



GOOD GOVERNANCE BEGINS WITH THE INDIVIDUAL

DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE
AS A FIELD OF ACTION OF THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

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PREFACE

In 1996 the United Nations General Assembly committed itself to three key political goals: decentralisation, the bolstering of local government units, and the strengthening of democracy at the local level. In spite of all the historical, political, social and economic differences between the member states, they recognised these goals as being the most important foundation of a "globalisation of democracy".

Decentralisation, federalism and local self-governance are integral parts of political reform processes in many countries of the world. Today there is hardly any country that has a purely centralised political organisation. According to studies carried out by the World Bank, representatives of the people were active at the sub-national level in 95 percent of the world's countries as early as 2000. The extent and the main emphases of these decentralisation processes are different in terms of their intensity and scope. The same is true of the political support being given to the processes this decentralisation has set into motion. Whereas the decentralisation process in countries like South Africa and the Philippines is being increasingly criticised by the respective governments today, there is a new upswing in Brazil and Cambodia, where the governments are currently laying the foundation for more local self-governance.

It should be noted here that decentralisation, federalism and the strengthening of local self-governance do not by any means aim at the complete disempowerment of the central government. Instead, they aim to achieve a reasonable distribution of power between the different levels of government within a country. Decentralisation processes do not free the decision-makers at the national level from their responsibility and accountability. In other words, they are still responsible for passing national laws in areas such as political rights and citizens' rights, setting the political priorities of their own policies and, above all, creating the general conditions that allow local decision-makers to do their work. In turn, the local governments, which are closer to the citizens, are better suited to identify local problems and provide services for the citizens more effectively.

Today decentralisation is recognised all over the world as a responsible, efficient and generally indispensable component of good governance. It can sustainably improve public services, the use of public resources, the control of public service delivery, and the citizens' participation in governance processes. Decentralisation alone does not lead to more democracy, but it can promote the democratisation process. "Decentralisation is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition to improve local self-governance," according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) of 2000.

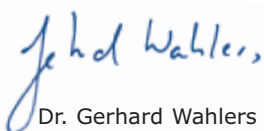
Accordingly, at the political level decentralisation focuses on democratic legitimacy, political control and participation, and it raises questions regarding the distribution of power and resources within a given country. Strong communities promote the citizens' expression of their will and their ability to negotiate, and they offer their citizens opportunities to practice democratic forms of behaviour. Decentralisation is thus a key pillar of the promotion of democracy. The reduction of institutional, administrative, financial and legal obstacles allows the citizens

to help determine their own fate and to initiate and implement new and innovative concepts that can permanently liberate them from poverty. The normative basis of the political goal of local self-governance is the principle of subsidiarity. It obliges the state to provide assistance, but it limits the state's assistance to measures that "help people to help themselves". From the perspective of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), the subsidiarity principle has from the very start been the indispensable foundation of our work in the area of development cooperation.

As a German political foundation, the KAS is aware of how effective regional and local administrative bodies can be, how real democracy functions at the sub-national level, and how the mechanisms for balancing the interests of different local and regional authorities can be implemented. Many of the approximately 200 KAS projects that are currently running in over 120 countries worldwide require the creation and extension of local and regional governance structures. As a German political foundation, the KAS not only regards decentralised structures as an important component of state-building in a democracy but is also strongly committed to supporting these structures. This experience makes Germany a competent and reliable partner all over the world when it comes to decentralisation projects.

However, in the past these decentralisation efforts have not always been as successful as their patrons had hoped, especially at the international level. State organisations for development cooperation which were dependent on the cooperation of the partner countries' governments have often had to admit that the main reason why projects have gotten stuck or have even failed is the lack of political will. As a result, political foundations, as nongovernmental organisations, play a key role in Germany's development cooperation work in terms of formulating decentralisation concepts and defining their specific content, assisting the political decision-making process at the national and local levels, and promoting people's involvement in civil society. Because of their independence, they can also promote local self-governance in places where this process is being blocked by the national governments' lack of political will.

Within the framework of development cooperation, the KAS has been supporting local authorities, local politicians, municipalities and municipal interest groups for decades now. If it becomes active in the areas of administration and finance as part of its decentralisation projects, it does so in order to pursue its primary mission, which is to strengthen democracy and good governance. As a result, from the perspective of the KAS the control of power distribution and the use of political resources constitute a genuinely political activity that must be exercised by political foundations – not alone but to a decisive extent.



Dr. Gerhard Wahlers
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DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Democratic governance can be structured either in a more centralised or a more decentralised manner. As a rule, the key factors that determine this structure are the historical development of a country and its underlying concept of human beings. Is the primary criterion of certain rights ultimately the unitary state, or is it the individual? Which is more important: the unanimity of certain political decisions at the national level, or the freedom of the individual and the protection of smaller social groups? Which concept contributes more to the formation of a democratic and pluralistic society?

The fundamental concept behind the demand for decentralisation is the principle of subsidiarity, according to which society or the state should not take over any responsibilities that the smaller unit can shoulder on its own. From this principle are derived rules governing the responsibilities and functions aimed at bringing about the common good. According to this principle, the smaller social unit should exercise individual responsibility, and the larger social unit or society as a whole must necessarily help the smaller unit to help itself. The subsidiarity principle defends the initiatives and the rights of the smaller social units and makes it possible to build up a social order from the bottom up. In fact, it even requires the state to protect these rights and promote the exercise of these rights. It gives priority to a federalist structure of the state and to the greatest possible degree of self-governance, as opposed to every form of centralism. As a result, it simultaneously creates a barrier against totalitarian tendencies.

Within this framework, the term "decentralisation" is often used as a general concept denoting measures aimed at transferring more decision-making power and responsibility to the sub-national political levels. Political decision-making processes should be carried out at the level where direct practical expertise concerning the issue in question is available. Administrative decentralisation includes a distribution of functions from national to local self-governance units so that public duties can be performed more effectively. In particular, there is a transfer of responsibility when it comes to the planning, management and partially also to financing of infrastructure and services.

Fiscal decentralisation is an essential component of every decentralisation process. That's because in many cases there is a discrepancy between the decentralisation of responsibilities and the decentralisation of resources. Unless there is a transfer of powers related to the creation of independent revenues and the flow of financial means for sub-national governance units, decentralisation will ultimately remain an empty promise. Ultimately, citizens become disenchanted with democracy if municipal and regional units of self-governance are deprived of the funding they need in order to do their work.

As a political foundation, the KAS regards improvements in administration and financial strength as means of developing a democratic and participatory organisation

of the state. A strong emphasis on the transfer of functions and powers – that is, the political dimension of decentralisation (devolution) – became widely accepted throughout the world at the beginning of the 21st century.

This is a long-term political process that does not involve static solutions but instead is a flexible process of balancing the functions of national and local units, with the aim of adjusting to changing circumstances. Power and resources should be transferred according to the principle of subsidiarity to the places where they can optimally improve the recipients' execution of their tasks.

Decentralisation can be either vertical or horizontal. In the vertical form, formal power is distributed to the next-lower level of the hierarchy; in the horizontal form, the perspective remains fixed on a certain level of the hierarchy.

Local self-governance is possible only in places where sub-national units can act independently on a legal basis. It represents the establishment, at the municipal level, of units that are equipped with their own functions and resources, and of representative organs that are democratically legitimised and accountable to the public. Good local governance therefore requires an active civil society as a development partner and an organ for controlling state institutions.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF GLOBALISATION

Governments all over the world face new and complex challenges resulting from globalisation. The pace of change has greatly accelerated, target systems are more complex than ever, and regional and sector networks are posing an additional challenge to governments. Although the number of necessary decision-making processes is increasing worldwide, countries have less and less time to react to these challenges. Since the 1980s, German and international development policy-makers have expected the processes of decentralisation and the strengthening of local self-governance to provide crucial support for the creation of democratic societies. The more citizens get involved in the political decision-making process regarding local affairs and take on responsibility, the more stable the state structure is expected to become in a bottom-up-process.

The following processes are regarded today as essential for the increase of worldwide decentralisation processes: globalisation; the continuing great significance of the local dimension of development; the erosion of the highly centralised developing countries; the growing challenges



created by urbanisation regarding the efficient delivery of basic services to the citizens (health care, education, water, electricity); a shared global effort to promote democracy and good governance more vigorously; and a renewed increase of approaches to participative development.

The improvement of state services, a more effective and efficient use of public funds, and an improvement of the relationship between the state and its citizens, along with possibilities for greater participation by the people, are the basic aims of development policy within the various decentralisation programmes and projects. Local democratic processes are to be initiated or consolidated through local self-governance and increased possibilities for citizen participation. The democratic development of the entire country should benefit as a result. After all, in the past citizens have in fact shown a greater readiness to vote in local elections than in national elections. And their increasing participation has also enhanced the legitimacy of the political decision-makers.

It was also expected that a local government that promotes the specific potential of its respective municipality or region and thus makes possible targeted measures for promoting economic development would also provide opportunities for the development of a dynamic local business environment. In heterogeneous societies, the advocates of decentralisation hoped that conflicts could be negotiated and that there would be a change from ethnically dominated to politically motivated decisions by the voters.

On the basis of such positive expectations regarding decentralisation and local self-governance, the international community focused on this topic in measures such as the passage of the Local Agenda 21 in Rio in 1992, the Habitat Agenda in 1996 and the establishment of the Cities Alliance under the leadership of the World Bank. In 2007 the United Nations passed its guidelines for decentralisation and the strengthening of municipalities. The process of developing these guidelines had been supported by the KAS since 1999. Within this framework, all of the nations, no matter what political system they adhered to, obligated themselves to pursue the goals of decentralisa-

Delegation members from the Parliament of Plateau State (Nigeria) with the President of the German Farmers' Union, Gerd Sonnleitner, at the Agricultural Festival in Munich in 2008.



Gloría Ardaya Salinas:
Estado y Territorio.
La Disputa
Postconstitucional

Fundación de Apoyo
al Parlamento y a la
Participación Ciu-
dadana (FUNDAPPAC)
& Konrad-Adenauer-
Stiftung, 2009

Territorial issues are very important in Bolivia today. The sub-national levels are being increasingly confronted with issues of power and the retention of power. The author examines the effects of this process on the unity of the Bolivian nation.

tion, strengthening local units and promoting local democracy. The guidelines include a wealth of requirements, instruments and recommendations for democratisation and faster economic, social and political development through the strengthening of local self-governance. In April 2009, these guidelines were followed by the UN Guidelines on Access to Basic Services for All, which advocate support for the poorest city dwellers in particular.

THE END OF EUPHORIA

In spite of the tremendous commitment of the donors, many of their great expectations seem not to have been fulfilled, and the euphoria had dissipated by the beginning of the 21st century at the latest. The risks harboured by decentralisation processes are being emphasised more and more. Indeed, many local governments and administrative bodies, as well as municipal service providers, continued to show considerable deficits in spite of decentralisation. It was believed that one of the reasons for this was insufficient funding at the local level; a lack of decision-making authority, transparency and qualified personnel with the necessary professional expertise; and weak legal and administrative frameworks. In many cases, another problem was the fact that many municipalities believed that the acquisition of new powers entitled them to carry out all of their tasks themselves instead of looking for partners in the private sector.

