations / volunteering e. I don't Know</p>										
<p>57. b (if rewarded) If compared with the work they do for the community, do you think their reward is....</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. Excessive</td> <td>b. Too low</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. Adequate</td> <td>d. Don't Know</td> </tr> </table>	a. Excessive	b. Too low	c. Adequate	d. Don't Know						
a. Excessive	b. Too low										
c. Adequate	d. Don't Know										
<p>58. Are there traditional leaders among the WDC/ADC's members?</p>	<p>h. Yes i. No j. I don't know</p>										
<p>59. Who are usually the other members (except for the traditional leaders? (2 options)</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. Religious leaders</td> <td>b. Craftsmen</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. Farmers</td> <td>d. Politicians</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e. Fisher</td> <td>f. Other</td> </tr> <tr> <td>g. Businessmen</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	a. Religious leaders	b. Craftsmen	c. Farmers	d. Politicians	e. Fisher	f. Other	g. Businessmen			
a. Religious leaders	b. Craftsmen										
c. Farmers	d. Politicians										
e. Fisher	f. Other										
g. Businessmen											
<p>60. Usually there are more men or women as ADC members? 61. Why?</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. M</td> <td>b. W</td> </tr> </table> <p>EXPLAIN:</p>	a. M	b. W								
a. M	b. W										
<p>62. How do you judge the work of the WDC/ADC in the last year?</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. Very good</td> <td>b. Good</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. Poor</td> <td>d. Very poor</td> </tr> </table>	a. Very good	b. Good	c. Poor	d. Very poor						
a. Very good	b. Good										
c. Poor	d. Very poor										
<p>63. How many meetings in the last year (2012) did your zone WDC member organize - to report about WDC meetings</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a. 0</td> <td>b. 1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c. 2</td> <td>d. 3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e. 4</td> <td>f. More than 4</td> </tr> </table>	a. 0	b. 1	c. 2	d. 3	e. 4	f. More than 4				
a. 0	b. 1										
c. 2	d. 3										
e. 4	f. More than 4										

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to discuss development projects or - problems related to your community? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. District Council / MP b. Traditional leaders c. WDC/ADC d. Zone/community 	
64. (if yes) with whom?		
65. What is your family's main source of the Chipata's Council's work and decision? (2 options)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. TV b. National Radio c. Local Radio d. Newspaper e. Other f. ADC / WDC g. Internet h. Friends i. Chief/trad. leader 	
66. What is your family's main source of information about events and politics in Zambia?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. TV b. National Radio c. Local Radio d. Newspaper e. Other f. ADC / WDC g. Internet h. Friends i. Chief/trad. leader 	
67. In the last year (2011-2012), have you participated to one of the following meetings?	a. DDCC	Y N
	b. District Council	Y N
	c. ADC/WDC	Y N
	d. Zone	Y N

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION - SERVICE DELIVERY

68. How do you rate the services provided by your council?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Always good B. Good C. Average D. Poor E. Always poor
69. (If always good/good) Which are the main reasons of good quality of services provided? (2 option is possible)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Resources availability b. Councillors very committed to development c. WDC very active d. Good and transparent management e. Community /traditional leaders involved in Councils' initiatives/planning f. Other_____
70. (If always poor/poor) Which are the main reasons of good quality of services provided? (more the one option is possible)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Lack of resources b. Lack of commitment of councillors c. Lack of capacity/initiative of the WDC d. Corruption e. Political interference f. Community / traditional leaders not involved in Council's initiatives/planning g. Other_____
71. If compared with 10 years ago, now district council is...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. More efficient, explain.... b. Less efficient, explain... c. The same d. I don't know

During the last year, how many times did contact your councillor to talk about individual or community issues?					
During the last year, how many times did you contact your MP to talk about individual or community issues ?					
72. If the people in your community have a problem/request, who do you address to? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief / Headmen • Area/Ward committee member • Health/Education committee • Religious leader • Local district councillor • District commissioner • MP • Other, please specify_____ 			• Health		
			• Education		
			• Water & Sanitation		
			• Waste collection		
			• Infrastructure		
			• Environment		
			• Agriculture extension services		
			• Land		
			• Security / policing		
73. Can you list the main infrastructures / services built/provided in your ward in the last year?					
Infrastructu re / service	When	How many	Who did it? (D) District (G) Government (N) NGO	Are you or members of your family using it? YES NO	If not, Why? (1) Too expensive (2) We don't need it (3) Too far (4) It's broken / not working (5) Other
School			D G N	Y N	
Health post			D G N	Y N	
Feeder Road			D G N	Y N	
Bridge			D G N	Y N	
Borehole - pumps			D G N	Y N	
Community hall			D G N	Y N	
Fertilizer			D G N	Y N	
Hammer mill			D G N	Y N	
Certified seeds			D G N	Y N	
Loans			D G N	Y N	
Skill training			D G N	Y N	
74. Who has benefitted most from this infrastructure/services? (2 options possible)			a. Poor people	b. Rich people	
			a. Men	b. Women	
			a. Farmers	c. Fishermen	
			b. Businessmen/women	d. Traditional leaders	

75. Which is the biggest problem in your community? Lack of...	a. School/teacher	b. Lack of health post
	c. Road	d. Borehole/pump
	e. Community hall	f. Fertilizer/Seeds/Mill
	g. Loans	i. Skill training
	h. Other _____	j. Waste collection
76. In the past year, have people in your village met a councillor or other public official to request that the district council address this problem?	A. Yes, <i>where these actions successful?</i> _____	
	B. No, <i>why not</i> _____ _____	
77. If the district made available this service, would you be willing to pay a fee to support its cost?	A. Yes B. No	
78. If the District Council received 100 million kwacha, on which activity would you want most of the money spent?	_____ _____ _____	

