

The Paradox of The Implementation of Decentralization Policy in Cameroon: Case Study of Limbe II Council

A Research Project Submitted to the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) Degree in Political Science (2017)



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the long essay entitled “**The Paradox of The Implementation of Decentralization Policy in Cameroon: Case Study of Limbe II Council**” is the original work of my research efforts. It has not been presented before in any application for a degree. All materials used from other sources have been duly acknowledged.

Enowbachem Agbortanyi

(SM14B145)

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the long essay entitled, “**The Paradox Of The Implementation of Decentralization Policy In Cameroon: Case Study of Limbe II Council**” presented by **Enowbachem Agbortanyi (SM14B145)** meets the requirement specified for an undergraduate long essay in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty Of Social and Management Sciences University Of Buea both in form and in content. It therefore contributes to knowledge.

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(Supervisor)

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(Head of Department)

DEDICATION

**Dedicated to my beloved
Mrs. Ojong Mary**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. Keven James for serving as my project supervisor who took all the pains to read through this work despite his tight schedule.

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ABSTRACT

This study is based on the “Paradox of the implementation of decentralization policy in Cameroon: case study of Limbe II council”. The aim of the study is to check the extent to which decentralization law has been applied in Cameroon in general and Limbe II council in particular. To check the population reaction to this law, bring out the problems encountered in implementing this law.

Using both primary and secondary data and through the prism of dependency theory, the study found out that decentralization policy left the people of Limbe II municipality unsatisfied as they preferred a centralized state to decentralized state through their opinion seen in the result of findings.

It was thus recommended that government has to transfer all the competencies and powers which it still holds to councils and train the local authority. At any time that the Limbe II council will possess and exercise all its powers to attain development, decentralization will be said to have commenced in that municipality.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

As defined in the lexicon of Judicial terminologies, decentralization could be defined as a system of administration that permits a group of human beings or community otherwise known as a human collectivity (thus, making allusion to territorial decentralization to administer itself under the watchful control of the state which gives this community or service a judicial personality a distinct authority and its own resources to manage (UNDEF, 2015:6).

From the above definition, it comes out clearly that decentralization depends on three essential ingredients namely: the political, sociologic and judicial ingredients. Consequently for there to be true decentralization, three conditions must emerge, namely

- The collectivity must be a self-administered entity. This implies that there are certain recognized and acceptable individual interests.
- These individualized interests must be recognized as such, as well as the competence of the decentralized that has to resolve these problems must be affirmed or recognized. This autonomous administration must be carried out under the auspices of an elected organ in the collectivity.
- The decentralized organ must have certain autonomy to manage certain affairs of the collectivity. Here, it implies giving the decentralized structure a judicial personality. This means that decentralization of the state must be capable of managing itself through its elected officials.

The assessment of the legal framework and of its stake holders shows that the decentralization law passed in 2004 in Cameroon has local development and governance as their main thrust. The new laws certainly create an environment that represents irreversible step forward for the process of decentralization but are in a need of completion by the passing of legal instruments of application for them to effectively accelerate the pace of the decentralization process and good governance. There is also need for better organization and coordination of interventions of the stakeholders. The process is currently hampered by especially financial constraints on local authorities and limited capacities of the actors and beneficiaries of development process (Cosmas, 2007).

According to part 10(Article 55) of the 18thJanuary 1996 Cameroon constitution, it emphasizes on the aspect of decentralization by legalizing the creation of local councils and brings out their functions. It also spells out their jurisdictions and grants them autonomy that is power to make rules governing the municipality under the supervision of the central government.

It is worth nothing that Article 55 (2) state clearly that “regional and local authorities shall be public law corporate bodies. They shall have administrative and financial autonomy in the management of regional and local interests. They shall be freely administered by councils elected under conditions laid down by law. The duty of the regional and local authorities shall be to promote the economic, social, health, educational, cultural and sports development of the said authority.”

This already creates the understanding that the objectives of the policy of decentralization in Cameroon is for development.

It is important to understand that decentralization is different from federalism in the sense that the decentralized collectivity has autonomy but is not totally

independent of the central government because the central authority exercises supervisory authority over the decentralized collectivity. With this in mind, this study says that decentralization is a search for new legitimacy by the state in a constantly changing environment and whose permanent preoccupation is to confide to the local population the management and development of their locality.

In Cameroon law, territorial decentralization is defined in Article 55 of the 18th January 1996 constitution and its modification when it states that “the territorial collectivities of the Republic are the regions and councils” some fundamental principles of territorial decentralization include:

- The concept of local affairs or territorial specificity
- The principle of co-administration of the territory
- The principle of judicial and financial autonomy

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In 2004, the state of Cameroon embarked on the process of decentralization which entails transferring some competences to the local government or council for proper management. Since the inception of this policy, there have been accusations and counter arguments from political and opinion leaders who claim that the policy will remain a nightmare in a centralized state. Decentralization is a first step to development in Cameroon. This is because any municipal development tends to influence national development. The Limbe II council was created in accordance to the presidential Decree No 2007/117 of 24th April 2007 to enhance development in that local area of the state. The mayor is to ensure and see to the success of this objective. Since the time of its creation till date, the council has had just two mayors. It is not possible in the present state of affairs for councils to be decentralize and autonomous. Decentralization cannot be

practiced in a centralized state like Cameroon where all decisions come from the head quarters and are imposed on councils; the S.D.O is controlling councils .i.e. the reason for its paradoxical nature in Cameroon as a state and Limbe II municipality in particular.

This municipality harbors the lone National Oil Refinery company (SO.NA.RA), an international football stadium, National ship yard company CNIC, the largest Agro-industrial company- CDC and numerous touristic site especially due to its coastal location. This gives more reason why this local council has to be more; if not the most developed in Cameroon through fiscal decentralization by the huge taxes it will receive from these companies, thus reaping the benefits of decentralization. Ironically, the municipality still has some challenges which by now ought not to be existing, this brings out the problem that the council have not been handed all its competences like the collection of taxes from these major companies thus, the situation which is different from what ought to be.

1.3 Research Question

- To what extend has decentralization policy been implemented in Limbe II council?
- What are the challenges faced by the local government in the implementation of this Law?
- What are the proposed solutions to the problems?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Aim of the study

To investigate the extent to which Limbe II Council is practicing the policy of decentralization as stated by the 1996 constitution. i.e. to examine the implementation of the law in Limbe II council.

1.4.2 Objectives of the Study

- To evaluate the extent to which decentralization law is implemented in Limbe II.
- To investigate the problems faced in the execution of the policy.
- To propose solution to the problems.

