

Rethinking Decentralization and Deconcentration in the Unitary States

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Structure of Presentation

- Understanding Decentralization.
- Centralization – Decentralization Debate.
- Unitary States vs Federal States.
- Country Experiences (Japan, China, France, Indonesia, MENA).



Part 1

Understanding Decentralization



Decentralization

(Rondinelli and WB, 1999)

- Political decentralization;
- Administrative decentralization:
 - Deconcentration
 - Delegation
 - Devolution
- Fiscal decentralization;
- Market decentralization.

Decentralization & deconcentration defined

Source	Dec. / Dev.	Deconcentration
World Bank	is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations and/or private sector.	is the weakest form of decentralization – redistributes decision making authority and financial responsibilities among different levels of the national government.
UNDP	concerned with the political as well as the economic (and administrative) arguments.	concerned mainly with the administrative rationale and to some extent with the economic arguments.
Hellmut Wollman	powers and functions (as well as resources) are assigned to sub-national bodies and actors that possess some political autonomy in their own right → full municipalisation	administrative functions being done through the establishment of regional or local “field offices” → limited municipalisation .

Decentralization n deconcentration defined

cont'd ...

Source	Dec. / Dev.	Deconcentration
Robertson Work	refers to the full transfer of responsibility, decision-making, resources and revenue generation to a local level public authority that is autonomous and fully independent of the devolving authority.	can be seen as the first step in a newly decentralizing government to improve service delivery.
Hutchcroft	involves a much more extensive transfer of decision-making authority and responsibility to local government units (commonly regions, provinces, and/or municipalities).	involves an intra-organizational transfer of particular functions and workloads from the central government to its regional or local offices .

Administrative Decentralization

(UNDP, 1999)

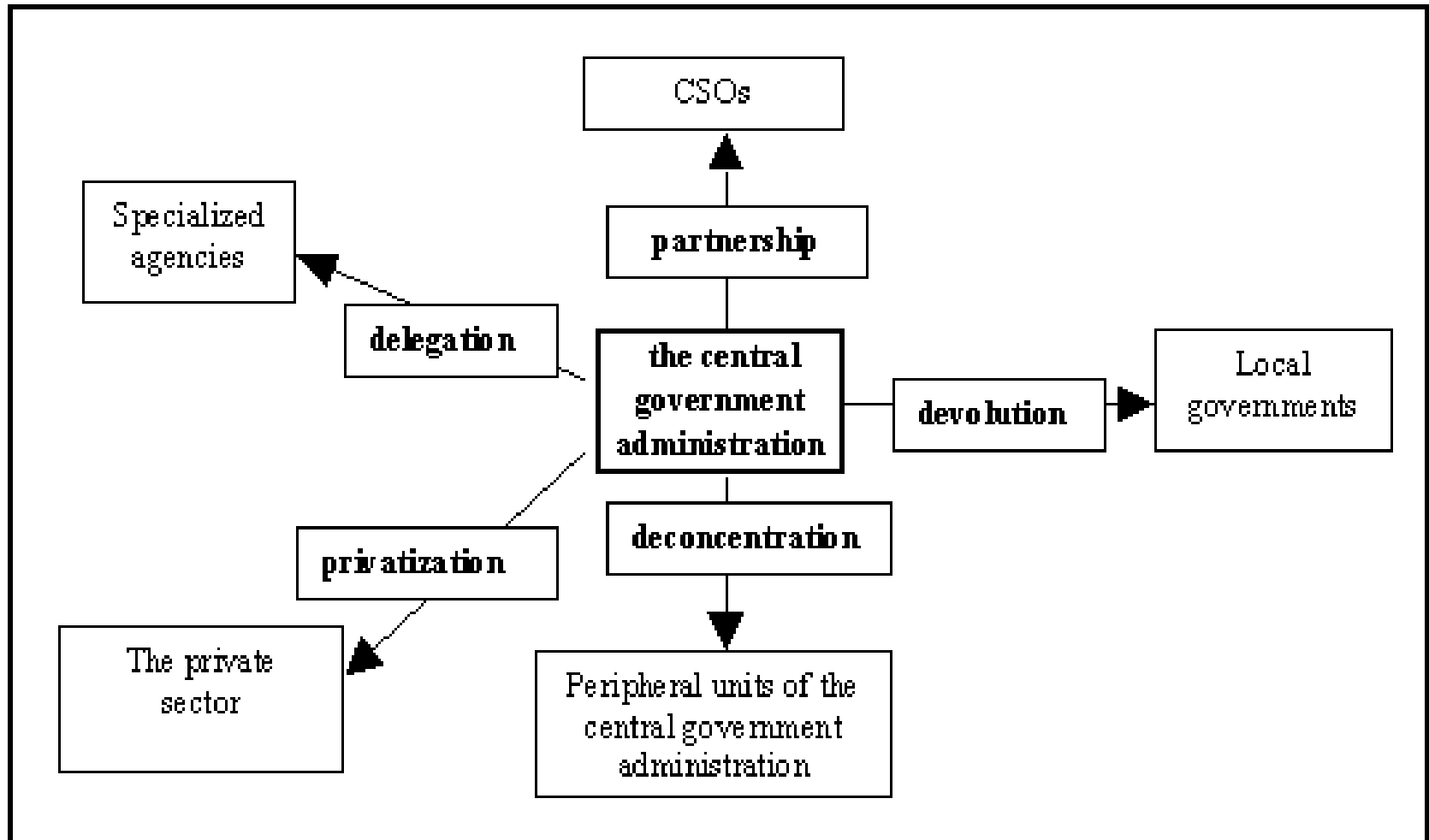
Type of Unit to which Authority is transferred	Aspect of Governance transferred or shared			Generic name
	Political (policy or decision making)	Economic or financial resource management	Administratio n and service delivery	
Autonomous lower- level units	Devolution	Devolution	Devolution	Devolution
Semi-autonomous lower-level units	Delegation	Delegation	Delegation	Delegation
Sub-ordinate lower- level units or sub-units	Directing	Allocating	Tasking	Deconcentration

Disagreement

- **Falleti** (2004): excludes **market** from **decentralization**. Decentralization is a set of state reforms; it does not include transfers of authority to non-state actors.
- **Collins & Green** (1994): **decentralization** transfers authority from centre to periphery; while **privatization** transfers from *public sector to private sector*.
- **Sherwood** (1969): **decentralization** describes an intra-organizational pattern of power relationships; while **devolution** describes an *inter-organizational* pattern.
- **Fesler** (1968): **deconcentration** is not a type of **decentralization** at all. It does not require any decentralization of power since it does not provide the opportunity to exercise substantial local discretion in decision-making.
- **Ribot** (2004): Decentralization comes in two primary forms: *democratic decentralization* (also called political decentralization or devolution) & *deconcentration* (also known as administrative decentralization).

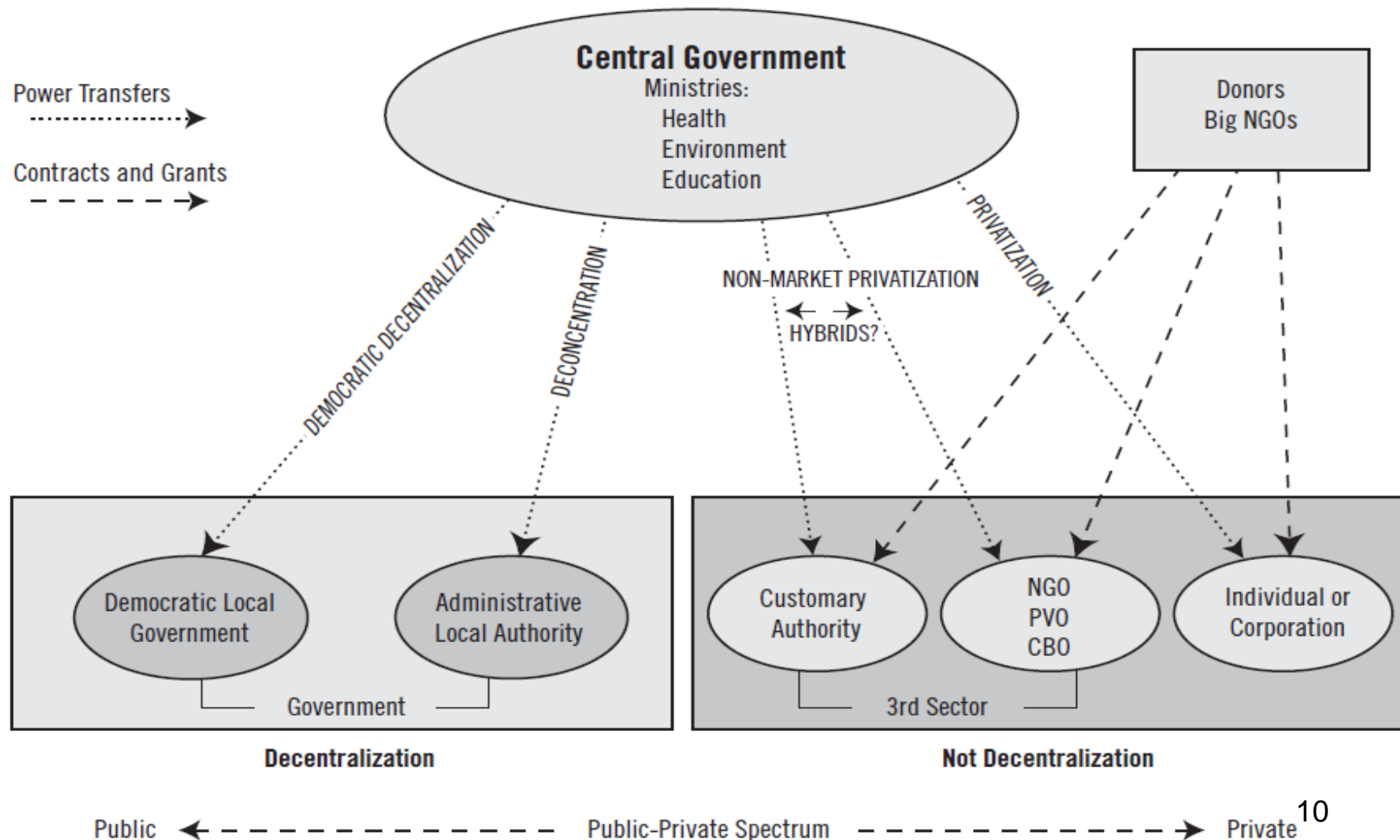
5 Typology of Decentralization

(Smith, 2001)



