

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN

CAMEROON



1 INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Cameroon occupies a strategic geographical position in West and Central Africa, bordered by Nigeria to the west, Chad to the north-east, the Central African Republic to the east, and Gabon, the Republic of the Congo and Equatorial Guinea to the south. It has an estimated population of 18,060,382,¹ with a total land surface of 475,442 sq km.

The Republic of Cameroon is a unitary state and has been so since the end of the federal arrangement, by referendum in 1972, between the former French-administered territory of Cameroon and the former British-administered Southern Cameroons.

The National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale) is the national parliament and

legislation-making body defined under the 1996 Constitution. Elected every five years on a direct universal suffrage basis, it is made up of 180 members of parliament. The assembly sits three times a year, for a maximum period of 30 days per sitting.

An upper chamber, the Senate, is provided for in the 1996 Constitution (Article 20) comprising 10 senators from each region, making 100 in all. In each region seven are to be elected by indirect universal suffrage, and three appointed by the president, all for a five-year term.

The head of state is the president. The seat of national government and state institutions is in Yaoundé, while the seaport and largest city, Douala, is the economic capital. Yaoundé and Douala together account for approximately

3.5 million people. Official languages of government and administration are French and English; the country is officially bilingual. Up to 200 other languages are spoken regionally, spread among approximately 230 ethnic groups.

Cameroon is divided into 10 administrative areas called provinces. Provinces are in turn divided into divisions (departments), which also have sub-units of sub-divisions (arrondissements) and districts. To these basic administrative units (sub-divisions and districts) correspond local government councils. Cameroon currently has a total of 362 councils of all types, including the two city councils (communautés urbaines) of the two main cities Douala and Yaoundé.

Local government contributes around 10% to GDP.

2 POLITICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CAMEROON

Cameroon was a single-party political system under the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) (Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais – RDPC) until December 1990, when multi-party politics was reinstated amid considerable popular unrest.² However, this has since abated, although the formal party political atmosphere remains characterised by some elite-level fission.

The most recent elections for the national parliament were in July and September 2007 resulting in victory for the Cameroon People's Democratic Union (RPDC).

2.1. Position of local government in Cameroon

There have been two rounds of council elections in the multi-party era.

The January 1996 elections saw an official turnout of 66.8% and were contested by nearly 40 political parties. A handful of them, including the CPDM, the Social Democratic Front (SDF) and the National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP), dominated the poll, with the CPDM dominant in the South, East, Centre and Far North provinces, the SDF in the North-West, South-West and Western provinces and around Douala, and the NUDP having a significant following in various centres of the North and

Adamawa provinces. The main opposition parties did well in urban centres. These elections had a number of problems: most participants complained, rightly or wrongly, of a variety of procedural abuses ranging from simple disorganisation to widespread fraud and intimidation of candidates and voters. The electoral roll totalled just over 4.1 million people, surprisingly low compared to Cameroon's population.³

The most recent municipal elections were held in 2002 against a background of growing popular disillusion with electoral politics. Official turnout was 64%. Partly because they were held at the same time as national elections, these elections had even more problems than those in 1996. These included the faulty or late distribution of voting cards and the lack of electoral materials in polling stations. Moreover, the role of the regulatory authority, the National Elections Observatory (NEO), was sharply criticised, with opposition representatives claiming that it was subservient to the Ministry of Territorial Administration. Although the geo-political picture remained broadly similar, the CPDM consolidated its position in several regions, while the SDF and especially the NUDP suffered reversals in several of their strongholds in favour of the CPDM.

Overall, the CPDM controls nearly 85% of councils, the SDF slightly more than 10%, and four other parties have isolated local footholds.

The ministry responsible for local government is the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation (Ministère de l'Administration Territoriale et de la Décentralisation, MINATD) as per Decree No. 2004/320 of 8 December 2004 dealing with governmental reorganisation. The ministry has full responsibility for relations between central and local government, including the power to suspend local authorities in the case of breakdown in social order or serious malpractice as defined under the constitution and the accompanying legislation on decentralisation. It is also the ministry responsible, among others, for the organisation of elections and referendums and for the maintenance of law and order.

