AN INVESTIGATION ON THE PUBLIC POLICY KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WITH RESPECT TO POLICY MAKING PROCESS-A CASE STUDY OF MANICALAND LEGISLATORS, 2008 TO 2013.

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE INSTITUTEOF PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF AFRICA UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the extend of knowledge and skills of the policy making process, of members of Parliament in Manicaland province specifically in selected constituencies in Mutasa Mutare, Makoni and Chipinge districts. This was done in a bid to suggest ways that could make members of parliament carry out their responsibilities and duties efficiently and effectively. The study was prompted by lack of development in various constituencies because of inappropriate policies. Generally; legislators in Zimbabwe have admitted that they were ignorant of government processes, with the majority of them needing serious orientation for them to have an in-depth understanding of various policy issues. This lack of skills has resulted in them failing to carry out checks and balances on the executive. A descriptive survey, using qualitative methods was used and these included questionnaires, interviews and observations. A sample of 29 respondents was used and literature review helped the researcher to build ideas on the theory of public policy making process. The study found that members of parliament have very little knowledge and skills on the policy making process. The study recommended that members of parliament be trained on skills required specifically in the public policy making process. Finally it also recommended introducing policy making process courses in the education system.

DECLARATION

I ChidoMadiwa, declare that this research study is my original work submitted as a requirement of a Masters Degree in Public Policy and Governance at Africa University, in Zimbabwe. I declare that this work is submitted for the first time at this University / Faculty and that it has never been submitted to any other Institution of Higher Learning for the purpose of obtaining a degree qualification:

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my three children Chiedza Janet, Munashe and Tinaye Hamufari Tsinakwadi.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

MPs Members of Parliament

PA Provincial Administrator

DA District Administrator

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

Cert. Certificate

LIST OF TABLES

| Table 1: Research population and sample |
|---|
| Table 2: Socio- demographic data of Respondents |
| Table 3:Member of Parliament-respondents' perceptions of meaning of public policy64 |
| Table 4:Respondents' perceptions of MPs' knowledge of policy-making process66 |
| Table 5:MPs knowledge of ideas in policy making process |
| Table 6: Respondents' perception of MPs' knowledge of channels of communication75 |
| Table 7:Frequency of MPs visits to their constituencies |
| Table 8:Role and responsibilities of legislators/member of parliament79 |
| Table 9:Knowledge and skills of members of parliament on policy aspects80 |
| Table 10:Major Challenges facing MPs and suggested solutions by respondents82 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure 1:Selection criteria of members of parliament | .73 |
|--|-----|
| Figure 2:Respondents views on quality of leadership of MPs | .78 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| ABST | TRACTI |
|------|----------------------------------|
| DEC | LARATIONII |
| COP | YRIGHTIII |
| ACK | NOWLEDGEMENTSIV |
| DED | ICATIONV |
| LIST | OF ACRONYMSVI |
| LIST | OF TABLESVII |
| LIST | OF FIGURESVIII |
| TABI | LE OF CONTENTSIX |
| СНА | PTER 1: INTRODUCTION1 |
| 1.2 | Background to the study1 |
| 1.3 | Statement of the problem4 |
| 1.4 | Purpose of the study5 |
| 1.5 | Research objectives5 |
| 1.5 | Research questions/Sub-problems6 |
| 1.7 | Significance of the study6 |
| 1.8 | Assumptions of the study7 |
| 1.9 | Definition of terms |
| 19 | Delimitations of the study |

| 1.10 | Limitations of the study10 |
|------|---|
| 1.11 | Summary10 |
| СНА | PTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE11 |
| 2.1 | Introduction11 |
| 2.3 | Perception on the concept of public policy12 |
| 2.4 | The Policy making Process15 |
| 2.5 | Policy analysis process22 |
| 2.6 | Policy making /Ideas29 |
| 2.7 | Craft literacy and craft competence33 |
| 2.8 | Role of legislators34 |
| 2.9 | Challenges of policy making process in Zimbabwe41 |
| 2.10 | Summary |
| СНА | PTER 3 :RESEARCH METHODOLOGY46 |
| 3.2 | Research design47 |
| 3.3 | Population |
| 3.4 | Sample and sampling procedures50 |
| 3.5 | Methods of data collection52 |
| 3.6 | Research Instruments |
| 3.7 | Pilot Testing58 |
| 3.8 | Ethics in research59 |
| 3.9 | Summary60 |

| CHA | PTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS | 61 |
|-------|---|-----|
| 4.1 | DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION | 61 |
| 4.2. | Response rate | 61 |
| 4.4.3 | Communication skills | 75 |
| 4.4.6 | Challenges facing legislators and suggested solutions | 82 |
| 4.4.7 | Discussion of the findings | 83 |
| 4.4.8 | Summary | 87 |
| СНА | PTER 5 :SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS | 88 |
| 5.3. | Conclusions | 89 |
| 5.4. | Recommendations | 92 |
| 6.0 | REFERENCES | 94 |
| 7.0 | APPENDICES | 97 |
| Apen | dix 1: Questions for local government | 97 |
| Appe | ndix 2: Questions for heads of government departments | 98 |
| Appe | ndix 3: Questions for MPs | 99 |
| Appe | ndix 4: Research letter | 101 |
| Appe | ndix 5: Letter of consent | 102 |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose and objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, assumptions, and definition of terms, delimitations and limitations of the study. The chapter gives direction to the study.

1.2 Background to the study

Policy making is an important process that all legislators should be well versed with. Among the official participants in public policy making are the executive (civil servants), bureaucracy, and courts/judiciary. The legislature is the main branch that is responsible for policy making. It is composed of the elected members of parliament, who represent their electorates hence; the representatives of the people must be the basic source of authority for making the laws of society. The Senate and the National Assembly have power to initiate, prepare, consider or reject any legislation.

According to a study by Gideon Zhou and ZvousheHardlife (2012), in Zimbabwe, the socioeconomic dynamics shaped policy decisions over the decades.Research findings suggest that the spirit and temper of policy decisions generally bear the imprint of the prevailing macro dynamics. During the first decade of independence, the imperative of nation building informed policy decisions across all sectors of the economy. During the second decade when the state was in economic crisis, policy interventions were mainly

contractionary and low note on local ownership and social acceptance. Third decade policymaking was under highly difficult social, political, and economic conditions.

The electorate expects that its respective member of parliament represents its interests. In an efficient legislature, the most-talented legislators are capable of contributing immensely to policy making and their electorates will re-elect them whenever there is a new election. The re-election to parliament therefore should depend on previous performance.

The legislators in Zimbabwe are accused of poor performance by the electorate, an accusation the legislators admit; acknowledging ignorance of government processes (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011). This could mean that, the majority of the legislators lacked orientation to the processes of policy making and policy issues. The legislators' ignorance has resulted in them failing to carry out checks and balances on the executive (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

The above sentiments question the role of legislators in policy making in Zimbabwe, right from policy identification, formulation of policy proposal, policy adoption, implementation and evaluation. It can also be doubted whether legislators understand what is meant by policy for them to do their duties or carry out their responsibilities.

Some parliamentary committees have failed to deliver because they do not have an appreciation of what policy is and what it should be (Moyo,1992a). From parliamentary debates it is observed that, there is lack of research on policy issues, which results in portfolio committees failing to ask pertinent questions, resulting in letting the officials get away with various offences. This shows that, the legislators in a post-colonial state lack craft literacy and competence in the whole policy making process (Moyo,1992a). It is a reflection that, the members of parliament lack an in-depth understanding of what happens for them to perform their duties well (Baseline Survey on Economic literacy for the Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011). From the parliamentary debates some members of parliament are sometimes mesmerised by ministers or permanent secretaries, who appear before their committees (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011). This shows that, the officials would have researched on the particular subject, compared to the legislators. This questions the level of policy issues understanding of legislators, for them to be involved in the policy making process.

Speaking at a media workshop in Banket in the first week of November 2012, the chairperson of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Media, Information and Communication Technology said that, the members of parliament needed orientation on policy issues, policy making process and policy procedures. According to Moyo (1992a), members of parliament should be developmental-oriented. This was echoed by Vice President, Joyce Mujuru, when she addressed hundreds of villagers who attended a field day at Maryland Farm in the district. This could imply that, the members of

parliament do not know their roles and responsibilities, with regards to developmental projects.

"Good laws do not make themselves. They require inputs of time, energy, information, and thought. Holding hearings, drafting bills, amending bills, building coalitions, and investigating executive implementation are necessary parts of the process" (Miguel and Snyder, 2006). All these require knowledge and skills, craft literacy and craft competence.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Some members of parliament in Zimbabwe are not knowledgeable about their roles, functions and responsibilities. Some MPs have been quoted in the herald dated Tuesday, 27 November 2012, having admitted that, they are ignorant of governmental processes, with the majority of them needing serious orientation for them to have an in-depth understanding of various policy issues and policy making process. The legislators' ignorance has resulted in them failing to carry out checks and balances on the executive. This then questions the role of legislators in policy making in Zimbabwe. From the Baseline Survey on Capacity Building of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe (2011) observations and readings, in the deliberations of parliament, some members of parliament (MPs) do not contribute anything during committee meetings, yet they are paid allowances for attending. This lack of participation could be because

some legislators do not have required knowledge and level of education to articulate policy issues.

In community meetings, some members of parliament are being 'mocked' to mean "missing person" by the electorate because a majority of legislators abandoned people soon after winning elections. This could be an indication of not knowing what to deliver to their electorates. The study aims to establish if the MPs know their roles as representatives of the people who elected them.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to assess the public policy knowledge and skills of legislators in Manicaland province. This is done in bid to suggest ways that can make members of parliament understand public policy issues and policy making process, leading to the development of various constituencies.

1.5 Research objectives

The objectives of the study were:

- To explore the knowledge levels and skills (government processes) of MPs in Manicaland province.
- 2. To establish the roles of MPs

- 3. To analyse the capabilities of people who are chosen as members of parliament
- 4. To recommend some capacity building programmes for newly elected MPS with regard to public policy.

1.5 Research questions/Sub-problems

To answer the main problem, the following sub problems have to be answered first:

- 1.6.1 Do MPs have the knowledge and skills set for Policy making?
- 1.6.2 What are the roles of Members of Parliament?
- 1.6.3 According to MPs, who are the other actors or Policy makers?
- 1.6.4 What can be done to improve the knowledge and skills of members of parliament in policy making process?

1.7 Significance of the study

The research findings will benefit the legislators, government, and people in the constituencies, the researcher and civil servants on roles, responsibilities and duties of legislators. The research findings will be made available to legislators, so as to equip them with knowledge about public policy. This will influence members of parliament to be active in identifying, formulating, adopting, implementing and the evaluating of policies.

The research findings willalso help government to come up with possible intervention strategies to capacitate MPs on policy issues and policy making processes. Since the

research findings will also be made available to the MPs through the Parliament of Zimbabwe and other libraries across the country, MPs are going to learn about how they relate with the people they represent. This will influence members of parliament to work together with community members in identifying local needs that warrant making policies for the development of their areas. The legislators and community members will be able to work together on developmental projects that will enhance people's lives. The study findings will stimulate and encourage further research and inquiry on ways in which the members of parliament can be made effective actors in the policy making process. The research findings will add to a body of knowledge on the roles and responsibilities of legislators in the policy making process.

1.8 Assumptions of the study

The research was based on the following assumptions:

- 1.8.1. The assumption was that the researcher will get co-operation from respondents which proved to be true. The researcher did not encounter any problems during the research.
- 1.8.2. People chosen as policy makers were assumed to be very knowledgeable about policy processes but that was not the case. Instead, a lot of gaps were found in their knowledge of public policy and the policy making process. Their failure to contribute

meaningfully to parliamentary debates on policy issues reveals lack of policy understanding on their part.

1.8.3. Members of parliament were co-operative with the researcher when she interviewed them on their responsibilities.

1.8.4. The assumption was that members of parliament will not be biased when responding to questions pertaining to their contributions in identifying, formulating, adopting, implementing and evaluating public policy. This was not the case as MPs did not want to display their ignorance of policy issues. Observations and discussions with different people helped gather more information

1.9 Definition of terms

Comprehensive conceptual clarification of terms pertinent to the research occurs particularly in the appropriate chapters. The terms utilized throughout the research study are concisely defined below:

Public policy: It is a purposive goal oriented or desired guide to action that delimits what people can do and not do

Public policy knowledge: This refers to the extent of understanding public policy intentions in achieving the country's goals

Member of Parliament (MP): This refers to a person or legislator chosen by the public or party to represent them in parliament, where public policies are made.