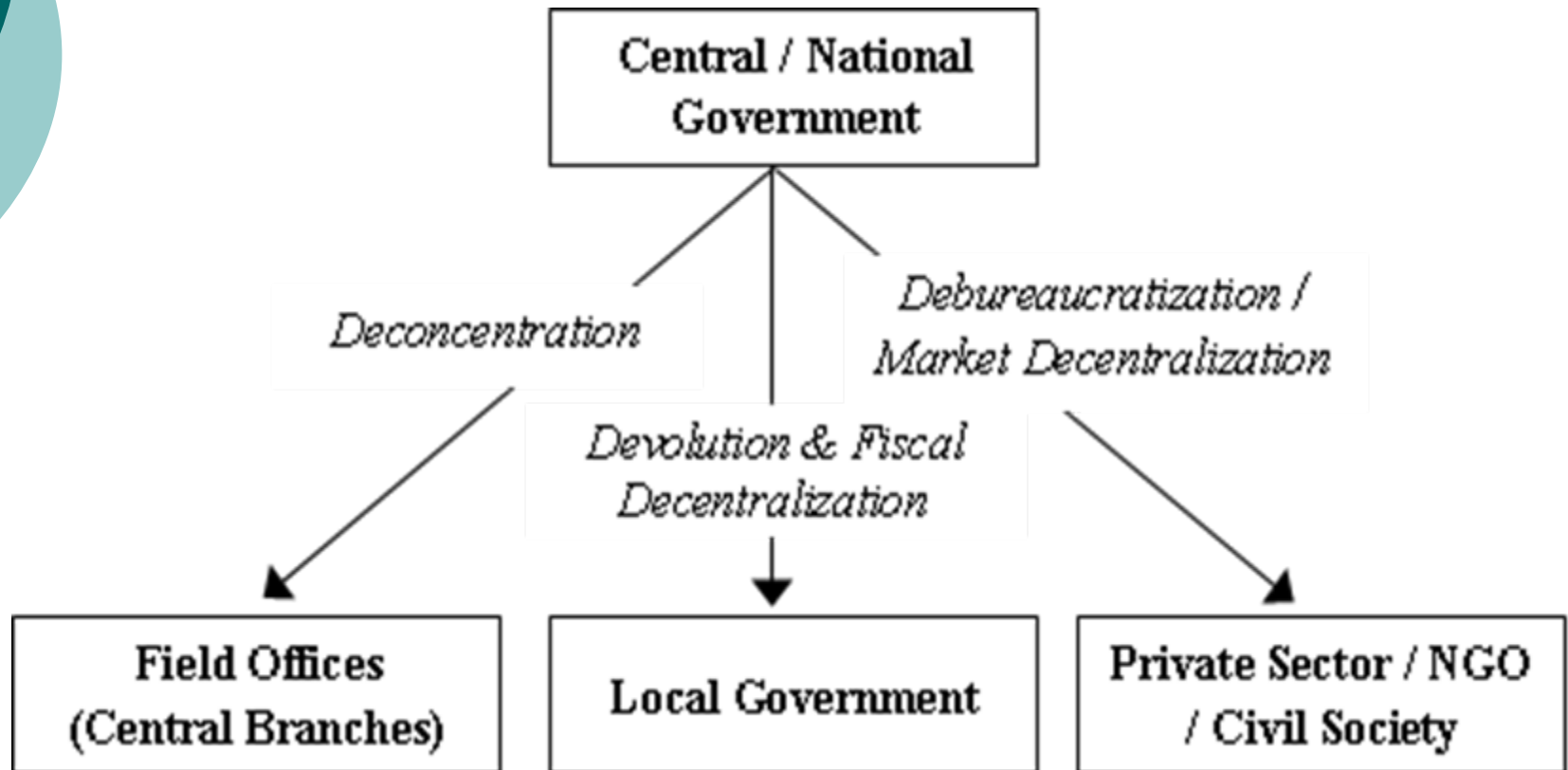
2 Typology of Decentralization

(Ribot, 2004)



3 Typology of Decentralization

(Brilantes Jr., 2004)



Two senses of decentralization meaning:

- In the **broader sense** → covers *all category*, as far as it deals with any transfer of authority from national govt either to subnational govt or non-govt actors.
- In the **narrow sense** → refers to *devolution* (transfer from public to sector; from central to local).



Decentralization

is a “*two-edged sword*” (1)

- Combating corruption (Arikan 2004, Fjeldstad 2004, Fisman 2002);
- Reduction in poverty (Braathen 2008, Crook 2001, UNDP 2000, Moore and Putzel 1999);
- Improving service delivery (WB 2001, Kolehmainen-Aitken 1999; McLean 1999, Dillinger 1994);
- Fortifying accountability (WB 2000);
- Preventing conflicts (Sasaoka 2007, Siegle and O'Mahony);
- Leading to significant improvement in the welfare of people at the local level (UNDP 2000);
- Empowering community (Brinkerhoff 2006).

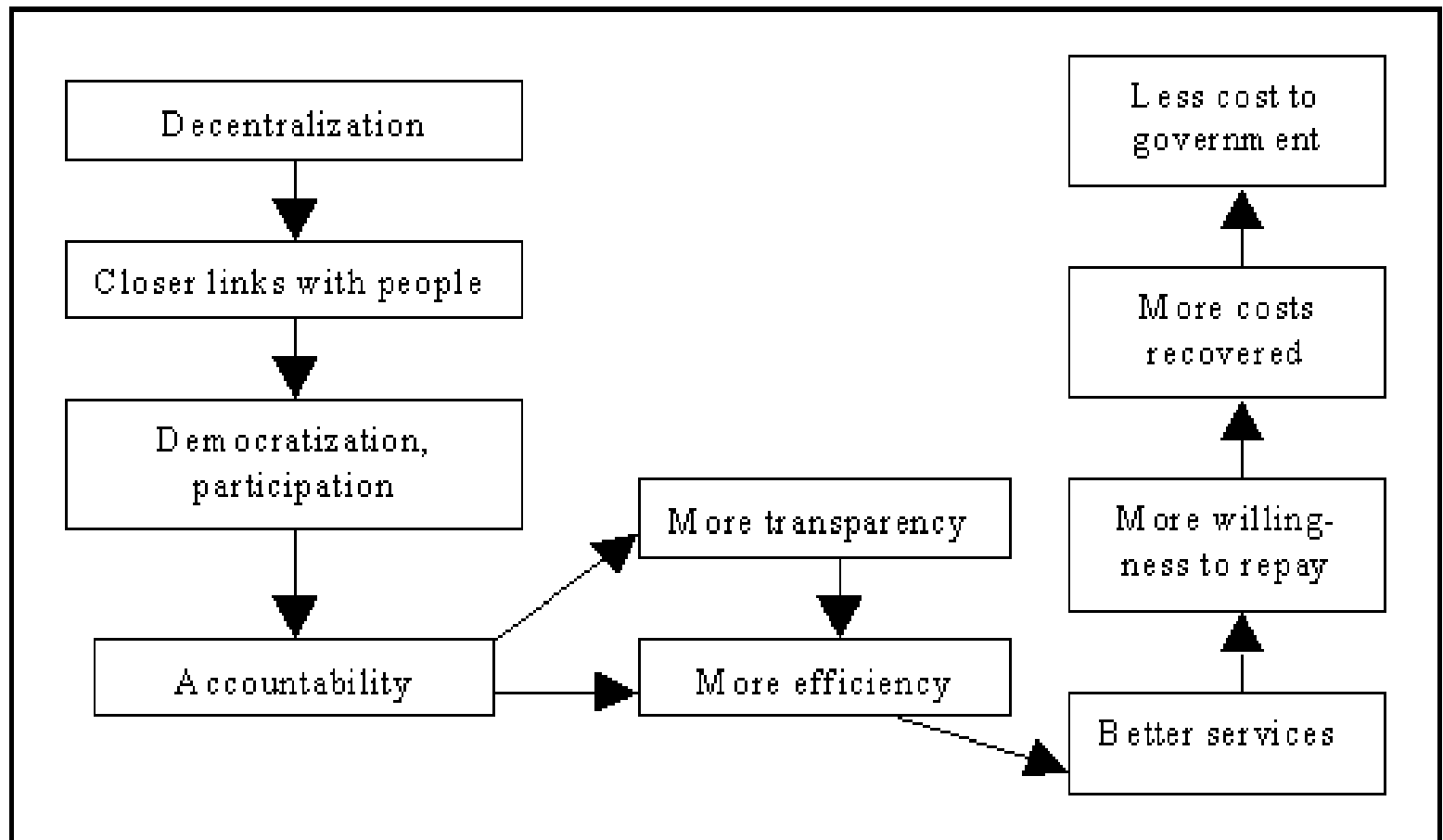
Decentralization

is a “*two-edged sword*” (2)

- Soft–budget constraints, macro–economic instability, clientelism, and enlargement of bureaucracies (Cornelius 1999; Fox and Aranda 1996; Rodden 2000; Rodden and Wibbels 2002; Stein 1998, quoted from Falleti 2004);
- Increasing disparities; can jeopardize stability; may undermine efficiency (Prud’homme, 1995);
- The rise of decentralized corruption ruled by predatory local officials; the rise of money politics and the consolidation of political gangsterism (Hadiz, 2003).

