

An integrated Civic Crowdfunding Model for infrastructure rehabilitation: The case of the City of Harare

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ABSTRACT

Financial resource challenges in local government necessitate the embracement of emerging strategies that improve revenue mobilisation and citizen participation in city governance. Emerging strategies, such as civic crowdfunding, can provide additional financial resources and can promote partnership relations between communities and local authorities. These strategies are critical to cities such as the City of Harare due to limited financial capacity and other infrastructure development and rehabilitation limitations. This is in spite of the fact that the City is envisioning the attainment of world-class city status in the near future. In this light, appropriate funding models have to be developed for cities to be able to sustainably rehabilitate city infrastructure. This article reflects on the findings of an empirical survey conducted in the City of Harare to investigate the potential of civic crowdfunding for the rehabilitation of community infrastructure. The study was maimed by the paucity of an integrated civic crowdfunding model that can be applied by cities in developing world particularly in Africa such as the City of Harare in Zimbabwe. The article contextualises some of the dominant perspectives of civic crowdfunding as a local governance phenomenon and concludes with an outline of a proposed integrated civic crowdfunding model.

INTRODUCTION

Crowdfunding can be regarded as a financial mechanism that creates new opportunities and possibilities both in the private and public sectors. Its usage in the public sector in Africa, however, is still in its infancy (World Bank 2013:10), but its potential is highlighted by Steinberg and DeMaria (2012:1) who argue that it is equally difficult to envision a future without crowdfunding. Gasparo (2015:2) stresses that with limited funding it is becoming increasingly important for cities in the developing world to become more self-sufficient in regards to infrastructure services. Thus, to be self-sufficient implies that local authorities should explore new financial models. Civic crowdfunding is one such financial model. As the World Bank (2013:15) highlights, crowdfunding has emerged as an alternative to more traditional funding tools such as bank loans and government grants. Gasparo (2015:2) went further to argue that embracing crowdfunding provides new opportunities to fund infrastructure projects and address funding challenges. Also, Candelise (2015:4) is of the view that crowdfunding is an alternative source of funding, which allows raising funds for projects that could not be financed through conventional institutional channels.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2004:VII) notes that more recently, the World Bank and other donors in Africa have been concerned with finding alternative ways of organising and managing the public services and redefining the role of the state to give more prominence to markets and competition, and to the private and voluntary sectors. Hence, new innovative ways of financing public infrastructure are gaining attention and favour as they are vital for bridging fiscal gaps. Important to emphasize is that the role of the state as the sole provider of public goods is now being questioned and scholars of public policy increasingly advocate for a paradigm shift whereby non-state actors are incorporated into governance functions (ECA 2004:10).

The New Public Governance paradigm is predicated upon the existence of a networked, plural state where multiple interdependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services (Osborne 2006:384). Innovative governance approaches associated with this paradigm, according to Christensen (2012:6), underscore that “governance rests on the mobilisation of multiple and complementary sets of institutions, actors, interests, decision-making arenas, values, norms, and cleavages”. Also Bourgon (2011:19) stresses that the “burden of serving in the 21st century exposes that government authorities can no longer assume a monopoly of expertise or resources necessary to govern, and must look to a plurality or interdependent institutions drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors”. According to Newman (2004:71), this search for plurality is through “a shift from government as a sole provider of service to citizens to one of co-creation and co-production of public goods with citizens”. Bourgon (2011:52) continues to argue that “enabling others to co-create and co-produce public results is not a way of reducing public spending or passing on the cost of public services to the community”. It is rather about the creation of “an interdependent relationship between government, society and people to achieve results of higher value at a lower overall cost to society”. In a similar vein, Candelise (2015:1) and Veelen (2015:5) state that as the traditional market fail to fund civil society improvements, so-called “bottom-up instruments” emerge. These bottom-up instruments entail new financing instruments outside the traditional banking sector and include crowdfunding, peer to peer lending, SME mini-bonds, social impact bonds, community shares and virtual currencies. This new approach is calling upon the *en masse* participation and investment of the public to fill in the void. So-called “people power” can cover up for the general lack of capital.

Chatiza (2010:22) underscores that meeting community welfare needs and facilitating local economic development are essential municipal functions critical to development. However, in addition to failing to meet community needs, local authorities in Zimbabwe are also failing to maintain, support, preserve and even build new community infrastructure. As Dewa, Dziva and Mukwashi (2014:193) stress, “the financial muscles of local authorities in Zimbabwe are constrained to do an overhaul of the dilapidated infrastructure”. Arguably the most significant challenge is the lack of financial resources. This is underscored by Zhou and Chilunjika’s (2013:243) study on Zimbabwe which notes that “revenue collection is generally inadequate to finance council operations”. This has further been fuelled by limited government fiscal transfers, inadequate private investment for infrastructure development and maintenance, as well as the general failure by the state to prioritise infrastructure rehabilitation and renewal. According to Zhou and Chilunjika (2013:243), central Government has drastically slashed its subsidies to local authorities owing to governmental financial obligations. Furthermore, traditional infrastructural financing instruments have been “going out of favour” as they typically overburden the Government. Mbara, Nyarirangwe and Mukwashi (2010:155) underscore the limitations with regard to funding sources and attempts by local authorities to

pursue the option of involving the private sector, hence the need to innovate and capitalize on the opportunities provided for by civic crowdfunding.