3 LEGAL BASIS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

3.1 Constitutional provisions

Local government was defined in the Constitution of 1972. When the decision was made in the early 1990s to move towards a decentralised system of local government, working parties coordinated by MINATD came up with draft proposals for the National

Assembly. The Constitution of 1996 provided for decentralised local government and the three related bills were introduced in 2004.

3.2 Main legislative texts

The legal framework established in 1974 was the main law on local government until the new legislation passed in 2004. In the interim, a number of amendments and changes were made to the original legislation.

Following the provisions of the 1996 Constitution, legislation on decentralisation was adopted by the National Assembly and signed on 22 July 2004. The three laws are to be fully implemented between now and 2007, when the next council elections are scheduled. However, due to a plethora of administrative, bureaucratic, practical and financial considerations, this process will evolve in a variable manner from council to council.

The main pieces of legislation on local government are:

- Law No. 2004/017 of 22 July 2004 on decentralisation
- Law No. 2004/018 of 22 July 2004 on councils
- Law No. 2004/019 of 22 July 2004 on regions.

These three instruments are the three main laws defining decentralisation at local and regional levels in Cameroon. They replace the previous main legislation on local government and decentralisation. Other decrees and laws relating to local government include:

- Law No. 1987/015 of 15 July 1987: sets up city councils

- Decree 1987/1365: sets up city council of Yaoundé
- Decree 1987/1366: sets up city council of Douala
- Law No. 1992/002 of 14 August 1992: conduct of local elections
- Decree 1993/321 of 25 November 1993: sets up urban and rural councils
- Decree 1995/80 of 12 September 1995: number of councillors to be elected per council
- Law No. 1996/06 1996: establishes current system for local elections, and framework for regional decentralisation.

4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

4.1 Main divisions

There are five types of local authorities or councils. They are:

- Rural (306)
- Urban (11)
- Special status urban councils (9)
- City councils (2): Yaoundé and Douala
- Sub-divisional urban councils (11), sub-units of Yaoundé and Douala. Yaoundé has six, and Douala has five.

4.2 Special status urban councils

Special status urban councils are certain towns, generally of relatively large size, where, due to local political complexities or strategic administrative considerations, executive power is vested in a government delegate appointed by the president. The government delegate works with the council chairperson, elected by their peers.

Ordinary councils can be converted to special status by presidential decree. The

Table 1. Local government distribution by province

Province	Division	Urban councils	Rural councils	Total councils
Adamawa	5	1	16	17
Centre	10	10 ^a	59	69
East	4	1	31	32
Far North	6	1 ^b	44	45
Littoral	4	8 ^c	24	32
North	4	1 ^b	18	19
North-West	7	2	30	32
West	8	4 ^d	37	41
South	4	3 ^d	22	25
South-West	6	2 ^b	25	27
Total	58	33	306	338

- Six of these are sub-divisional urban councils making up Yaoundé City Council. For administrative purposes Yaoundé is counted as a council.
- Special status.
- Five are sub-divisional urban councils making up Douala City Council.
- One special status.

Table 2. Population distribution by council type 2004/5

Province	Urban population	% urban	Rural population	% rural	Average population of rural council
Adamawa	100,000	17.0	488,272	83.0	30,517
Centre	1,629,493	56.0	1,282,378	44.0	21,735
East	55,036	9.0	556,281	91.0	17,945
Far North	123,296	5.6	2,080,859	94.4	47,292
Littoral	2,075,269	78.9	554,212	21.1	23,092
North	221,980	21.3	819,726	78.7	45,540
North-West	261,572	17.7	1,212,277	83.3	40,409
West	252,194	16.5	1,272,784	83.5	34,400
South	88,261	18.8	381,671	81.2	17,349
South-West	267,396	25.5	779,639	74.5	31,185
Total	5,074,497	26.6	9,488,099	73.4	30,946

existing special status urban councils are largely administered in this way because of their particular ethno-political sensitivities, especially where a dominant ethnic group is politically pitted against a smaller, substantial minority from another ethnic background. The appointment of a government delegate is meant to avoid the potentially destructive dictatorship of the majority group that such a situation could produce, by ensuring that an independent appointee guarantees the civic rights of all. This is a particular consideration in urban communities divided between minority original inhabitants and majority non-natives or strangers. Nkongsamba (Littoral province) and Limbe (South-West province) are good examples of such a situation. Other potential flashpoints with a possible case for special status include Bafoussam in West province. Other reasons for special status include particular difficulties in the delivery of basic services, such as water.

