

Thinking Global Acting Local: NEPAD and Local Government

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Introduction

This paper will explore possible linkages between the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and local government. It will show that, although NEPAD is aimed at individual African, local government is the level of governance that is the closest to the populace and it is here where service delivery, of the type that NEPAD envisages, should start.

The issues that NEPAD wishes to address are in many cases embodied in the functions performed by local governments. The paper wishes to emphasize that local governments on the continent can play an important role in the realisation of NEPAD's aims. However, very little has been written as how this tier of government will play a role in the workings of the NEPAD initiative. This paper will identify and unpack several of the challenges facing local government structures that will impact on the goals and principles of NEPAD. It can be postulated that it is a question of when, rather than whether, NEPAD will come to address issues related to local government.

The first section will elaborate on the proposed goals of NEPAD, and how the proposed peer review mechanism would work. The second section will highlight questions in local government that could be linked to the initiative in future:

- Infrastructure provision
- Integrated planning and multi-sectoral service delivery
- Decentralisation of powers and functions to local government
- Intergovernmental fiscal flows and the danger of unfounded mandates
- Promoting a client-oriented municipal culture
- Promoting representativeness at local level.

In the final section, the paper will suggest possible avenues whereby local authorities can be integrated into the structures of NEPAD.

1. New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

1.1 Background

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NEPAD was the result of three initiatives launched by different African leaders between 2000 and 2001. There was the Millennium Partnership for Africa's Development Program, championed by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. Shortly thereafter the now defunct Organisation for African Unity (OAU) provided the Presidents of South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria with a mandate to investigate how Africa could address its growing debt problem. The second program was the Omega plan, initiated by the President of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade. This program received strong support from Francophone Africa. The final initiative was the Compact for Africa's Recovery, proposed by the secretary of the United Nations Commission for Africa, K.Y. Amoako¹.

At an OAU conference in May 2001 in Algiers, it was decided to merge these initiatives into a single entity named the New Africa Initiative. In July 2001, an OAU summit in Lusaka, Zambia provided a committee of 15 heads of state with a mandate to manage the plan. In October of that year the committee renamed the initiative to NEPAD and established a secretariat in Midrand, South Africa². In the meanwhile, the OAU ceased to exist. On 21 March 2001, at an Extraordinary Summit in Sirte, Libya, the Heads of State of that body established the African Union (AU) to replace the OAU³. According to the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, this process shows that NEPAD was an 'OAU/AU mandated process'. Moreover, it describes NEPAD as institutionally intertwined with the emerging AU. It states that the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee have to report to AU Summit on a yearly basis. The Chair of the AU and the body's Secretary-General are ex-officio members of NEPAD's steering committee. The Department of Foreign Affairs boldly goes on to say that 'NEPAD is the socio-economic blueprint for the AU to implement its objectives'⁴.

1.2 Goals

The primary objective of NEPAD, according to the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, is to eradicate poverty from the continent. It also aims to promote growth and sustainable development in African countries 'individually and collectively' and so stop the continent's further marginalisation. African ownership must be 'at the core' of the program in order to meet the aspiration of the continent's inhabitants. It also aims to develop a 'new' partnership with industrialised countries and multilateral organisations on the basis of 'mutual commitments, obligations and benefits'⁵. The expected outcomes of the initiative are listed as follows:

- Economic Growth and development and increased employment
- Reduction in poverty and inequality
- Diversification of productive activities
- Enhanced international competitiveness
- Enhanced international competitiveness and increased exports; and
- Increased African integration⁶.

¹ De Waal A, 'What's New About the 'New Partnership for Africa's Development'?' in *International Affairs*, vol 78 (3), 2002: 456

² <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepa275a.htm>

³ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad3.htm>

⁴ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad3.htm>

⁵ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad1.htm>

⁶ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepa275a.htm>

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The South African Department of Foreign Affairs lists several 'sectoral priorities' that the program will be expected to address. Under the heading of 'bridging the sectoral gap' the following activities are listed:

- All infrastructure sectors
- Bridging the Digital Divide: Investing in Information and Communications Technologies.
- Energy
- Transport
- Water and sanitation

Under human resource development, the department lists:

- Poverty reduction
- Bridging the Education Gap
- Reversing the Brain Drain
- Health

'Agriculture' is listed as separate priority all together⁷. As will be shown later, most of these priorities can found in the sphere and functions of local government.

