

ANNUAL REPORT



2018•2019

The Forum of Federations, the global network on federalism and multilevel governance, supports better governance through learning among practitioners and experts.

Active on six continents, it runs programs in over 20 countries including established federations, as well as countries transitioning to devolved and decentralized governance options.

The Forum publishes a range of information and educational materials. It is supported by the following partner countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan and Switzerland.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Message From The Forum.....	4
Board Of Directors.....	5
Forum Staff.....	6
Field Staff.....	7
Who We Are And What We Do.....	8
Policy Programs.....	12
Development Assistance Programs.....	18
Publications And Multimedia.....	30
What People Are Saying About The Forum Of Federations.....	42

Message from the Forum

In 2018 the Forum launched a new five-year strategic plan and began implementation of a new results based management system that measures the effectiveness of the activities of the organization. As part of its strategic orientation, in 2018 the Forum launched a major study on federalism and gender which, once complete, will enable it to more effectively incorporate a gender lens into its work. This year the Forum also undertook its first major annual stakeholder survey with very positive results that will be used to help guide future Forum work. All of these initiatives will help update the Forum approach, improve our work and memorialize our results.

As foreseen in the new strategic plan, the Forum has moved away from organizing one-off activities as part of its Policy programs and invested more in knowledge products by increasing the number of reports, occasional papers, and books published. These publications represent the culmination of several years of research. The intellectual capital produced allows the Forum to remain at the cutting edge of federalism expertise, while also bolstering its development assistance activities.

In addition, the Forum's ongoing development assistance programs in Tunisia, Burma (Myanmar), Nepal, and Ethiopia assisted a number of these countries to achieve major political and constitutional milestones. The Forum's MENA gender program in Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan had a banner year, implementing hundreds of events, training sessions, workshops, and creative teaching simulations. Through this work, the Forum provided training to hundreds of talented women, many of whom went on to become elected municipal and federal officials. Some of their stories are included in this report.

The continued high level of output has allowed the Forum to rise to the next level of its development and remain the leading organization on federalism and devolved multilevel governance. We thank our partner countries for their generous contributions. Next year, the Forum celebrates its 20th anniversary and we look forward to marking this with a special event.



Foray M. M. M. M.



Chattopadhyay



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Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

▶ WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO



WHO WE ARE

The Forum of Federations is an international organization that develops and shares comparative expertise on the practice of federal and decentralized governance through a global network.

The Forum is concerned with the contribution that federalism and multilevel governance can make to the consolidation of democracy. The Forum supports governments around the world to help develop governance solutions in multilevel systems. The organization's core area of specialization is federalism. However, Forum expertise is increasingly sought across the range of multilevel systems, including in decentralized and devolved countries.

The Forum is truly international in nature, working with stakeholders at all levels in countries in North and South America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australasia.

THE MISSION OF THE FORUM

The mission of the Forum is to strengthen inclusive and responsive governance, including pluralism and gender equality, in federal, decentralized, and transitioning countries.

The Forum's work in federal and multilevel governance contributes to enhancing the quality and coherence of public policy, thereby improving the effectiveness of both public service delivery and implementation of national, regional, and local development strategies. Its capacity building work covers many aspects of multilevel governance and reaches a wide range of stakeholders, facilitating the development, transfer, application, and sharing of knowledge at all levels of society. The Forum's activities support national, regional, and international development efforts to create more inclusive and peaceful societies with responsive governments that meet the needs of citizens. The Forum also assists in democratic consolidation in states or regions in post-conflict situations.



THE FORUM ADVANTAGE: HANDS-ON EXPERIENCE AND HIGH LEVEL EXPERTISE

The Forum has a practical, problem-solving approach to achieving results. Since its founding nearly two decades ago, it has supported governments and citizens around the world through capacity building and the provision of expertise and impartial practical education.

The Forum brings the world's leading experts together with the "practitioners" of government: elected officials, civil servants, political operatives. The Forum's direct relationship with governments on each continent makes it uniquely placed to promote intergovernmental learning by working in tandem with its partner governments.

Alongside its work with key governance practitioners, the Forum also supports civil society stakeholders. Working through its extensive network of local partners, the Forum provides learning and knowledge to facilitate the participation of civil society in the multilevel governance processes which impact their lives.

Our Core Principle: "Learning from Each Other"

The comparative methodology utilized by the Forum in the implementation of its activities is based on the core principle of "Learning from Each Other." Bridging the worlds of academic research and real-world practice, the Forum approach leverages the synergies between its Policy and Development Assistance activities to continuously inform and renew its body of cutting edge intellectual capital on multilevel governance.

THE HISTORY OF THE FORUM

The Forum was established by the Government of Canada. The inaugural International Conference on Federalism held in 1999 at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada led to the founding of the Forum as an institution based in Ottawa. Four consecutive International Conferences were subsequently held in Switzerland, Belgium, India, and Ethiopia.

Following the 2005 Conference held in Brussels, a number of countries joined the Forum as funding partners, establishing it as a membership-based international organization.

As of 2017 ten governments had signed agreements as partners of the Forum, supporting the activities of the organization and providing expertise, with representation on the Forum's Strategic Council and Board of Directors. These countries are Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia,

Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Switzerland. Over the years the Forum has expanded the scope of its work from established federal countries to include nation states in post-conflict situations adopting federal forms of governance and those involved in processes of devolution and decentralization. Growth led to the expansion of the organization to a range of countries around the world. As of December 2018, the Forum had field offices and/or representation in Brazil, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Jordan, Morocco, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, and Tunisia.



THE FORUM IN ACTION

The Forum's unique global network of experts can be swiftly mobilized to provide expert counsel and support to countries tackling acute governance problems. The Forum has been active in more than twenty countries since its establishment in 1999.

Through its work in 2018-19, the Forum has:

- Assisted in democracy-building in fragile and post-conflict states through institution building and local empowerment;
- Fostered the development of inclusive societies by supporting stakeholders to find common ground through dialogue;
- Enhanced public service delivery by providing civil servants with the tools and knowledge to implement effective federal and decentralized multilevel government;
- Empowered women to participate in governance processes through training and networking activities;
- Facilitated knowledge development and transfer in a range of governance topics, including: Territorial Cleavages; Intergovernmental Relations; Federalism and Education, Local Governments and Metropolitan Regions, Health Care and Federalism, Centralization and Decentralization in Federations, Water Management in Federations, Gender and Federalism, Fiscal Federalism; Health Care and Federalism, and Immigrant Integration;
- Developed and produced a range of publications and multimedia content on principles, practices, and experiences of federal and devolved governance.





Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

► POLICY PROGRAMS



POLICY PROGRAMS 2018-2019

Forum Policy Programs aim to facilitate understanding of thematic or sectoral multilevel governance issues, and deliver innovative solutions in federal, decentralized, and devolved countries. They facilitate knowledge exchange on topical public policy questions and on issues related to the management, reform, and development of federal and decentralized systems. They also aim to build a comparative body of knowledge on contemporary—and usually structural—themes of federal and decentralized governance. The knowledge generated through the Policy Program informs the Forum's Development Assistance Programs.

In fiscal year 2018-2019 the Forum continued to work on a number of Policy Programs begun in previous years, and initiated programs on Gender & Federalism and Climate Change in Federal Countries. Activities included the organization and delivery of workshops, seminars, study visits, conferences, and presentations, as well as the provision of expert advice. In addition, the Forum developed and produced a range of publications, learning tools and knowledge products.

