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Where to send articles

All correspondence concerning articles should be directed to assadpamjournal@gmail.com or:

Dr Vain Jarbandhan

Head: Department of Public Management and Governance

Faculty of Management

P O Box 524

Auckland Park 2006

Tel: +27 11 559 2905

Email: vainj@uj.ac.za

Subscription enquiries:

Prof L Lues

University of the Free State, Department of Public Administration and Management

PO Box 339, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, 9300

E-mail: Luesl@ufs.ac.za

Tel: +27 51 401 2886

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Editorial

V Jarbandhan
Chief Editor

In **'Improving the Revenue Capacity of Large African Cities'**, Angelitha Kithatu-Kiwekete examines the national framework for three selected large African cities: Lagos, Johannesburg, and Nairobi, in terms of these cities' use of local fiscal tools to independently generate municipal revenue and to rely less on central government transfers. The article concludes that far-reaching fiscal reforms are indeed useful for African local governments and should ultimately afford African cities the platform for local fiscal autonomy. The author cautions against urban fiscal stress that local authorities of developed economies now face and suggests that national governments must enable these large cities to generate a significant portion of own source revenue to sustain financing of the growing demand for municipal services currently and in the near future.

Pregala Pillay in the article **'Ethics, Public Trust and Corruption: Reflections on South African Realities'**, examines the direct and indirect relationships of ethics/ethical behaviour, corruption and levels of public trust in South Africa in the context of the existing realities of corruption in the country as well as the state's anti-corruption efforts, legislation, rules, regulations and agencies; that have been unable to reverse the negative trends of the phenomenon and its effects on development, as well as economic, political and social stability. The article found that empirically and comparatively in South Africa the realities on corruption in the public sector lead directly and indirectly to political mistrust and its repercussions.

In the article, **'Corruption Risk Assessment and Mitigation in the South African Public Sector'**, N E Mkhize and Danielle Nel highlight various corruption risk assessment and mitigation measures in the South African public service sector. The article discusses various corruption risk assessment measures and risk mitigation measures. Based on the executive fraud triangle, corruption risk is increasing due to three primary reasons: greed, pride, and entitlement. This requires the South African public service sector to have measures in place that focus, not only on social factors, but also on psychological factors; since greed can be caused by both social and psychological factors. The article found that various strategies could be used to combat corruption. These include education, training, promoting ethical leadership, preventing victimisation, monitoring unauthorised disclosure and promoting accountability.

Damian Ukwandu highlights in **'A Critical Review of the Concept of Sustainable Development and its Relevance to Sub-Saharan Africa'**, the nature,

content and scope of sustainable development as it relates to developing countries and sub-Saharan Africa in particular. According to the author, sustainable development initiatives encompass specific aspects of environmental and economic development, agriculture and nutrition, security, energy, health; and water and sanitation perspectives. Various environmental activists, protection movements and captains of industry and commerce have labelled all sorts of activity they do as conforming to the mantra of sustainable development. He adds that oil prospecting companies in the oil rich Niger Delta region of the country have all labelled their oil exploration and drilling as conforming to the principle of sustainable development. This article unpacks some of the contradictions embedded in the concept of sustainable development and sheds light on this multi-disciplinary and multifaceted concept that has been used across disciplines and political boundaries, specifically as it relates to sub-Saharan Africa.

Nombeko Mbava and Babette Rabie, in their article, **'Strengthening Impact Evaluations in the South African National Evaluation System'**, aim to provide better understanding of the methodologies and approaches used in past programme impact evaluations in the South African public sector and to reflect on the usefulness of evaluation findings to policy decision-makers. Applying a Realist Evaluation theoretical framework, four completed impact evaluation case studies were analysed to determine whether the evaluation findings offered are aligned to the decision needs of policymakers as perceived by experts within the relevant sectors. The analysis established that the adopted evaluation methods and designs employed in the four impact evaluation case studies are not ideal to inform the decision needs of policymakers. According to the authors, the Realist Impact Evaluation Assessment Model enables the selection of appropriate impact evaluation designs that maximise the usefulness of findings to policymakers.

Mike van Heerden in his article, **'Judicial Over-reach: Undue Interference or Remedy for Executive Shortcomings?'**, addresses the issue of the executive branch of government that is often caught up in a dispute, and then approaches the Judiciary to find a solution. According to the author, "the Executive may have a politically inclined outcome in mind and might expect to obtain a court order that enforces its own stance. Should the court order not be what the Executive had hoped for, the Executive would probably allege judiciary interference (judicial overreach)". This article explains inter alia that the Judiciary's task is to ensure that laws are enforced equally and the courts are empowered to strike down an Executive action that violates the Constitution and then order the Executive to refrain from such action. The author adds that this approach of the Judiciary should not be seen as an encroachment on the terrain of the Executive with the intention to usurp the authority of the Executive, but rather as a solution, judicial guidance and leadership in an attempt to sustain public administration, governance and management.

The contention of this article is that judicial overreach *per se* does take place but with circumstantial good reason, and primarily because the Judiciary needs to enter the terrain of the Executive in order to appropriately advise and guide the Executive in terms of the manner in which policy and legislation must be interpreted and applied in practice to enable public officials to perform public administration efficiently and effectively. This should rather be regarded as a form of leadership to improve and sustain governance.

In, **'Mobile Technology Innovations for Improved Governance and Enhanced Service Delivery in South Africa'**, Thokozani Nzimakwe examines mobile technologies and services as a form of activating convenient access to government information, forms and business processes through mobile government (m-government). The article argues that mobile government services are now evolving on four dimensions, namely transforming e-government services directly to the mobile platform, providing access to mobile technologies and application for the field workers of the public sector, enabling smart/flex working and providing citizen services anytime, anywhere.

