Decentralised Service Delivery in East Africa

— A Comparative Study of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya —

March 2008

Institute for International Cooperation

Japan International Cooperation Agency

This document summarises the views of the "Cooperation for Decentralisation in Africa"
Study Group which was established by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).
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Photos: Michiyuki Shimoda, Yoichiro Kimata, Osamu Funao, Fumihiko Saito

Foreword

Recognition of the importance of development in Africa has been growing the world over. It was one of the major issues at the Heiligendamm Summit in Germany in June 2007, and it will be the focus at the Tokyo International Conference on African Development IV (TICAD IV) to be held in Yokohama in May 2008.

Based on the lessons learnt from the Structural Adjustment Programme of the 1980s, in Africa, Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) have been developed, and Public Sector Reforms (PSRs) have been promoted to enhance government functions. Against this background, decentralisation reforms are being carried out in a number of countries in order to improve the capacity of administrative services in local areas.

Meanwhile, in March 2004, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) pushed for the introduction of the concept of "human security" as a key to structural reform. Since then, JICA's aim has been to take assistance that properly reaches impoverished people and to implement it more at the grassroots level. In order to reliably deliver the effects of assistance to local people, it is necessary to adopt appropriate assistance measures and approaches that are based on the trends of decentralisation policies in African countries and on the changes in the central-local government relationship.

Based on a recognition of these issues, in December 2005, the "Cooperation for Decentralisation in Africa" Study Group was established, and up until May 2007, a total of 14 sessions had been held. The study group verified the changes in sector services such as education, health, and agriculture, as well as the changes in rural/community development, which had been caused by decentralisation in Africa. In addition, with an objective of improving local service delivery, the study group also examined the type of decentralisation that ought to be implemented and the form of the central-local government relationship, which are suitable the particular country, and it presented the type of support that should be provided to achieve this.

This report presents important viewpoints for working-level officials who are considering support for the fields of local administration and governance in Africa, or support in such sectors as education, health and agriculture. We are hopeful that the opinions and viewpoints mentioned here will lead to the furtherance of efforts for support in Africa. We also hope that, in addition to Africa, the opinions and viewpoints will be used as a guide when officials are considering support for local administration in Asia and Latin America.

Finally, I would like to sincerely thank the study group members and other relevant persons for their enormous efforts in compiling this report, and I would like to express my gratitude to the relevant organisations for their cooperation.

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Abbreviations

ACBG	Agricultural Capacity Building Grant	Tanzania
ADO	Assistant Development Officer	Kenya
AEBG	Agriculture Extension Block Grant	Tanzania
AIE	Authority to Incur Expenditure	Kenya
ALAT	Association of Local Government Authorities of Tanzania	Tanzania
ALGE	Association of Local Governments Employers	Kenya
ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme	Tanzania
ASSP	Agricultural Service Support Programme	Tanzania
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer	Uganda
CBG	Capacity Building Grants	
CBO	Community Based Organisation	
CCHP	Comprehensive Council Health Plan	Tanzania
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	Tanzania
CD	Capacity Development	
CDC	Constituency Development Committee	Kenya
CDF	Constituency Development Fund	Kenya, Tanzania
CG	Central Government	
CHF	Community Health Fund	Tanzania
CHMT	Council Health Management Team	Tanzania
CHW	Community Health Workers	
CKRC	Constitution of Kenya Review Committee	Kenya
CORP	Community Resource Persons	
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	
D by D	Decentralisation by Devolution	Tanzania
DAC	Development Assistance Committee	
DADG	District Agricultural Development Grant	Tanzania
DADP	District Agricultural Development Plan	Tanzania
DAO	District Agricultural Officer	
DC	Development Committee	Kenya
DDC	District Development Committee	Kenya
DDO	District Development Officer	Kenya
DDP	District Development Plan	
DED	District Executive Director	Tanzania
DEO	District Education Officer	

DfID	Department for International Development	
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development	Kenya
DHMT	District Health Management Team	Uganda
DIDF	District Irrigation Development Fund	Tanzania
DIP	Decentralisation Implementation Plan	Zambia
DISC	District Intelligence and Security Committee	Kenya
DPF	Decentralisation Policy Framework	
DPSF	Decentralisation Policy Strategy Framework	Uganda
DSC	District Service Commission	Uganda
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy	Kenya
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme	Tanzania
FBO	Faith Based Organisation	
FDS	Fiscal Decentralisation Strategy	
FPE	Free Primary Education	
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	
GNI	Gross National Income	
GNP	Gross National Product	
GPG	General Purpose Grant	Tanzania
GPT	Graduated Personal Tax	Kenya
g-tax	Graduated Tax	Uganda
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit	
HC	Health Centre	
HIPCs	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries	
HIS	Health Information System	
HoDs	Head of Departments	
HSR	Health Sector Reform	
HSSP	Health Sector Strategic Plan	
IHDP	Integrated Human Development Programme	
IMF	International Monetary Fund	
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency	
KADU	Kenyan-African Democratic Union	Kenya
KANU	Kenyan-African National Union	Kenya
KIPPRA	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis	Kenya
KLGRP	Kenya Local Government Reform Programme	Kenya
KSAF	Kenya Social Action Fund	Kenya
LASDAP	Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan	Kenya
LATF	Local Authority Transfer Fund	Kenya

LC	Local Council	Uganda
LDC	Least Developed Countries	
LG	Local Government	
LGA	Local Government Authority	Tanzania
LGCBG	Local Government Capacity Building Grant	Tanzania
LGCDG	Local Government Capital Development Grant	Tanzania
LGDP	Local Government Development Programme	Uganda
LGFC	Local Government Finance Commission	
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme	Tanzania
LGSIP	Local Government Sector Investment Plan	Uganda
LGSP	Local Government Support Programme	Tanzania
MD	Municipal Director	Tanzania
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals	
MIFIPRO	Mixed Farming Improvement Project	
MoAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries	Uganda
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Uganda
MoH	Ministry of Health	Uganda, Kenya
MoLG	Ministry of Local Government	Uganda, Kenya
MoPS	Ministry of Public Service	Uganda
MP	Members of Parliament	
MRALG	Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government	
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework	
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services	Uganda
NALEP	National Agricultural and Livelistock Extension Programme	Kenya
NARC	National Alliance for Rainbow Coalition	Kenya
NCG	Nordic Consulting Group	
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation	
NHIF	National Health Insurance Fund	
NLGCBP	National Local Government Capacity Building Policy	Uganda
NRA	National Resistance Army	Uganda
NRM	National Resistance Movement	Uganda
NSDS	National Service Delivery Survey	Uganda
O&OD	Opportunity and Obstacles for Development	Tanzania
ODA	Office Development Assistance	
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement	Kenya
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	

OJT	On the Job Training	
PA	Provincial Administration	Kenya
PAF	Poverty Action Fund	Kenya, Uganda
PDA	Provincial Director of Agriculture	Kenya
PDE	Provincial Director of Education	Kenya
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan	Uganda
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan	Uganda, Tanzania
PLSD	Participatory Local Social Development	
PMA	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture	Uganda
PMO-RALG	Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government	Tanzania
PO-RALG	President's Office Regional Administration and Local Government	Tanzania
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal	
PRBS	Poverty Reduction Budgetary Support	Tanzania
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy	
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	
PSC	Public Service Commission	
PSR	Public Sector Reform	
PSRP	Public Sector Reform Programme	
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association	
PWD	Person With Disability	
QUASO	Quality Assurance and Standards Officer	
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary	Kenya
RC	Resistance Council	Uganda
RHMT	Regional Health Management Team	Tanzania
RMLF	Road Maintenance Levy Fund	Kenya
RMO	Regional Medical Officer	Tanzania
SBP	Single Business Permit	Tanzania
SC	School Committee	Tanzania
SCG	School Capitation Grant	
SMC	School Management Committee	Kenya, Uganda
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation	
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture	
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach	
TA	Technical Assistance	
TAC	Teacher Advisory Coordination	Kenya

TD	Town Director	Tanzania
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development	
TOR	Terms Of Reference	
TWINS	Two-Way Information Network System	
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics	Uganda
ULGA	Uganda Local Government Association	Uganda
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund	
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme	
UPE	Universal Primary Education	
VRS	Village Resource Persons	
WDC	Ward Development Committee	Tanzania
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator	Tanzania
WEO	Ward Executive Officer	Tanzania

Note: In January 2006, in conjunction with the inauguration of the Kikwete government, the regional administration and local government functions shifted to the Prime Minister's Office, and consequently the name of the department changed from PO-RALG to PMO-RALG.