NEPAD was to accomplish these goals by way of three strategies, the first of these being the Peace and Security Initiative. This body will seek to promote African institutions capable of early warning, conflict prevention and peacemaking functions. The second is the Democracy and Governance Initiative. This entity will seek to strengthen the political and administrative framework of countries that participate in NEPAD. It will also engage in efforts to build the capacity of the civil service and parliamentary oversight bodies. Furthermore, it will also promote judicial reform. This initiative will function under aegis of the commitments towards good governance made by states that participate in NEPAD. An additional entity that will strengthen this body is the Heads of State Forum, an entity that will serve to monitor and evaluate the progress made by other African states towards achieving their objectives relating to good governance. Thirdly, an Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative will focus its attention on the economic and corporate governance practices in countries participating in NEPAD. It will also strive to further regional economic integration and focus on the provision of essential regional public goods, such as transport, energy, water, disease eradication, environmental preservation and the provision of regional research capacity⁸.

1.3 Peer Review Mechanism

'The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)' says the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, 'will enhance African ownership of its development agenda through a system of self-assessment that ensures that policies of African countries are based on best current knowledge and practices'⁹. According to other sources, the mandate of the APRM is to 'ensure that the policies and practices of participating states conform to the agreed political economic and corporate governance values,

⁷ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad1.htm>

⁸ Southall R, *Charting African Development in a Fragmented World*, Presented as Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture, University of Natal Southall, 2002, p. 4-5

⁹ <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepa275a.htm>

codes and standards contained in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance'.¹⁰ The idea behind the APRM is that participating African states will evaluate each other in order to ascertain the given state's compliance with accepted norms of democracy, human rights and good governance. The compliance with the code of conduct guiding the mentioned areas will not be voluntary¹¹.

Countries wishing to submit themselves to such a review process should notify the Chairman of the NEPAD Heads of State and the Government Implementation Committee. At the time of writing, the APRM will be managed by a panel of between five and seven people who will serve for four years, supported by a secretariat. When a state decides to accede to such a review, it would be required to submit a time schedule for implementing the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance¹². Participating states will be required to submit to four types of reviews. The first of these is the country review that is carried out within 18 months of a country joining the APRM. The second is a periodic review that takes place every four years. A member country can also request a review. Lastly, early signs of conflict or instability in member country can also be sufficient grounds for other member states to initiate a review.

It is foreseen that the initial review would consist of four stages. The first stage would involve a background study of the relevant information. During the second stage a review team would visit the country in question. Once there, the team would widely consult with government officials, political parties, members of civil society, trade union members and so forth. The report would be prepared during the third stage. The fourth stage marks the submission of the report by the team to the Heads of State and Government. The last mentioned body would then decide on whether the report should be adopted. Should a government that has been alerted to certain shortcomings, show a willingness to address these issues, participating states will be obliged to assist where possible within their capabilities. The fifth and final stage foresees the report publicly tabled in regional and sub-regional structures such as the Pan African Parliament or the African Commission on Human and People's Rights. It was recommended that the entire process, starting with the inception of the first stage and ending with the submission of the report to the Heads of State and Government, not take longer than six months¹³.

In future, the performance of the local government sphere in African countries should be included as part of the peer review process. This will enable problems in countries' intergovernmental systems to be diagnosed and improved. Furthermore, there are many lessons which can be learnt from various African countries with regards to the structure and functioning of their local government systems.

2. Linkages between local governments and NEPAD

¹⁰ APRM, 2003: 1

¹¹ Southall R, Charting African Development in a Fragmented World, Presented as Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture, University of Natal Southall, 2002, , p. 6

¹² APRM, 2003: 3-4

¹³ APRM, 2003: 4-6

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This section will highlight challenges that face local governments that correspond to NEPAD's 'sectoral priorities', as listed above.

2.1 Delivery of infrastructure and social services

NEPAD envisages a strong focus on the delivery of infrastructure, such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads and telecommunications. This is not surprising, since infrastructure forms the backbone of economic and social development. Studies should be undertaken to compare the levels and types of infrastructure funding in various NEPAD-affiliated countries, so that best practices can be determined and promoted.