1.5 Propositions of the Study

Following the presidential decree No 2007/117 that led to the creation of the Limbe II council in accordance with the decentralization policy, the implementation of the decentralization policy is below average.

Legal and institutional barriers are the major challenges to decentralization in the Limbe II council. It takes the determined political will of the state officials to fully implement the decentralization policy.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

The geographical limit of the study will be Limbe II municipality. Eleven villages make up this municipality.

This study is limited to the paradoxical nature of decentralization in the Limbe II municipality within the time frame of 2007 to 2017 because this time range is from

the creation of the council till present date, thus, this is the time within which the decentralization policy was introduced in that local constituency.

The extent to which the policy is implemented, the problems and proposed solutions will make up the content of this study.

1.7 Significance of the Study

- To the community: This study will go beyond to show the inhabitants of the municipality why they have local government and to know how it is supposed to function, to sensitize them about the decentralization law.
- To the local government: this will help the administration of the machinery to be efficient in its coordination and implementation of this policy. Also assist them in decision making and actions geared towards the municipal development and to always require from the central government if it fails to provide the former with its supposed obligations.
- To policy makers; this study will help them to know the best solutions to apply in order to solve the problems of decentralization and also to formulate policies which will aid in the effective and efficient implementation of the law.
- To other researchers; it will help them to know about decentralization in Cameroon in general and the extent to which it is applied in the Limbe II council in particular.

1.8 Definition of Terms

- **Paradox:** it is a self-contradictory statement which can only be true if it is false and can only be false if it is true. It is a center intuitive conclusion. In

other words, a paradoxical statement is one which mean the direct opposite of what that statement is.

- **Decentralization;** this term emanates from the word “decentralize” which means to reduce the authority of a governing body by distributing that authority among several bodies. In other words to cause power from being concentrated at one point to being distributed across many points. The decentralization in this work is focused on the handing over of powers to the local government by the central government, these competences will make the former autonomous in decision making within the defined constituencies
- **Policy:** it is a principle of behavior; conduct thought to be desirable or necessary especially as formally expressed by a government or other authoritative body.

1.9 Research Methodology

-Research design

This study was a guided problem centered interview that employed the qualitative research design. The qualitative research design requires the researcher to observe, take notes and talk to people (Delamont, 2004). This method is ideal because it enables the collection of data describing the state of affairs and answers the questions concerning the objective of the study.

- Population

A population, also known as the universe refers to all items in the field of enquiry (Kumar, 2008). The Limbe II municipality has a population estimated to be about 6000 or more due to the instability of the inhabitants and the continuous influx of people into the municipality.

- Sampling Frame

In this study, the sampling frame is the list of people which involves Limbe II council and non council workers.

-Sample and Sampling Technique

The non-probability sampling technique will be in recruiting respondents for this study so as to ensure that sample group members are selected on the basis of specific criteria. In this technique, sampling group members are selected on random manner but with respect to age and other qualifications in order to avoid a situation of achieving wrong information.

Two administrative officials of the Limbe II council, three councilors, four traditional rulers and ten members of the public were selected from the sampling frame who participated in the primary data collection. They were all people from the age of thirty and above, some were members of political parties while others were non party members.

-Data Collection Process

The duration of collection of primary data was set to one week and was mostly done during break periods and at the convenience of the targeted population. One on one interviews were setup between the researcher and the council workers and also with the chiefs and councilors then later to the public where an approach to interview was made depending on the person's willfulness to respond.

Each interview session lasted for 30 minutes, providing enough time to cover all relevant topics on the researcher's checklist. This procedure allowed for in-depth probing while permitting the interviewer to keep the interview within the parameters traced out by the aim of the study.

-Data presentation and analysis

The qualitative method was exploited in the analysis of data collected in this study. Qualitatively, the responses were analyzed and presented as broad

discussion. Observation of distributions will be used to describe the opinion of the respondents and emerging trends of responses.

The results generated will then be discussed, and the discussions will assist in drawing conclusions and consequently, recommendations will be proposed for the entire administration and population of Limbe II municipality.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Theoretical literature

This section of this study intends to explain vividly the different types of decentralization and by so doing, brings out their advantages and disadvantages. They include: political, administrative and fiscal decentralization.

2.1.1 Political decentralisation

Political decentralization is the transfer of authority to a sub-national body. Political decentralization aims to give citizens or their elected representatives more power in public decision making. It is often associated with pluralistic and representative government, but it can also support democratization by giving citizens or their elected representatives, more influence in the formation and implementation of policies (World Bank Thematic Team). The team also thinks that political decentralization assume that decisions made with greater participation will be better informed and more relevant to diverse interest in society than those made only by national political authorities. The concept implies that the selection of representatives from local electoral jurisdictions allows entireness to know better their political representatives and allows elected officials to know better the needs and desires of their constituents (Awal, 2008:3)

Political decentralization often requires constitutional or statutory reforms, the development of pluralistic political parties, the strengthening of legislatives creation of political units, and the encouragement of effective public interest groups.

Political decentralization is manifested through devolution. The World Bank defines devolution as “the transfer of authority for decision-making, finance and management to quasi-autonomous units of local government with corporate status”.

Tubunda and Galang explain that the nature of power transfer is political and the approach is territorial. In a devolved system, the World Bank says, local governments have clear and legally recognized geographical boundaries over which they exercise authority and within which they perform public functions.

Political decentralization can also be seen as a top-down process, which by delegating power can help to reduce the central control over the social, economic and cultural life of its citizens. Political decentralization aims to give citizens or their elected representatives more power in public decision-making. It is often associated with pluralistic government politics and representative government, but it can also support democratization by giving citizens more influence in the formulation and implementation of policies. Political decentralization in contrast to administrative decentralization is not concerned primarily with increasing efficiency-improving service delivery by the government, removing bottlenecks and reducing delays, increasing the ability to recover costs but with the devolution of power to the grassroots and leading to the formation of “local-level” governments. Well described decision-making powers and systems of accountability are being transferred from central government to lower levels of government.

The process of political decentralization has the following advantages:

- Decision making power will be in the hands of local authorities who are aware of the local situation and hence are in a better position to take judicious decisions.

- There would be a greater organization of community preference in decision-making which would lead to a greater participation of people in the governance process and their sense of belonging towards the infrastructure setup. This would have positive implications on the sustainability of infrastructure.
- There will be greater spaces for participants of marginalized communities in the governance processes as the local government would comprise of local, popularly-elected representative.
- Political decentralization would lead to a balanced regional development as much inefficiency arise from attempting to administer a very backward economy through a highly centralized political authority and the development of that area often gets neglected.

