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DECENTRALISATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR FORMER KATANGA PROVINCE

BY

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Abstract

This research seeks to investigate opinions of people from the former Katanga province about decentralisation made in the Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R.C.) through the splitting up of provinces. In addition, the research seeks to demonstrate the extent to which the process of decentralisation is a challenge or an opportunity for the country. Due to the protracted conflict the DRC initiated decentralisation in its current constitution, fruit of the Sun City Accord signed after around a decade of war in 2002. The aim was to bring the governed and the governors closer together and improve local development across the country. In order to achieve this, the study used interviews, focus group discussions as instruments of data collection. The documentary review method was also used to provide information on the decentralisation theory. Decentralisation is the transfer of authority, responsibility, and resources through de-concentration, delegation, or devolution from the center to peripheral levels of administration. In the most recent literature, devolution seems to be considered as the purest or at least the most extensive form of decentralisation in as far as the central government transfer authority for decision-making, finance and administrative management to quasi-autonomous units of local government. Here is what this study recommends to the DRC through its policy-makers in order to make decentralisation process efficient then avoid protracted conflict pertaining to centralisation of the governance system. The DRC have to decentralise the country through devolution which include distributive justice, rule of law and participative governance.

Key Words: decentralisation, challenge, opportunity, dismemberment.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my original work except where sources have been cited and acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be submitted to another university for the award of a degree.

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Dedication

In the first instance, I dedicate this study to my God, the Master of time and circumstances, who is transcendent and who continues to take care of us although we are sinners. To my father Tshikala Banza Djuba Elie and my mother Ngoy Nshimbi Angeline, to my offspring, I dedicate to you this study as a way to follow for your welfare and that of the society and, finally to all those who have concern for the welfare of Katangese people.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFDL — Alliance of Democratic forces of Liberation

CSK — Commité Spéciale du Katanga (Special Committee of Katanga)

DRC — Democratic Republic of Congo

EIC — Etat Independent du Congo (Congo Free State)

EIK — Etat Independent du Katanga (Katanga Free State)

FGD — Focus Group Discussion

ICJ — International Court of Justice

INC — Indian National Congress

NRA — National Resistance Army

NRM — National Resistance Movement

ONUC — Organisation des Nation Unies au Congo (United Nations Organisation in Congo)

PDCs — People's Defense Committees

PNDC — Provisional National Defense ruling Council

PRIs — Panchayati Raj Institutions

UN — United Nations

Definition of Key Terms

Decentralisation: is the transfer of authority, responsibility, and resources through de-concentration, delegation, or devolution from the center to lower levels of administration. Decentralisation can also be understood as transfer of political, financial, administrative, and legal authority from central government to provincial/sub-national and local governments.

De-concentration: is a process whereby the central government disperses responsibilities for certain services to regional branches offices without any transfer of authority. Many scholars do not consider this true decentralisation, but the central government simply establishing field offices.

Delegation: refers to a situation in which the central government transfers responsibility for decision-making and administration of public functions to local governments. In this instance, local governments are not fully controlled by central government but are accountable to them.

Devolution: happens when the central government transfers authority for decision-making, finance and administrative management to quasi-autonomous units of local government.

It would seem that the most recent literature considers devolution to be the purest or at least the most extensive form of decentralisation.

Challenge: refers to an act or a statement that calls something, a situation into question.

Opportunity: refers to favorable time, circumstances, and situations for doing something. Is a chance especially one that offers some kind of advantages.

Dismemberment: refers to the action of divide something up, cutting or tearing something into pieces.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Across the world the laws that guide the management of the public affairs or the affairs of state such institutions, economy, public administration, justice and so on are summarised in the document namely "Constitution". It's also the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo of which the fundamental law is the Constitution.

Voted by referendum the current Congolese Constitution was promulgate by His Excellency President Joseph Kabila Kabange on 18 February 2006 and came into force in that date. Although it was amended in 2011 by 8 articles over 229 (articles 71, 110, 126, 197,198, 218 and 226) Congolese Constitution still being in vigor until nowadays. Among the review articles, that interest this study is 226 that before amendment said that the provision of the first paragraph of article 2 will come into force within thirty six months following the effective establishment of the political institutions provided by the Constitution. After amendment the article says, the transition from 11 provinces to 26 will be determine by another law and don't have now a delay in the Constitution (Democratic Republic of Congo Constitution 2006).

By organisation and exercise of the power the Constitution recognised as institutions: republic presidency, parliament, government and law courts of which their major

preoccupations deal with ensuring harmonious functioning of the state's institutions, avoiding conflicts, countering dictatorial tendencies, guarantying an effective governance, fighting against impunity.

In its article 2, the Congolese Constitution anticipated decentralisation that concern provinces. Instead of 11 the Constitution plan 26 (twenty-six) provinces after 36 months from the date of installation of institutions in 2006. This article in the Constitution stipules that the DRC consists of the city Kinshasa and 25 provinces which possess legal personality. These are Bas-Uele, Equateur, Haut-Lomami, Haut-Katanga, Haut-Uele, Ituri, Kasai, Kasi Oriental, Kongo Central, Kwango, Kwilu, Lomami, Lualaba, Lulua, Mai-Ndombe, Maniema, Mongala, Nord-Kivu, Nord Ubangi, Sankuru, Sud-Kivu, Sud-Ubangi, Tanganyika, Tshopo and Tshuapa.

In article 3, the Congolese Constitution shows that the provinces and the decentralised territorial entities of the DRC possess legal personality and are managed by local authorities. These decentralised territorial entities are the city, commune, the sector and the chiefdom. They enjoy administrative freedom and managerial autonomy with regard to their economic, human, financial and technical resources.

The Congolese Constitution also anticipated even the modality and technicalities necessary to use in the process of decentralisation. In article 4, the Constitution says that,

new provinces and territorial entities decentralised may be created by reorganisation under conditions prescribed by the Constitution and law.

Despite being constitutional, the decentralisation plan was not achieved until 2011 when the Constitution was amended. The purpose of that dismemberment, is the decentralisation of power in others words to bring close the governed to the governors. The decentralisation concern the territorial structure of provinces. As other provinces have been decentralised by dismemberment in certain number of new provinces is the same case with Katanga province that has been also subdivided in four (4) provinces.

1.2 Background to the Study

The Democratic Republic of Congo is the second largest country in Africa with 2.345.410 km^2 and is located in the center of Africa and shares borders with nine countries. In the North Central African republic, Congo Brazzaville and South Sudan. In the south Angola and Zambia and in the East Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania.

Colonised by Belgium, the DRC got its independence on 30 June 1960. From that date up to nowadays DRC record three republic according the official mandate. The first republic under Joseph Kasavubu (30 June 1960-24 November 1965). The second republic under Joseph Desire Mobutu Seseko (24 November 1965-17 May 1997) a period of transition

was recorded here with Laurent Desire Kabila as president from (17 May 1997-17 January 2001) and the third republic under Joseph Kabila (17/01/2001-december2016).

Dunia, Francois and Phebe (2015) give an overview of the DRC's constitutional history in these terms. On May 19, 1960, the Belgian Parliament passed and the Belgian King Baudouin promulgated a Constitution for the Belgian Congo, called the Fundamental Law on the structures of the Congo. The 1960 Fundamental Law remained in force till its repeal in 1964.

In the first republic, under Kasavubu with a parliamentary system guided by the Luluabourg's Constitution voted and promulgated on 01 August 1964 the state was led by unitary system. The second republic with an executive presidency and a unicameral parliament, the state was unitary guided by revolutionary Constitution of 24 June 1967. This Constitution was revised six times in 1970, 1974, 1978, 1980 (twice) and 1982; the revolutionary Constitution was also amended in April 1990.

In 1992 was drawn up a constitutional deed that entered into force in April 1994 with a goal of assuring a democratic transition. This Constitution of transition was then abrogated by Laurent Desire Kabila on 17 May 1997 when he took power by force.

Since 1997 up to the official end of war in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2003, DRC recorded the constitutional text below:

- Law decree of May 1997 by Laurent Desire Kabila

- Constitutional deed of transition in November 1998

- Constitution of transition from April 2003 that was into effect up to 18 December 2005 the date of adoption of the law on the project of the actual Constitution promulgate on 18 February 2006.

The most important that we can record for this Constitution and for our study is the general disposition for decentralisation by dismemberment of provinces that should be effective 36 months after installation of institutions foreseen by the Constitution. Instead of 11provinces DRC has 26 provinces that include the capital city Kinshasa.

Like other provinces Katanga has been also dismembered in four provinces namely Haut-Katanga, Haut-Lomami, (Upper Katanga and Upper Lomami) Tanganyika and Lualaba.

Covering 497.000 km^2 Katanga province was the third largest in DRC after Oriental province and Bandundu. It contained five (5) districts, twenty-two (22) territories, ninth-two (92) sectors, three (3) urban cities whose Lubumbashi is a capital city (Ilango, 2013).

Economically speaking, Katanga province was the economic hub of DRC. That is justified by its natural resources, exploited and non-exploited such as copper, cobalt, uranium, golden, coltan, coal, tin, manganese, zinc, iron and malachite. Sociologically, Katanga province had many different ethnic groups from many centuries ago. The dominant group

was Lubas, Arunds composed of (Lundas, Tshokwes, Lwenas, Ndembos and Minungus), Sangas, Bembas and Lambas. The minority are Bambote, Zelas, Bayanzi, Ndembo, Batabwa, Kalwena and Hembas.

Politically, Katanga province has a particular history because it was an independent state with its own currency, national flag, national anthem, government and so on. This from July 1960 up to January 1963 with Kapend Moise Tshombe as president. According to its history, the Katangese people are referred to as regionalist, secessionist or separatist who feel constantly, the deep desire to separate from the rest of the DRC. The Katanga secessionist movement dates from the colonial era. Under the Congo Free State (EIC) from 1885 to 1908, Katanga was not a part of (EIC) today's DRC. It was administered by the privately owned special committee of Katanga (CSK) until 1910 when its administration was transferred to a vice governor general (Meditz and Merrill, 1994).

Under Mobutu's reign the province was named Shaba. It is only in 1997 under Laurent Desire Kabila that the province returned to his original name "Katanga". In March 2013 in Lubumbashi (it former capital city) an incursion of one group named "Bakata Katanga" literally its means group for "cutting Katanga" from the DRC and creating an independent state of Katanga.

Actually, Katanga is already decentralised by dismemberment. As said above decentralisation concern all the country but on 11 initial provinces only 6 have been divided as in the case of Bandundu in three, Equateur in five, Oriental province in four,

Katanga in four, Oriental Kasai in three, and Occidental Kasai in two provinces . The rest of the provinces have remained initially intact such Bas Congo, Nord Kivu, Sud- Kivu, Maniema and Kinshasa. In view of the above background this study is focused on the perceptions of Katanga's people on the decentralisation and dismemberment of Katanga province.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The DRC, which is one of the biggest countries in Africa, across its history, has shown incapacity to take off for sustainable peace and development. From independence time up to the present the challenge for all Constitutions mentioned above, is to define laws for the management of the state. Due to different opinions, the country seems like a cycle of protracted conflict that involves wars and violence. The way of which the country is managed still be the major point of internal conflict within the DRC and among Congolese. This is why the 2006 Constitution speaks about decentralisation by dismemberment as a way to solve different issues pertaining to management by bringing closer the governed and governing authorities.

In September 2015 the law on territorial decentralisation referring to article 226, which the main goal is "dismemberment" of provinces was promulgated in order to implement article 4 of the Constitution. As a constitutional law, decentralisation is one of the strategies used by the DRC with a goal to try to solve the issue about the mode of management of the country. That in order to avoid different conflicts due to divergent

point of views about how to manage the public affairs. Recently, on 26 March 2016 the elections were organised for the new province's Governor. These took over ten days after in replacement on of the special commissioners nominated in September 2015.

The research tend to investigate the perception of Katangese people about decentralisation materialised by dismemberment of DRC's province broadly and Katanga province particularly. The study briefly looks at decentralisation by dismemberment according to Katangese and considers it is an opportunity of the taking off sustainable development or a challenge that can plunge DRC broadly in chaos or Katanga particularly.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

1) Explore Katangese perceptions on the decentralisation in Katanga province.
2) Assess the reason for the decentralisation by dismemberment of provinces in DRC broadly and in Katanga particularly.
3) Examine the implication of decentralisation in Katanga particularly and in governance in DRC broadly.
4) Suggest strategies that inform good governance in Katanga and in DRC.

1.5 Research Questions

The study is guide by the following questions:

1) What is the perception of Katangese on the decentralisation of Katanga province?

2) What are the reason for the need for decentralisation in DRC and in Katanga?

3) What is the impact of decentralisation of Katanga province particularly and DRC broadly?

4) What are strategies can be applied for a good governance of Katanga and DRC?

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

This research study is based on the following assumptions:

- The decentralisation in DRC that is materialised by dismemberment of provinces can be a challenge that can plunge the country into general chaos, or certain provinces particularly.

- The territorial decentralisation can also be an opportunity of taking off for a sustainable peace and development.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Territorial dismemberment was chosen as a strategy for decentralisation in DRC, a means that can facilitate to bring closer the people to governors so to develop the country. The DRC is, in important stage of his history by the experience of decentralisation that it is implementing. That stage consist in the transition of the mode of governance. From centrality to decentralisation.

According to Shabbir and Dennis (2007), governments in weak states, especially in those that are coping with or recovering from conflicts arising from insurgencies, civil wars, or external invasions, must deal with complex economic, political, social and development challenges. Often they must also promote political participation, hold elections, and address violation of human rights in order to sustain peace accords or move toward more stable governance systems. Sometimes, governments in weak states must also heal the wounds of war by reducing existing social and political tensions.

Referring to that, indeed DRC as a post-conflict country, many and repeat social and politic tensions are recorded throughout the country. This is a challenge that the DRC faces in the process implementing decentralisation by dismemberment.

There are different studies in decentralisation field, but in DRC there is few studies regarding this topic. The importance of the study is that, it's based on actuality that happen.

The significance of this study is summarised in the simple fact that different opinions, perceptions on the process of decentralisation by dismemberment Katanga province will be received through this investigation.

The findings of this study would contribute to the knowledge of point of view of different social class about the establishment of new provinces from dismemberment in term of decentralisation in the former Katanga province.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

Considering the area of the DRC on the one hand, and the time, material and finance means on the other hand, it is practically impossible to conduct a research for the entire DRC. For that, this research is delimited to former Katanga province which was divided in four new provinces: Haut-Katanga, Haut-Lomami, Lualaba and Tanganyika. Therefore, the researcher cannot carry out the study without using research assistants. Informants for the study are from all four new provinces mention above. Male and female from different strata of society.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

For this research, some several factors can limited the study in its scope of action:

- In spite the fact that decentralisation is not at the first experience in DRC, there is not enough documentation about that.

- The study is focused on an ongoing process so some reactions can be emotional mean from informant's emotion.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides theories about decentralisation and its implementation. Decentralisation as a mode of management is present here in its different form of implementation and shows how it can contribute to the taking off of sustainable peace and development of a country or how it can be a challenge. Case studies of decentralisation are selected at global and regional level. The chapter looks at explanations about decentralisation offered in different theories and these include the outcome of implementation of the decentralisation as a mode of management by different countries.