International experience already suggests important lessons for infrastructure delivery, for example:

- The importance of appropriate and affordable levels of service ("LOS")
- The importance of community involvement in planning, implementing and maintaining infrastructure
- The importance of adequate funding and skills for post-implementation operations and maintenance ("O&M")
- The promotion of a culture of payment for services, to ensure financial sustainability
- The importance of environmental sustainability.

Furthermore, it is increasingly found that infrastructure provision should be accompanied by "soft" (human-oriented) development. In the case of sanitation provision, for example, sanitation awareness raising needs to accompany the provision of toilets. In the case of water provision, conservation awareness needs to be promoted. The provision of roads for motorised vehicles needs to be accompanied by traffic management and education. Most significantly, infrastructure planning and delivery should be strongly linked to the promotion of individuals' and communities' *livelihoods*.

This indicates the importance of inter-sectoral co-operation in service delivery. Typically, infrastructure provision will involve a range of departments, including departments of Health, Education, Environmental Management and Economic Development.

The most important agencies to promote intersectoral service delivery are, by their very nature, municipal governments. Municipalities are unique government institutions, since they are essentially multi-sectoral agencies. It is at this level that multi-sectoral planning can be promoted.

2.2 Integrated development planning and service delivery

Achieving intersectoral co-operation remains a challenge for many countries. National sectoral departments are typically reluctant to co-operate with other departments. Different departments operate according to different policies, organisational structures and incentive structures, which tend to undermine the

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willingness of staff to promote the goals of other departments. In some cases, relationships of rivalry develop amongst departments.

In this context, it is critically important to strengthen the role of municipal governments so that they can harness the activities of national line departments for locally co-ordinated programmes and projects. In South Africa, there has been a great deal of experimentation with the writing of local and district integrated development plans (IDPs). The next challenge for local municipalities is to implement those IDPs in a coherent and effective way.

Often, municipal governments lack the confidence to harness national departments for locally co-ordinated development programmes. Municipalities tend to remain subservient and beholden to national departments. This situation can only be overcome by explicit national policies to devolve functions to municipalities.

2.3 Devolution of functions to municipal government

The question of what kind of powers local governments should have, and what measure of autonomy they should enjoy, in order to maximise their role in service delivery, has been intensely debated in developing countries.

For example, Uganda adopted a policy of extensive decentralisation after 1992. This culminated in the Local Government Act of 1997. The country has five levels of local government: village councils, parish councils, sub-county councils, county councils and district councils. The district council and sub-county council are legally distinct local governments while the others relate to matters of administration. Local governments are empowered to assume responsibilities regarding the public allocation of resources, participatory planning and budgeting. The district council is the highest level of local authority and constitutes a direct link between central government and local government. All funds from the centre intended for local governments flow through to these institutions. The powers and functions accorded to local government in Uganda includes planning, infrastructure (which includes among others, highways, maintenance of streets and roads, sanitation, waste water, electricity and municipal airports) social services (including education), environmental management (including pollution control and environmental health), local economic development and revenue collection. Uganda's system of local government is arguably one of the most decentralised on the continent, by virtue of having no tiers between the national government and its local counterpart.

In South Africa, there is currently a review of the constitutional powers and function of local government. The keynote for this review is the concept of "developmental local government", as enunciated in the Local Government White Paper of 1998, and subsequent legislation. An increasing number of government departments envisage the decentralisation of functions to municipal government.

Municipalities are becoming involved in a range of new functions. One example is land reform. Although more pressing in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, recent events in Zimbabwe indicate how the question of land reform in Southern Africa can have an impact on the regional economy and on global perceptions of the

continent. In South Africa, the National Departments of Agriculture and Land Affairs have set a target of redistributing a third of the country's land to emerging black farmers by the year 2015¹⁴. Under the country's Land Redistribution Programme, it is envisaged that municipalities will advise and assist eligible people to access government grants and assisting them with the legal processes involved. These include the acquisition and transfer of land as well as the necessary title deeds. It is further foreseen that local government would provide assistance with the identification of land and assist land reform beneficiaries with promoting their agricultural enterprises.