Policy statements: These are formal expressions or articulations of public policy by legislative statutes, executive orders and decrees, administrative rules and regulations and court opinions, as well as statements and speeches by public officials, indicating the government's intention and goals and what will be done to realize them.

Public policy process: It is a continuous pattern or activities that are to do with identifying public problem, formulating proposals, adopting alternatives, implementing and evaluating a policy or policies.

Assessment: This is an act of weighing the ability of MPs in identifying, formulating, implementing and evaluating policies

Public policy perception: This is the way members of parliament or individuals see, select, organise or interpret public policy into meaningful and coherent manner

Manicaland province: This is one of the ten provinces of Zimbabwe whose constituencies or areas are represented by members of parliament. There are 26 members of parliament representing the province

Government: It can be defined as the institutions responsible for making and carrying out laws and for adjudicating disputes that arise under those laws.

1.9 Delimitations of the study

The study was carried out in Manicaland Province. The study population sample consisted of a total of 29 respondents made up of eight (8) MPs, eight (8) local government officials [comprising the Provincial Administrator and seven (7) District

Administrators] and thirteen officials from the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Ministry of Youth.

The study concentrated on the extent of knowledge and skills of members of parliament in the policy making process and the effects they had on the lives of people.

1.10 Limitations of the study

The researcher had inadequate time and resources to carry out the research, since she was employed full-time at the time of conducting the study. However, the researcher took advantage of the meetings conducted in her day to day. She borrowed money from a bank to meet the expenses of the project during weekends.

1.11 Summary

This chapter discussed the background to the study, statement of problem, purpose and objectives of the study, research questions/sub problems, significance of the study, assumptions, definition of terms, delimitations and limitations of study.

The second chapter reviews related literature on public policy, and members of parliament, as important actors in the policy making process. Chapter three deals with the research methodology. Chapter four presents, analyses, interprets and discusses data. Chapter five gives a summary of the whole project, conclusions and recommendations

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The literature review section focuses on three major aspects. The first aspect is the politics-administration dichotomy. It also looks at the definition of "policy", levels and the different types of policies. The second aspect covers the policy making process. These two aspects prove the theoretical framework for the study. The last aspect covers knowledge and skills that one must understand if he/she is to effectively participate in the policy development process.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Politics- administration dichotomy theory

The study is guided by the politics and administration dichotomy theoretical framework by Woodrow Wilson, which views politics as dealing with questions of policy formulation whilst administration deals with carrying them out. He defined public administration as "detailed and systematic execution of public law". To Wilson, politics is the special Province of the statesman and administration that of the technical official meaning that MPs do not get involved in administration and at the same time administrators do not shape policies. The administrator according to Wilson is a neutral expert who efficiently and effectively carries out government policies.

The Politics/administration dichotomy was the intellectual idea used by reformers to bring about change to those in power in that it left political decision making to Politicians change in government. The theory is non-threatening to those in power in that it leaves political decision making to politicians, while elevating the Public administrator to the level of formal actor in the process of governing. In summary, the theory considers MPs as the policy makers who should whilst civil servants are implementers. This means that MPs should have important skills required for making policies.

Given this theory, it is clear that policy making is for legislators and policy implementation is for civil servants. In this regard, the study sought to find out the extent to which MPs in the study area had the knowledge and skills to make public policies. In addition, given that literature (e.g. Anderson, 2000) says that senior civil servants are also involved in the policy making, the study also sought to find out MPs' views on the involvement of the bureaucracy in the policy process.

2.3 Perception on the concept of public policy

Policy is a statement of guidelines which governs how a group of people should behave in a given circumstances (Dye, 1981). Policy statements influence the behaviour of people in various situations. Public policy is whatever government chooses to do or not to do (Dye 1981). This means that, government can choose among alternatives what to accept to do or not to do.

2.3.1 Levels of public policy

Cloete in Van Der Waldt and du Toit (2007: 209) identifies different government/public policy levels as, political or national level, which is a broad directive policy and is made by the legislative authority. The executive policy is a broad directive policy and is spelled out in more concrete terms by decisions relating to, among other things, organizing, financing and personnel. It is made by the executive authority. Administrative policy deals with practical steps to execute a policy and is generally made by heads of departments such as Permanent Secretaries, or Director Generals. Operational policy is whereby routine decisions are made in the day-to-day activities. This is generally made by middle management and supervisors. The above shows that, there are many ways in which public policies can be formed.

2.3.2 Channels of communication by citizens

Sallies (1982) identifies the channels of political communication by citizens as, MPs/local councilors, pressure groups (e.g. Trade Unions, Employers' associations, political parties, direct actions-marches and strikes, expression of views via the media, as well as complaints procedures through the ombudsmen). It could be through these channels the legislator can be able to make good policies.

2.3.3 Types of policies and role of the legislator

Dye (1981) and Anderson (2010) categorize policy into distributive, regulatory and redistributive categories. Distributive policy problems are those that demand government to allocate resources to a particular section of the community, in order to redress a problem of concern such as, distribution of food for relief to very needy areas in the constituencies. Regulating policy problems require government to extend over certain types of activities carried out by individuals, cooperation's or participant in of society such as ,one of keeping elephants in the area. Redistributive policy problems concerns "corrective reform imbalances" in say, a constituency or society. There could be need for equitable distribution of resources to benefit the disadvantaged (Chelf, 1980:63). Distributive, regulatory and redistributive policy problems do not appear as entities, but can be interlinked or related.

A legislator should be able to make the articulated problem (distributive, regulatory or redistributive) to achieve the agenda status. He or she must be able to prioritise the problems based on political factors, personal view points of public officials about people's needs, and attitudes of people. He or she should thus refer to political social and economic concepts of policy (nature of society and social developments).

An issue has conflictual propositions on causes of actions to solve it. For a policy to achieve the agenda status it must become an issue. The legislator must be able to view policy making process in the context of issues in the environment. The policy environment is "the matrix of cultural, political, economic and ecological factors within which policy decisions are reached" (Anderson, 2005).

A legislator should be rational, professional and ethical, so as to effectively meet all demands in his/her constituency and prioritise them accordingly, for effective constituency and national developments (Shoko,1985). It can be when he/she can be able to assist in making the problem statement represented by means of a policy paper. With the assistance of those with skills such as civil servants, the problem can be articulated on paper, defining a problem desirable for policy analysis.

2.4 The Policy making Process

Most scholars agree that policy making or development follows a sequential process consisting of five stages that are outlined below. Although the stages could vary from one political system to the other, the general principles are the same. Therefore, an effective policy maker must have a good grasp of these policy making stages.

Public policy making process is a sequence of activities which form categories and tend to follow this general outlook: identifying problems; formulating proposals; making policy decisions; implementing policies; and evaluating policies. Madison and

Dennis,(2009),Hammand Mill (1984),view policy making as a political process, because of the inevitable unequal distribution of power among and between the groups and individuals. This distribution involves competition, conflict and cooperation; influence and authority; and includes groups and individuals both inside and outside government. These authors thus see policy making as involving group struggles, each group wanting to secure more power and resources.

First stage: Policy agenda

Policy agenda consists of those problems, among many, that receive the serious attention of policy makers. At this stage, policy makers or government decide to take action on a few problems. Each of the problems is clearly defined and support to resolve the problem is mobilised. Policy actors use several strategies to elevate the problems to attain agenda status. Some of these strategies include framing and priming. It is important to note that it is during this stage that policy makers should verify, define and delineate the problem before proceeding to the next stage. This makes a policy problem, a condition or situation that produces a human need, deprivation or dissatisfaction. This can be brought to a legislator in the form of a demand for which relief is sought (Anderson, 1979:53). The legislator may either take it positively or negatively or take it to parliament or ignore it. These policy issues emerge from the environment. A legislator representing his/her constituency must be able to identify these physical and non-physical inputs of policy, so as to send them to parliament (political system) in order for the problem to be solved.

The above requires research, and research requires some basic knowledge and skills in carrying it out. This implies that, a legislator must have some basic skills in identifying the needs of the people in his/her constituency to enable him to define a policy problem and make it to reach the agenda status, defending the policy environment and assisting in writing an issue paper. Problem identification should involve all people in the constituency or others on their behalf. If the legislator has no knowledge, he/she may fail to articulate the problem such as, need for libraries in the constituency or better schools. The problem should be a public problem with a broad effect that it is not viewed as private. Without this knowledge, most of the problems can be made private, leading to failure to solve people's problems.

Stage 2: Policy formulation

The stage involves development of relevant and acceptable proposed courses of action to resolve a public problem. At this stage policy makers propose pertinent specific courses of action to deal with the problem. Formulation of policy and policy proposals concern developing alternatives, to solve the identified problem. This requires lobbying from various contributors, both formal and informal contributors. The actors of the alternatives should be the most efficient; that the most benefit from the list cost can be arrived at. Stokey and Zeckhauser (1978:5) say that, the members of parliament should have a standard framework in formulating a policy which should enable them to establish the context of the problem ,lay out alternatives, predict the consequences, value the outcome and make satisfying choices. This requires knowledge and skills of

the legislator to make satisfying rational decisions, supported by members of his/her constituency or electorate who elected him/her as their member of parliament.

The actors include public officials and constituent and non-constituent members. Public officials include bureaucrats in the area and outside the area. The people involved include academics, business people, interest/pressure groups (Moyo, 1992). The members of parliament should act within the democratic wishes of the people, otherwise there will be resistance and he/she would not be re-elected into parliament during the next election. This means that the Member of Parliament should not be the only major actor in the policy making process. The member of parliament must have knowledge and skills to include ideas of other members of parliament in formulating policy for the legislature so that, they listen to issues presented to them in parliament. They are in touch with interest groups and field administrators. They are exposed to multiplicity of issues from various constituencies. They are the ones to endorse proposals emanating from constituencies and other governments institutions. The legislator has to balance policies with the practical facts. He or She needs to consider the bureaucratic skills in his/her constituency. These are the bureaucrats that implement policies and also face problems in implementing policies (Rourke, 1984). The member of Parliament at the same time should not fear the bureaucratic expertise. The member of parliament should not ignore the ideas of the members of his/her constituency, since the policies are meant for them. This can be expressed in the media.

The most viable organ to articulate policy proposals are members of civil society, interest groups and media. According to Anderson (1977:65), a vivid explanation of the role of interest groups is that, "at the state level, interest groups often play an important role in the formulation of legislation especially on technical and complex matters, because state legislature and staff resources are needed to cope with them." A member of parliament should reconcile order and conflict in his/her constituency in the formulation of policy (Burrel and Morgan, 1985: 10 and Moyo,1992:40). Order represents stability, integration and functional coordination, while conflict represent change, conflict and disintegration and coercion. Order and conflict are opposite ideas of the same coin. It needs knowledge and skills to reconcile this "sociology of regulation" and 'sociology of radical charge' (Burrel and Morgan 1985: 11-19).

The nature of society determines what the members of parliament can do in the formulation of policy. Usually the member of parliament in Zimbabwe follows a political hierarchy, where the policy problems emanate from the public, which is composed of parents and interest groups. The member of parliament becomes a key factor in coming up with policy proposals. He needs knowledge and skills in brainstorming when formulating policy, because there is a lot of bargaining, competition and persuasion among interest groups and government officials. He or she must win the approval of the proposal. The canvassing for support may be necessary in order to win the approval.

Stage 3: Policy adoption or legitimation

In stage 3, policy makers mobilise support for a specific policy proposal so that the policy proposal or bill can be gain enough support from legislators. If the policy proposal or bill receives enough support, it is adopted by the legislative body. Once adopted by the policy makers, the policy is signed by the legitimate authority.

During the adoption state, the policy process flows from the general to the specific. In policy adoption, private individuals and organisations play a minimum role. The formal authority rests with public officials - legislative, executive, administrative and judges. A member of parliament /legislator should be able to debate on the proposed policy, so as to refine it and make it reflect the interest of all segments of society.

Stage 4. Policy implementation

The policy is implemented by the administrative machinery of the municipality, which is sometimes referred to as the bureaucracy. Major activities include resource acquisition, interpretation, planning and organising. Policy implementation are "those actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions" (Van Meter and Van Hom in Ham and Mill,1984:104). It is a process of putting policy into action. Implementation is action to achieve translated objectives .For policy to be specific, there must be clarity and consistency in the communication of policy.