Paradigm of Decentralization

(Smith, 2001)





Part 2

Centralization – Decentralization Debate



Centralization – Decentralization

- What is Centralization?
 - ➔ *the **concentration** of administrative power in the hands of a central authority, to which all inferior departments and local branches are directly responsible.*
- What is Decentralization?
 - ➔ *the weakening of the central authority and distribution of its functions among the branches or local administrative bodies.*



Centralization – Decentralization

Which one is more accurate?

- Decentralization is the opposite of Centralization, **OR**:
- Decentralization is the opposite of Deconcentration ??

How do we explain the relationship between Centralization, Decentralization, and Deconcentration?

Centralization – Decentralization

(Dickovick 2003, Hutchcroft 2001, Cummings 1995)

Centralization **V.S.** Decentralization




2 variants of centralization:

- ***Concentration***
- ***Deconcentration***



Deconcentration **V.S.** Decentralization



Deconcentration – Decentralization

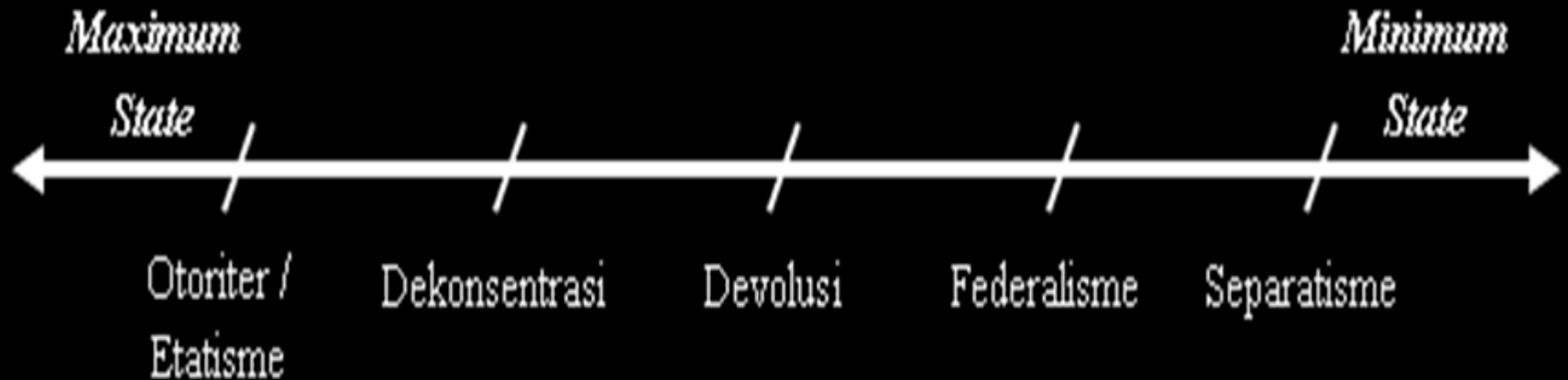
dichotomy OR continuum?

- Dichotomy → substitute principle.
- Continuum → complementary principle.

Deconcentration – Decentralization

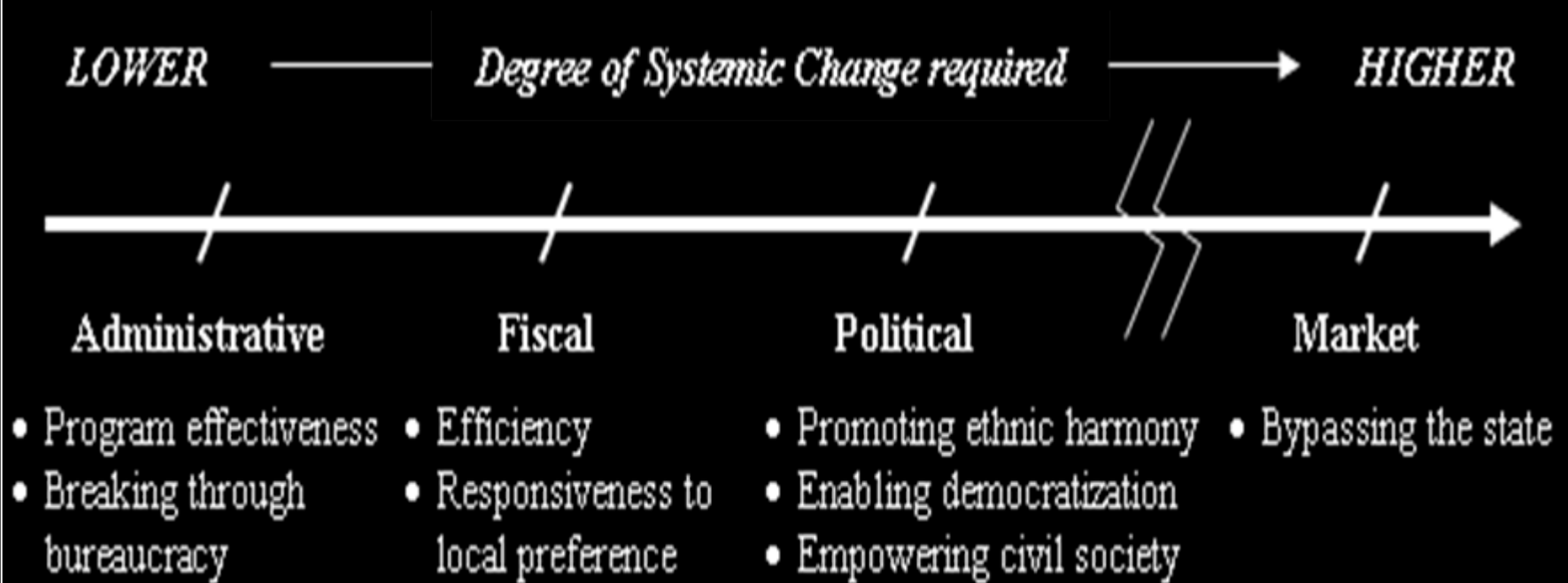
- **Cheema & Rondinelli** (2007): *the relationship between deconcentration and devolution should not be seen as a dichotomy or as mutually exclusive, but rather can best be understood as a matrix of relationships.*
- **FAO** (2006): *deconcentration and decentralization, far from replacing each other, have always been considered as complimentary by political decision makers.*
- **Cummings** (1995): *the question of centralization or decentralization is simply a matter of proportion; it is a matter of finding the optimum degree for the particular concern.*
- **UNDP** (1999): *Decentralization is not an alternative to centralization. Both are needed.*

Brillantes Jr. (2004)