12 activities implemented
across 6 different countries
around the world



20 partner institutions
engaged, 8 new partners for
the Forum



275 stakeholders benefited
from the activities

This year, the Forum and its partners developed and implemented twelve Policy Program activities in six different countries around the world. These activities directly addressed multilevel governance priorities of five Forum member countries. The Forum has engaged with twenty partner institutions in the development and delivery of its Policy Programs, eight of which collaborated with the organization for the first time.

The main beneficiaries of Policy Program activities were officials from all levels of government, parliamentarians, CSOs representatives, academic experts, and students from Forum partner countries and other federal and decentralized nations. Approximately 275 stakeholders benefited from Policy Program activities.

9 new knowledge products created

The Forum and its partners created nine new knowledge products in 2018-2019: one thematic book and eight papers.

The Forum's Policy Programs are carried out in three categories:

- **Governance & Service Delivery**—programs that address policy issues such as Education, Health Care, Intergovernmental Relations, Fiscal Relations and Revenue Sharing, Local Government, Centralization vs. Decentralization, and Multilevel Politics of Trade
- **Environment**—programs that address environmental issues in areas such as Climate Change, Natural Resource Management, and Water Management
- **Constitutional Issues and Diversity & Inclusion**—programs that address issues of multilevel governance structures and participation in governance such as Constitutional Interpretation, Constitutional Reform, Gender Equality, Territorial Cleavages, Indigenous Policies, Youth, Minority Rights, and Language.

GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Federalism and Education

On June 5, 2018, a roundtable discussion for experts and government officials was held in Berlin, Germany, in cooperation with representatives of North Rhine Westphalia, to disseminate the findings of the Forum's *Federalism and Education: Ongoing Challenges and Policy Strategies in Ten Countries* program. There is interest in Germany in learning from international experiences on the reform of the division of competencies in education.

On June 7, 2018, the program findings were disseminated at a workshop in Zaragoza, Spain, which was organized by the Forum in cooperation with the Gimenez Abad Foundation.

The Forum used this publication with success in its Myanmar Development Assistance Program. Add something about dissemination in DAP countries?

Health Care and Federalism

On October 25, 2018, the Forum and the North American Observatory on Health Systems and Policies located at the University of Toronto launched a new Forum Book, *Federalism and Decentralization in Health Care: A Decision Space Approach*, edited by Gregory P. Marchildon of the University of Toronto and Thomas J. Bossert of Harvard University.

The book examines the institutional structures and trends of health systems in eight constitutional federations: Brazil, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, and Switzerland. It explores vital dimensions of health care provision such as constitutional and legal responsibility, financing, human resources, service organization and delivery arrangements, and public coverage.

The Forum has used the knowledge derived from this publication in its ongoing governance programs in Ethiopia and Myanmar.

Intergovernmental Relations

Pakistani Delegation to Canada

From May 22-26, 2018, the Forum hosted a delegation from the Senate of Pakistan, led by the Deputy Chairman of the Senate, Senator Saleem Mandviwalla, on a study visit to Canada. During the visit delegates participated in a series of activities which provided them with an overview of Canada's federal system, its intergovernmental arrangements, and the role of the Canadian Parliament in governance. The study visit included meetings with Canadian Parliamentarians and public servants, as well as visits to Canada's two chambers of Parliament: the Senate and the House of Commons. During the visit, the Forum and the Senate of Pakistan signed a Memorandum of Understanding on mutual cooperation in supporting democratic federal governance.

Brazilian Delegation to Canada

From September 24-29, 2018, Brazilian delegates from the Presidency of Brazil visited Toronto and Ottawa to learn about intergovernmental relations in Canada. During the visit, the delegation met with various governance practitioners, including federal Parliamentarians, provincial representatives, members of the public service involved in intergovernmental relations, legal experts on intergovernmental relations, and diplomatic representatives. They attended several workshops that outlined Canada's history of intergovernmental relations and how it evolved into the system in place today.



Study Program for Second Chamber Officials in Germany

On October 16, 2018, Forum supported the Study Program for Second Chamber Officials, organized by the Secretariat of the German Federal Council (Bundesrat). The objective of the one week study program was to increase the knowledge about the unique institution of the Bundesrat and the understanding of political decision-making in Germany. The visit also created a space for exchange between second chamber officials. Regardless of the huge variety of second chambers in terms of composition and competencies, the chambers often face similar challenges. Forum Vice-President, Felix Knüpling, delivered a presentation on “German Federalism in International Comparison” putting Germany’s federal system into international perspective. The study program was attended by senior second chamber officials from Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Myanmar, Nigeria, Pakistan, Spain, and Switzerland. The delegation also held meetings at various ministries at State and federal level as well as the federal parliament.

Fiscal Federalism

On September 6-7, 2018, the Forum and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, in collaboration with the Department of Interior and Local Government and the Centre for Federalism and Constitutional Reform, held an intervention on Comparative Practices in Fiscal Federalism in Manila, Philippines. The activity was implemented in response to the need to develop and comprehend new approaches in federal fiscal management and coordination. These approaches were in line with those potential powers that could be allocated to provinces/federated regions and local governments under a constitutional shift. The event provided Philippine senior elected officials, administrators, and academics with comparative experiences in fiscal management and coordination from other multilevel systems of government.

Local Government

On June 14, 2018, the Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance at the University of Toronto and the Forum convened a panel in Toronto, entitled “Is Municipal Cooperation a Silver Bullet?” The panel discussed the practice and effectiveness of municipal cooperation in three countries: Australia, Brazil, and Canada. Municipal cooperation on planning and service delivery is often advanced as a means to strengthen local government and address fragmented governance in metropolitan and other regions. The proposition is that if municipalities work together, they can achieve improved efficiency, lower service delivery costs, and better outcomes. Thus, municipal cooperation can provide an alternative to municipal mergers. The panel addressed the question of whether municipal cooperation is a panacea for all local governance challenges, or merely a convenient solution used to address immediate problems.

Centralization and Decentralization in Federations

The Forum is a partner in the second phase of the “Why Centralization and Decentralization in Federations” project, in which the dynamics of centralization/ decentralization are analyzed in Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The first in a series of workshops implemented under the project was held in Sao Paulo, Brazil, on June 20-22, 2018. At this event, project participants closely examined the country case studies, and discussed the methodology and results. This workshop was organized in cooperation with the Federal University of Sao Paulo and the Center for Metropolitan Studies, University of Sao Paulo.

ENVIRONMENT

Water Management in Federations

On August 30, 2018, the Forum launched the www.federalrivers.org website in partnership with the Oxford Water Network. This new site features best governance practices and insightful analysis on Federal Rivers. Dustin Garrick, co-director of the Smith School Water Programme, announced this exciting venture at World Water Week in Stockholm. Many important watershed systems cross different governmental jurisdictions nationally and internationally. The website provides comparative examples on how water systems are managed in different federal government systems. This tool can be used as guide for governing bodies tasked with managing this precious resource.