2.2 Theoretical framework of the study

This study was guide by the decentralisation theory which stipulates that power is shifted from central or upper location to another local or less place. Although in multiple forms, the pedestal of decentralisation is, the transfer of power from upper to lower level. This as response of different government that seek effectiveness in the management of public affairs and social and economic development. In this study the decentralisation theory is supported by ideas of scholars such as, Shabbir and Dennis (2007), who say decentralisation has changed rapidly over the past quarter of a century in tandem with the evolution in thinking about governance. In developing countries, debates over the structure, roles, and functions of government focused on the effectiveness of central power and authority in promoting economic and social progress and on the potential advantages

and disadvantages of decentralising authority to subnational units of administration local governments, or other agents of the state.

2.3 Relevance of the Theoretical Frame to the Study

Jossy; Tony; Volker and Jane (2000) focusing on decentralisation and local development asked "what have these changes mean for development at the local level"? In both urban and rural environment, new opportunities have arisen for local actors to influence the development process. The relevance of the theoretical frame to this study is shown by the evidence that transferring governance to local government levels provides significant opportunities for participation and increased involvement by people and communities in decision that directly affect their lives.

As such this theoretical framework becomes relevant because it looks at different opinions on the possibility of the effectiveness of decentralising the Katanga Province through inclusive engagement and participation of the people of Katanga.

2.4 Decentralisation theory

As mentioned above, the theory of decentralisation has as pedestal, transfer of authority, power from an upper level to lower level. Mohan (2006) assumes that in recent years the topic of decentralisation has received great attention. The increased interest is not only because of its theoretical appeal, but it is related to the rising number of countries adopting

a more decentralised system. The widespread economic liberalisation along with political change towards openness and democracy is one of the driving force. In transition economies, including the transition countries in Europe and central Asia such trend was largely driven by the limited administrative and financial capacity of the center, while in some other regions the policy shift may be prompted by the collapse and erosion of central control. However, decentralisation is not about weakening central authority. The important goal is to make the local government more responsive to the needs of local populations. Most discussions about decentralisation accordingly center on attempts to improve the delivery of services.

On account of its many failures, the centralised state everywhere has lost a great deal of legitimacy and decentralisation is widely believed to promise a range of benefits. It is often suggested as a way of reducing the role of the state in general by fragmenting central authority and introducing more inter-governmental competition and checks and balances. It is viewed as a way to make government more responsive and efficient.

According to Pranab and Dillip (2006), the last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a significant rise in the scope of local democracy throughout the developing world, with increasing devolution of political, economic, and administrative authority to local government. The main focus here is on decentralisation of political authority to local governments and on democracy at a level lower than states or provinces.

Decentralisation is widely lauded as key component of good governance and development. It is also broadly recognised as a process fraught with complexity and potential failure. The implicit rationale for decentralisation goes something like this. If a government can perform closer to the people it is meant to serve, the people will get more out of government and in turn, will be more willing to accept that government's authority. The rationale is compelling and despite the potential pitfalls associated with implementation, most scholars agree that a decentralised system of government is more likely to result in enhanced efficiency and accountability than its centralised counterpart.

Still, disparities between the theoretical rationale for decentralisation and what is actually gained in practice are gaping. Real-life efforts to decentralise across a range of contexts have failed for a variety of reasons, many of them difficult to measure. Therefore much of scholarly literature on the subject focuses on understanding what has failed and why and on hypothesising potential improvements to implementation (Stacey, 2011).

Stacey by its research which consist in reviewing articles and books about decentralisation concludes that although there is great diversity in empirical decentralisation, the basic theoretical definitions presented in the literature are surprisingly common. Decentralisation is generally broken down into three different but related processes.

- *De-concentration:* is a process whereby the central government disperses responsibilities for certain services to regional branches offices without any transfer of authority. Many scholars do not consider this true

decentralisation, but the central government simply establishing field offices.

- *Delegation*: refers to a situation in which the central government transfer responsibility for decision-making and administration of public functions to local governments. In this instance, local governments are not fully controlled by central government but are accountable to them.

- *Devolution:* happens when the central government transfers authority for decision-making, finance and administrative management to quasi-autonomous units of local government.

It would seem that the most recent literature considers devolution to be the purest or at least the most extensive form of decentralisation.

Types of decentralisation are further categorised as a political, administrative or fiscal.

- Political decentralisation is generally defined as the extent to which political institutions track and collect citizen interests and turn them into policy decisions.

- Administrative decentralisation concerns the way in which political institutions turn policy decisions into allocative outcomes through fiscal and regulatory action.

- Fiscal decentralisation regards the extent to which local entities collect taxes, undertake expenditures and rectify imbalances.

- For this theory the main objective of decentralisation is to create the most efficient and accountable form of government possible. Decentralisation is often introduced to offset a problem that has caused dissatisfaction with centralised system. After a national crisis, such as a conflict or natural disaster, decentralisation is recommended as a tool to build or rebuild an effective government and ensure the efficient allocation of resources.

Decentralisation is also viewed as an indispensable part of sustainable development efforts, particularly those focused on alleviating poverty. The operating assumption of decentralisation efforts in this context is that local government being closer to the people has better information about local preferences and can be more target and equitable in its allocation of public goods and services.

For this study, decentralisation will be envisaged in terms of dismemberment of provinces as a strategy for local development. The term decentralisation includes many factors, and in this research study five will be taken into account. This according to the definition of Daniel (2000) who said that a number of different concepts often appear in writing on political decentralisation. The following types or aspects are distinguish:

- Structural decentralisation: refers simply to the number tier of government (followers). The more tiers they are, the more decentralised is the system. Each government in a country has a jurisdiction, an area of space or a

subset of the county's population over which that government has constitutional authority.

- Decision decentralisation: focuses on the scope of issues on which subnational governments can decide autonomously. (That is without fear of being overruled by higher tier government).

- Resource decentralisation: refers to how government resources (revenues, manpower) are distributed between central and sub-national tier.

- Electoral decentralisation: refers to the method by which sub-national officials are selected.

- Institutional decentralisation: concerns the degree to which sub-national communities or their representative have formal rights within the procedures of central decision-making.

The term decentralisation includes many aspects that can be applied but without real devolution, delegation the power or responsibility.

According to Madison cited by Shabbir (2007), the transfer of power to levels closer to citizens seems to be universally accepted as desirable. What is then needed is to take Madison's counsel by analysing how it would lead to the preferred goal of democracy and what it needs to deter the perverse use of power.

2.4.1 Decentralisation as a tool for reforming the state

The past three decades have seen a global wave of efforts to reform the state in order to make it more effective and accountable. In the literature on transforming the efficacy of state, decentralisation has become a dominant theme. It has been considered or implement in a large array of developed and developing countries, since "out of 75 developing and transitional countries with populations greater than five million, all but 12 claim to be embarked on some form of transfer of political power to local units of governments" (Rani, 2012).

Bardhan cited by Rani (2012) assert that as states are increasingly pressured by outside international agencies and greater pluralist policies from above, as well as from domestic forces from below, leading scholars in political science focus their research on the interactions between the state and sub-national governments. This newer focus is both the result of political events and an increasingly global development paradigm, which posit that subnational governments are more efficient and capable than formerly assumed.

Besides being heralded as the cure to governance problems in a variety of states, decentralisation has been promoted by variety of interest groups, including multilateral development banks. This case for decentralisation is based on the assertion that a more decentralised state would be closer to citizens and thus more responsive to local needs. And by being closer to the people, government would be more accountable to them and more effective for the local population.

While decentralisation has been implemented in many countries, it has meant different things in different places, and the results have rarely been analysed systematically through comparative, intra-country case studies. Decentralisation is more than mere delegation of power to lower levels of government; it implies more than the de-concentration of power to lower levels of administrative agencies; and it goes beyond devolution, where sub-national units of government are created or strengthened. Decentralisation has been interpreted as meaning fiscal decentralisation, administrative decentralisation and /or democratic decentralisation or devolution.

Faguet (2011) assumes that the most important theoretical argument concerning decentralisation is that it can improve governance by making government more accountable and responsive to the governed. Improving governance is also central to the motivations of real-world reformers, who bear risks and costs in the interest of devolution. But the literature has mostly focused instead on policy-relevant outcomes, such as education and health services, public investment, and fiscal deficits. Briefly, the most important is how decentralisation affects governance, in particular how it might increase political competition, improve public accountability, reduce political instability, and impose incentive-compatible limits on government power, but also threaten fiscal sustainability.

Decentralisation has quietly become a fashion of our time. It is being considered or attempted in an astonishing diversity of developing and transitional countries: by solvent

and insolvent regimes, by democracies (both mature and emergent) and autocracies, by regimes making transition to democracy and others seeking to avoid that transition, by regimes with various colonial inheritances and by those with none. It is being attempted where civil society is strong, and where it is weak. It appeals to people of the left, the center, and the right, and to groups which disagree with each other on a number of other issues (Manor, 1999).

2.4.2. Decentralisation and development

Rondinelli quoted by Rani (2012) shows that greater depth (and breadth) and increased efficiency in state services and programs have the two major arguments for decentralisation. Some more recent literature has also advocated decentralisation as leading to better development outcomes-from higher economic growth rates to better social indicators.

There is a link between democracy, decentralisation and development. Decentralisation has been heralded as a means to reform the state in developing countries in order to improve effectiveness of development programs and thereby speed up development. The original source of support for decentralisation comes from liberal democratic political theory. The decentralisation literature can be divided into three broad categories in terms of its main benefits for development: (1) political stability, (2) enhanced participation and democracy, and (3) increased accountability and responsiveness.

Kauzya (2005) shows that, as a part of the efforts to promote the participation of the people in the decision-making processes as well as the development activities, the policy of devolution of power and authority to sub-national governments (generally referred to as decentralisation) is increasingly adopted and applied in many countries as one of the tenets of "good governance". This is based on the premise that decentralised governance provides a structural arrangement and a level playing field for stakeholders and players to promote peace, democracy, and development. Many countries are promoting decentralised governance as a measure for democratisation, people empowerment and poverty reduction.

However, the efforts in this regard are not moving at the same pace, with the same political conviction, using equally competent capacities, and with the same success. Some countries have gone beyond political hesitation and put in place policies of decentralisation but they lack the requisite capacities for the implementation. Others are still politically hesitant, not sure of the role of decentralised governance in democratisation, people empowerment, and poverty reduction.

Manor, Bardhan and Mookher cited by Rani D (2012) asserts that some of the few studies that analyse decentralisation's efficacy have found that decentralisation tends to help decrease poverty in sub-regions, but has little impact on inequalities within sub-regions; that it can help minorities, but only if they are in the majority locally; and that it tends to enable development of projects viewed as important by the localities

2.5 Decentralisation in other countries

Over the past three decades, decentralisation, defined as the transfer of political power to citizens and/or their elected representatives at lower levels of government; has been attempted by developed and developing countries alike. Decentralisation has been touted as the means for shifting power away from the inefficient, corrupt and rent-seeking central states towards more accountable local government and for encouraging the deepening of democracy and the building of village communities. It has also been a way of addressing the inefficiencies of central states in reducing poverty by enabling local targeting and delivery of social services.

Attempts to introduce local self-governing institutions during the days of the colonial rule started soon after the annexation of India by the British Crown. It was a time when the colonial rule was still haunted by the uprising of 1857. It had caused a massive drain on the colonial exchequer. After the uprisings, there were sporadic peasant movements in different parts of the country. The colonial rulers felt the need for developing network for the purpose of collecting information from the villages. It was also realised by the colonial ruler that the enlightened people who were protesting against the colonial rule, needed to be opted into the system of governance to make them act as imperial collaborators in the countryside. Panchayati raj as the concretised form of democratic decentralisation in modern India is a creation of the colonial rulers (Prabhat, 2006).

When the country was fighting for freedom under the leadership of the Indian National Congress (INC), Gandhiji and his colleagues promised the nation a vibrant system of village self-government after India became independent. Gandhiji defined his vision of village *panchayats* thus: "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic independent of its neighbors for its own vital wants and yet interdependence for many others in which dependence is a necessity. The government of village will be conducted by the panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, males and females possessing minimum prescribed qualifications" (Gandhi, 1942).

Prabhat (1992) asserts that the issue about *Panchayat* was hotly debated in the assembly. The idea of *Panchayats* as units of self-government in village India was ultimately accepted but it was included in the chapter on directive principles of state policy. The post-colonial India embarked on rural development through Community Development Program which failed to evoke people's initiative. This motivated the Indian State to get the state of affairs in the countryside examined by the Balvantrai Mehta committee. The committee stressed the need for developing a network of three-tiered elective institutions known as the *Panchayati raj.* The village self-government in the form of Panchayati raj had grown in some parts of the country in the early fifties, although conceptually *panchayats* were looked upon as instruments of rural development. The Asoka Mehta committee identified three phases in the evolution of *Panchayati* raj in India: the phase of ascendancy, the phase of stagnation and the phase of decline.

The first generation panchayats set up on the basis of the recommendations of the Balvantrai Mehta committee had almost disappeared from rural scene by the end of 1950s. The Asok Mehta committee, which examined the issue, prepared a blue print of the second generation *panchayats*. But the progress was so low that the Indian state had to amend the Constitution to revitalise the system of *panchayati raj*. Political exigencies played a major role when Rajiv Gandhi started talking about regeneration of *panchayats* raj.

In 1970 and 1980 the nation witnessed series of movement in different part of the country (e.g. militant movement in Punjab, Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal, Jharkhand movement) based on primordial loyalties like religion, ethnicity, language. It was difficult for the state government to handle the issues efficiently. The republic was under stress. It was realised that power had to be shared with local communities. The autonomous local self-government was considered a safety valve for preventing recurrence of such incidents.

There is a view that the work of decentralisation was seriously undertaken in 1990s because of the adoption of the policy of liberalisation by the Indian state which in effect meant shrinkage of the role of the state. Local government had to be strengthened to ensure that the local functions could be taken care of at the local level through mobilisation of local resources. Incidentally one of the purposes for which local government was taken up by the colonial rulers was to ensure local resource mobilisation for the discharge of the local level functions.

According to Prabhat (2001), the Seventy Third Amendment of the Constitution (1993) is a bold step forward in right direction and gave birth to what can be called the third generation *panchayats*. The constitutional amendment seeks to give *panchayats* a new meaning and a fresh lease of life. The basic features of the amendment are as follows:

1. Article 243G defines *panchayats* as institutions of self-government meaning they have autonomy and power to govern in an exclusive area of jurisdiction

2. The amendment defines the role of *panchayats* as instruments of economic development and social justice. Incidentally, earlier there was confusion about the role of *panchayats*. Thus this clarification through constitutional amendment, is significant

3. The amendment requires the states to hold *panchayat* elections through the State Election Commission at regular intervals of five years. If state government dissolves *panchayats* before the expiry of their full term, it is mandatory on the part of the state government concerned to hold election within six months from the date of dissolution

4. The Act provides for reservation of one-third seats and posts of chairpersons for women and weaker sections of society.

5. According to the provisions of the constitutional amendment the state government shall constitute state finance commission, which will review the finance position and recommend the principles for fund devolution on Panchayats Raj Institutions (PRIs) and the distribution of funds between the state government and the PRIs.