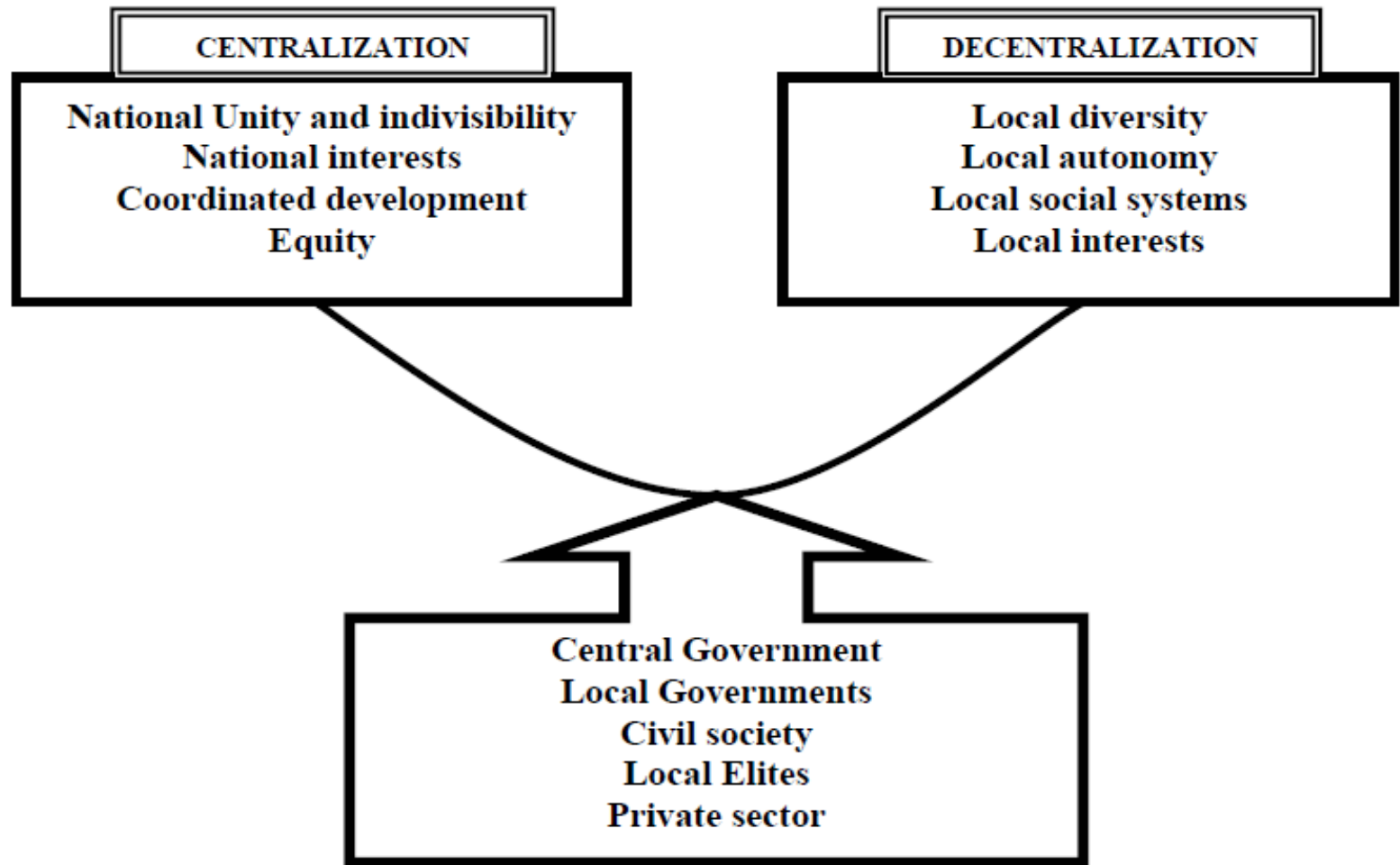


Continuum of Decon – Decent

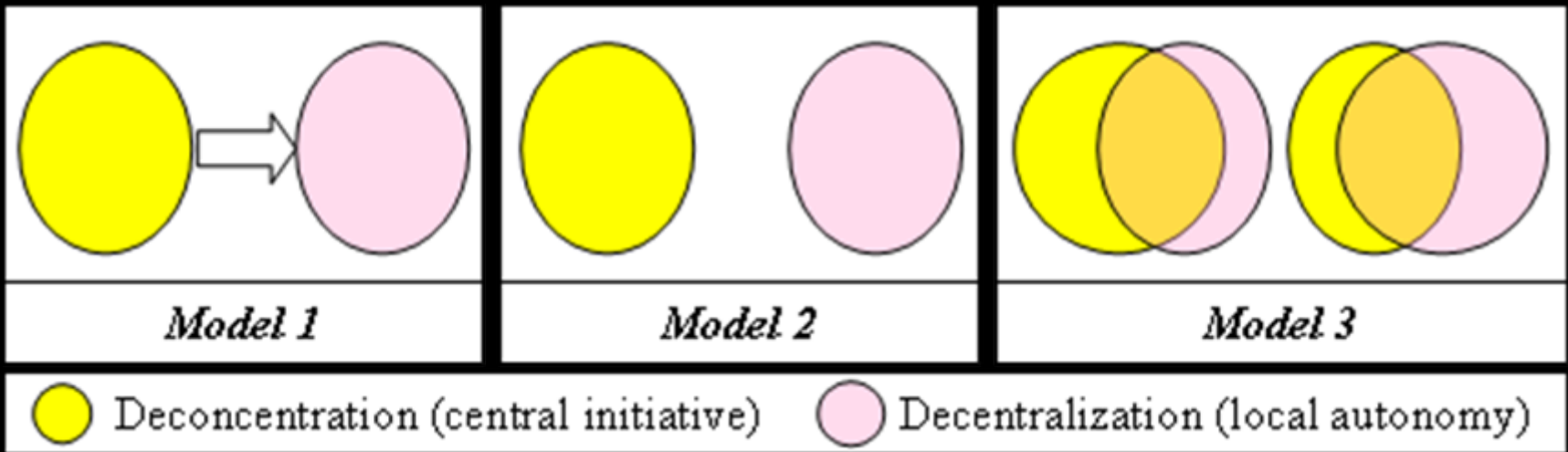
Fritzen & Lim (2006)



Equilibrium of centralization & decentralization forces



Centralization / Decon – Decent Interface Model



Model 1: *Deconcentration comes before decentralization.*

Model 2: *Deconcentration is accomplished alongside decentralization on its own field of authority.*


Model 3: *Deconcentration and decentralization is simultaneously run with varied degree on each side.*

Future Possibility

- Brooke (1984): *"Probably the most thorough account of the relationship between centralization and autonomy suggested that beliefs will swing towards decentralization unless this is discredited by a series of disasters."*
- Stoner & Freeman (1989): *"The clear trend today is toward more decentralization."*
- FAO (2006): *"decentralization appears to be the most appropriate policy of today."*
- Fleurke & Hulst (2006): *"From the end of the seventies, disadvantages of the centralized administrative system became increasingly obvious."*

Country Trends

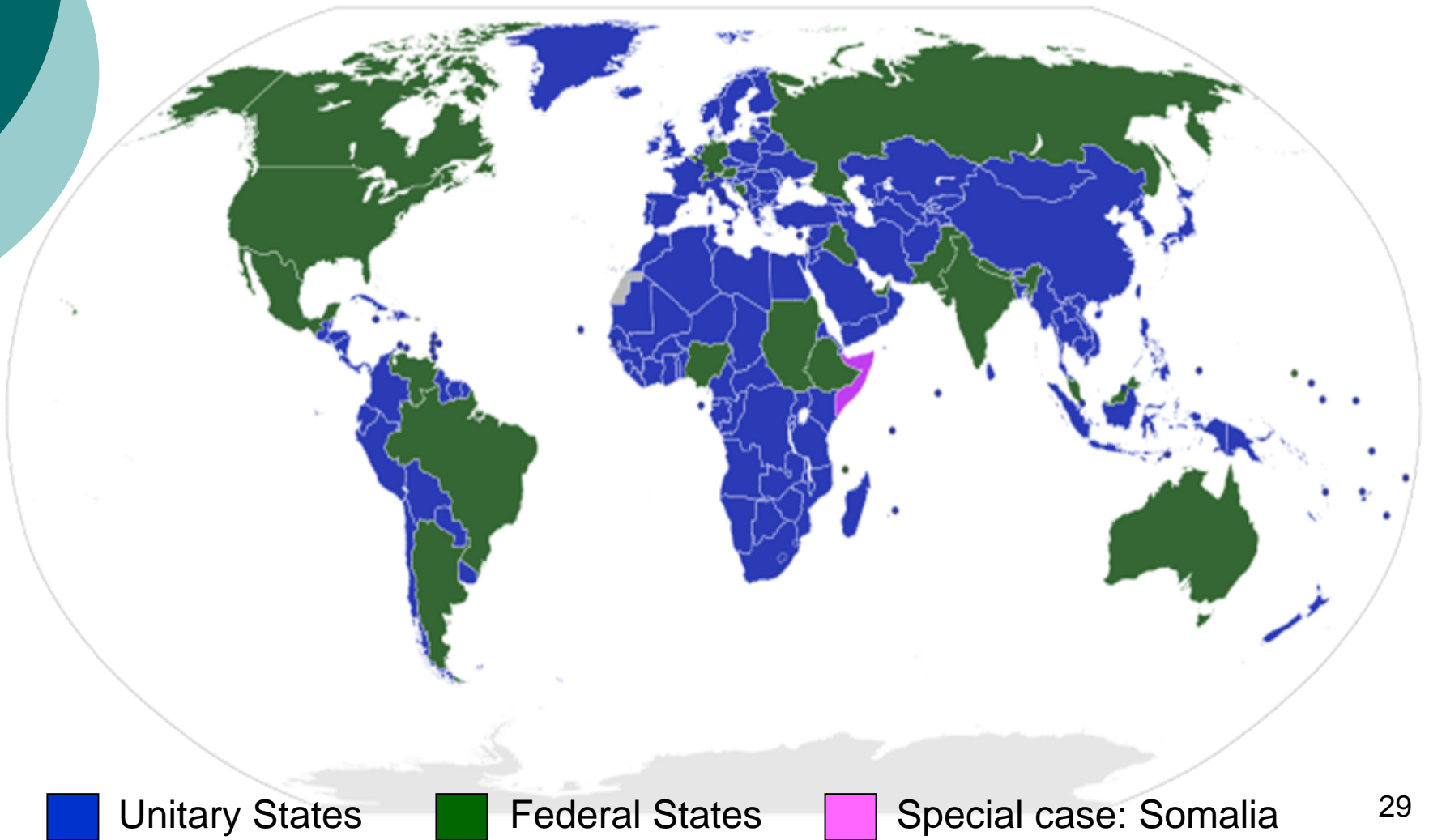
- **Myanmar** → is one of the world's most centralized states, have expressed the need for reforms involving a degree of decentralization (Fritzen & Lim 2006).
- **Britain & France** → Central government has always been powerful in Britain, which, with France, is one of the most highly centralized, unitary states in the western world, but in the last few years the centre has further consolidated its power by increasing its legal, political, and financial control over local authorities (Goldsmith and Newton 1983).
- **Costa Rica** → centralist tradition in that country is among the strongest in Latin America. Efforts to move away from this tradition (decentralization) over the past 25 years has been done though it is unsuccessful (Ryan 2004).



Part 3

Unitary States vs. Federal States & Asymmetric Decentralization

Unitary & Federal States in the World



Unitary States vs. Federal States

Source	Unitary State	Federal State
Encyclopedia	Country whose organs of state are governed as <i>one single unit</i> . The political power of government may well be transferred to lower levels, but central government retains the principal right to recall such delegated power.	A <i>union</i> comprising a number of partially self-governing states or regions united by a central ("federal") government.
Lijphart	Lower-level governments derive their statutory frameworks from <i>parliamentary legislation</i> or an executive order.	Lower levels of government have a <i>constitutional guarantee</i> of sovereignty over specific matters.
	Spending by lower-level government remains the <i>responsibility of the national government</i> .	Responsibility for fiscal problems is <i>distributed across different levels of government</i> .