Anderson (2010) observes that, policy is made as it is implemented and implemented as it is formulated. There is need for the legislator to consider implementation as a policy/action continuum in which an interactive process is taking place over time between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends. The member of parliament should mobilise human, capital and material resources for the successful implementation of policy. This requires the involvement of all concerned from formulating to implementation. The failure of policy can be as result of contradictory, unclear and inconsistent policy directions, lack of consultation between policy formulators and implementers, lack of trust between politicians and civil servants, vague instructions, poor timing, outdated legislation, too many implementing agencies, lack of consultations, lack of knowledge, skills and expertise and poor attitudes (Mutasa 1992, Hanekom, 1986).

Stage 5: Policy evaluation

This involves efforts by municipality to determine whether the policy was effective and identify reasons for its success or failure. Overall, evaluation focuses on policy performance and its impact. Decisions about the future of the policy are also made. Knowledge of the foregoing policy development process is an important first step in policy development. Therefore, every good policy maker should understand this basic process of policy making.

Policy evaluation is concerned with "the estimation, assessment or approval of policy including its content, implementation and effects" (Anderson 1977:157). This involves the continuously monitoring and determining the effect of policy implementation up to the very last stages or restarting the policy process. There should be in-built mechanisms of evaluation in policy making process. Summative evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of policy programmes to measure their impact on society and extent to which they have been left out, so as to rectify the situation. The member of parliament, together with other policy makers, implementers and consumers should evaluate policies. This should be part of information gathering, legislating, authorizing appropriations and helping constituencies. The techniques can include follow ups on constituent demands and request. A member of parliament should have evaluation skills. She/he should be objective, systematic in evaluation. A legislator should have skills in all stages of policy making process.

2.5 Policy analysis process

Apart from mastering the policy making process, an effective policy maker must understand the policy analysis process. In simple terms, policy analysis is similar to problem solving whereby one must first define the problem and then identify suitable alternatives and then select the best alternative to resolve the problem. With respect to policy making, a good policy maker must understand the policy analysis process as a problem solving strategy. Patton and Sawicki (1986) developed a simple and practical

model of public policy analysis, which most scholars and practitioners have found very useful. The model consists of six steps which are outlined below:

- Verify, define and detail the problem
- Establish evaluation criteria
- Identify alternative policies
- Assess alternative policies
- Display and distinguish among alternatives
- Implement, monitor, and evaluate the policy

Application of the foregoing steps in solving public problems would certainly help policy makers to come up with visionary, responsive and effective public policies. The proposed study will assess the municipal managers' understanding of policy analysis as a useful strategy to improve policy making.

2.5.1 Policy analysis skills

According to a study by Zhang, Lee and Yang (2012), a municipal manager requires the following knowledge and skills for policy making:

- Communication skills
 - ➤ Listening skills
 - ➤ Compromising and consensus-building skills
 - ➤ Writing skills
 - > Face-to-face communication skills

- People skills
- Budgeting and financial management
- Information technologies
- Local government structure
- Analytical and research skills
- Practical ethics
- Human resources management
- Strategic planning and management

Previous related studies have also collaborated the foregoing findings. For example, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) in the USA conducted a survey of city and county managers in 2006 to explore their opinions of the importance of knowledge and skills in local government management in general and policy making in particular. The respondents rated the following competencies as most important:

- Decision making and problem solving
- Ethics and integrity
- Communication skills
- Leadership
- Teamwork
- Budgeting and financial management.

These findings are actually consistent with the empirical results in previous research by Green (1989) and Hinton, Kerrigan, and Frederickson (1995), who conducted similar surveys while using different samples.

Other scholars have also identified similar skills and competencies. For example, Van der Waldt*et al* (2002: 199-200) and Spicker (2006) have identified the following skills as critical to policy making:

Management skills: These include skills to write and evaluate proposals as well as being able to deal with personal matters and control budgets.

Problem solving and decision making skills. Policy making is aimed at solving societal problems and rationalizing decision making. Policy makers should thus be able to rigorously pursue information, insights and opinions that relate to the problem and build a network of contacts for future use.

Leadership skills

To be elected as Member of Parliament is being recognised as a person who can lead people in a constituency (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe). Leadership is... "The process of influencing the activities of an organised group in efforts towards goal setting and goal achievement" (Stodill, 1974:11).In a constituency there are many groups and these groups are not organised. Hence the need of mobilising these groups is needed. The most important thing in this definition is that a legislator should have knowledge and skills to influence

people and to create fellowship for good interaction between him and his constituent members, so as to develop his or her area. He or she should be a dealer in hope that is, actualising what was previously unseen. It is a process that should be upheld all the time, so as to move people in some direction through mostly non coercive means.

(Kottler,1988; 5). A leader exists to serve his followers (Greenleaf, 1991). An effective leader should be good at presenting good policies together with his or her constituent members.

In the policy making process an effective leader should be empathetic showing tenacious determination and resolve, detaches himself or herself from the situation and analyse it a from a distance, having communication skills, resources and ability to resolve conflicts(Luthan,1990). Although he or she may have his or her own political strategies and tactics, that bring about development in his or her constituency (Luthan,1990). All this requires a legislator to have conceptual, human and technical skills, based on his or her effective interpersonal, importance and decisional rules in the policy making process. All this also depends on the legislator knowledge of the constitution; structure of the parliament; functions of parliament; (legislative, executive, oversight, representational, forum for public debate, instruments, charters and protocols); his or her duties and responsibilities; and also economy of the country and its relatedness to finance and budgeting(Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliament for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011; Baseline survey in economic literacy for the parliament of Zimbabwe 2011; and baseline survey on sector specific capacity building requirements

for committees of parliament, 2012). It is registered in the review of related literature that, policy making process requires MPs to have knowledge and skills to formulate, implement and evaluate policies and that MPs are not carrying out their duties well.

Implementation skills: Policy makers should be knowledgeable about policy implementation strategies and plans. This calls for implementation skills to ensure effective policy implementation.

Team building and operational skills: Many of the policy issues and problems are knotty and dealing with such problems requires cooperation and teamwork rather than individual effort. Some of the teambuilding and supportive skills required include running meetings, preparing reports and making presentations.

Evaluation skills: One of the critical stages of policy making is policy evaluation. Hence, both policy makers and policy implementers must possess excellent evaluation skills. Evaluation skills help to assess whether a policy is effective or not.

Political understanding: Policy making is inherently politically. Therefore, a policy maker has to understand political realities of the policy making process. Hence, in carrying out policy analyses as well as reporting on the findings, a policy maker should take into account political realities such as political feasibility or acceptability of policy options.

Communication skills: Effective communication is another set of skills required in policy making. This is important given that policy makers must interact and communicate with several stakeholders in the several stages of the policy making process. Other scholars have identified related policy making competencies that policy

makers should possess. For example, according to Rollin Township (2013). (http://www.twp.rollin.mi.us/pdf/Job.Trustee.MTA.pdf), the following are some of the policy making skills policy makers councillors should possess.

- Understands how to objectively monitor administrative actions for compliance with existing policy and law, and to ensure that policies and practices serve the public well
- Knows how to critically examine proposals to evaluate how the proposed policies and practices could affect the township
- Creates effective systems for establishing rapport with constituents, ensuring that voters' needs are brought to the attention of the township board
- Understands how to constructively participate in, or lead, committees, including setting objectives and goals, conducting productive meetings, and providing accurate reports
- Utilizes effective research techniques to become more knowledgeable about matters that come before the township board and/or committees
- Understands the budget process, financial statements and how to use fiduciary responsibilities to manage the township's affairs in the best interests of the public
- Understands purchasing policies and the bid process
- Possesses knowledge of contracts, including intergovernmental agreements

To a large extent most of these skills also apply to MPs as policy makers.

The foregoing discussion shows that there is a multiplicity of policy making skills and competencies that policy makers must have. In this regard, this study sought to find out the extent to which MPs in the study area possessed the policy making knowledge and skills delineated in this chapter.

2.6 Policy making /Ideas

Elite/Mass idea

This idea assumes that only a few people the elite, or senior people in government and others have the capacity to and influence policies. They shape the mass opinion on policy questions more than the masses on elite opinion. The public or masses are pathetic and ill-informed about public policy. They are never consulted. This is top down approach to policy making process. The lack of consultation can lead to conflict between policy makers and implementers.

The above reflects that policy does not reflect the needs and values of the people rather it reflects those of the elite and their values. The model does not consider that, needs change in public policy, requiring redefinition of the policy by the elite. The elite always manipulates situation to their advantage and always prescribes what the public wants. The idea is to maintain the status quo. The above also implies that, the legislator/member of parliament with such orientation, inherited from colonial times, can

be guided by these ideas in the policy making process, resulting in the masses not involved in the policy making process

Group idea

The idea proposes that, individuals have to speak through a group, if demands are to be listened to. This means that, the legislator has to manage group conflict, that is, concerned with managing conflicting interactions of pressure groups which influence policies. The legislator should always remain the final arbitrator and should be able to use legislative measures to rectify the results of group influence and demands. Without knowledge of the legislative measures, the Member of Parliament can fail to identify pressure groups and the way groups can influence the policy making process (Moyo, 1999).

Institutional

The institutions in a constituency have direct links with government, making public policies as product of institutions.

These institutions include, courts, judiciary, all representations/departments of governments organs, legislator should be able to see the horizontal linkages among various departments, so as to be able to forge acceptance of policy by society, see universalism of policy and how he/she could forge compliance of policies, using channels of communication in various institutions. The policies can be dominated by the executive, making the legislator irrelevant in policy making, if he/she has no knowledge.

The systems idea

In the systems idea, public policy is considered to be the responses by the political system or government to the demands, wants, needs, problems or goals of the community or interest groups. This assumes consensus on the agreement after debating and consultation on policy issues (outputs from inputs) (Honeycomb, 1987).

The above assumption can mislead legislators by assuming that, what prevails is what people need, and tries to lobby for policies that preserve the status quo, which may thwart development. This model may not be appropriate where institutional structures are still underdeveloped and where there are unclear competing interest and values.

Incrementalistidea

The idea favours incrementalism (bit by bit, or one at a time) rather than complete replacement of policy, fearing loss of continuity and expenses that go with changes. The model looks at participation of different persons in policy making process with conflicting points of view. Although this can bring stability and low conflict, it may allow a policy to continue when it is unpopular. This muddling through or incremental model, disjointed, can be difficult to sell to the people. This can be the case in Zimbabwe.

Rationalism idea

This looks at all the needs of the community and all possible alternatives to satisfy those needs. The social goals are examined before a decision is made and the decision made is based on all possible alternatives that can solve the problem, maximum social gain with minimum cost. It assumes that there is no consensus on community values. The values are broader than monetary values.

The idea has many barriers to decision making such as, man is not always rational.Man may lack craft competence and not committed to improve the living conditions of masses or promote efficiency.

A mixed scanning idea can be used to rectify the weaknesses of the incremental and rationalist models by taking their strengths on board, However, the important consideration can be left out in the overview process.

The hypothetical-evolutionary idea

The idea assumes that, a policy is only a tentative solution to a problem. The policy has to be tested against reality and its effectiveness evaluated and subjected to correction. Policies are tentative, unclear and subject to negotiation (Hyper 1984; Popper, 1979). This allows constant criticism of policies.

Models should not be seen as ends in themselves, but means to understanding policies. Similarities can be picked and those related to situations in Zimbabwe need to be practical. There is need for legislators to relate policies to the broader concerns in public policy. A legislator has to make his/her decision about models that are appropriate in policy making process in the post-colonial state. There is need for craft literacy and craft competence

2.7 Craft literacy and craft competence

The MPs lack both craft literacy and craft competence in policy making process in Zimbabwe (Moyo 1992a). Craft literacy is the "the human capacity to conceptualise a successful policy or management process", and craft policy competence is "the ability to understand and apply with sustainable regularity, a model or blue print that has been developed by someone other than oneself" (Moyo 1992a). This ability to make models of policy requires both knowledge and experience. For example, a lot of developmental projects in constituencies are not conceived because of lack of ideas. MPs lack common knowledge to devise implementation of policies already made for example, to be able to mobilise resources to carry out projects already agreed upon (Moyo, 1992a). The absence of craft literacy and craft competence in legislators, who are the major actors in public policy-making, are the concerns of this project and which must be understood within the context of the factors that influence the legislators in Zimbabwe, as discussed in this section. "It is the lack of productive engagement in the public policy sector by indigenous elite with viable financial, intellectual and patriotic resources that remains an obstacle to the installation and maintenance of institutional structures that are consistent with modern statehood frameworks." Kelechi, A, Kalu,(2010)The impact of leadership on Public Policy in Africa: problems and opportunities.)