Exchange Rates (as of October 15, 2007)
US$ 1 = 1,739.9 UGX (Ugandan shilling)
US$ 1 = 66.450 KES (Kenyan shilling)
US$ 1 =   1,149 TZS   (Tanzanian shilling)

Summary

Background and Objectives of the Study

In Africa, the number of countries adopting and promoting policies for decentralisation began to increase especially during the 1990s. Underlying this increase is the fact that, PRS and PSR emphasise enhancing the capacity for the provision of public services, including that of local administrations. On the other hand, decentralisation is also closely linked to political motivations concerning the governance system in each country.

However, problems are often identified in the management capacity of local administrations, as well as that of supervision and coordination on the side of the central governments which are in the position of supporting local administrations. While there are some cases in which the merits of decentralisation have been manifested, other cases also exist in which the reform encountered some difficulties and there were doubts as to its outcomes. In addition, the reality is that the characteristics of problems vary by countries and sectors.

Based on this background, the objective of the present study is to verify how the decentralisation reforms are contributing to the improvement of service delivery in local areas and what outcomes and problems are emerging from them. The study also aims to propose some measures for improvement to tackle those problems associated with the decentralisation.

Chapter 1
Issues being discussed concerning the Decentralisation in Africa

What are the issues deriving from decentralisation?

Decentralisation has considerable impacts on service delivery of different sectors. By shifting the point of service provision from the central government to local governments, it causes significant changes in the budget allocations as well as service provision. On the other hand, it is also important to note that the improvement of service delivery is significantly influenced by the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) as well.

Decentralisation also leads to significant changes in local development and community development. Decentralisation is expected to facilitate cross-sector development tailored to local needs, but its impact on development will vary considerably depending on the circumstances of each case including the degree of devolution to the local government, the local government's capacity to implement services, and so on.

Furthermore, in recent years, it is sometimes observed that the inadequacy of the decentralisation process causes imbalances in the country's total governance system as well as lack of organisational and human capacity for delivering public services, which should be recognised and dealt with as overall "governance" issues.

What does decentralisation aim for in the end? : The analytical framework of this study

In this study, we have collectively referred to all the providers of local public services as "local administrations" in general. Within this category, we have referred to organisations that deliver local administrative services with autonomous authority independent of the central government as "local governments", and the entities that govern and provide services under the command of the central government as "local offices of the central government."

Although some development partners tend to push forward devolution in African countries as the only good model for decentralisation, this study attempts to conduct analysis of the situation on a different basis. Taking into account the reality that there are positive and negative movements surrounding decentralisation in individual countries in Africa, the study team considered that what requires assistance in the end is strengthening the foundation of development tailored to the realities and the actual conditions of development and governance in each country, decentralisation being one of the elements for that. In this sense, we need to be mindful that decentralisation is only a means for achieving certain objectives.

This leads to the question: What is the objective we are trying to achieve through decentralisation? In this study, considering the aim of the public sector reforms of recent years, we have placed the "improvement of service delivery" as the objective. In addition, we have defined the following four aspects as factors to measure the improvement of service delivery as the outcome of the decentralisation reforms.

Effectiveness: Providing services that respond to the local needs

"Effectiveness" is a factor that concerns "the level of achievement of the objectives," whereby services are provided based on an accurate assessment of citizens' needs and the local context.

Efficiency: Maximising the efficiency of administrative services

"Efficiency" is considered a factor that can be equated with "investment effectiveness," whereby services are provided in a prompt and appropriate manner by efficiently utilising limited resources such as personnel and budgets.

Accountability: A responsibility to provide adequate information and explanations in a manner that can be trusted by the citizens

In the sense that it increases the transparency of service provision and earns the trust of the public, "accountability" could also be described as a factor that indicates "the degree of reflection of the people's will"

Equity: Fair distribution to the poor and equality among different regions

While decentralisation has the potential to realise a fairer and more strategic distribution of resources to the deprived classes based on the particular conditions and needs of the concerned local society, it also has potential risks to widen disparities among regions. It is therefore important to pay special attention to ensuring equity among different regions.

In this study, we will verify the way in which decentralisation affects the improvement of service delivery, while also looking into its relationship with SWAp and the overall programme of public sector reforms. More specifically, taking into account that there are different forms of decentralisation (devolution and deconcentration) applied in African countries, we will analyse each of these forms of decentralisation to see their impacts and challenges with respect to the improvement of service delivery. Furthermore, we will also examine the potentiality of the people's "collective action" and the collaboration between the local administration and these kinds of efforts towards the improvement of service delivery. Analysis will be made in this context of how efficiently the limited available resources can be mobilised and made maximum use of, and how effectively the service delivery can be made to meet the citizens' needs, through utilisation of the above-mentioned collective actions, all of which are expected to lead to the overall goal of "poverty reduction". Figure 0-1 illustrates the framework of our research study.

Figure 0-1   Conceptual Framework of the Study
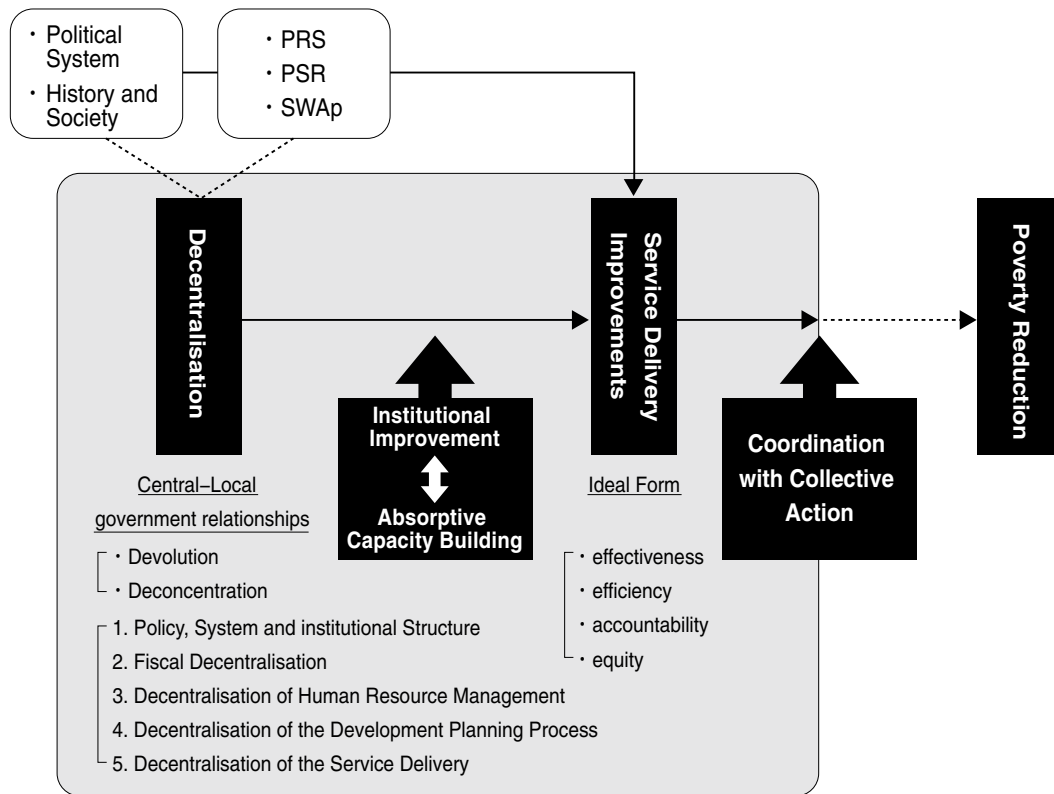
Source: Drawn by the author.