Unitary States vs. Federal States

Source	Unitary State	Federal State
Hoessein	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Organized under and by central government (Strong 1951).○ Constitutional government power embedded at national level (Baradat 1979).○ Sub-national governments do not have <i>pouvoir constituant</i> (Kranenburg 1955).○ Sub-national governments are created by central government with authorities written in the regulation.○ Relationship between central and sub-national government represents sub-ordination mechanism (K.C.Wheare 1951).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ The state is organized based on the principle of <i>self rule</i> and <i>shared rule</i> (Elazar 1991).○ Both federal and state governments have <i>pouvoir constituant</i> (Kranenburg 1955).○ Relationship between central and sub-national government represents coordination and autonomy functions (K.C.Wheare 1951).

Unitary States vs. Federal States

- **Prasojo** → It is impossible to find any country which is absolutely Unitarian, or totally Federalist. The relationship between central and local government in both countries reflects a poly-centric movement instead of mono-centric. It dynamically moves from unitary continuum to federalist continuum, and the other way round.
- **Lidija Basta** → there is no completely unitary state. Every state is at least composed of municipalities as decentralized units. Accordingly, the major question arises as to how to differentiate among a unitary state practicing deconcentration, a decentralized unitary state and a federal state.

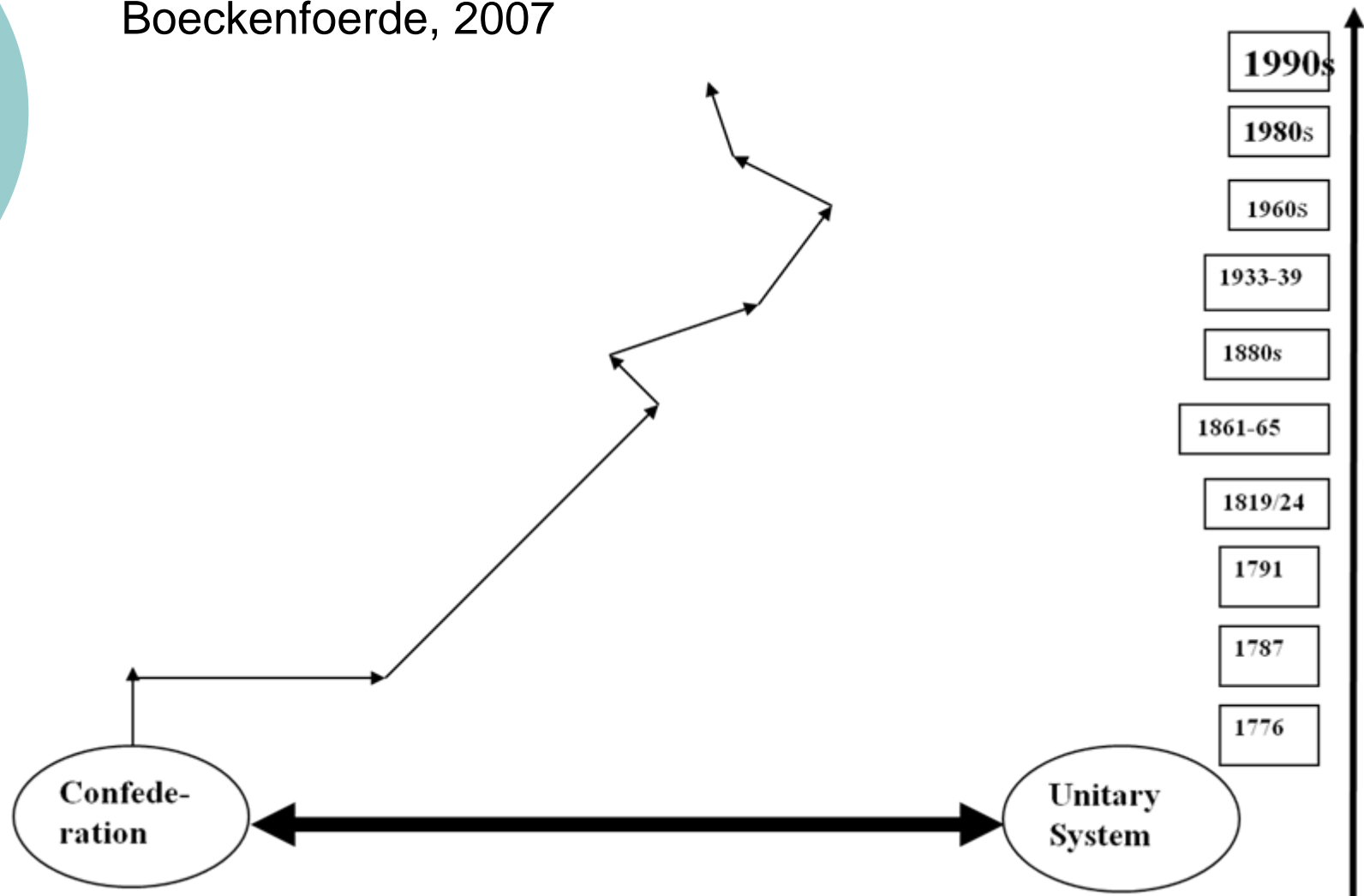
Unitary States vs. Federal States

A Constitutional Reform Schemata
(Buchanan, 1995)



Dynamics in the development of federal system over time (USA)

Boeckenfoerde, 2007





Unitary States vs. Federal States

Does Unitary States correspond to Centralization, while Federal System corresponds to Decentralization?

- Does a federal system facilitate decentralisation better than unitary systems?
- Is the success of decentralisation efforts greater in a federal rather than in a unitary system?
- Is federalism the logical next step for decentralizing unitary systems?

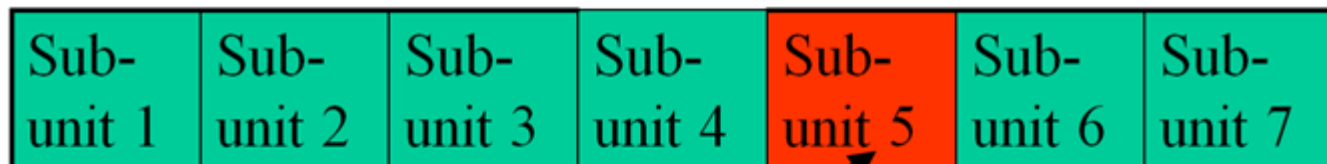
Unitary States vs. Federal States

- **Lijphart** (1984, in Work 2002): "Federalism is not a necessary condition for decentralization nor is decentralization a sufficient condition for federalism. We can have decentralization in absence of federalism, and federations, like unitary systems, can be classified as more or less decentralized (and even centralized)."
- **Work** (2002): "In practice, the line between decentralisation, federalism, unitary states and centralised systems becomes blurred. There is no broad-based generalisation that can be made about the correlation of federal/unitary states and decentralisation."
- **Azfar** (1999): "A federal state is not necessarily more decentralized than a unitary government."
- **King** (1982, in Baldi 1999): "There is no observed degree of centralization / decentralization which commonly and distinctly marks off federations from unitary states."

Asymmetrical Decentralization

- Asymmetrical decentralization both in Unitary & Federal States is becoming more common.
- *Examples in Unitary system:* France (Corsica); Denmark (Greenland); Tanzania (Zanzibar); United Kingdom (Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales); Indonesia (Aceh, Papua); Philippine (Muslim Mindanao, Cordillera); China; Japan; etc.
- *Federal system:* Belgium, Malaysia, Spain, Sudan.