André Groenewald and Gerrit van der Waldt, in their article, **'A Strategic and Integrated Approach to Peace-building: The Case of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO)'**, report on findings of an empirical study conducted at the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO). The study aimed to establish the role the South African state plays in peace-building operations externally. This entailed identifying challenges linked to government's current peace-building efforts and proposing a more strategic and integrated approach to peace-building for DIRCO. According to the authors there is evidence that South Africa is forfeiting credibility as an internationally recognised peacemaker. This is mainly the result of government's inability to deal successfully and credibly with domestic conflict situations, such as the Marikana incident, service protests, and student uprisings. In addition, South Africa lacks an integrated peace-building architecture, which should include institutions within government, civil society, and the private sector that could be employed to address the full peace-building continuum. The article found that there is a dire need for concerted efforts to develop the necessary institutions within government that could contribute significantly to peace-building, particularly in Africa. Furthermore, operations in existing institutions should be aligned to ensure coherence and attain strategic goals and outcomes.

In the article, **'Local Economic Development (LED) in the Rwandan Context: Variables Influencing the Developmental Strategies and Frameworks'**, Innocente Murasi and Christelle Auriacombe conceptualise important aspects related to achieving these objectives. LED perspectives in Africa in general and Rwanda in particular are contextualised. Furthermore, the article provides the institutional, regulatory and policy framework for, as well as approaches and critical

considerations to LED in Rwanda. The article finally provides certain conclusions and recommendations to improve the planning process of LED interventions.

Zintle Kubheka and Michel Tshiyoyo, in their article **'The Role of Motivation in the Implementation of the Performance Management and Development System (PMDS) within the Gauteng Emergency Medical Services (GEMS)'**, assess the role of motivation in the implementation of the Performance Management and Development System (PMDS) within the Gauteng Emergency Medical Services (GEMS). In South Africa, with the advent of the new dispensation in 1994, the PMDS was introduced with the aim of promoting an effective and efficient monitoring and evaluation of employees' performance and subsequently that of their organisation. The system was designed as a tool to recognise and reward excellent performance; meanwhile catering for the training and development needs of underperforming employees. The article found that inter alia, the majority of the employees within GEMS are demotivated because of the manner in which the PMDS is implemented. The areas that require attention include among other things: communication between supervisors and subordinates, training and development, appropriate induction, capacitation of supervisors on the implementation of PMDS, and finally, the review of the current incentive and reward system.

According to Josephine Kimaro, David Fourie and Michel Tsiyoyo the traditional performance, performance management and performance measurement discourses give an indication of the value of the relationship of these concepts with monitoring and evaluation (M&E). In their article, **'Towards an Ideal Institutionalisation of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E): Considerations Influencing the Interrelationship between Performance, Performance Management and M&E'**, Josephine Kimaro, David Fourie and Michel Tshiyoyo conceptualise and contextualise performance-related concepts such as M&E, performance management and performance measurement; determine the interrelationship of these phenomena as well as the similarities and differences of key aspects related to these phenomena. The article also contextualises the key features in terms of the institutionalisation of M&E and establishes factors contributing to or deterring institutionalisation of M&E as well as the relationship between the level of institutionalisation of M&E and performance management.

In the article, **'The Efficacy of the Legal Framework in the Management of Wild Life Trade in Uganda: A Public Participation Approach'**, James Musinguzi and Benon Basheka focus on evaluating the efficacy of the legal framework in the management of trade in wildlife products in Uganda. According to the authors, the investigation of wildlife offences is a challenge for the whole community and is not limited to law enforcement agencies. Accordingly, dealing with wildlife offences in isolation, especially without the buy-in of enforcement agencies such as police and customs; affects the ability to address the causes and consequences of this phenomenon efficiently. The authors add that awareness in the judicial

sector about the seriousness, impact and potential profits of wildlife crime has had loopholes in Uganda. Some Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) employees are themselves involved in commission of these crimes and while prosecuting, the same employees interfere with the process; leading to loss of evidence and connivance with the police and the wildlife traffickers. The article proposes several recommendations to strengthen the legal framework and facilitate law enforcement officials and the prosecutors in Uganda to combat wildlife crime and assist prosecution and the imposition of penalties that are an effective deterrent.

In the article, **'Contributing to the Discourse on Workforce Diversity: Lessons and Experiences from the Civil Service of Ghana'**, Kwame Asamoah and William Baah-Boateng examine workforce diversity within the Ghanaian civil service. The authors analyse diversity within the civil service from four different perspectives, namely gender, age, education and ethnicity; using quantitative distribution and incidence methods. The significant findings in the article are that the civil service is male-dominated, due to low levels of education among women. Results revealed that the youth are less represented, while some ethnic groups are more represented than others in the civil service. The article is useful for policymakers, as it provides insight into the nature of diversity in the Ghanaian civil service and aims to help address gender, education, age and ethnicity in the civil service.

Chief Editor: Prof Vain Jarbandhan

Local Economic Development (LED) in the Rwandan Context

Variables Influencing the Developmental Strategies and Frameworks

I Murasi*

PhD Student

RALGA

Kigali, Rwanda

C J Auriacombe

School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy

University of Johannesburg

ABSTRACT

Local economic development (LED) in Rwanda emphasises the need to coordinate all internal and external influences to spearhead local economic upliftment and build sustainable and robust local economies. This article conceptualises important aspects related to achieving these objectives. LED perspectives in Africa in general and Rwanda in particular are contextualised. Furthermore, the article provides the institutional, regulatory and policy framework for, as well as approaches and critical considerations to LED in Rwanda. The article finally provides certain conclusions and recommendations to improve the planning process of LED interventions.