Climate Change

In fiscal year 2018-2019, the Forum initiated a Comparative Program on Climate Change and Federal Governance. The ultimate objective of the program is to increase comparative knowledge and understanding of climate change governance and policies in federal and decentralized countries and provide key insights on the challenges in policy development, innovation and implementation. There is currently little research in this area that provides practitioners and researchers with comparative policy insight from across governments within federal jurisdictions, and that accounts for innovation within the climate change governance sector. The program is examining and comparing the roles and functions of different levels of government and other actors influencing policy in climate change governance. This provides insight into the development, practice and effectiveness of climate change policy in the countries addressed in the case studies. It also illustrates these stakeholders' roles as arbiters of policy and transformative actors in this policy area. Furthermore, it provides a platform to enhance the applied and shared knowledge of practitioners across the spectrum of federal and decentralized countries. The program will eventually feature 14 case studies, including: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Ethiopia, European Union, Germany, India, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AND DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

Constitutional Interpretation, Constitutional Reform

On December 13, 2018, the Forum and the Institute for Applied Economic Research launched the book 30 Years of the Brazilian Federal Constitution: Perspectives for Brazilian Federalism in Brasilia, Brazil. A seminar, co-organized with the Secretariat for Federative Affairs of the Brazilian Presidency, was held in conjunction with the launch and discussed the main findings. The volume compiles articles written by leading Brazilian experts on federalism, a number of whom have significantly contributed to projects conducted and sponsored by the Forum. It helps the reader to not only understand the challenges Brazil faces in improving its federative model, especially as regards the role of municipalities, but also to envision necessary improvements in Brazilian federalism. The book seeks to highlight and increase understanding of important elements of Brazil's federative model among Brazilian society, and thereby strengthen the federal system in the country.

Gender and Federalism

Gender inequality is a complex socially, historically, and culturally embedded phenomenon which manifests itself in a variety of policy domains. Its pervasive and enduring existence across societies has generated myriad studies and analyses which have created a rich, broad field of knowledge on the subject. In 2018-2019 the Forum initiated a research project on the dynamics between gender equality and federal and decentralized governance, led by Dr. Christine Forster of the University of New South Wales, with the aim of contributing to the field of knowledge in the area. The project analyzes the complex dynamics of gender equality and federal/decentralized governance models as well as identifying key theoretical and empirical learning from the existing evidence base. The main findings of the study will inform future Forum work in both Policy Programs and Development Assistance Programs. The study will be completed in late 2019.



On February 20-21, 2018, Forum President and CEO Rupak Chattopadhyay gave a keynote address at FemParl4 - the annual gathering of women leaders from South and Southeast Asia, in New Delhi, India. This event was organized by the Canadian missions in the region with the objective to promote and actively encourage women's participation in all levels of governance. FemParl engages in knowledge-sharing techniques and networking to help young women attain roles in governance arenas. The Forum was proud to participate in this event and share comparative experiences from its programs, as well as discussing how its network could be of use to aspiring governance actors.

Territorial Cleavages

In January 2019 the Forum and its partners - International IDEA, the Center for Constitutional Transitions, and the Gimenez Abad Foundation - released a Policy Paper entitled "Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions." This paper, alongside the edited volume of the same title, constitute the two outputs of the comparative program on constitutional transitions in the context of territorial disputes, implemented by the Forum in collaboration with its partners. While the book surveys a wide range of challenges that territorial conflicts pose for constitution-making processes and constitutional design, the Policy Paper presents concrete policy recommendations. It

seeks to provide insights into how territorial claims relate to constitution-making processes and constitutional design, and to offer advice that may be useful to principals and advisors engaged in "constitutional moments." Constitutional moments are those periods in which there has been intense political engagement over how to respond constitutionally to significant demands for territorial accommodation from one or more regions.

Minority rights

On March 6, 2018, the Forum held a workshop in cooperation with the State Representation of North-Rhine Westphalia on Immigrant Integration in Federal Countries, held in Berlin, Germany.

Policies to encourage the integration of immigrants and their descendants have risen on the public agenda in many Western democracies over the past decade. The reasons for this vary, from combating religious and other forms of extremism to breaking down linguistic and other barriers that lead to social exclusion and marginalization. In this context, the purpose of most policy changes has been to place greater focus on measures that encourage newcomers to become more familiar with the receiving society's norms and values and to be actively involved within the host society.

On this background, the key question for the workshop was how to structure a dialogue with religious communities at state/provincial level, particularly with Islam, and how would this relate to similar initiatives at the federal level. Forum senior advisor, Dr Leslie Seidle, delivered a presentation on the constitutional/political framework in the area of immigrant integration in Canada with a focus on the division of responsibilities. He also touched on role and perception of Islam in Canada and how federal and provincial governments in Canada engage with religious communities (particularly Islam) and for which purposes. Drawing some lessons from the Canadian experience, Ms Serap Güler, State Secretary for Integration at the Government of North-Rhine Westphalia, reflected on the challenges and opportunities at the state level. She explained how state-level governments attempt to promote integration and relations with religious communities and how those efforts relate to and complement federal initiatives.

This by-invitation-only event was attended by 30 senior government officials and experts. It formed part of a collaboration between the Forum and the State Government of North-Rhine Westphalia who have agreed to jointly hold high-level workshops on thematic issues of federalism. The first workshop of this series focused on the subject of Education in Federal Countries. The next workshop in November 2019 will focus on governance challenges and issues in the area of public safety.





Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

▶ DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS



ETHIOPIA

Supporting the consolidation of democratic federal governance

Challenge

With support from the Government of Canada, the Forum is currently implementing a program entitled “Strengthening Federal Governance and Pluralism in Ethiopia” (SFGPE). The program, which runs from 2017-2022, addresses weaknesses in Ethiopia’s federal governance that were made dramatically apparent by the massive public demonstrations for social and political reform which began in 2016.

Ethiopia adopted a federal system of governance in 1995. However, the country has experienced significant anti-government unrest since the fall of 2016. Even before the mass protests, close observers of Ethiopian federalism were identifying major gaps in the operation of the federal system in terms of managing the growing complexities of the nation’s rapidly expanding economy and political demands for equity and good governance.

The protests were an urgent signal that serious reforms were necessary if federalism was to play its intended roles of managing ethnic conflict (creating “unity in diversity”) and delivering good governance at local, state, and federal levels.

The SFGPE project directly addresses critical and strategic issues of accountable governance, peaceful pluralism, and respect for human rights, including women’s and girls’ rights. It assists in strengthening state-public relations to advance democracy and human rights.



Program objectives

The Forum’s intervention ultimately aims to contribute to a strengthened and more responsive federal system for Ethiopian men and women. The project works in three key results area to achieve its goal:

Enhanced, gender-sensitive management of inter-governmental relations by the government of Ethiopia;

Improved inter-governmental fiscal relations that support gender-equitable development for men and women;

Increased understanding of the constitution by state actors and Ethiopian men and women regarding their rights and avenues of recourse.

Theory of change

As this project enhances the federal system for Ethiopian men and women, then governance decisions will be made that more directly impact the lives of civil society and lead to more peaceful participation in the governance system. This change entails moving away from protests because civil society will feel that their system has become more responsive to their needs and enhances their voice.



Results Story

In April 2019, Mrs. TilekSew Yitayal, Deputy Speaker of the Amhara Regional Council, attended the Forum's Federalism Leadership Training in Ethiopia. The training was designed to enhance the leadership skills of senior women leaders. Participating female leaders were selected on the basis of their demonstrable leadership skills and their commitment to federal governance.

After returning to her work place, Mrs. TilekSew Yitayal advised members of her cabinet on establishing a leadership dialogue forum for women leaders. After a presentation, discussions, and negotiations, her idea

came to fruition and a leadership dialogue forum entitled "Forum of Amhara Region Women Leaders," has now been constituted at the regional level.