National level of government



Special /more competences

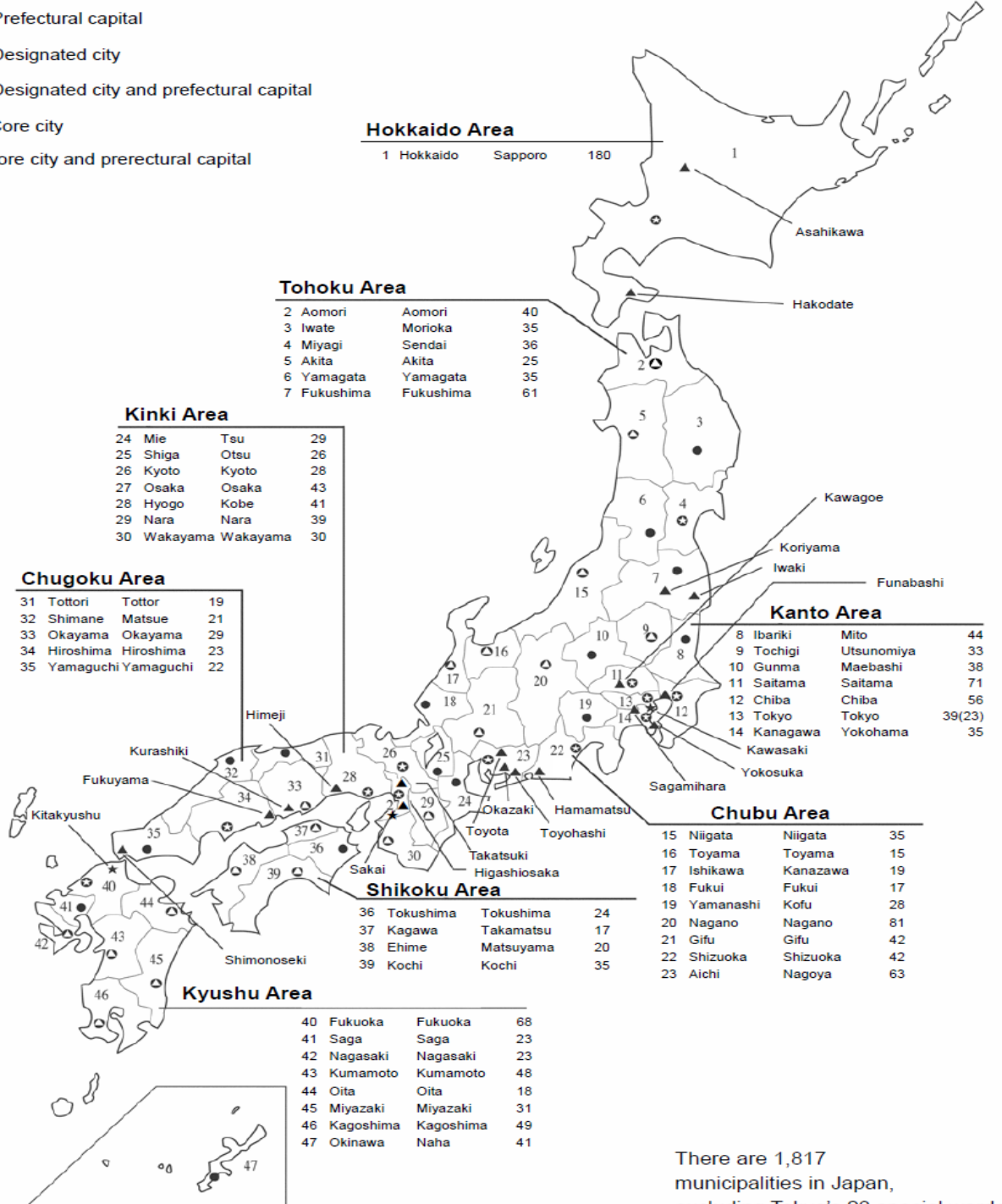


Part 4

Countries Experiences

JAPAN

- Prefectural capital
- ★ Designated city
- ⊛ Designated city and prefectural capital
- ▲ Core city
- ⊙ Core city and prefectural capital



There are 1,817 municipalities in Japan, excluding Tokyo's 23 special wards

JAPAN

- Japan has adopted a two-tiered local administration system consisting of Prefectures and Municipalities.
- Consist of 47 Prefectures. But the number of municipality is decreasing:
 - Great **Meiji** Consolidation: Village & Town decreased from 71,314 to 15,820; 39 new Cities created.
 - Great **Showa**: Village & Town decreased from 9,582 to 2,916; Cities increased from 286 to 556.
 - Great **Heisei**: Village & Town decreased from 2,558 to 1,044; Cities increased from 671 to 777.
- Japan has changed from a rural to an industrial urbanized society.

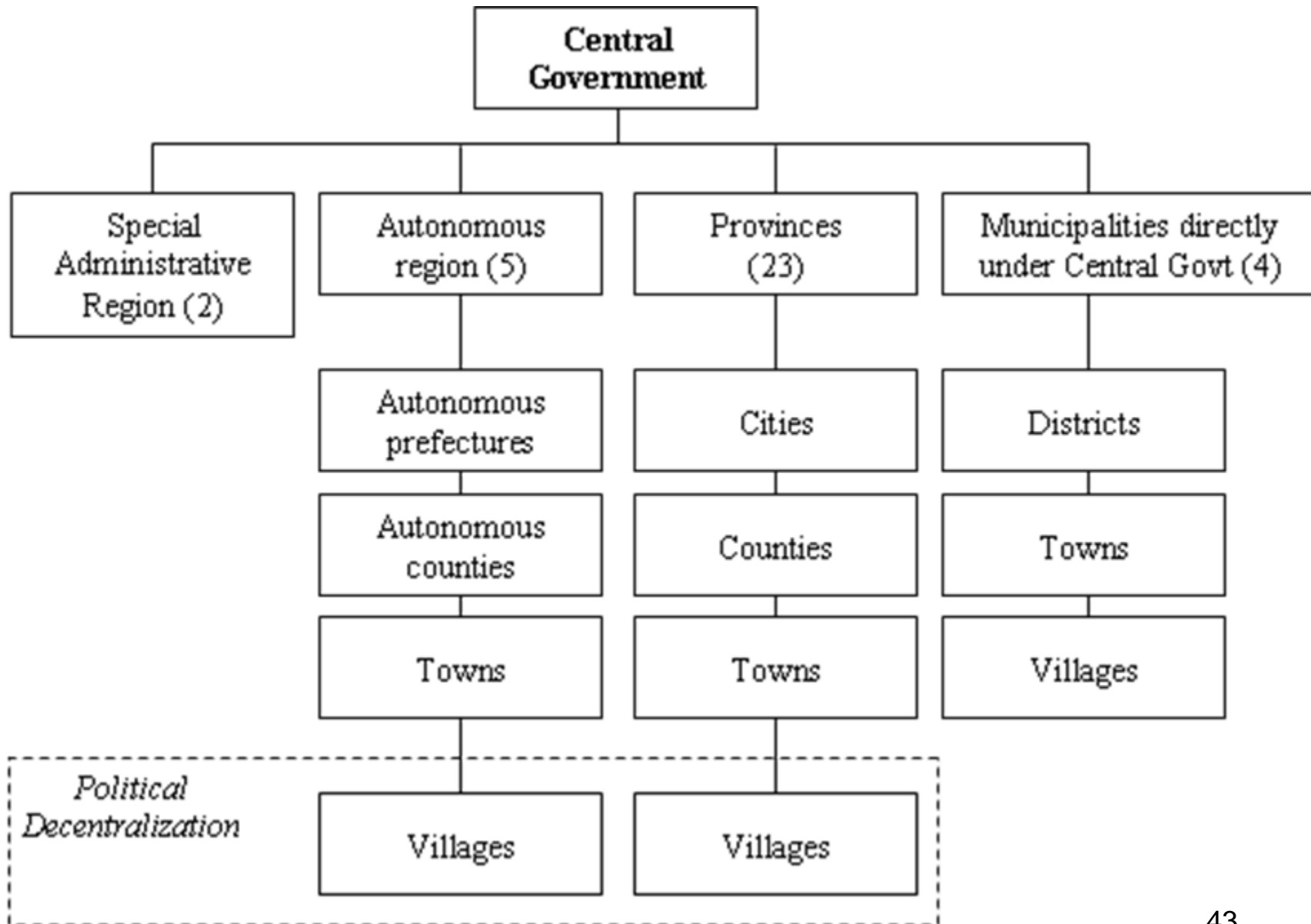
JAPAN

- Degree of decentralization will be given based on 2 indicators: population size *AND* economic base (employment center).
- 3 category of Cities:
 - *Designated Cities* (17 till 2007): Cities having populations of 500,000 or more.
 - *Core Cities* or *Chukaku-shi* (37 till 2006): Cities having populations of at least 300,000 but less than 500,000 and land areas of over 100 sq km.
 - *Special Case Cities* or *Tokurei-shi* (39 till 2006): Cities having populations over 200,000.
- *Asymmetric Decentralization*: the bigger the size of population and the economic base of a city, the bigger authority will be transferred by central govt.
- *Eg: **Designated cities** are authorized to administer the same level of governmental jurisdiction **as prefectures in 19 policy areas.***

CHINA



CHINA



CHINA

- The People's Congress of China is the supreme organ of state power. The Local People Congresses at different levels are the *state power organs at local level*.
- There are 4 municipalities *directly under the Central Government* (The State Council of China): Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, and Tianjin.
- The relationship between central – local govt. in China reflects a model of *principal – agent relations*.
- The above points indicate that central government has decisive role and intervention over local government.