3 DOCUMENTS COLLECTED IN SAMFYA DISTRICT COUNCIL

3.1 Sample List of Participants to DDCC²⁶⁵

POSITION	DEPARTMENT
District Commissioner	District Administration
District Admin. Officer	District Administration
District Planning Officer	Samfya District Council
Council Chairman	Samfya District Council
District Veterinary Officer	Veterinary
District Medical Officer	District Medical Office
Branch Manager	ZESCO
Assistant Park Ranger	ZAWA
O.I.C.	DEC
O.I.C.	Prisons
O.I.C.	Zambia Police
D/DIO	OOP/SD
DSWO	Social welfare
Fisheries Technician	Fisheries
District Technician	Buildings Dept.
Finance & Admin. Officer	NZP ⁺
Accounts Officer	BWT
District Agric. Coordinator	MoAL
Senior Agricultural Officer	MoAL
DMDO	MoAL
DAIO	MoAL
Planning Officer	Education

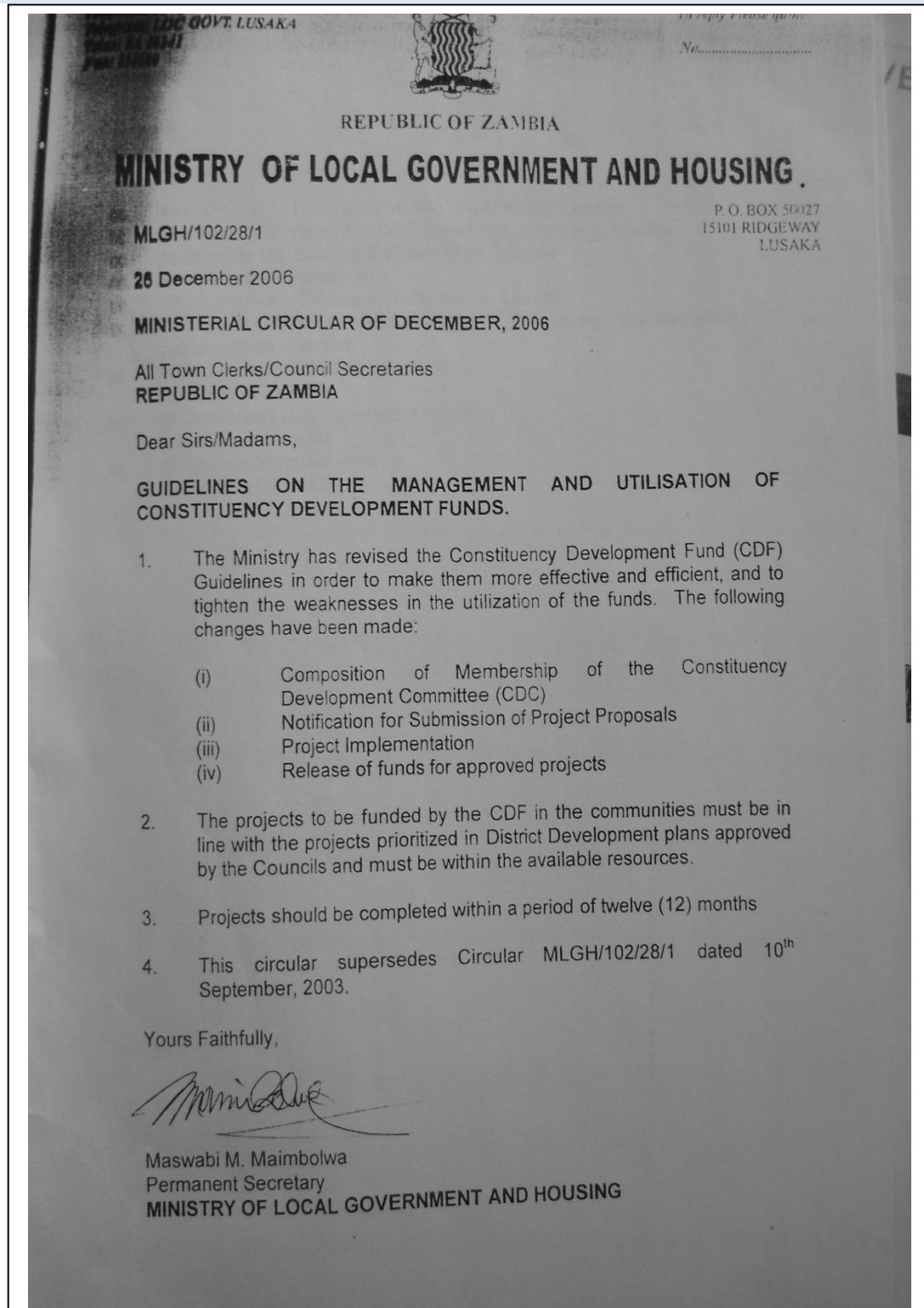
District Registrar	DNRPC
DEBS	Education
Ag. Professional Assistant	Nat. Assembly
Ag. Food & Nutrition Officer	MoAL
Administrative Officer	Council/EU

ABSENT WITH APOLOGY		
1.	Council Secretary	Samfya District Council
2.	District Community Development Officer	Com. Dev.
3.	District Fisheries officer	Fisheries Department
4.	District Forestry Officer	Forestry Department
5.	District HIV/AIDS Coordination Advisor	NAC/DATF
6.	Manager	Youth Skills
7.	District Information Officer	ZANIS

²⁶⁵ Samfya District Administration (2011). Minutes of the DDCC meeting (22 September 2011). Copy available at the Samfya District Planning Office, which works as secretariat for the DDCC.