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The 73rd Amendment of the Constitution of India stipulates the transfer of power and functions to panchayati raj institutions as a part of the decentralisation process. The state governments were supposed to transfer 29 subjects listed in the Eleventh schedule of the Constitution. In some states the line departments still exercise the powers of supervision and control over the scheme of subjects transferred to the *panchayats*. Facts and relevant data tend to show that there has been very little progress with respect to the transfer of funds, functions and functionaries to *panchayati* raj bodies across the country. The Parliamentary Committee in its 37th report submitted in 2003 has expressed concern at the way the states are working in this regard.

The report of the task force on the devolution of power and functions to the PRIs brought out by the Ministry of Rural Development has admitted that the mandatory provisions of the 73rd amendment Act are yet to be implemented in letter and spirit by most of the states even eight years after the said Act brought into force in April 1993 (Government of India 2002).

Deaton cited by Rani (2012) shows that a state's history of decentralisation, political competition, and social mobilisation are key ingredients in determining the ability of village governments to deepen democracy and have an impact their citizens' wellbeing. Different combinations of these key ingredients have led to varying degrees of democratic rooting and efficacy of local government in implementing decentralisation in India.

The Philippine Department of the Interior and Local Government (2001) trace whether and how devolution connects to democracy in the Philippines, a frequently assumed link. Consider the following   from a 2001 study: "Decentralisation is considered to be a guarantee of democracy. Following the Marcos era, decentralisation was envisioned by the country's leaders not only as a specific strategy to bring development to the countryside but was also considered as one of the safeguards against the return of any form of dictatorship".

President Ferdinand E. Marcos justified putting the Philippines under martial law in 1972 by citing the primacy of bread over freedom. In this he was echoing orthodox modernisation theory, which states that development is the harbinger of all good things, including democracy. Fourteen years later, the still impoverished Filipinos ousted his dictatorship through the ultimate democracy weapon, "people power". One of the main accomplishment of the post-Marcos re-democratisation period was enactment of the Local Government code. The code stood orthodox theory on its head. Its principal sponsor called it "the key to development," and state policy declared democratising local governance as the main instrument toward that goal. Development would proceed from democracy (Aquilino, 1993).

Devolution is the transfer of power from central to local units by means, in the Philippines, of the Local Government code and other Philippine laws. The move toward local

democratisation is shown by meaningful citizen participation, local governments'
attention to disadvantaged sectors, their regard for the rule of law, and their accountability
to the people.

Toshimo (1997) shows that when Europe began to decentralise in the 80s, Thatcher's
Britain was consistently seen as an exception. In an effort to undermine the British welfare
state, the Thatcher administration strongly constrained a controlled local government
expenditures. Japan undertook similar reforms in 80s. In an effort to bolster the nation's
economic vitality. Japan government conducted a sweeping administrative reform. On the
one hand, it devolved substantial public services to local government and, on the other, it
squeezed local government expenditure and strengthened central control. In this sense,
decentralisation was and is not simple and uniform worldwide trend.

However, in Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand, along with economic development and
political democratisation, new constitutions and local government acts were enacted in the
late 1980s through the 90s that endowed localities with genuine decision-making power,
autonomy, some fiscal resources, and systems of local democracy (Morita, 1998)

Janelle (2002) assumes that, Poland's 1999 public administration reform was an immense
undertaking that included administrative, political, and fiscal decentralisation as well as
territorial re-division of the state. It reduced the number of provinces from 49 to 16,
restored the country level in the form of 373 counties (including 65 cities with county
status), and decentralised central task and authority to these two levels. Broad goals

focused formally on increased citizen involvement and improved public services through still informally on the further de-communisation of the public bureaucracy. Initially outcomes, however, show the reform resulted in many unmet goals and unintended consequences. Democratisation was only minimally increased as the central government retained both revenue generating and revenue assignment authority over most decentralised functions severely limiting county and provincial self-government autonomy.

Moreover, a number of functions intended for decentralisation remained centralised limiting the scope of new sub-national governments. Though decentralisation improved some services by bringing them closer to recipients, poor funding did little to improve services in other ways and in some cases made them worse. Unintended consequences of the reform also included policy that worked at cross purposes resulting in such outcomes as increased disparity in services across urban and rural areas. In addition, the reform had mixed results particular to specific policy sectors, as a detailed examination of the reform in the area of social services reveals.

According to Oleksii (2014) since Ukraine's independence, ordinary citizens had little say on public affairs at the local level. In November 2014, before the start of major decentralisation initiatives, only 9 percent of Ukrainians were satisfied with their ability to influence local government decisions in their residential districts, while 74 percent expressed their dissatisfaction. More than half of citizens disapproved activities of local state administration, local councils, and heads of local settlements.

Public discontent with local authorities stemmed from their inability to provide high quality and affordable services, such as utilities, transportation, roads infrastructure, healthcare, and education. Management of public property and land was also ineffective, resulting in poorly controlled urban planning and legally dubious land appropriations. Finally, citizens felt they lacked effective instrument to hold local authorities accountable.

Decentralisation became a top priority on Ukraine's political agenda in the aftermath of Euromaidan in February 2014 as a result of the pronounced public demand for the devolution of power and resources to local communities and a subsequently strong commitment by the new political elite to reform the existing system of local governance. In view of the above facts, Ukraine lacks effective self-government at the local and regional level. To tackle this issue at the local level, the government wants to create strong and institutionally capable territories communities.

Although in 2014-2015 a number of legislative acts on different aspects of decentralisation were passed, the first draft of constitutional amendments on decentralisation reached the parliament only in mid-2015 furthered by the need to implement the Minsk-II agreement signed by Ukraine in February 2015. While the deputies voted for the first draft of the bill on August 31, 2015, the process was marred by violent confrontations outside the parliament. Given the subsequent defections and splits within the ruling coalition, the final bill may not gather 300 votes (the constitutional majority) needed for approval.

Merilee cited by Shabbir (2007) assumes that Municipalities in Mexico are equivalent to counties in the United States. They are generally composed of a town that serves as a country seat and its surrounding communities, which are often rural. At the time of research local governments were responsible for basic municipal services, including water, sewage, garbage pickup, urban transport, public markets, public lighting, road and highways, public security, and slaughterhouse. They maintained such infrastructure as school buildings, playgrounds, health clinics, and hospitals. They regulated zoning and environmental issues. They had control over property taxes and could levy other local taxes and fees. Annually, they prepared budget for approval by state legislatures.

Local government are composed of a mayor and councilors, who are elected for three-year terms and are legally barred from holding the same position again for three years. These officials are elected by party lists, with the first name on the ballot that of the candidate for mayor; proportional representation determines the makeup of the council. In all municipal governments, mayors have extensive discretion over appointments of local administrative officials. Among the most important are heads of various departments, treasury, public works, public safety, culture and youth, public health, urban development, rural development and so on. Mayors also appoint a chief administrative and the secretary of the government, who usually serves as chief of staff to the mayor.

Decentralisation initiated hesitantly in the early 1980s and evolving equally hesitantly over the next two and half decades, gradually allowed local governments greater autonomy and

more resources. In 1994 they began to receive significant amounts in grants and transfers from the federal government, by far the most important resources of their revenue.

Marcus (1993) assumes that it is widely recognised that Brazil is a highly decentralised federation. In fact, Brazil has a legacy of decentralisation experiences under federalism since its independence. The state (including the federal district) and municipalities today enjoy high political and fiscal autonomy. Since the mid-1980s, decentralisation has further increased in all areas of social and public policy. This was primarily a result of the return to democracy, but also can be construed as part of a longer trend towards decentralisation. The municipalities and the states account for over one third of total government spending and revenue collection. They also account for 40% of the public sector's net debt stock.

The Brazilian federation is also highly unequal. Revenue mobilisation capacity is concentrated in the mere prosperous states and municipalities of the south and southeast. Although some equalisation of expenditure capacity has been pursued through mandated revenue sharing, the net result of state expenditures and tax abatements favors the southeast where industry is highly concentrated.

Political and administrative decentralisation is also quite substantial, as governors and mayors enjoy unparalleled power within the Latin American context. Each sub-national jurisdiction has its own directly-elected legislature and executive branches, as well as an independent judiciary. The federal government has limited control over sub-national tax

administration; budget formulation, execution, and oversight; as well as wage and investment policies.

According to Kauzya (2003) historically, African countries have experienced fused, personalised, and at best highly centralised governance systems and practices. In precolonial times king or traditional leaders represented basically all authority. During the colonial and immediate postcolonial periods governance was structured and practiced in a highly centralised manner. During military dictatorships, which in many countries replaced the immediate postcolonial governments, governance was practically personalised. The search for inclusive, involving, and participatory governance has taken the path of decentralisation. Political and administrative reforms that have been going on in many countries in Africa, especially since the 1990, have sought to break with the past through decentralisation of powers to lower government levels. Decentralised governance is increasingly being favored by many African countries as the most suitable mode of governance through which poverty reduction interventions can be conceived, planned, implemented, monitored, and evaluated. Many hope that the process of decentralisation will facilitate greater participation of communities in problem analysis, project identification, planning, implementation and oversight, which in turn will increase ownership and the likelihood of sustainability of such initiatives

The history of decentralisation in Ghana is traced back by Ayee cited by Gordon (2004). The introduction of indirect rule by the British colonial authorities in 1878, lasting until

1951. During this period, the colonial administrator ruled indirectly through the native political institutions (i.e. the chiefs), by constituting the chiefs and elders in a given district as the local authority, with powers "to establish treasuries, appoint staff and perform local government functions also makes the interesting observation that under indirect rule, downward accountability of chiefs to the people was replaced by upward accountability to the colonial authorities".

The democratic ideals underlying chieftaincy in Ghana, which made chiefs accountable to their peoples, began to suffer as the recognition by the central government was crucial to the chief than support from his people. Thus, there are some echoes here, as well as an obvious difference, with relations in the contemporary period between central and local government in Ghana, dispelling any lingering how decentralisation can be used as a political mechanism by ruling political elites to reinforce their control. In the post-independence period from 1957 onwards, locals' government was generally weak and subject to the centralisation of power that was typical of the post-colonial state in Africa. Attempts at decentralisation reforms were introduced at different times, for instance in 1974 under the military regime of Lt Col. Acheampong, generally characterised by decentralisation and aimed at strengthening central government control at the local level (Tordoff, 1997).

Historical aspect was the decentralisation reform introduced in early period of Rawling's PNDC populist military rule 1981-92. In 1983, Rawling's PNDC government announced

a policy of administrative decentralisation of central government ministries, alongside the creation of People's Defense Committees (PDCs) in each town and village. The PDCs, made up of local PNDC activists as self-identified defenders of the "revolution", effectively took over local government responsibilities, though often limited to mobilising the implementation of local self-helps projects (Nkrumah 2000).

Ayee (2000) notes that despite the PNDC's populist rhetoric, its interest in decentralisation reflected that of previous regimes, that is an interest in the administrative decentralisation of central government and not the devolution of political authority to the local level. To what extent have motivations changed and decentralisation become a genuine objective of contemporary decentralisation effort. Additionally, Ayee perceives a key feature of local governance in the pre-1988 period as a dual hierarchical structure in which central and local government institutions "operate in parallel" but with encroachment at times by better resourced central government on the roles and responsibilities of under-resourced local government.

According to Theophilus (2014) the Botswana public service has been faced with service delivery challenges since independence in 1966. Like other developing and under developed countries, the Botswana government has reviewed its service delivery processes and initiatives with a view to better productivity across public service sector. Many strategies and initiatives were introduced by the Botswana government over a long period of time to mitigate poor service delivery across the public sector. One of these initiatives

were the decentralisation of certain functions from central to local government. However, the implementation of this initiative was not without problems.

Democracy, decentralisation, public participation and accountability have been considered to be objectives of good governance in Botswana. Decentralisation is a key factor in realising the Botswana national principles of self-reliance, unity, development and democracy, which have guide the country's social, economic and political development since independence in 1966. In 1997, Botswana adopted a long term vision for "Botswana Vision 2016" with the theme "Towards prosperity for all", the vision 2016 ideals include "building an open democratic and accountable nation". Decentralisation may contribute significantly to attaining this ideal.

Uganda's current decentralisation was born from both exigencies of guerilla war and ideological conviction. In Luwero district, which was the initial area occupied by Museveni's guerilla force, resistance councils-political, local, people based groups, were secretly organised. Despite the secrecy, the councils were democratic in the sense that they were composed of democratically elected members of the villages. The councils aimed at cultivating and sustaining support for the National Resistance Army (NRA). As the councils were introduced into other captured areas, they served the purpose of educating the villagers about the importance of supporting the guerilla war and removing Obote II regime from power.

The first point of the ten-point program of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) "a program elaborated during the guerilla war and that became Museveni's manifesto around which he galvanised national support" emphasised democracy, especially participatory local democracy. Political decentralisation was therefore a step already articulated. In addition, the NRM pursued decentralisation right from the beginning so as to widen grassroots support. The NRM not only wanted political support from the grass roots but also wanted to plant seeds of participatory democracy for empowering the people (Government of Uganda 1994).

After the NRA capture of state power, the rhetoric of war had to be curtailed, and the new methods of galvanising support for and reaching consensus on decentralised governance had to be deployed. Especially several methods were used to gauge and galvanise support for decentralisation policy of the NRM. The Commission of Enquiry was established in 1987 to conduct surveys, enquiries and consultations at all levels to establish what form of local government should be formed. The Commission of Enquiry recommended the resistance councils as a democratic organs of the people. In 1993 implementation of decentralisation started in thirteen districts.

Officially this was known as the first phase of decentralisation, but technically it was viewed as a pilot exercise in decentralisation. The experiences and lessons learned in the first thirteen districts to be decentralised were used decentralised the rest of the districts. In 1993 the Local Government Transition Act was passed, providing a legal basis for

resistance councils. These two methods, the Commission of Enquiry and the Local Government stature, provided sufficient consultations, discussions, and negotiations to reach consensus on devolution. In 1995 the new national Constitution was promulgated after nationwide consultations. Chapter 11 of the Constitution gives a clear constitutional base for decentralised governance. Following the Constitution, the Local Government Act of 1997 was enacted, cementing devolution (Government of Uganda, 1987).

Kauzya cited by Shabbir (2006) listed the following as the five objectives of decentralisation in Uganda:

1. The transfer of power to local governments with the aim of reducing the load of work on remote and under resourced central officials

2. Bringing political and administrative control over services at the point where they are actually delivered, thereby improving accountability and effectiveness, and promoting people's feeling of ownership of programs and projects executed in their local governments

3. Freeing local managers from central constrains and enabling them to develop effective and sustainable organisational structures tailored to local circumstances in the long term

4. Improving financial accountability and responsibility by establishing a clear link between the payment of taxes and the provision of services they finance

5. Improving the capacity of local authorities to plan, finance, and manage the delivery of services to users.

If in Uganda decentralisation was born from the logic of searching for support for the guerilla war and introducing grassroots participatory democracy, in South Africa it was an offspring of the struggle to dismantle the segregating local administration system of apartheid. The process was different from the one in Uganda, described above. In fact the debates on and public nature of the process abolishing apartheid at the national level in a way masked what was going on at the local level; introducing a local government system that would correct the socio-politico-economic injustices and segregation that obtained through apartheid.

Although apartheid was abolished during the first half of the 1990s, it left a permanent mark on the local government system. For this reason a complete understanding of the process of post-apartheid devolution is only possible when one grasps the history of human settlements and the role the local governments played in establishing and sustaining separation, segregation, and inequality.