The aim of this article is to reflect on findings of an empirical investigation undertaken on the City of Harare (CoH) with the purpose to design an integrated crowdfunding model for community infrastructure rehabilitation. The article will firstly provide a conceptual and contextual orientation, and secondly, explicate a proposed integrated crowdfunding model based on the research findings. The results conclusively indicate that the City of Harare, like similar cities on the African continent, has not yet systematically adopted crowdfunding as a resource mobilisation instrument despite its significant potential as alternative source of revenue.

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING: A CONCEPTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL ORIENTATION

Literature is littered with various conceptualisations of civic crowdfunding as a subgenre of crowdfunding. KPMG (2014:5), for example, conceptualises crowdfunding “as a financing instrument which appeals to a large number of people (the crowd) to make limited contributions in order to achieve a financing goal”. The word “crowdfunding” can be traced to the concept of “crowdsourcing” (Freitas and Amado 2013:6). Freitas and Amado (2013:6) argue that crowdsourcing is a composite of the words “crowd” and “outsourcing” meaning outsourcing to the crowd. According to Davies (2014a:25), the rise of crowdfunding is often linked to the 2008 global financial crisis. Stiver *et al.* (2014:3) in this regard argue that global reward-based crowdfunding leaders such as Indiegogo and Kickstarter, made significant contributions to popularise crowdfunding as an alternative source of funding during the global financial crisis. Similarly, Candelise (2015:1) and Veelen (2015:5) regard crowdfunding to be a relatively new way of raising capital and could serve as an invaluable financial tool to rehabilitate community infrastructure beyond traditional funding arrangements.

According to Veelen (2015:17), civic crowdfunding is inextricable linked to the interrelationship between communities, government institutions and non-profits. Veelen’s (2015:5) position is thus that civic crowdfunding introduces “initiatives that focus on the development of community assets”. In this regard, Davies (2014a:29) regards a civic crowdfunding project as “a project that develops a shared resource that is accessible to the community either as a public asset, a community owned resource or a public private partnership, and may or may not involve government”. Davies (2014a:28) chose to approach the question of what constitutes a civic crowdfunding projects from two directions: the goods being produced and the actors involved. In this context, Davies (2014a:28) stresses that “civic crowdfunding projects would be expected to produce goods that are non-rival and non-excludable: that once produced can be enjoyed by all members of a community equally, perpetually, and without regard for their contribution”. Thus, Davies (2014a:29) is of the view that civic crowdfunding projects are “projects that produce some non-rival benefits that serve either the non-excludable public or broad sections of it”. Put in simple terms, civic crowdfunding outputs are for the public (Stiver *et al.* 2014:12). In support of this view, Charbit and Desmoulin (2017:2) argue that “civic crowdfunding should be distinguished from other types of crowdfunding since it pursues an objective of general interest and mainly concerns place-based projects instigated by citizens and civil society organisations”. In terms of resourcing, Davies (2014a:30) argues that in theory a civic crowdfunding project could be resourced by the crowd alone, by a combination of the crowd and government (e.g. taxation), or by the crowd and organised for-profit or non-profit interests, without government

investment. On the same note, Brent and Lorah (2017:7) state that another distinguishing characteristic of civic crowdfunding is that such projects are primarily planned, funded, and implemented by private citizens, residents and community groups looking to improve their own circumstances.

The basic logic behind civic crowdfunding is to establish a platform for the transfer of funds from those who are willing to donate or invest to the capital needs of public entities. In the conceptualisation of NESTA (2012:2), crowdfunding platforms are typically online intermediaries that facilitate this process. Boyle (2016:16) and Brent and Lorah (2017:2) add that civic crowdfunding borrows principles from both private crowdfunding and grassroots community organisation by enabling citizens to develop community projects that are funded by donations through an online platform.

According to Adams (2014:13), local communities and groups have consistently found innovative ways of raising funds for local and community projects, and it seems crowdfunding is an extension of these innovative practices. On the same note, Brent and Lorah (2017:2) assert that civic crowdfunding typically empowers community leaders to initiate worthwhile public projects in their neighbourhoods and allows citizens to “vote with their pocketbooks”. Adams (2014:13), however, point out that crowdfunding is clearly not a panacea to solve all fund raising problems and can be considered as one of several funding and resourcing options and mechanisms. Hence, it is one of several options that, as Brent and Lorah (2017:2) observe, “act as a catalyst for citizens to improve their own neighbourhoods as opposed to waiting for government or external philanthropic organisations to intervene”.