Due to their size and strategic importance, the city councils of Douala and Yaoundé are also headed by government delegates.

The new decentralisation legislation abolishes special status urban councils and the legal distinction between rural and urban councils.

4.3 Distribution of local governments and population

The size of councils, in terms of both population and geography, varies widely. The country's largest rural council, Mokolo in Far North province, had 204,194 inhabitants in 2002; the smallest, Biyouha in the Central province, had 1,500.

Overall population levels vary greatly between provinces as does average population by council. The densely populated Far North province has the largest average rural council population of 47,300, whereas in the thinly populated South and East provinces, it is respectively 17,349 and 17,945. Four of the country's 306 rural councils have more than 100,000 inhabitants; 40 have fewer than 10,000.

Nationally, urban councils, including the two city councils, account for 26.6% of the population. Seven of the country's 31 urban councils, not counting Douala and Yaoundé, have more than 100,000 inhabitants. The smallest, Dschang in West province, has only 23,000 inhabitants.

In Douala and Yaoundé, the sub-divisional urban councils are densely populated. Douala's five sub-divisional urban councils have an average 372,000 inhabitants while

Yaoundé's six average 250,000. Substantial immigration to both cities has boosted these averages in the past two decades.

5 DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

5.1 Councils

The 2004 legislation leaves the structure of councils relatively unchanged. Councillors are elected by universal suffrage with elections taking place according to a mixed list system.

The leader of the council is a mayor who is elected by and from amongst the councillors. The mayor has a number of deputies, the number of which varies according to the population of the commune, regardless of council type, as follows:

- Less than 50,000 people 25 councillors
- 50,000–100,000 31 councillors
- 100,001–200,000 35 councillors
- 200,001–300,000 41 councillors
- More than 300,000 61 councillors.

Under the 2004 legislation, the council can appoint commissions to work and report upon any relevant issue. Membership of the commission can include people who are not elected councillors. Commissions must be convened during the first year of a council's mandate. Typically, such commissions would include planning, public works, education, markets and other facilities, and health.

The majority of councillors and, especially, mayors and executive officers are male. Less than 2% of councillors nationwide are women, approximately 149 out of almost 10,000 councillors. There is only one woman mayor among the councils in Adamawa, Far North, North-West and West provinces. East, Littoral and South-West also have one each, South province has three women mayors and Centre province four, two of whom head two sub-divisional urban councils in Yaoundé.

5.2 Local government staffing

The secretary-general and other administrative and technical officials of councils are currently appointed by MINATD, either from among the local staff of the councils or transferred from relevant ministries in consultation with the relevant central authorities.

The head of a council's administration is the secretary-general.

The main training establishment for locally and centrally appointed local government officials and others is the Local Government Training Centre (Centre de Formation pour l'Administration Municipale – CEFAM), based in Buéa in South-West province. CEFAM is subordinate to the MINATD and gives training

Table 3. Largest and smallest authorities by province

Province	Largest local authority		Smallest local authority	
	Council	Population	Council	Population
Adamawa	Ngaoundéré (urban)	100,000	Mayo-Baleo (rural)	6,256
Centre	Yaoundé (urban)	1,500,000	Biyouha (rural)	1,500
East	Yokadouma (rural)	55,425	Ngoyla (rural)	3,820
Far North	Mokolo (rural)	204,194	Waza (rural)	8,749
Littoral	Douala (urban)	1,859,660	Yingui (rural)	4,117
North	Garoua (urban)	221,980	Garoua (rural)	8,182
North-West	Bamenda (urban)	182,385	Furu-Awa (rural)	6,723
West	Bafoussam (urban)	123,512	Batié (rural)	6,801
South	Ebolowa (rural)	47,933	Mintom (rural)	5,570
South-West	Kumba (urban)	202,518	Idabato (rural)	3,250

to both current council personnel and new recruits, on two course cycles.