Chapter 2
Overview and Analysis of Decentralisation in the Three Countries

Uganda

The LC system and policy framework

The institutional pillar of the decentralisation reforms in Uganda is the Local Council (LC) system. This is a hierarchy of councils ranging from LC1 (Village) to LC5 (District). The council encompasses both legislative and administrative organs. The origin of the LC system derives from the Resistance Council (RC), which was used by the National Resistance Army (NRA) when they were engaged in a guerrilla war to topple the then government. The RC helped the National Resistance Movement (NRM)/NRA to ease communication with local residents, and it is for this reason that the NRM decided to install the system on a nationwide scale once it took power.

What is unique is that in Uganda their practical experience of organising local consultations through the RC/LC system preceded the legal design of a new administrative structure. As people became more familiar with the system, the more its problems became apparent. As a result, vast

improvements have been made in the coordination of functions between the central government and the local authorities, and between the various levels of local authorities (in particular between LC1, LC3 and LC5).

The political background of decentralisation

Politically, the RC system was installed to solidify public support for the NRM, which was facing tough challenges from more experienced political parties. Thus, in the policy of the NRM, the non-party democracy and the RC/LC system were two sides of the same coin; they are hardly divisible.

Another significant political factor that influenced the implementation of decentralisation reforms is the political influence of the Buganda Kingdom. In the early 1990s, in order to pre-empt Buganda's assertion of federalism, rapid decentralisation was considered necessary.

These two factors attest to the fact that the motivation for decentralisation reforms came from Uganda itself.

Decentralisation of sector services

Education and health represent the progressive implementation of decentralised service provision in Uganda. More specifically, there have been improvements in the monitoring, supervision and mentoring provided by the line ministries at the centre, and support at the LC5 (District) level for service providers has also improved. Underlying these improvements in services is a mechanism of multi-partnership with collaboration among different layers of government, between the central government and local authorities and between different local authorities (in particular between the LC1, LC3 and LC5 levels).

In contrast, the assessment of the agricultural sector calls for caution. Cooperation with other services at the local government level needs to be enhanced, especially at the LC5 level. In addition, a limited amount of cost sharing by LC3, which is attempting to establish coordination between the service providers and the farmers, is required in order for them to provide basically the much-needed services in the agricultural sector free of charge. However, due to financial constraints, in reality this cost sharing has not been honoured by most LC3 offices, which affects the sustainability of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA)/National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS).

Human resources management

Uganda is one of the few countries where local governments (LC5) have the authority to hire and fire, although the remuneration is still determined centrally. In particular, since the turn of this century, capacity at the LC3 level appears to have improved both in quantity and quality. However, there are

still two challenging issues. Firstly, once a majority of the offices are appointed from the same area, the range of experience and knowledge that they can assemble as a technical team is significantly narrowed. Secondly Attracting qualified personnel in remote areas continues to be a problem due to the devolution of power which causes local government officials to lose their enthusiasm for self-improvement.

Fiscal decentralisation

In Uganda, fiscal transfers have increased nearly sevenfold over the decade. However, in the 2005/2006 fiscal year, the Graduated Tax (g-tax), which was almost the only independent source of revenues for local authorities, was abolished. It undermined the form of accountability that was about to emerge between tax payers and service providers. Furthermore, although the central government promised to compensate for the loss of the g-tax, only less than half of it has been compensated for.

NRM and neo-patrimonialism

Since its formation in 1986, the NRM has been in power for more than two decades, and there appeared increasing signs that decision making within the NRM became dominated by the top leadership, including cases of nepotism. These signs are also beginning to be observed in the decentralisation process. Firstly, the number of districts (LC5) increased dramatically since 2000. Secondly, from the 2006/2007 fiscal year, the top officials of rural and urban local governments are to be appointed by the Ministry of Public Service (MoPS). Thirdly, local governments are now financially heavily dependent on the central government. In the late 1990s, local governments could generate about 30 % of the funds from their own sources and in the 2006/2007 fiscal year, the proportion is even expected to be around 7 %. Fourthly, the primary services of both education and health services are now free of charge. That these changes are being implemented may display a sign of populist policies by the regime.

Shift from a non-party to multiparty democracy

The February 2006 elections for the LC system were held on a *multiparty* basis, which was the first time during the NRM period. These elections signalled a significant departure from the non-party democracy that had been advocated by the NRM. However, one of the most crucial issues is whether the LC system can function effectively in separation from party policies as the RC/LC system was brought by the NRM.

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from the Uganda example is that achieving "good governance" is far from an easy technical fix. Local democracy cannot be transplanted just by importing institutional designs that work elsewhere without giving consideration to the political context in which reforms are being implemented. Furthermore, when the characteristics of the regime in power change, this changes the ways in which decentralisation and governance reforms are implemented. Therefore, in order for any decentralisation measures to be successful it is absolutely essential to harmonise and coordinate in a much more systematic way the different reform endeavours that are now often being implemented separately from each other.

Tanzania

The socio-political context of Tanzania and the circumstances surrounding decentralisation

When considering decentralisation in Tanzania, it is also necessary to take its history and socio-political context into account. Agriculture is the main industry in Tanzania. There is little disparity between the rich and the poor, and there is not much in the way of ethnic conflicts. There is a sense of unity throughout the entire country: Swahili is prevalent as the common language; one political party has dominated since independence; and the populist policies of President Nyerere have received widespread support among the citizens. This contrasts strikingly with the extreme disorder affecting Uganda in the 1970s.

The historical developments leading up to decentralisation in Tanzania can be summarised into the following three stages. In 1962, the colonial system of chiefs was abolished, the heads of local administrations (Regions and Districts) were staffed with public servants appointed by the president or the civil service commission, and a system of direct election by the people was adopted for District Councils. From 1967 to 1986, the Ujamaa socialist policy caused economic conditions to deteriorate. The real wages of public servants fell, and there was a notable drop in service delivery. During the 1990s, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was adopted, and based on strong interventions by donors in decentralisation policies, policies were adopted that accelerated decentralisation.

Administrative developments for decentralisation

One of the major steps taken towards decentralisation was the "Local Government Reform Agenda 1996-2000," which was formulated in 1996. A policy of "Decentralisation by Devolution" (D by D) was adopted to devolve political power, financial power and administrative power to local

authorities, formally converting the agenda into a government policy document. In terms of how it was implemented, this was prescribed by the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) which commenced in 2000. This resulted in cutbacks in the role of the Regional administrations, with the District level becoming the core of local authority.

Including local offices of the national government, the administrative organisations that exist in the local areas of Tanzania are, in order of a level from upper to lower, Region, District, Division, Ward, Village and Kitongoji. Regions and Divisions are currently local offices of the central government. There are two local authorities that have both council and administrative functions: the District and Village. In rural areas, there are Wards that exist as levels without councils but with standing committees, and there are also Kitongoji that exist as a level without standing committees but with grass-roots local resident organisations.

Under the LGRP, District Councils were prescribed as having the authority to employ, assign, promote and dismiss all public servants engaged by the local authorities. However, the District Executive Directors (DEDs) in the Districts were appointed by the president, and the Department Directors in the District were appointed and managed by the Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG) in the central government.

Progress made in the Devolution of financial power and local processes for formulating development plans

A feature of the public revenues for local authorities in Tanzania is the overwhelming amount of grants and subsidies come from the central government (2005/2006 fiscal year: 89.9 %). A major factor behind this is the 2003 abolition of local taxes such as the development levy, market levy and livestock levy, which had been independent sources of funds. The Tanzanian budget system had been divided into a recurrent budget and a development budget, and this division was maintained even under decentralisation.