The methodology entails a desktop analysis of literature and official documents to conceptualise the area of investigation. The data collection sources for the desktop analysis include global authoritative books and articles, as well as regulatory, policy and strategy documents. The information generated is scrutinised through a process of intellectual analysis, categorisation, classification, integration, reflection, comparison and synthesis. The methodological approach included specific dimensions relating to unobtrusive research techniques. In general, unobtrusive research techniques study social behaviour "to eliminate bias and promote conceptual and contextual analysis" (Auriacombe 2016).

INTRODUCTION

Rwanda is one of the African countries where there was a strong focus on LED during the first decade of decentralisation and the country's reintegration into the global economy. During this time, LED was considered a promising approach, as it provided the foundation for using community-based economic development projects to address poverty.

Internationally, LED is viewed as an economic imperative towards building sustainable and robust local economies. As such, the approach has achieved a solid grounding in economic theory. While LED has a welfare component, its central imperative is an economic one. As opposed to a purely welfare-driven approach, LED focuses on using resources effectively and efficiently to achieve reasonable and sustainable societal objectives. However, the needs and demands for local government leadership, guidance, services and facilities are increasing, while resources to deal with these issues are decreasing. To achieve a strategic, transformative development vision, modern local government must focus on efficient and effective LED policymaking and implementation. Local districts must maximise the value added by LED policies and strategy interventions, as well as the deployment and allocation of the scarce resources at their disposal.

Notably, there is a lack of insight into what LED entails. Subsequently, LED has been interpreted as a disjointed set of peripheral, project-based and *ad hoc* interventions primarily aimed at beneficiary communities as thinly disguised welfare interventions. Local government can play an essential role in promoting job creation and boosting the local economy. Investing in the basics, such as providing quality cost-effective services and by making the local area a pleasant place to live and work, is a crucial starting point. Two types of initiatives are important, namely reviewing existing policies and procedures to promote LED and providing special economic services.

The momentum for LED in Rwanda began to build in 2006 with the support of the Rwandan Association of Local Government Authorities (RALGA), which regarded it as an integral part of the decentralisation process. In line with this, the article conceptualises the following concepts related to the context of this study: 'development', 'developmental local governance', 'economic', 'governance', 'local LED', 'LED agencies', as well as 'policy' and 'sustainable development'.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

Local government is responsible for implementing constitutionally mandated 'economic' functions to promote local economic and social development. Interpreting the essential character of LED has particular implications for LED

capacity building within the local sphere of government. As LED is an economic pursuit, it requires a level of fundamental understanding of certain basic key concepts. Most importantly, it involves understanding which concepts influence LED planning or policy challenges.

Development

Development, in general, entails expanding the local economy's production capacity, as well as the capacity of all resources in the community (land, labour and capital) to become productive. It can be viewed as an outcome of governmental interventions in society that empowers people to consider feasible options in their lives and to make informed choices for the future (Cloete & Auriacombe 2013).

Developmental local governance

This form of local government is committed to engaging communities (especially marginalised or excluded groups) to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. Developmental local governance aligns the government's development priorities, such as job creation, infrastructure development, poverty alleviation and economic growth (Auriacombe 2017:15).

Economic

For the purposes of this article, 'economic' refers to the activities in a particular localised area where resources are utilised to pursue economic prosperity and creating self-reliant communities where there is a focus on resilience and sustainability (balancing social, economic and environmental factors) (Auriacombe 2017:15).

Governance

Governance means more than government, as it entails exercising political, economic, administrative and legal authority in managing a nation's affairs (World Bank 1994). It finds expression in the search for new ways of bolstering the relationship between the state and its people, as well as the quality and performance of government and public administration (Batley & Larbi 2004). According to Cloete (2016:15),

Governance affects every aspect of individual citizens' lives. It is the style of interaction between a government and the society that it governs and has to do

with the internal processes within the state through which resource inputs are converted into government outputs and outcomes.

Local

Here, the focus is on the benefits of strong local community economies as building blocks for the national economy (Auriacombe 2017:15). The word 'local' in the context of LED does not imply that only local people should work together. Rather, it means focusing on the local economy and mobilising resources within the local area and beyond to stimulate appropriate and sustainable economic development (Auriacombe 2017:15).

Local economic development

LED is the process by which public, business and non-government sector partners work collectively to create conditions conducive to economic growth and employment generation. The primary aim is to improve the quality of life for all (World Bank's Primer Document on LED 2006 in Cloete 2016:18).

While national governments use macro-economic reform policies to strengthen a country's position in the global economy, LED draws on local governments' development planning and implementation capacities to benefit the locality's economy. As with national macro-economic policy, LED aims to find local-level solutions to unemployment, poverty and market failures. With LED efforts, local actors often volunteer to help alleviate governance and capacity-delivery burdens at a national level (Cloete 2016:18).

Local economic development agencies

While agencies vary in size, scale, function and have differing mandates, all are involved in shaping and pursuing LED strategies. They can be regarded as decentralised instruments of the state to pursue development, prosperity and general economic growth in districts (Auriacombe 2017:15).

Policy

For Cloete (2016:17), "Policy is a statement of intent to transform a perceived problem into a solution". In terms of the local level of government, it can be interpreted in the following way: "A local government statement of intent, including sometimes a more detailed program of action, to give effect to selected normative and empirical goals in order to improve or resolve perceived problems and needs

in society in a specific way, thereby achieving desired changes in that society” (Cloete and De Coning 2011:7).

Policy analysis

Policy analysis is an indispensable part of policy management. This systematic analysis and assessment of the different dimensions and variables of public policy aims to identify relevance, strengths and weaknesses, as well as the potential to achieve better outcomes and impacts by improving policy (Cloete 2016:17).