There is so far no statutory instrument regulating the individual status and career structure of local government personnel. This often leads to a serious lack of local competence on the administrative side even in large urban councils. According to the July 2004 legislation, the issue is subject to a presidential decree.

5.3 Consultation and participation

The legislation does not clearly define citizen participation. However, any citizen may suggest policy alterations or improvements to local or regional authorities. Any inhabitant of a given council may, at their own cost, request copies of minutes, discussion notes, budgetary documentation and accounts of the said council.

There is no legal provision for formal interaction with sectional associations such as occupational, residential/neighbourhood, women’s or youth groups. Historically, such channels of communication have tended to function via either political parties or, where more appropriate, traditional rulers.

5.4 Independent scrutiny

The NEO, a national body whose members are appointed by presidential decree after consultations with political parties and civil society, supervises the election process.

The NEO has regional and council representatives. No elected official, political party member, traditional ruler or member of the forces of law and order is eligible for appointment as member.

At council level the preparation and conduct of elections is overseen by council supervisory commissions.

A National Council for Decentralisation (Conseil National de la Décentralisation) and an Interministerial Committee for Local Services (Comité Interministériel des Services Locaux) were set up following the 2004 legislation.

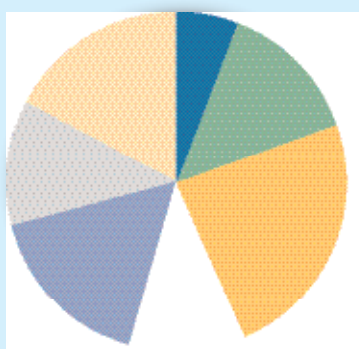
Legislation passed in 2003 provides for an Audit Bench (Chambre des Comptes) under the Supreme Court, to enforce proper standards in the collection and use of council taxes and accounting procedures. Decree 2004/099 provides for a Control Brigade to control and assess the functioning and management of local and regional authorities.

There is no ombudsman at local or national level.

6 DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICE DELIVERY COMPETENCE

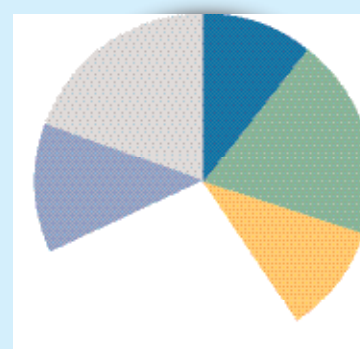
All rural and urban councils have similar responsibilities and powers for service delivery. The sub-divisional urban councils of Douala

Figure 1. Kumbo Urban Council revenue 2003



- Recurrent revenue
- Fiscal revenue
- CAC
- Indirect council tax
- Loans
- Reserves
- Other

Figure 2. Kumbo Urban Council estimate of expenditure 2003



- Recurrent expenditure
- Staff costs
- Sundries and losses
- Fixed assets
- Equipment
- Other

and Yaoundé have a modified set of powers. Under the 2004 legislation, some services have been transferred from the state to local authorities, which are now responsible for:

- Utilities including water, sewage and waste disposal
- Town planning and urban development
- Municipal roads and public transport
- Registration of births, marriages and deaths
- Community health and safety
- Social services
- Primary education and literacy
- Sport, culture and leisure.

In practice, it is likely that smaller and more rural councils will have difficulty in fulfilling their new range of statutory duties without a radical increase in their funding, although the new legislation specifies that where services have been transferred, any relevant infrastructure and other resources should also be transferred. However, some experts have noted that the first and most crucial problem is chronic budgetary shortfall and dilapidated infrastructure that necessitates major capital expenditure, a situation that is difficult for often poorly staffed local authorities.⁴ The problem has not been fully addressed in the decentralisation legislation so far passed.