Basically, it might be fair to say that the formulation of development plans and the budgeting process at local authorities was revised to a "bottom-up" approach. Through local administrative agencies, the central government advises the local authorities in advance about the guidelines and budget ceilings that are to be observed, and it reserves the right for them not to be adopted as the document to be raised to a higher level if it believes that these guidelines have not been followed.

From the perspective of autonomy in expenditure, it is discussed that even if an organisation has no independent sources of revenues, it would be fair to say that it has maintained its autonomy if there are no expenditure conditions attached to the grants and if it can use them freely. In this sense, the

establishment of the Local Government Capital Development Grants (LGCDGs), which gave discretion in expenditures to the Districts, has been of enormous significance as something which strengthens autonomy. At the same time as the establishment of the LGCDG, in 2005, Capacity Building Grant (CBG) was also established. Local authorities were again given the authority to plan and use these grants.

Devolution of Services Implementation

Primary Education

The aim of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) is to provide free tuition. Furthermore, in order to secure the participation of the local residents, environments for community participation are being developed. School Committees have been set up, and communal action for educational assistance is being enhanced.

Rather than going through an intermediary administration, it seems that the establishment of a new flow of funds, in which the central government transfers funds directly to the accounts of each primary school, has resulted in fewer delays than in the past. However, it is necessary to state that one of the major problems is the complexity of the clerical processes once funds have been used.

From the perspective of accountability, it is a problem that the actual amount of funds which flows down to the schools is usually different from the formula-based flow mentioned above. Furthermore, although the quantitative expansion of primary education has produced outcomes that have been spectacular by anyone's reckoning, it has been argued that qualitative improvements have not. In particular, the regional disparities related to the distribution of teachers between the cities and remote areas are a challenge.

Healthcare

In contrast to primary education becoming free, in the healthcare sector, services that had been free began to be charged for on a user-pays basis in 1993. At the same time, grants from the central government for recurrent expenditures became formula-based, and, as for primary education, the financial flow became more prompt than before.

With the establishment of the LGCDG, the degree of priority placed by residents on the healthcare sector came to be reflected in the amount of the grant allocation. Since the results become visible, its accountability has improved. However, the problem of regional disparities in the assignment of personnel in healthcare is even more serious than in the case of primary education.

Agricultural Extension

Surveying the expenditures of the LGCDG by sector, there is relatively little emphasis placed on agriculture and that agricultural extension officers are not always thought highly of by the local people. More than a shortcoming of the Training and Visit method, this is probably due to a deficiency in the incentives for extension officers. Another problem is that the number of agricultural extension officers is too few compared to the overall population and villages. The Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP) recommends that, in addition to agricultural extension officers from the public service, the private sector, such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) should also be used to provide agricultural extension services, and possibly that these services should be approached cooperatively. However, in reality, this has hardly been achieved.

Various problems as seen from the perspective of service delivery

The main feature of decentralisation in Tanzania is that the grants from the central government are delivered with the formulation of bottom-up development plans. However, taking into account the fact that assistance from donors might not continue in perpetuity, then before it is too late, consideration must also be given to the introduction of independent sources of revenues, maybe in the form of a tax imposed upon specific groups of residents who have the capacity to bear the tax, rather than an across-the-board tax like the abolished development levy that was also imposed on the poor.

Although formula-based grants for recurrent expenditures guarantee the provision of a minimum level of services, they also entail such problems as that the grants do not flow according to the formula.

A combination of bottom-up and top-down planning processes requires greater effort with regard to coordination and is more likely to lead to delays. In order to regulate these mixed funds, it will probably be necessary to consider varying the ways in which the funds flow in accordance with the unique characteristics of each sector.

Kenya

Four-tier local administrative structure

As of 2007, local administration in Kenya is regarded as a four-tier hierarchical system consisting of: (a) Local Councils; (b) the Provincial Administration (PA) System, and, in particular, the District level; (c) Sector Ministries (supporting (b)); and (d) Constituencies.

Category (a) represents cities, municipalities, towns and counties. Although they have councils of the legislative branch of government, appointments to key positions in the administration are made by the central government, and they are only given superficial authority. Category (b) is a five-level hierarchical system, which links from the central government to the villages and has served as the foundation of the centralised structure. This system is responsible for such functions as resident registration, public safety, civilian police, and the dissemination of government policies, and each level shoulder a certain degree of sector administration. In category (c) the sector ministries formulate and implement policies, control budgets, implement projects and provide technical assistance, and they also dispatch officials to each level such as the Districts in category (b). Category (d) consists of the constituencies of the legislative body. Development funds that are allocated by the Parliament, called Constituency Development Funds (CDF), are provided via Districts.

Historical developments

Based on the objective of dismantling the centralised system of the colonial period, following its independence in 1963, Kenya became a federal state that acknowledged significant autonomy for its regions.

When the Kenyan-African National Union (KANU) Kenyatta government was victorious in elections, it absorbed the power of the Kenyan-African Democratic Union (KADU) and a virtual single-party system was formed. With this new force, they abolished the federal system and in 1968, established a constitution for a centralised government. The Provinces became subordinate to the central government, and below them local authorities at the District level and lower were positioned within the PA system. The functions of local governments became weaker, and centralisation was carried out on three fronts: the progressive abolition of regional councils, the Transfer of Functions Act, and the abolition of the Graduated Personal Tax (GPT).

At the end of the 1960s, the dysfunction among District Development Committees (DDCs) became problematic, and so District Development Officers (DDOs) were appointed to strengthen the function of the District Council in 1974. However, with the internal structure of the Districts imitating the vertical structure of each ministry, and with sector officials taking charge of entire budgets, the functions and budgets of the subsequent District Planning Units have remained extremely limited.

In 1983, the Moi government commenced the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) policy, a development model of "decentralisation." The model gave considerable authority to District Commissioners and to DDCs, and made the multiple lower bodies carry out the planning processes. However, the DFRD came under criticism from central ministries and from within the districts, and the model fell into decline.

Current district administration

District Development Plans (DDPs) are prepared as five-year plans. However, because each DDP combines with the plans of the sector ministries, they do not function as autonomous regional plans for local areas. DDCs are nothing more than a platform for sharing information. Furthermore, they basically have a top-down character, and do not reflect the actual situations of local societies.

Service delivery issues

The Kenya Local Government Reform Programme (KLGRP), which was assisted by the World Bank from 1995, is composed of three elements: the rationalisation of central-local budget relationships; the promotion of local budget management and revenue mobilisation; and the improvement of local service delivery through the expansion of community participation. Based on this policy, two local grant schemes were formed: the Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) and the Road Maintenance Levy Fund (RMLF). Furthermore, in 2003, the CDF came into being a scheme in which funds are provided to the constituencies of the Members of Parliament.

However, even though public health centres, primary schools and other facilities have been constructed under CDF and LATF, no budgets for health workers and teachers engaged in the actual service delivery have been provided for, since this falls under the recurrent budget, which is under the jurisdiction of sector ministries. This has meant that there have been some situations where the facilities have been built but they have been short staffed.

Constitutional amendment issues

As part of the devolution of power, the 2005 Bomas Draft was changed to the more cautious Wako Draft, spearheaded by President Kibaki's administration and others, with the latter being voted down in a national referendum that November. Since the rejection of the Wako Draft, as of January 2007, absolutely no projections for the reform of the LC system have been formed amongst political figures and intellectuals in Kenya.