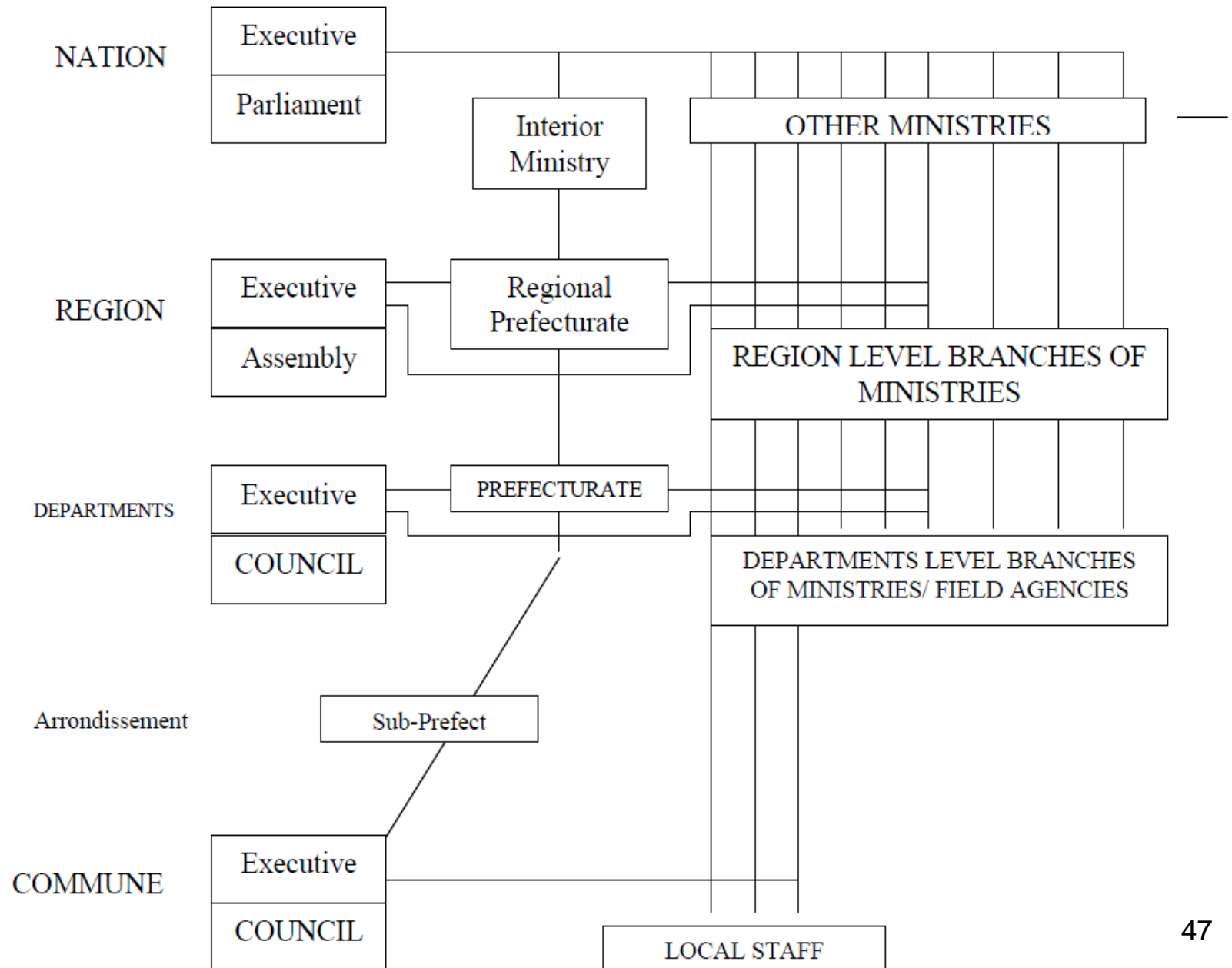
CHINA

- Asymmetrical decentralization is to be given to:
 - 2 Special Administrative Regions: Hongkong & Macau.
 - 5 Autonomous Region: Guangxi, Inner Mongol, Ningxia, Xinjiang, and Xizang (Tibet).
 - Special economic zones, and development zones → 4 economic zones were created in 1978 (Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen in Hainan province).
 - Open coastal cities, along East-coast line → In 1984, 14 coastal open cities were created.
 - Inland cities, along the Yangtze River and bordering on Russia → these cities are delegated powers like those of the special economic zones.
- Guangdong and Fujian Province were given extensive autonomy to develop their region economically.

FRANCE



FRANCE



FRANCE

- Consist of 22 Regions (excluding 4 overseas region); 100 *Département*; and 36.763 Commune.
- Asymmetrical decentralization is to be given to *La Corse* (Corsica) Region.
- In the political organization of France the so-called '*Jacobean logic*' plays an important role. The logic is best summarized by the expression '*the one and indivisible Republic*' which stands for a tendency towards centralization and uniformity.
- Although decentralization reforms 1982 had a strong regionalist element, they were described in terms of Jacobean logic: '*the decentralization would promote the unity and indivisibility of the Republic*' (Wollmann 2000; Loughlin & Peters 1997; in Edwards & Hupe 2000).

FRANCE

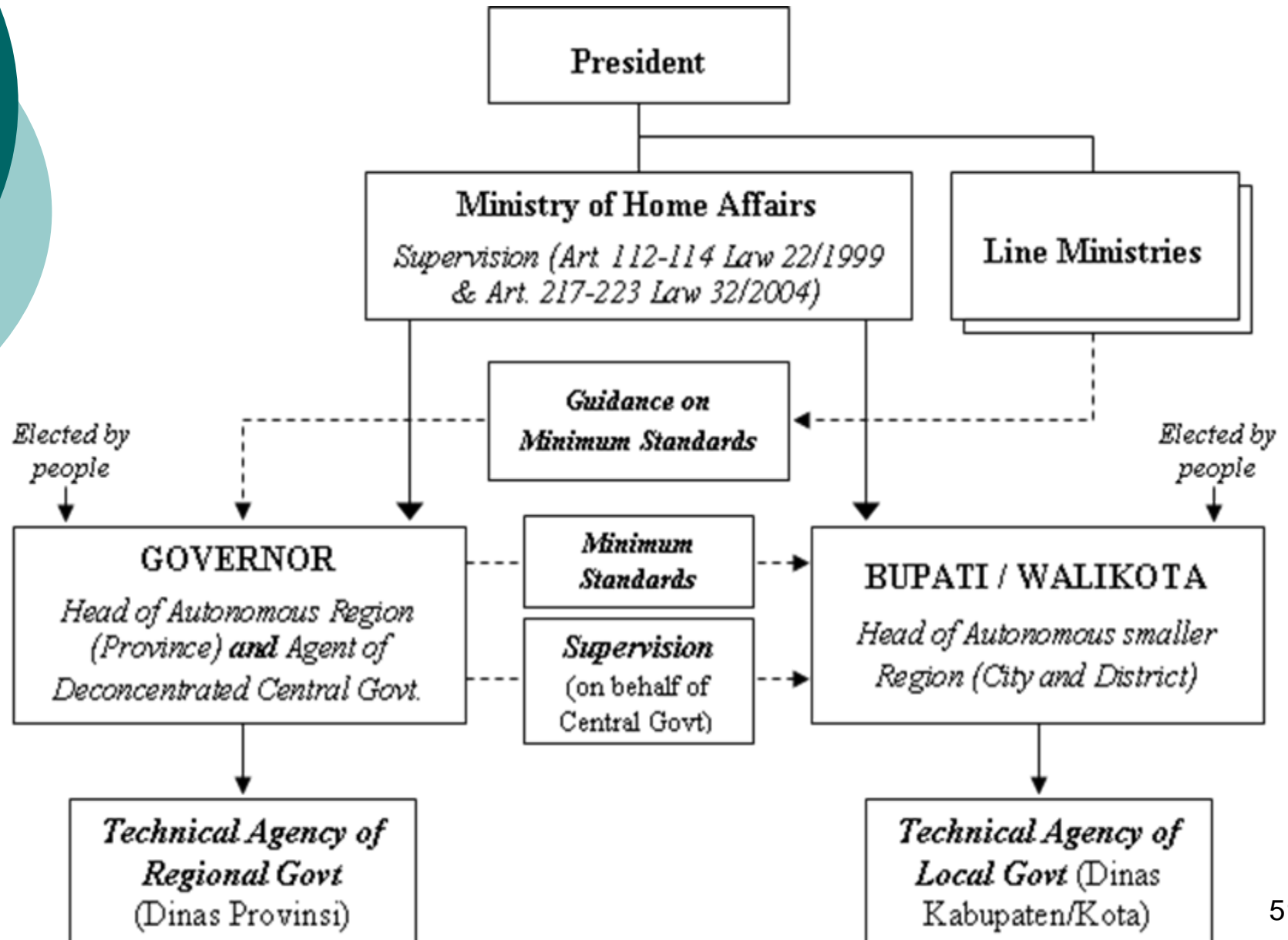
- In 2003-2004, 20 years after the great reform 1982, a new impetus was given to decentralization, still in the same spirit of consolidation and a *search for balance between central and local powers*.
- Therefore, France is experiencing a *dual delegation of power*: on the one hand to local elected officials, which is decentralization, and on the other to the appointed representative in the region, which is deconcentration.
- The Prefect is the *agent of the state's authority* and the delegate of the prime minister and of each minister in the territory. The Prefect is responsible for national interests, administrative control and respect of the law.

INDONESIA



- Territorial width : 1.919.440 km² (15th widest in the world)
- Number of island : 17.508 (6,000 of which are uninhabited)
- Population : 245.453 million (BPS, 2006)
- Cultural : 300 languages