Mrs. TilekSew Yitayal also has a plan to extend the initiative to zonal and district levels. The dialogue forum has now begun discussions on pressing federal governance issues such as conflict, identity, and resource management. In addition, Mrs. TilekSew Yitayal negotiated and made available a budget to train an additional 200 female leaders in her region.

"For me, the Federalism Leadership training taught me the [...] leadership skills needed to exert influence and work efficiently and effectively in the workplace and community. The training prepared me to influence public policy through self-awareness, change management, hard work, vision, and goal setting.

"I also learned new skills on how to manage conflicts, and how to bring institutional transformation to the success of society as a whole. If applied every day, the training will help to bring positive change in the area of intergovernmental relations, conflict management, negotiation and policy coordination."

Mrs. Helen Debebe, Speaker of House, Regional Council, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region

Results in Numbers

In the period from April 2018 to March 2019, the project worked directly with a total of 272 beneficiaries, 39% of them female, through the organization of different trainings and workshops. There was also a Gender Mainstreaming Training for 34 beneficiaries, 50% of them female. The training attracted senior leaders and gender experts drawn from different parts of the Ethiopian government. Participants in the training came from the House of Federation, Council of Constitutional Inquiry Secretariat, Ministry of Women, Children & Youth Affairs, Ministry of Peace, and from the Attorney General's office.

A Consultation Workshop took place for 44 beneficiaries, 41% of them female. The workshop, entitled "Identifying Issues that Affect Women and Girls' Constitutional Rights," included state and non-state actors. Participants came from governmental bodies such as the Council of Constitutional Inquiry, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General's office, the Legal Research Institute, and non-state actors such as the Network of Ethiopian Women Associations and the Association for Women's Sanctuary and Development.

A Policy Dialogue on Major Fiscal Issues took place, in which 97 regional stakeholders, involving ministers, speakers, and regional presidents were consulted. The dialogue culminated with the production of a 100-page report entitled "Revising the Concurrent Revenue Sharing Formula." This policy review document has been submitted to the House of Federation.

MENA WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Enhancing women's leadership and participation to foster more inclusive governance

Challenge

There had been a substantial influence of women in the protests which led to the unravelling of many highly centralized, undemocratic regimes in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region during the Arab Spring. However, this influence has not led to a commensurate increase in the representation of female stakeholders in leadership and decision-making positions within MENA countries. This is largely a consequence of entrenched political and cultural contexts which continue to marginalize women within political, civil society, and public spheres. Furthermore, the political and institutional inadequacies which exist in MENA countries have been influenced significantly by these traditionally restrictive power structures and have contributed to women's political inexperience and lack of political access. Thus, women are unable to influence decision making on political, social, and economic issues which directly impact their lives and/or are relevant to their interests.

Evidence shows the deficit of women in leadership positions is especially detrimental to the development of gender equality in the MENA region, as women's empowerment is often a vector for broader social, political, and cultural change. The marginalization of women in the development of their countries prevents the interests of all groups in a society from being addressed, and decision-making consequently does not reflect the will of the people. Furthermore, a lack of female participation in roles of influence inhibits the establishment of the democratic systems which are essential to fostering sustainable development in the region.

As part of the government of Canada's commitment to advancing gender equality and good governance in the MENA region, the Forum was selected to implement the Women's leadership project in Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia.

Program Objectives

The overall objective of the initiative is the advancement of inclusiveness in governance in the target countries. To achieve this, the program aims to produce two key outcomes:

- a) Increasing the participation of women in social, cultural and political power structures and decision-making.
- b) Enhancing the ability of women and men to positively shape governmental and non-governmental policies, programs and activities that affect women's inclusion in social, cultural and political spheres.



Theory of Change

The program assumes that:

- if more women participate in social, cultural and political power structures and decision-making; and
- if women's and men's ability to positively shape governmental and non-governmental policies, programs, and activities that affect women's inclusion in social, cultural, and political spheres is enhanced

...then there will be more women where policies are made.

If women are where policies are made, and given the right conditions, policies start to address the challenges that women confront in their daily lives. This, in turn, leads to more inclusive governance in the targeted MENA countries.

The program uses a knowledge sharing strategy to enhance women's leadership skills. When women are skilled, it leads to an increase in the demand for women officeholders. Furthermore, the camaraderie and in-country networking developed during these knowledge sharing events enables women leaders build relationships, share knowledge, and act together on issues.

Results Story

While it is still relatively early in the project to identify measurable advances in inclusive governance in the targeted countries, in 2018-2019 project activities impacted a significant number of women—parliamentarians, women in political parties, and women in the public service at the national and regional level. While the project reached thousands of women and men this year, the following three individual stories capture some of its achievements:

1. In Tunisia: Raida Zouari, Takwa Ghanjati and Baya Khmaissa, three of the candidates who were part of the promotion of the political Academy of Aswat Nissa, supported by the Forum, were elected to the municipal councils in Tunisia in May 2018. Furthermore, four participants of Forum training sessions, organized by the Ligue des Electriciennes Tunisiennes (LET), were elected to the municipal councils of Kélibia and Haouria. One young woman was appointed Vice-President of the Council of the municipality of Kélibia, while another became President of the Committee on Culture and Education of the municipality of Kélibia. A third was appointed Chair of the Committee on Financial Affairs and Administration and responsible for the report of the Committee on Education of the municipality of Haouria. The fourth participant became Rapporteur of the Committee on Works and Development of the municipality of Kélibia.
2. In Morocco: Three provincial councils (Essaouira, Figuig, Zagora) in Morocco used the members of *Instance consultative de l'équité, de l'égalité des chances et de l'approche genre* (IEECAG) and the expertise of the Forum to revise their development programs. They made these revisions in order to integrate the gender dimension and principles of inclusive governance. In light of its involvement with the project, the Provincial Council of Figuig appointed three women in decision-making positions (Vice-Chairperson, Rapporteur, Vice-Rapporteur).
3. In Jordan: Adel Brahem, Director-General at the Ministry of Finance, who was involved with the project, stated the importance of men's sensitization to the issue of gender equality order to support the institutionalization of the gender approach. For the first time, Circular No. 9, relating to the preparation of the State Budget of 2020, invited all ministries to develop strategies that take into account the differences between women and men and between the different categories of society without discrimination. The same circular devoted a whole paragraph to the gender perspective in the proposed approach to the preparation of budget 2020. The Director-General underscored that the budget should guarantee fairness and equal opportunities between women and men and between people from different social categories.

“Thanks to the training, I became aware of the barriers to inclusiveness (moral, legal, etc.) and the key competences to be developed to gain leadership, which was the key to the changes I have experienced.”

- Ms. Wafa Ben Arif-Tunisia (training beneficiary). Following her participation in Forum training, Ms. Wafa Ben Arif-Tunisia oversaw the organization of a Roundtable on Combating Violence against Women between the Text of the Law and the Application.

“I participated as an actor in the play “Haytiyat”, prepared by the Association Théâtre Aquarium in partnership with the Forum.

Personally, I have always had great respect for women, but honestly, a few times, I did not respect instructions from women. After the play, I became more aware of the issue of female leadership, not only in personal situations but it became for me a question of principles that must be defended. I realized that because of an accumulation of ideas and prejudices in society, our actions become unconsciously geared towards exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination of women.