Policy management

Policy management is a deliberate approach to dealing with policy issues and processes, from start to finish. While policy management is concerned with the content and focus of the policy itself, the policy process focuses on how policies are made and actions taken by various actors at each stage (Cloete 2016:17).

CONTEXTUALISING LED PERSPECTIVES IN AFRICA

Hussein (2005 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018) states that African states have formally and collectively committed themselves to a wide range of international conventions, agreements and declarations to promote good governance standards. The author argues that these commitments were made because they are a prerequisite for obtaining aid by bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. However, in Africa, economic constraints hamper the availability of abundant natural and other resources that are skewed and inequitably distributed. This leads to large gaps between rich and poor that complicate access to information. Further challenges include rural agricultural and mining economies, low productivity and per capita income, a lack of economic, technology and information systems infrastructure, high unemployment, foreign debt and less available resources to improve government in a sustainable manner.

Countries have adopted different development strategies to adapt to the regional and international competition associated with globalisation, urbanisation and decentralisation. Within this context, LED has become a necessary, viable and complementary alternative to traditional development strategies. Notably, LED requires a complementary approach that considers the need and potential of local communities, as well as the need to involve all regional groups to promote a participatory approach to LED (Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018).

It has been observed that in practice, “(l)ocal economic development is a highly complex matter, and there is no clear conceptual model available that

incorporates all of its potentially important dimensions” (Smoke 1997 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:76). Nonetheless, Rodríguez-Pose and Tijmstra (2005:4) argue that “In a world increasingly dominated by flows and economic integration, LED provides the adequate framework both to maximise the socio-economic potential of every territory – regardless of whether rich or poor, developed or underdeveloped, urban or rural, central or remote, while generating decent and sustainable employment”.

Scholars generally concur that international trends and events including the globalisation of economies, technological advancements, international treaties and trade agreements and the rise of global production systems; have significantly influenced the way African countries plan and drive LED development. Globalisation exposes even the most remote areas on the continent to activities beyond their borders. Within this context, local authorities are increasingly regarded as “pivotal sites of competitiveness in a new global economy” (Valler and Wood 2010:140).

LED planning has become community-based and pro-poor in its approach. In line with this, LED strategies in Africa are interconnected with human capital development, infrastructure development, local government functions and services, as well as ‘leak plugging’ in the local economy. The World Bank’s Primer Document on Local Economic Development (2006 in Cloete 2016:18) provides authoritative guidelines for developing and implementing LED strategies and action plans.

With the advance of globalisation and increasing decentralisation, the 1990s saw a diffusion of LED ideas and practices from the global North to the South. While the concepts and ideas relating to LED are recent to sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) development discourse, it has a firm stronghold within development discourse. During the past two decades, SSA has been affected by decentralisation and declining central state control. In response to these developments, LED gained great significance as an element of development planning (Rogerson and Rogerson 2010:470).

Over time, LED was seen as a flexible and effective approach to economic development in SSA, which could simultaneously enhance economic growth and reduce poverty. It was believed that LED strategies were more people-centred and locality-specific alternatives to the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that have dominated SSA’s development policy in the past decades (Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018). In the early 1980s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) began to promote SAPs as economic policies for developing countries. Loans were provided on condition that such policies be adopted. As part of the World Bank’s neoliberal agenda, SAPs were designed to encourage the structural adjustment of an economy by, for example, removing excess government controls and promoting market competition. The Enhanced Structural

Adjustment Facility is an IMF financing mechanism to support macro-economic policies and SAPs in low-income countries through loans or low interest subsidies (World Health Organisation (WHO) 2015).

Earlier approaches of LED took a macro-economic view and argued that policy and other economic interventions at national level would be sufficient to ensure LED through what was referred to as the 'trickle-down' effect. However, these were unsatisfactory, since the expected 'trickle-down' most often did not materialise. Other similar developments in society include accelerated democratisation, as well as technological and other changes within the local and international economic contexts. Like LED, these approaches are in reaction to the transition from an essentially rural subsistence economy, to large-scale mass industrialisation and consumption, to the current globalised skills-based economy that is characterised by ever-increasing international mobility of goods, capital, labour and entrepreneurship. Even the notions of permanent employment and what constitutes a 'job' have begun to shift with the rise of outsourcing, contract work and temporary employment associated with a highly mobile, flexible and skilled labour force.

LED in Africa cannot be investigated without considering the broad international or global communities. Experiences are almost similar, depending on a specific area (the experience of countries of the North and South, for example, are different). This also rings true for different LED trajectories. Both international and national scholars have conducted a number of studies on the development of African countries. These studies were summarised by Whitaker (1986 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:79) as follows:

- Agriculture is the main source of income for most people and the base of productivity in all African countries (except for mineral exporters). Therefore, it must receive attention and investment from both African governments and donors (Whitaker 1986 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:79).
- Policy changes are key to building the continent's agriculture and diversifying its productivity base. African governments should eliminate the bias towards import dependence by focusing on import-substituting strategies (Whitaker 1986 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:799).
- Scarce available resources can be utilised more effectively by streamlining government bureaucracies and curbing excessive state control (Whitaker 1986 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:799).
- Donors should use the leverage inherent to development assistance and work with African recipients towards achieving appropriate reforms. Ironically, donors must now use increasing African dependence to press governments on the continent to become more accountable for both aid and national resources. Non-project aid that involves more direct financial resource transfers can provide the needed leverage and help alleviate African governments' burden (Whitaker 1986 in Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018:79).

CONTEXTUALISING LED PERSPECTIVES IN RWANDA

LED strategies outline localities' general economic vision and could refer to specific target areas (sectoral and geographical). It is necessary to formulate specific LED interventions that aim to address identified market- or development-related deficiencies to give effect to the adopted LED strategy. LED interventions are executed through specific programmes and/or projects that involve public-, private- and community-sector actors in different cooperative configurations, e.g. public-private partnerships (PPPs) (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Global Centre for Public Service Excellence (GCPSE) 2015 in Cloete 2016:18).