In addition, many municipalities in South Africa's rural areas own commonage land. These are pieces of land owned by the municipalities. Municipalities are encouraged by government to use this land to further the agricultural efforts of the urban poor¹⁵. A recent report suggested two ways in such areas could be used. The first of these involved the land serving as a social security net. Hereby access to such areas would be open to all. Its uses would include serving as burial sites, places to collect firewood, sites for sanitation and waste disposal as well as grazing grounds for livestock. The second option would be use the areas as means for land redistribution. The municipal land serves as a stepping stone to for aspiring farmers, which would allow them to hone their agricultural skills and accumulate capital, before accessing larger government land grants with private tenure.

Arguments are now being made for local governments to employ agriculture extension officers to assist emerging farmers in pursuing their agricultural goals. Of particular importance is the role such officials play after the land has been transferred to beneficiaries of the government's land distribution program¹⁶. In order for such transfers to form the foundation for sustainable agriculture, extensive "after-care" services need to be performed to assist new farmers with agricultural practices and infrastructure maintenance. Agricultural extension officers can play a pivotal role in ensuring that possible hurdles are identified and acted upon before its impact threatens the success of the farm and the livelihoods of the emerging farmers.

Although it is tempting for national departments to decentralise services to municipal governments, numerous other questions have to be considered in relation to the decentralisation trend:

- The degree of decentralisation of decision-making and discretion
- The question of municipal capacity (financial resources, staffing, skills, and organisational design) to manage additional functions
- National and provincial departments' ability to assist municipalities to build capacity, and
- Appropriate intergovernmental fiscal relations.

¹⁴ Cartwright A, Harrison T & Benseler A, 'Municipal Commonage Management' in Linking IDP's To Municipal Budgets, Local Government Support and Learning Network, Department of Local Government and Housing, Northern Cape, 2002, p. 3.

Atkinson D, 2002, A Passion to Govern: Third-Generation Issues Facing Local Government in South Africa, Centre for Development Enterprise and HSRC, 64

¹⁶ Cartwright A, Harrison T & Benseler A, 'Municipal Commonage Management' in Linking IDP's To Municipal Budgets, Local Government Support and Learning Network, Department of Local Government and Housing, Northern Cape, p. 10-11; 15.

2.4 Intergovernmental fiscal flows

The question as to exactly what functions local governments perform assumes critical importance when the phenomenon of 'unfunded mandates' is considered. "Unfunded mandates" refer to a situation where local governments are expected to perform functions or exercise powers without adequate funding being provided. Pressure is placed on the local government's sources of revenue and capacity without appropriate measures from other levels of government to compensate for this.

Two examples from South Africa should suffice to illustrate the problem. The first of these is land management. As mentioned earlier, many municipalities in the country owned commonage lands. The South African Department of Land Affairs expects municipalities to use such areas for encouraging emerging farmers. This has caused loss of a valuable source of income, in the form of rent received from commercial farmers who used to lease these areas. Secondly, it has placed an enormous administrative burden on the municipalities concerned. They are now expected to become involved in project management, interact with local communities expecting to occupy such lands as well as to maintain and provide infrastructure on such farms. The problems has been aggravated by the fact that the level or rent for such communities have been set at lower levels than those for commercial farmers and that payments from groups of emerging farmers are often unreliable¹⁷.

The second example is that of Local Economic Development. The South African Department of Provincial and Local Government has made grants available to municipalities to initiate projects to address poverty in their areas by launching economic projects for the poor. However, experience at municipal level to undertake such tasks are, in many cases, sorely lacking. Many of these projects run into financial difficulties and municipal officials lack the necessary time and skills to rescue them¹⁸. In many cases, municipalities are in need of management and training advice to run such projects. The funding for such projects should also include the administrative and management efforts needed to initiate such projects and to oversee it. Municipal officials are drawn away from other tasks and duties, while equipment and vehicles also need to be used.