From conceptualisations of civic crowdfunding above, it can be concluded that civic crowdfunding represents an area of great opportunity, enabling a consideration of financial and non-financial strengths of crowdfunding (cf. Stiver *et al.* 2014:14). It provides for increased citizen participation where people are regarded as “value creators” (Bourgeon 2011:25) and offers vast financial possibilities in an environment where local authorities are financially handicapped.

Civic crowdfunding as a means to co-production

Davies (2014a:42) states that civic crowdfunding provides a “context or occasion”, for communities to request money for projects as well as an established process for how to do so. Bourgon (2011:24) notes that Classical Public Administration viewed citizens to voters, taxpayers, users and beneficiaries of public services with no role to play in the development, design and co-production of public services. According to Bourgon (2011:24), this approach to public administration did not only “crowd-out the contribution of society in solving public problems” but also devalued the role played by citizens and community groups in the co-production of public goods. However, in the past decade the Internet and the World Wide Web have created new processes to harness the creativity of people, create new business models, and reshape economies (Freitas and Amado 2013:5). One such process is civic crowdfunding which provides an opportunity of achieving what Bourgon (2011:25-26) terms “co-creating value with citizens” and “achieving results with citizens”.

According to Freitas and Amado (2013:14), city administrations have been integrating participatory tools into their urban planning frameworks. These tools are being used to foster a more direct partnership relationship between citizens and their local authorities. In essence, civic crowdfunding gives a platform to leverage collective power for co-production of

community infrastructure. This means that government have the opportunity to “partner”, “enable”, “co-create” and “empower” (Bourgon 2011:51-53) communities as stakeholders in the provisioning of public goods. As such, civic crowdfunding increase the visibility of public participation in urban planning and could generate, besides funding, increased awareness and interest in the urban environment (Freitas and Amado 2013:14). This is important because people are the main value creators for both public goods and public policy issues (Bourgon 2011:25). In the same vain, Freitas and Amado (2013:7) opine that although crowdfunders might not have any specific knowledge on a particular field, the “wisdom of the crowd” can add significant value in solving problems.

Civic crowdfunding as disruption

According to Davies (2014a:43), it is important to consider the impact that crowdfunding may have on local infrastructure. Davis goes further to pose the following question: Can an alternative method of getting something done not only get it done, but also exert influence on the existing, broken method (Davies 2014a:43)? Responding to Davies’s (2014:43) question, it can be noted that civic crowdfunding “is leading to a redefinition of the way in which public services are organised and delivered” (Michelucci and Rota 2014:1). As Davies (2014a:43) explains, there are several ways in which this effect might be manifested:

“First, as a demonstration of another route to influence: a community can use a crowdfunding campaign as a means not only to build something but also to signal support for an idea and a neighbourhood. This could mean, for example, that a community seeks to self-organize to create a community resource instead of lobbying a political representative to achieve the same goal, which will likely over time affect representatives perceptions of their influence and role. Second, by changing and expanding the range of people who are able to access capital or resources, alternative infrastructures expand the marketplace of ideas, values and choices available.”

Boyer and Hill (2013:13) support this argument saying that “...while citizens may not have the tools to rapidly recalibrate decision-making processes about their city, they are certainly capable of working outside of them, getting on with doing something...” Said differently, civic crowdfunding offers a means to disrupt, circumvent or force the hand of rigid bureaucracies (Boyle 2016:12). This is especially significant in more traditional public administration settings. In such a scenario, civic crowdfunding represents what Davies (2014b:103) terms the “erosion of public institutions”. According to Davies (2014b:103), civic crowdfunding “encourages the decline of municipal spending and faith in government services”. Davies (2014b) views civic crowdfunding as an “outgrowth of financial strain among local authorities, and serves a libertarian, disruptive agenda seeking the reduction of the role of government”. Furthermore, Davies (2014b:103) argues that the inability or unwillingness of institutions to solve particular problems or serve certain communities may also lead to the conclusion that crowdfunding is an additive innovation rather than a replacement for existing structures. This can be exacerbated by the fact that no government fully controls or has access to all the levers of power to address complex societal problems (Bourgon 2011:15). To this end, civic crowdfunding “provides an opportunity to restore the balance between what government is best positioned to do, what citizens can do for themselves, and what is best accomplished together” (Bourgon 2011:26). Thus, it can be observed that civic crowdfunding is a positive disruptive catalyst for the weakening of government institutions in favour of more networked forms of governance (cf. Davies 2014:119). In other words, civic crowdfunding “can offset or replace the use of other means

such as public organisations (i.e. the state) or private contracts (i.e. the market) in service delivery through enhancing and facilitating citizen-based provision of goods and services” (Howlett, Kekez and Poocharoen 2017:4). In other words, the disruptive nature of civic crowdfunding may threaten the traditional, bureaucratic model of public administration, which positioned government as a sole services and goods provider. It also challenges the exaggerated role of the market in the provision of public goods as the power of the crowd takes centre stage in the development of communities. In this context, civic crowdfunding often exposes government’s inability to serve in the 21st century where information and communication technology takes citizens to the frontiers of urban development. Also interestingly to note in this regard is that cities are forced to reconfigure its role as sole provider to that of service facilitator. This facilitation role include approaches that enable co-production and partnerships. Furthermore, because cities are generally financial constrained and community infrastructure rehabilitation is relative costly, alternative funding models are essential. This emphasises the transformational or disruptive role of civic crowdfunding in facilitating a shift from government to governance.