The reasons for the emergence of LED in Rwanda are no different to that of other African countries in the 1990s. These include addressing the negative impact of globalisation, structural adjustment and liberalisation policies, decentralisation and ideological differences with central state-led development. In this context, LED is viewed as an integral element in the national decentralisation process that started in 2000. Thus far decentralisation has undergone three main phases in Rwanda (Ministry of Local Government (MI)NALOC) 2011):

- Phase One (2001–2005): Here, the focus was on administrative decentralisation. This period is marked by a number of legal, institutional and policy reforms, as well as the democratic election of local leaders.
- Phase Two (2006–2010): After a territorial restructuring of administering entities in 2005, the objective was to enhance the effectiveness of service delivery in communities. During this period, fiscal and financial decentralisation played an important role. Consideration was also given to human and financial capacity-building and the slow process of boosting LED.
- LED was introduced in this phase and was strengthened in the third phase (2011–2015). Furthermore, the process is supported by the National Strategy for Community Development (CD) and LED (2013–2018).

The LED strategy of a district in Rwanda is adopted by its council, ideally as part of the local authority's district development plan (DDP). Therefore, the local political leadership is responsible for bolstering the competitiveness. Local political leadership implements development frameworks, gives strategic guidance and facilitates the process from planning to implementation. They are especially involved in creating a business-enabling environment to enhance investment and job creation. In addition local political leadership is mandated to provide support services, such as financial services, both soft and hard business enablers like information technology (IT) hubs and creating business development services.

Districts also invest in PPPs and community-based organisation (CBO) frameworks, especially when it comes to key enabling factors like heavy infrastructure. Local governments take the lead role in conducting a local economy assessment

and strategy development process, as well as ensuring effective communication. However, staff members are often not trained to meet the business community's demands. This creates a major barrier to ensuring effective service delivery to the business community.

Good governance should also be considered as one of the main pillars of robust local economies. This governance approach refers to processes whereby local government and other actors come together to share information and resources, develop a shared understanding and make decisions about development goals. It gives rise to partnerships between LED actors, who jointly act to achieve these goals. As such, local government's role shifts from that of intervention to providing development and services unilaterally so that other actors can play their roles effectively. This highlights the role of local leaders in Rwanda to preserve the participatory process.

LED seeks to harness complementary economic forces and focus them within a local area. Here, the focus is bolstering local-level economic impact, rather than allowing it to dissipate within the larger economic system. Local government in Rwanda has various means to stimulate LED. First, the districts' service delivery and infrastructure provision functions are undertaken in a manner that supports LED. For example, efficient, effective, responsive and well-integrated infrastructure stimulates the development and expansion of large and small enterprises within a locality. Second, the manner in which the district carries out its business influences LED. For example, small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development is stimulated when a district processes development applications efficiently, has good roads and telecommunication networks and adopts inclusive procurement policies. Third, the district supports LED by providing direct and indirect economic services. Key projects and types of LED support include:

- Providing business facilities;
- Building markets;
- Promoting agricultural endeavours like warehouses and milk collection centres to support farmers;
- Improving infrastructure especially roads and Information Communication Technology (ICT);
- Supporting tourism initiatives; and
- Initiating human resource development (HRD) programmes.

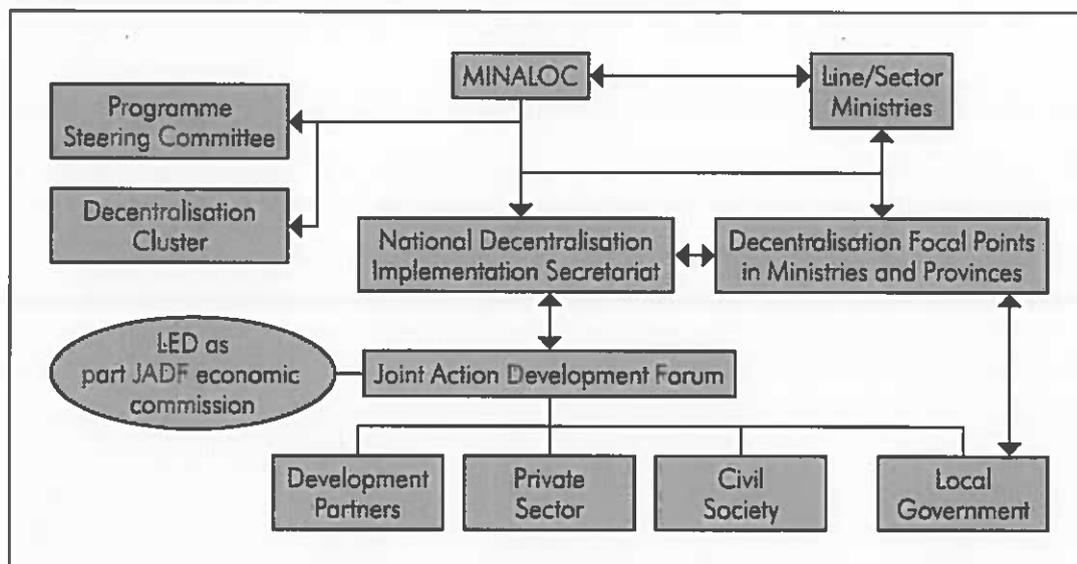
INSTITUTIONAL, REGULATORY AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR LED IN RWANDA

The national policy and planning process create various development frameworks in which LED can be integrated. In 2000, Rwanda launched a thoughtful planning process to address development imperatives. The overall goal of LED in Rwanda is

