

## **The Role of Local Government in Local Economic Development in South Africa**

Phophi Nembambula & Matshidisho D Ledwaba, Department of Development Planning and Management, University of Limpopo, South Africa.  
phophi.nembambula@ul.ac.za; matshidiso.ledwaba@ul.ac.za

### **Abstract**

*Local Government literature purports this sphere of government to be the engine of Local Economic Development (LED) because of its close proximity to the people. Given the “goodness” in the integrated planning processes, local government should ably lead and provide for an enabling local development environment wherein jobs, income, market and economic output opportunities are created. That is, local government can create conditions in which local people could take and use productive opportunities whilst simultaneously resisting the attendant risks and vulnerability to poverty and inequality. Therefore, local government's ability to establish an enabling local development environment could be measurable through, among other things, its capacity to create productive opportunities accessible to the locales and to support people's ability to resist threats. This paper demonstrates that South Africa's local government integrated development planning processes, notwithstanding the LED rhetoric, do not provide for measures necessary for the creation of an enabling local development environment. Instead, its local government has helped to deliver development to a passive citizenry. This paper concludes that the role of local government in establishing an enabling local development environment is compromised by the lack of measures for supporting local people's ability to attain the three core values of development: high standard of living, high self-esteem and total freedom of choice.*

**Key words:** Local Government, Local Economic Development, Enabling Development Environment, Integrated Development Planning, South Africa.

### **Introduction and Background**

Local government is a sphere of government which is close to the people, as it operates in close contact with the local communities. The close relation that local government is assumed to be having with the public suggests that there should be an interaction between the two in terms of development and service delivery, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of the local area or municipalities. The fact that local government is the closest sphere of government to its community provides a platform

for municipalities to interact closely with its inhabitants in order to play a meaningful role in the development of the socio-economic conditions for its locales (Phago, 2004). However, in many instances, especially in South African municipalities, it has appeared that over the years, local government made negligible success in terms of service delivery and in creating an enabling development environment within local communities, especially those in the rural and previously disadvantaged areas. Galvin (1999), Beall (2004), Hoffman (2007) and Seduma (2011) are of the notion that through participation of communities and other stakeholders in the integrated development planning processes and Local Economic Development (LED), the local government should be able to lead the municipality towards accomplishing set development goals, as stated in their Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and LED strategies.

This paper proposes that South Africa's local government does not provide the necessary measures for the creation of an enabling local development environment, which supports the local people's ability to attain the three core values of development: high standards of living, high self-esteem and total freedom of choice. In order to deliberate more on this argument, the paper will address the following: local government in South Africa, the determinants of an enabling development environment, the connection between local development environment and Local Economic Development, and lastly, how South Africa's local government legislation and practice contribute towards the creation of an enabling local development environment. This paper will be based on theoretical discussions; and, empirical experiences of the practices of local government, especially in South Africa will be made reference to.

### **Local Government in South Africa**

Authors such as Galvin (1999), Phago (2005), Nyalunga (2006), Hoffman (2007); Pieterse (2007) refer to local government as the lowest tier of government in a country, where authority and mandate are delegated by the state's legislation, as stated in chapter 5 of the Local Government Municipal Systems (RSA, 2000). Local government is regarded as the lowest sphere of government as it is responsible for basic service delivery and governance of local municipalities ([www.etu.org.za/localgovt](http://www.etu.org.za/localgovt); [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com)). South Africa has three spheres of government, the national provincial and local government, wherein national is the highest and local the lowest. The South African local government system, as discussed in the Municipal Systems Acts of 1998 and 2000, has two main divisions which are determined by the municipalities in which they are located. Local government in South Africa consists of municipalities of various types; and, Chapter 7 of the

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), Section 155, outlines the three categories of municipalities thus: category A which constitutes metropolitan municipalities, referring to urbanized regions that encompass multiple cities; category B which are the district municipalities and are also referred to as the main divisions of South Africa's provinces; and lastly, category C which consists of the subdivisions of districts into local municipalities. The largest metropolitan areas are governed by metropolitan municipalities, while the rest of the country is divided into district municipalities, each of which consists of several local municipalities. South Africa has 44 district municipalities and 226 local municipalities which share the same authority from district municipalities under which they fall; and, eight metropolitan municipalities which have their own authorities (Phago, 2004; [www.demarcation.org.za/](http://www.demarcation.org.za/)).