Despite the above advantages, this process of political decentralization also has some exaggerated claims or setbacks which include:

- Advocates of political decentralization often always assume decisions made with greater community participation will be better informed and more relevant to diverse interests in society than those made only by national political authorities. Conditions however exist when motives behind decentralization could itself be political in nature spurned by people who want to attain political power by breaking the existence political regime. The motives of political decentralization are therefore not always in the best interest of the people and may be tainted with political aspirations of a few.
- The proponent of political decentralization often strongly links this process to initiation of decentralized planning with the involvement of local stakeholders – a case which may not hold time in all situations. A locally elected official could have a mind-set which refuses to take cognizance of the

knowledge held by countries and their capacities to take judicious based on the given knowledge set. And on the other hand, political centralization in no way restricts decentralization planning.

- Organization marginalized and minority groups becomes of paramount importance in cases of political decentralization if these groups are to be included in the services delivery bracket of these institutions. There is always a risk of the institution becoming more discriminating in their actions due to the buttressing of heavy hand of the local elites as they acquire more power and clout with shifting of decision-making on their home turf.
- Political decentralization can result in the loss of economies of scale and control over scarce financial resources by the central government. Weak administrative or technical capacity at local levels may result in services being delivered less efficiently and effectively in some area of the country. Administrative responsibilities may be transferred to local levels without adequate financial resources and make equitable distribution or provision of services more difficult. Decentralization could also sometimes make coordination of national policies more complex and may allow functions to be captured by local elites. Also, distrust between public and private sectors may undermine cooperation at the local level.
- Furthermore, political decentralization is a very time-intensive activity. It could be done fairly quickly if it implies mere shedding-up of responsibilities to lower-levels of governments, but if it aims at strengthening democracy and empowering citizens, then it would have to be a process-oriented activity. Badly planned decentralization could worsen regional inequities, and rich regions would develop much quicker than poorer ones as they can generate more funds and hence receive more in matching grants.

2.1.2 Administrative Decentralisation.

Administrative decentralization refers to redistributive authority, responsibility and financial resources for providing public services amongst different levels of government (World Bank Thematic Team). On the other hand according to center for democracy and Governance's Decentralization and Democratic local Governance programming handbook, "administrative decentralization involves full or partial transfer of an array of functional responsibilities to the local level such as health care services, the building and maintenance of roads and garbage collection". The major forms of administrative decentralization – de-concentration, delegation and devolution. Each has different character.

- i. De-concentration is often considered to be the weakest form of decentralization and is used most frequently in unitary states. Redistributes decision-making authority and financial and management responsibilities among different levels of the central government. This may mean shifting of work load from one ministry to another or from ministry to its field or local administration (Ali, 1995, Islam, 1997). In other words it can merely shift responsibilities from central government ministries (source book on decentralization in Asia). This form of decentralization is used by many African and Asian countries like Kenya, Tunisia, Morocco, Indonesia, Pakistan, Algeria (Hyden, 1983; Rondinelli and Nellis, 1986, Islam 1997).
- ii. Delegation is a more extensive form of decentralization. It involves the transfer of responsibility for decision-making and administration of public functions from the central government to semi-autonomous organizations that are not wholly controlled by the central government, but are ultimately

accountable to it. These organizations usually have a great deal of discretion in decision making.

iii. Devolution is the transfer of significant power, including law making and revenue raising, by law to the locally elected bodies (Conyers, 1986). There is a set of five fundamental characteristics including the purest form of devolution identified by Cheema and Rondinelli (1983).

- Powers are transferred to autonomous units governed independently and separately without the direct control of central government.
- The units enjoy corporate status and powers to secure its own resources to perform its functions.
- The units maintain control over a recognized geographical area.
- Devolution implies the need to develop local government institutions.
- It is an arrangement of reciprocal, mutually beneficial and coordinate relationship between central and local government.

2.1.3 Fiscal Decentralisation

Financial responsibility is a core component of decentralization. If local government and private organizations are to carry out decentralized functions effectively, they must have an adequate level of revenues-either raised locally or transferred from central government as well as the authority to make decisions about the expenditure.

Fiscal decentralization can take many forms including:

- Self-financing or cost recovery through user charges.
- Co-financing or co-production arrangement through which the users participate in producing services and infrastructure through monetary or labour contributions.

- Expansion of local revenue through property or sales, taxes or indirect changes.
- Intergovernmental transfers that shift general revenues to taxes collected by the central government to local government for general or specific issues and
- Authorization and municipal borrowing and the mobilization of either national or local government resources through loan guarantee.

In many developing countries, local government or administrative units possesses the legal authority to impose taxes, but the tax base is so weak and the dependence on the central government subsidize so ingrained that no attempt is made to exercise that authority.

Fiscal decentralization is financial aspect of devaluing to regional and local government consisting of two issues interrelated; first, the division of spending responsibilities and revenues sources between national, provincial and district level of government, second, the amount of discretion given to regional and local government to determine their expenditures and revenues (Kennet Davey, 2003).

In that regard, fiscal decentralization is providing autonomy in financial aspect constitute intensifying the role of local government to participate in development.

The most important thing in fiscal decentralization is what extent local governments are given authorities to determine allocations to their own expenditure and their ability to increase their locally generated revenue.

That is not only to increase its' own revenue but also the authority in managing the potentiality of local regions for welfare of people. The potential benefits of devaluing fiscal responsibilities to lower level of government is to increase

efficiency of public service, delivery, reduced information on transaction cost (World Bank, 1997).

However, if fiscal decentralization is not accompanied by improving the skill of local apparatus, good political accountability would have had effect in the local government creating corruption and bad services. Fiscal decentralization is the main component in decentralization (World Bank, 2006). In implementing the function, local government are provided the authority in determining their own decision on developing public service supported by availability of financial sources from their locally generated revenue including local taxes and redistribution receipts, levies, outputs of regional government (provincial and local) receive other revenues consisting of the balanced budget; consisting of general allocation fund and specific allocation fund, tax revenues sharing, and a non-tax revenues sharing (natural resource exploitation), (Khusaeni Mohammed, 2006). However increasing in levies and taxes often results in distortion in the economy of local region because of resulting in a bad impact on investment, climate, appearing deadweight loss of taxes, reducing producer and consumer surplus which leads to deteriorating in economy (Saad, Ilyas, 2001).