4 DOCUMENTS COLLECTED AT THE CHIPATA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

4.1 CDF Revised Guidelines (Excerpts)²⁶⁶



²⁶⁶ Source: Chipata Municipal Council – Copy available at the Planning Unit (Nov. 2012)

REVISED GUIDELINES ON THE MANAGEMENT AND UTILISATION OF THE CONSTITUENCY DEVELOPMENT FUND (CDF)

1. INTRODUCTION

The Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was approved by Parliament in 1995 to finance micro-community projects for poverty reduction. As part of their annual capital programmes, each Council is mandated to include Constituency Development Funds for community based projects in the Capital Budgets. The Council shall be required to account for the funds in accordance with the law. The Constituency Development Committee (CDC) shall receive project proposals from sub-district development structures such as Area Development Committees (ADCs), Resident Development Committees (RDCs) and representatives of stakeholders from the townships on behalf of communities as the case may be and refer them to the Planning Sub Committee of the District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC) for appraisal before recommending to the Council for adoption.

2. MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONSTITUENCY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE AND TERM OF OFFICE.

The proposed membership of the CDC shall be nine (9) and shall comprise the following:

	Number	Committee Membership
a)	1	Area Member of Parliament
b)	2	Councillors nominated by all Councillors in the Constituency
c)	1	Chiefs representative nominated by all Chiefs in the Constituency
d)	1	Director of Works in the case of a District Council or Director of Engineering Services in the case of Municipal and City Councils
e)	4	Community Leaders from Civil Society and NGOs, Churches, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) identified by the Area Member of Parliament and Councillors in the Constituency.

The Council shall submit the names of the above nominees together with their CVs and record of their participation in community development work

to the Minister of Local Government and Housing for approval within 60 days of submission.

After approval the members of the Constituency Development Committee (CDC) will elect their Chairperson and the Vice Chairperson annually on a rotational basis limited to one year. The Area MP and the Councillors shall not be eligible to be Chairperson or Secretary to the CDC. In the absence of the Chairperson, the Vice Chairperson shall preside over the meeting of the CDC. However, in the absence of both, the members shall select amongst themselves a person to preside over the meeting.

The Secretariat for the CDC shall be provided by the Council which shall prepare notices and minutes of the CDC proceedings. These shall be submitted on a quarterly bases to the Provincial Local Government Officer and to the Ministry.

The tenure of office for the members of the CDC shall be **three years**, unless removed by the Council in Consultation with the the **Provincial Local Government Officer** and subject to ratification by the Minister of Local Government and Housing.

3. Modalities and Administration of the Constituency Development Fund

- a) The Council (Local Authority) shall administer the channeling and utilization of the Constituency Development Fund.
- b) The authority to decide on the utilization of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) shall be vested in the Council in accordance with Section 45(1) of the Local Government Act Chapter 281 of the Laws of Zambia. The District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC) through the Planning Sub Committee shall receive project proposals from the CDC and advise the Council on their suitability for funding. The purpose of submitting project proposals to the Planning Sub Committee is to avoid duplication of funding the same project from other sources.
- c) All payments to Contractors executing constituency projects shall be paid by Bank Cheques and no payments in cash shall be allowed.
- d) Duties performed in connection with the administration of the Constituency Development Fund **by members** shall be part of community contribution. No allowances whatsoever shall be paid from the Constituency Development Fund.

Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries such as Clubs, Associations and Societies must be registered with the Local Council within their Constituency to benefit from the Fund.

5. Types of Projects

The types of projects to be financed under Constituency Development Fund *shall* be developmental in nature and be beneficial to various stakeholders in the Community (Appendix A).

6. Notification for Submission of Project Proposals

The Council shall invite project proposals from the communities during the first quarter of every year by way of **advertisements**, open meetings and fixing of posters in conspicuous locations such as Notice Boards of schools, clinics, and churches including notifications through letters to Chiefs and Village Headmen.

7. Project Identification and Selection

- a. Project proposals shall be identified and prepared for submission by Communities to the Constituency Development Committee (CDC) before receipt of the funds.
- b. These projects shall be reconciled with those already received by the District Development Coordinating Committee to avoid duplication of efforts.
- c. The CDC shall within two weeks make its decision on the approved project proposals.
- d. In the next two weeks of receipt of these project proposals the Planning Sub Committee of the District Development Coordinating Committee shall submit its appraisal report to the District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC) for onward submission to the Council for approval and implementation.

Only projects which have been appraised and approved by the Council shall be funded. The Council shall inform the CDC of its decision.

Implementation of Projects shall be completed within one year.

8. Notification of Approved Projects by the Council

The Town Clerk/Council Secretary shall notify the Constituency Development Committee (CDC) on which projects have been approved by the Council for funding and implementation.

Project Implementation

- 12 **The** implementation of the projects shall involve community participation in form of labour, both skilled and unskilled, and use locally available materials (stones, sand etc) as much as possible.

For specialized works, the **Tender Committee at District Level** shall use flexible tender system in the invitation of tender offers from eligible contractors/suppliers. The District **Tender Committee** shall evaluate the bids and recommend to the Council for award of contracts which shall be communicated to the successful contractor/supplier. Preference shall be given to local contractors and suppliers.

The Chairperson of the Community Based Organization Project Committee and the Town Clerk/Council Secretary shall be signatories to all Contract Agreements. All contracts shall be in writing and sealed as prescribed in the Contract Agreement Form (Appendix B).