But above all, the varying degrees of success and the many sobering results of the promotion of decentralisation and local self-governance were traced back to a lack of political will. Many donors had focused too much on administrative or technical details and had therefore not sufficiently taken the political process of decentralisation into account. The national and international donors in particular, which were directly dependent on the cooperation of the national governments (the top-down principle), were confronted by these problems. In many cases, the step from deconcentration to devolution was not completed in spite of the fact that the necessary structures already existed. As a result, new units of local self-governance existed in parallel with the old structures at the national level. Because of the duplication of effort, these hybrid systems were a considerable burden on a country's budget. In some cases the national government was reluctant to make unpopular decisions and therefore transferred the relevant responsibilities to administrative bodies at the local level, although the latter did not have either the expertise or the financial resources to implement the associated measures.

At the political level, the lack of attention to the "losers" of the decentralisation process was regarded as especially problematic. A local government that was weakened by incomplete and insufficient decentralisation would increase the local population's dissatisfaction, because the provision of social services would correspondingly deteriorate. In these cases, the grass roots initiatives, which often were also supported by political foundations, were called on to teach people the necessary know-how and thus increase the pressure exerted at the local level on the national government to fulfil its promises. As a rule, in order to ensure that such a process can succeed, all of the old power structures and clientele interests must be made transparent, gradually and with all due sensitivity, and the expertise that already exists must be brought to bear.

In addition, it was feared that ethnic divisions would become hardened, or that movements toward autonomy that could accompany a weakening of the centralised state might be inadvertently strengthened. Among the possible consequences of such a development would be the emergence of new lines of conflict and/or the intensification of existing conflicts, leading all the way to violent clashes. According to the critics, limited resources could also lead to unequal development opportunities for different regions, the increasing dominance of local elites, a weaker sense of national unity, or growing corruption at the local level.

TAKING A CLOSE LOOK IN ORDER TO RECOGNISE NEW CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

In general, the results often lagged behind expectations even several years after the donors' increased involvement in municipal politics. In view of the growing scepticism, international organisations began to evaluate decentralisation programmes. In 2003 the development committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) began for the first time to evaluate programmes on a broad scale and made recommendations on how such projects could be run more efficiently and effectively in the future.

These appeals focused on goals such as making programmes sustainable, taking the national political structures of the partner country into account more strongly, and improving coordination between the donors. It was recommended that local agendas be taken into account, with particular attention paid to the principles of coherence, complementarity and coordination; that step-by-step processes with a long-term perspective be developed; that one-size-fits-all concepts be given up in favour of country-specific strategies; that participants be more flexible in cases where windows of opportunity were open only briefly; that more stringent legal criteria be applied to the legal frameworks in question; and that more legitimacy be granted to the actors involved in the process. In the future, the individual responsibility of the developing countries' governments should be given more weight in the dialogues between partners, so that the programmes do not ultimately fail once again because of a lack of political will.

Many of these recommendations are also repeated in the Paris Declaration of 2005. Accordingly, the concepts of decentralisation and local self-governance fit into these new frameworks very well after the results of previous evaluations are taken into account. The central principles laid down in the Paris Declaration – individual responsibility, an approach based on partnership, harmonisation, results-oriented management and mutual accountability – play a major role in the process of promoting decentralisation.

In 2008 the World Bank published an evaluation of the decentralisation projects it had supported between 1990 and 2007, and came to a mixed conclusion. Whereas the power of the municipalities had increased in countries such as Tanzania, the Philippines and Uganda, decentralisation processes had aggravated the disparities between different regions in coun-

tries such as Bolivia and Russia. At the European level, the European Commission published a reference document in 2007 for decentralisation and local self-governance projects ("Supporting Decentralisation and Local Governance in Third Countries").

In Germany, a short query was posted as early as 2005 by members of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the German Bundestag to the SPD-Green coalition government that was then in power. The government answered with the following statement: "The political process of decentralisation in the developing countries has been marked by setbacks. In many cases it arouses resistance by individual interest groups, and it requires new structures (...)."

With a view to fostering individual responsibility and on the basis of the evaluations already made, today donors mainly support decentralisation projects in countries whose governments regard such a development favourably and have shown a willingness to implement reforms. At the beginning of 2007, decentralisation projects were carried out in 17 of the 24 African countries in which there is bilateral cooperation with Germany.

The rapidly increasing urbanisation of the present day poses a particular challenge that is also an opportunity for decentralisation processes and issues related to local self-governance. About half of the world's population lives in cities today, and this percentage is steadily increasing. In this era of urbanisation, it is expected that urban populations in the developing countries will double in the coming 30 years. Due to urbanisation, the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals will be increasingly decided in the world's municipalities. This is because the process of decreasing poverty increasingly means improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of cities and their slums. Safeguarding sustainable environmental conservation, providing educational opportunities for children, and combating child and maternal mortality through improved sanitary facilities and access to clean water require the development of opportunities for municipal action and municipal solutions. Only local governments equipped with clear and comprehensive authority and adequate financial means can help people take advantage of the opportunities offered by the urbanisation process in the developing countries and limit its risks and negative side effects. It is largely because of this development that decentralisation and local self-governance are still essential components of German development cooperation today and are therefore also relevant to the work being done by political foundations.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE AS A TASK OF THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG



Nigeria in spring 2009: A meeting of approximately 50 traditional and religious rulers who were invited by the KAS to discuss the contribution they could make towards the stabilisation of democracy in their country.

Past experience has made it very clear to international donors that decentralisation processes are eminently political in nature. It has shown them that state-sponsored development cooperation programmes, which in many cases used to be technical and bureaucratic in nature, must be complemented with measures that take the political dimension of decentralisation and local self-governance into account. A study published by the GIGA Institute in 2009, which deals with the decentralisation process using Mozambique as an example, points out that when decentralisation is regarded as a technical challenge it frequently fails because of the resistance of political elites, and that therefore its eminently political character must be focused on more strongly in the donors' deliberations.

As a result, the Federal Ministry for Cooperation and Development (BMZ) now operates through its implementing organisations primarily in countries where the main actors have the political will to enact reforms and are willing to make financial contributions to the cost of these reforms. Political foundations can supplement these processes, primarily by working together with partners that are closely associated with them either in terms of their values or their allegiance to a political party – partners that national implementing agencies would hesitate to cooperate with. In many cases, political foundations support political decision-makers via consultation as they shift areas of responsibility in sensible ways.

DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE AS A FIELD OF ACTION OF THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG

However, the work of political foundations is also particularly relevant in areas where the political opposition seems to profit the most from decentralisation processes and where national governments, for their part, often throw the concept of decentralisation into question. For example, in South Africa (cf. the case study) the KAS is currently doing educational work in a difficult political environment, publicly expressing its support for a decentralised state structure, and strengthening pluralism. In such situations, the KAS regards itself as a driving force for strengthening local self-governance. After all, in countries where the central government's willingness to implement political reforms is not very strong, development cooperation with the state is only possible to a limited extent. Moreover, political foundations can react more quickly than state organisations to new challenges and take advantage of brief windows of opportunity in ways that include the provision of financial resources. The absolute amount of the financial resources does not play the main role in a project's success. Much more important is the political foundation's access to the crucial local actors and the fact that it has their trust. KAS workers abroad often have access to the respective political decision-makers and also to the business and intellectual elites. For this reason, they are coveted cooperation partners in many countries.

One of the advantages political foundations have compared to other organisations is that they have a free choice of discussion partners and contacts and are therefore able to promote political pluralism. Those who wish to initiate processes of political change must closely cooperate with the individuals at the local level who combine decision-making authority and expert knowledge. In the process of creating and strengthening local self-governance, the KAS therefore concentrates on the following target groups: political parties, members of parliament, members of the executive branch, and holders of responsible positions in administrative bodies and in civil society.

Because of political foundations' independence and diversity, different groups of actors can become sponsors of the decentralisation process. In these cases, and if there are at least the beginnings of political pluralism, political foundations can work in line with their respective focus to support local forces as they work out the specific terms of their agendas, make recommendations on how to implement change, and find ways to articulate appropriate issues more effectively.

The range of advisory measures is broad. These include basic and advanced seminars; short visits by experts; pilot projects for establishing self-governance structures; basic and advanced training courses or consultation for local authorities, political parties or associations that are creating and implementing local and regional development plans; and, in individual cases, aid to education in the form of scholarships. The precise characteristics of the measures undertaken depend on the concrete local demands. The KAS, for example, always coordinates its activities with those local decision-makers it aims to strengthen within the framework of the decentralisation projects. If this is not done, the projects are at risk of losing support and also undermining the legitimacy of the people's representatives.

In addition, the practice of conducting seminars in Germany for local politicians from all over the world at irregular intervals has proved to be especially successful. In these seminars, the KAS brings the participants together with local politicians and practitioners from Germany to discuss topics such as promotion of business development, the environment, efficient administration and municipal cooperation. In this way, the participants enhance the knowledge they have acquired in their own countries and also take back home with them stimulating new ideas for their own work.



O Desempenho dos Municípios da Província de Cabo Delgado

Centro de Pesquisa Konrad Adenauer (Universidade Católica de Moçambique), com apoio da Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V., 2009, Author: Barbosa Morais

The publication includes the results of an event aimed at implementing decentralisation in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.



Guide du formateur en décentralisation et en développement local Nr. 5

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V., Direction de l'Expansion Rurale, 2002

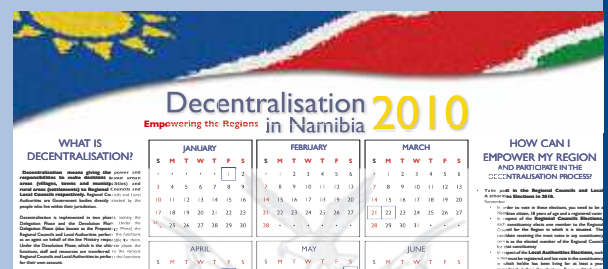
A training handbook for elected representatives in the rural communities of Senegal, focusing on budget management and financing the development of a rural community



Reforma Política en Chile – Desafíos y Tareas Pendientes.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009

In this publication, five renowned researchers present their studies and recommendations for political reforms in Chile. Their aim is to increase the efficiency of government processes, further promote decentralisation, renew the political party system, assess the practicability of a single-chamber governmental system, and replace the strong concentration of power in a presidential system with a semi-presidential structure.



The purpose of the calendar is to promote the policy of decentralisation in Namibia and to strengthen the regions. It provides information about the decentralisation process, the advantages it offers to citizens, the legal framework and the responsible administrative bodies.