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) states that a developmental local government is a local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and to improve the quality of their lives. This developmental role of the local government is also stipulated in the Republic of South Africa's Constitution (Section 153), together with the objectives of local government which include ensuring there is provision of services to communities, promotion of social and economic development, and encouragement of the public and community organizations to participate in matters of local government. Phago (2004) suggests that local government is in a good position to play a crucial role towards development and creating a local economic development environment for the local people in order to develop their socio-economic conditions. This proposition is mainly founded on the assumption that local government is the closest sphere of government to local people; and, it can be tenably assumed that through participation and consultancy, socio-economic development can be realized. Not only can the local government solely achieve local development, it is also through the assistance of structures such as the South African Local Government Association (Salga), that they can be assisted in order to fulfill their developmental role. South Africa, as a developing country, accepted that development is about people and that for people to have a hold on their process of development, a local government was necessary to devolve power to the local scale. The primary aim of establishing the local tier of government was that it would help in addressing issues faced by locales at grass-root level, and promote their socio-economic situations as most of them, predominantly Africans, are located in previously disadvantaged areas. The establishment of the local government sphere resulted in the decentralization of power and responsibilities from National and Provincial governments to the local government. The decentralization and

restructuring of the government system was meant to assist in fast tracking development and addressing development issues where local government is the primary state agency driver for service delivery (Tsheola, 2012); however, evidence shows that to-date negligible progress has been made in this regard and in some instances the conditions have worsened (Phago, 2005; Hoffman, 2007; Mzimakwe, 2010).

Credit can be awarded to local governments in many rural areas in South Africa, and it is through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and Local Economic Development (LED) strategies, that they have been able to make significant improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the people they serve. Strategies such as the IDP and LED, give local government the platform to plan on how to generate employment, improve infrastructure and provide basic needs for the communities, which in turn result in the creation of an enabling development environment (Cashdan, 2000; Tshishonga and Mafema, 2010). Looking at the bigger picture, the development of any country is affected by the systems and accomplishments of local government. Galvin (1999) and Tsheola (2012) supports this view by arguing that in addition to the relationship held with civil society and the general citizenry in its jurisdiction, the intergovernmental relations affect the ability of local government to respond successfully to the challenges of development. This is a clear indication that participation is crucial for the attainment of sustainable socio-economic development of local municipalities, which in turn contributes to the development profile of the country.

### **Determinants of an Enabling Local Development Environment**

Local governments have an important role to play in society, one of which is to create favorable environments for business success and job creation; in doing so, an enabling local development environment can be created. One may ask what the determinants of an enabling local development environment are; the determinants of an enabling local development environment differ from area to area, as developmental needs are determined with acute consideration of the beneficiary communities. Also, an enabling local development environment is characterized by community self-help services, entrepreneurial initiatives and freedom of participation by community members.

South Africa is one of the most unequal nations, having the worst Gini coefficient, with half the population living in poverty on just 11% of national income ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_distribution\\_of\\_wealth](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_distribution_of_wealth); Rawson Property Group, 2012). South African settlements are deeply divided, often with a physical 'buffer zone' between racial and economic groups. Whereas townships

and rural areas have weak tax bases, white suburbs generate substantial revenue through commercial property rates (Sherer, 2000; Natrass and Seekings, 2001; Ozler, 2007). South Africa's unofficial unemployment rate was rated very high in 2004 (Bhorat, 2004), currently, it is still ranked as one of the highest in the world with the unemployment rate of 25.2% (Statistics SA, 2013). Given such a high rate of unemployment, local government in South Africa is faced with the challenge of creating an enabling local development environment so that the immediate needs of the local people are met. Local government has different approaches of addressing developmental needs of the people, including the creation of a conducive development environment through, among other things, the implementation of the IDP, LED, service delivery, and democratization (Cashdan, 2000; Nkuna and Nemutanzhela, 2012). As to whether local government succeeds or not is another challenge altogether.