2.8 Role of legislators

All members of parliament are elected by groups of citizens of the country irrespective of the kind of electoral system under which they are chosen. They come to parliament with expectations of their own to fulfil (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

The roles that most parliamentarians fulfil are often summarized by the World Bank as representative, legislator and scrutinizer of the government (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011). Michael Rush,(2009) agrees with these roles. As presented by the World Bank, Rush (2009) examines the various roles of members of parliament and said that, MPs have three major roles-a partisan role, a constituency role, and a scrutiny role. "They increasingly expect and are expected to support their parties; to help constituencies with individual problems and look after their collective interests; and they are expected to keep a check on the government and its policies" (Michael Rush, 2009).

As representational, members of parliament have been elected to parliament as representatives of their electorates. As a legislator, this reflects what most people see as

the central responsibility of an MP, to pass legislation, whether original or changes to existing acts. As a scrutinizer, covers the scrutiny or oversight that parliamentarians are expected to exercise over the workings of the executive including the implementation of laws passed by parliament. This function also extends to the support or criticism of proposals placed before parliament by the government.

2.8.1 MPs as representative

According to the World Bank, in any democracy the representation of the people must be the basic source of authority for a body that makes the laws under which society operates. The electorate therefore expects that, their respective member of parliament represents their interests. Questions immediately arise: who does the MP represent, only those who elected him or also those who opposed his election? What if a piece of legislation proposed by the MP's own party is contrary to the wishes of his electorate? Most MPs agree that, the only tenable view is that they are representatives, not delegates, of the people who elected them. They will try to exercise judgment on behalf of those they represent, rather than subordinating their views to them. This does not mean that, they can ignore constituency interests but it does mean acceptance of the position that the vast majority of MPs are elected as members of political parties, rather than as individuals, and that the manifesto commitments of the party provide the platform for action.

MPs do try to meet their constituency commitments by regular meetings with constituents in their electorates. If these interests are not attended to, no amount of party commitment can guarantee a return to parliament at the next election. It is sometimes argued that, certain electoral systems, such as proportional representation, have removed some of the linkages between MPs and their constituencies. While it is probably true in most countries that have adopted proportional representation that there has been distancing of constituents from their MPs, it could also be argued that, there are now more representatives for a given area and that there is a better chance of having different interests heard and understood (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

Whatever the system of election is, access to one's MP is a form of contact that is significant, important and greatly valued by voters. Without that contact, the basis for a democratic legislature could come under serious question. Thus, MPs find themselves not just the representatives of the electorate that chose them, but also elements in a political party mechanism.

There is a third factor, and that is their own position. MPs may sometimes find themselves not willing to be the delegate of either their constituency or their political party, but wanting to take up a position that is their own and to vote according to their conscience on some issues (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for

legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011). Parties do allow some latitude to their MPs in certain cases so that they may vote in this manner. There is however one restriction that all parliaments place upon their members as to representation and that is that, they cannot appear before the House or in a parliamentary committee to espouse any view or to represent any individual, group or organization for a fee or reward.

2.8.2 The MP as Legislator

This is the most visible role that an MP is called upon to play, especially in an age when the media can carry not just words but images of events in parliament (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislators, analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011). Unfortunately, according to the World Bank, the legislative function is one that most MPs are ill equipped to carry out when they first enter the legislature and they can as a result become disillusioned. In most countries, there is no formal training for new parliamentarians, despite the great responsibilities they hold. In all law making processes, MPs should remember that the citizens whom they represent want transparency and accountability to be built into all laws with the ability for the citizens themselves to engage more closely with, or at least to be able to follow, what happens in parliament and how their money is spent (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

2.8.3 The MP as Scrutinizer

The backbench MP has several opportunities to help people achieve their desire for effective, accountable government. When taking the role of scrutinizer, well-informed MPs can support or criticize draft legislation. If they are supportive of the proposal, they may convince the people at large and fellow MPs of the necessity for a particular measure. They can, in theory, also criticize a weak or badly formulated bill to the extent that the sponsoring Minister may be forced to re-think it. Much of this work is not done in the House, but in parliamentary committees. There are plenty of opportunities for members to serve in committees and, if the House and the government take the work that can be done in committees seriously, there is much that backbench MPs can contribute to the work of the legislature(Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

According to Ronald John Weitzer (1987) "MPs in Zimbabwe are expected to be legislators, lobbyists for constituent causes, and advocates". However, the most obvious role of the MP is to represent their constituencies. In Zimbabwe the member of parliament, just like the councillor, is elected through the party lists and therefore is also primarily accountable to the party, although there are also independent members of parliament. Most MPs belong either to ZANU (PF) or MDC. The MP may interact with party structures at local and provincial levels, and can get input relevant to council business through such structures. By participating in the legislative process, MPs give their constituents at least an indirect role in the shaping of important policies affecting

their lives. An MP may make a short statement on any topic immediately prior to the start of the daily oral Question Period. MPs may also raise matters during Question Period in the hope of influencing a Minister to alter or initiate policies more in keeping with the views of voters. Members may also intervene with Ministers on behalf of their constituents either by letter or more directly. MPs may also seek to influence the members of their own party to adopt specific attitudes and policy proposals along the lines of those advocated by constituents in the party's caucus. Here, assembled privately, members may attempt to influence their party's stance towards specific issues. As highlighted above, an important aspect of the member's representative role is the "ombudsman" function. Faced with problems involving the government and its departments, constituents often turn for help to their MPs (Moyo, 1992).

According to the Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011, there is noreally job description or even a list of qualifications for being an MP. To get elected, one just has to get more votes than the other candidates. Most of their constituency work is a bit like an advice bureau and they can help local residents with issues like housing, benefits and immigration. They also work on wider issues such as, improvements in the local hospitals or discussing crime with the local police (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

According to Ronald John Weitzer (1989), MPs themselves have no power, they can only pass legislation, amend bills and approve taxes. But they can influence those in power through their contacts and networks. Pressure groups such as charities keep an eye on what is going on in Parliament and lobby MPs for what they think will be interesting on issues. Many businesses use the constituency MP where they are based to help them with issues.

The role of parliament is also described by the Parliamentary Reform Committee (PRC), which is stated in its Foundation Report (May 1998) that, the role of parliament is to legislate, to scrutinize the policies and activities of the Executive, to hold the Executive to account for its actions and to act as a forum for democratic participation by all members of society. Embodied in the above statement are the three roles of legislature that are universally recognized, namely; Legislative, Executive Oversight, and Representational. Parliament derives its powers from the Standing Orders that are made in terms of section 57 of the Constitution. The oversight role is conferred on Parliament and codified by the House of Assembly Standing Order 159(2) and Senate Standing Order 149(2).

In view of the above roles, a legislator has to have some knowledge and skills of how to come up with public policies.

2.9 Challenges of policy making process in Zimbabwe

According to the Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative, Analysis in Zimbabwe (2011), members of parliament in Zimbabwe face a number of challenges related to their roles, legislative, executive oversight, representational forum for public debate, and electoral college.

Legislative analysis

Some members of parliament are not effective in legislative scrutiny and executive oversight, yet these should ensure accountability and transparency in governance. Through portfolio committees MPs are expected to be proactive and reactive through using various methods such as, public hearings, field visits/study tours, evidence gathering or commissioning research. Although the members of parliament have access to 'A Guide to Committee Operations', which deals with procedures related to legislative scrutiny and other guidelines, such as, quarterly Budget Analysis guidelines, some members of parliament are ineffective in contributing to the legislative process. These members of parliament are not capable of analysing proposed laws and bills to ensure that good laws are passed (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011).

Some members of parliament have no knowledge of the process of making laws from problem identification to when that act is enrolled by the registrar of the high court passed (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in

Zimbabwe, 2011). Some members of parliament cannot distinguish between government bills, private members bills and private bills. Some members of parliament fail to look at the principles of the bills or proposed legislation. This could be because of ignorance or failure to understand what is supposed to be done and who should also be involved such as, consultants and researchers.

Some members of parliament lack sufficient appreciation of the legal debates in local and foreign parliaments and a clear understanding of international human rights, (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe,2011). The appreciation of these legal debates in local and foreign parliaments, at international, continental and regional levels would make members of parliament understand the protocols and agreements to which Zimbabwe is a signatory. Some members of parliament are not conversant in their executive, legislative scrutiny and representation roles and responsibilities. These roles and responsibilities can be better exercised within the committee they sit in. "Parliamentarians in Zimbabwe have been accused of neglecting their duty of representing the electorate. They are often accused of going to visit their constituencies around election time when they come for votes after which it is alleged that they forget to consult their constituencies on issues." (Baseline survey on capacity of parliamentary for legislature analysis in Zimbabwe 2011:6). This lack of concretisation makes some members of parliament fail to critically analyse issues of common public interest and identify policies that can relate or influence policies and laws that affect the country at large. These members of parliament fail to meet people's expectations. Some members of parliament over promise their constituent members financial and other resources for their projects, in order to be voted into parliament.

Some members of parliament are failing to perform both their institutionalised roles and preferential roles. Institutionalised roles pertain to maintaining public confidence and respect for the institution of parliament (executive oversight, legislative crudity, and representations). This provides value to the nation. Preferential roles pertain to member of parliament to respect his constituency, member acting as a constituency servant who filters and interprets meanings that they must operate a two way highway of information between the parliament and the constituency "that is become effective agents of their constituencies" (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011:14).

Members of parliament are failing to play a balancing act in the interest of a broader national politics. They excessively play party politics to the detriment of their roles, responsibilities and duties. Although an MP should be loyal to his/her party, he/she must be very careful when representing a constituency to request everyone's interests across the political divide. This also pertains to the equitable distribution or resources say food during years of drought, all, members of the constituency, regardless of party affiliation. Everybody deserving should get food.

Some members of parliament are not policy specialists. They are not clear on certain policies that take the country forward (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe,2011:15). Although this can be an ideal to be a gender ,legal, financial as well as advocacy policy specialist, MP of the future must have multi-disciplinary skills in the policy making process.

Economic issues

Some members of parliament do not appreciate economic issues, especially with regard to interpretation, monitoring and implementation of budget, which is a key function of any policy making process (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe,2011). This is worse in the interpretation, monitoring and implementation of the national budget. The lack of reasonable economic literacy end up making the policy making process futile, especially development projects in various constituencies. Without economic literacy some members of parliament do not understand the deliberations done in portfolio committees, compromising delivery of MPs budget oversight function. This can be attributed to the types of qualifications they have and on the criteria used to elect members of parliament.

There is lack of adequate finance to carry out committee planned activities such as, field visits, public hearings and capacity building workshops (Baseline Survey on Sector Specific Capacity Building of Requirements for Committees of Parliament,2012). Some bills are passed by parliament without first being examined by relevant committees as

required by parliament procedures. There is also lack of technical expertise in examining the bills. The time for examination is also inadequate because of financial constraints; hearings are concentrated in major towns, leaving out rural areas of the country.

Poor relations with ministries and committees

There are poor relations between ministries and committees. This means that, some ministries do not submit reports or accurate reports. The lack of up-to date information can also be attributed to lack of support services such as, libraries and internet. Some chairpersons lack efficiency.

The majority of committees have limited knowledge and understanding of the international conventions in various sector, (Baseline Survey on Sector Specific Capacity Building of Requirements for Committees of Parliament, 2012).

Poor working conditions

The other challenges the MPs are facing are poor conditions of service especially low salaries. They are not motivated and thus lack commitment as reflected by poor attendance, short duration of meetings so as to attend to personal business, and limited interface with ministry officials and publics(Baseline Survey on Sector Specific Capacity Building of Requirements for Committees of Parliament, 2012).

2.10 Summary

This chapter reviewed related literature on members of parliament knowledge and skills on policy making in Manicaland Province. The chapter discussed the influence of the characteristics of post-colonial state on legislators in policy making process; the perception on the concept of public policy; the policy making process, analytical framework or models in policy making process; development theories; leadership of MPs in policy making process, role of legislators and challenges in policy making process in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology employed to conduct this study. The chapter discusses the research design, population, sample and sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection, presentation and analysis procedures and analysis.