Civic crowdfunding as community expression and leveraging of collective power

Davies (2014b:103) examines civic crowdfunding as an expression of community agency. According to Davies (2014b:103), this approach works in two ways: “First, backers of projects share common goals and interests, that is, they behave as communities; and second, that projects themselves increase communities' ability to influence the development of the built environment and the planning process”. Thus, Davies (2014b:102) considers civic crowdfunding as a form of a “co-operative social movement”. In the same vein, Veelen (2015:20) describes civic crowdfunding as a “tool for the commons in funding community-based projects”. Veelen’s (2015:20) takes his analysis of crowdfunding as community expression further and highlights the complex issues associated with property rights. Veelen (2015:20) argues that “if a good is communal property, the property rights are assigned to a specific community. Members of this community can thus provoke property rights”.

The sociological dimension of civic crowdfunding is highlighted by Davies (2014b:107) by stating that “civic crowdfunding projects may be an opportunity to activate latent social capital by giving a community an opportunity to uncover a demand for a shared resource or to engage a community in a collective problem-solving process”. Following Davies’ point of view, civic crowdfunding is best understood as a form of community organising and collective power (Davies 2014b:103). Similarly, Bourgon (2011:51) emphasises the fact that crowdfunding “leverage collective power” that represents cities with alternative “partnering, enabling, co-creating and empowering” models to engage communities in producing public goods. However, Brent and Lorah (2017:3) assert that “civic crowdfunding is not a replacement for traditional city spending” on community infrastructure rehabilitation.

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING IN COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE REHABILITATION

A literature survey revealed the emerging discourse about the feasibility of using civic crowdfunding in the rehabilitation of community infrastructure. This discourse takes various forms such as using civic crowdfunding for urban “renewal”, “rehabilitation”, and “regeneration” or to improve the “liveability” and “attractiveness” of cities. To this, Freitas and Amadi (2013:5) add that urban infrastructure rehabilitation has been increasingly part of the public policy discourse, state-sponsored gentrification, as well as the rejuvenation of the

urban space. Scholars are, however, divided on their views of whether civic crowdfunding is more suitable to small-scale projects or better suited for large-scale infrastructure projects. As stressed by Brent and Lorah (2017:3), when considering the expansion of civic crowdfunding in improving local communities it is important to consider what types of infrastructure projects are feasible to fund. Boyle (2016:37) suggests that civic projects demonstrate the ease of crowdfunding to fund small-scale, community-led interventions. Brent and Lorah (2017:3) concur and argue that civic crowdfunded projects are generally small scale in comparison to large city capital budgets. Stiver *et al.* (2014:15) who observe that many projects make use of civic crowdfunding on a smaller scale also share this view. Explaining this argument further, Brent and Lorah (2017:4) stress that civic crowdfunding does not typically provide large-scale public goods such as city infrastructure.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study followed a qualitative research design in which key informant semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis were the main data collection instruments. The two instruments complemented each other; for example, semi-structured interviews with purposively sampled key informants were aimed at getting expert views and opinions of officials of the City of Harare (CoH), officials from the Ministry of Local Government, resident associations representatives, international development practitioners, academics, and members of civic society organisations interested in local government issues. Data triangulation with the literature review and documentary analysis was done for two strategic reasons. Firstly, some documents reviewed were referred to in the responses of the participants, for example, legislation and policy statements. Secondly, certain organisations did not respond to requests or applications to be involved in interviews. The researcher therefore had to rely on secondary data sources such as official publications and reports, institutional memoranda, minutes of meetings, press releases, and media reports.

The sampling strategy was two-thronged in that it aimed at investigating departments in the CoH and stakeholder organisations working with local government, and participants as units of analysis. Purposive sampling was used to identify these departments and stakeholder organisations since pilot surveys showed that they were directly and indirectly involved in issues of local governance or community infrastructure rehabilitation. To this end, a sample size of 33 participants ($n=33$) was identified and the sample size was broken down to include participants drawn from the CoH, Ministry of Local Government, academia (mainly from the University of Zimbabwe's Departments of Political and Administrative Studies as well as Rural and Urban Planning), international development agencies, residents associations, urban local authorities' association and civil society. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected participants from these target population groups.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The study confirmed the fact that there is no civic crowdfunding framework in place in the CoH. Key informants interviewed in this study professed ignorance of any crowdfunding framework in the case study and this was further corroborated by CoH documents analysed during the study period. There were mixed opinions on the practicability of crowdfunding in the CoH with the majority of experts acknowledging the potential of the strategy.