Undevolved service delivery (primary education)

Free Primary Education (FPE) is under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. It is a programme in which School Capitation Grants (SCGs) and other funds are remitted directly to individual local schools from the central government. In Kenya, even though local governments are not involved, FPE policies have been able to be implemented in accordance with sector programmes. This has resulted in a rapid increase in school attendance in primary education. In this sense, FPE can be

regarded as having been successful in service delivery in terms of quantitative expansion and access. Meanwhile, the effects of FPE on School Management Committees (SMCs) and Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) have been both positive and negative. On the one hand, teachers have spent less time on collecting school fees and have thus been able to devote themselves to education, but on the other, there has also been a significant reduction in the involvement of the residents in the management of schools.

Conclusion: what kinds of improvements are necessary?

Much waste is created by having local governments side by side with administrative organs at the District level and below in the PA system. Based on this fact, excluding such special cases as Nairobi, in terms of efficiency, it would be preferable to make towns and villages into a single unit by absorbing them into a District-level legislation and administration system. Key development funds might be better to be consolidated to support these units and district governments with enhanced authority would be able to respond to and coordinate them using recurrent budgets.

Chapter 3
Analytical Overview of the Current Decentralisation Reforms in Africa with an Attempt to Develop their Systemic Analysis Scheme

Before arguing over "how to decentralise": decentralisation itself is not an aim but a means to achieve something else

It is essential to analyse carefully and define what kind of responsibilities should be allocated to which level of the central/local governments, and what kind of institutional arrangements be established among each of their levels, in order to ensure the best effects of deferent services according to their nature. Furthermore, when considering the service delivery systems and their decentralisation, it is always important to keep in mind that the appropriate system will vary depending on the circumstances of the country as well as the timing and stage of its development.

In most of the African countries, the domestic resources that can be utilised for providing administrative services are severely limited. Decentralisation must not result in any further fragmentation of these already limited national resources. Decentralisation reforms are not meant to deprive the central government of their power to be given to the local governments, but to seek to define the optimal division of functions and responsibilities, as well as the adequate collaborative relationships and institutional setups between the central and local governments so that services can be provided in most effective and efficient manner possible.

Indeed the purest model of decentralisation and thus its ultimate style might be devolution, however, it is also true that a lengthy process is needed to reach it. In carrying out this kind of reform programme therefore, it could also be prudent in some circumstances to consider strategic processes, including options of applying delegation or deconcentration as a transitional measure.

Another important point in designing and implementing such governance reforms, including decentralisation, is to ensure a firm endogenous developmental process through repeated trial and error and active national discussions seeking the best way forward of the reforms in accordance with the particular conditions of the country and its future perspectives.

From the perspective of effectiveness

It is often observed that the decentralisation reforms have led to a situation where financial resources for development are now reaching the local areas someway or other, which has never been the case in the past. One of the aims of decentralisation is to realise more effective service delivery to attend to real local needs by combining these funds with the participatory planning process. However, various fundamental and difficult challenges exist, such as: How should cross-sector and across-the-board participatory community development plans that emerge from the villages be integrated with specific sector plans? To what extent and how should bottom-up plans and top-down plans be combined? How should consistency be maintained between local characteristics and national strategies? Furthermore, sector planning requires a national strategic viewpoint as well as technical analysis, instead of just depending on the "wishes of the public".

With several years having passed since the start of the decentralisation reforms, a phenomenon is occurring where the appointed authority of high ranking local government officials is reverting back to the central government. While there are unavoidable circumstances due to practical personnel-related problems such as the difficulties in securing personnel in remote rural areas and the need to ensure career incentives for capable professionals on one hand, it should be urged on the other hand that, from the perspective of the effectiveness of administrative services and that of accountability, the practice runs counter to the principal aim of local autonomy. A similar phenomenon in public finance is the abolition of local taxes.

From the perspective of efficiency

Decentralisation reforms have brought about a considerable degree of discretionary powers to the local administrations in relation to budget implementation, procurement and other operations which used to be under central government control. This has clearly contributed to improved operational efficiencies.

However, the biggest and most fundamental problem in terms of the efficiency of service delivery is the categorically insufficient number of personnel assigned to the local administrations. Under the above-cited circumstances, it would be important to seek possible alternative measures as well. One of the options is to take advantage of the existing actors available in each local area, including the community members themselves, their organisations (CBOs), NGOs, Faith Based Organisations (FBO) as well as private sector entities, to fully mobilise them and build a total local societal system that works best in that particular region for the sake of improving service delivery.[1]

It is essential to define the most appropriate levels of administrative units and service delivery points for this purpose. For the sake of coordination and collaboration with the local community as well as close follow-up of the local needs, the local government unit should extend all the way down to the level of natural villages where it exists. This is important from the viewpoint of local autonomy so that the residents can feel that the local government is close enough to them and consider it as their own.

At the same time, from the viewpoint of scale merit for better service provision, a certain size of administrative unit is required, and from the viewpoint of fiscal capacity, an even larger size is needed.

These two conditions are somehow contradictory requirements and it would be difficult to define a single tier to satisfy both at the same time. In this context, it is important to develop a well elaborated intergovernmental/interinstitutional collaboration system between the central and the local governments, and the higher and the lower local governments down to the service delivery units in the field. (e.g. chains of command, technical backstopping, coordination and collaboration mechanisms).

From the perspective of accountability

As far as accountability is concerned, devolution seems to have remarkable advantages compared to delegation and deconcentration, since in the latter cases accountability tends to be directed upwards by nature. If delegation or deconcentration are to be applied, therefore, the following questions have to be examined from the viewpoint of accountability: Is there any way to ensure for the central government as well as the local councils to check on the performance of the delegated/deconcentrated functions? Is it possible to establish some mechanism to ensure that such performance is visible and transparent to the local residents?

In this context, it is extremely important for the local councils to be able to properly check the performance of the local administration. However in reality, due to problems with the competence of councillors as well as their wage systems, they have not been functioning in this regard as they are

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[1]   It would also be effective as a means of technical assistance to launch a sort of public-private council at the local level to act as a platform for this kind of mechanism.

supposed to be. It is therefore considered that more emphasis ought to be placed on strengthening the functions of the local councils, including training of the councillors.

The participatory planning exercises as well as implementation mechanisms through user group administration are one of the most direct means of guaranteeing accountability. However, a problem still remains with this in a sense that in many cases there are only a limited number of residents who participate in these kinds of activities, and that the selection process used often lacks transparency.

From the perspective of equity

Decentralisation reforms are being promoted with the intention of improving the service delivery to achieve the overall national goal of poverty reduction. However, there is the danger of widening disparities between local governments in poor remote areas and those in large cities that have a lot of sources of revenue. Introducing a performance-based incentive system for calculation of grants might have similar risks. Therefore, it is important to establish an elaborated mechanism that guarantees national minimum standards so as to avoid disparities in service delivery both in quality and quantity.

Systemic analysis framework and important check points to be used for analysis of the local administration system and the decentralisation reforms of different countries

In this section, we will try to elaborate and present a systemic analysis framework together with some important check points to be utilised to analyse the local administration system as well as the decentralisation reforms of a particular country. Analysis is given on the following three dimensions: (a) the county's administrative system itself and its institutional setup, including the central-local government relationship, the service delivery system for each sector, etc.; (b) the relationship between decentralisation reforms and national development goals; and (c) the relationship between local administration and local communities/residents.

Figure 0-2 provides an overall image of these analytical dimensions.