3.2 Research design

Nachmias and Nachmias (1976:29) define research design as, "the program that guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting observations". Denzin and Lincoln (2000:22) say that, research design is "a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods for collecting empirical material". It situates researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions and bodies of relevant interpretive material, including documents and archives. It also specifies how the investigator addresses the two critical issues of representation and legitimation. According to Borg and Gall (1989:5), "The descriptive function of a research heavily depends upon instrumentation." This implies that, the collection of data for a research requires valid instruments to collect the required data. The descriptive survey of investigation was found to be the most suitable for this research for the researcher used the questionnaire, interview and observation for the collection of data. One advantage of the descriptive survey is that of using effective methods of collecting data such as

qualitative methods. The methods were very effective since they collected the qualitative data required for the research.

Anselm and Juliet (1998:114) define qualitative data as, "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification". This research employed qualitative methodologies, bearing in mind that, people are different.

Qualitative researchers accept the possibility of multiple realities or worldviews, in the hopes of finding the internal ideas, feelings and motives of human beings. In other words, qualitative methodology endeavours to better understand the world from the social actor's point of view. The researcher seeing that this research was a subjective analysis of the perceptions of the members of parliament in relation to their relationship with the public, the researcher discerned that, the methods of data collection and analysis that governed qualitative research were well suited to facilitate the collection of data that would answer the objectives of the study.

Other fields of knowledge referred in this research about person's lives, stories, behaviour, organisational functioning, social movements and international relationships were well presented. This implies that, qualitative research involves the immersion in situations of everyday life such as, reflecting on issues of public policy making. The

qualitative research, together with the quantitative one, best suited the nature of this study.

The researcher observed the members of parliament in a number of activities, and interviewed them for information needed for the research. One advantage of using a descriptive survey is that of using a sample to represent a big population. A representative sample allows the researcher to generalise the findings. It allows the researcher not to approach all that could be respondents in the whole population. This saved a lot of what could be the overall cost.

Qualitative methods were used for they complemented each other, making the results valid and reliable. The weaknesses of one method were addressed by the advantages of another method. The use of the sample and the mentioned research instruments enabled the researcher to cross reference the responses, which was essential for this type of research.

3.3 Population

According to Bailey (1982), a population is the sum total of all the objects of the study. Van Dalen (1978:128) also describes a population as, "a well-defined group of human beings or other entities". Generally, these objects are the individual persons, but may also include a club, an industry, a city, county, or state. In the case of this research, the

population was all the 26 members of parliament in Manicaland Province, the PA, the 7 district administrators and the 16 Head of departments in the Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and economic empowerment and Ministry of Women Affairs. Seeing that the focus is not to study the entire population, a sample was drawn. The two Ministries were chosen for they are structured to village level.

The researcher, in most cases, used convenience sampling which involved getting participants wherever they could be found. In contrast to probability sampling, convenience sampling means that, the researcher used members of the population who were easy to find (John Wiley and sons, 2010).

3.4 Sample and sampling procedures

Bailey (1982) defines a sample as a subset or portion of the total population that the researcher, through the use of certain sampling techniques, chooses to conduct his/her study. The research chose 4 rural and 4 urban constituencies in four districts of the provinces research sites. The four districts were selected because they all have urban and rural constituencies. Mutasa was included on the basis that it was conveniently located for the researcher to easily collected her data. The constituencies included, urban constituencies (Dangamvura-Chikanga constituency, Chipinge Central, Makoni Central and Mutare Central) and Rural constituencies (MutareNorth, MutareSouth, Mutasa North and Mutasa South constituencies.

The research also engaged the provincial administrator of Manicaland Province and all the district administrators and head of government departments in the ministries of Youth, Indigenisation and economic Women Affairs Gender and Community Development. These were the study's key informants as they were perceived to have some policy making process knowledge. Thus, under the guidance and authority of the provincial administrator, the 8 constituencies served as the research sites. The total population was 29 respondents.

Table 1: Research population and sample

| Category | Population | Sample |
|--------------------------|------------|--------|
| Provincial Administrator | 1 | 1 |
| District Administrators | 7 | 7 |
| Heads of Govt. | 16 | 13 |
| Departments | | |
| Members of Parliament | 26 | 8 |
| Total | 50 | 29 |

3.4.1 Selecting Research Site

In determining the sites of the study, the researcher used stratified sampling. Jackson, (2008) defines a stratified sample as a probability sampling technique in which the researcher divides the entire target population into different subgroups or strata, and then randomly selects the final subjects proportionally from the different strata. This type of

sampling is used when the researcher wants to highlight specific subgroups within the population such as men and women.

These included Urban constituencies (Dangamvura-Chikangaconstituency, Chipinge Central, Makoni Central and Mutare Central) and Rural constituencies (Mutare North, MutareSouth, Mutasa North and Mutasa South constituencies. By using a stratified sample, the researcher achieved greater precision than a simple random sample. It allowed members of same stratum of different sexes to be chosen. It guaranteed a better representation of the population.

3.5 Methods of data collection

The collection of data refers to the gathering of information relevant to the subject matter of the study from the units under investigation. It depends mainly upon the nature, purpose and the scope of inquiry on one hand and the availability of resources and time on the other (Laxmi, 1997:37). The researcher used both quantitative and qualitative methods.

3.6 Research Instruments

The researcher used questionnaires, semi structured interviews, observations, as instruments to collect data.

3.6.1 Interview.

According to Selltiz (1959:72), an interview refers to a face to face questionnaire. Through face to face, the researcher got information on what was inside the respondent's minds. The MPs were interviewed and a lot of information was collected concerning their policy making knowledge and skills in the policy making process. This made the researcher know more about their backgrounds, feelings and attitudes. The who were interviewed, represented their constituencies, which were studied.

Vague statements were avoided. Unlike a questionnaire, where respondents are alone when filling in the questionnaire, with no one to interpret, an interview provided a face to face interaction for maximum understanding of the subject matter. An interview demands an immediate response that is verbal. The respondents took their time to give well thought out ideas. Questions were simplified and clarified for understanding and where there was need for interpretation, the researcher did that. Facial and body gestures were used as agreeing or disagreeing to responses such as, frowning, nodding the head or looking into the respondents' eyes. Face to face interactions ensured a cross examination in soliciting much details from the interviewees. The researcher probed for further explanation, unlike a mailed questionnaire.

An interview may not be very friendly to the respondents. Some respondents were not easy to respond to sensitive issues. They were not free to disclose their opinions and feelings, for fear of victimization and/or stigmatization. The researcher assured the

respondents of the confidentiality of their responses and importance of the study to their lives. Another disadvantage of an interview is that of interview bias for example, facial or body expressions, comments by the interviewer can affect the responses obtained. The researcher was very cautious on comments and facial or body gestures, so as not to shape the type of responses.

3.6.2 Questionnaire

According to Behr (1973), a questionnaire is a document that asks the same questions to all individuals interviewed. A questionnaire was one of the appropriate instruments to be used in this research to collect data as the information came from a great number of sources. The researcher visited the constituencies to deliver the questionnaires to the respondents.

The use of questionnaires has a number of advantages. A questionnaire can be distributed to a large population, within a short space of time. Questionnaires can be easily posted to respondents. The researcher did not find it difficult to distribute the questionnaires because the respondents were in her working area. The researcher also used some research assistants to administer questionnaires in the various districts and constituencies.

Both open and closed ended questions were used. These were easy to administer. The other advantage of using questionnaires is that, the respondents have adequate time to

think about their responses. They had time to read and respond to the questions during their free time.

The questionnaire also increased the validity of the research, since it was responded to by the relevant people. Literally, the term validity refers to the accuracy of the instrument in relation to what it purports to measure. To solve the problems of reliability and validity, the researcher and assistants handed the questionnaires to the respondents personally. To minimize the potential problem caused by the influence of mood, conduct and personal appearance the researcher placed emphasis on anonymity of the respondents.

A questionnaire has its limitations (Kwesu,Nyatanga and Zhanje 2004:13). It has a volunteer bias, meaning that, only those willing may answer . For validity and reliability of the responses, the researcher explained the purpose of the research to the respondents and the benefits that were going to be accrued through adopting the recommendations suggested in the study.

Another weakness of the questionnaire is that, some respondents may just give responses without reading carefully or comprehending the questions. The problem was overcome by further observing, interviewing and discussing with respondents. On the other hand,

questionnaires do not probe further, if a respondent gives an unclear answer. To avoid this problem, the researcher structured clear and straight forward questions. The questions were both open and closed questions. Lastly, a questionnaire can only appeal to literate people who can read and write. It was fortunate that all the respondents were literate and thus were able to answer the questions.

3.6.3 Observation

Werner and Simone (2009) define observation as a "way of gathering data by watching behaviour, events, or noting physical characteristics in their natural setting. Observations can be overt (everyone knows they are being observed) or covert (no one knows they are being observed and the observer is concealed)". The benefit of covert observation is that, people are more likely to behave naturally, if they do not know that, they are being observed. Observations are used when one is trying to understand an on-going process or situation. Through covert observation the researcher managed to monitor and watch a process or situation that was being researched. The advantages of observations is that data is collected where and when an event or activity is occurring. It also does not rely on people's willingness or ability to provide information. It allows the researcher to directly see what people do rather than relying on what people say they did.

The disadvantages of observations is that it is susceptible to observer bias and susceptible to the "hawthorne effect," that is, people usually perform better when they

know they are being observed. In this case indirect observation decreased this problem. It is also expensive and time-consuming compared to other data collection methods. The researcher was prepared for these expenses.

3.6.4 Group discussion

Thornton (1963:144) describes a group discussion as, "a basic democratic process in which effective thinking is an ultimate goal to reflect collectively". This implies that in a group discussion, opportunities and ides are shared freely without fear of victimization. The researcher had group discussions with heads of departments in the districts to solicit on the issues of members of parliament and the policy making process.

Parlete (1971; 21) suggests that, group discussions are very effective when the facilitator is quite familiar with the subject matter. This implies that, the researcher (facilitator) had to think deeply about the public policy making process. The subject matter was discussed at length in accordance with the discussion check list prepared by the facilitator. The facilitator ensured that, the topic was clear and could be discussed in the alluded time. The facilitator asked questions which brought out facts and opinions, rather than those which could be answered by "Yes" and or "No" only.

However, group discussions calls for total commitment by the facilitator, so that responses are recorded as said. The researcher had to be very attentive to avoid misinterpretation of ideas. Failure to pay attention might have led to distortion of information.

The discussions had summaries from time to time to remind the group of its progress, its unfulfilled commitments and its remaining time budget. Ideas were clarified by restating contributions whenever necessary.

3.7 Pilot Testing

The researcher pre-tested the effectiveness of the research instruments at government offices in Mutare. Pilot study is a preliminary study done to validate the research methodology and instruments" (Thomas and Nelson 1996:142;Babbie 1979:219). The authors agree that, "pretesting is as important as initiating a study itself, for it enables the researcher to find out on the clarity, validity and reliability of the instruments to the respondents and their ability to respond to the demands of the instruments".

The above imply that, as soon as the researcher is through with the preparation of research instruments, she has to identify their strengths and weaknesses. The researcher selected 10 government officers and gave them questionnaires and interviewed them.

She discussed the topic with the 5 of the 10 officers; the questionnaires were found to be too long and bothered the respondents. Alterations were done after the validation exercise. The researcher reconstructed the questionnaires and rephrased some questions to simplify them.

3.8 Ethics in research

In my research I was guided by a code of ethics to accommodate the changing ethos, values, needs and expectations of those who hold a stake in the findings of the research. I abided by an overall code of conduct that govern the way I carried out my research. Ethics are norms or standards of behavior that guide moral choices about our behavior and our relationships with others. Researchers are trustees of truth and as such, need to be scrupulously aware of the ethics of their own conduct and I made sure that no one was harmed from the research activities. I had to respect intended and actual participants' rights to privacy maintained my objectivity during data collection, analysis and reporting stages.

In any discipline it is considered unethical to collect information without the knowledge of participants, their informed willingness and expressed consent. "Research needs the freely given informed consent of its respondents to be ethical" Laws, Harper and others (2013) pg. 169.Informed consent implies that subjects are made adequately aware of the type of information you want them to provide, why the information is being sought,

what purpose it will be put to and how it will directly or indirectly affect them. According to Laws, Harper and others (2013) getting informant consent is of great importance. The first thing I did was to request for permission to do the research in the area before embarking on the research.