PRESERVING VALUES – RESPECTING DIFFERENCES

The reasons why the KAS works together with local actors and local residents are not exclusively pragmatic. The principle of subsidiarity has guided the KAS' international work for a long time. This principle has a special significance for the KAS, not only in a factual but also in a normative sense. Our work is guided not only by Germany's experience with federalism but also, and above all, by the Christian vision of the human being to which the KAS subscribes. According to this vision, the individual human being is the origin, agent and purpose of all social life. The subsidiarity principle respects the independent initiative and individual responsibility of the human being and of the smaller social structures such as families, associations and communities. The KAS therefore advocates a development policy that focuses on the individual human being, directly includes the recipients of assistance in the project planning process, and makes the recipients the main implementers of the projects. Similarly, the measures for promoting decentralisation and local self-governance are also oriented toward the individual human being. Supplementary assistance from the state and society is desired in cases when the individual and his or her social network are wholly or partially unable to carry out their respective tasks on their own.

Within its development cooperation projects, the foundation is critical of increases in budgetary assistance. All too often, negotiations between donors and governments regarding the areas in which budgetary aid is to be granted and the conditions associated with such aid are conducted behind closed doors. In many cases, parliaments, local institutions of self-governance and civil society are left out of these negotiations. In such cases, budgetary aid can be counterproductive. Parliamentarians who lack the right to participate in such decisions thus lose their accountability to their voters. And after all, it is the local population that must be informed about, sensitised to, and persuaded to support this political process, which is often long and difficult. Even if more money is subsequently made available to the people, they remain excluded from the actual decision-making process.

In this connection, the deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group of the German Bundestag, Dr. Christian Ruck, said in April 2009, "Our objective must be to appropriately support our partners' strategies. This support includes the strengthening of good governance, decentralisation

and citizens' participation. It does not make sense to promote centralism by providing excessive budgetary aid."

CONCLUSION

The KAS has been supporting decentralisation processes in developing countries for decades, guided by Germany's specific experiences and the Christian vision of the human being. The principles of personal contact, solidarity and subsidiarity have guided our work at the foundation down to the present day. In all that we do, our primary intention is not to direct projects from the top down but rather to support them at the grass roots. Giving individuals a voice and strengthening their means of articulation and their influence are essential components of our foundation's efforts to promote democracy. Even though decentralisation and local self-governance have not so far achieved the success at the international level that was hoped for in the 1990s, that is not a reason to abandon our efforts. Individual projects have been, and are still, very successful, as the following examples from different countries have impressively demonstrated.



German Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel meets scholarship recipients on "KAS Day", 12 May 2009

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ASSISTING MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

Every year since 2003, the European and International Cooperation section of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has granted six scholarships to young students at the Moscow City Government University of Management. The scholarships enable the students to do a one-month internship in the municipal administration of a German city. Depending on the individual student's focus, they learn about the work processes in the various departments of a German municipal administration – for example, in the areas of social services, city partnerships, public relations, culture and tourism, environmental and consumer protection, child welfare, construction, taxation and international business relations.

EXAMPLES BY COUNTRY

Every continent and, to a lesser extent, every individual country has its own political traditions. Decentralisation programmes and processes for establishing local self-governance must be oriented toward these traditions in order to be successful. These traditions include factors such as local legal traditions, the social and/or ethnic composition of the society and, above all, the citizens' conception of political legitimacy and of the function of political decision-makers and their respective organisational structures. As a rule, one-size-fits-all models are condemned to failure; the one element that is crucially needed is the expertise of the local people. As a result, KAS workers abroad do not operate on their own; instead, they align their activities with local demands and cooperate with their partner organisations.

In the following sections we would therefore like to introduce as examples ten of the KAS' international cooperation projects. These projects illustrate the foundation's efforts to promote democracy in the area of decentralisation and local self-governance.



Finances and self-governance: Workers of a deep well project in Morocco

PHILIPPINES

In 1991, five years after the end of the Marcos dictatorship and the restoration of democracy in the Philippines, the Local Government Code (LGC) was passed. The LGC is a comprehensive and sometimes very detailed legal code regarding the introduction of local self-governance and the step-by-step decentralisation of the state apparatus, which was previously centralised. This was the first piece of legislation of this kind in the region, with the exception of the legal regulations in traditionally federalist states such as Malaysia. The LGC includes a clause to the effect that at five-year intervals the implementation of the code must be assessed and the legal foundations of decentralisation and local self-governance must be extended.

Also in 1991, Dr. Sosmena, the leading civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior and one of the formulators of the LGC, established the Local Government Development Foundation (LOGODEF). Since then, LOGODEF has become a household word in the Philippines, thanks to its role as a supporter and driver of local self-governance. As Dr. Sosmena correctly foresaw, the LGC would not be implemented as a matter of course. To be sure, examples of successful models of self-governance developed in some cities and provinces over the years; they were rooted in the local population and brought with them economic development and social harmony. However, in most Philippine municipalities the local structures of democracy and self-governance that were created by the LGC are only façades. Even the initially very limited devolution of decision-making authority to these local structures is being utilised in only a small percentage of municipalities. In addition, the legal requirement of regular assessment and extension of the LGC has so far not been implemented in the 19 years since the code was passed.

From the very beginning, LOGODEF has been supported by the KAS as an important partner in the promotion of democracy and development in the Philippines. The goal of the project partnership is to systematically promote the establishment of local self-governance and the development of good governance at the local level, as well as the extension of the legal framework for local self-governance and ongoing decentralisation.



The third "Round Table Meeting" of the Philippine Consortium on Good Local Governance on 10 May 2010 in Manila. The consortium, which is coordinated by LOGODEF, includes all four of the leading associations of Philippine municipalities, representatives of the government and the national parliament, the country's most important universities and public administration colleges, and numerous nongovernmental organisations.

In the first years after the LGC went into effect, LOGODEF's work mainly focused on advising individual cities and districts on the implementation of the new legal regulations, ways of building up effective administrative structures, and the development of municipal budgets and conditions that would encourage investment. Successful models were developed in various parts of the country; they still serve other municipalities as models of modernisation and successful measures to combat poverty. In the mid-1990s, with the support of the KAS, LOGODEF introduced a nationwide competition for municipal authorities in order to encourage the copying of such successful models. Every three years, a Konrad-Adenauer-Medal is awarded to the best communities, cities, districts and provinces for outstanding performance in this area.

In a second focus of its work, LOGODEF began in the mid-1990s to bring together experts working in various disciplines at the country's most renowned universities so that they could do research on issues affecting the municipalities. It published the results and made them available for political discussion, for use in the public administration colleges and for distribution by the leading municipal associations. For a number of years, LOGODEF has brought together a group of 15 renowned scholars, experts in municipal policy and representatives of municipal associations in a special study group that carries out an ambitious annual programme of research and publication on current issues. In order to introduce these results into the political debate as well, LOGODEF sponsors regular workshops and round table discussions of possible draft legislation with the economic planning agency of the Senate and the planning and budgetary committee of the Congress. This legislation can help strengthen local governments and improve good governance at the local level. Recently – in 2008/2009 – the alert monitoring and intensive efforts of LOGODEF

blocked a bill in the Senate which would have returned to the central government some crucial areas of responsibility in the field of agricultural development that had been transferred to the municipalities by the LGC. This bill had generally gone unnoticed by the public.

Soon after its establishment LOGODEF, with the support of the KAS, also developed a third focus of its work: implementing activities in East and Southeast Asia to strengthen local self-governance and good governance at the local level. Representatives of selected reform-oriented cities from ten countries in the region meet annually at a conference organised by LOGODEF in order to share their experiences regarding a particular issue. Building on this regional experience, LOGODEF has begun in March 2010 to serve as an important partner in a consortium led by the KAS, which will systematically promote the sharing of best practices for three years in 20 cities in five countries of the region. The top municipal associations of the respective countries will also be involved in these activities.

Many local and foreign observers regard 2010 as a key year in the development of the Philippines. The nine-year presidency of Gloria Magapagal Arroyo, which began in 2001, started out with great hopes, but in its final years it was marked by corruption, nepotism and arbitrary rule in many parts of the country. There are now great hopes that the new president will carry out democratic reforms. These hopes specifically concern improvements in the framework for good governance at the local level and further steps in the decentralisation process, as well as the long-overdue assessment and extension of the LGC. In preparation for the more favourable political

situation that is hoped for, LOGODEF founded a Philippine consortium in 2009 that now has more than 50 members – nongovernmental organisations, top municipal associations, academic institutions and government agencies – that are regarded as key organisations and institutions in the area of local self-governance and good governance at the local level. The members of this consortium are coordinating their efforts in lobbying with the two chambers of the congress and the administration for the adoption of several crucial laws in the field of local self-administration and local good governance. And they hope also to be able to press the administration of the new President, Noynoy Aquino, into giving priority to the overall amendment of the Local Government Code.

In conclusion, the various new approaches developed by LOGODEF over the years in pursuit of its goal, which have always been tailored to the concrete conditions in the Philippines, are the reason why the KAS has maintained this fruitful long-term partnership and will continue to do so. In spite of all the frustration concerning the slow process of establishing local self-governance and decentralised structures in the Philippines, the project partnership between the KAS and LOGODEF has fulfilled expectations. It has created an expert and universally respected nongovernmental organisation that serves as an untiring engine for strengthening local self-governance and combines a broad range of forces at the national level for promoting and improving good local governance.

Dr. Peter Köppinger

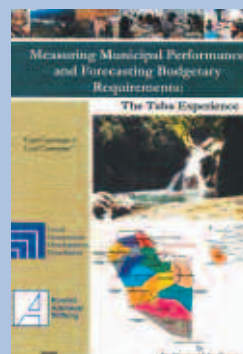
Head of the KAS office in the Philippines



How to govern locally after winning an election: A guidepost

*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2010,
Author: Dr. Gaudioso C. Sosmena, Jr.*

This 60-page brochure contains practical tips and suggestions regarding good governance for mayors and governors of provinces, cities and other communities. It is based on LOGODEF's 20 years of experience in providing advice.



Measuring municipal performance and forecasting budgetary requirements: The Tuba Experience.

*Local Government Development Foundation & Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2008,
Author: Dr. Marian J Guillermo*

This manual is meant to support local governments in the Philippines in their efforts to improve public services for the citizens.

CAMBODIA

The Cambodian government first put decentralisation on its political agenda back in 1999. Since 2000, the KAS has been advising and assisting the country's Ministry of the Interior in its efforts to implement this policy step by step. In this way, the KAS aims to promote democratic development in Cambodia. With its painful and turbulent past, Cambodia is still organised on a centralised basis. All decisions are made and implemented at the national level. There are no avenues for the country's citizens to influence measures affecting their city or district. All the various administrative services are also the responsibility of the government ministries. Even a number plate for a moped can only be issued in the capital, Phnom Penh.

The KAS launched the pilot project Asia Urbs in 2001, in consultation with the Cambodian Ministry of the Interior. Support for the project also came from the following partners: the Rhein-Sieg District in Germany, the city of Spoleto in Italy and the Berlin-based association BBJ Servis. The aim was to establish a model for a grass-roots, transparent and democratically controlled municipal administration in the cities of Battambang and Siem Reap. In the following years, the KAS ran three more EU-funded projects: a decentralisation project for Battambang Province; the Local Democracy



People crowd in the One Window Service Office in Siem Reap, where various registration forms are processed

Project, which was primarily intended to provide support for the municipal councils that were first elected in 2001; and a further project to advance the implementation of the pilot administrations in Battambang and Siem Reap.