The history of local resistance against this system also played a big role in shaping the development of local governments. It should be noted that, while Uganda decentralisation was supply driven from above, with consultations made to confirm and galvanise support for it, in South Africa decentralised governance as it stands today was demanded from the grassroots black communities as a way of dismantling apartheid. Consultations about it were to determine what shape it would take and to solicit at least cooperation from the white communities in its decision and implementation. In a way it was a new deal reached

between the aspirations of the black communities and the status quo of white supremacy and segregation to implement the agenda of doing away with apartheid for the benefit of everyone.

The negotiations were spearheaded by both the local forums and the National Local Government Transition Act of 1993, forming three phases through which the post-apartheid local government system would be put in place. The current decentralised governance system is part of the outcome of the negotiated national Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1998).

According to Kauzya cited by Shabbir (2006) the five objectives of decentralisation in South Africa are the following:

1. Provide democratic and accountable government for local communities

2. Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner

3. Promote social and economic development

4. Promote a safe and healthy environment

5. Encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

After the war and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the leadership sought to decentralise governance and let people have a strong say in determining their socio-politico-economic destiny. The leadership had a legal basis for this in the Arusha agreements which, without

mentioning decentralisation, committed government to creating a governance system that passes power to the people. In the decentralisation document it is stated that one of the legal foundations of decentralisation is the "principle of power sharing as expressed in the Peace agreement between Rwanda's government and Rwandese Patriotic Front. Up to now power sharing has only been seen among the political elite at parliament and executive levels. The decentralisation policy will reinforce power sharing by ensuring that the Rwandese people themselves are empowered to shape their political, economic, and social destiny (Government of Rwanda, 2002).

The proposal for decentralisation thus came from above. The government then had the task of convincing a traumatised population, used to being told by central government authorities what to do in almost everything, to take on the authority for local decisions. Rwanda is a typical example of decentralisation from above. The formulation of decentralisation policy was done by government with assistance from consultants. The unique aspect in the formulation of policy is that it was initially done as part of an overall governance program and strategy, which was formulated through consultations (meetings, workshops, and seminars) with all government institutions. After decentralisation was adopted as one of the components of the national governance program, the decentralisation policy was formulated. The policy is premised on promoting participatory democracy and reconciliation and empowering grassroots communities for socio-economic development.

While these are noble causes to pursue, the population needed to be sensitised to them and persuaded, and enabled to embrace them. This task constituted the initial years of introducing decentralisation (generally from 1997 to 2000). Seminars, fields visits by the minister (and his staff) in charge of local government, study visits to other countries that had implemented decentralisation, intensive sensitisation of the population on their understanding and contribution to the success of the decentralisation were successfully conducted, and the population came to understand and accept decentralisation as a mode of governance.

Political will to decentralise initiated the policy, civic will to accept decentralisation was cultivated, but bureaucratic will was generally lacking. Because of the reluctance of the bureaucracy (civil servants) in 2005, six years after decentralisation was implemented a number of services that had been legally decentralised especially health, education, and agricultural services were yet to be effectively decentralised. This prompted another bout of consultation, workshops and seminars which culminated in a review of decentralisation.

Without changing the initial trust and objectives of the policy, a formulation was reached whereby the "decentralised governance reform policy" was aimed essentially at effectively decentralising the delivery of these services and improving the performance of local government in this regard (Government of Rwanda, 2005).

According to Ndahimana (2002) decentralisation has enhanced participation in decision making, has enabled local communities to determine their local leadership through democratic elections, and has provided institutionalised structural arrangements for participatory, bottom-up development planning and for involvement of special groups such as women, youth, and the disabled.

Kauzya cited by Shabbir (2006) enumerated the following as the five objectives of decentralisation in Rwanda:

1. To enable and reactivate local people to participate in initiating, making implementation, and monitoring decisions and plans that concern them, taking into consideration their local needs, priorities, capacities, and resources by transferring power, authority, and resources from central to local government and lower levels.

2. To strengthen accountability and transparency in Rwanda by making local leaders directly accountable to the communities they serve and by establishing a clear linkage between the taxes they pay and the services that are financed by the taxes.

3. To enhance the sensitivity and responsiveness of public administration to the local environments by placing the planning, financing, management, and control of service provision at the point where services are provided and enabling local leadership to develop organisation structures and capacities that take into consideration the local environment and needs.

4. To develop sustainable economic planning and management capacity at local levels that will serve as the driving motor for planning, mobilisation, and implementation of social, political and economic development to alleviate poverty.

5. To enhance effectiveness and efficiency in the planning, monitoring, and delivery of services by reducing the burden from central government officials who are distanced from the point where needs are felts and services delivered.

In spite the fact that decentralisation is widely lauded as a key component of good governance and development, it is also broadly recognised as a process fraught with complexity and potential failure. Of course in the process of implementation, decentralisation has not taken the same form or degree throughout the regions or even within countries; some public policies have been decentralised, while others remain largely in the hands of the central government; some countries remain highly centralised, while others have moved in the opposite direction; subnational governments in some regions, within some countries have taken control of numerous policies, while governments in other regions remain deeply dependent on their central government for both resources and policy administration.

2.6 Decentralisation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Herbert and Nzongola (2013) have given an overview about decentralisation in DRC. According to these authors the DRC has had a long and varied experience with different forms of decentralisation. For a country the size of Western Europe with a population about sixty million people with internal boundaries designed by Belgian colonial administrators, this should not be surprising. The DRC is above all else a multi-ethnic society, but over the years, two new identities have emerged; first a strong sense of state identity and, second, a growing sense of provincial identity.

The first "Constitution" of the DRC was the result of a meeting between the Belgian government and leaders of Congolese political parties in early 1960 at which not only the date of independence was decided but also the constitutional principles that would govern the Congo after the day of independence June 30,1960. Based on the agreements reached at this Round Table Conference, the Belgian Parliament passed the "Loi Fondamentale" that served as a constitutional instrument after independence was instituted.

During the independence struggle a basic division among Nationalists forces separated "Federalists" from "Unitaristes". (The term employed at the time to characterise the position taken by leaders of political parties that sought to establish a strong centralised state). The main supporters of federalism were the parties that dominated in the South of the Congo (Bas Congo, most of Bandundu, Southern portions of the unified Kasai and Katanga). The main Unitaristes come from the North and East (Oriental province and

Kivus). What was behind this division? It was argued that, as in French West Africa, the richer areas tended to support federalism while the poorer areas supported a strong centralised state in the expectation that such a state would redistribute wealth on a more egalitarian basis and not the richer provinces to keep the wealth that their economies produced.

While this logic certainly had an impact there were other reasons for the division among parties and leaders. First, both in Bas-Congo and in Katanga there were strong secessionist forces that favored federalism as a second choice. Second the most radical nationalists led by Patrice E. Lumumba worried that federalism was a colonial device to weaken the independent state.

The "*loi Fondamentale*" was a compromise between the forces supporting federalism and "Unitarism". However it should be noted that not only Congolese but also Belgians disagreed on the issue of how to divide power between the central and provincial government. The constitutional framework that the Congolese in effect inherited was almost federal in nature without the word actually being used. Each province elected its own legislative assembly that in turn elected the governor.

Another feature of the system was the powerful role of the "*commissaire d'Etat*" who represented the central government in each province and was appointed by the head of state with the agreement of the senate. The commissaire's rights and duties included

participation in the deliberations of the provincial Assembly, directing the central government's affairs in the province and assuring cooperation between the provincial and central government. Perhaps most significantly, the commissaire had the right in an emergency situation to take executive action in the province if the provincial government failed to do so. In sum, this role was potentially a very serious check on the power of the provincial Assembly and Government.

Many important features of the constitutional order inherited from Belgium were changed soon after independence. The catastrophic events that immediately followed independence were no doubt the reason for these amendments. First, there was the mutiny of "*Force Publique*", the new national army, and second, the attempted secession of Katanga and the southern portion of Kasai provinces. Third, the international community responded to these events with the expedition of a peacekeeping force, ONUC (Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo) that eventually employed military force against the secessionist regime in Katanga and reunited the country. In the meantime, the Congo become an arena of cold war competition that resulted in a US backed up coup d'état led by Mobutu. This in turn resulted in the assassination of the Congo's first Prime Minister P.E. Lumumba.

The first major institutional changes were made in 1963. Regarding decentralisation, these changes were not undertaken as a result of relations between the central government and the provinces. Instead they were result of deep conflict that erupted within the original six provinces. For instance, in Southern Kasai, there were violent confrontations between the

Lulua and the Luba and in Northern Kasai, Subgroups of the Batetela fought each other. In Katanga, the Southern dominated secessionist Provincial Government organised a campaign of repression against the Northern Luba. These conditions led to the logic that the provinces were too large and that dividing them and separating groups would reduce conflict. This would create virtual ethnic homogeneity in some, but not all of the new provinces. In addition, the more provinces that were created, the more members of the elite would be appeased by being given jobs in the multiplying bureaucracies and political institutions. The result was the creation of the so-called "Provincettes" which numbered 21.

The feature that distinguishes this policy of decentralisation from that contained in the current Constitution is the fact in 1963 the new provinces were not all formed by automatically creating provinces out the then existing "districts". On the contrary, and in abbreviated form, to start the process, the law required two-thirds of the national and provincial elected representations of a "region" to request the establishment of a new province. If this resulted in protests, a referendum was to be organised. This process created a number of conundrums, for instance there were "regions" that did not demand to become a separate province but regardless of their preferences separation occurred a portion of the "old" province to which they belonged succeeded in breaking away and by default they had to accept their new status as a separate province. This was the case in the province of Haut-Congo (the region of Stanleyville/Kisangani), the province of South Katanga (the region of Elizabethville/ Lubumbashi) and province of Mongala (the region of North Equateur).

Despite the fact that some of the "Provincettes" came to known as "*Provinces Pilotes*" because they achieved impressive results in the area of security, economic development and administrative efficiency, the life of the general experiment was far too short for one to be able to make a judgement about its success or failure. The system was started in 1962. By mid-1963 the largest to date post-independence African rebellion/revolution had begun in the Congo. With great western support the revolutionary movement was essentially defeated by the end of 1964 although some pockets of resistance continued for several more years.

The 2006 Constitution of the DRC has maintained the subdivision of the country into 11 provinces inherited from Mobutu regime. Prior to that the DRC first adopted a 6 province structure in turn inherited from Belgian colonial rule in 1960 and then transformed that into 21 provinces structure in 1963. This shows that the leaders of the DRC have struggled with the problem of internal divisions and decentralisation for many years. (See maps on appendices).

The current Constitution, however, adds three important main elements. First, decentralisation will- i.e. is supposed to give more resources to the provinces than has been the case in the past. For example each province is destined to keep, not have reimbursed to them as was the case before 40% of revenue it generates internally. Secondly, within a three-year period, the 11 provinces are mandated to be redevised into 26. The boundaries

of these 26 provinces will follow current administrative divisions mainly employing "districts" to form new provinces, where such modifications have not already been put in place (i.e. the long established transformation of Kivu into three provinces, North Kivu, South Kivu and Maniema, are maintained and not further subdivided. Third the Constitution has created a number of elected Assemblies; at the national, provincial (districts) and local levels (communes, secteurs and chefferies). However curiously at the level of the "territory" there are no mandated elected Assemblies and for the moment the territorial administrators are appointed by the president.

2.7 Summary

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study. Literature that was reviewed, shows how decentralisation is widely accepted and implemented by developed and developing countries as a most suitable mode of governance through which poverty alleviation interventions can be conceived, planned, implemented, monitored and evaluated. The decentralisation theory was also an approach explaining decentralisation as a tool for reforming a state, also as a path leading to better development outcomes from higher economic growth rates to better social indicators. In this chapter the study reviewed related literature on decentralisation. Cases of India, Philippine, Japan, Poland, Ukraine Mexico, Brazil, Ghana, Botswana, Uganda, South Africa and Rwanda.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter paints the methodological approach that was chosen in this study. It shows the context of the research setting in DRC focus especially on former Katanga province where the process of decentralisation by dismemberment had taken place. The survey sought to assess perceptions of people from the former Katanga province about decentralisation which it was materialised by dismemberment of "Katanga province" in four new provinces named Haut-Katanga, Lualaba, Haut-Lomami and Tanganyika. For this study others key informants were the Haut-Katanga's provincial ministry of local affairs, decentralisation and custom affairs, NGOs, and political parties. This study investigated and analysed different opinions about decentralisation made in DRC particularly in former Katanga province. A qualitative approach was adopted.

In this chapter, methods of data collection, the research experience and the method of data analysis were summarised. This primary data was collated in chapter four with information from secondary sources such as reports and newspapers, articles. The procedures followed attempt to capture the point of view of population of the former Katanga province about decentralisation implemented by dismemberment of their province.

3.2 The Research Design

Research design refers to how a study is conducted, such that the information gathered represent truly the reality to the extent that similar result can be gathering if someone else conducts the same survey at a different time. This means that researcher need to clearly articulate the exact research design, sample and sampling procedures, instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis that were used so any other researcher can exactly replicate the results to verify their authenticity. In this research, qualitative research design was used.

Qualitative research is the method of choice when the research question requires an understanding of processes, events and relationships in the context of the social and cultural situation. Instead of generating numerical data supporting or refuting clear cut hypotheses, qualitative research aims to produce factual descriptions based on face-to-face knowledge of individuals and social groups in their natural settings. Qualitative research is useful for obtaining insight into situations and problems concerning which one may have little knowledge. This method is commonly used for providing in-depth description of procedures, beliefs and knowledge related to health issues, or for exploring the reasons for certain behaviors including the opinions of respondents about particular issues (Qualitative Field Research, 2010).

Qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. Qualitative research is especially effective

in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations.

In this study, qualitative research is designed to reveal a target audience's range of opinions, perceptions that drive it with reference to specific topic or issue which is decentralisation through dismemberment in DRC broadly and in former Katanga province particularly.

Data collection was done in the former Katanga province. The informants representing all new provinces which represent former districts of former Katanga province. In other words the information gathered was opinions of informants selected respectively from: Upper-Katanga province located in the South of former Katanga province which shares the "copper belt" with the Republic of Zambia; Lualaba province located in the Southwest and share borders with Angola; Upper-Lomami province enclosed, share border in the Northern with former "Kasai Oriental" province precisely with the actual Lomami province; Tanganyika province located entirely in the Northeast of former Katanga province and closer to Tanzania border.

Data have been collected from the governments leaders (with focus on the provincial Ministries of local affairs, decentralisation and custom affairs), political parties, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations, journalists, academic workforce, and citizens broadly through face to face interview; group focus and discussion

were used in the process of data collection. The research was therefore restricted to "Katangese" people with representation of all new provinces in the sample.

The timing of the research coincided with the implementation process of decentralisation which was achieved by dismemberment of Katanga province then establishment of new provincial governments and provincial assemblies in each new province respectively. The process of implementation started later in 2015 six years after the constitutional date foreseen in the 2009 Constitution. In February 2015, a law that determined modalities of installation of new provinces was promulgated. (Loi de programmation No 15/004 du 28 Février 2015 déterminant les modalités d'installation de nouvelles provinces). This was a way to prepare dismemberment of provinces by dissolving local governments and assemblies in former provinces. Then in October 2015 another law was promulgated, appointed special commissioners with the mission of preparing installation of new local institutions in new provinces. (Ordonnance No 15/081 du 29 Octobre 2015 portant nomination des commissaires spéciaux et des commissaires spéciaux adjoints du gouvernement charges d'administrer les nouvelles provinces). In March 2016, elections of governors and Speakers for new local governments and assemblies were organised. This was followed by the official installation of new institutions in the new provinces. My survey, interview questions and the topics of my focus group discussions came at a relevant time. This means, when new and young institutions struggling for their establishment.