Whether an enabling local development environment can exist in South Africa is a function of the laws and policies which allow for an environment that stimulates local initiative and draws inward investment, both of which can have rapid and dramatic effects on employment and human resource development as well as boost the economy. Basic services enhance the quality of life of citizens, and increase their social and economic opportunities by promoting health and safety, facilitating access to work, education, recreation and stimulating new productive activities (Cashdan, 2000). The availability of business development services, knowledge networks and education/business links are all crucial in increasing the dynamism of local economies as well as creating an enabling development environment (Swinburn, Goga and Murphy, 2006). Local governments have an essential role in creating favorable environments for business success and employment generation. However, a question would be raised as to how local government can play a role in creating an enabling environment through consultation with the communities and representation of their interests, participation of all affected parties, and generation of inward investments as well as business opportunities for the local people. An enabling local development environment is an environment that allows for job opportunities, availability of basic infrastructure and services, and also the freedom from servitude. There are a number of strategies that can be used in creating an enabling local development environment; and, in South Africa the attempt is made through measures entailed in the IDP and LED.

Strategically planned local economic development is increasingly used to enable communities to improve their economic futures as well as being in a state that allows them to archive the three core values of development (Meyer-Stamer, 2006; Hindson and Meyer-Stamer, 2007). Effectively pursued, LED has the ability to

unleash endogenous potentials that generate a genuine growth dynamic, as the factors, such as lack of electricity, transport, water, sanitation, housing, health, educational services, training opportunities and public transport, which affects the development environment, will be addressed. As a result, an environment where there is progressive development will be created (Hindson and Meyer-Stamer, 2007; Swinburn, 2006). The question whether an enabling environment exists in South Africa remains contestable because the municipal LED has not been fruitful or effectively functional. Thus, local government has been unable to create an enabling environment for economic development. Recent mass demonstration and community protests against municipal underperformance, corruption and maladministration attest to the claim that South African municipalities' IDP and LED have not been fruitful and effective (Meyer-Stamer, 2006), which however slows down the process of creating an enabling environment where people are able to archive the three core values of development. Development improves applicability to local conditions, remove options for corruption, and improve accountability to beneficiaries (Galvin, 1999; Mzimakwe, 2010).

### **The Connection between Local Development Environment and Local Economic Development**

Local government literature purports this sphere of government as the engine of local economic development (LED) because of its close proximity to the people (Tsheola, 2012; Mzimakwe, 2010). However, the presence of municipalities does not guarantee the achievement of government goals including the improvement of the general welfare of society. Hence, the accessibility of municipal services to its community serves the purpose for the right of existence of municipalities (Phago, 2005; Patterson, 2008). Municipalities should be close to the people mainly because of their constitutional positions, but should also be accessible to ensure the necessary interaction with municipal stakeholders such as the private and community sectors, in order that they may make informed service delivery decisions (Phago, 2005; Sachs, 2008; Mzimakwe, 2010). There are five stages of a strategic planning process necessary to guide LED initiatives, which if followed accordingly can contribute to creating an environment for local development. These are:

**Stage 1** is effort organizing, which involves the creation of shared values between stakeholders, as well as the identification of who should be involved;

**Stage 2** is local economic assessment, which refers to the context of the local economy, including the identification of strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, with the purpose of establishing baseline understanding of the local economy;

**Stage 3** is the creation of LED strategy, which caters for the formulation of vision, goals, objectives, programs as well as projects and action plans;

**Stage 4** is the implementation of LED strategy, which depends on the skilled human resources to follow procedures, in ensuring institutional capacity such as budgeting; and,

**Stage 5** is the reviewing of LED strategy, which refers to the establishment of monitoring and evaluation measures. These measures assist in quantifying impacts of local economic development towards the community in particular (Phago, 2005:133).

Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives (Pieterse, 2007; Tsheola, 2012). Though developmental local government is explicitly about economic development, very few municipalities knew how to pursue such development.

The Constitution provides for a developmental model of local government (RSA, 1996). Thus local government is not just an important site for the delivery of services, but is crucial for the economic and social development of people. The Constitution provides that municipalities should be in charge of providing access to vital services, such as electricity, primary health care, sanitation, and water. Moreover, local government is everybody's business; and, in South Africa local government has contributed to the achievement of a number of significant social and economic development advances, since the ushering in of the new democratic municipal dispensation in December 2000 which gives local people a platform for achieving the three core values of development (Mgwebi, 2012). The majority of our people have increased access to a wide range of basic services and more opportunities have been created for their participation in the economy (Cogta, 2009). It is worth noting that South Africa's local government is still in the process of transformation. One of the critical constitutional features of local government in South Africa after 1994 has been its developmental orientation. Given the range of structural disadvantages created by

apartheid, rural areas still require a high level of government intervention to promote development; and, for these interventions to be successful and sustainable they must be guided by a clear vision (Pieterse, 2007).

### **How Does South Africa's Local Government Legislation and Practice Create an Enabling Local Development Environment?**

It is almost two decades after the attainment of political freedom, and South Africa remains profoundly marked by very high levels of inequality, underpinned by stubbornly high levels of unemployment and pervasive poverty (Nattrass and Seekings, 2001; Ozler, 2007; Pieterse, 2007). Poverty in South Africa is largely driven by a lack of income, and there is a significant percentage of unemployed people. One can ask as to why there is such slow development in regard of service delivery and employment generation to improve the living standard of the people. Notwithstanding the policies, and strategies that have been put in place to deal with such problems at local, provincial and national level, this question remains relevant. The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) provides for the developmental duties of local municipalities which locate local government at the forefront of development; and, in Section 40.1 it states that “government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated”. The three spheres of government are supposed to work in relation to one another, in order to realize the developmental goals of localities, provinces and also the nation. Not only does local government play an important role in development, it also is the key player in improving the socio-economic profiles of the local people.

The local government model is expected to be advanced, progressive, and transformative. However, it is not working well in practice. There are a variety of reasons for this, including the lack of capacity, inability to raise enough revenue, inadequate intergovernmental fiscal transfers, the complexity of the two-tier model of District and Local Municipalities, inadequate community participation, undue party political interference in municipalities and corruption (Mitlin, 2004; Mzimakwe, 2010; Tsheola, 2012)

Local government has a developmental role to play within municipalities; there are developmental approaches that it engages in the hope of improving the wellbeing of the people. The development approaches include integrated development planning, service delivery, local economic development (LED) and democratization. This paper discussed IDP and LED only. In terms of the Municipal Systems Act, each municipality has to develop an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) reasonably soon after local government elections for the five-year term of the council. Important aspects of the IDP should ideally be based on key elements of the Election

Manifesto of the party that wins the elections. The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) notes that developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. Section 25 of the Municipal Systems Act requires that “each municipal council must, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term, adopt a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality” which “(a) links, integrates and co-ordinates plans and takes into account proposals for the development of the municipality; (b) aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan; and (c) forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based....” .The IDP must also “be compatible with national and provincial development plans and planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation” (RSA, 2000).

In terms of the Municipal Systems Act, the core components of an IDP should also include a municipality's local economic development plans, a spatial development framework, disaster management plans, a financial management plan with a budget projection for at least three years, and key performance indicators and targets. The more effective the cooperative governance system is, the more the conditions of a developmental state are created, and the more a developmental state is built, the more the conditions for a more effective cooperative governance system are created. These are based on the Constitution and set out mainly in the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000). As pointed out above, among the aims of local government set out in the Constitution are “to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities” and “to encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in matters of local government” (Mitlin, 2004; Sachs, 2008; Mzimakwe, 2010). In terms of the Municipal Systems Act, a municipality “must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance” (RSA, 2000). The Act makes it clear that residents have the right to contribute to the municipality's decision-making processes. They also have the right to submit recommendations and complaints to the council and are entitled to prompt responses. Furthermore, residents have the right to “regular disclosure of the state of affairs of the municipality, including its finances” (RSA, 2000, 2001).