COOPERATION ON AN EQUAL FOOTING

All four projects employ the same method: instead of engaging highly paid foreign consultants to come up with new concepts, the KAS asked people with hands-on experience from the administrations of the Rhein-Sieg District, the Free State of Thuringia, and the city of Spoleto to team up with their Cambodian counterparts and develop practicable concepts to meet the country's needs.



A typical market scene in Siem Reap province



Left: A public meeting in Siem Reap District

Below: Members of the public attend a council meeting in Battambang

This led to, for example, the idea of the "One Window Service Office" (OWSO), which was devised with the help of a civil servant from the Rhein-Sieg District. This means that people in Battambang and Siem Reap can now register a business without encountering excessive (by Cambodian standards) red tape and without having to pay any "non-official" fees. The services devolved to the OWSO – following tough negotiations with government ministries – are still limited. Nevertheless, for a country like Cambodia the step represents major progress. Battambang and Siem Reap are the only places where the cost of a specific service has been made public and people can be sure they are not paying a single riel more than is officially required. Furthermore, officials from Spoleto helped to institute proper channels of complaint regarding public maladministration. As a result, both Battambang and Siem Reap now have an elected ombudsman to investigate any grievances of the citizens regarding administrative decisions.

In further examples of aid, experts from Thuringia teamed up with their counterparts from Battambang Province to develop sustainable approaches to regional planning, and officials from the Rhein-Sieg District advised "master plan teams" – supported by the German Development Service (DED) – in Siem Reap and Battambang on how to conduct public hearings concerning land development plans. Likewise, the press officer of the Rhein-Sieg District helped train the newly appointed press officers of Battambang and Siem Reap, and an official from Spoleto provided advice on new forms of civic participation. As a result of this last measure, both Siem Reap and Battambang now have a weekly governor's office hour and an annual public meeting at which the governor must justify his policies and respond to people's questions and criticisms.

A LASTING IMPACT

All of the EU-funded projects run by the KAS in Cambodia have now been completed, but much of what was tried out or put into practice in these initiatives will be continued. For example, the new approaches to regional planning are to be progressively



The newly elected district council convenes in Battambang.

A SUCCESS STORY FROM BATTAMBANG

With a warm smile on his face, Mr. Uy Ry, Governor of Battambang, the second-largest city in Cambodia, welcomes guests from three European development organisations. The visitors are here to take a look at the city's new administration, which was established in cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung as part of the EU project Asia Urbs III. The municipality is a key element of the Cambodian government's policy of ongoing decentralisation. "What did my boss have to say?" asks Governor Uy Ry with a mischievous smile before sitting back in his chair and calling for tea.

Mr. Uy Ry has been Governor of Battambang for the past six years. As a result of his active involvement, the city has created Cambodia's most transparent and citizen-friendly municipal government and helped to try out new municipal institutions. Thanks to a special disposition on the part of the central government, which supported the project, Governor Ry and his representatives were able to call on the advice of a city council. Nonetheless, until summer 2009 Mr. Uy Ry was – like all governors in Cambodia – the undisputed "boss" of the city administration.

After the summer 2009, all that became past history. Today Battambang, like all the other cities, districts and provinces, has elected councillors, who in line with their specific powers are responsible for the development of their respective administrative authorities. Governors are required to implement the decisions of the councillors and are accountable to them. This is a milestone on the road to decentralisation in Cambodia.

As so often, this success story has many components. But the fact that "Konrad", as the KAS is affectionately known in Cambodia, has made an important contribution is beyond dispute. As His Excellency Mr. Sak Seta, Secretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior and a long-standing partner of the KAS, explains, "This project has shown us the meaning of local self-governance. At long last, we had practical examples from which we could gather experience."

implemented in other provinces, and the local authorities association that was created as part of the Local Democracy Project has become a committed and capable defender of the interests of the Cambodian municipalities. Meanwhile, the OWSOs are attracting ever increasing numbers of customers and have been designated as Champions of Good Governance by the World Bank. In the coming three years, OWSOs are to be opened in all of Cambodia's provincial capitals with financial support from the World Bank.

Even more significant for Cambodia's development, however, is the adoption of the Law on Administrative Management of Capital, Provinces, Municipalities, Districts and Khans, or the Organic Law for short. With this law, which was approved by the Cambodian parliament in April 2008, the government has paved the way for further decentralisation. There is now a council at each level of the country – city, district and province – which makes decisions and controls public administration. And, for the first time, not only the governing party but also the opposition has access to local and regional information. Likewise, administrative bodies at all levels are required to inform people about council decisions and to involve them in planning procedures.

The Organic Law by no means reflects everything that was tried out in the various pilot projects run by the KAS. The fact that the councils at the city, district and province levels are only indirectly elected by the municipal councils, and the fact that the governors appointed by the government remain in office – both of these circumstances show that there is still a long way to go before Cambodia achieves genuine local self-governance. Nonetheless, the adoption of the Organic Law is a major step forward.

Its implementation, however, places big demands on everyone concerned. The ministries, for example, must recognise that the cities, districts and provinces should be given the requisite powers and the necessary financial and human resources. The governors and their representatives, who have so far ruled by and large autonomously over districts and provinces, must learn to moderate their claims to power. And the new councillors, who are still inexperienced, must be given the necessary skills and authority to take on their role as heads of administration. Cambodia will therefore continue to require the support of overseas organisations such as the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

*Rabea Brauer
Head of the KAS office in Cambodia*

TURKEY

The administrative structure of the Republic of Turkey has been reformed in recent years, but it still remains centralist in nature. The first law concerning local government, which was modelled on French legislation, was passed in 1930 and remained in force until the military coup of 1980. An extensive reform of local governments was carried out in 2005; its implementation and application through more specific implementation laws is still going on today. The decentralisation and deconcentration that have accompanied this process amount to a paradigm change in the Turkish attitude toward administration.

In Turkey, local government is subdivided into 81 provinces, each of which is headed by a governor. The 2005 reform of local government limited the powers of the governors, who are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, and strengthened the authority of the mayors. In the future, the governors are to increasingly take on the role of prefects having a supervisory function. However, a second administrative level of the kind recommended by the EU has not yet been created. Moreover, although the important institution of the ombudsman was formally introduced as part of the constitutional reform of September 2010, it has not yet been implemented.

Against this background, the project work done by the KAS in the area of municipal policy, which is aimed at strengthening local self-governance, has become even more important in recent years. The KAS has been working together with the Union of Municipalities of Turkey (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği – TBB) since 1985. The TBB, which was founded in 1945, has its headquarters in Ankara. In 2003 the status of the TBB was changed from an association to a union. As the official umbrella organisation of all 3,265 municipalities of Turkey, it represents them and is under the aegis of the Ministry of the Interior. The change of status involved a considerable increase of the TBB's financial resources. The numerous basic and advanced seminars for municipal representatives and administrators from all the provinces of Turkey that have been carried out in recent years with financial support from the KAS can now be financed by the TBB on its own.

As a result, the structure of the project work done by the KAS in the area of local governance was changed. From now on, the KAS will cooperate with the TBB mainly on international educational programs aimed at communicating European and German experiences and



From left: Dr. Helmut Müller, Mayor of Wiesbaden; Mustafa Demir, Mayor of the Fatih district of Istanbul; Hyrettin Güngör, Secretary General of the TBB; Hasan Sipahioğlu, Mayor of Alanya; and Ulrich Roland, Mayor of Gladbeck at a KAS conference on German-Turkish cooperation in the area of municipal policy

standards in the area of local administration. In the area of basic and advanced training for municipal representatives and administrators, the KAS is working more intensely with regional municipal associations such as the Municipal Association of the Aegean Region (Ege Belediyeler Birliği – EBB) and the Municipal Association of the Mediterranean Region (Akdeniz Belediyeler Birliği – ABB). These training courses continue to be in high demand, especially because the basic and advanced training offered by state and private institutions is not sufficient. In addition, the KAS has specialised in themes that other institutions do not deal with as often. The KAS responds to inquiries from the municipalities by carrying out concrete measures, and it organises most of these measures directly in the regions. Its cooperation with regional municipal associations helps to promote deconcentration, because even though such associations may represent as many as 300 municipalities, so far they have been able to act in a public capacity only to a limited extent. Thanks to their cooperation with the KAS, these associations too can express their concerns to a larger audience and be more clearly recognised as representatives of their members' interests.

The KAS project work in the area of local governance focuses on the basic and advanced training of elected municipal officials, employees of local and regional administrative bodies, and mayors. The topics covered in the training courses range from construction regulations and guidelines for calls for tenders, evening study programs for urban police forces, the preparation of a catalogue of permanent positions, legislation concerning the administration of public financing, the administration of movable property, strategic planning, annual reports and bookkeeping for municipalities, the effects of climate change, and women's participation in municipal politics.

Other topics of interest include European municipal policy, including cross-border cooperation at the municipal level, and the relationship between municipalities and the European Union. In the area of cross-border cooper-



From left: Jan Senkyr, Hayrettin Güngör (Secretary General of the TBB), Dr. Günther Beckstein (former Premier and former Minister of the Interior of Bavaria), Prof. Parcal Hector (envoy of the German Embassy in Ankara)

ation, the KAS organised a Turkish-Greek meeting of municipal politicians from the Aegean region in October 2008 so that they could discuss concrete possibilities for cooperation between municipalities on the Turkish mainland and on the Greek islands off the Turkish coast. A similar project was a conference concerning municipal cooperation projects, which was held in Ankara in November 2010 in cooperation with the TBB as part of the German-Turkish city partnership network. There are currently 75 partnerships between cities and municipalities in Germany and Turkey. The results of these partnerships have been extremely positive, and there is great interest within both countries in forming additional partnerships. The cooperation between the municipalities is very effective, because it brings people together in direct ways, promotes intercultural dialogue, provides practical solutions for concrete problems, and strengthens direct democracy. In view of the close connections between the two peoples – more than three million people of Turkish origin live in Germany, and today there are also a several tens of thousands of Germans in Turkey – this cooperation is particularly important.

The KAS projects in Turkey that focus on municipal policy are helping to promote decentralisation. It's true that the road to local self-governance based on the European model is still a long one, but in the middle and long terms the strengthening of competence at the local level will have an effect at the national level as well. Political issues that are being discussed at the training seminars for municipal officials – for example, environmental protection, women's participation, the principle of subsidiarity and good governance – are already being taken up by local chapters of political parties and introduced into the discussions in the party headquarters at the national level. These are the right steps to take on the path of democratisation that goes from the grass roots toward the top.

*Jan Senkyr
Head of the KAS office in Turkey*

RUSSIA

Moscow accounts for 80 per cent of Russia's capital market and 12 per cent of its total population, which makes it the centre of the world's largest country. All of the decisions and political developments that take place in Russia's largest city have an impact on the entire country, even though the rest of Russia can be centrally governed only to a very limited extent.