According to the size of former Katanga province and the time defined for data collection, the researcher used researcher assistants who were trained on how to conduct collection in the field.

3.2.1 Qualitative Approaches

Jennifer (2002), asserts that qualitative researching is an important and rewarding activity because it engages with things that matter, in ways that matter. Through qualitative research one can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate. We can do all of this qualitatively by using methodologies that celebrate richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity rather than being embarrassed on inconvenienced by them. Instead of editing out these elements in search of the general picture or the average, qualitative research factors them directly into its analyses and explanations. This means that it has an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about how things work in particular context.

Qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspects of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis (Quinn and Cochran, 2002). In this study, the strength of qualitative approach was its ability to provide descriptive results rather than predictive.

This was achieved through complex textual and verbal descriptions of how "Katangese" experienced the process of implementation of decentralisation by dismemberment of the former Katanga province into four new provinces.

Denzin (2000) confirms that qualitative methods are more flexible than quantitative methods that is, they allow greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participant. For example, qualitative methods ask mostly "open-ended" questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex than simply "yes" or "no" that typify quantitative enquiry. Participants have the opportunity to respond more elaborately and in greater detail than is typically the case with quantitative methods (Pope 2000).

Ellie and Carrol (2002) mention that qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of humans' lives and social worldviews. Central to good qualitative research is whether the research participants' subjective meanings, actions and social contexts, as understood by them are captured. There is need to know that research is sound to know that its findings can be trusted, and that it provides evidence for understanding events that happen, taking actions, and designing future research.

3.3 Population and Sampling

3.3.1 Population

The term population is defined distinctly by scholars but all definitions tend to one main idea which refers to a group of units on which a researcher wish to conduct a research. According to James (1996), a population is a group of elements or cases, whether individuals, objects, or events, that conform to specific criteria and to which we intend to generalise the results of the research. The term population means all members that meet a set of specifications or a specified criteria. The population is defined by the researcher, and it determines the limits of statistical generalisation (Babbie, 1992).

In this study the "Katangese" from all four new provinces after dismemberment constitute the population and specifically the target population is constituted by: government leaders, political parties, NGOs and civil society, journalists, academic workforce and citizens broadly; youth and adults, male and females from the four new provinces after Katanga dismemberment. This category was able to provide information needed for the research. Each of the members of this given population had to be at least 18 years old.

3.3.1 Sample

In the research process, once the researcher decides who or what to study, s/he then needs to select a sample from the target population. To do this, the researcher selects from two basic sampling methods: probability or non-probability. In probability sampling, each

element of the population has a known chance of being selected. In non-probability sampling, the selection of elements is based in some part on the judgement of the researchers. The selection relies on the personal judgement of the researcher rather than on chance to select the sample elements (Gloria, 2013)

Even if it were possible, it is not necessary to collect data from everyone in a community in order to get valid findings. In qualitative research, only a sample (that is a subset) of a population is selected for any given study. The study's research objectives and the characteristics of the study population (such as size and diversity) determine which and how many people to select. According to Fink (2003), a sample is a proportion or subset of a larger group called population. A good sample is a miniature version of the population of which it is a part.

For Frey (2000), the sample method involves taking a representative selection of the population and using the data collected as research information. A sample is a "subgroup of a population". Cochrane (1998) assumes that a sample is a group chosen out of a large number and is questioned or tested in order to obtain information about the larger group. Sampling gives room for the simplification of the research, it addresses the problem of the impracticality of dealing with large number of the population. In other words sampling allows one to obtain a representative picture about the population, without studying the entire population.

In this study, the informants were identified through the use of snowball and quota sampling methods. In the process of selection of participants in the sample, the researcher aimed to select information from reliable sources that helped the researcher to conduct in depth study on the decentralisation achieved by dismemberment of DRC's province broadly and Katanga province particularly. Each new province from the dismemberment of the former Katanga province was considered as a quota where 15 informants were drawn.

The sample of this research constituted with a total of 60 individuals of whom fifteen from each of the new provinces. Among them, 37 were male and 23 female. Due to the size and diversity of the population of study, the researcher was referred by certain key informants through their social networks to the people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study with reliable information. This is the case of journalists, as informants referred the researcher to certain persons possessing reliable information such as government leaders and political party's leaders.

As mentioned above, the categories involved in the research as population were people from all four new provinces that came out of the old Katanga. Informants were selected from government leaders, political parties, NGOs and civil society, journalists, academic workforce and citizens. From the 60 individuals selected in the sample, 8 took part in the focus group discussions. These individuals have been selected from journalists, political parties and academic workforce.

A quota sample is a type of non-probability sample in which the researcher selects people according to some fixed quota. That is units are selected into a sample on the basis pre-specified characteristics so that the total sample has the same distribution of characteristics assumed to exist in the population being study (Ashley, 2012).

According Lammers & Pietro (2012) this technique is often used by market researchers and those taking political polls. Usually, when this technique is used, the population of interest is large and there are no ready-made list of names available from which to sample randomly. The Gallup Poll is one of the best known and well conducted polls to use quota sampling.

Table 1 Synoptic table of Sample Research

Population category	Number of Participants by Province and gender										Total
	Haut Katanga		Lwalaba		Haut Lomami		Tanganyika		Partial Total		
	M	F	m	F	M	F	M	f	m	f	
Government Leaders	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	5
Political parties	2	1	3	1	3	2	3	2	11	6	17
NGOs & civil society	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	8	5	13
Journalists	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	4	4	8
Academics	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	4	1	5
Citizens	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	6	6	12
Total	8	7	10	5	9	6	10	5	37	23	60

3.4 Data collection Instruments

For the study, the researcher was informed by individual participants through interviews, focus group discussions, and documentation. During the interview sessions, notes were taken in order to capture relevant issues raised by different participants. The essential

primary data of this study were collected from interviews. The open-ended interview guide has been used in order to solicit deep ideas and provoke participant to express freely their opinions and perceptions. The interviews had taken an average time of one hour each and the focus group discussions around two hours.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

3.5.1 Interviews

Using interview as a method of data collection, structured and unstructured interviews were useful in the process of data collection. Informants were selected based on knowledge of the research area. Interview being a systematic way of talking and listening to people aims to collect data from individuals through conversations on a topic. The researcher or interviewer often uses open questions. In this study interest, background of the informant on the topic; his ability to interact for the knowledge production was the criterion for selection.

Unstructured interview called also in-depth interview less formal and least structured, is in which the wording and questions are not predetermined. This type of interview is more appropriate to collect complex information with a higher proportion of opinion-based information (Karim, 2013). Unstructured interview is non-directed and is a flexible method where there is no need to follow a detailed interview guide. Each interview is

different. Interviewees are encouraged to speak openly, frankly and give as much details as possible (Annabel, 2005).

Gray (2004) asserts that in semi-structured interviews additional questions can be asked and some may be questions that have not been anticipated in the beginning of the interview. Note taking or tape recording documents the interview. This type of interview gives the research opportunities to probe for views and opinions of the interviewee. Probing is a way for the interview to explore new paths which were not initially considered. The study thus used semi-structured interviews in order to achieve these benefits.

There are many reasons to use semi-structured interviews for collecting data and using it as a research instrument. Gray (2004) has given the following reasons: there is a need to attain highly personalised data, there are opportunities required for probing, some respondents are not fluent in the official or native language of the country, or where they have difficulties with written language. So it is necessary for the researcher to prepare before the actual interview. The interview starts before the interview actually begins, as was the case in the present study.

In this study, for the key informants such as members of political parties, academics, and journalist key themes and sub-questions were designed in advance in order to bring out knowledge on decentralisation achieved by dismemberment of "Katanga" province

particularly and DRC's provinces broadly. According to David and Sutton (2004) having key themes and sub-questions in advance is important as it gives the researcher a sense of order from which to draw questions from unplanned encounters.

Through interaction with informants, the researcher was able to determine their opinions on the motives of decentralisation through the dismemberment process. The researcher took opportunity through the same interaction with informants to assure them that the research was conducted for academic purposes and the study would be of use to other researchers.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) could be defined as a group of interacting individuals having some common interest or characteristics, brought together by a moderator, who uses the group and its interactions as a way to gain information about a specific or focused issue (Mary and Meg, 2010). Focus groups provide qualitative information about the opinions and needs of a group or community. Their value rests in the opportunity they present to probe deeper on specific issues and gain a more in-depth, nuanced understanding of how a key group or members of a community perceive one or more of the issues you have identified (Public Health Institute, 2010).

The use of FGDs is that they generate more in-depth information than one-on-one interviews or surveys, because they are based around discussion and use our innate desire

to communicate about issues, perspectives and opinions. They can be used to solicit views, insights, recommendations of program, and others (Eliot and Associates 2005). In this study the FGD was carefully prepared, main objectives of the discussion were identified, key questions were developed, also the organisation of the session was planned. After suitable participants were identified and invited for discussions on the process of decentralisation through dismemberment of DRC's provinces broadly and former Katanga particularly.

For Anita (1997), once a meeting has been arranged, the role of moderator or group facilitator becomes critical, especially in terms of providing clear explanations of the purpose of the group, helping people feel at ease, and facilitating interaction between group members. The first few moments in focus group discussion are critical. In a brief time the moderator must create a thoughtful, permissive atmosphere, provide ground rules, and set the tone of the discussion. Much of the success of group interviewing can be attributed to the development of this open environment (Krueger 2002).

Focus groups are structured around a set of carefully predetermined questions, usually no more than ten, but the discussion is free-flowing. Ideally, participant comments will stimulate and influence the thinking and sharing of others. Some people even find themselves changing thoughts and opinions during the group discussions. The researcher acted as a group facilitator or moderator of the discussion using the interview guiding questions as a guide for the discussion. From participants and through session of FGD, the

researcher was able to gather in-depth view about perception of decentraliation materialised by dismemberment of "Katanga" province.

3.5.3 Secondary data sources

According to Joop and Hennie (2005) secondary data contained in an official data archive are easy to retrieve. They may be available as files obtained via the internet or as data files on CD-ROM or DVD data discs. Because of the widespread use of email and the World Wide Web, it has become easier to retrieve data in a usable format. Different archives set different conditions for delivering data to individual researchers, and these terms may also differ according to the specific data asked for.

Seeking a comprehensive assessment of perception of decentralisation through dismemberment of DRC's provinces broadly and former Katanga province particularly, the researcher reviewed secondary data sources for more details as possible. This included reports from both local and the Ministry of Local and Customer affairs, books, newspaper, articles and publication on the process of decentralisation in DRC as well decentralisation at world-wide level. These sources provided data on the different attempts of decentralisation in DRC and the evolution of implementation's process of decentralisation since DRC's independence up to the present. Also data pertaining to how decentralisation has been implemented in other countries were gather through the same sources.

3.6 Analysis and Organisation of Data

In order to avoid repetition, the research analysis section will present the findings and discussed them at the same time. After data collection, the findings were analysed and then categorised according to the interview questions. Through the analysis of the interview transcripts, the researcher was able to identify patterns that emerged from the data. Analysing the transcripts allowed also the researcher to be able to identify emerging themes from the responses given by participants, this through an analysis and interpretation of sentences or words frequently used by the respondents to describe certain point of views or opinions.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

In conducting interviews, ethical issues are one of the main concerns. Confidentiality must be given. Respondents should not be harmed or damaged in any way by the researcher. It is also important that interviews are not used as a devious means of selling something to the respondent (Gray, 2004).

In this study, the informed consent which consist for ensuring that people understand what it means to participate in a particular research study was achieved. This allowed informants to decide in a conscious, deliberate way whether they want to participate. Protection of participant's privacy and confidentiality was guaranteed. After identifying participants, the researcher informed them of their rights as respondent such as freedom of answering

all or some questions, asking questions if they don't understand something about the research. For the purpose of confidentiality, the respondents were not required to give their names. In order to avoid prejudice then gain mutual trust, the researcher mentioned that the research was conduct strictly for academic purposes. While the University Identity card was produced to the informants by the researcher, the permission later from the Institute and the permission letter from the researcher was produced by the assistant researcher.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, the case study is identified as explained in the research design. The chapter shows that the study was largely qualitative and employed Quota and snowballing sampling methods. The relevance of these methods in this research was explained. The chapter outlined also the use of semi-structured interview, focus group and discussion as tools for data collection. This chapter explain how data was collected, analysed and presented. The ethical consideration that informed how the informants were treat by the researcher, were explained also in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate opinions, points of view of people from the former Katanga province on decentralisation in the Democratic Republic of Congo achieved by the policy of dismemberment of provinces. Likewise this chapter presents findings on different opinion, point of views of the population of the former Katanga province on the motives of decentralisation by dismemberment of provinces, perception of the process of decentralisation by the local communities. The chapter presents also different opinion about autonomy of new provinces and shows different means to decentralise the country. Furthermore, it is exhibit opportunities offered by the policy of dismemberment on the one side, and challenges to address on the other side. The chapter unveils the finding on the impact of the policy of dismemberment on socio-economic life of new provinces and the strategies that can be suggested in order to make decentralisation more effective.

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

4.2.1 Motives of decentralisation by dismemberment

The respondent's response on the motive of decentralisation by dismemberment of provinces contrasted. While certain respondents asserted that decentralisation was the way towards development, others argued that it is a political strategy for the incumbent political

leadership of the country to divide then reign for as long a time as possible. Here below are those two different views about motives of decentralisation by dismemberment.

a. Decentralisation as way of local development

The respondents argued that decentralisation process being constitutional aimed to combat centralisation of power by bringing closer governor to governed, in other words to favor participative governance then facilitate local development. Taking into account the size of the country, it was unmanageable by centrality of the power.   So the motives of decentralisation by dismemberment are development of decentralised entities, proximity management, financial and administrative autonomy of the new provinces. Unfortunately the process was not prepared, came hastily. The consequence is failure.

b. Decentralisation as political strategy for the perpetuation of the incumbent

According to this category of respondents, decentralisation by dismemberment is a policy designed by the incumbent in order to hold onto power. A political strategy aiming to divide people, opposition from all former provinces especially weaken people from former Katanga province who historically constitute a continuous threat to the central government in Kinshasa. The late implementation of the process of decentralisation had a hidden agenda to weaken Katangese unity that constituted politico-economic power that threatened the central government. They add that the motive of decentralisation by dismemberment are politicised for the selfish interest of certain political actors. Instead of

aiming development, the implementation of the process of decentralisation sought to divide then weaken certain leaders, communities who knew to say no to the central government. They argue also that the real motive of dismemberment of former Katanga province is to curtail the secessionist movement. This because they assume that the spirit of secessionism is in Katangese blood. So the good way to impede the independence of Katanga, is to divide them by the police of dismemberment (Interview, 02 February 2017 Lubumbashi).