Apart of the above, the findings of the study revealed that the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe gives leeway for initiatives such as crowdfunding but there is no complementary legislation,

notwithstanding the fact that there are no explicitly prohibitive laws. Also, exposed was that legal challenges varied depending on which stakeholder will be conducting the crowdfunding project. The study's findings exposed the criticality in civic crowdfunding of the Internet and social media, particularly on four fronts, namely raising awareness, increasing transparency and accountability, providing payment platforms for contributions, and providing a platform for engagement.

The findings of the study also reflected on civic crowdfunding's potential on mobilising resources, increasing citizen participation and even helping in establishing a sense of ownership to reduce incidences of infrastructure vandalism. The study's findings further revealed that civic crowdfunding involves multiple stakeholders at different capacities and with different roles. These stakeholders can be grouped into three main levels:

- Governmental level: include government ministries particular the ministry responsible for local government; Parliament; and local authorities, inclusive of the CoH;
- Non-governmental level: include the private sector, philanthropic organisations, banks, civic society organisations, development partners, the media, and churches; and
- Community level: include residents, residents associations, community organisations, and celebrities such as prominent musicians and sportspersons.

The study further revealed some of the major challenges that are likely to affect the conduct and practice of crowdfunding which included political polarisation, lack of trust amongst citizens themselves, amongst citizens and the government and even amongst government and non-governmental organisations such as civic society organisations. Some general macro-economic challenges were also exposed. Against this background, for civic crowdfunding to be successful, the findings of the study revealed that there was a dire need for the following critical success factors:

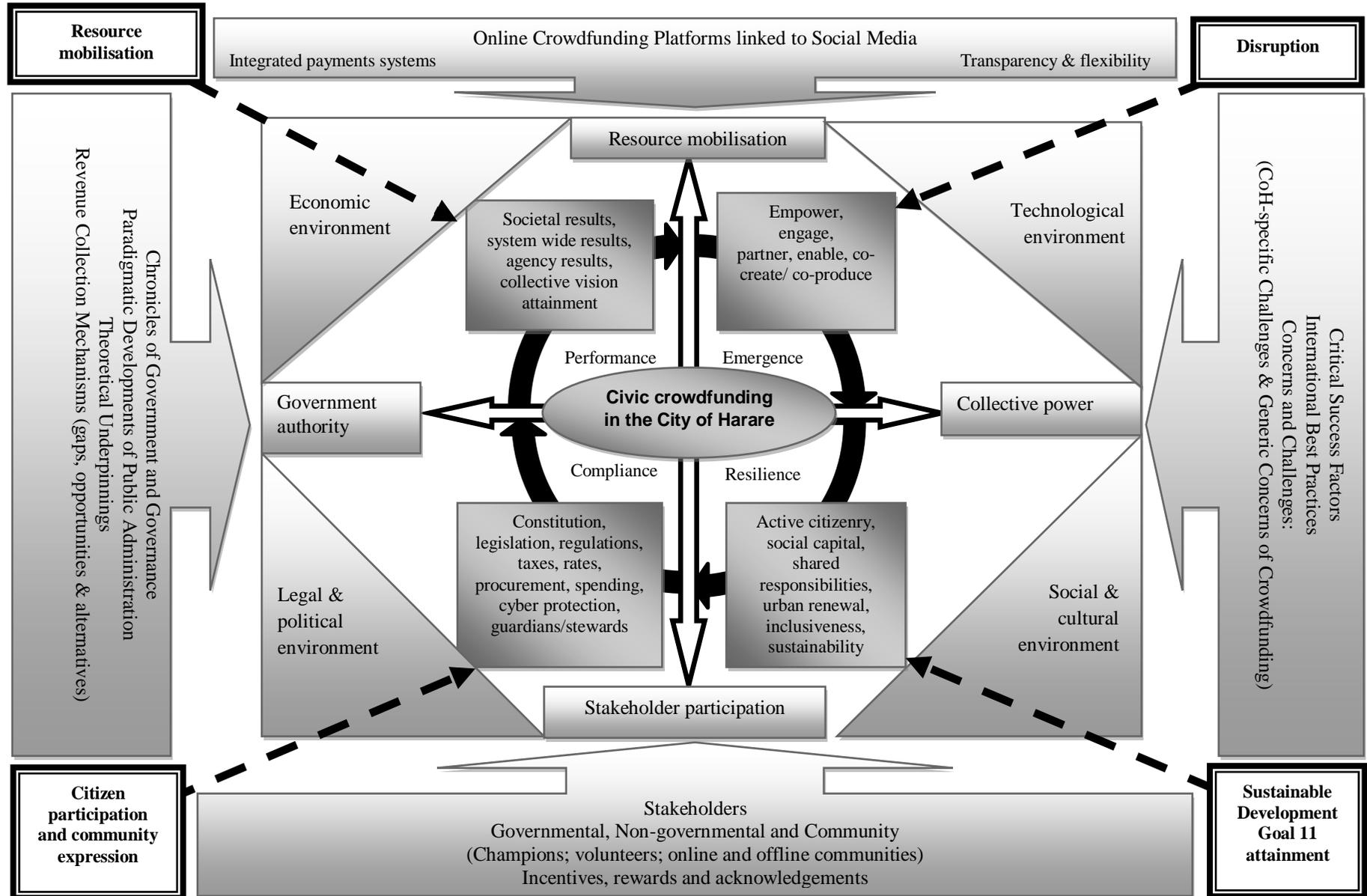
- a city governance plan to foster partnerships and exploit the potential of crowdfunding;
- the establishment of rallying points and consultation with various stakeholders regarding infrastructure rehabilitation;
- the appointment of crowdfunding champions to drive infrastructure rehabilitation projects;
- fostering a climate of mutual trust between cities and communities, particularly through emphasizing transparency and accountability in city governance;
- creating a crowdfunding culture and infrastructure ownership; and
- developing an integrated civic crowdfunding model to align and integrate the factors mentioned above.