Article 65 of the Russian Constitution names the 83 federal subjects that make up the sovereign territory of the Russian Federation. Each of the 21 republics of the Russian Federation has its own constitution and body of laws, which means that they have the highest degree of internal autonomy. Further subjects are the nine territories ("krais"), 46 provinces ("oblasts"), two federal cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg), the Jewish Autonomous Oblast (on the border with China) and four autonomous districts ("okrugs"). The federal subjects are grouped into eight federal districts: Central, Southern, North Caucasian, Volga, Northwestern, Urals, Siberian and Far Eastern.

During President Yeltsin's term of office in the 1990s, the decision was taken to decentralise Russia, thus granting the regions greater freedom of action. The first step was to introduce the direct election of all regional governors. This initiative was reversed in 2005 by Vladimir Putin, who at that time was the President and today is the Prime Minister. The fact that the governors are now appointed by the Russian President once again gives the President a great deal of influence over the individual regions. For example, the current Russian President, Dmitry Medvedev, has already exercised his right to appoint or dismiss governors several times. For example, he appointed a new governor in the North Caucasian Federal District in order to signal a new beginning; the new governor, a professional business manager and government loyalist, was expected to boost the economy of the North Caucasus and thus stabilise the overall situation there. In another case, Medvedev dismissed the former mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov, a politician who had expressed criticism of the central government.

In 2003 a municipal reform process was carried out in Russia in order to simplify the practical operations of local governments in the Russian regions. However, there is still a discrepancy between the basic terms of the Constitution and their practical implementation. The KAS is therefore organising events that focus especially on the topic of local governance. In many

cases, the challenges faced today by Russian municipalities are similar to those that were faced by municipal governments in East Germany shortly after German reunification. Consequently, the KAS invites local politicians and civil servants from the new German federal states to serve as experts at events focusing on municipal policy, which are held in various regions of Russia. The Germans' experiences in this area have always proved to be very valuable for the Russians attending these events. Correspondingly, there has been a particularly great demand for topics such as local self-governance at these events.

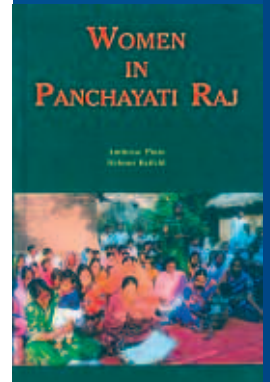
Cooperation with the Moscow City University of Management (MGUU) has been one focus area in the field of local self-governance. Together with the MGUU, the KAS conducts conferences on topics such as the management of major cities or ways to enhance the efficiency of public administration. The shared goal of these two institutions is to reform the work processes of the administrative bodies, which in most cases are slow and inefficient and in some cases are also extremely corrupt. These circumstances act as a brake on the country's economic upswing. This fact was demonstrated once again during the financial and economic crisis, when the financial situation of the local authorities worsened drastically and thus severely hampered their ability to act. Among other things, the KAS awards five stipends once a year to future municipal administrators studying at the MGUU so that they can do internships at municipal authorities in Germany. These internships enable the students to gather valuable experience for their future work. Members of the Russian parliament, government representatives and renowned scholars participate in the events jointly carried out with the MGUU, and this is increasingly expanding the public impact of these events.

In a further step, the KAS is concentrating its work on the individual regions of Russia. For example, it is working together with the International University for Business and New Technologies (MUBiNT) in Yaroslavl. This cooperation focuses on regular jointly organised events dealing with issues of municipal legislation and its practical implementation; the economic, social and cultural problems associated with municipal legislation; and new methods of administration and media policy from both the Russian and the German perspectives.

A further component of local self-governance, in addition to the reinforcement of institutional and organisational structures for the local self-governance process, is the strengthening of civil society. In pursuit of this goal, the KAS has conducted conferences for several years now on the topic of human rights. In order to have as great an impact as possible, these conferences are organised four or five times a year in various regions of Russia. The KAS' partner here is the Human Rights Commissioner of the Russian Federation, Professor Vladimir Lukin. Under his direction, ombudsmen have been appointed in 53 of the 83 federal subjects of Russia since 2005. As a political foundation, the KAS regards the improvement of the legal situation in the regions as a means of developing subsidiarity so that the local governments can, thanks to their increased level of accountability, respond more effectively to the citizens' needs. The separation of powers, as well as the associated strengthening of the local judicial authorities and of the general understanding of legality within civil society are the goals of these measures.

In the future as well, the work of the KAS will concentrate on the promotion of federalism and local self-governance. An aspect that is of particular interest to the KAS is the issue of the political parties that took part in the regional and local elections of 2010, in which the ruling party, "United Russia", was able to maintain its leadership but the Communist Party and the Liberal party led by the rightwing populist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy clearly gained ground. The extent to which these developments will affect the work of the local authorities in the individual municipalities remains to be seen.

Dr. Lars Peter Schmidt, Head of the KAS office in Russia



**Ambrose Pinto,
Helmut Reifeld:
Women in
Panchayati Raj**

**Indian Social
Institute und Konrad-
Adenauer-Stiftung,
Neu Delhi 2001**

*For the past 20 years,
the KAS has been
promoting the imple-
mentation of the newly
introduced quota of
33 per cent of women
in local government
bodies in India*

SOUTH AFRICA

Decentralisation and municipal self-governance are controversial issues in South Africa. The form of government for the new South Africa was already a major issue of contention between the parties involved in the Kempton Park process during the period 1992-1996, when the nation's new constitution was drawn up. For example, most of the members of the current governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), were against a decentralised state structure, whereas the KAS' partner in South Africa, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), categorically rejected a centralised state and demanded a federal structure.

Following a long period of negotiations, a new constitution was adopted in 1996. This document included provisions for dividing the country into nine provinces. A federal structure such as that demanded by the National Party and the remaining smaller parties was rejected and the following compromise was agreed upon instead: each of the nine provinces would have its own elected government and parliament, but these would be limited in terms of legislative and executive power and taxing authority. The constitution also explicitly mentioned local government bodies. Today, 16 years after the end of apartheid, these provincial and local structures are the subject of more controversy

than ever before. More and more people are demanding that both provincial and municipal administrative structures be reorganised. The centralist tendencies in the Tripartite Alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are plain to see.

In August 2007 the former Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) announced plans to launch an initiative for reforming the administrative structures at the provincial level. The goal of this reform process was to critically analyse the role played by the provinces in South Africa's political system. This issue attracted increasing attention in the following months. Shortly after the April 2009 elections, the new Minister for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Sicelo Shiceka, announced his intention to re-examine the necessity of the provinces. The ANC's Polokwane resolution of December 2007 already included a demand to reduce the number of provinces – nine at that time – or even to eliminate them entirely. Nevertheless, Shiceka's announcement marked the first time a minister had publicly alluded to such plans. Such a development not only calls into question the decentralised government structure stipulated by the country's constitution but also might ultimately result in a centralised state and would consolidate the dominance of the ANC and disempower the subordinate administrative levels. In addition, a restructuring of the provinces and the associated redrawing of borders



would automatically eliminate the problem posed to the ANC by the Western Cape, which is controlled by the opposition. The ANC would then be able to secure its structural majority for the long term and regain the influence it has lost in Western Cape Province. Provincial and municipal governments are already in danger of losing power and influence during the current legislative period under President Jacob Zuma if the ANC continues its attempts to systematically weaken these subordinate administrative levels.

A new planning committee was formed shortly after the 2009 elections. This body is separate from the cabinet and reports directly to the president. A Green Paper on National Strategy Planning presented in September 2009 called for the creation of an independent national planning commission. This commission would have the power to monitor government ministries, including the finance ministry. Given the widespread view in the ANC that the party should be allowed to hire and fire government employees at will, the establishment of such a commission would further blur the lines between the party and the government. The danger of a centralisation of government power in South Africa thus continues to increase.

However, the governing party's plans have largely met with a positive response on the part of the media and the people. The provincial parliaments are weak, and many of their members are not equipped to deal with the requirements of their jobs. For this and other reasons, many South Africans view the provincial parliaments as a waste of taxpayer money. Indeed, basic services are considerably lacking in the municipalities and provinces. The two lower administrative levels are insufficiently financed and marked by a shortage of qualified personnel. Moreover, the system of proportionate representation means that individual legislators can not be held directly accountable by the constituents. Nevertheless, the problems associated with the weakness of the provincial parliaments can not be solved by reducing the number of provinces and increasing the size of their legislatures. On the contrary, such a measure would reduce the provincial governments to purely administrative bodies, and it cannot be expected that a centralised state without any local ties could improve basic public services to any significant extent.

THE KAS' ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In view of the centralist tendencies in the governing alliance and the considerable lack of efficiency at the



Prof. Thomas von Danwitz from the University of Koblenz-Landau is a short-term expert advisor regarding municipal administration in Johannesburg

lower levels of government, the KAS has been gradually expanding its measures to promote decentralisation in South Africa. Unlike the GTZ, for example, which primarily addresses structural and administration management issues, the foundation focuses on political issues such as federalism, decentralisation and subsidiarity. The long-term objective is to strengthen the subordinate levels of government.

The KAS' measures to promote decentralisation and local self-governance have been targeted at various problem areas in the past few years. Its activities have ranged from the publication of studies of the role of local governments in the federal system to analyses of relevant financial legislation and an extensive series of workshops and conferences that address efficiency issues and the need for the provinces' continued existence. This broad approach also includes reports submitted to South Africa's parliament and KAS-supported cooperation between the national and provincial levels in the 2010 Greening Programme.

For example, in order to assist with the analysis of local governments in a federal system, the KAS supported a conference held in 2004 by the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies. This conference brought together delegates from 14 nations to discuss the role that local governments can play in a federal state, as well as ways to improve their efficiency. In 2007 the KAS published two reports on revenue sharing in cooperation with Dr. Dirk Brand, a former legal advisor to the Western Cape government. The policy paper *Financial Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa* that was published shortly thereafter summarised in a condensed form the key points of the aforementioned publication and still serves today as a reference work for scholars and

government officials alike. Cooperation across provincial and municipal borders is particularly important in South Africa, especially between those municipalities whose borders are in dispute. Several municipalities were once again plagued by extreme unrest in 2009 because their people felt they were part of a certain province, but the redrawn borders had assigned them to another province. In response to this situation, the KAS commissioned Dr. Rama Naidu, director of the Democracy Development Programme (a KAS partner organisation), to write a report to the national parliament concerning the situation in the Merafong and Matatiele municipalities and the parliament's proposal for solving the problems. KAS also teamed up with the Mail & Guardian weekly newspaper in December 2009 to organise a Critical Thinking Forum on the topic of "Service Delivery Protests: Who Is to Blame?" The conference, which attracted a great deal of public attention and approval, was held in response to the protests that broke out all over South Africa in 2009 against the lack of public services in the municipalities and several controversial redrawings of municipal borders.