Section 2 of law number 2009/011 of 10/07/2009 relating to financial regime of regional and local authorities states that “local authorities shall be corporate bodies governed by public law. They shall have legal personality and administrative and financial autonomy for the management of regional and local interest. They shall freely manage their revenue and expenditure within the framework of budgets adopted by their deliberative bodies”.

In the same vain, law number 2009/019 of 15/12/2009 on the local fiscal system in Cameroon stipulates that, city councils and sub-divisional councils shall not be

entitled to the same sources of revenue. The fiscal revenue of the city council (section 115:1 and section 115:2) shall delimit the revenue sources for city councils and sub-divisional councils respectively.

2.1.4 The Development Goals of Decentralisation. (UNDEF, 2015:13)

Decentralization as earlier seen is the transfer of competences to local collectivizes which may either be the councils (city or sub-divisional) over regional/dismisal assemblies, to manage local affairs. This is what is known as local development.

Local development in the real sense of the world is first and foremost a social project that falls within the framework of shared competence between the central authority and the local collectivity. The state preoccupies itself with the business of public administration in local development, while the local collectivity is concerned with the mobilization of the means to carry out a project.

Decentralization is therefore a complex game where the state takes care of issues of strategic importance for the development of local collectivities to ensure an equitable development of all the collectivities. The state ensures that there is decentralization accompanied by equitable development. This is a difficult equation to balance in a country where natural and economic inequalities vary greatly.

Under such circumstances, to achieve a harmonious/homogenous development of the country, the central authority must adopt policies that both encourage private investment in the local collectivities as well as an initiative orientation of such investment.

From the above agreement we see that local development is based on territorial development (l'aménagement du territoire) with the two notions simply fusing into one at the operational level.

However, all territorial development is carried out by recognized actors. In the case of Cameroon, the development committee to identify investment projects which will serve as a base or take-off points for the hatching/blossoming of their collectivity

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Much has been written about decentralization and its contrary implementation by different scholars such as Germandze, Aaron Scheider, Crook and Manor, Ahmad et al, cough and Yankson, Roudih and Nellis amongs other. This shows that there is not yet a consensus as to the precise meaning and content either within academic or professional circle.

UNDEF (2015), a great organization says that decentralization can be defined or viewed as “a search for a new legitimacy by the state in a constantly changing environment and whose permanent preoccupation is to confide to the local population the management and development of their locality”. From this definition, it is discovered that decentralization has two principal and traditional format namely; territorial decentralization and technical or service decentralization.

Aaron Schneider (2003), sees decentralization as the transfer of power and resources away from the central government; he brought up this definition as a result of the disagreement amongst researchers on what truly can be termed decentralization, so his choice of words in the definition is to bring out the

agreement. From this definition, it is clear that decentralization is the downward transfer of power and resources from central to local authorities.

Crook and Manor (1998) describe decentralization as the transfer of powers from central to lower levels in a political administrative and territorial hierarchy.

This also emphasizes on the downward delegation of power to lower level administrative organs

Slayer et al said “the term decentralization is used to cover a broad range of transfer of locus of local government”. This is to show that the central government cannot solely handle the affairs of the entire state as it has been noticed that the load of responsibility will be heavy for it and so it needs to delegate some of these powers to sub-areas to enable them handle their problems and wants in accordance to their importance and this will help to reduce conflict of interest in the state.

Grook and Manov (1994), Frizbein (1997) and Ribot (2002), maintain that it is because of the search for efficiency, equity, service provision, participation, accountability, responsibility, national cohesion and environmental sustainability that countries choose to decentralize. These terms can be seen as the major characteristics of any good governance. As concerns efficiency, this is the notion based on government’s best ability to carry out her functions. Equity is to maintain the status quo before the law and even on resource allocation. Participation here is the emphasis on democratic decentralization where the people are given powers to decide their leaders by participating in elections. Accountability and responsibility goes to the administrators, they have to be accountable by accepting any praises or punishments that follow their actions and decisions. Their responsible nature should be geared towards the people who elected them, thus, the downward delegation of power.

Ahmad et al (2005) conceived that moving from a model of central provision to that of decentralization to local government was expected to introduce a new relationship of accountability between national and local policy-makers while altering existing relationships such as that between citizens and elected officials. This shift in the focus of governance was an implicit recognition that basic services such as health, education and sanitation, all of which are the responsibility of the state, were systematically failing and especially failing the poor and marginalized in African countries.

Gough and Yankson (2001) argued that decentralization and good governance management promoted by the world bank and other lending agencies remains too state-centered, too top-down, too narrow, formalized and essentially technocratic. This explains why local authorities in Cameroon cannot keep up with the demands of demographic pressures and the exponential growth of cities in the country. In their opinion, they tend to castigate the decentralization reform imposed on sub-Sahara Africa by the World Bank because it is considered to be contradictory to its real objectives. In other words, it would be time and real if referred to a term contrary to decentralization.

Rondili and Nellis (1989:5) described decentralization as the transfer of responsibilities for planning, management, and the raising and allocation of resources from the central government and its agencies to file units of the central government, semi-autonomous public authorities regional or nongovernmental, private or voluntary organization.

Therefore, this study has realized that with regards to the above definitions, they are all focused towards the delegation of power to local authorities for development motives. So, I confidently say that decentralization can best be defined

as the first pass by any goal-oriented government to keep the ball of development rolling.

2.3 Empirical Literature

This study will make use of the dependency theory. The theory used is the institutional framework of the World Bank concerning decentralization in Cameroon and it was formulated in the year 2007 (Raju et al, 2011:25) in Report No: 63369-CM

The theory explains that the coexistence within the same geographical area of both a decentralized region run by a governor who report to the minister in charge of local entities (MINATD) and a decentralized entity which may be partly elected body, generates ambiguity between the competence that devolved to regions or local governments. The difficulty in the same function may be decentralized and yet subject to deconcentrated control. Functional responsibility should be strictly and explicitly defined.

Article 26 law number 2004/017 explicitly specifies that deconcentration may be a first step before devolution. The same article provides that “material and human resources” may be put at the disposal of decentralized regions and municipalities by deconcentrated authorities in order to exert their “new competence”. In this case the deconcentrated authorities receive “a share of the resources listed in article 24”. That is, those resources that are passed on to decentralized local government (LGs) in parallel with the transfer of competence.

This theory was chosen to be the best for this work because it is inconformity with the research as seen in its strength which includes:

- The ambiguous nature of the competences that speed to local councils.

- Talks of too much power to regions.
- It also identified that limited resources are handed to the local governments because most of the resources are given to regions.

Their theory also has some weakness which includes:

- Failure to bring out the solutions to the problems identified.
- It did not castigate the fact that municipal leaders are based on partisan politics.