How a local government finances its development activities is a critical question in developing countries. There are wide discrepancies between countries, with regard to the proportion of municipal funding which is locally generated. For example, Mangaung Local Municipality in South Africa derives 85% of it's income from local service charges (38% from electricity, 25% from water, sanitation and refuse removal and 18% from rates on properties). Only 12% of the budget is derived from grants by the central government. By contrast, the Bushyeni District Council in Uganda derives 5% of its income from local service charges and 85% from grants made by the central

¹⁷ Atkinson D, A Passion to Govern: Third-Generation Issues Facing Local Government in South Africa, Centre for Development Enterprise and HSRC, p. 63-4

¹⁸ Atkinson D, A Passion to Govern: Third-Generation Issues Facing Local Government in South Africa, Centre for Development Enterprise and HSRC, 2002, p. 65-6

government (the remaining 7% is composed of funds provided by donors and reserves)¹⁹.

There are advantages and disadvantages to high levels of government subsidies to municipal government. On the one hand, high levels of transfers may well undermine local discretion and initiative. On the other hand, it is unreasonable for national governments to expect municipal governments to act as front-line service delivery agents, unless sufficient national resources are directed to municipalities. In future, this question will need to be examined much more closely by NEPAD, with regard to international best practice.

2.5 Promoting an effective customer interface at municipal level

Even where criteria such as adequate powers and financing for municipal government are met, municipalities may still remain ineffective in meeting the needs of citizens effectively. An effective customer interface is arguably one of the most important aspects in local government. It is here that "the rubber hits the road"²⁰

The frontline staff of any local government are the officials who have to deal with the public. They are 'face' of the government so to speak. Their manner of interaction and professionalism will in any many ways determine how citizens perceive government and its efforts towards development. If development is indeed to be undertaken as a people-centred process, it is imperative that such institutions develop a mindset that sees citizens as customers, the people whose needs come first. Several basic questions arise concerning how such officials interact with the public. These include the following:

- How are complaints handled?
- Have the frontline staff been trained in customer relations?
- Are the documents distributed by the local government comprehensible to residents?
- In what ways, if any, do local governments collect information about the views and opinions of its customers?
- Can customers be served in the language of their choice?
- Are the offices within reasonable distance of the residents they are supposed to serve?
- Are the offices accessible to all residents (including the disabled and the elderly)?
- Are the offices sufficiently staffed to deal with customers in a timely manner?
- Are the hours kept by the offices convenient for residents?

Also important in the African context is the issue of municipal spatial structuring. African countries are generally quite large. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, for instance, is approximately the size of western Europe. Outside densely populated urban areas, the citizenry are in many cases dispersed over huge distances and over

¹⁹ Human Sciences Research Council, Research conducted for Department of Provincial and Local Government, unpublished report, 2003.

²⁰ Atkinson D, 2002, A Passion to Govern: Third-Generation Issues Facing Local Government in South Africa, Centre for Development Enterprise and HSRC, 2002, p. 41

regions that are at times physically inaccessible. Local authorities thus find themselves responsible for complex services and functions in regions that are in some cases larger than some of the most sophisticated *states* in the world. A few examples from South Africa would suffice: The Northern Free State District Municipality has a diameter the same size as Belgium, the Xariep District Municipality in the Southern Free State is the size of Hungary and the Namakwa District Municipality almost has the same length as the American state of Kansas²¹.

Local authorities on the continent therefore need to carefully consider where their offices should be located, as well as whether it will be accessible to all the residents that they need to serve. It can be argued that, in the face of the distances mentioned, such authorities should strengthen their outlying or field offices so that their representation is spread in an equitable manner across its boundaries.

A worrying phenomena in South Africa and other parts of the continent, is that of some communities having minimal or no contact with state structures. There are at least two types of communities who have very limited access to the state. These first of these are rural are rural communities who have addressed their development needs as far as possible through their own efforts. The second are people who live in under resourced municipalities that have been unable to reach their citizens because of poor communications and long distances. These types of communities now have a weak tradition of local government and almost no tradition of paying for services. More worryingly, both possess a history of individuals who serve as 'gate keepers' to development efforts aimed at them. These 'gate keepers' include farmers, traditional leaders, 'warlords' or 'shacklords'. Whether local authorities should attempt use these gatekeepers as delivery channels is an open question²².