My participation in this theatrical experience convinced me that our culture creates an imbalance between the status of man and woman and that we need to become more aware of this situation and fight as artists against any form of discrimination and exclusion against women”

- Mr. Saïd Amel, actor at the Association Théâtre Aquarium-Morocco

Results in Numbers

Reach: A total of 8,752 people were reached directly through implemented activities by the project in the year covered by this report. Of the total number of people reached, 7,604 (87%) are women and 1,148 (13%) are men. Over 68% of the reached by implemented activities are between the ages of 15–40, and 32% are 41 and above. Therefore, the project reached more women than men and reached more people who are younger.

The total number of people directly reached by implemented activities is disaggregated into the following categories

- Established/current leaders: **1,259** (**93% women** and **7% men**);
- Women in inland/rural regions: **167** (**84% women** and **16% men**);
- Future/potential leaders: **643** (**99% women** and **1% men**);
- Public: **6,288** (**85% women** and **15% men**)
- Trainers (TOT): **395 trainers** (**70% women** and **30% men**).

Local implementing organizations: the project worked in collaboration with 25 organizations:

- **8** civil society organizations
- **3** media institutes
- **6** academic/research institutes
- **8** government departments/authorities

Social Media reach:

According to the data from the project’s social media page, web reports developed on project’s activities reached a total of **87,246 people** and of those **11,722 engaged** with the post by either sharing, liking or commenting.

Supporting Decentralized Governance in Myanmar

Engendering informed decision making on federal governance reform

Challenge

The Forum has been active in Myanmar since 2012 and, with the support of the Government of Canada, has provided federalism trainings for a variety of stakeholders including MPs, political parties, government officials, Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The Forum's assistance responds to the political process in Myanmar, through which the country is aiming to transition from a military dictatorship riven by ethnic based internal conflict to democratic decentralized governance and accommodation with Myanmar's ethnic groups. Federalism is a core demand of ethnic minorities. There is now a consensus among major stakeholders on the need for a more inclusive decentralized political system, as formulated in the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement which was signed between the Government of Myanmar and approximately half of the EAOs in October 2015.

However, challenges related to the realization of federalism persist, including: constraints under the current constitution; limited understanding of federalism among elected MPs, government officials and the general public; and a lack of practical tools and approaches to advance related reforms. In general, the capacity to address governance questions remains low and misconceptions about political ideas such as federalism prevail. Furthermore, the Rohingya crisis has added to the complexity of issues impacting Myanmar's reform and development, where populations in conflict-affected areas are prone to, if not already suffering from, humanitarian catastrophes. This crisis alone has resulted in the creation of over 700,000 refugees and internally displaced people, on top of major violence against other marginalized groups in other parts of the country.

Program Objectives

The Forum's intervention ultimately aims to contribute to enhancing federal democracy, stability, and inclusiveness in Myanmar through a capacity building program focusing on federalism. The objective is to achieve this through two intermediate outcomes:

- 1) Increased integration of democratic and federal principles into policy of the government;
- 2) Increased engagement of citizens and civil society, including ethnic minority and women's groups, in the transition to federal democracy.

Theory of Change

First, the program increases the awareness and knowledge of political stakeholders of federal governance issues, as well as enhancing administrative and legislative capacity to make informed decisions about implementation of democratic and federal principles at all levels. Second, it increases understanding of federalism within civil society and the general population, including among women and youth, and strengthens core indigenous capacity for training on federalism with national scope.

Trainings on the theme of "gender equality and federalism" are designed to sensitize both men and women about the importance of empowering women in the process of decentralization/federalism.

The increased capacity and sensitization of the government officials and the public will create an environment in which integration and engagement can develop. These two changes will ultimately lead to decision-making which incorporates the needs of minority populations and provides more responsive government.

Results Story

Dr. U Kywe Kywe, member of the House of Representatives, participated in two trainings the Forum organized for the Union parliament: the first was a workshop on basic concepts of federalism, and the second was a workshop on lessons from Indonesia's decentralization experience. "The workshops were quite an eye-opener", Dr. U Kywe Kywe commented. "As an MP, I realize now how federalism and federal concepts are important for a country like Myanmar. I had long wanted to understand what federalism actually means."

Results in Numbers

In the period April 2018–March 2019, the project trained a total of 2,162 beneficiaries (41% of them female) through 43 different training and outreach activities. This includes: 23 intensive 2.5 day stakeholder trainings for delegates to the Union Peace Conference, members of CSOs, political parties, and EAOs (853 beneficiaries, 43% of them female). In addition, 226 senior government officials (19% of them female) participated in two multi-day thematic trainings. In the reporting period, the project continued its Training Program with the subnational parliaments training all 103 members of three state-level parliaments (33% of them female). The project also organized one training-of-trainers seminar for the political wing of a leading ethnic armed organization. There were 946 beneficiaries of the project (46% of them female), mostly CSO activists, journalists, community leaders, and political party representatives, who all benefitted from the project's outreach activities on federalism.



FEDERAL TRANSITION IN NEPAL

Aiding post-conflict federal transition processes

Challenge

After the promulgation of its federal Constitution and the successful conduct of elections across all three spheres of government, Nepal is now working towards the implementation of a federal system of government. This is a mammoth task, including establishing the function of all spheres of government, the distribution of roles, and the assignment of responsibilities and resources. Perhaps most significantly, Nepal must develop the form and function of entirely new spheres of government in the provincial sphere, across each of the seven provinces of the country.

Instrumental in these state building efforts are the Ministry of Federal Affairs and General Administration (MoFAGA), and the National Natural Resources and Fiscal Commission (NNRFC), with whom the Forum is working to support their endeavours to provide services across the country.

Program Objectives

The Forum's "Managing Federal Transition" (MFT) Program is focused on three priority outcomes:

- Demonstrating and transferring the practices, principles, and possibilities of federalism;
- Strengthening pluralism and effective governance. Detailing effective practices in fiscal federal governance;
- Capacity changes in knowledge, attitudes, skills, and opportunities and incentives. Establishing the importance of intergovernmental fiscal relations (IGFR) and coordination as fundamental to the successful implementation of federalism.

Results Story

In 2017, Nepal concluded its first ever elections at all three levels of this newly established federation, a historic achievement in the context of the conflict and cleavage that has torn at the country for decades.

At the request of the Minister of MoFAGA and the Secretary of the NNRFC the Forum tailored its technical advice and comparative experience to the specific challenges that were identified by both MoFAGA and the then newly established NNRFC.

As part of the MFT Program, political leaders and senior administrators from across all three spheres of government were brought together for the first time in Province 2 to discuss their roles and responsibility sharing experiences and concerns.

The Chief Minister of Province 2, Lalbabu Raut, and the Attorney General of Province 2, Dipendra Jha, both applauded this intervention as a source of important engagement at a crucial time in Nepal's federal transition.



Results in Numbers

Focusing on key areas in federal governance, the Managing Federal Transition program was able to prompt greater awareness of the opportunity and rights available to newly elected leaders from all spheres. The program also fostered an appreciation of this shift in power arrangements and decision making among administrators.

Two events took were implemented under the program in June and July of 2018, which were attended by a total of 243 participants.