Despite the above weaknesses of the institutional framework of the World Bank, it remains useful to this work due to its linkage to the research questions in particular and the results of findings. It has identified some of the problems to effective implementation of decentralization in Cameroon which is focused on the chapter role of this work; also, it ties with the findings in chapter 3. So far it has been the best theory for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

The Extent of the Implementation of Decentralisation Policy in Limbe II Council

3.1 The process of putting into place decentralization in Limbe II council

The focus of this part of work is to the modalities of putting of putting in place decentralization in Limbe II and its accompanying structures. This was done in two forms name by the decentralization of activities and decentralization of powers.

i) Decentralization of activities.

This had to do with the transfer of power formerly exercised by the state in specific domains such as territorial development, economic development, education, social affairs, health, environmental protection, forestry development and scientific development to the Limbe II council authorities.

ii) Decentralization of power

This has to do with the sharing of powers between the states and the local collectivities. The task that confronts the modern (terrorism, toxic waste, human trafficking etc.) is so cumbersome that the decentralization was seen as a solitary move to allow local authorities to handle local affairs. Article 56 of 1996 constitution defines the sharing of powers between states, the region and the council reforms carried out by the state instituted two levels of decentralization.

The 1996 constitution also talked of the senate being the representatives of the decentralized collectivities on an equal base. Senate elections took place in Cameroon in 2013 and 100 senators (70 elected and 30 appointed) constituted the first upper house of parliament in a bi-cameral legislative. This shows that the local

councils are represented in the Upper House, so therefore, Limbe II council influences decision making at the national level through its representative.

The council on its part saw the abolition of municipal administration and rural council with a progress expansion of its sphere of competence in the 2004 decentralization laws but which unfortunately saw the appointment of a government delegate over elected mayors (UNDEF 2015: 15)

3.1.1 Stake holders and development

The stake holders or actors of the process are the state, local authorities, civil society and development cooperation agencies, all of them exercising roles that are complementary.

The creation of a Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MINATD) by Decree No 2002/216 of 24 august 2002 seems to translate the will of the state to advance the process of decentralisation while at the same time taking into account imperatives of preserving national unity and social cohesion in a country characterized by social and cultural diversity. As the supervisory authority of regions and councils, MINATD is currently in the throes of a study that aims at reforming and aligning the system of administration to the advent of decentralization. Besides the National Governance Programme (PNG) (composed of a decentralization and local development sub-commission) liaises with the directorate in charge of councils in the MINATD towards the implementation of decentralization. Also, the Local Government Training Centre (CEFAM) and the Special inter communal equipment and support fund (FEICOM) and the other specialized state institutions under MINATD that are meant to assist the latter in implementing the policy

FEICOM plays two useful roles for decentralization at the level of the Limbe II council. It collects and redistributes the additional council surtax and provides financial grants and soft loans to councils. The CEFAM is responsible for Providing training and refresher courses to municipal staff. Tenders for the reform of CEFAM and FEICOM were advertised per interview of MINATD (2005) and declared abortive in October 2005. The objective of the latter tender was to put in place support structures to MINATD that enhance the implementation of decentralization.

On the very important subject of capacity building, MINATD has embarked on a vast training of municipal counselors and officials on leadership and council management, in partnership with development cooperation agencies. Six of the ten regions have already been covered by this training programme (2005 Cameroon tribune, interview with MINATD). The initiative to train councilors is welcome but through here, like the Francophone West Africa states as Totte' et al. (2003: 29) remarked. "Peasant structures lack the capacity to ensure sustainable development" the training modules are unfortunately mute on the subject of local development which is the key and new task of local entities. Moreover, the approach is severely flawed in being one of the 'fore and forget'. i.e. devoid of a clear and predictable follow-up strategy. It is common knowledge that sustainable local development requires proper supervision and monitoring mechanism. The MINATD approach to training may also seem to be too paternalistic for assuming that councils alone are in need of capacity building. It is hoped that Retire training exercises will envisage the inclusion of all the other actors in the decentralization process because it is common knowledge that focusing more on local officials "usually leads to local passivity" (Wunsch et al, 1990: 87)

- **The larger political environment of the process.**

Views and actions of the people are expressed by their related representatives especially in the house of parliament of Cameroon reflect those of the bulk of the political environment. Members of the 180- strong house of parliament were disenchanted with the level of corruption and were convinced that decentralisation constitutes one strategy for curbing the evil. Parliament was then led to debate and vote the 2004 decentralisation laws when the bills were presented by the executive arm of the state. This is why and how far the people, through parliament, have manifested in favour of decentralization as a political issue. The pace that would turn this manifestation of the will of the masses to effective reality depends however on completion of laws by legal instruments of application signed by the executive.

Otherwise, the forgoing is evidence of the linkage between the legal environment, stakeholders and organization of the latter which creates synergies that invigorate and accelerate pro-decentralisation initiatives and activities. The pace of the process nevertheless depends on the level of the constraints under which stakeholders operate.

3.1.2 Reality of Decentralisation Process Today in Limbe II Municipality.

Cameroon decentralisation process has evolved with the revision of the 1996 constitution through the decentralization laws of 2004- 2008 to the present day devolution of the competence enacted in 2011.

The structures have equally undergone mutation from a centralized administration to a unitary decentralized state with a bi-cameral legislature.

The local collectivities on their part have gradually moved from being an integral part of the post – independence state through the appointment of municipal

administrators to attaining a judicial and financial autonomy by having democratically elected representatives run the affairs of the council at the sub Divisional levels. The only worry now is the presence of appointed government in the city councils presiding over the destiny of elected council Mayor. (UNDEF 2015: 16)

This shows that the decentralization policy of Cameroon is emphasized on the documents than the reality which is practiced in the Limbe II municipality. The mayor seems to be coerced or guided because he is not free to take decisions which he thinks are necessary in his local constituency without the intervention of the central government through the S.D.O who must approve all these decisions before they are been implemented, and in a situation where he disapproves the decision, no action can take place. This view was exposed by the Private Secretary of the Mayor of Limbe II council in an interview with the researcher (interview date: 06-07-2017)

3.1.3 The Participation of the Local Population in the Decentralization Process in Limbe II municipality

In Limbe II, however, the preceding studies have shown that the process is not only slow but also carried with the exclusion of the active population especially where the Local development committees which would have assured the partnership between the state, civil society and economic operators are non-existent. Most of the people in the municipality have very little or no knowledge on the decentralization policy as seen in the words by the Mokindi Chief.