“...to reduce poverty and improve the quality of people’s lives sustainably through economic growth and job creation...” (Government Programme 2010–2017). The political will to implement LED is reflected in the legislative context also in various Rwandan development frameworks including Vision 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2000) and the Government Programme 2010–2017 (Government Programme 2010–2017 2010). Institutional arrangements have also been effected to support LED initiatives by establishing the Local Administrative Entities Development Agency (LODA) under the auspices of MINALOC to assist the districts to obtain the financial means to implement LED projects, as identified in the DDPs (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). According to Auriacombe and Ackron (2016), “The intent to achieve collaboration between the public sector and civil society in local planning in support of LED has also been signalled by the introduction of consultative forums called Joint Action Development Forums (JADFs) cementing an approach consistent with a decentralisation thrust in which national government agencies have the task primarily of capacity building and monitoring and evaluation while local planning, budgeting implementation and accountability are the prerogative of local government to enable the integration of LED into the various DDPs”. JADFs and their Economic Commissions “have the responsibility of championing LED in districts and coordinating LED initiatives and interventions within the local economies” (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

Rwanda has explicitly recognised that successful LED interventions require comprehensive integration of planning processes. The institutional arrangements for LED governance representing the response of the Government of Rwanda are reflected in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Institutional Structures for LED in Rwanda



Source: (RALGA 2013 in Auriacombe and Ackron 2016)

While its focus is local, “the application of LED must involve a suite of interventions across all spheres of government. Accordingly, LED is also reflected in Rwanda’s national policy and planning process. In 2008, multi-dimensional engagement in LED was prioritised and PPPs were subsequently incorporated as a procurement option in the National Public Investment Policy (NPIP)” (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). Accordingly, a Public Investment Technical Team and a PPP Unit were established within the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MINICOM) to act as custodians of the PPP process and to provide guidance. Work is currently underway to establish the necessary legal framework (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). Key elements in the national regulatory and policy framework matrix for LED are reflected in Table 1.

Table 1: Regulatory and policy framework for LED in Rwanda

Source	LED Thrust And Implication
Vision 2020	Strategic objective setting and commitment to enabling economic development
7 Years Government Programme 2010–2017	Promotion of citizen participation and the establishment of partnerships in governance
Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) (2015) and Flagship Programme	Implementation of Vision 2020 and the mobilisation of required resources and investment promotion
EDPRS 11 (2013–2018)	To operationalise the economic objectives set in the Seven Years Government Programme.
EDPRS Flagship Programme Umurenge	Creation of an enabling environment for small enterprise development
District Development Plans (DDPs)	Regional customisation and incorporation of district-specific LED objectives into national planning and expenditure programming

Source: (Adapted from RALGA 2012 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) – Shaping Our Development 2015 and Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

Rwanda’s approach to the assessment of local competitiveness informing the formulation of regionally and locally differentiated, customised and nuanced LED strategies appears heavily influenced by the work of Porter, based on the theory of industrial organisation (Porter 1979). This approach in Rwanda has been operationalised using the Participatory Assessment of Comparative Advantage (PACA), a tool developed in the context of donor-sponsored development projects in 16 countries including Brazil, South Africa and Sri Lanka (SA LED Network Internet Source No date). This assessment process in Rwanda takes place during the formulation of the DDPs where each district is required to deconstruct its relative resources, skills and

capacities. DDPs reflect the developmental status of the relevant district, the strategic framework for LED implementation, developmental interventions, a monitoring and evaluation framework and resourcing of the DDP. The JADFs are required to play a key coordination role in aligning programmes and projects with local district developmental imperatives (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

RWANDAN-LED APPROACHES AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Achievement of the overall imperative of inclusive local socio-economic development and poverty reduction in Rwanda in the present approach of the Government of Rwanda rests effectively on two pillars; namely CD and LED, with an additional secondary pillar comprising Support Systems for CD and LED (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

Broad Strategic Objectives as identified by MINALOC in 2013 are as follows (Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) 2013):

- Enhancement of community empowerment and citizen participation;
- Improvement of local capacity for sustainable economic growth through SMME) growth and job creation;
- Enhancement of human capital and skills;
- Development of appropriate economic infrastructure and ICT;
- Increased service delivery in the public and private sectors; and
- A coordinated policy, institutional and regulatory framework for LED.

The National Strategy for Community Development and Local Economic Development of Rwanda (Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) 2013) to be read with the decentralisation implementation plans; has clearly been strongly influenced by the work of the World Bank and defines the purpose of LED as:

“...to build up the economic capacity of the local area to improve its economic future and the quality of life for the citizens. It is a process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and to generate more opportunities for employment. LED is viewed as a process by which local actors within a defined territory get together to:

- 1) Analyse their economy;
- 2) Establish where its competitive advantages lie; and
- 3) Take actions to exploit business opportunities and improve the environment for business within the locality...” (Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) 2013).

As noted before, the momentum for LED in Rwanda began to build in 2006 as an integral part of the decentralisation process. “Deployment of the first phase of that decentralisation process took place over the period 2001–2005 with a focus on establishing community development structures at district level amid a number of institutional and policy reforms in the country. Local government elections also took place over this period” (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

“Phase 2 of the deployment took place over the period 2006 – 2010 with the central emphasis upon improving service delivery after territorial restructuring in 2005 saw the reduction of the number of provinces from 11 to 4; the number of districts from 106 to 30; the number of sectors from 1 545 to 416 and the number of cells from 9 165 to 2 148” (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

“Phase 2 also saw the operational introduction of the LED approach currently being strengthened in Phase 3 (2011–2015) through the implementation of the National Strategy for Community Development and LED (2013–2018) (Ministry of Local Government” (MINALOC) 2013). RALGA has been, strongly supportive of these phased initiatives that have aimed increasingly to devolve developmental decision-making to the district level and to build the capacity of local officials to exercise these new powers (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

But Rwanda has also, “recognised that while LED imperatives need to involve local communities and to be accompanied by appropriate devolution of powers, nevertheless LED cannot take place in a local vacuum” (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

In reality many of the levers that need to be manipulated to achieve effective LED lie outside of the compass of functions of local government and in fact reside in the national and provincial spheres. RALGA (2015) has recognised: “The state’s role is, in general, to assist and create the conditions for local action to emerge and grow. The main focus is on ‘what the state can do to support local leaders, communities, businesses, NGOs, organised labour and their stakeholders to realise their own objectives and to work together with each other’. Therefore responsibility for LED does not lie with the state alone and good governance has become a key concept to capture the way LED should be fostered” (RALGA 2015).