All interviewed persons were offered anonymity for the disclosure of their identity would not serve any scientific purpose and would not add any additional information to the study .No names were recorded anywhere. The researcher made an obligation to use appropriate methodology in conducting the study for it is unethical to use a method or procedure i knew to be inappropriate

3.9 Summary

The chapter discussed the research design, sample and sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection, presentation and analysis procedures. The chapter ended up with a summary. The next chapter presents, analyses, interprets and discusses data.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses, interprets and discusses data collected on the extent of knowledge and skills of members of parliament (MPs) or legislators on policy making process in Manicaland Province. The analysis was made using themes from literature.

4.2. Response rate

All the 29 targeted respondents comprising eight (8) members of parliament, eight (8) local government officials and thirteen (13)provincial and district headsin the Ministries of Women's Affairs and Youths in Manicaland province responded to the questionnaires. This means that there was a 100% response rate, which is ideal for a small sample as the one used by the researcher.

Table 2: Socio- demographic data of Respondents

N=29

| Respondents | Sex | | Marita | l Status | | Acad | emic Qual | ification | |
|---------------|-----|----|--------|----------|----------|------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| | F | M | Single | Married | Divorced | ZJC | O Level | A | Cert. |
| | | | | | | | | Level | Deg. |
| MPs | 1 | 7 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Local | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Government | | | | | | | | | |
| Officials | | | | | | | | | |
| Provincial | 5 | 8 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| and District | | | | | | | | | |
| Heads of | | | | | | | | | |
| Ministries of | | | | | | | | | |
| Women's | | | | | | | | | |
| Affairs and | | | | | | | | | |
| Youths | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 6 | 23 | 1 | 28 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |

Source: own calculations from source

The above table shows that 23 (or 79.31%) of the respondents were males while 6 (or 20.69%) were females. This is consistent with the fact that although women constitute the majority (52%) of Zimbabwe's population, the number of women in decision-making positions is still a minority.

Similarly, 28 (or 96.55%) of the respondents were married; one respondent (or 3.45%) was single while none of the respondents was divorced. This may mean that the institution of marriage is still highly respected and valued in modern day Zimbabwe.

However, because the majority of the respondents were family people with responsibilities towards their families, this could mean that the respondents expected more from their members of parliament by way of contributing meaningfully to the policy making processing order to come up with good laws or policies that will improve the country's standards of living.

Furthermore, 25 (or 86.21%) of the respondents had some tertiary education (they were holders of either a Certificate or a Degree) while the remainder (or 13.79%) of the respondents secondary education. Again, this is consistent with the fact that Zimbabwe is now ranked as the country with the highest literacy rate in Africa. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that all the four (4) respondents (constituting 13.79%) with only secondary education, are in fact members of parliament while all the other 25 respondents (or 86.21%) were government officials. This probably explains why some members of parliament get 'mesmerised' by ministers and government officials during debates in parliament and portfolio committees.

4.4.1 ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

4.4.2 Decision-making and problem solving skills of MPs

Table 3: Member of Parliament-respondents' perceptions of meaning of public policy

N=8

| Meaning | Yes | | No | |
|---|-----------|----|-----------|----|
| | Frequency | % | Frequency | % |
| A statement that prevents people to make projects | 2 | 25 | 6 | 75 |
| Forces people into resettlement areas | 4 | 50 | 4 | 50 |
| Frees people from colonial times | 6 | 75 | 2 | 25 |
| A purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors dealing with a matter of concern | 4 | 50 | 4 | 50 |

The above Table shows results for eight (8) legislators /MPs who were interviewed by the researcher on what they perceived to be the meaning of public policy.

Four (4) respondents, representing 50%, perceived public policy as an instrument of forcing people into resettlement areas; while an equal number of respondents perceived public policy as a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors to deal with a matter of concern.

The four respondents, or 50%, who perceived public policy as a purposive course of action were correct while an equal number who felt public policy as an instrument of forcing people into resettlement areas were wrong. Another six respondents, or 75%, perceived public policy as an instrument of making people free from colonial times. This implies that the majority of legislators who were interviewed were still preoccupied with the agenda of liberating people from the colonial injustices of the past. Twenty five per cent perceived public policy as a statement that prevented people from making projects.

The above findings suggest that most members of parliament interviewed did not know what public policy was and thus could not be expected to know the policy making process. Neither could such a crop of MPs be expected to have the technical skills necessary for a successful policy making process.

On the other hand, during the researcher's discussions with local government and other government officials who were interviewed, the government officials showed some understanding of what public policy was. It is therefore possible for civil servants to

manipulate MPs in the policy making process by taking advantage of the MPs' ignorance.

Table 4: Respondents' perceptions of MPs' knowledge of policy-making process

N = 29

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| Local Government | MPs don't know or | 2 | 6.9 |
| Officials | have very little | | |
| | knowledge and | | |
| | skills | | |
| | MPs have sufficient | 6 | 20.69 |
| | knowledge to | | |
| | execute their roles | | |
| Officials of | MPs don't know or | 6 | 20.69 |
| Ministry of | have very little | | |
| Women's Affairs & | knowledge and | | |
| Ministry of Youths | skills | | |
| | MPs have sufficient | 7 | 24.13 |
| | knowledge to | | |
| | execute their roles | | |
| Members of | MPs don't know or | 6 | 20.69 |
| Parliament | have very little | | |
| | knowledge and | | |
| | skills | | |
| | MPs have sufficient | 2 | 6.9 |
| | knowledge to | | |
| | execute their roles | | |

| Total | 29 | 100 |
|-------|----|-----|
| | | |

Seven respondents, or 24.13%, who work for the Ministries of Women's Affairs and Youths said that MPs hand sufficient knowledge of the policy-making process to be able to execute their duties; while six (6) respondents, representing 20.69%, who work in the same Ministries said MPs did not know or had very little knowledge of the policy-making process.

Another six (6) respondents, or 20.69%, who were local government officials, said MPs had sufficient working knowledge of the policy-making process while an equal number of MP-respondents said legislators/ MPs did not know or had very little knowledge of the policy-making process. Furthermore, two (2) respondents, or 6.9%, who were local government officials said MPs did not know or had very little knowledge of the policy-making process while an equal number of MP-respondents shared the same sentiments.

The above findings suggest that there is a difference of opinion between government officials and legislators on whether or not MPs are knowledgeable about the policy-making process. Whereas the majority of government officials interviewed by the researcher opined that MPs were knowledgeable in the policy-making process, the majority of the MPs interviewed by the same researcher thought otherwise. In light of

the foregoing, it is safe to give the legislator-respondents the benefit of the doubt and conclude that MPs did not know the processes of policy making.

Respondents' perceptions about MPs' knowledge of uses of public policy

Furthermore, all the twenty-nine (29) respondents were asked about their perceptions of the MPs' knowledge of the uses of public policy and the following were the results. From the interviews carried out with the eight (8) Members of Parliament who constituted part of the sample, it was clear that members of parliament knew more of redistributive policies than other types of public policies such as distributive and regulatory policies. Again, this reflects the MPs' pre-occupation with the colonial imbalances of the past, especially the land question in Zimbabwe. The effect of this, however, was that because MPs were too preoccupied with the issue of land, they neglected to craft policies to deal with other equally important matters of concern to their constituents, resulting in voters' disillusionment with the policy making process.

The discussions also revealed that members of parliament knew mostly the political and executive levels of public policy but did not know about administrative and operational levels of policy. In addition, it was established from the discussions that members of parliament felt strongly that the government alone had the absolute power to make policies while the other policy actors were of less importance. However, when asked what the 'government' was, these MPs referred to cabinet and ministers and

government, while excluding themselves from the equation. The MPs interviewed also showed less recognition of commissions and the ordinary people, who are the ones most affected by the government policies. This scenario reflects that members of parliament were not involving their constituent members in policy making process, which defeats their representational role. This might be another indicator of members of parliament not knowing their roles and responsibilities.

Six (5) of the other respondents, representing 20.69% of the sample, who were interviewed by the researcher said that the use of public policies was to make government decisions followed; while seven (7) respondents, or 24.14%, said that public policies served to authorise people to do whatever they wanted. Four (4) respondents, or 13.79%, said public policies were enacted to make people follow programmes of the people; while another five (5) respondents or 20.69% said that policies were there to guide people on specific proposals.

The above findings show that the most respondents did not quite know the uses of public policy. Therefore, it would be difficult for members of parliament to know the policy making process when both members of parliament and the people they represent did not know the uses of public policy.

Table 5: MPs knowledge of ideas in policy making process

N=8

| Model | Yes (%) | No(%) |
|--|---------|-------|
| Involving a few who know | 75 | 25 |
| Involving groups | 37 | 63 |
| Involving institutions | 25 | 75 |
| Taking policy aspects into consideration | 13 | 87 |
| Doing it step by step | 75 | 25 |
| Considering all details of policy | 25 | 75 |
| Mixing all areas of policy | 75 | 25 |
| Considering situations as they are | 25 | 75 |

Table 4.3 shows results from eight respondents who were interviewed. The respondents were all MPs. Six respondents, representing 75%, said they knew the importance of involving a few who knew how to make policies; make policies bit by bit at a time; and mixing all areas of policy as ways of policy making process. By this they were referring to the Mass/Elite, the Incrementalist, and the Mixed Scanning ideas of policy-making. However, when asked about the advantages and disadvantages of these models, the respondents (MPs) said the masses or people they represented were assumed to be ignorant about how policies are made. Instead, policies were supposed to be made by people who were knowledgeable such as the Executive, Civil Servants and members of

parliament. Three respondents or 37.5% knew the importance of pressure groups in making policies, as is said by the Group idea.

The MPs had little knowledge about institutional, systems, and hypothetico-evolutionary ideas of policy-making. They did not understand the dynamics and psychology of group decisions. Lack of knowledge of the models, ideas in policy making process limited the members of parliament skills in policy making- process. This impaired the MPs' understanding of complex policy environments and the changing relationships between government, society, globalisation and technological changes.

More than 75% of the local government officials who were interviewed said that they had never been consulted by members of parliament on policy issues or received feedback on any policy or legislative matters. "We, most of time invite them to officially open completed programmes which they had never initiated, but never did we receive feedback". The local government officials also showed frustration with the calibre of MPs, adding that: "They (MPs) lack practical skills in both communication and handling policy issues". These remarks questioned the capabilities and skills of members of parliament in public policy making process, implying that, the muddling through in policy making process was not yet through. Some members of parliament were associating policy making process with sorcery.

The MP-respondents accused their constituent members of being lazy and wanting free hand-outs. Asked on what the MP could do by way of making policies that would liberate the so-called lazy constituents, it was suggested that the people should follow government policies. This showed the lack of knowledge and skills on the part of the members of parliament. This could also reflect that MPs were not quite involved in developmental activities in their constituencies.

According to the local government officials who were interviewed, some MPs misused the Constituency Development Fund or Grants which were allocated to develop their constituencies. This shows no visibility of policy making process in the constituencies and MPs not knowing their role and responsibilities.

4.4.2 Ethics and integrity in Policy skills

of the respondents, respectively, said that, members of parliament only involved and consulted their relatives on policy issues; not wanting to disrupt and failed to mobilise resources for development, respectively. "The members of parliament use neopatrimonial- patron-chentelist relations, fuelling the process of resource misallocation, derailing community development", one head of government said. It was established from interviews and discussions MPs did not call people together to discuss policy issues and were not willing to change discriminatory policies. This affected development in the constituencies.

The colonial past such as, not wanting people to come together fearing to be opposed or challenged was the order of the past, many respondents said. "This used to happen during the times of Smith", the majority of heads of government people said. Asked why that was the case, it was established that, the legislators had no knowledge and skills to do what they were elected for.