The respondents add that the Katangese notably have written to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to complain against the United Nations (UN) for having militarily fought the independent state of Katanga (EIK) against the self-determination of the Katangese. For having launched an unjustified war during three years (11 July 1960 to January 1963) against EIK, then slaughter Katangese (children and Women included) while protesting peacefully for independence and sovereignty of Katanga. This pretending to preserve integrity of DRC territory while many countries throughout in the world accede to their independence under UN benediction by organisation of auto determination's referendum. This is the case of Eritrea from Timor, Kosovo from Serbia, Bangladesh from Pakistan, and South Sudan from Sudan, Western Sahara. Shortly, the decentralisation by dismemberment initiated in DRC is a strategy to impede Katangese will to become again a free state, to reduce chance of Katanga auto determination for the independence (Interview, 16 February 2016 Lubumbashi).

4.2.2 Perception of the process of decentralisation by local communities

Regarding perception of the process of decentralisation (dismemberment) by the local communities, two tendencies were recorded, positive and negative. For the positive point of view, respondents argue that dismemberment of provinces is a good means of state management that can allow local development. Decentralised entities which are former districts of the former Katanga province can be developed rapidly due to the fact that governed are no longer far from governor. The advantage of dismemberment is the multiplication of work opportunities. In additions, the respondents pointed out that decisions are taken locally for the welfare of the local people and local development. Management and enjoyment of the resources by the local human resources. It is important to note that the supporters of this point of view are from Upper Katanga and Lualaba. Comparing these two new provinces to the two others: Upper Lomami and Tanganyika, the two previous inherited from the former Katanga infrastructures that can allow them to take off development-wise than Upper Lomami and Tanganyika deprive of the infrastructures and enclosed.

For the negative point of view, the respondents who are from Upper Lomami and Tanganyika assert that the policy of decentralisation by dismemberment is politic strategy to weaken Katangese unity, to dissociate oneself from another by the spirit of tribalism, provincialism, and regionalism. As proof a spirit of xenophobia have taken place in certain news provinces such as Upper Katanga, Lualaba where non-native are discriminated by the native and losing works by simple fact being non-native of the province. The nepotism

spirit is already installed in the provinces cited above in order to discriminate against non-natives. They add that, dismemberment favors certain provinces to the detriment of others. Katanga as a province, developed only its South part with infrastructure. All the above mentioned province: Upper Katanga and Lualaba are located in the Southern of the former Katanga province. This makes it easier for these two provinces to develop due to the infrastructure they already possess. Furthermore, the respondents assert that the central government corrupted all leaders of the new provinces in order to perpetuate their power and stop Katangese unity that constituted a real threat to the central government. The only means to decentralised for Katanga's benefit if federalism. According to one of the informants, for want of independence, federalism is preferable as a mode of DRC's management. So that Katanga will be taking off.

4.2.3 Autonomy of new provinces

Concerning autonomy of new provinces, the respondent's responses seemed to be unilateral. They argue that, the process of decentralisation by dismemberment came hastily while the entities to decentralise were not prepared to receive institutions due to the lack of infrastructures. Respondents assert that the process of decentralisation still only geographic or territorial. Administratively and politically all new provinces depend on the central government. Hence, autonomy is just theory, hypothetical. Any sign of autonomy is not seen in the new provinces, all political decisions are made in Kinshasa the capital city seat of the central government. Economically, all new provinces depend on the retrocession of the resources collected in provinces, send to the central government then

retrocede. Respondents mention that dismemberment is partial because the administration of certain state companies still in the capital city of the former Katanga province only. Such is the case of electricity company SNEL, water company REGIDESO and Congo railways company SNCC. These still have their seat in Lubumbashi Upper Katanga province but deals with the other three provinces.

In addition, the respondents argue that, despite the fact that all new provinces must be managed in accordance with the organic law N*08/012 of 31 July 2008 referring to basic principles of free administration of provinces and modified and complete by the Law N*13/01 of 23 February 2013 referring to perception of rates and taxes, rights and rental also the mode of repartition with the provinces; the new provinces are not enjoying freedom in administration of its territories and resources. This is because all political and economic decisions made in province are influenced by the central government or are taken by the central government then these are implemented by the local government. Going further, even the appointment of local government leaders and those of public companies is influenced by the central government.

4.2.4 Different means for country's decentralisation

For dismemberment as a means to decentralise the country, respondents show that it is not the only way to achieve decentralisation in DRC. Despite the fact that the country have got a huge surface, decentralisation can be achieved without dismemberment of provinces. The respondents continued to assert that dismemberment is political strategy to weaken

Katangese unity then to curtail the secessionism movement. This was submitted as an advantage to the incumbent leadership of the DRC to perpetuate their reign.

Informants added that always, Katangese aspire for unity and cohesion. Only federalism is the mode of management that inspire them confidence. Dismemberment is not relevant to achieve decentralisation, because territorial repartition existed before this dismemberment process. What is relevant is autonomy of entities decentralised and authority transferred to the local government. This means that Katanga should be decentralised without dismemberment then the central government should taking into account or respect autonomy of provinces for the local self-importance and development.

Furthermore, they stipulate that the experience to decentralise the country is not at its first attempt. In 1963 decentralisation by dismemberment was achieved and DRC was dismembered into 21 provinces. The experience did not work as planned then in 1966 number of provinces was reduced to nine by bringing together certain provinces previously dismembered. After the change of the name of Katanga province into Shaba in 1971 the number of provinces increased to 11 provinces in 1988, this after splitting the former Kivu province into three news provinces: North Kivu, South Kivu and Maniema. During the second republic under late president Mobutu, in Zaire; the experience of unitary state centralised with de-concentration was attempt but unfortunately was transformed into dictatorial regime. Thus decentralisation can be achieved without dismemberment by privileging management of former provinces as autonomous entities. The new territorial

configuration from dismemberment came just to perpetuate incumbent power, strengthen tribalism, provincialism, and regionalism. Dismemberment of former Katanga province as a political strategy is an organised disorder in order to create communities, tribal and professional conflicts among Katangese. This with the purpose of impeding the pursuit of the independence assert the informants.

Respondents' views can be summarised as follows; there are many means to decentralise the country. For the welfare of Katangese, federalism is the best means to achieve decentralisation in DRC because this will allow to Katangese to manage themselves their policy, resources in autonomous manner in order to booster local development.

4.2.5 Opportunities offered by the policy of dismemberment

Concerning opportunities, the responses are unanimous. They are more to lose than to gain in dismemberment as policy of decentralised governance in former Katanga Province. This due to the fact that any arrangement was not taken to prepare taking off of new provinces. Respondents pointed out that dismemberment should be for the benefit of the new provinces only if it was seriously prepared in terms of infrastructures, economic and political autonomy.

In the above case it would offer various opportunities needed by the local people. Such is the case of bringing closer governed to governor and vice versa; multiplication of jobs, urbanisation of certain areas neglected by the central government; economic self-

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importance, autonomy in decision making… in short, the policy of decentralisation by dismemberment could offer globally the two following opportunities if autonomy of provinces was scrupulously respected by the central government. First opportunity refers to local governance that imply participation of people to decision making and management of public affairs. Secondly opportunity pertaining to local development, processes by which a local communities become engines of change in its area in order to improve life conditions by the means of self-importance.

The respondents continued to argue that the policy of dismemberment as an hidden agenda for destroying Katangese unit, offer superficial opportunities to a small number of selfish Katangese who tirelessly aim at their own self-interest to the detriment of that of the people. Consequently opportunities of jobs in local government and state institutions have been given to the corrupted Katangese with allegiance to the incumbent in central government. The outcome is that the current local leaders are working in accordance with the will of their "godfathers" in central government. Serving them and serving themselves, hence illicit enrichment of the local and national incumbent in detriment of primary sovereign.

Finally, respondents raised issue about repartition of national revenue between provinces and central government as opportunity of taking off of provinces. As foreseen in the Constitution, the national incoming should be shared between provinces and central government. Whether 60% for central government and 40% retained in province.

Respondents argued that, if the Constitution was scrupulously respected regarding national incoming sharing and the article above-mentioned; local development should take place but at different speed according to each province. This because provinces do not have the same infrastructures, natural resources and human resource base, hence different opportunities in term of local development.

4.2.6 Challenges to address

The challenges to address for the efficiency of the decentralisation achieved by dismemberment of provinces are many as asserted by the respondents. Firstly, autonomy of provinces must be guaranteed by the central government. In other words, the respect of the Constitution in matters pertaining to autonomy of provinces, decentralised entities and the distribution of the national incoming is required. Here it is relevant to mentioned that the constitutional mode of revenue sharing is 40% of incoming retained in province instead of being taken by the central government. Respondents assert that without autonomy of provinces, any improvement cannot be expected. Then the fight against corruption and embezzlement of public fund in order to mobilise state revenue for distributive justice is a key strategy. The respondent's report is that the public funds are embezzled by individual instead of being oriented in the public treasure. Hence illicit enrichment of individuals who are not in any case worried, prosecuted for corruption, embezzlement, creates a mess. There is an imminent need of procedural justice for the purpose of rule of law.

Secondly, to equip provinces with basic infrastructures is one of the conditions that can facilitate the taking off of the new provinces in terms of socio-economic development. Such is the case of buildings that must shelter different institutions in certain new provinces such as Upper Lomami, Tanganyika and Lualaba. Roads and railways are required, mostly those facilitating agriculture service, this for communication and exchange between provinces especially the enclosed one like Upper Lomami. Dams for electricity energy, because development cannot take place without energy needed in small and medium-sized businesses.

Thirdly, alleviating poverty and unemployment by creating and multiplying job opportunities through creation of small and medium enterprises. Respondents confirmed that apart from the three cities of former Katanga province: Lubumbashi, Likasi and Kolwezi there is neither industries nor small and medium business in the rest of former Katanga. Nevertheless two of these three cities Lubumbashi and Likasi are located in Upper Katanga province. The one left Kolwezi is the country-town of Lualaba province. This lead to the conclusion that in Upper Lomami and Tanganyika province there are not opportunities of jobs due to the lack on investment. Hence, an imminent need to clean up the affairs climate in order to attract investors.

Fourthly, fight against tribalism, regionalism, and provincialism. Respondents show that since establishment of news provinces, the virus of tribalism and provincialism have taken place mostly in Upper Katanga and Lualaba province where few opportunities of jobs exist. Consequently, nepotism has taken place also, non-natives are being discriminated

against socially, professionally and politically. There is an imminent need to preserve Katangese unity by strengthening social, cultural and historical affinities of Katangese.

Lastly, participation of youth to the management of public affairs and fighting conflict and insecurity. Respondent argue that the management of public affairs is in the hands of a certain category of people advanced in age, young people are discriminated. Due to few opportunities of jobs, and the fact that old people are not willingly for retirement because of lack of detailed account, old people are hang on different works mostly in government and public institutions. Consequently, youth is nailed to unemployment. Participation of youth in decision making and management of local institutions is required as policy of proximity, participative and inclusive governance.

Subsequently, they assume that the different incidences of violence recorded in the former Katanga province are result of frustration due to injustice. While some are enjoying, others are in extreme poverty. One of the respondents argue that, the uprising of all warlords and their militias and armed group against state authority is justified by the fact that they are living in dire straits. This is the case of the raid of the "BAKATA-KATANGA" (literally meaning: group of cutting Katanga) militia in Lubumbashi city on 23 March 2013. Accompanied by their wives and children, they were around 240 according to the National Congolese Police (PNC). At the MONUSCO head-quarters (Mission of the United Nations for the Stabilisation of Congo), one among militiaman state: "we are here because we are tired with this suffering. Independence had been obtained in June 1960 but till 2013

nothing is moving on. We are tired of being slaves. We are here not to give ourselves up or to give back weapon but to claim our independence. We want Katanga to become again a country as it was during president Tshombe's period (Interview, Lubumbahsi 06 February 2017).

Respondents add that the recent case of violation is that of uprising of pygmies in Manono and Nyunzu territories, in Tanganyika province. The pygmies fight against Bantou's people claiming the central government to take into account their complaints. In fact the pygmies are Batwa's tribe from a minority community in DRC. Leaving in forest here and there, they are marginalised because of their social situation. Batwa are indigenous, traditionally semi-nomadic, hunters and gatherers. The last confrontation caused several number of death and many families displaced. The core claim of pygmies is being represented in the management of public affairs at national and local level as a minority community.

Others, argue that in order to stop and prevent conflict in these four new provinces for the welfare of the Katangese unity, it is relevant to deal with distributive justice. Poverty being the core factor of conflict by the fact some are enjoying with local resources and other discriminated. Distributive justice is required in term of exercise of power, resource sharing. Alleviation of poverty is also one of the important issue to address for the prevention of conflict in the four new provinces from former Katanga province. They added that issue about security of people and their goods is required. Training police,

military and state security services to their commitment and keep them being paid consequently is another challenge to address. This for the welfare of the population who was for a long time victim of miss treatment from the above mentioned state services.

4.2.7 Impact of dismemberment on socio-economic life of new provinces

To this subject, responses differed from one province to another but the tendencies of the two Southern provinces are parallel on the one side. On the other side, Northern provinces have similar perceptions on the impact of dismemberment on socio-economic life of their provinces.

Respondents from Southern provinces; Upper Katanga and Lualaba recognised that dismemberment of Katanga province have brought conflict between communities. Since the establishment of new provinces, hatred of one to other have been accentuated in the provinces. Sociologically, dismemberment of former Katanga has a negative impact because of having strengthened tribalism, discrimination of non-natives in new provinces. Economically, the impact is also negative to the extent that the dismembered provinces are considered like dairy cows. This because the revenue of provinces still in total control of the central government. They added that political interference has influenced the economic freezing, plus the fall in price of copper and cobalt on the international market that influenced also closing of certain mining enterprises. This is conducive to hard economic life in these two provinces essentially with mining vacation. Some of the respondents confirm that the positive impact of dismemberment of former Katanga is that

economically, jobs in these two provinces will profit to the natives. Certain opportunities can be expected sociologically and economically if the central government respect Article 3 of the Congolese Constitution.

While respondents from Southern parts of the former Katanga province expect positive impact on socio economic life in their respective provinces, for sure under certain conditions; the Northern respondents swear that the dismemberment brought their provinces Upper Lomami and Tanganyika particularly and the former Katanga province to a dead-end. Socially, dismemberment brought systematic frustration of Northern people who are not only discriminated in Southern provinces but also deprived of facilities such as basic infrastructures and means of taking off. One of the respondents assumed that while in Tanganyika province we can hope to start by putting in profit Kalemie's port through trade on Tanganyika Lake; in Upper Lomami collectively people feel frustrated due to the high level of under development and being enclosed province. Province where there is not either roads for communication or banks for finance (Interview, Lubumbashi 16 February 2017).

They concluded that nothing is going forward. Is better to back then re-examine the policy of decentralisation because the report is bitter. Unity of people have been disconnected, state authority feel negatively briefly things are moving worse and worse.

4.2.8 Suggestions for effectiveness of the decentralisation process

The participants in this study have given various suggestions for the efficiency of the process of decentralisation. The common opinion was that the process was launched without any preparation of the new provinces in terms of basic needs for the taking off expected for each province as decentralised entities. Here below are some of the suggestions from the respondents:

The respect of the Constitution broadly and especially Article 3 pertaining to the mode of management of new provinces and decentralised entities has to be evident. The strict application of the constitutional mode of resources sharing between central government and provinces, whether 40% retained in province and 60% sent to the central government, or strict application of national treasure for equalisation has to be respected. In other words, promote the culture of effective distributive justice in order to avoid and prevent conflict then expect development started at local level.