The first event was held in collaboration with the NNRFC, and focused on the theme of Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations: The Role of the Independent Finance Commission. Participants included representatives from all key departments of the government in Kathmandu as well as a significant number of provincial officials and some local level participants. The attendees also included officials from the Minister of Finance, and the Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers

The second activity under the program was implemented in collaboration with the administration of Province 2 and MoFAGA. The event achieved substantial attendance and interaction from elected leaders and administrators and importantly, there was interaction among all three levels of government.



Informing governance reform processes to support conflict resolution

Challenge

Insurgency and ethnic conflict are significant concerns in the Philippines. Various attempts to accommodate the underlying causes of conflict in the country have, due to a combination of factors, ultimately failed to lead to a viable solution to these tensions. The devolution of power to the regional governments is seen as the most feasible viable means to resolve conflict in the Philippines.

At present the Philippines' governance reform process is pursuing two simultaneous tracks: federalism and the Bangsamoro basic enabling law (BBL). Both tracks seek to devolve governance as a response to the long-running conflict between the government and minority groups.

Program Objectives

The objective of the program was to inform political leaders, senior administrators, and other stakeholders in Philippines about features of, and practical experiences in, fiscal federalism. Therefore, it aimed to ensure the beneficiaries were better informed and prepared for the challenge of implementing a federal system and moving forward with the allocation of powers associated with the establishment of an autonomous region for Mindanao (ARMM).

Results Story

Senior respected leaders such as Senator Koko Pimentel (former. Senate President), the Honourable. Vicente S.E. Veloso (Chairperson of the Committee for Constitutional Amendments), and public officials from the Department of Interior and Local Governance (DILG) requested the Forum provide comparative examples of governance systems in decentralized fiscal governance, judicial systems and intergovernmental relations. In response, the Forum developed tailored events to address these governance questions. Forum interventions also directly informed the understanding of Nepali officials who drafted a federal constitution option for the country.

Results in Numbers

Over the course of year the Forum conducted three capacity building sessions as it sought to support efforts for informed governance options for the Philippines.

Over 60 participants benefitted from the training, which culminated in a Philippines Experts Panel. At this event, a series of experts deliberated and presented key lessons from experiences of devolved and federal fiscal practices that could be implemented in the Philippines.







Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

► PUBLICATIONS



BOOKS

Federalism and Education

The volume entitled *Federalism and Education: Ongoing Challenges and Policy Strategies in Ten Countries*, edited by Kenneth K. Wong, Felix Knuepling, Mario Kolling, and Diana Chebenova, was published by Information Age Publishing in April 2018. The volume is the outcome of the Forum's Federalism and Education program.

"Federalism has played a central role in charting educational progress in many countries. With an evolving balance between centralization and decentralization, federalism is designed to promote accountability standards without tempering regional and local preferences. Federalism facilitates negotiations both vertically between the central authority and local entities as well as horizontally among diverse interests. Innovative educational practices are often validated by a few local entities prior to scaling up to the national level. Because of the division of revenue sources between central authority and decentralized entities, federalism encourages a certain degree of fiscal competition at the local and regional level. The balance of centralization and decentralization also varies across institutional and policy domains, such as the legislative framework for education, drafting of curricula, benchmarking for accountability, accreditation, teacher training, and administrative responsibilities at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.

"Given these critical issues in federalism and education, this volume examines ongoing challenges and policy strategies in ten countries, namely Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States. These chapters and the introductory overview aim to examine how countries with federal systems of government design, govern, finance, and assure quality in their educational systems spanning from early childhood to secondary school graduation. Particular attention is given to functional division between governmental layers of the federal system as well as mechanisms of intergovernmental cooperation both vertically and horizontally.

The chapters aim to draw out comparative lessons and experiences in an area of great importance to not only federal countries but also countries that are emerging toward a federal system."



30 Years of the Brazilian Federal Constitution: Perspectives for Brazilian Federalism

30 Years of the Brazilian Federal Constitution: Perspectives for Brazilian Federalism compiles various articles written by the leading Brazilian experts on federalism. The authors are researchers who have significantly contributed to projects implemented and sponsored by the Forum. The articles in this volume utilize a variety of analytical and methodological approaches, but all focus on the theme of the debate about the role of municipalities in Brazilian federalism.

This publication can be accessed for free at: http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Brazil_30Years_miolo.pdf



Forum Reports

Federalism and other forms of territorial sharing of power are key to solving most of the world's violent conflicts.

The Forum partnered with International IDEA, the Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation and the Center for Constitutional Transitions to publish this special report which seeks to provide insights into how territorial claims relate to constitution-making processes and constitutional design, and to offer recommendations that may be useful to principals and advisors engaged in "constitutional moments," periods in which there has been intense political engagement over how to respond constitutionally to significant demands for territorial accommodation from one or more regions.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/territory_and_powerinconstitutionaltransitions.pdf



OCCASIONAL PAPERS (OP)

In fiscal year 2018-2019, the Forum published six Occasional Papers, five of which were part of a special series on territorial cleavages produced in partnership with International IDEA, the Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation, and the Center for Constitutional Transitions. The special series examined the specific circumstances and governance architecture of individual countries and analyzed how they achieved their current constitutional structure. The Forum releases every Occasional Paper online for free on its website and anyone can access these publications.

Federalism and Decentralization in the Health Care Sector by Gregory P. Marchildon and Thomas J. Bossert.

Occasional Paper Number 24

Health care is one of the most financially onerous and contested social policy responsibilities of governments in the early 21st century. The Forum established a group to conduct a multi-country study (Switzerland, Canada, Germany, Pakistan, South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, and Nigeria) on federalism and decentralization in the governance, financing, administration and delivery of health care. Through this study, the authors developed a detailed, common template based on a comparative policy methodology developed by Rose (2005) utilizing decision space analysis as originally proposed by Bossert (1998), and as subsequently developed in the health systems literature (Roman et al. 2017).

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/OPS_24_Federalism_HealthCare.pdf



Special OP Series on Territorial Cleavages:

Territorial Cleavages in Constitutional Transitions

In January 2019, the Territorial Cleavages in Constitutional Transitions project partners, including the Forum, International IDEA, the Center for Constitutional Transitions, and the Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation, published the Policy Manual entitled Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions. Several chapters from this manual were subsequently released as Occasional Papers from January 2019-March 2019. The remaining chapters from the manual will be released as occasional papers in 2019-2020.

Territorial Cleavages and the Bolivian Constitutional Transition

Occasional Paper Number 25

Gustavo Bonifaz Moreno and George Gray Molina authored this Occasional Paper on Territorial Cleavages and the Bolivian Constitutional Transition. The paper describes the historical dynamics behind the 2006–2008 constitutional transition in Bolivia and the political process during that period. The focus is on territorial dynamics, in a country divided from east to west by a decades-long political, ethno-cultural, and economic divide. For a relatively weak state with multiple political accommodation mechanisms, the key tension ran deep, beyond the formalities of legal, electoral, and constitutional reform.