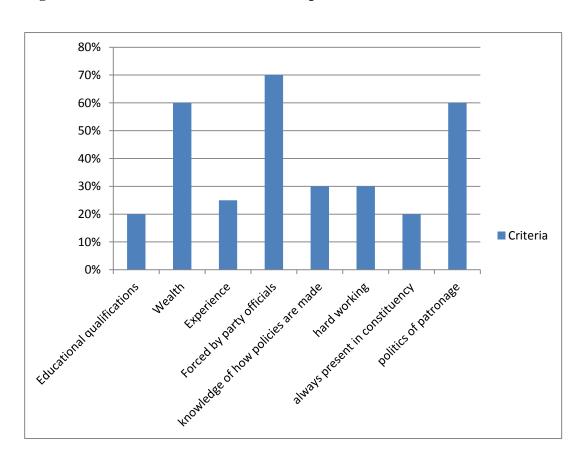


Figure 1:Selection criteria of members of parliament

Figure 4.1 shows that, 70% of the respondents said that, members of parliament were selected by forcing people to select them, by party officials; 60% said that, they were selected by considering their wealth. The same applied to using politics of patronage.

Other criteria were rated below 50% such as, educational qualification, 20%, experience, 25%; knowledge of how policies were made,30%; hardworking, 30%, and always present in a constituency,20%.

The above selection criteria did not consider an MP who had knowledge and skills of the policy making process. Although from interviews and discussions most respondents knew effective ways of selecting MPs such as, transparency, knowledge and skills, certain level of education for full participation on policy issues, ability to contribute constructively in parliament, parliament procedures, capacity to comprehend, efficiency and effectiveness, the people were forced to select candidates that party officials wanted and in most cases their relatives or friends. This could be the reason why MPs did not stay in their constituencies.

Asked on times they met their members of parliament, 90% of the respondents said that, "We meet him/her at about end of his/her term campaigning for re-election. We sometimes see him/her at political rallies and not developmental meetings". It was said that, people were forced to attend political rallies. This state of affairs could not expose members of parliament to know the policy making process or cultivate skills to enhance the policy making process.

4.4.3 Communication skills

Table 6: Respondents' perception of MPs' knowledge of channels of communication

N=29

| Channel | Yes | | No | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Frequency | % | Frequency | % |
| MPs | 17 | 58.62 | 12 | 41.38 |
| Pressure groups | 17 | 58.62 | 12 | 41.38 |
| Political Parties | 28 | 96.55 | 1 | 3.45 |
| Direct Actions | 12 | 41.38 | 17 | 58.62 |
| Civil Servants | 12 | 41.38 | 17 | 58.62 |
| Media | 19 | 65.52 | 10 | 34.48 |
| Research | 4 | 13.79 | 25 | 86.21 |
| Committees | 17 | 58.62 | 12 | 41.38 |

Table 4.7shows that29 respondents (representing 96.55% of sample) said that MPs perceived political parties as the major channels of communication between the electorate and legislators; 19 respondents, or 65.52%, said MPs perceived the media as their major channel of communication with the electorate while 17 respondents, or 58.62%, said that MPs perceived legislators/local councillors, pressure groups and committees as major communication channels with between them and the people they

represented. Furthermore, 12 respondents, or 41.38% said MPs viewed civil servants and direct actions as major communication channels with the electorate while 4 respondents, representing 13.79%, said MPs recognised research as the main channel of communication with the electorate. The above findings suggest that the members of parliament did not use all channels of communication with the electorate in the policy making process. On the contrary, there was over-reliance on political parties and the media in the MPs' communication with the electorate. Neither did members of parliament (MPs) trust civil servants with communicating policy issues because civil servants were not open in supporting their political parties. The MPs' over-reliance on some channels of communication while neglecting other channels of communication had the potential to derail the policy making process. The MPs levels of education also revealed some lack of communication skills (writing). One MP said "I rely on my campaign manager on writing some documents" implying lack of important skills.

Table 7:Frequency of MPs visits to their constituencies

N=21 (excluding MPs)

| Frequency of Visits | Yes | No |
|---------------------------|-----|------|
| Most of the time | - | 100% |
| During political rallies | 69% | 31% |
| Rarely | | |
| Never at all | 69% | 31% |
| Meets him/her at end term | 97% | 3% |

Table 4.6 shows that, 97% of the respondents said that, they only met their members of parliament at about end of their term; 69% said that, they met their MPs during political rallies and never at all, respectively. Sixty nine per cent said that, they did not meet their MPs, although they had offices there.

From the interviews and discussions, although people knew the names of their MPs, they rarely met them to discuss policy issues. Hence, grassroots people often referred to their MPs as "missing people" implying that most legislators do not representing their constituencies. "They do not know what they are supposed to do", most respondents would say during interviews. This can be reflected on their qualifications.

From the interviews with respondents, it was also established that before most members of parliament were elected into office, they were unemployed and had no other means of living besides being subsistence farmers. Moreover, they were not trained to be members of parliament in terms policy formulation. Two (2) of the eight (8) MPs who were part of the sample, admitted that they were mere community mobilisers and did not know what they were supposed to do, after a 'yes' vote for the constitution.

4.4.4 Leadership Skills

Figure 2:Respondents views on quality of leadership of MPs

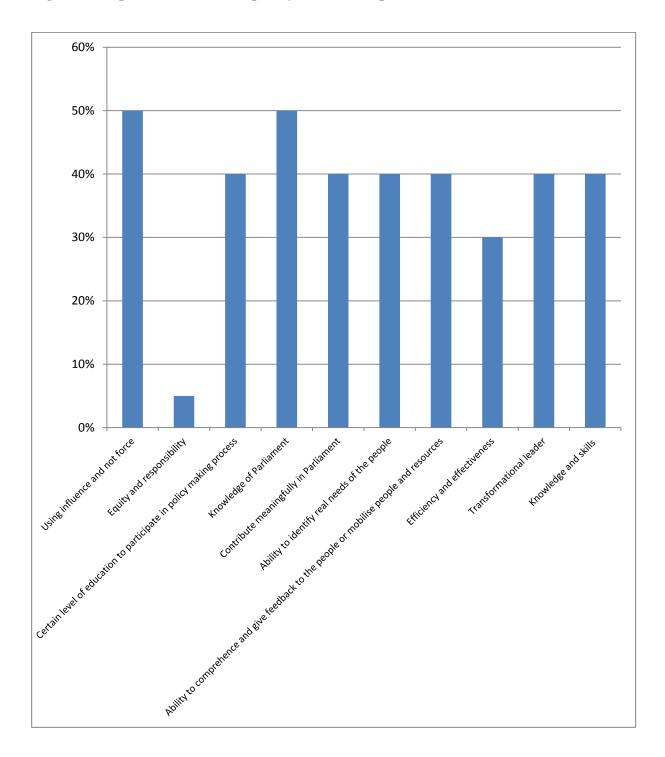


Figure 4.2 shows that, over 50% of the respondents said that, an effective member of parliament should have all the qualities on figure 4.2. This appeared to be a mammoth task, but with equipped knowledge, expertise and skills a member of parliament could try his/her best. This could depend on training and development.

Table 8: Role and responsibilities of legislators/member of parliament

N = 8

| Role | Yes (%) | No (%) |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|
| Representational | 100 | - |
| Scrutinizer | 62,5 | 37,5 |
| Legislative | 100 | - |
| Forum for public debate | 62,5 | 37,5 |

The Table above shows results of data collected from eight (8) respondents, all of whom were MPs, on the roles and responsibilities of legislators.

Apparently, all the members of parliament knew what they were expected to do. All the 8 respondents, representing 100%, said they knew they had to represent their constituencies in parliament; as well as to perform legislative functions. However, the MPs were not clear about how they ought to be carrying out their functions.

Table 9: Knowledge and skills of members of parliament on policy aspects

N = 8

| Area | % of those who know | % of those who do not know |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Constitution interpreting Knowledge | 50 | 50 |
| Knowledge of reporting constituent policies | 50 | 50 |
| Knowledge of working in the constituent | 37,5 | 62,5 |
| Knowledge on good policies and bad policies | 50 | 50 |
| Knowledge of legislative analysis | 25 | 75 |
| Knowledge about bills and bills digest | 25 | 75 |
| International / constituent agreements on domestic law | 25 | 75 |
| Economy and financial literacy | 13.5 | 87,5 |

From interviews and discussions, most members of parliament admitted that, although they know their roles as told by the statutes of parliament and being introduced to parliament, they did not know what were involved in those roles and were not equipped with expertise and skills to perform the duties. Table 4.8 shows that, more than half of the MPs did not know what was involved in working in the constituency in the policy making process, what and how to analyse and control, the working of Ministers, processing bills to parliament and relationships of their constituencies with other

constituencies, international agreements and their implications on the policies that could be made by their constituencies.

It was only 50% who had some knowledge and methods of interpreting the constitution to their people and report constituent policies to the legislature. This shows lack of knowledge and skills in the policy making process. From interviews and discussions with other respondents, it was pointed out that, unlike teachers in the classroom, trained to do their responsibilities and duties, members of parliament lacked knowledge, expertise and skills in the policy making process, disadvantaging their constituencies in development.

4.4.5 Teamwork, budgeting and financial management skills

With regard to economic issues and financial literacy, only 12, 5% of the MPs had some knowledge, expertise and skills to understand issues about the economy and finance of the country. The same number of respondents (MPs) were also the only ones able to work together with their constituency members and fellow parliamentary committee members on issues to do with finances such as budgeting and monitoring activities of the executive. The above shows that MPs lacked knowledge, methods and skills in policy making process.

4.4.6 Challenges facing legislators and suggested solutions

Table 10: Major Challenges facing MPs and suggested solutions by respondents

N = 29

| CHALLENGES | SOLUTIONS | Yes (%) | No (%) |
|---|-------------------------|---------|--------|
| Poor understanding of public policy | Training | 59 | 41 |
| Ignorance on Policy types, levels and actors | Training | 66 | 34 |
| Poor communication channels | Training | 53 | 47 |
| Not knowing the policy making process | Training and Practical | 78 | 22 |
| Ignorance of models of policy | Training | 78 | 22 |
| No idea of roles, responsibilities and duties | Training and practicals | 66 | 34 |
| Lack of economic and budgetary literacy | Training and practicals | 60 | 40 |
| Lack of capacity, knowledge and skills, | Training and | 66 | 34 |
| resources for field visits/ study tours and | development | | |
| evidence gathering/ research | | | |
| Poor leadership skills | Training and | 59 | 41 |
| Lack of training and development | Training | 69 | 31 |
| Cultural values | Training | 53 | 47 |

The above Table shows that, over 50% to 78% of the respondents said that all the challenges identified were militating against members of parliament in the policy making process. These challenges pertained more to lack of knowledge and skills in the

policy making process. The above could be the syllabus for training members of parliament in policy making process, the MPs suggested.

4.4.7 Discussion of the findings

The respondents were mature enough to give reasonable responses to the extent of knowledge and skills of members of parliament in policy making process. The respondents were not quite educated on policy issues, especially the 25% (2 out of 8) of the members of parliament who had ZJC, Ó' and Á' level whose studies did not include policy studies or elements of it. This also explains why members of parliament lacked the necessary communication and leadership skills for policy making.

The members of parliament and other respondents did not know what public policy was, 59% of the members of parliament knew it as a statement that forced people to behave and preventing them to make projects. Anderson (2000) defines public policy as a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors dealing with a matter of concern. Without the right perception of public policy and policy making process, members of parliament could not make satisfying policies that could emanate from their constituencies. This also shows that without policy knowledge, the MPs would not know the skills required for them to be members of parliament.

Members of parliament had little knowledge of the uses of public policy. It could be through this knowledge that they could influence their constituent members to contribute in the policy making process. This supports Dye (1981), Anderson (2010), Hogwood and Gunn (1984), Jenkins (1978) and Hyder (1984), who say that, the knowledge of the uses of public policy can help legislators to develop insights in policy making process and avoid the cost and pitfalls of learning from experience.

Although the respondents knew effective ways of selecting MPs such as, transparency, the constituent members were forced to elect MPs by officials of political parties. This supports Moyo (1992), Maddison and Dennis (2009), who says force, is used in the post-colonial state as a criterion to elect leaders rather than influence. This weakened the willingness of people to contribute in policy making process which is unethical.

It was established that, the members of parliament did not quite know the levels of public policy, types and key actors in policy making process. This knowledge could enable them to influence types of policies and who to approach during the process using appropriate techniques and channels. This supports Cloete in Van der Walat and du Toit (2007) who emphasise the need for legislators to know levels of public policy, types and actors in policy making process, using appropriate channels of communication, since these were the determinants of public policy.