## **Conclusion**

The paper demonstrated that there is a necessary linkage between local government and local economic development mainly for the realization of an enabling local development environment, which is affirmed by Hoffman (2007) and Pieterse

(2007). One of the objectives of local government is to work with citizens in local communities to help them find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs for the attainment of the three core values of development. So far, there is credence to the notion that local government has made negligible progress in terms of creating an enabling environment for local development. In some instances, the conditions have worsened. Regardless of the close proximity of local government to the people, this sphere of government has appeared to perpetually fail local people hence access to services has remained tenuous for the majority of poor people. To halt this trend, South Africa will require implementation of regulations in line with the policy prescriptions.

## **References**

- Beall, J. 2004. "Decentralisation and engendering democracy: lessons from local government reform in South Africa". Crisis States programme working Papers Series No. 1, [Online] ISSN 1740 – 5815. Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28206/> [Accessed 11 September 2012].
- Bhorat, H. 2004. "Labor Market Challenges in the Post-apartheid South Africa". *South African Journal of Economics* 72 (5): 940-977.
- Cashdan, B. 2000. "Local government and poverty in South Africa". Background Research Series: Municipal Services Project, [online] Available at: [http://www.municipalservicesproject.org/sites/municipalservicesproject.org/files/uploadsfile/Archive/BackgroundPaper\\_CASHDAN\\_Local\\_Government\\_and\\_Poverty\\_in\\_South\\_Africa\\_2000.pdf](http://www.municipalservicesproject.org/sites/municipalservicesproject.org/files/uploadsfile/Archive/BackgroundPaper_CASHDAN_Local_Government_and_Poverty_in_South_Africa_2000.pdf) [Accessed 18 August 2012].
- Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA). 2009. *Local Government Turnaround Strategy*. RSA Government Printers, Pretoria.
- Department: Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. 2009. *State of Local Government in South Africa: Overview Report National State of Local Government Assessments*. Republic of South Africa.
- Education and Training Unit (ETU). [www.etu.org.za](http://www.etu.org.za), Accessed 18 September 2012
- Galvin, M. 1999. "The impact of local government on rural development in South Africa". *Transformation* 40: 87-111.

- Hindson, D. and Meyer-Stamer, J. 2007. "The Local Business Environment and Local Economic Development: Comparing Approaches". Mesopartner, [online] Available at: <http://www.businessenvironment.org/dyn/be/docs/4/MeyerStamerLocalBEandLED.pdf> [Accessed 15 August 2012].
- Hoffman, B.D. 2007. "Assessing the quality of local government in south Africa". Centre on Democracy, Development, and the rule of law, Stanford University, [online] Available at: [http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/wgape/papers/12\\_Hoffman.pdf](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/wgape/papers/12_Hoffman.pdf) [Accessed 13 August 2012].
- Local Government Action. [www.localgovernmentaction.org](http://www.localgovernmentaction.org) Accessed 20 August 2012
- Mesopartner. [www.mesopartner.com](http://www.mesopartner.com) Accessed 13 August 2012.
- Meyer-Stamer, J. 2006. "The Hexagon of Local Economic Development and LED in South Africa". Mesopartner, [online] Available at: [http://www.mesopartner.com/fileadmin/user\\_files/working\\_papers/mp-wp5\\_Hexagon-SA.pdf](http://www.mesopartner.com/fileadmin/user_files/working_papers/mp-wp5_Hexagon-SA.pdf) [Accessed 10 June 2013].
- Mgwebi, G. n.d. "South African Local Government: 10 Years Later". (<http://www.afesis.org.za/Local-Governance-Articles/south-african-local-government-10-years-later>), accessed 18 August 2012.
- Mitlin, D. 2004. "Reshaping local democracy". *Environment and Urbanization* 16 (1): 3-8.
- Municipal Demarcation Board. <http://www.demarcation.org.za/>. Accessed 18 September 2012.
- Mzimakwe, T. 2010. "Public participation and engagement in local governance: a South African perspective". *Journal of Public Administration*, 45 (4): 501-519.
- Natras, N and Seekings, J. "'Two Nations'? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today". *Daedalus* 130 (1): 45-70.
- Nkuna, NW and Nemutanzhela, TL. 2012. "Locating the role of service delivery within powers and functions of local government in South Africa". *Journal of Public Administration* 47 (11): 355-368.
- Nyalunga, D. 2006. "The revitalisation of local government in South Africa". *International NGO Journal* 1 (2): 015-020.