“Most of the people are still ignorant of the decentralization policy. Some of them claim that this policy is still very new to them and so they hope to know more about it as the years goes by. This policy of

decentralization is something which we know very little about, and it is very new to us like the recent policy of bilingualism and multiculturalism.” (Interview date: 07-07-2017)

It was discovered that the grants given to the local councils is not general amount which is offered to all the councils but based on the lobbying power of the mayors.

“The mayor of Limbe II council has high lobbying power for state grants to the municipality. This shows that the council should have enough funds to carry out its projects. Our local government chairman has received several awards as the as the mayor with the highest lobbying powers in the Limbe municipality”. Mr.Litonga
(Interview date: 23-06-2017)

Most of the people applauded for the council in its ability to curb unemployment and crime wave by employing many students during holidays. This, they said goes a long way to reduce crime and mishappenings like unwanted pregnancies and robbery as the youths are mostly occupied by the council, markets or streets as assigned by the council and this takes most of their time as they do this for six days every week.

The importance of the participation of the local population in the decentralization process gives the raison d'être of the central powers relinquishing some areas of its competences to be managed by the local population and their elected representatives.

Finally the collectivity may have N.G.O (IVFCam) and other specialized associations dealing with environmental protections, hygiene and sanitation or the defense of social and public moral order. These associations whose legal existence is sanctioned by an administrative decision play the role of a watch dog to the actions of the local authorities as well as an advisory role to the council executive. They also educate the population on general well-being and their individual rights (UNDEF 2015:17)

Ironically, the youths who are considered to be the future leaders of tomorrow do not take part in elections, be it municipal or even presidential elections. Most of them claim that it is because they seem to have no say in the politics of the state and so their votes do not count.

“Let the old people remain in power and do their things because the youths have been neglected in politics, so let us hustle and forget about politics. Most youths above the age of 20 do not even have voter’s card.” (Youth interviewed on 07-07-2017).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Challenges of the Implementation of Decentralization Policy and the Way Forward

4.1 Challenges/Problems Faced in the Implementation of Decentralisation Policy in Limbe II Council

The following problems act as hindrance to the effective implementation of decentralization policy in Limbe II.

1. The problem of coordination and collaboration:

The watch words for the perfect implementation of any form of decentralization include: participation, cooperation, contractualisation and partnership. That is why decentralization is presented as a mode of crossed-relationships which links the state through its deconcentrated organs with the local collectivities. This relationship is at two levels; first it is between the national and local, and between vertical and horizontal structures. Every state tries to adopt a system that reconciles unity and diversity.

The control of the supervisory authority (S.D.O) is at two levels namely the approbation of all council resolutions transmitted to his office and the control of legality of such acts. Where he estimates that there is illegality, he either rejects or seizes the administrative judge. The council also has the right to seize the administrative court over a decision taken by the S.D.O which they consider illegal.

Collaboration on the other hand is both vertical and horizontal. The role of the S.D.O here is one of a uniting factor and an animator of the different services under his cave. By withdrawing its direct control over local collectivities divisions or regions, the state now plays a role of collaboration with the authorities to whom it has confided the management of these entities within the framework of decentralisation. What is obtained however is not collaboration but a tacit imposition of the state authority on helpless local collectivities all the laws on the transfer of competence to the local collectivities were voted and promulgated without consulting the local authorities for whose benefits such laws were formulated.

Also the relationship between the government delegates of the city council and the mayor of the sub-divisional councils has, to say the least, been far from cordial and collaborative.

2. Defining responsibility among levels of government:

This definition of responsibility is complex concerning the decentralisation in Limbe II. The first is the political environment which is always unstable, as it is shown before that the decentralization in Limbe II council is still very new in its application. In the Limbe II, the local authority and decentralization both exist but the power is centralized. The local leaders in the communes are usually associated with a political party. This explains why most of the villages complain of little or no development carried in their areas by the council.

“We have very bad roads, no health services because the Limbe II municipality has only two health centers. Also the problem of portable water which we have pleaded severally to the council to provide us with portable water

but to no avail. We are now treated like beggars in our own land, we ask the council to provide us with water but they did not and today Wovia village at least has access to portable water thanks to SO.NA.RA.” Wovia Chief (Interview date: 06-07-2017).

The people claimed that the recent and little development carried out in the municipality. This to them was because the state was hosting the female AFCON 2016 and one of the stadium to be used was in Limbe II.

3. The level of centralized revenue is much higher:

The level of centralized revenue in Cameroon is much higher because the government collects more of the total revenue. This centralization of revenue leads to structural imbalance in the composition of revenue which could only be redressed by a progressive increase in the mid to long term revenue for local revenue authorities. We should notify that revenue in each communes are different because taxes collected are different. The existence of some giant industries in a municipality which has no power to collect its taxes, but rather pay taxes to the central government. This reduces the council’s ability to raise funds for itself within its jurisdiction.

“There is the problem of insufficient funds to carry out the required development. If Limbe II municipality is still underdeveloped today is because of the insufficient subventions it receives from the central government for developmental motives. The council itself raises very little funds because it does not collect taxes from the big companies in the municipality like SO.NA.RA due to the

intervention of the central government which receives these taxes through the City Council. So the available funds are not enough to meet up with all the desires of the people”. Secretary general of Limbe II council, Ashu Eposi (interview date 23-06-2017).

4. Lack of capacity or skills by mayors:

In Cameroon, most mayors have difficulty to manage the municipality. Most of the officials who have not received training on their executive role to manage projects have a difficulty to improve their capacity or skills. But generally, mayors have access to a mayor’s guide and the manual of budgetary procedure. However, some officials often have limited knowledge concerning these manuals because most of them are written in French. Also, most of these mayors were elected by the people not based on qualifications but rather based on popularity. This acts adversely on their ability to function effectively because they have very little knowledge about leadership.

“The mayor is not too learned and this poses a problem for us in the council and especially to me who has to run most of his errands. The fact that he is not too educated makes most of the workers here in the council to try to play over him.” Mayor’s Private secretary, Ekane.E(interview date 23-06-2017)

5. The cost of implementing decentralization:

This happens to be a major setback for decentralisation in Cameroon. This is because it is very costly to run the numerous communes that exist in the state. More so, the state is bound to always give yearly grants to all these councils. This

tends to divert most of state funds to local councils and this hinders the state development because some main projects will be abandoned as a result of limited funds in the central government coffers.