The KAS also provides special consulting services in South Africa. At the request of Helen Zille, a Democratic Alliance politician who was elected premier of Western Cape Province in April 2009, the KAS held a workshop titled "Improve Government in WC and Evict Abuse of Power" at the end of that year. Western Cape is currently the only province governed by the opposition in South Africa, and the new premier had made it her goal to significantly improve public services in the region and demonstrate the feasibility of effective government at subordinate administrative levels. In addition to three South African experts on federalism, constitutional law and anti-corruption policies, the KAS invited a short-term expert advisor from Germany to advise and support representatives of the provincial government in Cape Town who were working on draft legislation addressing federalism and local governance in South Africa. This partnership for enhancing the efficiency of the two subordinate government levels was continued in 2010.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND OUTLOOK

The KAS is today considered one of the most important contact partners for issues related to government decentralisation in South Africa. Scholars, politicians, NGOs and other development cooperation organisations attend the foundation's events and repeatedly request publications and other information on various topics related to the two subordinate government levels. The foundation's project for cooperation between provinces and municipalities and its consulting mission in the Western Cape have been particularly successful in making key decision-makers more aware of the need for effective governance.

However, the one-party dominance of the ANC and the centralist tendencies in the governing party make it difficult for the KAS to put measures for promoting subsidiarity and related issues on the political agenda. Unilateral decisions taken by the ANC have repeatedly blocked efforts to achieve these goals. Nonetheless, for exactly this reason it is all the more important for the KAS to continue promoting decentralisation and municipal self-governance in South Africa and carrying out related activities. This is the only way to counteract the developments described above.

Julia Steffenfauseweh

*Trainee at the KAS office in South Africa from 2008 to 2010;
currently coordinator of the KAS media program in Berlin*



Review of Provinces and Local Governments in South Africa: Constitutional Foundations and Practice.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung; edited by Bertus de Villiers, 2008

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in South Africa brought together a group of experts to examine the future of regional politics and government in the country. Their conclusions and recommendations are summarised in this publication, which was also submitted to the South African parliament and presented for discussion at numerous workshops.

MOROCCO

The KAS has been working with the Direction Générale des Collectivités Locales (DGCL) in Morocco for over 20 years and supporting it in its efforts to further the country's policy of decentralisation. The opportunities for local self-governance in Morocco have been improving for quite some time now. The shared aim of the DGCL and the KAS is to facilitate the progressive devolution of political power to the local authority level – a process that is also supported by the national government and the monarchy.

In 2009, for example, a total of 210 local authority leaders – a driving force behind this political process – were invited, along with a number of their co-workers, to attend training courses. The topics covered in the courses included the responsibilities of individual decision-makers, the requisite institutional framework and the overall political consequences of forthcoming decentralisation measures. The discussion of such subjects has been systematically refined in subsequent years. The course participants have not only established a group among themselves and created their own networks but also drawn up ideas and recommendations that have been submitted to the national government and have even been incorporated into draft laws.

The creation of such normative foundations is an important area of cooperation between the KAS and the DGCL. These new texts contain recommendations that have been formulated at regional meetings and national colloquia of the DCL. The desired changes focus in particular on various aspects of the legal status of local authorities. The new communal charter gives the municipalities relatively wide powers that are designed to foster democracy at the local level. The new charter (Statute 17-08) has three principal objectives.

The first aim is to improve local governance. This includes the drafting of a municipal development plan covering a period of six years and involving the participation of citizens; the reinforcement of the municipal executive bodies through the introduction of a new electoral process; council leaders' clear allocation of powers to their deputies; the preservation of the right of elected council presidents to concentrate fully on the exercise of their mandate while still retaining the status of civil servants that they had received in their original administration; and finally, the expansion of the powers of the councils' standing committees to cover the areas of human resources development and public services.

The second aim is to improve the efficiency of municipal administration. This includes the reinforcement of the role played by the secretaries-general of municipalities; the creation of the positions of chief



	Types of action	Organisational level	Targets	Effects	Results
DECENTRALISATION	Education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Seminars ■ Colloquia ■ Workshops ■ Round table talks ■ National colloquium of the DCL ■ Publications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ DCL heads = interface between central and local services ■ Organisational level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Mobilisation ■ Participation ■ Commitment ■ Sense of responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Incentives to use the texts ■ Supervision, monitoring and evaluation of decentralisation ■ Adjustment of laws and regulations ■ Improvement of the material working conditions of the CL ■ Preparation of instruments for use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Recommendations and proposals for the new communal charter: (Art. 4/6/7/14/31/36/48/54/55/71/78/83/104/112/132/139/140) ■ Improvement of the material working conditions (equipment, Internet connections etc.) ■ Establishment of a DCL network ■ Establishment of an (informal) expert panel on resources for the central administration ■ Action report
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE	Education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Seminars ■ Colloquia ■ Workshops ■ Round table talks ■ Colloquium of secretaries-general ■ Regional council (CR) ■ Reports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Secretaries-general of the municipalities = heads of administration and most important co-workers of the municipality presidents ■ Operational level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Participation ■ Commitment ■ Sense of responsibility ■ Clarification of the status and role of the GS ■ Preparation of working materials: informational materials and brochures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Implementation and tryouts of texts on the basis of a shared concept ■ Preparation of council representatives for local governance ■ Administration of the instruments of local governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establishment of an expert panel on resources to investigate and advise at the operational level ■ Clarification of the status and allowances of the GS ■ Improvement of the material working conditions ■ Action report

of staff and authorised representative; preliminary proceedings pertaining to administrative law; and the increase of transparency through the public communication of council decisions to higher-level departments.

The third aim is to strengthen the new instruments of cooperation and partnership. This includes increased cooperation on the basis of agreements with state institutions and nongovernmental organisations regarding projects and activities of common interest, as well as the establishment of local authorities associations.

The outline above shows ways of approaching problems (top half) and the steps required to solve them (bottom half) in the transition from abstract decentralisation objectives to concrete good local governance in Morocco.

Dr. Said Chikhaoui
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 and freelance worker at the KAS office in Morocco

SENEGAL

Soon after Senegal gained independence in 1960, the foundations for a modern state were laid. With the colonial power France serving as a model, Senegal was organised in a centralist form. The newly created democratic institutions were set up according to the Jacobin principle – that is, the principle of a centralised state.

Soon afterward, however, the first problems associated with the centralist structure became evident, and they added weight to calls for more decentralisation as an improved form of organisation. Territorial and local reform was introduced by legislation in 1972. From this point onward, the integration of social development proved to be problematic, although this was essential for general development throughout the whole country.

The KAS entered into an initial partnership with the Senegalese government in order to support the process of decentralisation. The measures that resulted from this partnership were aimed at instilling a greater sense of responsibility among the country's citizens and expanding the responsibilities of local authorities. The first agreement was signed in 1972 with the Senegalese Ministry of the Interior, which was responsible for these matters at the time; it concerned training for civil servants in the decentralised administrative structures. Municipal councils and local governments were then established. With the participation of the population, especially the rural population, a new era dawned in the history of the young nation. The training measures opened up a new field, one that simultaneously represented the last project of the first phase of decentralisation.

PROMOTING PLANNING IN THE MUNICIPALITIES

The major successes in the area of decentralisation motivated the KAS to support a project designed to improve planning at the local level in 1984. Up to that point, the national planning system had not been adequately addressing the concerns of the local population. The objective of the "Planning Locally" programme was to provide every rural community with competent contact persons. In 1990 it was possible to introduce the nomination of locally elected representatives of the people who had the authority to supervise the administration of the municipal



Dr. Stefan Gehroid, head of the KAS office in Dakar, Senegal, welcomes the participants of a training programme.

budget. Previously, the authority for administering the budget of the rural communities lay with the sub-prefect, a local representative of the central government. Six years later, a directive issued by the government entrusted the local municipal councils with budgeting authority and established the local development plans as the central instrument of local investment planning.

In addition to planning, the central government transferred eight more areas of responsibility to the local level. Since then, local participation has represented a key pillar of decentralisation reform in Senegal. As a result of this insight, an ex post facto legal review contingent upon approval was replaced by a general consent in advance. This was the first step toward a clear differentiation between legal and professional oversight, in accordance with the allocation of responsibilities within the local authorities' immediate and extended sphere of activity, according to the German model.

PROMOTING LOCAL AND PARTICIPATIVE GOVERNANCE

Despite limited financial resources, the KAS has made a major contribution through its flexible, discreet and dynamic support over an extended period of time, in which it has cleared the way for effective public participation, especially on the part of the rural population. From 1996 to 2003, the foundation supported a project that was initiated in collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior with the aim of developing participative mechanisms of administration. It included various test modules that had been developed to test the efficiency of increased public participation in conjunction with the expansion of powers in the sphere of activity in question. From the year 2001 onward, the results of the project also influenced the decentralisation programs of donors such as the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammen-



narbeit (GTZ), the UNDP/FENU, the World Bank and the EU in Senegal. The appraisal of the results of the program between 2001 and 2003 began to stimulate the emergence of sophisticated products. For example, we produced our guide to decentralisation and local development, which underscored the importance of the decentralisation process. Every two years, the KAS also publishes handbooks on local governance. Today there is practically no local government in Senegal that does not work with the handbooks of the foundation and of the Ministry for Local Development. The GTZ, which has been pursuing complementary activities in the field for approximately 25 years, likewise uses these publications in its training sessions.

PROMOTING PARTICIPATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The strong emphasis resulting from the KAS' involvement in the area of local self-governance extended the range of activity of the decentralisation department in the Ministry of the Interior. Greater autonomy was needed with regard to the technical and financial execution of the program. The KAS partner organisation Taataan therefore initiated a program in 2003 to train representatives of the people and members of civil society organisations at the local level and to organise the human resources management of rural communities. The project also focuses on strategic considerations and publications on the topic of decentralisation and the development of rural regions.

In addition to its activities in Senegal, the KAS also initiated a program in which mayors and elected local officials from Senegal could visit Germany. The program focused on issues such as public services, municipal marketing and the promotion of economic development at the local level. In the course of dialogue with participants from German municipalities, the Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung, the working group AG Kommunen in the German Bundestag, and a German association of local governments, ideas for

the work of the Senegalese participants' own communities were developed, and options for asserting local interests at the national and parliamentary levels were discussed.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE AT PRESENT AND PLANS FOR THE COMING YEARS

The KAS believes that continuation of the decentralisation process is indispensable for the continued development of the country. The low population density and the lack of economic power are still leading to considerable problems with regard to public services, which are fundamentally within the local governments' area of responsibility. This is true above all for the towns and communities that are located in the hinterland and are not part of the greater Dakar region. They still require considerable assistance when it comes to promoting economic development and setting up structures of local government. Classic local duties like the supply of power, waste disposal and wastewater treatment are performed by the municipalities either insufficiently or not at all. Furthermore, the development of – locally supported – economic activity is proceeding at a slow pace.

Because its resources are limited, the KAS has not been able to operate everywhere in Senegal. It has focussed its activity in the field of local government on the three main regions Louga, Kaolack and Kolda. However, a new project of our partner Taataan will also allow us to operate in the regions Djourbel and Dakar in the future. It is also expected that universities and educational institutions will become more involved, and there are plans to establish an information centre for local governance issues.