Figure 0-2 Overall Image of the Analysis of Local Administration and Decentralisation Reforms

① : Administrative System Itself (Central-Local Relationship, Service Delivery Systems for Each Sector)
② : Relationship of the Decentralisation reforms to the National Context and Development Goals at the National Level
③ : Relationship between Local Communities/ Residents and the Local Administration
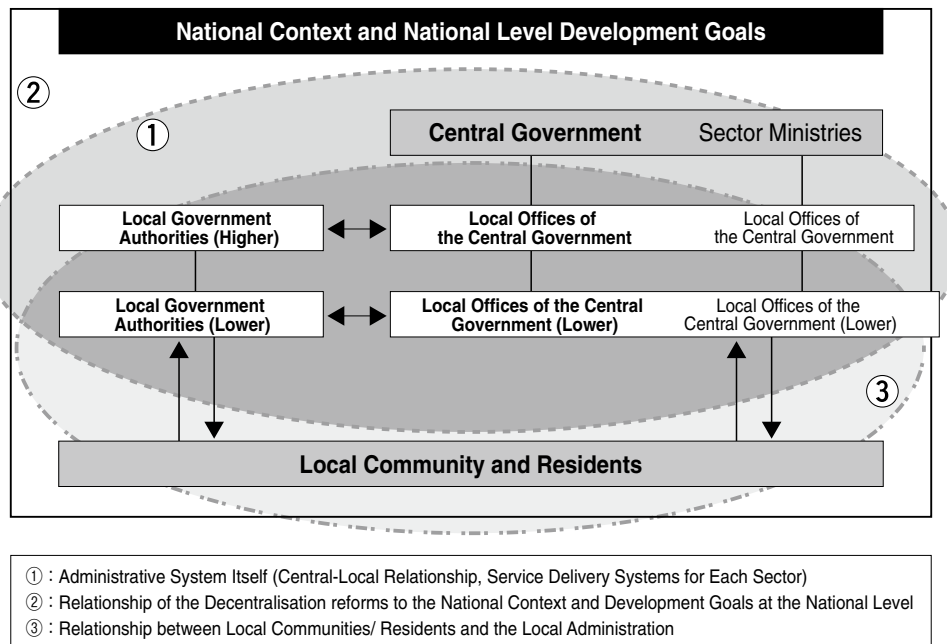
Source: Compiled by the authors.

A. Check points on the administrative system (central-local government relationships, service delivery systems in different sectors)

(1) Policy, system and institutional structure
- Types of local governments, size of each of them (population, area), and their layer structures
- Demarcation of responsibilities and authority relationships among different layers of local governments, central government and its local offices
- Is the nature of decentralisation devolution, delegation, or deconcentration? Is the central-local government's working relationship intertwined or separated?
- Are there any measures that are assured to avoid disparities among regions?
- Is the decentralisation stipulated clearly and in detail in the constitution and the laws?

(2) Fiscal decentralisation
- Size of local governments' budget/expenditure (its proportion in the total national budget)
- Degree of autonomy in local government finances (amount and proportion of own sources of revenue, amount and proportion of unconditional grants, amount and proportion of conditional grants, number of grant types)
- Mode of calculation of the grants (Is there fair and clear criteria and formulas for calculation of the grants to be transferred to each local government?)
- To whom is the accountability on the local budget implementation addressed?
- Financial management capacity of the local governments.

(3) Decentralisation of human resource management

- Number of personnel assigned in the local governments, their qualifications and capacity (Are the number and quality of personnel assigned to the local governments appropriate for the scale and contents of the responsibilities and authority devolved to them?)
- Who has authority over personnel management of the local government officials (fire and hire, appointment, promotion, relocation, salaries and wages, etc.)?
- Have any disparities in terms of human resources developed among different local governments, e.g., between local governments of big cities and those in poor rural areas?
- What is the situation regarding the training system for local government personnel?
- Are there any sort of On the Job Training (OJT) mechanisms, such as technical backstopping from higher level governments, personnel exchange systems, etc.?

(4) Decentralisation of the development planning process

- Who formulates local development plans, and in what mechanisms are they formulated?
- To what extent and in what form is the community participation assured in the local development planning process? In what way are the needs of the local communities reflected on the plans?
- If some participatory local development planning process with a bottom-up approach is put in practice, in what ways consistency is assured between the said plan and each specific sector plans that requires some technical analysis with strategic vision?
- How is the budgeting process implemented for these local development plans?

(5) Decentralisation of the service delivery implementation process

- Demarcation of authorities and responsibilities for key service delivery among different tiers of central and local administration.
- For improved delivery of each services, what kind of mechanisms are established to provide local governments with technical backstopping from the central government, and to assure the necessary coordination between the central and local governments?
- Are there examples of devolution of authorities and responsibilities to user groups in terms of service delivery exercises or implementation of development projects?
- Are the existing mechanisms functioning well for coordination between the lines of work of the sector ministries and the chains of command of the local government, in the planning stage as well as the implementation state?
- To what extent are there examples of community participation in project implementation and service deliveries? In what way is the collaboration between the local administration and the community residents functioning?

B. **Check points on the relationship of the decentralisation reforms with the national context and development goals at the national level**

(1) History and society
- Relationship between the governance systems of the country around the colonial period and the characteristics of the local communities
- Regional and other disparities attributable to tribal societies
- Effects of neo-patrimonialism on local governance

(2) Political and governance systems
- Relationship between a single-party dictatorship/multi-party system and political interventions in local areas
- Balance between central government control and local autonomy

(3) Development strategies and economic growth
- Positioning of decentralisation in the frameworks such as the PRSP and Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF)
- Effects of past policies such as the structural adjustment on the current structure of local administration

(4) Governance reform frameworks
- Positioning of decentralisation in overall reform frameworks, including public sector reforms

(5) Sector strategies
- Positioning of the local service delivery in SWAp

C. **Check points on the relationship between local communities/residents and the local administration**

(1) Community participation as a complementary measure to the weak lower-level local administrations
- Are there any cases where the local residents are involved in planning and implementation of some service delivery that is supposed to be covered by the government? Are there any cases where the residents/communities are independently running some specific services that are supposed to be provided by the government?
- Are there any cases where NGOs or other local support organisations are shouldering the above-mentioned services?
- In the cases like those described in the above two points, what kind of role has the

government assumed, and what kinds of relationships has the government built with these collective actions?

- To what extent has the coverage of administrative services broadened and how much more efficient have they become as a result of the participation and cooperation of residents and/or other supporting organisations?

- How large is the existing market for the service delivery functions to be outsourced to the private sector?

(2) Community participation as a means to reflect the needs of the beneficiaries on the service delivery

- In what manner and to what extent are the residents participating in the local service delivery planning process?

- To what extent are there collaborative relationships between the local administration and the local communities in the implementation of service delivery? How are the needs and the opinions of the residents being reflected in the local service delivery plans?

- Are there examples where coordination between the local administration and the people's collective actions has resulted in better access to services for the poor and vulnerable people?

- What level of satisfaction have the local residents felt through their participation in planning and/or implementation of service delivery and the consequent improvement of services?

- Have these kinds of experiences widened communication and collaborative relationships between the local administration and the local residents? Have the local administration and residents appreciably changed the perceptions and attitudes between each other?

(3) Improvement in accountability/transparency of service delivery as a result of community participation

- What kinds of perceptions do local residents have with respect to the local administration and its services?

- What kinds of information does the local government disclose/present to the local residents with respect to the relevant collaborative activities?

- Through collaborating with the administration, do the residents feel that the transparency of the administration has improved?

(4) Development of "relationships of trust" between the local administration and the residents/local communities through participation and collaboration (viewpoint of legitimacy)

- Have there been appreciable changes in the perception of the residents/local community towards the government through experiencing the relevant collaborative programmes?

- Similarly, have there been appreciable changes in the mindset/attitude of the local administration officials with respect to collaboration with the local community?

(5) Enhancement of the self-organising capability of the communities and consolidation of networking between them and the local administration

- Through collective action, what kinds of groups have been formed or strengthened within the communities? In what way and to what extent have their self-organising capabilities been enhanced? (their institutional capacity to respond properly to changing external environments and to deal with the diverse range of emerging issues on their own)
- Similarly, in what ways has the system of collaboration and coordination with the local administration been developed and enhanced?

(6) Nurturing of perception of self-governance (village autonomy) for the residents and local communities through participatory development experience

- Through collective action, to what extent has the perception of self-governance been enhanced, developing awareness and willingness of the residents to make their community better?

(7) The experience of local autonomy as a "school of democracy" (experience-based learning process)

- In view of all of the above, as an experience-based learning process, can any phenomena be observed that the experience of collaboration through collective action between the local administration and the local community have led to a stronger democracy of the local society?