The informal sector operates largely under the radar and comprises those activities not registered in accordance with the Companies’ Act No. 7 of 2009 or other legislation applicable to SMEs and cooperatives. The extent of the informal sector is suggested by studies indicating, for example, that of an estimated 73 000 businesses in Rwanda (Rwanda Private Sector Federation (PSF) 2007) in 2008 only approximately 25 000 (34%) were registered. According to a more recent establishment census the number of businesses had by 2011 increased by 40% to over 123 000 of which only 11.4% were registered with the Rwanda Revenue Authority (RALGA 2015).

There appears in Rwanda to be a growing consensus that specific provision in LED strategy and praxis needs to be made for informal sector enterprises as crucial contributors to employment creation and household income (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). The imperative of developing a role for Rwandan SMEs in national and international value chains is encapsulated in the LED Hexagon approach informing Rwanda's LED strategising (Meyer-Stamer 2006). MINICOM reported in 2012 that it had since 2011 embarked on a programme to identify the most competitive SME sectors per district in order optimally to unlock SME competitiveness along viable and appropriate value chains (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MINICOM) 2012). Such value chain analysis would however be intended to go beyond processed products and services and would also encompass agricultural value chains crucial to Rwanda as a country reliant on subsistence agriculture (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). "The imperative of the programme would be added value and market access for Rwandan producers and would seek to focus effort on optimal value-chain linkages with the greatest potential viability" (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). Given the importance of the development of enterprises in LED, and particularly so of the development of SMEs Business Development Services (BDS) that provide capacitation particularly at individual enterprise and sector level are in the literature regarded as crucial (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

In Rwanda BSCs have been functioning under the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) since 2006. The RDB was established as an independent, multi-agency body reporting directly to the President, specifically charged with integrating the entire investor experience under one institutional roof. Specifically included are such elements as business registration, investment promotion, environmental impact approvals, privatisation, human capacity building in the business sector, facilitation of access to finance, advisory services and counselling; including export development and tax advice and other focused sector support initiatives (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MINICOM) 2012).

"Currently the Rwandan approach to LED has a strong agricultural emphasis; encompassing both rural and urban agriculture" (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). While the disparity of opinion on the role of agriculture in the development path is encapsulated for example in the work of Awokuse and Xie (2015), nevertheless Rwanda has opted for an agricultural thrust to its LED programmes. It is based on the perception that in a predominantly agrarian economy this is important to ensure increased farm production to keep pace with population growth; the need to provide primary agricultural inputs for secondary processing and value addition; and as a means for generating export surpluses and foreign exchange (RALGA 2015). In this Rwanda relies on the approaches reflected in the classical works of Smith and Ricardo (in Lewis 2008) among others, all of whom placed emphasis on agricultural production as the *sine qua non* for economic growth – albeit

in the predominantly rural context of the times in which they were writing. The “knock-on effect of an unlimited supply of cheap labour into the predominantly urban secondary (or ‘capitalist’) sector as a result of low or negligible marginal productivity in primary sectors such as agriculture, is seen by some as a significant potentially negative influence on the growth path in developing countries” (Lewis 2008).

Positive inter-sectoral linkages between agricultural development and the non-agricultural sectors of the economy, in accordance with the proposition of Johnston and Mellor (Johnston and Mellor 1961) regarding the role of agriculture in shaping the economic growth path, are cited to be (RALGA 2015):

- Providing food for domestic consumption;
- Releasing labour through greater agricultural efficiency for industrial employment;
- Enlarging the market for domestic industrial output;
- Augmenting savings; and
- Earning foreign exchange.

Pursuant to its prioritisation of the agricultural imperative in LED the Rwandan approach to the facilitation of agricultural development is influenced by the social capital perspectives of Durlauf and Faichamps (2004).

Accordingly, Rwandan interventions are based upon multiple social-institutional emphases to serve development of markets and traders, with particular emphasis on the development of market institutions as a means of improving allocative efficiency in developing economies (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016). Institutions are defined following Williamson (1985) as the structure of relations between individuals within the system of market interactions playing among others the following roles in strengthening markets:

- Reducing transaction costs;
- Managing risk;
- Building social capital;
- Enabling collective action; and
- Addressing market gaps.

Stated objectives in pursuit of these overarching and cross-cutting institutional imperatives in Rwanda with LED implications include (RALGA 2015):

- The shortening of the long transactions chains in African economies in particular where many players and complex transactional arrangements typically are interposed between producer and marketplace thus directly influencing costs;
- The integration of smaller producers into markets;
- The design and development of the rural infrastructure web so as to serve markets and the requirements of more effective marketing of the produce of small and informal producers;

- The strengthening of post-harvest strategies to ensure optimal use of produce and the reduction of wastage and loss, poverty reduction and improvement of physical food security of communities;
- Regional agro-based clustering of economic activity according to the concept of “clusters” as conceived by Porter (1998) as “...geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field. Clusters encompass an array of linked industries and other entities important to competition...”. Following a selection process in 2011, MINICOM (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MINICOM) 2011) identified priority clusters in all provinces. Agro-processing and handcrafts feature among the top three priorities in most districts throughout Rwanda; and
- The integration of cross-cutting gender and environmental considerations together with the youth in LED initiatives.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF LED PLANNING IN RWANDA

The realisation of the explicit ideals of LED in Rwanda is negatively impacted by a number of factors. These factors have been categorised as (RALGA 2015):

- Weak capacity to develop implementation and action plans;
- Lack of incentives to keep stakeholders together;
- Weak understanding of LED as a participatory planning process; and
- Unclear or limited linkages between the DDPs and LED.