AN INTEGRATED CIVIC CROWDFUNDING MODEL FOR APPLICATION BY THE CITY OF HARARE

Building on the above background, this section proposes an integrated civic crowdfunding model. This model is premised on data, method and source triangulation by merging theoretical perspectives, current infrastructure rehabilitation realities, civic crowdfunding praxis, and opinions of experts in this field. As far as the theoretical perspectives are concerned, the framing of the core of the model followed a deductive approach. In other words, after an analysis of literature generally on New Public Governance and the New

Synthesis Framework, the study borrowed Bourgon's (2011) four-vector approach and developed it further using a robust literature survey. The researchers then inductively broadened and modified the model using input from participants interviewed and case study analysis by means of documentary reviews of policies, council minutes, official memoranda, and legal documents such as the Constitution, Acts and municipal by-laws. The researchers then deconstruct, contextualise and refine the data by capturing international best practices and triangulate it with existing data sets. The integrated civic crowdfunding model is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: An integrated civic crowdfunding for the City of Harare



Source: Authors' own with influence from Bourgon (2011:36, 46).

EXPOSITION OF THE INTEGRATED CROWDFUNDING MODEL

The proposed integrated civic crowdfunding model is integrated because it reflects on the structure, process, system and stakeholders that should be considered in any civic crowdfunding. It builds on the findings of the study (including findings from literature reviewed). In terms of structure, evidence from the findings indicated that civic crowdfunding initiatives should be initiated from the community. Community structures should be accorded the right to form a governance structure.

The model carries some influence from the New Synthesis Framework proffered by Bourgon (2011) in that it is framed around four vectors. These four vectors form the core part of the model. As depicted in Figure 1 above, the outer layer of the integrated model is influenced by what was reviewed in theoretical chapters of the study inclusive of what was reviewed in literature and evidence from the empirical findings. Expounding on the illustrated vectors, the model submits that civic crowdfunding in mobilising resources juxtaposes “agency results in the broader context of system wide, society results” and shared visions (Bourgon 2011:34). Stakeholder participation relates to how civic crowdfunding can capitalize on the collective power of residents to help in community infrastructure rehabilitation and urban renewal. These vectors, as shown above, further seeks to “help explore how government, people and communities can work together and share responsibility for producing results of higher value” through harnessing on new innovations that empower communities to take charge of their cities (Bourgon 2011:34).

The vertical vectors explore the interrelationship in civic crowdfunding between resource mobilisation and stakeholder (e.g. citizen) participation. It is argued that the integrated civic crowdfunding model will help to improve the overall performance of the CoH in mobilising resources and subsequently, service delivery. Appreciative of the fact that the proposed model will necessitate the collection of resources it should be done with circumspection. Responsibilities in this regard will entail that raised resources through, for example, online platforms are accounted for and expended under the confines of the law. These are contracted out responsibilities that might have been necessitated by technological developments and economic considerations. Technological developments allow the CoH to engage its residents, empower them to contribute to their communities through co-producing activities such as infrastructure rehabilitation. To this end, partnerships with communities will mean collective vision attainment. This means that the CoH's vision of achieving world-class city status by 2025 will be shared by residents, thus fostering a sense of ownership.