6. Central government hinders effective performance of mayors:

This can be seen in the fact central government puts the mayors on fixed salaries paid by the central government. This has cause most mayors to be reluctant and even like-warm in carrying out income generating activities in their municipalities. They base their minds on the notion that whether the council raises funds or not, their salaries are very certain and sure. Most of them occupying that position like most civil servants to keep time passing and just wait for the month to come an end when they freely receive their set salaries. This is a great problem because supposing they were paid by their council's coffers, they will engage themselves in income generating activities in the council which will bring more revenue.

7. Withholding of some powers from local governments:

This is seen especially in situations where most decisions of the mayor are scrutinized to S.D.O before implementation and sometimes rejected. The local government's power is also withheld in the fact that they cannot process building permits as this function can only be carried out by the city council.

8. Mismanagement and corruption still characterize the governing of the local collectivities:

It has been noticed that the rate at which local governments mismanage funds is alarming and also the rate at which corruption is practiced, is a call for concern and redress. Most local government leaders in Cameroon these days have become

very wealthy and luxurious than some prominent private sector holders. Mayors tend to be an embodiment of embezzlement by transferring funds meant for municipal development their private bank accounts and to attain their personal desires. Apart from the official cars given to them, most mayors in Cameroon drive in very luxurious and expensive cars which they got the money from the council's coffers. Contrarily, some communities in that municipality are inaccessible, lack portable water. These are projects meant to be carried with the embezzled funds.

Also some council workers are not accountable due to lack of qualification because they obtained their positions through, favoritism, nepotism, tribalism and religious bigotry.

In practice, central supervision of local government is weak (Fjeldstad, 2001). All too often, Central controls create more problems than they solve, including delays, frustrations, additional costs and perverse behavior. Central approval of budget in Cameroon can take many months, and in some cases is not given until after the end of financial year to which the budget relates (Lewa et al, 2004). This clearly undermines the whole purpose of budgeting. Meanwhile, centrally appointed staff may become the focus of local political discontent (as in Cameroon), seen as serving the interests of the centre rather than the local government. All too often, Central-local relations become mired in political conflict, such that the legitimate objectives of performance improvement and accountability are lost.

9. Representatives in council:

The people of most villages are not satisfied as they claim that they are not represented in the council and instead other villages have more than two councilors in the council. Some of these villages feel they are cheated upon their

rights because even at the level of council workers, some villages do not have any indigene who works at the council.

“We have no councilors there and so all the decisions are imposed on us because we have no say. Normally each of these villages was supposed to have at least two councilors each, but none is from my village.” Mokindi Chief
(Interview date: 07-07-2017)

10. There are also many political issues around central monitoring and supervision of resource use by local governments. The use of conditional transfers, approvals of budgets are only effectible if the Centre has the ability to verify what is actually at the local level. This presents the following problems:

- The cost and practical difficulties of obtaining information from remote localities and the lack of central resources to undertake this.
- Information asymmetries which make it difficult for central officials to really know the position at local level, since report from officials may not reveal the true situations.
- The capacity for the Centre to integrate correctly the information it receives and thereby to know whether the situation is satisfactory or not.
- Incentives for local government to manipulate data to show what the Centre wants or to indicate that central conditions have been met including perverse incentives, such as claiming exaggerated levels of school enrolment in order to increase grant allocations.
- Rent-seeking behavior by central officials, including auditors, charged with verifying data, so that even “verified” information cannot be relied on.

4.2 Proposed Solutions

The problems examined above, can be solved if the following proposed solutions can be effectively implemented in order to give decentralization its real content in Cameroon (Tahina, 2015:6). The solutions include:

1. All citizens including members of government, the administrators; all persons who are elected by the people should respect the constitution. There should be no administrative circumlocution. In effect, the government should enforce constitutional principles and be aggressive in their pursuit of decentralization reform, constitutional amendments etc. In other words, the state ought to function based on the assurance that no one is above the law, i.e. equality before the law creates a good atmosphere for an effective decentralization policy to be attained.

The responsibility of collecting the commune's own revenue should rest only on the communes and the central government should not place limitations which entities/organizations are to be taxed by the commune i.e. the central government should not limit the communes in collecting just little taxes by creating administrative bottlenecks, while the former collects heavy taxes within that commune of which those are to be the main sources of revenue for the communes.

“The central government should increase the subventions given to the council. This is to enable the council have enough disposable income to carry out developments. The government should also allow the local governments collect all the taxes within its municipality.” Secretary General of Limbe II council (Interview date: 23-06-2017)

2. Although elected by vote of the people, all candidates for official post should meet a minimum criteria set by government. This could be related to experience qualifications of educational certification to prevent a situation of handing over local government affairs to incompetent leaders.
3. Also, the government should give training to these officials, and for the employees in the communes. Sessions of management are needed. It would be possible and it could also serve as a way of modernizing the mentality of the people. As we know that these officials are elected by the people, but the government should make a policy and make some criteria for all persons who wish to be candidates, for example, must be at least first degree holders.
4. Reduction of the role of the supervisory authority.

The SDO's role over the commune should be curbed by the government to prevent situations where the mayors are made to feel inferior. The authority of the mayor's decision being analyzed and approved or rejected by the SDO should be eliminated. This makes the mayors feel as though they are powerless and cannot take decisions without being checked by the SDO. This affects their ability to function effectively because some decisions which they take can be deemed unnecessary by the supervisory authority. That is; the government should reduce the powers of the SDO and increase the powers of the mayors.

5. The government should cut off the links of mayors earnings from the central government and transfer it to the level of the communes.

This is to enable efficiency and retard inefficiency. By so doing, the government will cause mayors to be most focused and concern on how to develop their communes and municipalities by encouraging income earning activities which will increase the commune's revenue on which the mayor relies to get his payment.

This should be so because in a situation where he does not take decisions or actions to generate income, he will suffer the adverse effect by not receiving his salary. With such in mind, the communes will tend to grow and municipalities will become more developed which will intend contribute to the state development as a whole.

6. A policy should be set to govern the representatives of the villages in each council

. Emphasis should be laid on the fact that all villages must be represented in the council and it should not be based on political affiliation. This is to avoid situations where some people feel marginalized by the local government because they are not represented in the council and so all decisions and actions are imposed on them due to the fact that they have no opinions. Thus, to eliminate the situation where some villages are treated like *“infants amongst adults”*

“To solve the problem of local marginalization. All the eleven villages that make up that municipality must be represented by at least two councilors each. This is to guarantee that their problems are heard by the local government. Some of us should not be treated like observers in our own homeland because we don’t have any representatives in the council” (Mokindi chief interviewed on the 07-07-2017)

7. Creation of special criminal tribunal to examine financial delinquency by council executive.

This will go a long way to prevent embezzlement and corruption. The council executives will be very conscious and aware of the impacts or punishments that

follow the theft of local government money. Also, this will encourage only the recruitment of specialized and qualified staff to work in the council, thus eliminate tribalism, nepotism, favoritism and religious bigotry.