7 FINANCE

7.1 Revenue

Local councils can raise the following types of taxes and charges:

- Business levy – an annual license payment, calculated on a sliding scale according to the nature and size of an individual’s

economic activity, with a maximum assessment of CFAf 100,000⁵

- Licences, including market trading licences, ground rents on shops and public transport licences
- Cattle tax
- Direct council taxes.

Local authorities also receive block grant revenue from central government through MINATD via the special council support funds for mutual assistance. These grants are weighted according to a council’s population, surface area and other needs. The lack of accurate, up-to-date population figures thus poses a serious problem for council finances with approaching decentralisation.⁶

Aggregate information is not available. As an example, revenue for Kumbo Urban Council in 2003 was CFAf 254m (US\$442,000). The two main sources were local revenues and the additional council tax (centimes additionnels communaux – CAC).

1. Recurrent revenue	6 %
2. Fiscal revenue	14 %
3. CAC	24 %
4. Indirect council tax	11 %
5. Loans	17 %
6. Reserves	12 %
7. Other	16 %.

7.2 Revenue-sharing

The key mechanism for generating and allocating revenue among local authorities is the Special Council Support Fund for Mutual Assistance (Fonds Spécial d’Equipement et d’Intervention Intercommunale – FEICOM)

based in Yaoundé with 10 regional branches.

FEICOM gives grants to local authorities, authorises loans for revenue and capital spending, and stands as third-party guarantor under certain circumstances. FEICOM's priorities, in line with other similar organisations in Africa, centre on capital projects of social value, including schools, utilities, health and transport infrastructure. Loans are extended for a maximum two years. The proportion of loans to grants depends upon the type of project being covered. Top priorities for FEICOM's own resources include utilities and urban development. Funding is also available for the training of council staff.

FEICOM also provides councils with non-financial support, including expert technical assistance, project evaluation, and other facilities. This is a vital role, given the lack of technical competence in most communal structures.

FEICOM's key revenue role is the centralised collection and redistribution of the additional council tax (CAC). This is a 10% levy on certain categories of national taxation specifically destined for council finance. Taxes that this levy is applied to include general income tax, business tax, entertainment tax, and value-added tax.

CAC revenue is collected and allocated according to the 1998 Decree and joint order No. 349 of 2001 signed by MINATD and the Minister of the Economy and Finance:

- 10% goes to the state to cover administration costs
- 20% to FEICOM
- 70% to councils – 20% of this goes to Douala; 40% to Yaoundé and 36% to other councils; the other 4% is retained in FEICOM's main holding account. Of this balance held by FEICOM, 3% is allocated to councils generating revenue that is paid beyond their borders and 5% is used for infrastructure in border councils or for councils affected by natural disaster.

FEICOM is trying to encourage an improvement in the quality of financial management at council level. In particular, the municipal elections of 2002 saw the arrival in office of several mayors who refused to acknowledge loan obligations contracted with FEICOM by their predecessors.⁷

Non-performing loans compelled FEICOM to effect a CFAf 10bn writedown in 2001.

40% of forestry royalties are also redistributed to councils on a per capita basis.

The fragmented nature of revenue

appropriation and the widely varying circumstances of individual communes has led to considerable inequalities in resources.

7.3 Expenditure

Comprehensive expenditure figures for councils are not available. Anecdotal evidence is that most rural councils spend only upon the most vital core functions, such as staff costs, road maintenance, pharmacy, healthcare and education. More complex urban councils are committed to a wider range of services.

For example, expenditure in 2003 for Kumbo Urban Council was around CFAf 284m (US\$495,000). The main items were:

1. Recurrent expenditure	11%
2. Staff costs	20%
3. Sundries and losses	20%
4. Fixed assets	28%
5. Equipment	12%
6. Other	19%

Local authorities may not set deficit budgets.