Successful civic crowdfunding is furthermore hinged on stakeholder participation. Stakeholder participation in civic crowdfunding was situated above as projecting community expression. However, this integrated model emphasizes that stakeholder participation should fully comply with existing country legislation and municipal financial regulations. Stakeholders on governmental level, non-governmental level, and at community level have designated responsibilities. For instance, stakeholders at governmental level have obligations to collect revenue, rehabilitate infrastructure and provide guardianship of community infrastructure as provided in the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Urban Councils Act. It is a responsibility that cannot be abrogated even if civic crowdfunding is embraced. On the same note, stakeholders at non-governmental and community level have duties to pay rates and taxes. More so, participation in civic crowdfunding will mean commitment of additional

resources on top of mandatory obligations of paying taxes and rates. Nevertheless, stakeholder participation in civic crowdfunding, as was expressed in the empirical findings of the study, builds active citizenry and increases social capital. Active citizenry and social capital are key ingredients in fostering urban resilience. Stakeholder participation is imperative since champions will emerge from among them to drive crowdfunding. Most importantly, the success or failure of civic crowdfunding is determined by the levels of stakeholder participation.

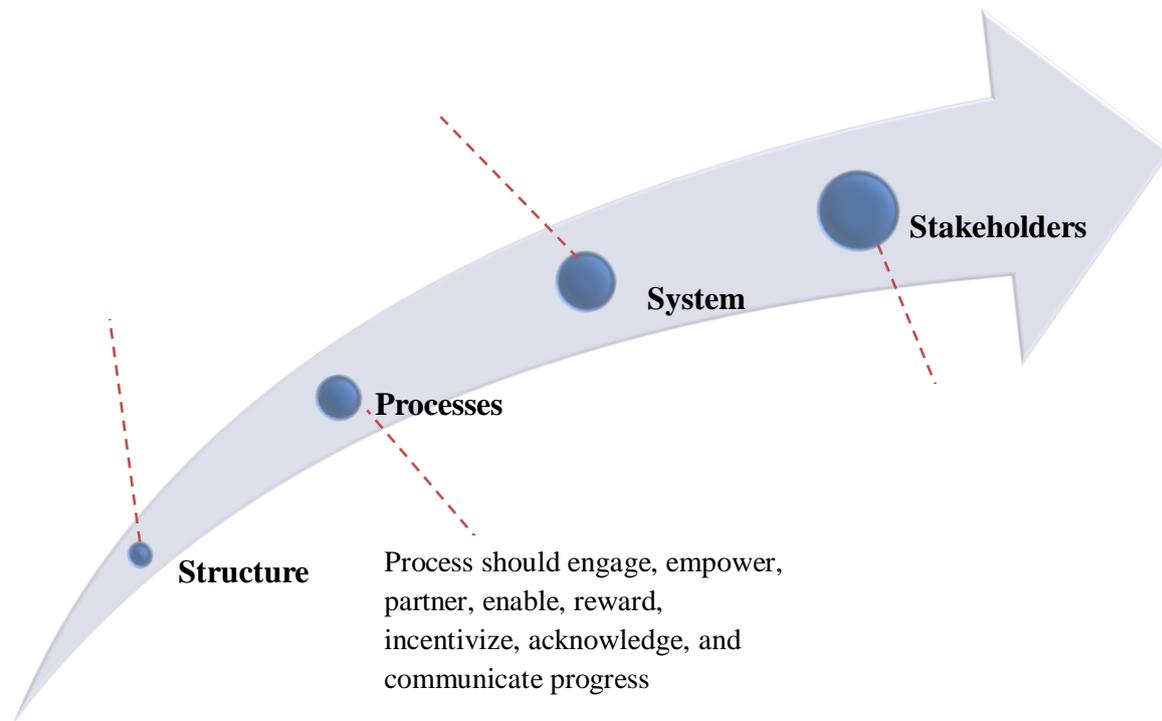
The horizontal vectors of the model were adopted from Bourgon (2011:34) but contextualised for the purposes of this model. It focuses on the use of government authority and the reliance on the collective power of society in civic crowdfunding. The findings of the study (i.e. evidence from literature reviewed and interviews conducted) indicated that government has a role to play in local governance in general and in civic crowdfunding specifically. Government in this context include both central and local government spheres. The central government is constitutionally and legally assigned to act as guardian of local authorities whilst local government acts as guardian of community infrastructure. These responsibilities necessitate government to enact legislation and regulations and to monitor compliance with these laws. It is in these maxims that the integrated civic crowdfunding model seeks to appreciate and acknowledge the guardianship of government. For example, the study exposed some concerns of crowdfunding such as cybercrime and fraud. In this respect, the government has a role to protect citizens involved in crowdfunding against such vices. Also, civic crowdfunding will involve public funds which must be expended in terms of the Public Finances Management Act and procurement regulations. Government also has to conform to changing dynamics in the environment such as technological advancement and economic concerns. Conforming to the environment must also mean responding to how resources are mobilised and citizens participate in community development.