10. **Disbursement of Constituency Development Funds**

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) shall disburse the funds either by Bank Transfer or by Cheques to Constituency Development Fund Accounts maintained by Councils accompanied by a list of beneficiary constituencies and reflecting the allocation to each Constituency in the District.

11. **Bank Accounts and Signatories**

The Council shall open Special Bank Accounts in the name of each Constituency and shall immediately inform sub-district structures such as Area Development Committees (ADCs), Resident Development Committees (RDCs) and Community Based Organisations CBOs, representatives as the case may be in each Constituency, and bank such funds on receipt in such Accounts.

There shall be four signatories to the Constituency Development Fund Bank Account. The following shall form the panel of bank signatories on the Constituency Development Fund Account:

Panel A

- i) The Town Clerk/Council District Council Secretary
- ii) The Director of Finance/Dist Treasurer

Panel B

- i) Chairperson of Constituency Development Committee

ii) One member of the CDC at 2(e)

A Cheque drawn of the Constituency Development Fund Account or any instructions to the Bank shall be signed by two (2) Bank signatories **comprising one signatory from Panel (A) and one from Panel (B)**

12. Release of Funds for approved Projects (Specialised Works)

a) Advance Payment

The advance payment shall be maximum of 15% of the Contract sum and shall be paid to the Contractor within 30 days after award of Contract.

b) Mode of Payment

Payment for certified work shall be in Zambian Kwacha only. The client shall pay the Contractor the certified sum within 30 days of receipt of the Progress Payment Certificate (PPC) by the Council's Works Department. The evaluations shall take place at the end of each month by both the Contractor and Council. However, the minimum claim for any interim certificate by the Contractor shall be set at 10% of the contract sum.

c) Liquidated Damages

In the event of the Contract not being completed by the completion date, liquidated damages shall be applied up to a maximum of 15% of the contract sum. This amount shall be deducted from the final account. If the overrun is due to unforeseeable or unpredictable events beyond the control of the Contractor, then a reasonable extension of time may be granted on application by the Contractor. These shall be included in the Contract.

e) Valuation of Works Done

At the time of evaluation for Progress Payment Certificate claims, the percentage of each activity completed is to be assessed and agreed between the supervisor/Council and the Contractor. This percentage shall be used to calculate the amount due for that activity. If liquidated damages are due, then these should be deducted from the total sum.

All payments due shall be sanctioned by the Council and shall be payable by Cheque in the name of the authorized Contractor or Supplier and NOT a third party or individual.

13. Accountability and Transparency

In accordance with the Local Government Act Cap 281 of the Laws of Zambia and the Local Authorities Financial Regulations (Statutory Instrument No. 125 of 1992) auditing of Constituency Development Fund shall be carried out regularly by the Local Government Auditors of the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. The District

Treasurer/Director of Finance of the Council shall maintain separate Books of Accounts for the Constituency Development Fund in each District. They shall prepare monthly Receipts and Payments Accounts supported by the Bank reconciliation statements for each account to be submitted to the Office of the Provincial Local Government Officer with copies to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Housing.

14. Penalty

Any abuse of the funds under the Constituency Development Fund by way of misapplication or misappropriation by the Council shall result in the suspension of the Council or forfeiture of the Council grants until the reimbursement of the affected Constituency Development Fund is effected. Further, any abuse of the Constituency Development Fund by any member of the Constituency Development Committee or Community Based Organisation shall result in legal action against the culprit. Any Council Official involved in abusing, mismanaging, defrauding or stealing any money from this Fund shall be prosecuted.

15. Minutes

The Council shall cause to be maintained records of the proceedings of all CDF meetings (prepared by an Officer from the District Planning Unit of the Council who shall be Secretary of the Committee. Quarterly copies of such minutes shall be submitted to the Minister of Local Government and Housing without fail and progress reports shall be availed to the community. Subsequent funding of CDF shall be withheld for Constituencies, which do not comply with these guidelines.

16. Reporting and Monitoring

The Council through the Director of Works/Director of Engineering Services or District Planning Officer/Directors of Socio Economic Planning Offices from relevant Government Line Departments and the beneficiary Community shall monitor the project implementation monthly or as often as necessary depending on the nature and stage of the project. The Community shall be involved during monitoring. The monitoring team shall prepare progress reports on behalf of the community supported by the accounts for the quarter and submit through the Provincial Local Government Officer to the Minister of Local Government on Housing who shall analyse the reports and advise the Government on progress achieved in the implementation of micro-community projects and programmes in constituencies.

17. Administrative Costs

Ten percent (10%) of the Constituency Development Fund shall be retained in the Account of the Constituency to meet administrative costs of administering the Constituency Development Committee (CDC) auditing,

monitoring and evaluation by the District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC). These costs will include transport, stationery, per diem to cover food and accommodation for the technical staff and Committee Members.

18. Project Evaluation

The evaluation of the project shall be carried out by the Council's Director of Works/Director of Engineering Services, District Planning Officer and officers from the appropriate Government line departments. The evaluation exercise shall be done upon completion of the project but before the disbursement of the following year's Constituency Development Fund. The Evaluation team shall prepare a report for submission to the community, DDCC and Council for action, if any.

19. Funding for Production of Annual Report on the Constituency Development Fund

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing carry-out regular audit inspections in accordance with the Local Government Act Chapter 281 of the Laws of Zambia, the Guidelines on the Management and Utilization of Constituency Development Fund and physical verification of completed projects in all 150 Constituencies in Zambia. This is for the production of an Annual Report on the performance of the Constituency Development Fund for submission to Cabinet Office and Parliament.