INDONESIA



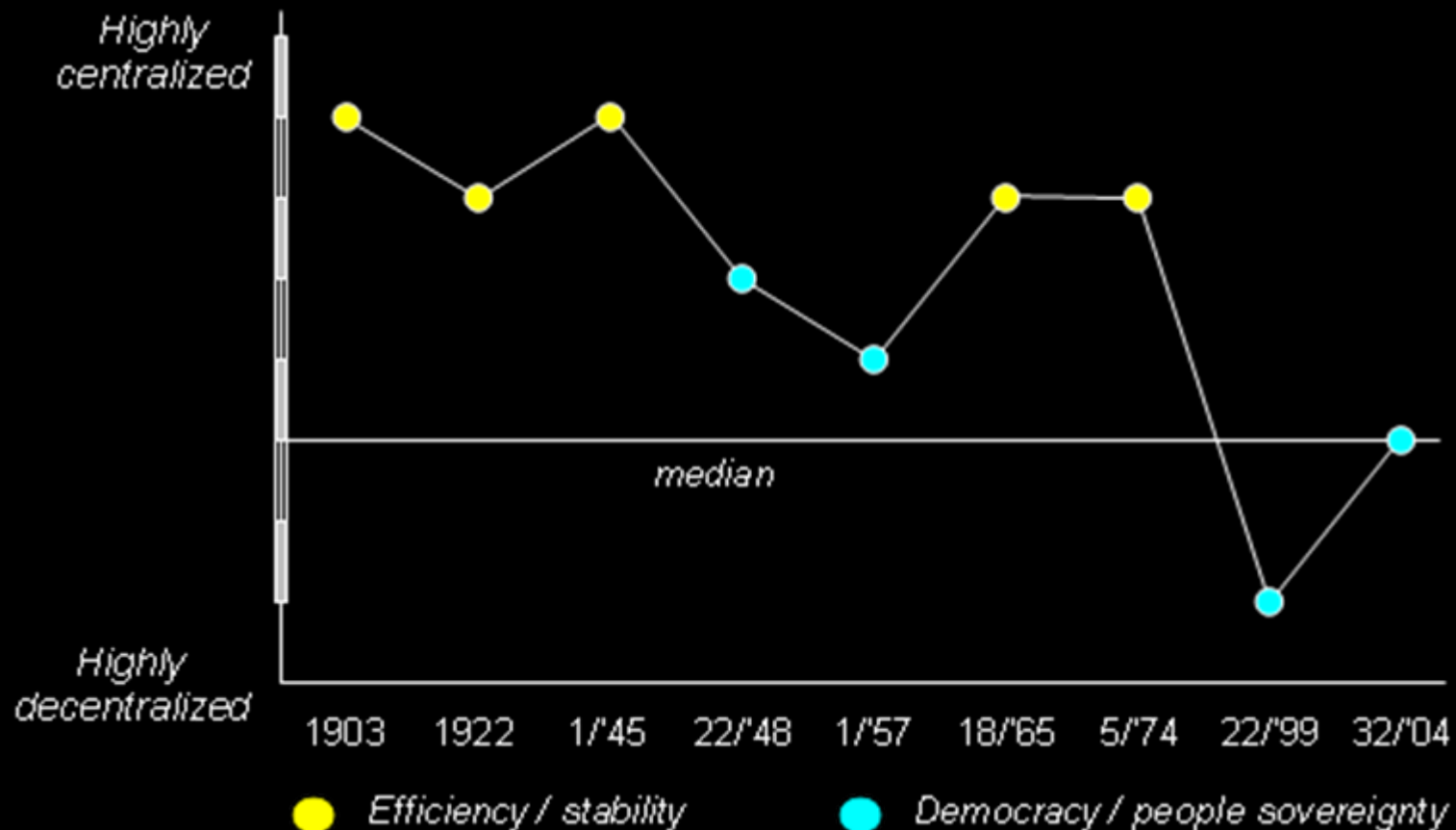
Local Government

Level of Govt	1999	2004	2009
Province	26	32	33
District / City	309	434	489

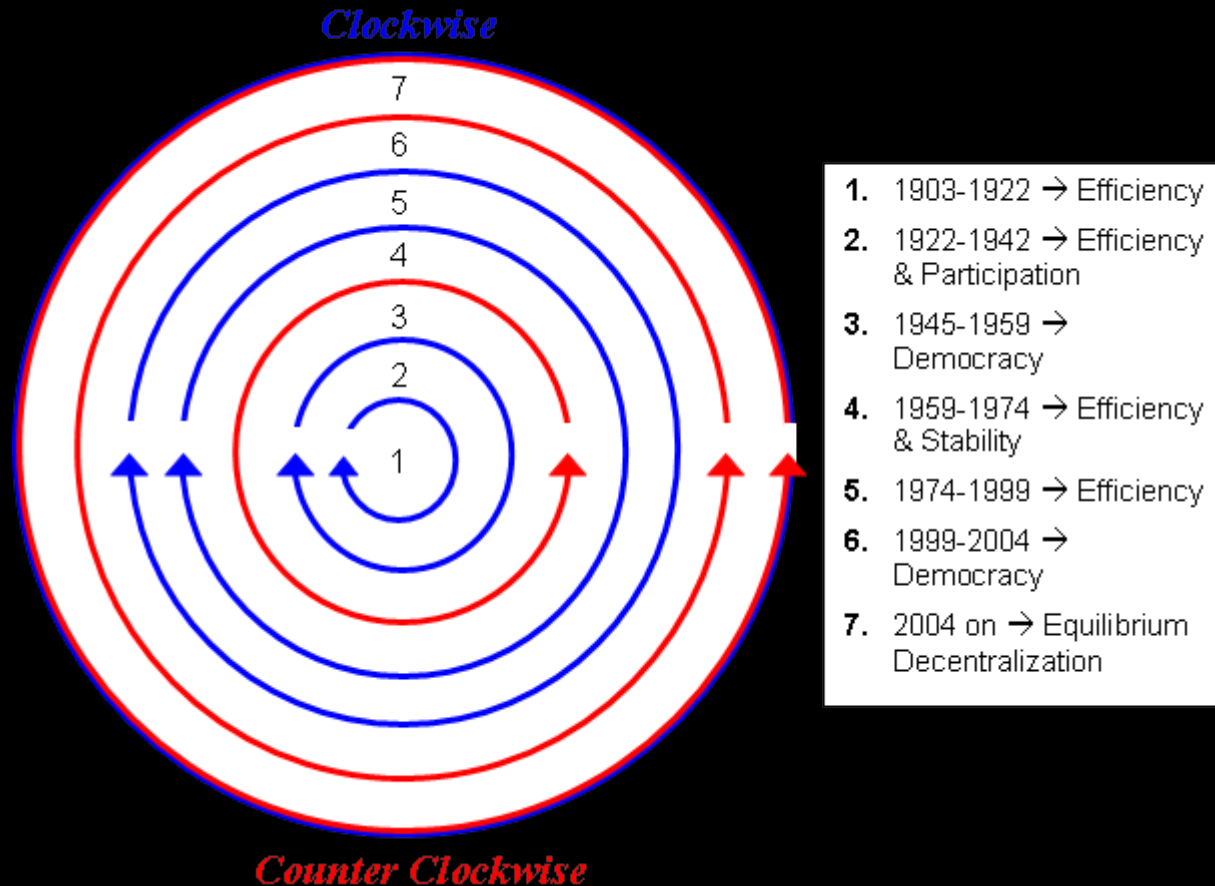
Year	Number of Village Govt. (autonomous & administrative)
2002	69.255
2004	69.919
2006	70.611
2008	73.067

Source: http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jumlah_wilayah_administratif_di_Indonesia#cite_note-3
http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pemekaran_daerah_di_Indonesia

Degree of centralization – decentralization in Indonesia (1903-2004)



7 rounds of decentralization in Indonesia (1903-2004)





INDONESIA

- Governor is the Head of autonomous region, which is decentralization, and *agent of the central government*, which is deconcentration. The Governor is responsible for implementing minimum standard of service and doing supervision to local govt on behalf of central govt.
- No deconcentration in local level (city and district).
- Asymmetrical decentralization is to be given to Jakarta (capital city), Aceh, and Papua province.

	Iran	Yemen	Egypt	West Bank/Gaza	Tunisia
Central Government Ministry	Ministry of Interior (Mol)	Ministry of Local Administration (MoLA)	Ministry of Local Development (MoLD)	Ministry of Local Government (MoLG)	Ministry of Interior
Deconcentrated System					
Province	30 provinces (Ostan)	22 governorates	26 governorates	16 governorates	24 Governorates
District	318 districts (Shahrestan)	332 districts	180 districts (markaz)		
County	854 rural counties (Bakhsh)		213 cities (madina) 74 districts (hay) 1164 rural villages (qariya)		
Appointed by	Provincial governor (Ostandar) is appointed by the President District Governor (Farmandar) is appointed by Mol Rural county administrator (Bakhshdar) is appointed by the Ostandar	Governor is appointed by the President District governor is appointed by the Prime Minister	Governor is appointed by the President Chief of markaz is appointed by the Prime Minister City and district chiefs are appointed by the minister of MoLD Village chief is appointed by the governor	Governor is appointed by the President.	Governor is appointed by the central government
Council	Provincial Planning and Development Council (Chair: Ostandar; Line Ministry reps) District Planning Committee (Chair: Farmandar; Line Ministry reps)	Governorate council directly elected by people District council directly elected by people	There are two councils at each local government level: Elected People's Council and centrally appointed local Executive Council. Executive council is composed of representatives of central government ministries and departments.		Regional assembly is made up members of the Parliament of the region, municipal mayors and other appointed members.
Decentralized System					
Urban Municipalities	More than 1000 municipalities (Shahr)	N/A	N/A	119 municipalities	262 municipalities
Rural Municipalities	More than 68,000 rural municipalities (Deh/Roosta)			251 village councils 49 joint service councils	
Elected by	Mayor of an urban municipality (Shahrdar) is jointly appointed by the Mol and City Council, which is directly elected by people. Mayor of a rural municipality (Dehyar) is jointly appointed by the Mol and Village Council, which is directly elected by people.	N/A	N/A	Municipal mayor and council members are directly elected by people. Village councils and joint services committees are appointed by the MoLG.	Municipalities are governed by an elected municipal council that elects its mayor within its ranks.



MENA Countries

- Most of the countries have adopted a two-tiered local govt system consisting of province and municipalities.
- Decentralization is applicable for municipal level, while province govt implement deconcentration functions. Head of municipal govt is elected by people, while head of province is appointed by central govt.
- There is no any record for asymmetrical decentralization practices.

CONCLUSION

- Decentralization has multiple meaning, interpretation, and implementation in different country and different context. But there is common essence of decentralization, that is, strengthening local authorities through transfer of power and resources from the central govt.
- It must never be forgotten that the purpose of decentralization is not to reinforce local powers or to preserve central power but exclusively to ensure the best service to the citizen, service that is closer, more comprehensible and less costly. By quoting Bernard: *"Decentralization cannot be forced. It must be made alive for and by the inhabitants of the City of Mankind."*
- Consequently, contrasting unitary and federal states, or contrasting decentralization and deconcentration, is no longer relevant. The more important thing to be noticed is that both unitary and federal states have equal opportunity to promote *asymmetrical decentralization*.
- Asymmetrical decentralization constitutes a win-win solution to resolve any conflict between Unitarian supporters and separatist movement.



Thank you for kind attention

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