The authors maintain that the Bolivian transition cannot be explained merely by the inner-workings of the constitutional process itself, but by the broader political dynamics, which broadened territorial support for the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) from western enclaves to the eastern lowlands over a five-year period. The constituent process took place simultaneously in different arenas: the formal institutions of Parliament and the Assembly, popular mobilization in the streets, and electoral competition between the blocs in conflict. This political shift was buttressed by two key institutions: an impartial electoral court and a functioning constitutional tribunal. These “second-tier” institutions secured the broad legitimacy for constitutional reform. They were helped by the conciliatory support of South American heads of state (through UNASUR), during a polarizing episode of political violence in Pando in September of 2008. The new constitution, approved in a referendum in 2009, secured long-lasting social and collective rights achievements and launched a new period of political stability in Bolivia. However, the process was highly polarizing and kept the political situation on edge. Many important issues—unresolved tensions from the past—were kicked forward, including key territorial issues such as fiscal decentralization and the legal status of indigenous, regional and departmental autonomies.



http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/OPS_25_Bolivia_paper.pdf

When the Total is less than the Sum of the Parts: The Lessons of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Occasional Paper Number 26

The territorial reorganization of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is one of the key outcomes of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), the US-brokered deal that brought the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina to an end. As they sought to silence the guns, the mediators behind the DPA struggled with the need not to reward the ethnic cleansing that harkened back to Europe's darkest hours while having to acknowledge that ethnic cleansing had, in fact, profoundly affected the demography of the country. The result was a complicated structure. Bosnia was reorganized as a consociational federation (i.e. requiring 100 percent agreement among its entities) comprising two entities: Republika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH). In many ways, the territorial restructuring agreed at Dayton could be perceived as "ground zero" for many of the other cases of territorial cleavage around the world.

This Occasional Paper analyzes the impact of territorial restructuring in BiH and the context in which it took place. The restructuring of Bosnia was decided behind closed doors and under international pressure. The process was brief and backward (rather than forward) looking in the sense that it was primarily driven by the imperative to end the war. The Bosnian case study thus serves as a harbinger of the unintended and detrimental consequences that follow from poor process. It tells the tale of a territorial restructuring driven by strategic considerations that resulted in the hardening of contentious ethnic identities, the capture of the state by ethnic entrepreneurs, and the subsequent inefficiency, instability, yet unexpected resiliency of the BiH.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/OPS_26_BosniaHerzegovina.pdf



The 2002-04 Annan Plan in Cyprus: An Attempted UN-Mediated Constitutional Transition

Occasional Paper Number 27

This Occasional Paper focuses on the 2002-2004 Annan Plan for Cyprus and, more specifically, on the period leading to its fifth and final version. Although problematic in many of its provisions, the Annan Plan attempted to secure agreement on a reunited federal Cyprus within the European Union and has been described as a major turning point in the recent history of the Cyprus problem. The Plan's five successive iterations were widely debated, leading to a lengthy document submitted for popular ratification in each of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in April 2004. According to the UN Secretary General, most of its 9,000 pages were drafted by hundreds of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots whose extraordinary efforts produced one of the most comprehensive peace plans in the history of the United Nations. Despite the UN's efforts to present a balanced document, the Plan was eventually rejected by the overwhelming majority (76 per cent) of Greek Cypriots, although it was endorsed by 65 per cent of Turkish Cypriots. Regardless of the outcome, the Annan Plan for Cyprus is an interesting case of an attempted peace settlement/constitutional transition not just because of its substantive provisions, but also because of its process; it is also relevant for the current peace talks in Cyprus and for other divided polities where international mediators seek to resolve protracted stalemates through comprehensive constitutional formulas.

The Paper argues the Annan Plan had predictable adoptability problems with its provisions on power-sharing, sovereignty, security and human rights failing to include timely and credible incentives that would secure the support of elected political elites and undecided voters. The process was also handicapped by the design and timing of the referendums. Specifically, in what many impartial observers now see as a major diplomatic blunder, involving both the UN and the European Union, the referendums were held only after the accession of Cyprus (effectively the Greek-Cypriot controlled part) to the European Union had already been guaranteed. This removed the incentive of EU accession for the Greek Cypriots.

More broadly, the fate of the Plan raises a set of wider empirical and conceptual issues for the study of constitutional transitions, particularly concerning how to ratify externally mediated peace agreements. Although the provision for twin Cypriot referendums seemed democratic, in the end it failed to legitimize the UN-endorsed constitutional transition. As this Occasional Paper demonstrates, the fear of an "imposed settlement" has been central to the narratives of the two communities, particularly Greek Cypriots. The 1960 Constitution was forced on the communities, especially the Greek Cypriots.



http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/OPS_27_Cyprus.pdf

Emergence and Transformation of Territorially Based Cleavages and Constitutional Responses in Ethiopia

Occasional Paper Number 28

On March 13, 2014 Time published an article entitled “Forget the BRICS and meet PINES,” which reported on Ethiopia’s socio-economic progress. In the last decade, Ethiopia has shown a continuous 10–11% annual economic growth, accompanied by improved access to education, health facilities, and the massive expansion of road, rail, and telecommunications infrastructure. Several hydroelectric dams are boosting Ethiopia’s economy and it plans to be the energy giant of the Horn region, exporting electricity to neighbouring countries. This paper tells the story of Ethiopia’s remarkable political transformation, which has underpinned these successes, but has important weaknesses as well.

Ethiopia has enormous diversity and a long history of independence. However, the modern Ethiopian state emerged towards the end of the 19th century after Emperor Menlik II (1889-1913) incorporated under his control previously quasi-autonomous kingdoms in the South, the Southwest and the East. While central power in ancient Ethiopia was partly accessible to provincial and regional forces, with the emergence of centralized state, these forces were largely shut out. The newly centralized and homogenizing state, which incorporated the old provinces, was presided over by a narrow centralizing ruling elite. In reaction, there arose with the Ethiopian Student Movement a class and broadly based ethno-nationalist political mobilization that put forward an alternative for state reform during the early 1970s. The then governing elite lost its momentum while the student movement inherited the burden of providing a political solution to the “question of nationalities” and in doing so the movement adopted a Marxist-Leninist interpretation to the nationality question, which was also a factor in radicalizing it.

XXX Ethiopia’s constitutional transformation resulted from the collapse of the socialist dictatorship and the victory of a coalition of ethno-nationalist insurgent forces. The new rulers rejected the centralization and cultural homogenization of the past and designed a federal system that aims to empower ethno-nationalist groups at regional state level. Ethiopia’s case indicates that it is hardly possible to contain politically mobilized, territorially based ethno-nationalist groups short of a federal arrangement that allows such groups to exercise some self-rule at a regional level while ensuring representation at the federal level. This institutional design has by ending the protracted civil war that brought the country to the brink of collapse in 1991, promoted relative peace and political stability to the country in an otherwise conflict-prone region. Yet its functioning has been characterized by the strong dominance of the governing party coalition, which has limited state autonomy, political pluralism, and democratic rights. Its strong focus on ethno-nationalist rights has also created problems for minorities and individual citizens within the regional states. But despite these political shortcomings, the new regime has proven able to deliver much needed services and ensure equitable development throughout the country, accomplishments that are critical to its success and stability.

<http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/OPS28Ethiopia.pdf>



States Reorganization and Accommodation of Ethno-Territorial Cleavages in India

Occasional Paper Number 29

What holds India, a vast multi-ethnic country, together in the midst of so many odds? The question is particularly significant because India's unity and integrity has been possible despite democracy. The key to the above success lies in a mode of federation building that sought to continuously "right-size" the territory of India. The method followed in doing so is called "states reorganization" in India as a result of which ethno-territorial cleavages have been accommodated and regulated. The result has been durable ethnic peace and political stability. At independence (August 15, 1947), India inherited nine provinces and over 560 princely states from the old colonial arrangements.