20. Annual Report to Cabinet and Parliament

The Minister of Local Government and Housing shall submit to Cabinet and subsequently to Parliament an annual report on the operations of the Constituency Development Fund.

Examples of Projects eligible for Constituency Development Fund

Water Supply and Sanitation

- (i) Construction and rehabilitation of wells
- (ii) Construction and rehabilitation of small scale dams
- (iii) Construction and rehabilitation of boreholes
- (iv) Piped water supply systems
- (v) Construction and rehabilitation of pit latrines, toilets or water borne sanitation system
- (vi) Drainage systems

Roads

- (i) Construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of roads (feeder and community roads in inclusive) especially by labour-based methods
- (ii) Bridge construction and maintenance
- (iii) Culvert installation
- (iv) Causeway construction
- (v) Canals, waterways embankments

Agriculture Projects

- (i) Livestock and poultry rearing, piggeries
- (ii) Irrigation
- (iii) Marketing activities
- (iv) Basic farming Machinery.
- (v) Agricultural inputs seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc

Other Social Amenities

Markets and Bus shelters;

- (i) Construction and rehabilitation of markets
- (ii) Construction and rehabilitation of bus shelters

Education and Health Programmes;

- (i) Rehabilitation of Education facilities, desks inclusive
- (ii) Rehabilitation of Health facilities
- (iii) Health programmes such as nutrition etc
- (iv) Education programmes such as literacy programmes
- (v) Educational Sponsorship for the vulnerables.

Sport and Recreation

Rehabilitation and Construction of:

- (I) Community Halls, nurseries and gardens
- (II) Recreational facilities, e.g. parks, playgrounds and play fields
- (III) Indoor recreational facilities e.g. welfare halls

Other Economic Activities

- (i) Income generating (Carpentry, tailoring and designing etc)

5.1 Legal Framework

5.1.1 REGISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VILLAGES ACT (1971 AND 1994)²⁶⁷

FIRST SCHEDULE

(Section 8)

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF A PRODUCTIVITY COMMITTEE

1. To elect one of its members other than the Chairman to represent the Productivity Committee on the Ward Council.
2. To plan the growth and development of a village and to promote the well-being of the villagers, and in particular-
 - (a) to build, improve and maintain school buildings or buildings of other educational establishments, and to participate in all educational programmes;
 - (b) to provide and improve water supplies in the village;
 - (c) to build and improve village health centres and other like institutions with a view to ensuring the highest standard of sanitary conditions for the villagers;
 - (d) to build roads to service the village and neighbouring villages;
 - (e) to establish depots for serving the village;
 - (f) to build an administrative centre in the village;
 - (g) to provide facilities for the welfare, recreation and social enjoyment of the villagers;
 - (h) to plan and to effectuate the establishment and growth of new villages.
3. To make decisions on such matters as are referred to it by the villagers.
4. To promote the spirit of unity among the villagers.
5. To encourage greater production in agriculture.
6. To organise the marketing of village produce and animal products.
7. To establish co-operatives for the purposes of marketing village produce and animal products.
8. To promote and encourage family savings and investment.
9. To promote the establishment of small-scale village industries and encourage inter-village commerce.
10. To encourage advancement of education in a village.
11. Generally, to do all such things as may be necessary or desirable for the establishment, promotion and development of facilities for the betterment and happiness of the villagers socially, culturally, economically and politically and to create awareness among the villagers towards those ends.

²⁶⁷ Source: Archive of the Local Government Association of Zambia – Volume 16 of the Laws of Zambia, Chapter 289) - (Nov. 2012)

SECOND SCHEDULE

(Section 12)

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF A WARD COUNCIL

1. To elect the members of the Ward Development Committee.
2. To discuss in general problems of the ward and make decisions to guide the Ward Development Committee in the administration of the ward.
3. To review plans for the development of the ward and to approve programmes for its development.
4. To assist the Ward Development Committee in assessing the requirements of the villagers in the ward and in organising ways and means whereby the Ward Development Committee can assist in improving the economic and social conditions of the villagers.
5. Generally to help facilitate in every possible way the work of the Ward Development Committee.

THIRD SCHEDULE

(Section 15)

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF A WARD DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