The KAS will continue to make expanding the capacities of local stakeholders a priority. After all, a policy of decentralisation can only be successful if the principle of subsidiarity is observed and the local people have adequate expertise regarding local administration and policy development.

Dr. Stefan Gehrold
Head of the KAS office in Senegal

BRAZIL

In the Federative Republic of Brazil, which has a population of almost 200 million, there are great disparities in the structure of government, which comprises 26 states, the Federal District and 5,564 municipalities. The constitution of 1988 provides for a federal structure in which both the states and the municipalities are subjects of the federation, but in practice a powerful centralism prevails in political decision-making in Brazil. As in the U.S. system, the states participate in the federal legislative process only in exceptional cases. The essential financial resources from taxes and duties are collected by the central government and then distributed to the states and municipalities. The municipalities currently have at their disposal about 17 percent of the total tax revenues (2007), which is not, in general, sufficient to make them viable. Only 5.5 percent of total tax revenues (e.g. property taxes) are collected by the municipalities themselves. There is no differentiation among the municipalities according to cities or towns, nor is there any organisation into districts or towns administered as districts in their own right. In other words, all municipalities are treated the same way, whether it's Canutama in the state of Amazonas, which has 12,000 residents and is only accessible by boat, or the megacity São Paulo with its population of 11 million and its metropolitan region of over 20 million residents. One of the most important requirements for managing the tasks involved in creating jobs, providing good public education and a functioning health care system, and assuring public safety for the citizens is the availability of the appropriate financial resources, whether they come from the central government, the constituent state or the municipality's own revenues.

The political structure of the country is characterised by presidentialism, with the people voting directly for a president, governor or mayor, who then exercises the executive function practically alone. The high degree of financial dependence on the central government leads to a situation in which financial resources often flow only in response to good behaviour on the part of the mayor and are viewed by the latter as his own resources. In the course of the democratisation that has been under way since the mid-1980s, there have been a number of efforts to get citizens more involved in local government. In some municipalities, participative budgeting processes are being tested, but in many places the municipal authority is not



equal to the new requirements resulting from factors such as the Internet (public oversight) and internationalisation.

In Brazil, the KAS wants to encourage processes of further decentralisation, boost political participation and promote the implementation of the basic principles of a social market economy at the local level (subsidiarity, solidarity).

It has therefore been organising seminars, courses and conferences on issues of local politics for many years. In the late 1990s these were consolidated into their own programme, and in 2002 the partner institute Oficina Municipal (OM, or "municipal workshop" in English) was formed. Issues of political reform in Brazil formed the starting point at that time, and these issues are still an important focus area today. The daily educational work is dominated by practical aspects of the local political agenda, from budgets to the promotion of economic development and social policy. Within the framework of an innovative effort developed for Brazil, the OM deals with special-purpose municipal associations in the interest of finding solutions to many urgent challenges. As a primary focus, the Oficina Municipal offers a fixed programme of courses on political participation and local governance. The emphasis is on basic and advanced training for mayors, civil servants at the municipal level, members of municipal councils and administrative workers in local government. In course programmes lasting several weeks, successful practitioners and academic experts share their experiences with the participants at the OM premises in São Paulo. In recent years the OM has also increasingly offered educational courses locally, in the municipalities themselves. This has generally been in the form of workshops that are very intensive and reach the target group more directly; they are literally closer to the daily challenges.

In another project area, the OM offers seminars for political education of a fundamental kind in order to promote political participation in the municipalities and encourage the general political debate about issues of

decentralisation (e.g., in the state parliament of São Paulo). Important topics here include participative elements at the municipal level (especially budget preparation), public oversight of local government, and independent citizens' initiatives. The partners that work with the OM include the municipalities themselves (primarily in the state of São Paulo), the municipal associations in the states of São Paulo, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, and the national association of local governments of Brazil. There is also cooperation with the national association of mayors and the association of town councils in the state of São Paulo. The OM now has a staff of 80 instructors from all fields. This staff draws to a large extent from the network of mayors that has developed over the years.

The regional focus of activities lies in the state of São Paulo. And with its 40 million residents (almost as many as Spain), a land area of 248,000 km² (larger than Great Britain) and 645 municipalities, this region presents enough work all by itself. In conjunction with the KAS office in Fortaleza, the know-how of the OM has been used to provide training courses for KAS partners in the northeast of Brazil. An Internet platform is also increasingly helping to establish broader communication with stakeholders in other parts of the country (www.oficinamunicipal.org.br).

Experience has shown that working with local political decision-makers in a country like Brazil is indispensable for the KAS' achievement of its objectives (democracy, the rule of law, a social market economy). The former governor Franco Montoro, who was for many years a guide and patron of the KAS in Brazil, long ago remarked that Brazilians live their lives not in the

federation or the state but instead in the local community. Given the size and structure of the country, this statement acquires particular importance with regard to the effort to firmly establish democratic processes and convictions. In that sense, using the OM to offer training not just for decision-makers but also for people interested in politics in general has proved to be very successful, even though only a small portion of the Brazilian municipalities can be reached with this programme. At the same time, personal exchanges with Germany play a central role, and their importance for the success of the work should not be underestimated. For the KAS, the network of current and, above all, future political decision-makers is of the greatest importance. Many current ministers and governors have taken part in the programmes of the KAS and the OM and are open to further cooperation.

The OM's success is demonstrated by the award it received from the Ashoka Network for Social Entrepreneurship and by its inclusion in this network. As an award, the OM received guidance and support from the McKinsey management consulting firm. This shows the huge impact of the programmes offered by the OM in Brazil, which ultimately was – and is – only possible through the financial support of the KAS. In recent years, it has increasingly been possible for the OM to obtain its own revenues, which likewise demonstrates the value of the services offered to Brazilian stakeholders at the local level. Ultimately, however, offerings of this sort that are intended to serve the public good cannot support themselves. In the medium term, therefore, the success of the OM should be gauged by its ability to obtain Brazilian financing, because a realisation of the need for political education at the level of local government has become so widespread that decision-makers are willing to grant it the appropriate status in their public budgets.

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Representative of the KAS in Brazil*

At the invitation of the KAS, twelve mayors from Brazil visited Germany in March 2010 to learn about German experiences in local politics. The programme focused on talks with experienced German counterparts about subjects such as the promotion of economic development, environmental protection, efficient government and cooperation among municipalities.



ARGENTINA

The Republic of Argentina, the second-largest country in South America, has a total area of 2.8 million square kilometres. The nation is divided into 23 provinces and the autonomous city of Buenos Aires. These entities have their own constitutions and parliaments, which makes them in effect the member states of a union. Argentina currently has 2,171 municipalities (municipios) whose status varies significantly in line with the legislation governing municipalities in the individual provinces. Argentina's pronounced federal structure serves to conceal the uneven distribution of power and influence among the provinces. For one thing, the economic and demographic dominance of the Buenos Aires behemoth continues to prevent the formation of a balanced federal structure on the horizontal level. Secondly, and more importantly, the current financial federalist structure has created a vertical relationship between the Argentine federal government and the provinces, in which the provinces are considerably dependent on the federal government. This situation is mirrored on the provincial level, because in many cases the municipalities lack the funds and administrative capability they need in order to deal with the tasks and issues they face. Also of great significance for the Argentine political system is the fact that the country's national leaders, all the way up to the president, are generally recruited from the ranks of the provincial governments. As a result, the established governing styles (including negative practices such as paternalism and machine politics) are transferred to the federal level.

The KAS has always viewed assistance to Argentina's municipalities and regions as a starting point for the promotion of sustainable democratic development in the country. The foundation has been cooperating for decades with the Instituto de Ciencias de la Administración (ICDA) at the Catholic University of Córdoba to offer educational programmes for high-level administrators and political office holders at the municipal and regional levels. These range from short seminar series to two-year courses of study leading to a master's degree and one-year postgraduate programmes. In 2010, the Catholic University of Córdoba will underscore the importance of these programmes, which teach both democratic values and practical administrative skills, by establishing a Cátedra Doctor Konrad Adenauer chair that will focus on spreading knowledge of the principle of subsidiarity within the



The Senate is the federal body par excellence in Argentina. Its composition of three senators per province is designed to ensure the equal representation of Argentina's member states.

university and the communities the university associates with.

The recently presented external evaluation of the Argentina project has confirmed that the KAS' involvement in continuing education in Argentina is still urgently needed because of a lack of effort and proper skills among Argentine authorities. The evaluation also found that this involvement serves as a foundation for improving the self-governance capability of the municipalities. Cooperation with the ICDA has long since moved beyond administrative training, as the KAS now also offers specific consulting services. The Punilla region (Córdoba Province), for example, is receiving sound advice on its plan to establish administrative structures that are similar to those in German districts and which have never before existed in this form in Argentina.

The foundation's regional and municipal work in Punilla, and in all the other areas where the KAS is active, focuses on the development of, and support for, model projects that demonstrate the practical feasibility and effectiveness of decentralised and cooperative administrative structures. This overriding objective was also the subject of a study recently presented by the KAS partner Centro de Investigaciones Municipales Aplicadas (CIMA). The study examines the decentralisation efforts currently under way in Buenos Aires in the aftermath of a new municipal organisational law (Ley orgánica de Comunas de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires) and develops proposals for overcoming initial difficulties in the transitional process.

Greater Buenos Aires, which stretches out far beyond its political boundaries into the Province of Buenos Aires, has dedicated itself to a project scheduled to last for several years that the KAS initiated in 2008 together with the Centro de Implementación de Políticas Públicas para la Equidad y el Crecimiento (CIPPEC). This conurbation has a population of approximately 13 million, or roughly 33 per cent of the



The conurbation "Gran Buenos Aires" is marked by an extreme fragmentation of political and administrative responsibilities.

total population of Argentina. Nevertheless, there are virtually no common development strategies or administrative structures in place there. Instead, administrative tasks are not only divided among city and provincial authorities but also shared with the Argentine federal government, which administered the capital up until the introduction of the Ciudad Autónoma law in 1994, and

which continues to exercise administrative authority over key infrastructure sectors such as transport and public services (e.g. water/wastewater and electricity). The result of this situation is a low level of administrative quality in key areas that affect the population. In particular, the approximately five million people who live in poverty in the outlying districts have virtually no access to public services today, and the situation is deteriorating.

The complex problems of greater Buenos Aires obviously require shared approaches to solutions, but this realisation has yet to lead to the proper reforms. The goal of the project with CIPPEC is therefore to move in the direction of such reforms and to develop firm proposals for establishing a true metropolitan region in greater Buenos Aires. Dialogue roundtables conducted in 2008 brought experts in various areas (transport, health care, poverty, environmental protection etc.) together with the city, regional and national officials and politicians who were responsible for these issues. These discussions produced concepts for improving municipal and federal services, for example through more intensive administrative cooperation and the standardisation of legal frameworks. The results of the dialogue forums are now being summarised and refined in a book project that also discusses various possible political-institutional structures of a future metropolitan region. The book is scheduled to be published this year.