The empirical findings of the study exposed that different actors have different roles to play in crowdfunding. To this end, the integrated model emphasizes that resources that are mobilised beyond what government or local governments are usually able to harness, extend to the contributions made by urban communities. Therefore, by adopting this model, the CoH will be able to explore alternative infrastructure financing to complement traditional mechanisms of financing and address monetary gaps. Also, to better harness collective power, the proposed integrated model allows the CoH to get a glimpse of what other world class cities gained by learning from international best practices. As such, it could draw lessons on critical success factors as well as establish mechanisms to address challenges and concerns regarding civic crowdfunding. Further to that, collective power will allow the CoH to build resilience through development of an active citizenry, building social capital, and sharing of responsibilities in ways that encapsulate emerging tools that allows it to partner, engage, empower and co-produce services with other stakeholders. The integrated civic crowdfunding model thus positions the CoH to build a crowdfunding culture.

The integrated civic crowdfunding model depicts multiple tensions at the intersections of the vectors. One such tension is that different stakeholders have different roles and responsibilities as well as priorities and preferences. In this regard, Bourgon (2011:35) states that “the greatest potential for innovation lies at the crossroads of the four vectors. This is where issues, tools and capacities may be recombined in new and productive ways ... It is where a new sharing of roles and responsibilities between stakeholders (i.e. government and society) may be forged at a lower overall cost to society”. Figure 2 below highlights some

critical considerations on the structure, system, processes and stakeholders in the integrated civic crowdfunding model.

Figure 2: Critical considerations on the structure, system, processes and stakeholders



Source: Researchers' own

Evidence from the findings of the study revealed that civic crowdfunding systems should be flexible and transparent. On the same note, evidence from experience from other international cases show the importance of online crowdfunding platforms in providing systems for citizens to participate in the development of their neighbourhoods. In terms of flexibility, the proposed model underscores that it should cater for all forms of payments that include mobile money, bank transfers, international platforms such as Mastercard and Visa and respond to advancements in this sector. The model argues for the redefined roles of the citizens and the CoH being perpetuated by civic crowdfunding. Evidence from the study (i.e. from the interviews held, documents analysed and literature reviewed) presents the following as some of the roles that residents and the CoH can play in civic crowdfunding. A summary of these roles are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Proposed roles of the CoH and residents in civic crowdfunding

| Role of the CoH | Role of citizens |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate • Enable • Partner • Legislate • Technical support • Co-produce | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate • Participate • Partnering • Act within city by-laws and legislation • Donate • Co-produce |

| | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage • Guard • Empower | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage • Ownership • Stewardship |
|--|--|

Source: Researchers' own

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

The successful implementation of the model is dependent on a number of critical success factors. These success factors emerged from the analyses of international cases as well as from the responses obtained from various stakeholder groupings during the interviews. The following are particular recommendations for the application of the model in cities in developing countries in general and in the CoH in particular:

- in terms of structure, all initiatives should take a bottom up approach i.e. they should be community initiated and championed;
- in terms of system, crowdfunding platforms should be online, flexible, convenient, transparent and accountable;
- in terms of processes, it should endeavour to engage, empower, partner, enable, reward, incentivise, acknowledge, communicate progress, and legislate; and
- in terms of stakeholders, they should include representatives of government, NGOs and the community.

CONCLUSION

The study on which this article is based, was maimed by the paucity of an integrated civic crowdfunding model that can be applied by cities in the developing world in general and in Africa such as the CoH in particular. Cognisant of Davies' (2014a) ground-breaking work on civic crowdfunding and the growing body of literature on civic crowdfunding, this article was aimed to focus on an African experience with different social, political and economic variables. For example, Zimbabwe and particularly the CoH present unique challenges such as political polarisation and mistrust among citizens. On this front, this study was in harmony with Boyle (2016-17-18) on the point of view that "generalising conclusions from studies conducted in the Northern Hemisphere may discount the effect of socio-cultural and political nuances as well as geographic differences in shaping attitudes towards civic crowdfunding, government, city planning practices and perceptions of liveability".

The findings of this study pointed to the fact that citizens generally no longer believe that the government alone should be at the forefront of the provision of public goods. Furthermore, the findings highlighted a shared responsibility amongst a variety of stakeholders, something that continue to give traction to network governance and ultimately literature on New Public Governance. Moreover, the study's depiction of the centrality of citizens in urban development highlighted in civic crowdfunding points to the shift from government to governance that has been part of New Public Governance thinking. Initiatives such as civic crowdfunding are likely to change the scope and framework of public administration. It may be argued that civic crowdfunding sits at the centre of transitioning from Traditional Public Administration to New Public Governance. The study's exposé of multi-stakeholders such as citizens, private sector, government (both central and local), civic society organisations, development partners, philanthropic organisations and academia provided for by civic crowdfunding can be described as the "rolling frontiers" of New Public Governance. As New

Public Governance thinking continue to shape the study and practice of public administration in general and local governance in particular, new instruments such as civic crowdfunding require further empirical investigation as to how exactly these new instruments impact on city praxis.

NOTE

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