An interim state structure was put in place, but it was recognized that a fundamental restructuring would be required in due course. The process was complex and painstaking but managed to create sub-national units called states, mostly on the basis of language; subsequently non-linguistic ethnic factors were also taken into consideration. This Occasional Paper focuses on the process of "states reorganisation" during the 1950s and 1960s, with some discussion of the subsequent processes notably of the strategically important North-East, which has seen various insurgencies. It provides a brief background to the process by highlighting the key constitutional and political issues before moving to the main core of the process and constitutional changes associated with the various reorganizations. It seeks to show in particular the nature of institutional responses of the Indian state to ethno-linguistic cleavages with particular attention to the States Reorganisation Commission.

The paper also examines the outcome of these exercises and shows how "subnational autonomy" became major incentives for the regional political elites. The linguistic "right-sizing" of the subnational units, coupled with considerations of economic viability and administrative convenience, removed very early on a major source of ethnic conflicts in India. The paper also examines the comparative lessons learned and concludes with particular reference to the effects of India's on-going neo-liberal reforms (post-1991) that have offered newer challenges for state autonomy and future territorial changes.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/OPS_29_OPS.pdf



► FORUM ONLINE



ONLINE

The new Forum website has now been updated to reflect the organization’s 2018-2023 Strategic Plan. The Forum will continue to make upgrades which will include enhancing and simplifying how we describe Development Assistance and Policy Programs. The Forum will also continue to make as much content as possible available at no charge to the user.



Traffic to the Forum website has continued to grow since the new launch. This is reflected by the following statistics:

Year 2016

Unique Visitors: 55,700

Number of Visits: 159,278

Year 2017

Unique Visitors: 130,641

Number of Visits: 200,677

Year 2018

Unique Visitors: 142,754

Number of Visits: 240,241

SOCIAL MEDIA

The Forum continues to grow its presence on social media and use these platforms to disseminate its knowledge products, videos and publications to an ever-expanding audience.

Twitter:

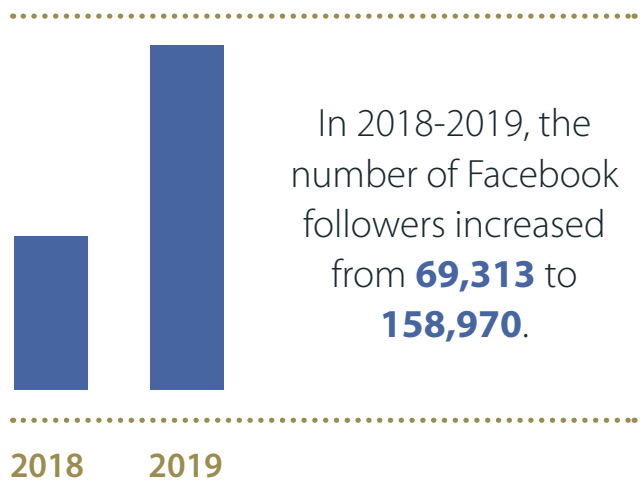
The twitter audience continues to grow organically and [@forumfed](#) has well over 2,000 followers as of the end of fiscal year 2019. This audience includes key government officials, embassies, other non-profit organizations, and key institutional operatives. In addition, there has been a steady growth in the number of followers who are university professors.

Facebook:

Main Page

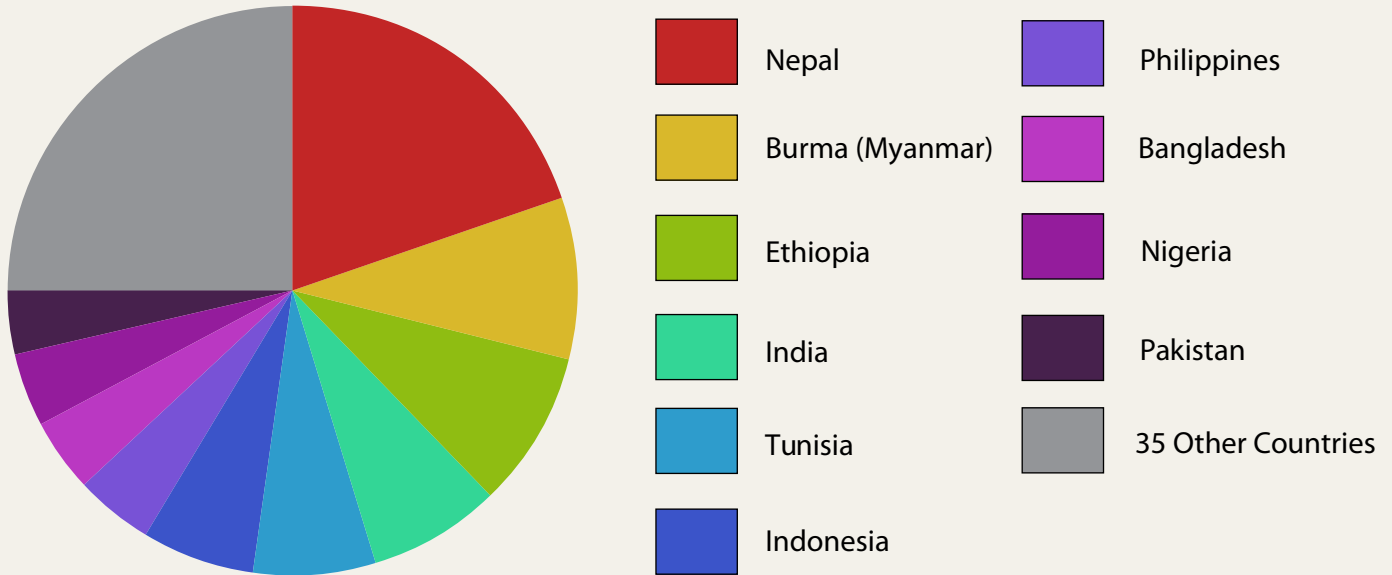
The size of the Forum’s Facebook audience has continued its meteoric rise in 2018-2019. The audience consists primarily of members of civil society from regions or countries in which federalism and devolved governance is viewed as a potential solution to day-to-day governance challenges.

This year has seen a significant increase in the numbers of users of the Forum’s published products—especially Occasional Papers. The Forum’s social media platforms (see below) allow the organization to reach people who might never otherwise have access to its knowledge products.



FORUM OF FEDERATIONS FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS

MAIN PAGE | 158,000+ | MEN 69% & WOMEN 31%



Country	Your Fans	Country	Your Fans
Nepal	30,589	Brazil	3,752
Burma (Myanmar)	14,088	Somalia	2,507
Ethiopia	13,550	Yemen	2,143
India	11,639	Madagascar	1,941
Tunisia	10,623	Guinea	1,916
Indonesia	9,726	Vietnam	1,490
Philippines	6,725	Algeria	1,464
Bangladesh	6,540	Mozambique	1,335
Nigeria	6,231	Sierra Leone	1,301
Pakistan	5,693	Libya	1,278
Morocco	5,077	Peru	1,251

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT THE FORUM OF FEDERATIONS

"The Forum project assisted my work as a federal official involved in intergovernmental relations."

"The techniques and tools that I learned in Forum trainings are a cognitive and educational kit that enable me to conduct training workshops."

"The various publications of the Forum offer extremely useful sources for my own research."

"As a consequence of my increased understanding of governance] I was able to join a community radio to share my knowledge and raise awareness."



ANNUAL REPORT



Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

FORUM OF FEDERATIONS

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FORUMFED.ORG