Access to finance is also regarded as a major imperative of the Rwandan LED approach and particularly so the challenge of addressing the perceived inhibiting effects of collateral requirements imposed by the formal banking system upon business ventures that are perceived as posing higher risk (Auriacombe and Ackron 2016).

While SMEs comprises in excess of 90% of the Rwandan private sector, and accounts for over a third of private sector employment, nevertheless the SME sector faces a number of challenges that constrain its capacity to grow and to provide jobs and contribute to livelihoods. These have been categorised as follows by MINICOM (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MINICOM) 2010):

- Lack of entrepreneurial culture;
- Limited technical and business skills;
- Limited business development services;
- High cost of doing business;
- Lack of access to finance; and
- Difficulty in accessing market information and markets.

While the idea of publicly governed LED is noble, the reality of severe organisational, financial and human capacity constraints and the sheer extent of the poverty and social development problems reduce local government's ability to promote LED actively through the formulation and implementation of an LED strategy. Economic development planning transcends the administrative state and the traditional service provision role of local governments. The tasks of identifying the unique economic drivers and constraints of the economy and of formulating a contextualised, integrated, multi-market strategy, that requires support and inputs from multiple stakeholders and role players; are complex and specialised.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The focus on LED activities varies from community-driven development to business- or market-driven development. Local government can approach LED in different ways, ranging from a facilitative governance approach, whereby everything the local government does has an economic impact, to a specialised LED approach, in which local authorities should provide specialised custom-designed support to the private sector and local communities to ensure the attainment of an 'integrated and robust local economy'.

The ability of the district to perform LED tasks depends on its policy, implementation, and operational capacity. This policy capacity includes the ability to structure, coordinate, and feed analysis into the decision-making process. The policy capacity in turn depends on the level of skills of local officials, implementation authority, operational efficiency, and quality of sub-contractors.

Many alternative interventions may be adopted by districts in fulfilling the mandate to promote LED. Although it is acknowledged that each local authority should adopt a unique LED strategy and corresponding implementation interventions based on the needs and strengths of the district, local and international literature and case studies reveal a degree of similarity between the interventions adopted (in Cloete 2016:18).

An LED strategy that pursues an improved quality of life for all residents with the planning process of LED interventions should incorporate the following informed, strategic goals:

- Sustainable economic growth has to focus on investment and growth that is based on the appropriate, effective and efficient development and utilisation of a district's human, physical, natural, financial and social resources—in essence its comparative advantage. Developing comparative advantages should be based on using resources that are renewable and growth has to facilitate broad-based access and participation in the local economy, in order

to promote equitability and sustainability. Sustainability refers to the utilisation of resources in a manner that does not compromise the ability of future generations to address their specific needs (Agenda 21 in Auriacombe 2017:34).

- Job creation has to focus on initiatives that create meaningful, sustainable and long-term employment opportunities; and be based on meaningful skills development and training (Agenda 21 in Auriacombe 2017:34).
- Education, training and skills development should be an integral part of an LED strategy and should include both formal and informal mechanisms such as mentoring and ongoing in-service training. This should be geared at developing technical and life orientation skills that encourage career growth and entrepreneurship, while the promotion of excellence in the execution of work is imperative. Investing in human resources requires increasing the capacity and ability of local education and vocational training institutions to provide the required services to the local population. Investment in human resources should promote greater equality and equity for all in terms of access to education and training facilities; it should consciously work towards addressing the specific needs and shortcomings of historically disadvantaged individuals and communities (Agenda 21 in Auriacombe 2017:34).
- Poverty reduction has to focus on the sustainable livelihoods approach as opposed to a 'welfare' approach. While the emphasis of poverty alleviation is on mechanisms such as grants and donations, poverty reduction considers more sustained and long-term solutions. Recent initiatives in this regard focus on facilitation of access to human, financial, natural, social and physical assets as key components of household's sustainable livelihood (Agenda 21 in Auriacombe 2017:34).
- Economic empowerment not only benefits a few; it should ultimately increase broader-based participation and ownership for the majority of disadvantaged communities and individuals in the local economy. It should focus on partnership initiatives that result in skills transfer and capacity building; that contributes towards reduction of the gap between the haves and have-nots. Particular focus is required on key growth sectors and industries of relevance to a specific district such as agriculture; manufacturing; wholesale, retail trade, tourism and accommodation as well as in finance, property, construction and business services (Agenda 21 in Auriacombe 2017:34).

NOTE

- * The article is partly based on Murasi, I. 2017. Uncompleted D Litt et Phil Thesis at the University of Johannesburg under the supervision of Prof C J Auriacombe. Innocente Murasi is also the Manager of the Local Governance Institute at RALGA.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Ms Innocente Murasi

Rwanda Association of Local Government
Authorities
Po Box 7249 Kigali-Rwanda
Tel: +250 788309482
Email: imurasi@ralgarwanda.org

Prof C J Auriacombe

Director: Centre for Public Management and
Governance
P O Box 524
University of Johannesburg
Auckland Park
2006
Johannesburg
Tel.: 011 559 2385
Cell: 0834633646
E-mail: christellea@uj.ac.za