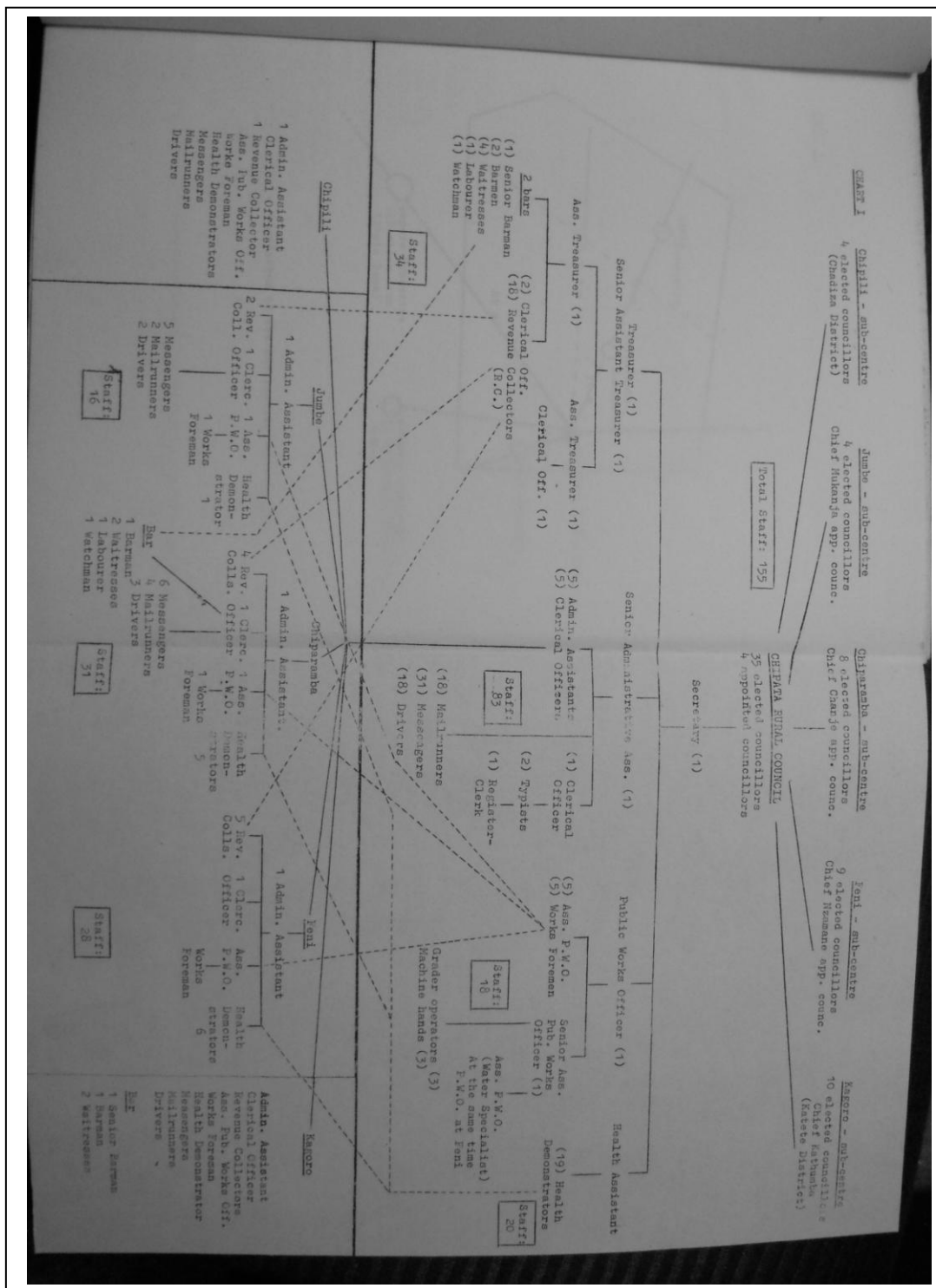
1. To provide an efficient and effective administrative machinery for the villagers in a ward.
2. To supervise the work of Productivity Committees.
3. To organise an efficient and effective utilisation of the ward's natural and human resources in order to increase the capacity of the villagers in the ward to raise their standards of living. The Ward Development Committee shall assess the total needs of the ward, working out priorities and harmonising them with overall Government priorities in order to achieve for the ward maximum advantage from the implementation of the projects under the management of the ward and those under Government control.
4. To create machinery through which the villagers can undertake increasing responsibilities to solve their individual, family, village and ward problems.
5. To assist the villagers in a ward to understand the role of individuals, families and villages in the Republic.
6. To support and facilitate regional planning through the rural council responsible for the area of a ward.
7. To provide efficient and modern techniques for raising productivity in the area of a ward and, in particular, the Ward Development Committee shall-
 - (a) determine the best crop for the area and ensure the highest level of productivity of that crop;
 - (b) give maximum attention to the rearing of animals best suited to the area to ensure maximum financial return;
 - (c) discourage the villagers from growing unproductive crops and from keeping animals purely for traditional prestige;
 - (d) ensure the highest standards of maintenance of paddocks and improvement in grazing;

- (e) encourage the villagers to move from unproductive areas to areas with greater prospects for economic advancement and prosperity;
 - (f) make use of water where it is available for irrigation purposes so that the ward can grow more than one crop annually;
 - (g) participate in the construction and maintenance of water drainage systems.
8. To assist in the construction of road networks within the area of a ward.
 9. To encourage the establishment of co-operative societies to engage in agricultural production, marketing, transportation and construction and also to establish consumer co-operatives.
 10. To encourage individual and family savings and investment.
 11. To encourage the growth of small-scale industries in the area of a ward.
 12. To encourage inter-ward co-operation in schemes of communal interest.
 13. To assist in the organisation and co-ordination of inter-village schemes for the construction and maintenance of school buildings in the area of a ward.
 14. To ensure that there is proper cleanliness and sanitation in each village in the area of a ward.