8 ORGANISATIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Following the 1996 municipal elections, the government mandated FEICOM to set up an association of the country's mayors, in order to enable them to arrive at some common views on relevant issues, and the Association of Councils and Cities of Cameroon (Association des Communes et Villes de Cameroun) was founded. It soon encountered a number of problems. The CPDM mayors, who were in the majority, dominated the executive board and mayors from opposition parties, led by the largely anglophone SDF, left to form a rival association, the Union of Cities and Councils of Cameroon. In 2003 the two associations were replaced by the United Councils and Cities of Cameroon (Communes et Villes Unies du Cameroun – CVUC).

The Public Body for International Cooperation (Organisme Public de Coopération Internationale) has also been set up to coordinate councils at divisional level and build links with local authorities overseas. Councils are permitted and increasingly encouraged to seek decentralised cooperation ties with local governments abroad, especially in Europe.

9 INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

The aim of the 2004 decentralisation legislation is to move away from the historical subordination of councils to a centralised hierarchical national bureaucracy. Under the

1974 legislation, all decisions taken at council level had to be approved at provincial governor level. Moreover, only central authority could remove a delinquent mayor or appoint the secretary-general. Budgets adopted by councils could take up to three months to be approved by the central authority. Associations or unions of neighbouring councils formed, for example, to maintain roads across council boundaries had to be formally created by central authority.⁸ Urban councils with special status and, from 1987, all urban councils under a government delegate appointed by the president, were still more tightly controlled from the centre.

The 2004 legislation emphasises cooperation with central state structures under the universal provisions of the constitution rather than centralised regulation and control. There are relatively strong safeguards if a commune acts *ultra vires* or against national security. Where approval is necessary, senior divisional officers and provincial governors must acknowledge and approve council decisions within 15 days.

10 E-GOVERNMENT

Online government is in its infancy in Cameroon, with a very low presence of the national administration on the internet, and virtually no presence at provincial or council level. Web usage at local level is restricted to isolated initiatives such as in the medium-sized and relatively wealthy Kumbo Urban Council, which has an informative website (www.kumbourbancouncil.org).

Difficulties in the country's fixed-line telephone network have posed problems for internet access and led to a rapid growth in mobile phone technology instead.

Before the presidential election of October 2004 MINATD created, and is now running, a website which gives information about the activities of the ministry (www.minatd.gov.cm).

Cameroon had an estimated 167,000 internet users in 2005, representing about 1% of the population, although this number is thought to have substantially increased since.⁹

11 ENVISAGED REFORMS

The decentralisation policies enacted through a number of pieces of legislation are currently being implemented as reflected through this report.

12 MISCELLANEOUS

12.1 Traditional leaders

Although their position is legally and constitutionally relatively ill defined, traditional

rulers are of potentially great importance in many parts of Cameroon, both as community leaders and political power-brokers.

Traditional rulers have historically functioned as a two-way conduit between the formal administrations and ordinary citizens. The 1977 Decree classifies chiefs into first, second and third classes. Among first-class chiefs are some of the Fulbé lamibé of North and Far North province, some Fons of North-West province and some chiefs of West province. They are crucially important to the day-to-day running of government at local level. Traditional rulers are ultimately responsible to MINATD. Although they may be removed from office, this is a very rare occurrence.

In rural zones of the three northern provinces, where livestock is the hallmark of the economy, traditional rulers frequently supervise the collection of livestock and related taxes. They have no formalised budgetary revenue but informal tithing-style arrangements are common.

An important function of chiefs is conflict resolution in civil cases between individuals or communities, especially regarding land issues, where historical and traditional considerations, coupled with the complex nature of land law, make formal state institutions reluctant to intervene.

The role of traditional rulers in the management of councils and regions was not included in the 2004 decentralisation legislation, although other bills and regulatory instruments are envisaged.

13 SUMMARY

Until recently, Cameroon had a highly centralised system of government with local authorities having few powers and responsibilities and no spending ability, with their budgets having always to be approved by representatives of central administration.