It was also established that, the members of parliament had little knowledge of the policy making process and skills in those processes. Although the steps could not be followed per se, such as identifying a problem, formulating proposal, making decisions, implementing policies and evaluating policies (Anderson, 1979; Anderson, 2010; Ham and Mill, 1984; Moyo, 1992; and Stokey and Zechhauser, 1978), there is need for a logical framework in policy making process, to lean on. It could be in this framework that various skills would be needed to include skills in consultation, communication, group dynamics and negotiation skills.

It was established that, the members of parliament were not conversant with the analytical framework or models in policy making process, for making appropriate decisions. Moyo(1992) says that, the new member of parliament in a post-colonial state, because of lack of knowledge and skills, makes no difference in policy making, for he/she makes tragic choices, inappropriate choices in development. The knowledge of models could enable the legislators to adjust to changing environment and relationships, based on analytical skills. Most legislators knew the ideas of the Elite/Mass Model and Instrumentalist Model, models that do not allow the masses/people to participate or involved in policy making process. This supports Moyo (1992);Olukoshi (2000);Taiwo (2003) who abhor too reliance on these ideas in a colonial state, for the ideas, to a great extent, thwart the participation of people in policy making process.

It was also established that, most members of parliament, although they knew some of their roles; representational, legislative, scrutinizer of government/Executive oversight, to some extent and forum for public debate, they were not knowledgeable about what those roles entailed, making policy cancerous. The lack of knowledge and skills in what the roles entailed made it difficult for members of parliament to be efficient and effective in policy making process. This supports Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe, 2011; Baseline Survey on Economic Literacy for the Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011; and Baseline Survey on Sector Specific Capacity Building Requirements for Committees of Parliament, 2012) which call for training of legislators in their roles. Without this knowledge and skills, the legislators were weak in policy making process. This thwarts development of the country.

There were other several challenges members of parliament were facing in policy making process to include lack of capacity, knowledge and skills, time, experience, resources for field visits/study tours and evidence gathering/research; ;poor leadership skills, lack of training and development and cultural values (Baseline Survey on Capacity of Parliamentarians for Legislative Analysis in Zimbabwe). These and other challenges discussed need legislators to be trained and developed.

All in all members of parliament lacked knowledge and skills in policy making process. It was established that, members of parliament needed to be trained and developed in policy making process and leadership.

4.4.8 Summary

This chapter presented analysed, interpreted and discussed data on the extent of knowledge and skills of members of parliament in policy making process in Manicaland Province. The chapter discussed the socio-demographic data of respondents; perception on public policy; knowledge on uses of public policy; criteria for choosing MPs; knowledge of levels of public policy, types and key actors of policies; channels of communication; policy making process; analytical framework or models in policy making process; development theories; role of legislators; leadership; and challenges faced by legislators in policy making process. The chapter then discussed the major findings, before a summary. The next chapter gives a summary of the whole project, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the whole project, conclusions and recommendations. Conclusions come from findings discussed in chapter four. Recommendations come from conclusions. The chapter ends up by referring to further study on a similar topic.

5.2. Summary

The research investigated the extent of knowledge and skills of legislators/members of parliament in policy making process in Manicaland Province, from 2008 to 2013.

This was done in a bid to suggest ways MPs can be trained and developed to improve policy making process, for development of constituencies. The sample was composed of 8 members of parliament, 1 Provincial Administrator, 7 District Administrators, 13 heads of government, the sample was representative enough of the population.

A descriptive survey, using quantitative and qualitative methods was used. A questionnaire; interview, observation and discussion were used as research instruments, to collect data. The reviewing of related literature gave the researcher what other authors said about policy making process. Both convenience, purposive and random strategic sampling were used in the selection of the respondents/participants. Tables and figures such as, bar and pie charts were used in the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data. The study was prompted by lack of development in various constituencies as a

result of members of parliament failing to influence effective policy making process in their constituencies.

It was not easy to carry out this kind of research, due to time constraints, reluctance of some respondents, like members of parliament and other respondents to give enough and adequate information. They thought that, the information would be used to decampaign them. It was after explaining to them the importance of the study and that their responses were confidential that, they became free to give the researcher what she needed for the research. Despite these constraints it was possible to make conclusions at 85% confidence—level. This gave credibility to this research to render the findings valid and reliable.

5.3. Conclusions

The respondents were mature enough to give reasonable responses on the extent of knowledge and skills of members of parliament in policy making process. Most members of parliament did not know what public policy and the skills required to formulate policies. This lack of knowledge limited them in the policy making process. They did not know what to contribute and how to contribute to policy making process. This limited their insights in policy making process. It came out from discussions with district administrators that people were forced to select MPs into parliament by party officials or party leaders. This criterion in selecting MPs does not consider policy skills and knowledge of legislators.

Most members of parliament and other respondents did not know the levels of public policy, types and key actors in policy making process (Table 4.5). This made it difficult for members of parliament were confused in deliberating on policy issues and to have appropriate techniques/skills in policy making process. This also made legislators not to know the channels of communication in policy making process (Table 4.5)

The members of parliament had little knowledge on policy making process, more so on identification of the problem, formulating a proposal and evaluating policies (Table 4.2). They did not have logical frameworks for policy making process. This made it difficult for them to cultivate skills in policy making process such as, consultation skills, communication skills, group dynamics and negotiation skills.

The members of parliament were not knowledgeable about what roles, responsibilities and duties entailed them to carry out their functions in the policy making process (Table 4.10). Efficiency and effectiveness could have been assessed on what they were actually doing. As it was, they were just doing what they were doing without conviction and confidence. They were thus, not achieving their representational, legislative, scrutinizing and making people participate freely roles, due to not having knowledge and skills in policy making process.

Members of Parliament were too radical, without considering resources, technology and trends of globalisation, making policy making process out of step with what was on the ground or situation. Due to lack of knowledge, skills, craft literacy and competence, legislators could not meet the expectations of effective policy making process. Their leadership styles and skills were out of step with what they were expected to do in policy making process.

There were other challenges which members of parliament faced in policy making process, to include lack of capacity, knowledge and skills, lack of time and resources, lack of training and development and cultural values in policy making process (Table 4.12)It was suggested, MPs needed training and development in policy making process. Members of parliament, to a great extent, lacked knowledge and skills in policy making process: identifying a problem; making a proposal; making decisions; implementing policies; and evaluating policies. As for evaluation the members of parliament had no explicit criteria and standards to replace the implicit assumptions and halo effects in policy making process. All in all ,it was established that, the major improvements in members of parliament, in Manicaland Province, in policy making process were changes in knowledge and skills, personnel, structure and process, patterns, inputs and stipulated output and environmental changes.

5.4. Recommendations

In view of the conclusions made, the following recommendations could be made:

- 5.4.1. 'O' level and some course should be used as one of the criteria to select people as members of parliament. This level of education, with further training, would enable MPs to comprehend what is involved in policy making process and understand the deliberations in policy making process.
- 5.4.2. Of course there are induction programmes for newly elected MPs by organisations like the Southern Africa Parliamentary Committee (SAPC) but this does not give emphasis on public policy. In this case members of parliament need to be trained in public policy and the major skills required. This can be done during the first month or two when elected to parliament and further courses as their term progresses. It would be best if the course, policy making process and economics and finance courses are compulsory at 'O' and 'A' level in the education system.
- 5.4.4. Various seminars and workshops should be conducted on leadership and management skills. The exercise could include seminars and workshops on levels of public policy, types and key actors in policy making policy.
- 5.4.5. Members of parliament must be taught about their roles, responsibilities, functions, and duties, during the first month of their being elected into parliament. This would ensure efficiency and effectiveness in policy making process. Those who fail the tests should be referred back to their electorates for choosing potential MPs who should also pass the tests.

- 5.4.6. The Parliament should ensure that, there are funds available for MPs to carry out their duties such as, field visits, study tours and evidence gathering/research and other support services.
- 5.4.7. To be a member of parliament should be a full time job and as such, members of parliament should be supervised and it found not doing their job should be dismissed, referred back to the electorate, which should re-elect the most dedicated one.
- 5.4.8. Further research should be carried out on all activities that are involved in each of the steps in the policy making process so that the MPs would be taught the full expectations of each step in the policy making process.

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7.0 APPENDICES

Apendix 1:Questions for local government

ChidoMadiwa Block 1, Flat 2 ,Magamba Drive, Fairbridge Park ,Mutare.Phone 0773252545

What do you think are the major qualities of an MP?

What is the Role of a Member of Parliament?

Do you think MPs are doing what they are called to do?

Have you ever been consulted by a member of parliament on any issue in your area

How often do you meet Members of Parliament in your area?

What do you think are the major challenges facing MPs in Zimbabwe?

What do you think is the criteria used by Political Parties to select MPs?

Do you think it is an effective way of selecting MPs?

Appendix 2: Questions for heads of government departments

ChidoMadiwa Block 1, Flat 2 ,Magamba Drive, Fairbridge Park ,Mutare.Phone 0773252545

What are the qualities of an effective MP?

How often do you meet Members of Parliament in your work?

What is the Role of a Member of Parliament?

Do you think MPs are doing what they are called to do?

Have you ever been consulted by a Member of Parliament on any issue in your area

What could be the challenges facing MPs in Zimbabwe?

What do you think is the criteria used by Political Parties to select MPs?

Do you think it is an effective way of selecting MPs?

Appendix 3: Questions for MPs

ChidoMadiwa Block 1, Flat 2, Magamba Drive, FairbridgePark ,Mutare.Phone 0773252545

| What i | s your level of education? | | | | |
|--|---|-------|--|--|--|
| A | Primary | | | | |
| В | Secondary | | | | |
| C | Certificate | | | | |
| D | Diploma | | | | |
| E | Degree and above | | | | |
| F | None of the above | | | | |
| In the | In the just ended constitution making process what role did you play? | | | | |
| Facilitator community Mobiliser Rapporteur | | | | | |
| Outreach Team Chair | | | | | |
| Now that people have voted overwhelmingly yes for the constitution, what's next? | | | | | |
| It's ov | er implement | other | | | |
| Is your office located in the constituency? | | | | | |

Who manes the office and what are his/her qualifications? How often do you visit your constituency? Per year What will you do in the event that you are not elected in the next election? How and why do certain Policies come into being? Do government have different types of policies? If so why? In your view what is your role as an MP? How do we identify a Problem/set agenda? How are Policies in Zimbabwe Made? Is there any clear processes to follow in then Policy making Process? Are there other ways policies could be made? Apart from MPs, are there other policy makers or any other actors in policy making? Are there any capacity building efforts to improve your policy knowledge and skills How many times have you attended such courses? How do you communicate policy issues with your constituency?

Appendix 4: Research letter



INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

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5 April 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa

Chido Tsinakwadi student registration number 118319 is a student at Africa University. She is enrolled in a degree program in Public Policy and Governance and is currently conducting research for her project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2013. The research topic is "An Assessment of the Public Policy Knowledge of Members of Parliament: The Case of Manicaland Province". Chido is expected to undertake this research during the period January- April 2013 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in May 2013.

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

Dr. P. Machakanja Director

Appendix 5: Letter of consent

ChidoMadiwa Block 1, Flat 2 ,Magamba Drive, Fairbridge Park ,Mutare.Phone 0773252545

The purpose of this study is to assess the public policy knowledge and skills of legislators in manicaland province. This is done in bid to suggest ways that can make members of parliament understand public policy issues and policy making process, leading to the development of various constituencies

making process-a case study of manicaland legislators, 2008 to 2013, to be undertaken by the researcher ChidoMadiwa, as the topic of a dissertation for the 2013 Masters in Public Policy Class at the Institute of Peace Leadership and governance at Africa University, under the following terms and conditions:

- 1) There will be interviews, which are expected to take no more than 1.5 hours each.
- 2) The participant has the right to withdraw his/her assistance from this project at any time without penalty, even after signing the letter of consent.
- 3) The participant has the right to refuse to answer one or more of the questions without penalty and may continue to be a part of the study.

- 4) The participant will receive a report summary, which will come as a result of this study.
- The participant will be entirely free to discuss issues and will not be in any way coerced into providing information that is confidential or of a sensitive nature. Even though this study's questions are not of a sensitive nature, if illegal activity is disclosed the researcher will be obliged to report this to the appropriate authorities.
- 6) Pseudonyms will be used to conceal the identity of the participants. The information disclosed in the interviews will be confidential.

I, _______, agree to the conditions stated in this letter of consent and certify that I have received a copy of the consent form