6 DOCUMENTS COLLECTED AT NIPA LIBRARY - LUSAKA

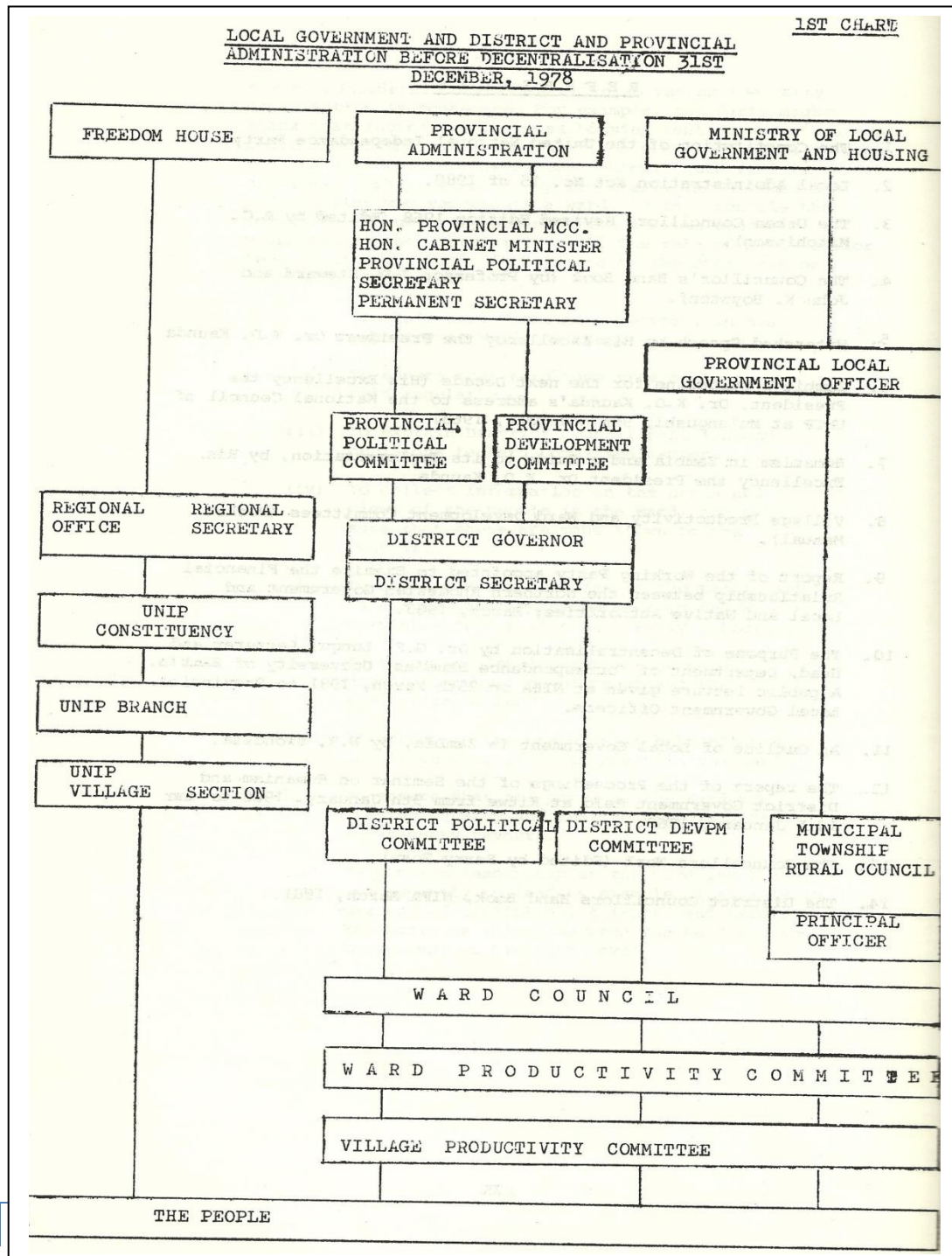
6.1 Evolution of The Local Government Structure

6.1.1 CHIPATA RURAL COUNCIL IN 1972²⁶⁸



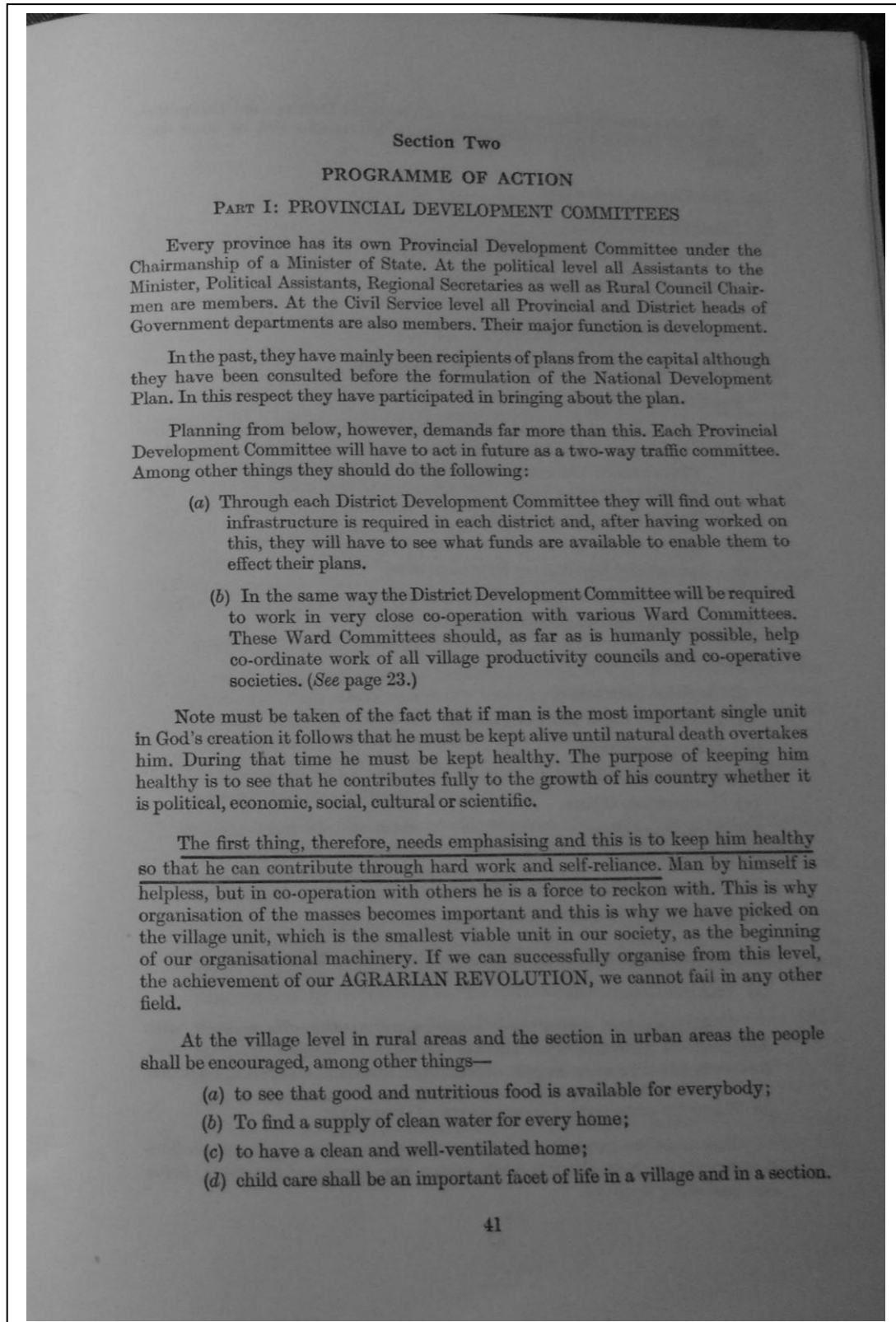
²⁶⁸ Source: s.n. (1972). *The organization of the Chipata Rural Council*. Administrative Studies in Development, n° 6. Lusaka. NAPA