Now, Cameroon is reforming its local government system to give councils greater local autonomy and to reduce interference from provincial and central governments. This will require local government to strengthen its institutions and create greater capacity, so as to ensure that local government is adequately resourced for its new responsibilities.

The decentralisation programme is regarded by those involved as the greatest challenge in Cameroon local governance and may take well over a decade to fully implement as planned and to bring about the change in culture needed to create a 'bottom-up' system of everyday governance.¹⁰ A series of decrees will be required in coming years to fine-tune the legislation.

References

- 1 CIA World Factbook 2007
- 2 J Takougang, 'Cameroon: Biya and incremental reform', in Clark, J F and Gardinier, DE (eds), *Political Reform in Francophone Africa*, Boulder, Colorado, 1997, p.166ff
- 3 Ruben Elang Tchounbia, *Décentraliser et démocratiser. La gouvernance locale*, Yaoundé 2004. By comparison, Ghana, with a similar population size and structure, has an electoral roll of approximately nine million
- 4 Interviews, existing and former national and municipal policy officials, academics and businessmen, Yaoundé, Douala and Edéa, September 2004
- 5 The Central African franc (CFAf) is pegged to the euro at a fixed rate of CFAf 655.9:1
- 6 Interviews, MINATD officials, Yaoundé and municipal administrators, Douala, September 2004
- 7 Daniel-Elise Ntse Ntse, 'La Solidarité nationale par les centimes additionnels communaux' in *Le Communal. Carte Communale de Cameroun 2002-2007*, 2002
- 8 The 'syndicats de communes' model was tried in the 1980s, when 38 syndicates were created, along departmental lines within the 10 provinces. This creation of central government was never adopted by the councils concerned and was formally abolished by decree in 1993
- 9 CIA World Factbook 2007
- 10 Interviews with local politicians, former ministers, senior civil servants and journalists, Cameroon, September 2004. See Luc Sindjoun, *L'Etat Ailleurs. Entre noyau dur et case vide*, Paris, 2002, ch. 4, 'La société plurielle à l'épreuve de l'état'.



Service	Delivering authority			Remarks
	Central	Provincial	Local government	
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION				
Police	●			All three levels of government (should) have statistical responsibilities.
Fire protection	●			
Civil protection	●			
Criminal justice	●			
Civil justice	●			
Civil status register			●	
Statistical office	●	●	●	
Electoral register	●		●	
EDUCATION				
Pre-school	●			Communes are to contribute to secondary and vocational educational establishments where possible.
Primary	●			
Secondary	●			
Vocational and technical	●			
Higher education	●			
Adult education	●			
SOCIAL WELFARE				
Kindergarten and nursery				Social welfare coverage is near non-existent.
Family welfare services				
Welfare homes				
Social security				
PUBLIC HEALTH				
Primary care	●		●	Responsibilities are split between national and local government (division yet to be fully defined). Construction of basic facilities is expected to devolve to local authorities.
Hospitals	●		●	
Health protection	●		●	
HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING				
Housing			●	Responsibilities in this area are currently ill-defined in both legislation and practice.
Town planning			●	
Regional planning				
TRANSPORT				
Roads	●		●	Seaports, railways and airports are the responsibility of stand-alone public and private organisations.
Transport			●	
Urban roads			●	
Urban rail			●	
Ports			●	
Airports			●	
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC SANITATION				
Water and sanitation			●	
Refuse collection and disposal			●	
Cemeteries and crematoria			●	
slaughterhouses			●	
Environmental protection			●	
Consumer protection			●	
CULTURE, LEISURE AND SPORTS				
Theatre and concerts			●	
Museums and libraries			●	
Parks and open spaces			●	
Sports and leisure			●	
Religious facilities				
UTILITIES				
Gas services				Electricity supply has been privatised. Privatisation of water is underway. There is no provision for heating and gas.
District heating				
Electricity				
Water supply				
ECONOMIC				
Agriculture, forests and fisheries	●		●	
Economic promotion	●		●	
Trade and industry	●		●	
Tourism	●		●	

● = discretionary service by the local authority. Table reflects the impact of decentralisation legislation of 2004.