A three-year empirical study being carried out by KAS partner Poder Ciudadano takes a completely different approach. Working on the assumption that the state of Argentine democracy can not be determined solely through observation of the Argentine National Congress and the Casa Rosada, and that the various levels of the national government strongly influence one another, a team of scholars is studying the state of development of democratic institutions in 12 provinces. The result will be an overall picture of the situation in the form of a map of democratic governance (Mapa sobre el Régimen Político Democrático en las Provincias Argentinas). Up until now, the development of democracy in Argentina has only been empirically assessed at the national level, which means that these scholars were moving into new territory. Their first task was therefore to utilise an expanded team of experts to develop a methodology for a comparative study. The key criteria they defined included the transfer of political power, free and fair elections, the existence of patronage and machine politics, freedom of opinion and the press, and the significance of civil society. The collection of data began in 2008. Politicians, journalists and scholars in each province were surveyed using a standardised questionnaire, scientific studies of the provinces were carried out, and newspapers and regional legislative frameworks were evaluated. The analysis of the data thus collected provides information on the quality of democratic governance in each province, helps to identify models of best practice, and will support the development of ways to strengthen democracy in the provinces. The presentation of the finished study and the initial public discussion of it took place at the end of 2010.

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POLÍTICAS MUNICIPALES para el desarrollo local y regional

Políticas Municipales para el desarrollo local y regional

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung & Universidad Católica de Córdoba 2007

This is the first publication produced through cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's partner institutions in the area of local and regional policy in Argentina.

PERU

Peru lacks the cultural prerequisites for local self-governance and federal structures. The basic foundation of these two elements of modern political order first need to be taught. Whereas Central Europe saw the establishment of cities that exercised the preliminary forms of local self-governance and whose citizens were well aware of the concept of citizenship, in South America centralised systems of government established themselves with increasing strength. The Inca Empire in particular used its superiority in terms of organisation and communication (road building) to promote a strong central government; in other words, it was not the Spanish conquest that instituted centralised government in Peru. The Inca Empire was centrally led and hierarchically organised. This centralism had totalitarian characteristics, because the aggressively expansive Inca doctrine did not permit any religious or cultural diversity. Instead, it systematically imposed its own culture exclusively. The Spanish conquest was successful only because the Spaniards exploited the dissatisfaction of oppressed cultures and formed alliances with them against the centralism of the Inca Empire. The Europeans subsequently imported the Spanish version of centralism. Over the centuries, the Catholic Church was forced to at least tolerate the connections between its religion and the aboriginal religions so that it would not lose too much influence. For this reason, Spanish centralism was not able to establish itself as thoroughly as Inca centralism.

In 1821 Peru achieved independence from the Spanish crown and constituted itself as a republic; in 1825 this was followed by separation from Bolivia (Alto Perú). The constitutions of France and the USA had an especially great influence on the new political order in Peru, which was characterised by a strongly centralist presidential system. From the very beginning of its independence, Peru suffered from the confrontation between the capital city and the provinces, where regional power groups tried to promote their own interests under the guise of demanding decentralisation.

The new constitution of 1979 basically strengthened the regions. However, the practical transfer of rights to the regions is a process that has lasted for many years. One indication of the various municipal and regional political institutions' lack of political legitimisation and independence is the fact that direct elections for the locally elected offices were not introduced until 1980.

Local self-governance suffered serious setbacks during the Fujimori presidency. The existing municipal associa-

tions were dissolved or limited in terms of their functions and finances. The decentralisation process was slowed down through legal regulations, and in addition the central government demonstrated its ability to act and to achieve its goals, especially when it came to combating terrorists (Sendero Luminoso/Shining Path) and improving infrastructure.

During this period the cooperation between the KAS partner INICAM (Instituto de Investigación y Capacitación Municipal) and the association of mayors (AMPE), which had been successful up to that time, came to a standstill. INICAM was founded 26 years ago as an independent institute within the umbrella organisation for education and development (PROMCAD). Other active members of PROMCAD included entrepreneurs, which meant that from the very beginning the work of this umbrella organisation and of INICAM had a solid foundation and was aimed at overall social development. Under the Fujimori administration, the topic of decentralisation could be dealt with only to a limited extent by the KAS and its partners.

The promotion of decentralisation in Peru is hampered by the lack of a political culture regarding local self-governance and federal structures, but this is not the only obstacle. In addition, local governments often acquire a bad reputation because of corruption and nepotism or party favouritism. In any case, pointing to corruption at the local level has distracted attention from corruption at the next-highest level in the past, and this is still happening today.

Migration to the coastal areas because of terrorism and poverty is strengthening the economic dominance of these regions. Although this migration from the inland regions to the coast has resulted in the approximate doubling of the population in the past 20 years, the regions' emotional rejection of the capital city in particular is increasing. As a result, in the last local and regional elections (in 2005), the voters primarily elected new movements and parties that emphasised local or regional issues. In only two of the 24 regions is the regional government headed by a governor from one of the traditional popular parties (APRA); the other traditional party, the PPC (Partido Popular Cristiano), is no longer represented in the regional presidencies.

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF DECENTRALISATION

So far, the regions do not have enough well-trained staff members, suffer from the lack of clearly defined areas of responsibility, and in many cases are only organs for implementing decisions made by the national government. This situation is closely related to the fact that direct taxation by the regional and local levels is only possible to a very small extent. Major companies are taxed in the

places where they have their legal headquarters (primarily Lima), rather than the places where they originated or where they manufacture their products.

For its part, the decentralisation authority (Secretaría de Descentralización en la Presidencia de Consejo de Ministros – PCM) complains that it does not have any reliable contact partners at the level of the associations because the cities and the municipalities are organised in two competing mayors' associations. This rivalry is cleverly exploited by the central government. In addition, almost all of the municipalities are trying to gain advantages through direct negotiations with the central government or by receiving funding from it.

The administrative weakness of the municipalities and regions can be seen in the fact that they are not spending available investment funds; these funds are not (or cannot be) claimed because there are no well-qualified projects or because the requirements made by the donors are too high. This situation is aggravated by the fact that governmental modernisation is not keeping pace with the possible implementation of potential investments; new processes are being implemented with old structures and systems.

A further peculiarity of the situation in Peru is the constitutional guarantee of self-determination for the indigenous people. Conflicts arise, and in some cases lead to violence, because the indigenous and the constitutional legal systems have contradictory concepts regarding land ownership and property issues, and because the simple judicial system of the indigenous people does not include any court of appeals. Today's explosive political conflicts can be seen in the large number of business-oriented encroachments on the natural environment; they also arise from the contradictory concepts of the right to exploit mineral resources.

COOPERATION PARTNERS AND GOALS OF THE KAS

In spite of the difficult conditions prevailing during the Fujimori presidency, the KAS and INICAM are continuing their partnership to promote decentralisation. The shared focus of the two organisations has been, and continues to be, on subsidiarity and federalism. This cooperation has been expanded through the addition of a European dimension, and as a result INICAM is now also receiving project support from the EU.

The Indio market of Chinchero near Cuzco, Peru



In addition to its headquarters in Lima, INICAM has an office for the northern region of Peru. The latter is located in the province of Lambayeque and is advised by a former country official of the KAS. INICAM provides local and regional FM radio stations with theme sequences and reports free of charge. Through this media work, INICAM is expanding its capacity as a source of information beyond its educational work. The basic and advanced training of local government workers and politicians as well as individuals who are interested in political issues is basically provided locally within the regions and municipalities. The training courses deal with the foundations of local self-governance and decentralisation, theoretical issues (questions of revenue sharing between municipalities and between regions), and current specialised issues (e.g. the development of municipal financing in election years). In addition, INICAM provides courses that qualify interested private individuals for participation within the *Presupuesto Participativo*. The KAS and INICAM have agreed that INICAM will strengthen its political information activities and its lobbying on behalf of local self-governance and decentralisation in the political sphere (Congress, the national government and the political parties) and the public sphere. In particular, it will intensify its cooperation with the mayors' association AMPE. This can be a good complement to the work done by the GIZ in cooperation with the Council of Regional Presidents in this field.

Together with its partner institute INICAM and the youth organisation "D-cada ciudadano", the KAS has successfully organised the program "Fit for community involvement". As part of the program, basic and theme-oriented courses have offered information and training concerning regulatory policy at the municipal level and the possibilities for participation in local governance in Peru. Every year, the regional groups of the youth organisation independently define the tasks they intend to accomplish in the municipalities that year. In many cases, these activities extend far beyond youth issues. For example, they may include environmental projects and assistance to people living in remote parts of the country. The regional groups also apply for local funding within the framework of the *Presupuesto Participativo*. The activities aim to promote the concept of the common good and to strengthen involvement in civil society at the grassroots level.

OUTLOOK

The local and regional elections of 3rd October 2010 have confirmed the existence of a development that has already been observed for a long time in Peru. The traditional political parties are barely able to remain in power on their own. They depend on their alliances with local and regional political movements and on support

from individual citizens. In Lima, the PPC failed to appoint the mayor by a margin of only 0.8 percent, even though it won a majority in 15 districts. This happened even though the PPC was by far the strongest traditional party, because the APRA had disintegrated at the local level after being weakened by internal disagreements. However, the election results in the regions underline the danger of the traditional parties "withdrawing from politics" in large parts of the country. Only in one region (La Libertad/Trujillo), where the once-proud APRA was founded, was this party able to appoint a regional president. In the runoff elections for the regional presidents on 5th December, the traditional parties were not able to get any of their candidates elected. In the presidential and congressional elections in April 2011, only the APRA will run independently. All of the other parties and political movements are looking for allies. For example, the PPC has become the junior partner in an alliance of five parties and hopes to succeed in cooperation with the "non-traditional" Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (Minister of Economics in the cabinet of President Toledo). The PPC does not expect to have any success on its own, even in terms of achieving a strong congressional caucus.

INICAM developed criteria for local self-governance for the two election years (2010 and 2011) and invited candidates and parties to join in an internal dialogue for specialists as well as a public dialogue. With every change of political mandates, Peru experiences an extensive changeover in public administrative bodies – not only with regard to the leading officials – as a matter of course. INICAM has documented studies, training courses and advisory functions that it has developed in cooperation with local authorities and regions, in order to enable the new administrative bodies to preserve a certain amount of continuity in local development. In addition to taking advantage of the existing opportunities, the aim is to enhance the quality of regionalisation by ensuring a genuine transfer of responsibility combined with the corresponding provision of independent financial means. This initiative is being implemented under difficult conditions, because the government led by the APRA used the budget consultations in 2010 to reduce funding for the municipalities because the municipalities had not fully exploited their opportunities to improve the infrastructure. The municipalities' share of potential for improving infrastructure was reduced, whereas the potential of the central government was increased. "Shame on him who thinks ill of it" is said of anyone who suspects that this is an election manoeuvre on the part of the governing party so that it may support its candidates and score direct successes in the upcoming local elections.

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