- Özler, B. 2007. "Not Separate, Not Equal: Poverty and Inequality in Post-apartheid South Africa". *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 55 (3): 487-529.
- Patterson, C.2008. Country Report Local Economic Development in South Africa. GTZ Strengthening Local Governance Programme's LED component in South Africa: GTZ.
- Phago, K. 2005. "Strengthening local economic development (LED)". *Journal of Public Administration, Conference proceedings*: 131-138.
- Phago, K.G. and Malan, L.P. 2004. "Public private partnerships (PPPS) and their role in extending access to local governance". *Journal of Public Administration* 39 (4.1): 481 – 491.
- Pieterse, E. 2007. South African local governance: ambitions, experiences and challenges: Trilateral Dialogue on the Role of Local Government within a Developmental State. Paper presented at the Planning Workshop with experts from Brazil, India and South Africa. Bonn. Germany: February 26 – March 3, 2007.
- Rawson Property Group. 2012. "South Africa's Gini coefficient is the highest in the world," December. (<http://www.rawson.co.za/news/south-africas-gini-coefficient-is-the-highest-in-the-world-id-874>), accessed 10 June 2013.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA) 1998. The White Paper on Local Government. RSA Government Printers, Pretoria.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA). 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria: RSA Government Printers.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA). 1998. Local Government: Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998. Pretoria: RSA Government Printers.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA). 2000. Local Government: Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000. Pretoria: RSA Government Printers.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA). 2001. Local Government: Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations, 2001. RSA Government Printers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa (RSA). Constitution of the South African Local Government Association as adopted on November 1997 and recognized in terms of section 2 (1) (a) of the organised local government act, 1997 (act no. 52); and as amended by the salga national conference of 24-27. April 2007.

Sachs, J.A. 2008. "Participatory democracy". South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy 32: 33-35.

Seduma, M.P. 2011. The impact of local economic development on the livelihood of communities in Ba-Phalaborwa municipality, Mopani, Limpopo province, South Africa. Masters Dissertation, University of Limpopo.

Shere, G. 2000. "Intergroup Economic Inequality in South Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era". The American Economic Review 90 (2): 317-321. Papers and Proceedings of the One Hundred Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association.

Statistics South Africa. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/>. Accessed 10 June 2013.

Swinburn G, Goga S, Murphy F. 2006. "Local Economic Development: A Primer Developing and Implementing Local Economic Development Strategies and Action Plans". World Bank, [online] Available at: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLED/Resources/led\\_primer\\_bookmarked.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLED/Resources/led_primer_bookmarked.pdf) [Accessed 15 August 2012].

Tsheola, JP. 2012. "Theorising a democratic developmental state: issues of public service delivery planning and violent protests in South Africa". Journal of Public Administration 47 (1): 161-179.

Tshishonga, N and Mafema, ED. 2010. "Policy Development for Service Delivery through Community Development Worker Programme in South Africa: Exploring the Implications of Placing a Cart before the Horse". Journal of Public Administration 45 (4): 561-583.

Wikipedia. [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com). Accessed 18 September 2012.