6.1.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN 1978 AND 1981²⁶⁹



²⁶⁹ Source: National Institute of Public Administration (1981). *Decentralisation in Zambia. Readings in the New Local Administration System*. Lusaka. NIPA. Document offered to the author by the library's chief officer. Multiple copies are available in the NIPA Library.

6.2 "Humanism" by K. Kaunda (Excepts)²⁷⁰



²⁷⁰ Source: Kaunda, K. (1968). *Humanism and a guide to its implementation*. Lusaka, Zambia Information Services. Multiple copies are available at the NIPA Library.

We have already discussed the role of Provincial Development Committees and that of District Development Committees. Let us now look at other committees.

(a) THE VILLAGE COMMITTEE.

Possible membership:

- (i) Chairman of the Productivity Council.
- (ii) Party Village Committee Chairman.
- (iii) Village Headman.
- (iv) Two to four other members.

(b) WARD CO-OPERATIVE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE.

Possible membership:

- (i) Two to four elected Party leaders (Constituency Chairmen or Secretaries—Minister of State for the Province will be responsible for appointing Constituency Chairmen or Secretaries where we have more than one constituency in an area).
- (ii) Elected Councillor for the area.
- (iii) Elected representatives of the village committees in the area.
- (iv) Agricultural Department Representative.
- (v) Community Development Representative.
- (vi) Any other necessary Government officer.

(c) DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

- (i) Regional Secretaries.
- (ii) Chairman, Rural District Council.
- (iii) District Secretary.
- (iv) Agricultural Officer.
- (v) Co-operative Officer.
- (vi) Marketing Officer.
- (vii) Credit Officer.
- (viii) Community Development Officer.
- (ix) Any other person deemed necessary.

The functions and duties of the Committee should include the following—

(a) VILLAGE COMMITTEE.

Help plan the agricultural development at the village level with emphasis on productivity. Allocate production targets to producers. Review needs of farmers. Supply of fertilisers, loans and marketing facilities.

(b) WARD CO-OPERATIVE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE.

Help plan the agricultural development of their area. Allocate production targets to areas. Review needs of farmers. Supply of fertilisers, loans and marketing facilities.

(c) DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

Help plan the agricultural development of the district. Allocate production targets to district. Review needs of farmers. Supply of fertilisers, loans and marketing facilities.

It would be useful if Committees met at least once a month. In terms of the policy of self-help Village Committees should, as far as possible, resolve most of their problems. The same should be said of Ward Co-operative Co-ordinating Committees and District Committees.

Our people in every village, co-operative society and up to the district level, must know what to grow each year in order to build healthy bodies, increase their incomes, help feed the workers and also provide the surpluses which can be processed either in their own areas or anywhere else within the country, or indeed, which we can export for the benefit of the nation. A list of suggested crops and areas where animal husbandry might be carried out and poultry reared is given district-wise for the information and general guidance of the suggested Committees.

The Government will announce each year—not later than September—a pre-planting price for crops bought by the National Agricultural Marketing Board. The minimum prices will be given for each district so that every farmer in each village will know the minimum price to be paid for the crop the following year. The Board or its agent will not buy produce below the minimum price.

Every year Government will announce the national production targets for various crops. Each district will be allocated its share of national production—the minimum amount which it must produce.

PART II: PARTICIPATION OF OUR YOUTH AND STUDENTS

- A. At the October session of the National Council of the Party a directive was given that every school and every branch of the Party should have a Young Farmers' Club by December, 1967. The response has been very good indeed but, of course, much more remains to be done.
- B. Our thanks go to all the heads of schools, teachers and students who have responded to this national call.
- C. Mention must also be made of the response from our University of Zambia students to the call that was made to them to do some work in rural areas with the Community Development Department. We are proud of this but, of course, here again much more remains to be done.
- D. It was very heartening to receive the offer that the students from Chiwala Secondary School made to go and help with the cotton crops at Chombwa in 1966. I have no doubt at all that our young people will continue to rise to our expectations by responding to this national call.
- E. We can, of course, give a long list of young people's organisations which are effective, like Luto and Yaps near Kitwe, but this must await a progress publication which we hope to be producing fairly soon and in which will appear in pictures the activities related to the development of the country.
- F. The target that students must aim at is to be able to produce their own vegetables, table birds in the form of chickens and ducks, their own eggs and, where possible, their own milk and beef. This will mean that each and every

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