Chapter 4
Decentralisation and Development Assistance in Africa

This chapter reviews JICA's rural development projects/programmes and those ones targeting decentralisation reform from the perspective of their relationship with the local administration system in each country.

It has been the common practice for Japan/JICA that rural development projects/programmes have been approached and designed from such perspectives as the local natural environment, socio-economic environment, or from a technical perspective in a particular sector; or with a view to strengthening the social capacity of local communities. But given the current rapid developments in decentralisation reforms in African countries, the future cooperation in this field should be designed by incorporating a better understanding of the local administration system and the level of functioning thereof within and surrounding the areas targeted for development. Furthermore, as decentralisation reforms themselves are increasingly becoming the subject of cooperation, it will also be necessary to examine how cooperation for this new subject ought to be designed and implemented.

Characteristics of rural development projects/programmes, and the main points in programme design

In this section, we have examined past and on-going rural development projects/programmes supported by JICA in Africa and divided them into the following four types according to the main feature of the intervention: (a) Sector support, (b) Community development support, (c) Support for decentralisation reform, and (d) Support for area-based development. By reviewing typical projects from each type, we have indicated their comparative strengths and weaknesses (in relative terms) in relation to main dimensions valued in the recent drive toward decentralisation.

Table 0-1   Characteristics of Decentralisation

	Sector support	Community development support	Support for decentralisation reform	Support for area-based development
Areas of relative strength	• Improvements to services that reflect the needs of residents • Community capacity building through community participation in service provision • Ensuring direct (downward) accountability to the participating residents • Improvement of upward accountability within the administration system	• Direct support aimed at improving the welfare of the residents • Community capacity building through active community participation in development programmes • Ensuring direct (downward) accountability to the participating residents	• Nationwide impact through support for national policies and institutional reforms • Promotion of cross-sector rural development • Enhancement of downward accountability through community participation in rural development plans and the involvement of local councils in development processes • Enhancement of local government's capacity to manage public finances • Absorptive capacity building	• Promotion of cross-sectoral rural development • Enhanced downward accountability through community participation in rural development plans • Enhancement of local government's capacity to manage public finances • Provision of opportunities for collaboration between administrations and local communities
Areas of relative weakness	• Coordination with other sectors • Promotion of cross-sectoral rural development • Ensuring political accountability for local councils	• Restricted nature of the beneficiaries • Limited relationship with local administration (limited support by the administration) • Limited possibility of replicability and dissemination	• Improvement of administrative services • Enhancement of upward accountability to sector ministries • Direct impact on the residents	• Improvement of administrative services • Enhancement of upward accountability to sector ministries • Limited possibility of replicability and dissemination

Given the characteristics of the different types of interventions described above, the following points must be taken into account in designing rural development support.

① The selection of the type of intervention is guided, first and foremost, by what is intended to be achieved, which is determined, in turn, by impediments to development in the target area and the needs of the local residents and their urgency and priority. For example, if one aims to improve social indicators in a certain target area by improving the social services of education or health

care, then the "sector support" type of intervention would probably be most appropriate. Instead, if the livelihood of a very limited group of people is to be ameliorated, adoption of the "community development support" type should be given priority. On the other hand, if the objective is to strengthen the overall capacity of the decentralised administration system under devolution, then the "support for decentralisation reform" would be selected.

② Next, the question of what type of decentralisation the country/area is under, i.e. deconcentration or devolution, should matter in determining which type of intervention is to be selected. For example, suppose the aim of intervention is the comprehensive and integrated development of a specific area, for which the involvement of multiple sectors is required. When one attempts to implement this type of development under deconcentration structure, as evident from what we observed in this study, there will be difficulties in coordination between local offices of different sector ministries. Instead, devolution may offer a more fascilitative environment to this type of intervention, because more discretionary powers are given to the local authority, including the use of grants. On the other hand, if the support goes into a limited number of sector(s), then, at least for the short term, the deconcentration structure should be more suitable given that technical backup would be easier to obtain from sector ministries in the central government.

③ The other point that matters is the level of performance of the local administration system (the quantity and quality of service delivery determined primarily by financial position and the number and quality of personnel). For example, supposing a "sector support" type intervention is selected, from the perspective of achieving outcomes within a limited period of cooperation, it would be preferable to implement it in a situation where there is already a certain level of service delivery in place, enabled by the assignment of a required number of qualified personnel and sufficient amount of budget. In contrast, if the functioning of the local administration system is extremely weak, it may be necessary to limit the target area or group, and/or to select the "community development support" type of intervention.

④ Some argue that it is possible to conceive of an approach which starts with pilot/model development which then is scaled up to a regional or national scale at a later date. Though this approach appears implemetable without regard to how a local administrative system is functioning and the structure of decentralisation, it is essential that some thought be given from the outset to the institutional framework to enable the sustainability and replicability of the model/pilot itself.

Recently there has been a tendency among donors to refrain from extending support for area-based development on the ground of its failed past performance and concern over the creation of a parallel system and inter-regional imbalances. But here, it is argued that support for area-based development may be justified as one of the approaches to rural development in the following cases:

- when it is deemed that there is an ineligible amount of imbalances on the level of development and administrative capacity to manage local service delivery and development;
- when there is a need to experiment with certain innovative approaches to development or service delivery on a pilot basis; or
- when it is assessed that there is a need to enhance the operational capacity of administration, which requires intensive hands-on type support to deal with case by case situations.

There should be various patterns of intervention in unfolding this type of approach. What follows hereunder describes the characteristics of three types of integrated approaches, and some of the points to be kept in mind when implementing them.

< Support for decentralisation reform + Community development support >
This approach intends to help realise tangible outcomes in specific target areas while attempting to institutionalise mechanisms to deliver such services and interventions on a broader scale. The greatest challenge this approach confronts is whether a rural development planning system for promoting rural development and a financial grant system that supports development planning can be secured. To this end, in addition to merely striving for the technical improvement of development interventions through community development programmes in a specific area, it is important to link up with the institution building activities at the central government so that the lessons learned from the field level practical experience can be linked to the system development process.

< Sector support + Community development support >
This approach aims to improve public services of a specific sector(s) within certain administrative units while attempting to promote the development of certain communities within the area using improved services. The challenge here is how to establish coordination between sectors; that is, how to link the improvement of service delivery in a certain sector to more comprehensive development of the area targeted. Under the devolution structure, it may be said that there are at least formal institutions in place that make this coordination possible, at least at the central government level (though they may not be fully operational at the local level); but under deconcentration structure, the system that enables region-wide development and cross-sectoral coordination may not necessarily be in place both at the central or local levels.

< Support for decentralisation reform + Sector support >
This type of approach can be envisaged as cooperation that concentrates on the improvement of service delivery in a specific sector, while promoting the entrenchment of decentralisation reforms and the improvement of operational capacity of local administration in a specific area. Conversely, it can also be considered for implementation when attempting to disseminate a business model derived from the experience of a sector support intervention to other localities. Again, in this case, the issue is how

to maintain effective coordination between a specific sector and other sectors: that is, how to link up among different sectors to realise more comprehensive development in a given area.

Approaches to support for decentralisation reforms

Support for decentralisation reforms and capacity building of local administrations in Africa is relatively a new area for JICA in the field of rural development, and it is deemed highly significant to extend cooperation in this field in terms of the following perspectives.

① In the past, rural development projects had limitations in terms of their sustainability and replicability, mainly due to constraints in the capacity of local administrations. In response to this problem, each project has made its own efforts on enhancing the capacity of local administrations within the framework of the project. However, the issue of local administration capacity (execution of policies, provision of public services) should be viewed as part of the basic "institutional" infrastructure of the country, rather than merely as a problem of a particular locality or a particular sector therein, let alone as a problem of the capacity of individual officers and personnel of the administrative organisation, which requires serious commitment and support from a bilateral aid agency like JICA.