To do table to back and then re-examine the policy, there is need to start by preparing infrastructure that should facilitate the taking off of new provinces. Building roads, railways for the communication of provinces and especially those of agricultural services for the population welfare contributes towards the realisation of the goals stated for the policy of dismemberment. These units of infrastructure that must shelter public institutions such as local government, parliament, justice and others.

Respondents further suggested the active promotion of investments by cleaning up the affairs climate. In other words inspiring confidence to different investors national and foreigners in order to attract them for diverse investments. In the same vein, the promotion of small and medium sized businesses to alleviate unemployment and consequently poverty was given as central to progress. In all, a diversification of economic activities in the emerging provinces needs to be supported by central government, especially boosting the agricultural and animal breeding, tourism sectors as well the energy industries and education as real assets so as to move away from overreliance from mining.

Mass education and the sensitisation of citizens about decentralisation through dismemberment because people confusing decentralisation by dismemberment to regionalism, provincialism that creates tribalism, discrimination is a social necessity that should be supported by both local and central governments. The respondents concurred that the consolidation of peaceful inter-community cohabitation in all new provinces to preserves the unity and identity of the Katangese. Then leave basic freedom to population to express its will about the mode of management of the public affairs and choose its leaders.

For Katanga, federalism nationally is the best policy that can facilitate the taking desired socio-economic and political hopes of the people. Keeping the structure of 11 provinces then opting for federalism as mode of management could give run up to provinces like federal states than decentralisation by dismemberment. Giving opportunity to Katangese to express freely their will, to make freely their choice of the mode of management is the best way to avoid protracted conflicts.

4.3 Discussion and Interpretation

For this study, the key question was Katangese perception of decentralisation achieved in DRC through dismemberment of provinces. The assumption of this study was that the decentralisation in DRC that was materialised by dismemberment of provinces can be a challenge that can plunge the country in general chaos, or certain provinces particularly. The territorial decentralisation can also be an opportunity of taking off for a sustainable peace and development. The interpretation and analysis coming below are lightened by the cornerstone theory of this research.

4.3.1 Motives of decentralisation by dismemberment

This research unveiled that decentralisation in DRC is a constitutional means to bring closer governed to governor in order to booster development starting at local level. Decentralisation is defined and interpreted in several ways. Sometimes it is considered a term, sometimes a concept, a process, a theory, a methodology, or a policy, even a trend (Katalin 2003). One of the most common definitions is that it is a process through which authority and responsibility for public functions is transferred from central government to local governments, civil societies and other non-government organisations. It is a spectrum rather than a single state, ranging from de-concentration, delegation to devolution, and delocalisation. But, decentralisation should not be seen in over-simplistic manner, as a movement of power from the central to the local government. It is rather a process of redefinition of structures, governance procedures and practices to be closer to the citizenry.

In addition the study unveiled that the respondents feel that in DRC the policy of decentralisation is political strategy for the incumbents to perpetuate their reign. Due to the fact that Katanga constitute the permanent threat vis-a-vis to the central power, so the plan for the incumbent was to weaken Katangese by splitting their province. The common thread of views among respondents from the former Katanga province is that decentralisation initiated aims to break Katangese unity and to deride Katangese identity.

The above Katangese point of view is supported by the above Katalin's theory about decentralisation definition. In this case decentralisation seems to be a trend of certain individuals imposed against the Katangese will in order to get their selfish interests which is to hang on power.

4.3.2 Katangese perception of the process of decentralisation by dismemberment

Findings of this research unpacked two distinct tendencies. The positive one that if the process of decentralisation was seriously prepared before implementation, expectation to reach decentralisation's goals will be possible but this is only if decentralisation by dismemberment gives due respect of official texts such as Constitution. Decentralisation world-wide has the reputation to be preferred as a mode of management of the public affairs in developed and developing countries. This is justified by the fact that in decentralisation as system of governance, the decision making authority is transferred

from upper to lower level of the society. The most important theoretical argument concerning decentralisation is that it can improve governance by making government more accountable and responsive to the governed. Improving governance is also central to the motivations of real-world reformers, who bear risks and costs in the interest of devolution. According to Manor (2009), decentralisation is one of the most important reforms of the past generation, both in terms of the number of countries affected and the potentially deep implications for the nature and quality of governance.

A decade ago, estimates of the number of decentralisation experiments ranged from 80 percent of the world's countries assumed Mannor. The importance of reform goes well beyond the sheer number of experiences under way. At least in their intention, many decentralisations aim to reconstitute government from a hierarchical, bureaucratic mechanism of top-down management, to a system of nested self-government that is efficient and generates tangible benefits for the local populations.

The negative side shows that decentralisation, according to the respondents, is nothing apart of political strategy to weaken Katangese unity and identity that constitute a real and continuous threat to central government. The objective of dismemberment of provinces especially Katanga province is a hidden agenda to impede Katangese secessionist movement, the permanent fight for the independence of Katanga. Katangese prefer more federalism as means to decentralise the country for the want of independence. Findings unveil that the process of decentralisation was launched for the perpetuation of the incumbent in power. Makes illicit enrichment of few individuals holding power in detriment of the people.

According to Mohan (2006), the rationale for decentralisation is that power over the production and delivery of goods and services should be handed over to the lowest unit capable of dealing with the associated cost and benefits. In the case of decentralisation in DRC, power of the decision making and delivery of goods and services is never been given to local leaders who must deal with local issues according to the decentralisation theory. Here is why the process is a failure for certain and for others is a voluntary strategy for the incumbent to perpetuate their reign.

Other aspects which are important for decentralised governance to play successful role in enhanced and efficient service delivery are as follows: the relationship between decentralised governance and participatory development management; financing decentralised governance for service delivery; local government cooperation; monitoring and evaluation of service delivery in decentralised governance, as well as the role of the leadership and public trust which is extremely important. Swaniewicz (2002) assert that, leadership and how it works on local level is one of the key elements for the overall success of the decentralised governance. For transition countries and their complex processes of decentralisation and public administration reforms, it is even more important.

4.3.3 Autonomy of new provinces

The findings unveiled that decentralisation in DRC is limited at restructuration of territorial administration by splitting provinces. Concerning decentralisation in its depth, anything is not yet achieved apart of new geographical structure of the 26 news provinces. While decentralisation theory argues for the transfer of authority from the upper to lower level, in DRC all decentralised still in total control by the central government. Devolution being the form of decentralisation world-wide appreciate because of the autonomy aspect that it is guaranteed; the decentralised entities in DRC broadly and in former Katanga province are not enjoying yet autonomy vis-à-vis to the central power.

Kauzya (2005) states that decentralisation is a generic term which covers a number of models such as the following de-concentration; delegation; delocalisation and devolution which have all been extensively dealt with in chapter 2. While people expect devolution as a form of decentralisation because of autonomy of provinces, the process is launched in de-concentration manner. Deprived of autonomy of decision-making, resources management consequently power of service delivery; the new provinces from the former Katanga province are in dead end. They depend in all sensitive issues such as political decisions, economic management to the central power.

Today, throughout the world there is a broad-based movement towards greater decentralisation. Decentralisation and local governance are recognised as basic components of democratic governance as providing the enabling environment in which

decision-making and service delivery can be brought closer to local people. Hence the imperious necessity to re-examine or reform the process of decentralisation launched hastily in DRC. This starting by a real popular consultation in order to achieve the will of the people.

4.3.4 Means of decentralisation of the DRC

The findings unpacked opinions according to which, dismemberment of provinces is not the only means to decentralised DRC. There are several ways to achieve decentralisation. It depends on the will and interests of the primary sovereign. In the current case, the means chosen engage the will of the incumbent to perpetuate their reign by splitting those they feel are a threat to their rule. Here is the reasons why the process is perceived by the population to be devoted to fail due to the fact that it can't meet the people's aspirations.

The Democratic Republic of Congo should be decentralised without splitting provinces from eleven to twenty six provinces. By keeping the last territorial structure then transfer really autonomy in decision making, management of resources and service delivery to the province and decentralised entities such city, commune sector and chiefdom. The possibility of taking off of provinces will be bigger than having only reorganised geographically the territory without recognised autonomy to the local government. The most Katangese desirable means of decentralisation is federalism. Failing independence, Katangese prefer federalism as a means of decentralisation than others. Katanga as a federal state will take off easy and rapidly in the benefit of all Katangese in entire Katanga. In addition, federalism will avoid and prevent conflict by stopping the repeated

secessionist and independentism movement that is always a spectacle of violence and slaughter.

According to Fleurke (1997) the type of decentralisation (political, administrative, fiscal and market decentralisation) selected within a country will depend on its design, which will depend on the political structure and administrative issues of that country. The impact of decentralisation will differ depending on what type of decentralisation is taking place, (the political, fiscal and administrative arrangements which characterise the decentralisation), what the objectives and conditions of decentralisation are.

In the case of the DRC decentralisation, is a failure because the negative impact brought by the policy of dismemberment. Which policy strengthens tribalism, regionalism, provincialism and discrimination against non-natives. In brief, the negative impact of the process of decentralisation in DRC broadly and in former Katanga particularly is the consequence of objectives and conditions taken by the incumbent leadership of the country in implementing the program.

4.3.5 Opportunities offered in the process

According to Grindle (1980), other analysts who considered decentralisation and local government in developing countries were considered with the degree to which already poorly equipped central governments could effectively de-concentrate functions and even

programs to lower levels of the central government, given the few resources and lack of experience available at the state/province and local government levels.

The findings of this study unveiled that there are more to lose than to gain in the DRC process of decentralisation. The process was launched hastily with a hidden agenda instead of taking into account the people's aspirations. Without any preliminary preparation, either technical or economic the process was launched for the perpetuation of power of the incumbent. With eleven provinces and a budget of seven trillion US dollars in the last configuration of DRC, the country faced economic challenges that the central government was unable to solve out. The challenge is deeper big in the actual configuration of twenty six provinces with an annual budget of four trillion US dollars.

There are no opportunities in the process of decentralisation by dismemberment while provinces and decentralised entities still in total dependence to the central government. Opportunities could be expected if the provinces could enjoy autonomy in decision making, management of resources and service delivery. Currently only few job opportunities are on offer to a very few people who are in coalition with the incumbent in central government.

To paraphrase Grindle (1980) who his concern give rise to an important conclusion: only governments that were strong at the center, both politically and administratively, could take the risk and find the resources to decentralise important programs or functions. Decentralisation tends to focus on outcomes that could be evaluated and /or measured. It

is ironic if a country tends to decentralised in order to strengthen its ability to respond to demands and needs at the local level. If a country was poor and its administrative capacity was weak in the first place, decentralising initiatives would require additional energy and resources.

4.3.6 Challenges to address

Decentralisation as a process, is always sprinkled with challenges in its implementation. This is why decentralisation is evaluated or measured by its outcomes. In the case of the DRC experience, the findings of the research unveiled that the process implementation was launched hastily without prior and basic preparations. It is better is to back down and rethink the implementation of the process.

Being constitutional, for its success decentralisation needs respect of text pertaining to and the entire Constitution as well. As a process, the urgent need to prepare basic infrastructures is one of the conditions for success. If at the national level infrastructures caused problem to central government, then it is require more effort, strategies and resources to solve the issue in local government.

Poverty alleviation, the fight against tribalism, regionalism, provincialism and discrimination against non-natives are big challenges to address in former Katanga province. These aspects are the core factors of the conflicts recorded in the former Katanga. A genuine addressing of these issues prevents potential conflict that can arise

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due to frustration of some when others are in enjoyment of what supposed to be shared such as access to basic and social goods as well as politico-economic opportunities.

A proximity participative policy is required in order to include people in decision making especially youth. As shows a wisdom from an African anecdote: "Decide without me on what I'm concerned, is to decide against I". The participative policy is a relevant issue to address in order not only to prevent conflict by avoiding to frustrated certain in detriment of others; but also to implement the people's will as want democracy.

4.3.7 Impact of dismemberment on socio-economic of new provinces

As mentioned above, decentralisation tends to focus on outcomes that could be evaluated and/or measured. In this study the assessment of the process was considered on socio-economic point of view. The findings of the research unveiled that: socially speaking, the impact of dismemberment of former Katanga province is largely negative. This to the extent that it brought division among Katangese who were previously united. It came to favored tribalism, regionalism, provincialism and discrimination of non-native on the one side. Out of frustration some people have built up anger at the fact that there are some who are benefitting to the exclusion of the rest of the population. These facts add to the conflict drivers that saw the uprising of 2013 by some secessionist elements in Lubumbashi.

Despite the fact that decentralised governance is increasingly being favored as the most suitable mode of governance through which poverty reduction interventions can be conceived, planned, implemented, monitored and evaluated, the experience implemented in DRC broadly and in former Katanga particularly failed to meet people aspiration socially and economically. On the economic point of view, dismemberment of former Katanga province has plunged the entire Katanga into a standstill. None of the four new provinces managed to take off because lack of autonomy, basic infrastructures. Briefly the lack of preparation and the hasty implementation are negatively influenced the process of decentralisation by dismemberment of former Katanga province.

Decentralisation should be viewed as a policy of high priority and used as an instrument for people empowerment, a platform for sustainable democratisation, a structure for the mobilisation of resources for economic development, a veritable instrument of reconciliation, social integration and well-being in post-conflict environments, and a vehicle for the promotion of culture of political, economic, civic, and managerial and/or administrative good governance.

Another expectation is that decentralisation should offer opportunities for peace in situations where power sharing can mitigate severe ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts inside the country. These are the reasons why development partners at local, national, regional, and international levels including intergovernmental bodies such as the UN Agencies must be seriously engaged in efforts of promoting decentralised governance

in many countries and the DRC in particular. These partners have capacities, exposure and the attitudinal willingness to help drive such programs given their years of experience.

4.4 Summary

The findings of this study unveiled that for the efficiency of the process of decentralisation in DRC, to move back for a deep preparation is very relevant. The respect of text pertaining to decentralisation in the Constitution particularly and the entire Constitution prove to be extremely relevant for the success of the implementation of the decentralisation policy. Preparation of basic infrastructures in new provinces is a condition required for the expectation of the taking off. Roads and railways for easy transport and communication between provinces, buildings to shelter institutions in provinces, promote small and medium sized business to alleviate unemployment and poverty, promote the culture of unity by fighting tribalism, provincialism, regionalism and discrimination, advocate the distributive justice in order to avoid deprivation in power and resources sharing also frustration that conducive to conflict; then apply the policy of proximity governance that imply participation of citizens in decision-making and management of the public affairs.

CHAPTER 5   SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMANDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the study which sought to get the opinion of "Katangese" people on the decentralisation in DRC achieved by dismemberment of provinces as well as the former Katanga province. The chapter also outlines the conclusions of the study and present recommendations. It is the researcher's candid hope that the conclusions and recommendations herein will generate serious discussion among academics, policy makers in government, members of civil society and political parties on the issue to consider decentralisation implemented in scrupulous respect of its requirements as a precondition for the development.