2.6 Local representation and participation

A devolved system of government will require strong systems of local political representation. However, local governments are notoriously prone to being captured by local elites, which may reflect local ethnic, racial or class structures.

An important aspect of NEPAD's deliberations will be to compare different municipal electoral systems in African countries, and the developmental consequences of such systems. The feasibility of ward and PR (proportional representation), or combinations of these systems, need to be examined.

Another key question is the relationship between elected councillors and municipal officials. In the light of the growing workload of municipalities, there is an increasing tendency towards full-time councillors. This creates ambiguous role-definitions for councillors, especially in their relationships with senior staff of municipalities. In South Africa, such ambiguities often lead to conflict.

²¹ Atkinson D, Akharwaray N, Botes L, 'Decentralisation, Development Management and Shared Service Centres' Linking IDP's To Municipal Budgets, Local Government Support and Learning Network, Department of Local Government and Housing, Northern Cape, 2002: p. 17

²² Atkinson D, A Passion to Govern: Third-Generation Issues Facing Local Government in South Africa, Centre for Development Enterprise and HSRC, 2002, p. 78

Furthermore, the question of "porous boundaries" at municipal level should be addressed. Municipalities should promote public participation in a variety of ways, including planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of service delivery. Public participation is extremely difficult to do in an equitable way, as it is all too easy for marginalized groups to become excluded from consultative processes. For example, South Africa is experimenting with local ward committees, and this has produced mixed results. Other burning questions are the involvement of traditional leaders in municipal government, and the promotion of public-private partnerships (PPPs).

Given the importance of civil society in promoting good governance, the representative aspect of municipal government will need to be examined closely, and best practices identified for different types of contexts in Africa.

3. Integrating local government into NEPAD

This paper has tried to highlight possible convergences between the aims of NEPAD and the functions that are (or could be) performed by local governments. It has described how the APRM will function in accordance with current proposals, as well as the various sectoral initiatives proposed by NEPAD. However, the initiative has so far been pursued as an inter-state matter with no attention been given as to how participating states will pursue its very laudable goals. The initiative is still in its inception phase and it is therefore unrealistic to expect that its exact manner of operation will be clear. However, this paper proposes that thought be given in future as to how NEPAD will relate local government ('the coal face' of development in the words of a South African analyst).

Certainly, the institutions that will be established by NEPAD provide ample scope for the inclusion of local government. The Democracy and Governance Initiative²³ is proposed to busy itself building the capacity of the public services of participating states. It is therefore ideally placed to contribute towards the service delivery efforts of local governments by providing the necessary support to enhance their delivery capacity.

The Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative²⁴ will focus on service provision of essential public goods, and will focus, on amongst others, on issues such as water and environmental preservation. The paper has shown that local governments are intimately involved with the provision of such services and cooperation between such structures and the initiative can be of mutual benefit.

Lastly the APRM holds intriguing possibilities for local governments. The first phase of the mechanism foresees the panel responsible for the review studying the relevant background literature for country to be reviewed²⁵. The second stage envisages the panel visiting the country concerned and consulting relevant groups, including

²³ Southall R, *Charting African Development in a Fragmented World*, Presented as Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture, University of Natal Southall, 2002, p. 6.

²⁴ Southall R, *Charting African Development in a Fragmented World*, Presented as Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture, University of Natal Southall, 2002, p. 2002: 6

²⁵ ARMP, 2003: 5

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government officials. Local governments can be included in both stages. Background literature on its functions can be obtained and some of its officials interviewed. Such an approach would further one of the most important goals of the initiative, namely African ownership of the program, by integrating all levels of government into its workings.

Conclusion

This paper argued that local government is the level of governance that is closest to the populace and where service delivery, of the type that NEPAD proposes, will start. It has also highlighted several areas where the functions performed by local governments can clearly be linked the priority areas identified by NEPAD.

The paper also showed that there are several ways in local authorities can be integrated into structures planned to operate under the aegis of NEPAD. By illustrating that NEPAD's goals are reflected in the functions of local governments the paper sought to emphasise the conviction that is a question of when, rather than whether, the initiative will need to focus on local authorities.

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- 1 <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad3.htm>
- 2 <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepad1.htm>
- 3 <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/nepa275a.htm>

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