② Support to decentralisation reform can be justified as being a form of intervention which provides a platform where support to promoting the capacity development (CD) of institutions is put into practice. By getting involved in the process, support to decentralisation reform has the potential to contribute to the enhancement of the executive and operational capacity of administration systems which may be termed as being implicit in nature, and to the process of linking field level experiences and lessons learned to institutional framework development, both of which Japan insists as being characteristic of technical cooperation provided by Japan.

Based on the foregoing considerations, the areas and approaches of support that Japan/JICA can be instrumental to in terms of decentralisation reforms through technical cooperation would be as follows.

① Firstly, it would be possible for JICA to provide support through technical cooperation for capacity building of public service delivery by local governments, which are currently regarded as being inadequate. This is a form of cooperation that aims to strengthen the operational capacity of public service provision through technical and managerial skill upgrading and therefore the one which should continue to be pursued by Japan/JICA, which attaches importance to the practical aspects of development.

② Secondly, Japan would need to become actively involved in the fields of framework development of a country's institutional system, including decentralisation reform programmes, by providing

advice and ideas for the overall programme design. Up until now, Japan has tended to shun institutional framework development exercises. But if it can make meaningful contributions to the strengthening of absorptive capacity building of the lower level of administrative units through hands-on technical cooperation, it will also be possible for Japan to make significant contributions to the improvement of overall institutional framework by providing feedback from the experiences and lessons learned from the field level exercise.

③　The third approach that should be relevant for Japan/JICA is to help create an opportunity for African policy makers and administrators to observe non-Western models of local government and administration system, and thereby broaden their horizon of thinking in policy making. This could be followed by "policy dialogue" between Japan (either independently or jointly with other donors) and the partner country, to discuss what the future course of action should look like with regard to the decentralisation reform. This may be termed as an "awareness creation" type of approach.

Figure 0-3　JICA's methods of support for decentralisation reforms and the correlation between each method
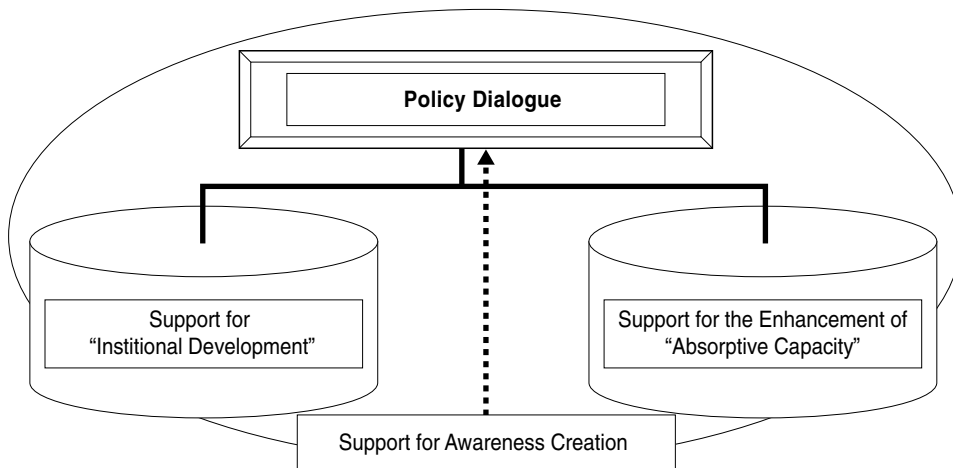
Source: Drawn by the author.

Figure 0-3 demonstrates the following points: Firstly, it is important that support for "institutional development" and support for the enhancement of "absorptive capacity" are to be seen as two inseparable and mutually reinforcing processes necessary for the "institutionalisation" of decentralisation reform. Secondly, hands-on experiences gained from the "implementing capacity development" type of cooperation can and should inform the overall framework development process for incessant review and improvement. Thirdly, it is worthwhile to recognise the importance of the awareness creation type of support, which should be followed by "policy dialogue", through which review and adjustment of the reform process and of the overall architecture of the reform can be explored.

Decentralisation support and specific methods of assistance

As mentioned above, Japan/JICA's support to decentralisation reform can be categorised into three types: support for "institutional framework development" support for "absorptive capacity building", and support for "awareness creation". Table 0-2 illustrates how these three types of support can be implemented by means of the different aid instruments of Japan/JICA.

Table 0-2   Areas for support and methods of assistance

	Description of Activities to be Supported	Japan/JICA's Aid Instrument
Support for "Institutional Framework Development"	◎ Support for formulation of laws, regulations, etc., related to decentralisation ◎ Advice on decentralisation processes and facilitation of the reform process	○ Use of TA with clear TOR (hire of consultants) ○ Use of process supporting type of TA (dispatch of advisory experts)
Support for "Implementing Capacity Building"	◎ Support for basic training of administrative staff of local administrations, etc. (including the preparation of training materials) ◎ Establishment and strengthening of LG staff training institutions ◎ Operational capacity building of LG staff	○ Use of TA with clear TOR (hire of consultants) ○ Financial aid for facility development and/or TA for capacity building ○ Use of process supporting type of TA (dispatch of advisory experts and volunteers)
Support for "Awareness Creation"	◎ Presentation of alternative models of decentralisation, including non-Western ones	○ Study tour of cases in Japan and third countries

LG: Local Government, ToR: Terms of Reference

It is essential to note that, at present in Africa, governments and donors are in support of financial aid channelled through government systems, from the standpoint of reducing transaction costs associated with the provision/receipt of assistance and realising the efficiency/effectiveness of the aid thus provided. For this reason, if the activities to be supported as mentioned above are included in the overall reform programme agreed by the concerned stakeholders in the country, it should be preferable that they be supported via financial assistance (budgetary support or pooling of aid resources in the basket mechanism) in view of promoting aid resource coordination and ownership on the part of the recipient government.

On the other hand, operational capacity building of administration and public service delivery may require a more individualized and tailor-made approach, since the required skill is fairly practical and context-dependent, something more than general knowledge of rules and procedures. This could arguably be an area which JICA finds itself more familiar with, as the Technical Assistance (TA) or technical cooperation provided by JICA involves more person-to-person interaction. If the uniqueness of Japan/JICA's technical cooperation lies in its "escorting" type of approach based on an equal footing with the counterpart country, rather than a paternalistic mode of behaviour, with respect for ownership and dialogue with the recipient side, support for "absorptive capacity building" is an area where Japan/ JICA can make meaningful contribution to the overall decentralisation reform process.

Based on the foregoing discussions on what Japan/JICA can do in support of promoting decentralisation reform in Africa, here are some recommendations for JICA to consider when formulating future interventions in this area.

- In view of the multifaceted nature of institutional reform and the time required for such reform to become established, a long-term and programmatic approach should be adopted.
- Given the reversible nature of institutional reforms, certain degree of flexibility should be accepted in monitoring and evaluating the achievement of objectives.
- Recognising the fact that there are already decentralisation reform processes going on in many countries and that there are a number of donors supporting these, it is important to maintain coordination of Japan/JICA's input with the overall reform programme and process, rather than formulating new and individual programmes.
- Therefore, it is necessary for Japan/JICA to share the overall goals and objectives of the reform programme, rather than setting up a new one of its own. Making "contributions" to the overall process and programme should be seen as worth the money they spend, as much as pursuing "attribution" between inputs vis-à-vis outputs.
- In order to enhance the impact of support, it is important to combine technical cooperation with some form of financial support, including direct budgetary support and pooling funds.

In any case, in extending cooperation in this field, it is important to bear in mind that there is a need to conceive of a decentralisation system from a broader perspective based on the historical and structural understanding of the local administration system in the country and to put it under a comparative perspective in order to draw realistic and practical measures to promote the reform process, and then to strengthen policy dialogue with African governments with a view to making these measures into a reality under the ownership and leadership of the African governments.