5.2. Discussion

This study sought to poll opinions, point of view of "Katangese" on decentralisation in DRC achieved by dismemberment of provinces. The case of this study was former Katanga province and the research was informed by the decentralisation theory. This theory attempts to explain how and why power is shifted from a high level to a lower level. The decentralisation theory shows that the power is shifted from central government to a local government by either de-concentration, delegation, or by devolution. In de-concentration responsibilities are dispersed for certain services in local level but without any transfer of authority. In delegation, the power of decision making is transferred partially. In this instance local governments are not fully controlled by the central

governments but are accountable to them. Devolution refers to the quasi-autonomous of local units due to the transfer of authority for decision making, finance and administration management. Decentralisation is achieved in order to reform countries mostly post conflict countries for the purpose of development starting at local level. This is the case of decentralisation achieved in DRC through dismemberment of provinces.

The research was conducted used a sample of 60 informants who gave their insights on the topic. Being mixed, the informants constituted of government leaders, members of political parties, NGOs and civil society, journalists, academics and citizens both male and female. The informants were drawn from all new provinces from the former Katanga province and this assisted in bringing a holistic understanding of the decentralisation achieved in former Katanga province by dismemberment. Quota sampling and snowballing methods were used while structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaire and documentation were employed as the data collection methods for the study. Using the case study as research design, the study was qualitative. The decentralisation theory was used to guide the data collection process and this helped in enhancing the depth of analysis of the findings of the research.

5.3 Conclusions

The process of decentralisation in DRC broadly and in former Katanga particularly have several challenges to address. Being launched hastily, the process of decentralisation is a failure referring to the expectation. Here below are the main challenges to address: to come back then start by preparing including citizens in the decision making in order to implement the people's will. Prepare the new provinces in term of basic infrastructures.

The respect of text pertaining to decentralisation particularly and all the constitution broadly. In order to expect success of the process of decentralisation, there is an imperious necessity to set autonomy of provinces for the purpose of dealing with local issues.

Fight inter communities conflict is one of the major conditions of the success of the decentralisation achieved by dismemberment. Tribalism, provincialism, regionalism and discrimination of the non-native are the aftermath of the dismemberment of former Katanga province. Alleviation of poverty is required for an efficient decentralisation because poverty is a core cause of conflict. This because of frustration, while few are enjoying with resources, majority are in extreme poverty. Hence the set of distributive justice is required for an effective decentralisation. Participation of youth in decision making and management of public affairs is shown to be relevant in the process of decentralisation. For a proximity and participative governance, youth participation is relevant. This is because taking someone's decision without himself is to decide against him.

5.4 Implications

Based on the findings this study has implications for both the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the people of Katanga who are the beneficiaries of decentralisation. As such the following implications have a bearing on the effective implementation of decentralisation and the extent to which the government works closely with the people of Katanga.

5.4.1. Motives of decentralisation

While decentralisation theory stipulates that the objective of shifting power, responsibility and authority from upper to lower levels is to boost development starting at local level, the evidence gathered in this research demonstrated that the decentralisation implemented in DRC broadly and in former Katanga particularly is a hidden agenda for the incumbent to perpetuate their reign. As such, the process was launched hastily in order to weaken "Katangese" unity that historically constitute a permanent threat to the central government. This is due to the Katangese repeated   secessionist attempts since 1960. As a result, the implication of the actions of the DRC government means that the process of decentralisation has not met the expectations of the people of Katanga as indicated in the constitution.

5.4.2. Different means of decentralisation

The second implication is that the dismemberment of provinces is not the only way to decentralise the DRC asserted by the informants. The gathered information showed that DRC could be decentralised without dismemberment. This implies keeping the former territory and administrative structures as a process of managing the aspired devolution. In other words, with the eleven (11) provinces the DRC should transfer responsibility, authority of decision-making and management of resources in quasi autonomous manner from central to local government. In this way, the provinces and its decentralised entities cities, communes, district, territories, chiefdom could take off easily by the simple fact of being autonomous.

The above mentioned is the first possibility. The second implication is the largely preferred form of making the Katanga province a federal state as a way of achieving independence. Thus, if Katanga becomes a federal state in the DRC this process could take off easily because of the auto-government opportunity offered by the federalism as a mode of management. Thus, dismemberment is not the only means of decentralisation in DRC broadly and of Katanga in particular. Federalism is far much preferred by the "Katangese" as a way of decentralization than other means.

5.4.3. Impact of dismemberment

In the process of "Katanga's "decentralisation by dismemberment, they are more to lose than to gain. The impact of dismemberment of former Katanga province is largely negative. Politically, the dismemberment has weaken "Katangese" leaders by dividing up their follower through splitting of the province. Therefore the policy impedes the permanent Katangese attempt to independence.

Socially, the impact is worse. The worst started with the territorial and administrative splitting. In certain cosmopolitan cities such as Lubumbashi, Likasi, and Kolwezi; people from different areas of former Katanga province have invested and living for several years are being discriminated by natives of the new provinces.

Sociologically speaking, dismemberment of provinces brought tribalism, regionalism, provincialism and discrimination of non-natives. Hatred virus took place in former Katanga. Enhanced by certain few "Katangese" corrupted by the incumbent in order to

perpetuate their power, these "Katangese" work in the benefit of their godfather and their selfish interest instead of the welfare of "Katangese".

On the economic point of view, nothing is going on. Things are getting worse and worse. While the new provinces were not prepared in terms of basic infrastructures, the national budget went down from 7 trillion US dollars to 4 trillion US dollars. It is ironic to expect success from a central government which is already poorly equipped. How can the central government de-concentrate effectively functions and even program to lower level while it is poorly equipped?

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 This study recommends to the state, a developmental commitment as a precondition for an efficient decentralisation of the country broadly and of former Katanga in particular. The state should be more committed to developing a developmental state which is characterised by a leadership which is strongly committed to developmental goals, and which places national development ahead of personal enrichment and/or political gain.

5.5.2 The government should include citizens in decision making through proximity and participative governance in order to satisfy the will of people. This study then recommends that for shared governance to fully take place there is need to adequately prepare for this process by including people in decision making and development of infrastructure.

5.5.3 The third recommendation is the need for the rule of law to be respected in the DRC as a means of achieving the stated aims of distributing power away from the center. This means that DRC becomes a country where no one is above the law, where everyone is accountable before the law. The rule of law will encompass human rights including values such as peace, non-discrimination, equity, non-violence, tolerance, respect of minority rights, to live in peace and security. Thus, a country where freedom of expression, thought, and association are guaranteed would raise public confidence in the actions and policies of central government. The policy of decentralisation would benefit from public buy-in once the public recognises a culture of justice in the country. This would not only be the case in Katanga but elsewhere, however given the history of suspicion between Katanga and central government one can see why it matters to Katanga.

5.5.4 Evidence gathered in this research highlighted that there is no distributive justice in DRC in term of resources and power sharing. Here is why protracted conflicts are recorded. As such, the study recommends also distributive justice. This in power sharing as well as in resources sharing. The mode of resource sharing must be revisited in order to solve and prevent conflict pertaining to. Thus devolution or federalism is recommended as mode of management that can prevent conflict in former Katanga province.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

This study does not pretend to be perfect or explore all reality on the decentralisation in DRC and in the former Katanga in particular. It is just a chain link in the ongoing process of research in this area.

5.6.1 There is need for future studies which will deepen aspects such as how the national budget will be decentralised in the DRC as this remains a national problem.

5.6.2 The model of federalism and its implications could be studied in relation to the developmental agenda of the DRC. This is because different models could have different impacts as regarding the developmental aspects of the DRC. This will also be in line with how the developmental agenda is aligned with the constitution.

5.6.3 There is need for comparative study of how the policy on decentralisation has fared in other provinces that do not have such pronounced hostility to central government beacuse any mode of decentralisation could have serious implications given the disparities between provinces in terms of wealth and human capital.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Consent Form

My name is BANZA MUMBELE Eric, a final year Master's in Peace and Governance student from Africa University. I am carrying out a study entitled "*Decentralisation in the Democratic Republic of Congo Challenges and Opportunities for former Katanga province*." I am kindly asking you to participate in this study by answering questions.

The purpose of the study is to collect and analyse different Katangese' opinions, perceptions about decentralisation in DRC materialised by dismemberment of provinces. You are selected for the study because the study needs opinions of "Katangese".

You will be asked to answer to a certain number of questions orally or by writing. It is expected that this will take about thirty (30) minutes and there is no risk for that because the study is only for academic purpose. May it be clearly noted that this study does not offer you, the participant, and any financial or material inducements for participation both before and after the fact.

This study undertakes to keep the information you provide in confidence. For the purposes of accountability, participation in this study is voluntary and if you decide to terminate your participation you will not be penalised in any way.

Before you sign this form please ask any question on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

………………………………… …………………………………………

Name of Research Participant Date

………………………………………………………………………………….

Signature of Research participant or legally authorised representative

If you have any questions concerning this study or consent form feel free to contact the Africa University Research Ethics Committee on telephone (020) 60075 or 60026 extension 1156 email aurec@africau.edu

Name of the Researcher: Banza Mumbele Eric

Signature of Researcher…………………………………..

APPENDIX 2: College Approval Letter

INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

Investing in Africa's Future

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - TEL.: (263-20) 66788/61785 - EMAIL: lplgdirector@africau.edu - Website: www.africau.edu

3 February 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation: January 2017 – March 2017

Banza Mumbele Eric student registration number **141091MP** is a student at Africa University. He is enrolled in a graduate programme in Master in Peace and Governance and is currently conducting research for his Dissertation, which is required for completion of the program in June 2017. The research topic is **"Decentralization in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Challenges and opportunities: A case study of former Katanga province."**

Eric is expected to undertake this research during the month of January 2017 to March 2017 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Institute in April 2017. The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

Mr T Masese
Assistant Dean CBPLG

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS,
PEACE, LEADERSHIP
AND
GOVERNANCE

APPENDIX 3: Africa University Research Ethics Committee Approval letter

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

AFRICA
UNIVERSITY
(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE • OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE • TEL: (+263-20) 60075/60026/61611 • E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu • WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU084/17   April 3, 2017

Banza Mumbele Eric
College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance
Africa University
Mutare

RE: Decentralisation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Challenges and Opportunities. A case study of former Katanga Province.

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed and **approved** your application to conduct the above research.

The approval is based on the following.
  a) Research proposal
  b) Questionnaires
  c) Informed consent form

- **APPROVAL NUMBER**   AU084/17
  This number should be used on all correspondences, consent forms, and appropriate documents.
- **AUREC MEETING DATE**   NA
- **APPROVAL DATE**   April 3, 2017
- **EXPIRATION DATE**   April 2, 2018
- **TYPE OF MEETING**   Expedited

After the expiration date this research may only continue upon renewal. For purposes of renewal, a progress report on a standard AUREC form should be submitted a month before expiration date.

- **SERIOUS ADVERSE EVENTS** All serious problems having to do with subject safety must be reported to AUREC within 3 working days on standard AUREC form.
- **MODIFICATIONS** Prior AUREC approval is required before implementing any changes in the proposal (including changes in the consent documents)
- **TERMINATION OF STUDY** Upon termination of the study a report has to be submitted to AUREC using standard form obtained from AUREC.

Yours Faithfully

pp Qimunja

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

0 4 APR 2017

APPROVED
P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE

MITI G.P. AUREC Administrator
FOR CHAIRPERSON, AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPENDIX 4: Instruments of Data Collection

a. **Interview guide for Government members and Political parties.**

1. What is/are the motive(s) of decentralisation in DRC broadly and in "Katanga" particularly?

2. How the process of decentralisation by dismemberment is it perceive by the local people?

3. What is your point of view about autonomy of new provinces?

4. Is dismemberment of provinces only a good way to decentralize the country? If yes or no why? Other point of views!

5. Dismemberment as a policy of decentralisation, what is its impact on Katanga's socio-economic life?

6. Are there some challenges to address for effectiveness of the decentralisation process? If yes, which ones?

b. **Interview Guide for Political parties, NGOs & Civil Society and citizens**

1. Is decentralisation goal achievement effective in "Katanga"?

2. How decentralisation process is it perceive by local communities?

3. Are there some changes since establishment of new provinces?

4. What are the strategies that can be applied to enforce local governance in (the former) Katanga province?

c. **Focus Group Discussions with Journalists and Academic work force**

1. What is your overall assessment of the decentralisation process in former Katanga province?

2. Are there challenges and opportunities in the process of decentralisations by dismemberment? If yes which ones?

3. What are your suggestions to make decentralisation more effective?

Figures

Figure 1: Map of DRC under 6 provinces structure

Figure 2: DRC map under 21 provinces structure
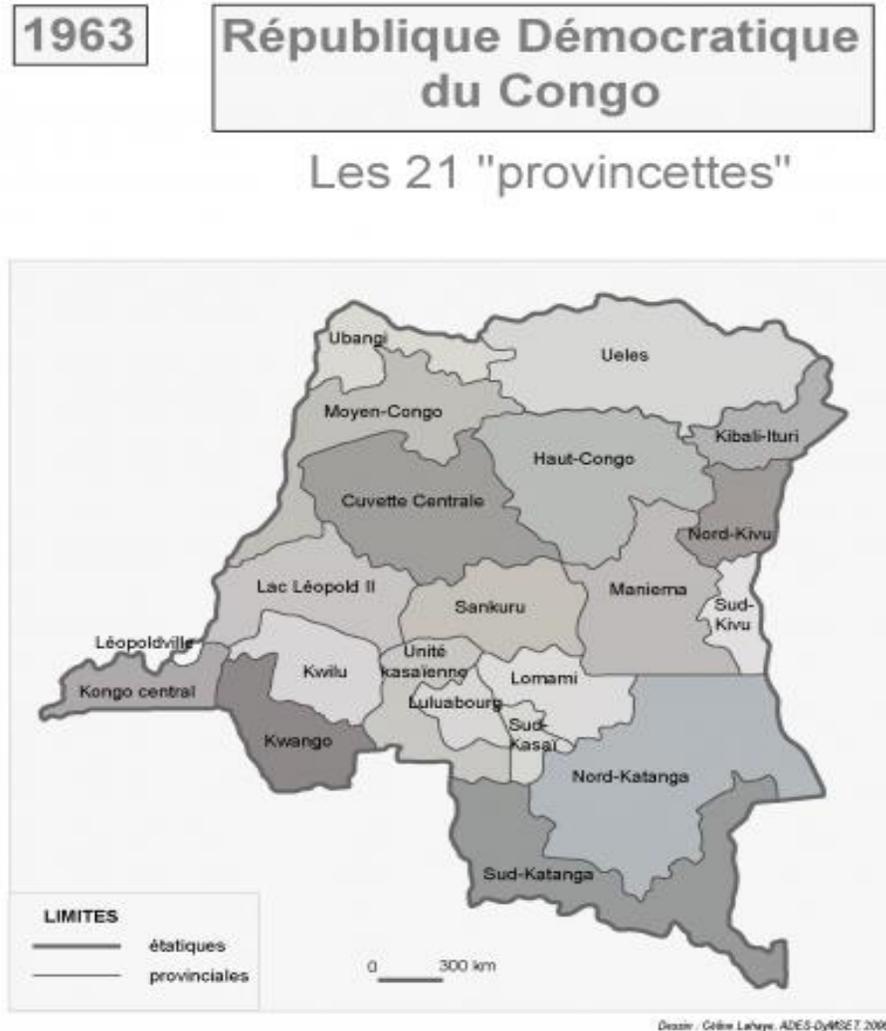
Figure 3: DRC under 11 Provinces structure

Figure 4: DRC under 26 provinces structure

Figure 5: Map of former Katanga Province and the current configuration