If the mayor and his collaborators are notified that, for example embezzlement of funds is tantamount to imprisonment or even public executions, they will tend to be very accountable to all costs and expenditure which they venture in, this show that the Cameroon government is very weak towards local government financial delinquency. The local government is a smaller unit as compared to the central government. If this measure can be implemented in the local government, therefore the system will be a very effective, efficient, transparent, accountable and responsible one which will enhance a robust and booming economic, political and socio-cultural state of Cameroon, thus achieving the goal of decentralization.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Summaries of Findings

This study on the paradox of the implementation of decentralization policy in Cameroon, the case study of Limbe II council is an attempt but the researchers

ascertain the perception of the people of the area on how the local government should manage both the financial and natural resources to bring about the required development in that municipality, the region and Cameroon in general. The objectives of the study were to identify the reason for decentralization, to check the extent to which it has contributed to national development, to investigate the problems faced in the implementation of the policy to purpose solution and make recommendations.

The research also looked at the Limbe II council and its role to promote his policy. This notion was achieved via the findings through interviews which people castigate and applauded for the council in different aspects. It is worth noting that the criticisms were more than praises.

The researcher also founded out the contributions of the local government, supervisory authority and central government to the failure of this policy. The work also focused on bringing out substantial evidence to prove that the central government grants to local government and the letter's generated revenue is highly mismanaged by the local executive. The central government is still holding most of local government powers.

This research has proven that decentralization is more of a failure than a success in Cameroon.

5.2. Conclusion

From the findings and hypothesis tested, it can be logically conclude that the local government its self is more responsible for the failure of the decentralization policy than the central government, and this is long run tends to affects the state in general by retarding national development. This is because the local government does not

execute most projects when and where necessary, instead they tend to embezzle the funds or focus on the development of mostly their villages of origin. This marginalizing others and this greatly influences the misinterpretation of the decentralization.

The decentralization process in Cameroon though still a limping duck, the potential from the grip of partisan politics by allowing independent personalities with special skills but no penchant to politics, to join the council and contributes their know how towards the development of the local collectivity.

At any time that decentralization collectivities will be able to maintain or tar new roads in their local collectivity, run their own schools and provide other utilities/ recreational fasciitis with less financial stress within a framework of good governance and transparency, then the process of decentralization would be said to have commenced in Cameroon, thus confirming the African adage that whenever a man gets up from sleep, his day has begun.

5.3. Recommendations

This sub-section aimed at bringing out points that can help increase the effectiveness of local governments. In order to facilitate decentralization for the development of the country, the following recommendations are needed:

- The effective sensitization and participation of the public:

First, it is necessary to inform all citizens of the terms of decentralization programme. An understanding and awareness of the stakes involved will improve chances for program success. The strategies of application must also be

communicated to the citizens for their support and individual or collective participate.

- Training of the local elected members:

Training constitutes a priority for the success of the decentralization program. Elected members should be more conscious of their responsibilities in local development and be capable of assuming the required roles to achieve it. Training financed by the state and the association of regions with a measure of autonomy as well as by the partners in the development can contribute to the improvement of the performance of the local elected members. It is not only to master the local management but also and especially for being attentive to the national and international environment, with its opportunities and its evolutions.

- Thirdly, the effective realization of the transfer of the competence and accompany measures. It is urgent to apply all laws and texts about the transfer of competence by the administration with a measuring autonomy. It passes inevitably by the application of laws on the question, the signature of all the decrees of application and the addition ministerial decrees and their actual application.

- More so, institutionalization of the commune's agent status. The quality, continuity and efficiency of the local public service orders the implementation of an appropriate local and social security of permanent agent, beneficiaries of an adequate training to lead the local development. It is necessary to shield the agents of communes from the pressures, the threats and the promotion uncertainties.

- Also, there should be the promotion of the cooperation between communes and encourage of outside partnership monitoring from central government can be also established to allow communes to be better endowed and also to accompany those who disinherited their development . For the purpose, the method of

cooperation between communes will have to be the object of an associating study, the supervision and the communes through the local elected representatives and local elites as well as partners of development. Beyond inter-commune cooperation, they can also relate directly with international environment.

- Furthermore, the mayor should ensure that before any project is implemented, it must first be appraised in order to determine the importance such project to the community and to know if it is the immediate wish of the people or if they have another priority.

- The researcher in further recommending that the mayor should keep aside tribalism, party affiliation and parochial sentiments when appointing council workers so that those who are competent can be appointed to head positions to foster the growth of the municipality.

- Finally, the central government should release all the powers of the local government which are still withheld.

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APPENDIX

The interview guide was a set of questions which were written down to assist me on the kind of information I need from the interviewee and all geared towards making this research attain a scientific result. They include;

Research Question 1: The extent to which the Limbe II Council has implemented the decentralization policy

1. Following presidential decree N^o 2007/117 of April 24 2007 in accordance to the decentralization policy of the state that led to the creation of Limbe II Council; what is your opinion about the level of awareness in the municipality?

2. There is administrative decentralization which talks of powers of the leaders of local collectivities.
 - i. How powerful are they in relations to this municipality?
 - ii. During municipal elections, what is the role of the S.D.O and how does he influence the powers of the mayor?
 - iii. Being an indigene of this municipality, are the mayor's decisions influenced by the people under his constituency or by other public administrators, and how?

3. There is also fiscal decentralization which is money given to councils by Central government.
 - i. As a councilor/chief/indigene of this municipality, can you tell me on the effective utilization of these funds?
 - ii. These funds are not given equally to councils but based on the lobbying power of the mayors. What can be your comment on mayor's lobbying power with regard to the amount received by this council?

4. Political decentralization talks about the people's participation in decision making.
 - i. To what extent can you say the people are solely responsible for whoever becomes the local government chairman?
 - ii. To what extent can you say the interest of this community is secured through its representatives in the council?

5. With development as the main goal of decentralization, how can you classify the relationship between decentralization and development in this municipality?

Research Question 2: Challenges encountered by the Limbe II council in the implementation of the decentralization policy

6. What do you think are some of the problems faced by Limbe II council in trying to implement the decentralization policy?

Research Question 3: proposed solution to the problems faced by the Limbe II council in implementing the policy of decentralization

7. What can the central government do to solve these problems?
8. What can the local government do to remedy the problems it faces in course of implementing the decentralization policy?